ORTHODOXIES AND HETERODOXIES IN EARLY MODERN GERMAN CULTURE

ORDER AND CREATIVITY

1550-1750

EDITED BY

RANDOLPH C. HEAD & DANIEL CHRISTENSEN

Nach geschehen wahl, Trier, wohin mein
Gott Sichs, Brandenburg gebens gleit.
Mit Reichs Kleinodien gezieret,
Der könig von Meintz Cöln Eofleziez wirbt.

Cum vnesse excessum est, Treuirensem Presule solo
Premisso, Officialium Palatinus, Saxo, Westum
Gestabant gladium. Sceptrum Brandeburgic; ipsum
Cumq; Moguntino digrij Coloniue Heræ.

SERIES EDITED BY
THOMAS A. BRADY, JR. *(UC BERKELEY)*
AND
ROGER CHICKERING *(GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY)*

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BRILL

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LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Claudia Benthien, Universität Hamburg
Daniel Christensen, Biola University, La Mirada, California
Robert von Friedeburg, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam
Markus Friedrich, Universität Frankfurt am Main
Claire Gantet, Université Paris I-Panthéon Sorbonne/Historisches
    Kolleg, Munich
Randolph C. Head, University of California, Riverside
Thomas Kaufmann, Theologische Fakultät, Universität Göttingen
Hildegard Elisabeth Keller, Universität Zürich
Susan Hammond Lewis, University of Victoria, British Columbia
Benjamin Marschke, Humboldt State College, California
Nathan Baruch Rein, Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pennsylvania
Ashley West, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National
    Gallery of Art, Washington, DC

ORTHODOXIES AND HETERODOXIES IN THE EARLY MODERN GERMAN EXPERIENCE

Randolph C. Head and Daniel Christensen

Introduction

When the fourth conference of the organization *Frühe Neuzeit Inter-disziplinär* (FNI) convened at Duke University in April 2005, the scholars attending the conference could look back on a decade of international and interdisciplinary scholarship about early modern German culture and society. FNI's first conference in 1995 established that early modern German studies could benefit from – and sustain – a project that brought together historians, art historians, and specialists in literature, music and other fields, a conclusion only reinforced by the three subsequent conferences in 1998, 2001 and 2005. With the benefit of hindsight, a second observation also emerges. Although the work presented at all four FNI conferences, and published in this and in three earlier volumes of essays, spans a multitude of issues and perspectives, a single clear concern runs through the decade's work: the ordering of knowledge. In diverse ways, each of the four conferences has taken up this issue by ranging across traditional disciplinary lines to investigate how knowledge of various kinds was "gathered, assembled, organized, developed and interpreted"[1] in the fragmented German lands between 1500 and 1800, and to analyze the resulting "communicative cultures and media though which values, norms and beliefs were expressed, formed, or performed."[2]

This sustained focus reflects major trends that have shaped humanistic scholarship in general over the last ten years. Postmodernism

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[1] Mary Lindemann, "Introduction: Ways of Knowing," in idem, ed., *Ways of Knowing: Ten Interdisciplinary Essays* (Boston: Brill, 2004), xvii.

[2] James Van Horn Melton, "Introduction" in idem, ed., *Cultures of Communication from Reformation to Enlightenment: Constructing Publics in Early Modern German Lands* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2002), 2.

and poststructuralism's abiding interest in "power/knowledge," most visibly in the works of Michel Foucault, provided one wellspring for such interest, yet a turn toward interrogating forms of knowledge also characterizes a great deal of scholarship that was unconnected to the ebb and flow of critical theory. In political and religious history, the debate over "confessionalization" that surged during the late 1990s clearly raised the question of how Germans (and other Europeans) came to know that they were 'Catholics' or 'Protestants' as well as how the social disciplines associated with the new confessions circulated, and how they transformed local practices (if they did). In political history, the appearance of the term *Herrschaftswissen* signaled a parallel trend in the late 1990s that looked at political change in terms of shifting communicative contexts – an impulse that is still expanding.[3] Art historians' recent concentration on messages and transmission, as well as with more traditional issues of iconology and technique, has built on semiotics and theories of symbolic action to interrogate who might have received what kinds of messages from visual material.

It is thus no surprise that 'order' and 'knowledge' are categories that have featured prominently in the ongoing work of FNI. The volume of essays from the 1995 inaugural conference carried the subtitle *Order, Disorder and Reorder in Early Modern German Culture*, while the essays from the 2001 conference came out under the title *Ways of Knowing*.[4] The 1998 conference concentrated on "Cultures of Communication," with particular attention to the nature of the public from the Reformation to the Enlightenment. As James Van Horn Melton noted in his introduction to the published essays, the conference originally found its center in a planned keynote speech by Bob Scribner on "The Public Sphere in Reformation Germany." Scribner intended to challenge Jürgen Habermas's paradigm, according to which 'public knowledge' and the public sphere emerged through cultural and technical change in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Prof. Scribner's tragic death before the conference prevented him from speaking, but the

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[3] The ideas of Niklas Luhmann have helped turn German-language scholarly interest toward communication as the crucial analytical framework for political history. See Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, "Symbolische Kommunikation in der Vormoderne. Begriffe – Forschungsperspektiven – Thesen," *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 31 (2004): 489–527.

[4] Max Reinhardt, ed., *Infinite Boundaries: Order, Disorder, and Reorder in Early Modern German Culture* (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1998); Lindemann, ed., *Ways of Knowing*.

attendees followed his lead in turning their focus to "the Reformation's semiotic world,"[5] with particularly close attention to the construction of meaning though various media by various audiences.

The fourth FNI conference of 2005, where the papers in this volume were originally presented, sustained the organization's interest in the ordering of knowledge by taking up a concept potent both in early modern discourse as well as in subsequent scholarship: orthodoxy. Local patriots and humanists celebrated the German lands and the Holy Roman Empire as the most orthodox part of Europe around 1500, only a few years before Germany and Switzerland became the key sites of the early Reformation. Very quickly, however, the Reformation movement itself evolved from a debate over religious dogma into a conflict that took the specific form of competing, alternate Christian orthodoxies that vehemently anathematized one another.[6] The survival and stabilization of Lutheran and Reformed churches in Saxony and Switzerland transformed the religious landscape of the Latin West, since several (though not all) of the resulting religious movements firmly proclaimed their own orthodoxy, in contrast to the heresy of their rivals. By the 1550s, therefore, German-speaking Europe in particular was characterized by *orthodoxies* – and correspondingly, by heterodoxies, leading to reciprocal denunciations of various 'heresies' by the rival theological camps. As will be discussed below, the very category of the orthodox has always been closely intertwined with both the heterodox and the heretical; in this, the early modern German lands were no exception.

In the Holy Roman Empire, the resulting predicaments unleashed powerful dynamics that contributed to the profound changes that European society and culture experienced over the next two centuries, both by transforming local and cosmopolitan culture within Germany, and through German involvement in European processes and cataclysms, notably the Thirty Years' War. Multiple claims to religious orthodoxy drove not only the clarification of specific dogmatic differences from the late medieval Romanist mainstream, but also ever more precise articulations of which beliefs, practices, and ecclesiastical forms could

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[5] Melton, ed., *Cultures*, 3.

[6] The contrast with the fate of the Hussite movement, which rested on similar impulses, is noteworthy: despite the challenge of both moderate and radical wings of the Hussites, the movement's system-breaking potential was ultimately moderated, or elided and displaced, so that the Utraquists could remain at least formally part of the 'mother Church' until after the Protestant Reformation.

be included, or had to be excluded, from the resulting churches and ecclesiastical institutions. At one level, we can observe that existing understandings of orthodox religiosity retained their hold as the new confessions sought to stabilize their dogmatic cores and defend their boundaries. In particular, the Interim crisis of 1547–49 represented a turning point in the evolution of Lutheran orthodoxy, which culminated in 1577 with the Formula of Concord. In addition, the characteristically Germanic predicament of geographically coexisting orthodox communities of rival faiths helped drive the emergence of a new definition of what 'religion' was, as Nathan Rein argues in his paper below. Or as Thomas Kaufmann puts it in his stimulating contribution, the competing Christian orthodoxies of the post-Reformation period transformed the regard (*respicere*) that existed among the new confessions, as well as between Christians and Europe's Muslims and Jews. This confessional moment had enormous consequences for ecclesiastical organization and doctrinal claims to authority, and also resonated deeply though every part of German culture.

Significantly, the intellectual methods suitable for defining and defending rival Christian orthodoxies turned out to be easily transferable. Drawing on both the combative sensibilities of late medieval Scholastic theology as well as the rhetorical vibrancy of Renaissance intellectual discourse, early modern German thinkers sought to define the right, the true and the good not only in the spiritual realm, but also in language, visual representation, music, science and other fields of knowledge. Indeed, uncertainty over the most reliable sources of authority unleashed intense debates over epistemology and method that characterized many fields of human endeavor in this period. Sixteenth-century debates over the purity of Ciceronian Latin gave way in the German lands to seventeenth-century controversy about the most pure form of German expression, while the rapid growth of systematic public law – spurred by the Thirty Years' War – encouraged codification and rigidity in diplomatic protocol and court behavior. New musical and artistic work and standards arriving from Italy similarly required reflection about the canons that German practitioners followed, in ways often inflected as much by spiritual concerns as by aesthetic expectations. Ultimately, the rise of new modes of organizing knowledge and authority – such as natural philosophy for the physical world and sovereignty for the political sphere – undermined the entire logic of Latin Christian orthodoxy and the culture it had produced

since its rise in the eleventh century.[7] 'Orthodoxy,' which had been an exclusively Christian and dogmatic term around 1500, began to take on its more modern sense, used to describe any system of authorized, canonized and enforced knowledge.

Analyzing diverse historical and cultural phenomena from the German lands in terms of the concept of orthodoxy therefore invites us to look at how knowledge was ordered and authorized from the perspective of those involved, while simultaneously providing a cogent analytical perspective from the outside. The FNI's previous conferences revolved around categories such as 'boundaries,' 'publics' and 'ways of knowing' – all terms that imply a fundamentally modernist epistemology – whereas 'orthodoxy' offers a different and more contemporary purchase on the experience of historical actors. Indeed, a third dimension can be added, since our own scholarship, depending as it does on authorized methods and canons of representation, also partakes of orthodoxy in its broader sense. Investigating the meaning of orthodoxy between 1550 and 1750 can therefore reflect back on modern scholars' practice as well. The papers in this collection approach the problem of 'orthodoxies and heterodoxies' at multiple levels of analysis, echoing the richness of the discussions that took place in Durham in April 2005. Although only a fraction of the sixty-seven papers scheduled for the conference can be published here, the authors' work demonstrates the breadth and depth of scholarship that those attending the conference witnessed. Before turning to the individual papers, a somewhat deeper discussion of the concepts of orthodoxy and heterodoxy is in order.

Considerations on the history of 'orthodoxy'

Although the Greek term ορθοδοξος [*orthodoxos*], meaning "right in opinion," dates back to Classical times and is found in Aristotle, it only took on its modern meaning during the struggles that accompanied the spread of Christianity during Late Antiquity.[8] As Bart D. Ehrman argues, recent discoveries of various early Christian documents make

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[7] For a brief and provocative reflection on sovereignty in this context, see Constantin Fasolt, "Sovereignty and Heresy," in Reinhart, ed., *Infinite Boundaries*, 381–401.

[8] Basic definition in *Lidell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon*, 7th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), 567; the term appears in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1151a19 (VII.viii.4).

it clear that "Christianity during the first three centuries of the Common Era was remarkably diverse" in its beliefs and practices.[9] The combination of internal debates among Christians and external circumstances – including both the persecutions of the first three centuries and the establishment of state support after that – drove a complex process of definition and exclusion that ultimately resulted in an organization and a body of doctrine that its adherents defined as 'orthodox,' and that they succeeded in making the primary (though never the exclusive) arbiter of what it meant to be a Christian. As expressed in a modern theological reference work:

> [the term's] Christian field of application became established as the complementary concepts of heterodoxy and heresy were defined. Its use stems from a fundamental claim of Christian communities: to hand down words that are *true*, to *define* the meaning of these words, and finally to decide whether any given words uttered within their midst *contradict* the defined faith.[10]

The dialectical character of the category, associated from its beginnings with its opposites, is highlighted by an observation in John Henderson's comparative study of orthodoxy formation. He notes for several of the major traditions around the globe, the construction of orthodoxies occurred in tandem with – and indeed took place through – a specific genre of writing, heresiography.[11] In a sense, therefore, 'orthodoxy' was an emergent category whose precise contents depended on the nature of the excluded heresies. The power and relevance of orthodox claims gained prominence through the increasingly authoritative position of Christianity in the late Roman Empire – a situation that ultimately gave the name Orthodox to the eastern Churches that survived that empire's fall.

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[9] Bart D. Ehrman, "General Introduction" to *After the New Testament: A Reader in Early Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 1. Ehrman's work is part of a revisionist school questioning the scholarly tradition that maintains Christian orthodoxy had very early roots; that the gospels themselves record a systematic Christology including the divinity of Christ, incarnation and resurrection; that St. Paul's letters already expressed the core of a creed in about AD 50; and that the texts that became the Bible were circulating in authoritative collections well before the Late Antique councils.

[10] Jean-Yves Lacoste, "Orthodoxy," in *Encyclopedia of Christian Theology*, ed. Jean-Yves Lacoste (New York and London: Routledge, 2005), 2: 1166, (emphasis in original).

[11] Henderson defines heresiography as "the science of the errors of others," based on its use in Islamic studies. John B. Henderson, *The Construction of Orthodoxy and Heresy: Neo-Confucian, Islamic, Jewish and Early Christian Patterns* (Albany: SUNY University Press, 1998), 1.

Henderson provides six key attributes found in the self-definition of Christian, Islamic and Chinese orthodoxies. Those claiming orthodox status in these traditions all claimed *primacy* for their doctrine (which heretics deviated from), *true transmission* from founders, *unity* in contrast to the multiplicity of the heterodox, *catholicity* or universality and, finally, that their position represented a *middle way* between polarized heretical extremes.[12] Although the exact configuration of these attributes varied from Late Antique Christianity to Islam and neo-Confucianism, all recurred consistently, since "[t]he party that convincingly portrayed itself in these terms could enhance its claim to the mantle of orthodoxy, however little this portrayal corresponded to reality."[13] From a more functional perspective, one might also note that all claimants to orthodoxy shared certain practical features as well, including a restricted written canon within which truth was to be sought, and a set of claims on those in temporal authority, whom the orthodox held responsible for enforcing sanctions against the heterodox while supporting the orthodox, materially and morally.

Before turning to the later evolution of the category in Latin Western Europe, and specifically in the German lands, the dialectical character of orthodoxy deserves a further word, since it highlights the disjunction between the term's analytical and experiential import. On the one hand, many scholars argue that Christian orthodoxy emerged precisely through the exclusion of various heresies, to the extent that the "first great work of Christian theology" by Irenaeus bore the title *Against all Heresies*.[14] Similarly, other Church Fathers earned their status because of their writings against various dissidents, such as Tertullian writing against Marcion or Augustine writing against the Manicheans and Pelagians. What recent scholars have interpreted as a paradigmatic example of how orthodox truth establishes itself by exclusion of alternatives, early Christian thinkers also saw as a bipolar struggle, although they

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[12] One should note that while claims that orthodoxy represented a *via media* were common, equally common (at least in the Christian tradition after the central Middle Ages) was the seemingly incommensurate claim that no moderation was acceptable when truth was at stake. On the trope of moderation in the early modern Christian context, see now Ethan Shagan, "Can Historians End the Reformation?" *Archive for Reformation History* 97 (2006): 298–306.

[13] Henderson, *Construction*, 85.

[14] So described by Edward Peters, in *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), 23. Other scholars point to the rejection of false belief found in St. Paul's letter to the Romans and in the Gospel of John as the foundation of Christian heresiology.

treated it as a conflict between good and evil, dark and light, rather than among possible systems of meaning. From their earliest beginnings, nevertheless, Christian polemics also recognized that heterodoxy as a whole possessed a positive role, despite the evil that particular heretics represented. Orthodox writers thus interpreted the maxim uttered by St. Paul, "For there must be also factions among you," (1 Cor. 11:19) in a way that paralleled, though it did not reproduce, the dialectical approach found in modern scholarship. St. Paul's observation that division among the faithful allowed true belief to become manifest rests on an epistemological view compatible with modern views about how orthodox truths emerged.[15]

On the other hand, the implications that orthodox believers and postmodern scholars derive from the dialectical character of orthodoxy are quite different. This difference, as well as the significance of written texts to the formation of orthodoxies, becomes clearer in light of Pierre Bourdieu's attempt to separate the "field of *doxa*" from the "field of opinion."[16] Starting from the premise that "[e]very established order tends to produce…the naturalization of its own arbitrariness," Bourdieu defines *doxa* as the knowledge that a social group possesses in contexts where the "natural and social world appears as self-evident" because its principles of classification have been made invisible by their incorporation into what is natural.[17] He contrasts *doxa* sharply with the "field of opinion," that is, knowledge generated in contexts where agents posses an "awareness and recognition of the possibility of different or antagonistic beliefs."[18] The field of opinion encompasses

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[15] The full verse in translation reads "For there must be also factions among you, that they that are approved may be made manifest among you" (ASV). Some modern editions translate Paul's Greek using 'factions' or a similar word, rather than as 'heretics,' since the latter term only later took on the specific meaning of those who willfully dissented from formal orthodox doctrine. Many of the earliest Christian thinkers were already concerned about right practice and right belief. In addition to the explicit concerns that Paul expressed, especially in his letter to the Romans, Peter noted (2 Peter 2:1) that "false prophets also arose among the people, just as there will be false teachers among you who will secretly bring in destructive heresies" (ESV). These concerns provide an important context for understanding the more formal ecclesiastical sense of heresy that emerged after the first century.

[16] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, tr. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 163–71, esp. 166–68.

[17] Bourdieu, *Outline*, 164; restated on 167: "The self-evidence of the world is reduplicated by the instituted discourses about the world in which the whole group's adherence to that self-evidence is affirmed."

[18] Bourdieu, *Outline*, 164.

both orthodox claims as well as the heterodox rejection of them (from any given perspective). Thus, Bourdieu's definition recognizes the dialectical nature of orthodoxy; he also observes that orthodox belief "aims, without ever entirely succeeding, at restoring the primal state of innocence of *doxa*."[19] He thus frames orthodoxy dynamically within a larger context of social knowledge, including the doxa that exist outside of any culture's field of opinion.

Bourdieu proposes his distinction in an anthropological context, with the strong implication that doxa play a larger role in less differentiated societies, and in ones less reliant on written texts. Notable also is the dual character he attributes to orthodoxy: since orthodoxy assumes the possibility of deviation, the categories and knowledge it asserts can never be taken for granted, even though one goal of orthodox thinking is to eliminate this very questionability. Moreover (although Bourdieu does not here make this point), literacy greatly increases the stakes behind this tension, not just because writing preserves past debates, thus making the possibility of dissent visible to the literate, but also because reliance on written canons greatly widens the hermeneutic gap between text and interpretation, opening the door to critique in structural ways as well. Thus, the forms of certainty found in literate societies with established orthodox institutions are challenged and destabilized by the uncertain line between doxa and orthodoxy. What appears to be self-evident practice embedded in the natural categories of existence to one agent may appear to another to be essential but threatened premises, worthy of active defense. The very act of defending orthodox premises, in turn, may make their questionability apparent to further participants in social discourse; at the same time, the more effectively the media of communication operate, the easier it becomes for various agents to slip back and forth between different fields of knowledge. Such tensions become plainly visible through studies of popular participation in Reformation debates, or in the diffusion of new scientific modes of knowledge from specialist to lay audiences in the seventeenth century.[20]

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[19] Bourdieu, *Outline*, 169.
[20] Bob Scribner's contribution to this perspective on early modern Germany, especially through his *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), can scarcely be underestimated; his influence on the second FNI conference is therefore a telling sign of the continuity of the concerns articulated at the FNI over the last decade.

When we turn to the early modern German lands, we confront a society shaped not directly by the struggles of Late Antiquity, but rather by the High and later Middle Ages in the Latin West, a second age of Christian orthodoxy with important differences from the first. Indeed, in many ways the term "orthodox society" applies far more accurately to Western Europe after 1100 CE than it does to Late Antiquity. The long period of decreased literacy and urbanity after the collapse of the Western Roman Empire changed the way that knowledge was ordered in relation to the Christian framework that Western Europe inherited from Roman times. Nevertheless, the orthodox system that emerged in the eleventh century did not arise *de novo*; rather, the ecclesiastical and spiritual reformers who spearheaded the transformation of the Latin church saw themselves as restoring (even when they were in fact adapting) the clearly articulated orthodox ways of Late Antiquity. They faced the challenge of doing so in a society that had changed enormously since the last of the seven canonical councils met in 787 CE.

The clarity of the formal orthodoxy that regained influence after 1100 CE shaped the trajectory of heterodoxy and dissent, as well. Medieval heresies have been the subject of an enormous amount of superb research, which cannot be recapitulated here. While some questions remain open – above all, perhaps, in what sense the rural population of Europe considered itself "Christian" at all – recent research stresses that the emergence of what R. I. Moore characterizes as "a persecuting society" was closely connected to the specific form that Christian orthodoxy took.[21] The processes that culminated in the Fourth Lateran Council, the foundation of inquisitorial tribunals and the systematic extirpation of the Cathar churches in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries left in place a system of orthodox knowledge and institutions whose dialectical foundations were less visible than had been the case in Late Antiquity, as well as institutions of social control that found ready application when new dissenting movements emerged – and not only in the religious sphere. The coherence of Christian orthodoxy also found expression in specific ways of regarding not just heretics, but also Europe's religious others. One might thus argue that the emergence of a *sui generis* definition of 'religion' around 1550 (as described in Nathan Rein's paper below) was preconditioned by the establishment of an

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[21] R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987).

unusually coherent and authoritarian version of religious orthodoxy in the later Middle Ages.

In any event, most important Protestant thinkers, notably Luther and Calvin, did not seriously question the principle that a single orthodox church, supported by public authority, should be one proximate outcome of their efforts.[22] One might say that the deep structure of orthodoxy on the medieval model continued to function as *'doxa'* for them. Though they were intensely conscious of dissent over the particular dogmata at stake in their confrontations with Rome and with their more radical brethren, they took it for granted that an institutional church informed by right opinion represented the natural structure of religiosity. Yet the rise of multiple orthodoxies at the intimate scale of German cities and princely territories generated exactly the kind of crisis that Bourdieu suggests strips doxa of their self-evidentness. Even as the opposing parties continued to assume that their theological debates had a single, orthodox resolution, the underlying principle that theological orthodoxy provided a self-evident foundation for social order began to crumble, which had consequences not only for relations between rival Christian groups, but for the regard of non-Christians as well, as Thomas Kaufmann shows.

As many scholars recognize, this 'crisis of orthodoxies' had consequences far beyond the specific sphere of religious faith. Coupled with the complex intellectual consequences of the Renaissance appropriation of Classical philosophy and rhetoric, the Reformation brought about a period of interpenetrating cultural boundaries and uncertain verities that undermined traditional orders of knowledge even as it provoked rigorous and sometimes violent efforts to defend such orders, or to re-establish them on firmer foundations.[23] This predicament finds an echo in each of the papers in this volume, and more broadly in the sustained interest in knowledge and its construction, dissemination and reception that has defined the FNI's work over the past decade. The unmaking of Europe's orthodox society was as long and complex a process as

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[22] Given the strong apocalyptic strain in Luther's thought in particular, he saw any secular institution as temporary. Both the theological and ecclesiological issues were complex, however, and the positions that Luther, Calvin and the other Reformation era thinkers took on them were subtle and carefully considered. Nevertheless, most magisterial positions fit within the received meaning of what a 'church' was, unlike some of the radical thinkers in the period.

[23] I echo here the influence of Joseph Levine, *The Autonomy of History: Truth and Method from Erasmus to Gibbon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

its formation had been; the full unmaking of the 'persecuting society' among the heirs to the European cultural tradition still remains to be achieved.

This brings us to the last implication of addressing 'orthodoxies' at a scholarly conference. The kind of intense scholarship practiced by the authors in this volume and the presenters in Durham in 2005 rests on disciplinary foundations that share important features with orthodoxy (in Henderson's comparative sense). Disciplinarity itself – which in the historical sciences includes dedication to historical truth, achieved by attending carefully to sources properly selected and historiographical accomplishments truly transmitted, in a way both universal and moderate in its claims – represents a phenomenon akin to orthodoxy.[24] Ideally, scholars working with historical materials no longer give as much credence to demands for primacy and unity, nor to appeals to institutional authority, as did early modern churchmen and magistrates.

Nevertheless, it would be foolish to overlook the very real attraction that the construction of orthodoxies continues to exercise, or to deny the very real intellectual accomplishments that orthodoxy has historically enabled. In consequence, there is much to be gained by applying the fruits of a generation's research on difference, resistance and heterogeneity to what Philomena Essed and David Theo Goldberg call "the reproduction of normative sameness," a category that includes formal orthodoxies among its objects.[25] For example, we have learned an enormous amount from the last half-century's single-minded concentration on heresy and dissent in the medieval period; some of what has been gained should now be applied explicitly to heresy's dialectical partners, orthodoxy and heterodoxy. If undertaken in consciousness of how related patterns of ordering, authorizing or excluding knowledge continue to shape the scholarly enterprise, the results can be exhilarating, as seen in the ten selected papers that follow.

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[24] For an acerbic, not to say heretical, critique of disciplinary orthodoxy, see James J. Sosnoski, *Token Professionals and Master Critics: A Critique of Orthodoxy in Literary Studies* (Albany: SUNY University Press, 1994).

[25] See Philomena Essed and David Theo Goldberg, "Cloning cultures: the social injustices of sameness," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 25, 6 (2002): 1066–83.

The complexities of orthodoxy and heterodoxy: Ten interdisciplinary papers

In keeping with FNI's interdisciplinary goals, the papers in this volume have been organized not according to established disciplines or objects of study, but by how the papers approach the issue of early modern orthodoxies – though the papers are so rich that many could fit into more than one category. Three dimensions have been singled out as principles of grouping: epistemologies, practices, and limits. The importance of epistemology to any position claiming to be orthodox is clear. Right opinion represents a double claim about knowledge: an orthodox position consists in an essential way of knowledge, and that knowledge further proclaims its superiority over other potential truths. How we know, and how we know rightly, are issues taken up in particular by three papers, by Nathan Baruch Rein, Markus Friedrich and Claire Gantet. Orthodox knowledge is equally characterized by the fact that it is never abstract: it demands to be put into practice in every aspect of life. Four further papers address how debates over truth always depended on, and influenced, practices in agents' lives. Thomas Kaufmann, Susan Lewis Hammond, Hildegard Elisabeth Keller and Robert von Friedeburg all speak to how actual players in various spheres understood the orthodox and the unorthodox, and how they put their understandings of right and wrong opinion into action. Finally, the study of orthodoxies and heterodoxies requires us to examine the limits that such categories face, either as dimensions of experience for those in the early modern German lands, or as analytical categories for those of us who study them. Ashley West, Benjamin Marschke and Claudia Benthien all interrogate different limits of orthodoxy, in the visual, performative and literary spheres, in their essays.

Epistemologies

Nathan Baruch Rein opens the conversation with his critical examination of the history of religion. He first describes the '*sui generis*' definition of religion, predominant in modern religious studies, which holds that religiosity is a fundamental sphere of human existence, and therefore generates an autonomous disciplinary approach to knowledge, actions or beliefs. Rein then contrasts the *sui generis* model to more recent historicist approaches that identify historically specific forms of religiosity, such as those found in Western culture in its Reformation and post-Reformation circumstances. Religious disputes, religious practices,

debates over proper doctrine and specific liturgical forms all enable the historian of religion to specify how religion itself was understood by past actors, as Rein shows. In his essay, he argues that the *sui generis* definition of religion itself emerged as a historical product whose early manifestations can be located in the mid-sixteenth century. Specifically, the crisis triggered by Lutheran defeat and the Augsburg Interim of 1548 encouraged increasing emphasis on the "authority of religious interiority," providing the roots for later developments of the *sui generis* interpretation of religion in general.

One way that Lutherans could accommodate the Interim was to emphasize that many of the issues it addressed were *adiaphora*, matters neither commanded nor forbidden by God, though they might still become the objects of discussion and dispute. If the changes in the liturgy contained in the Interim touched only on adiaphora, then certain traditional (Roman Catholic) practices might return to use without threatening the salvation of those committed to Luther's doctrinal interpretations. Philipp Melanchthon and other adherents of this view therefore argued that Lutherans could accept at least parts of the Interim in the interest of peace and orderly authority. This distinction between essential interior understanding and inessential, and thus mutable, exterior behavior, according to Rein, encouraged what was in effect a *sui generis* notion of religion. Territorial sovereigns also championed such subjectivism in religion, since it allowed them greater room for maneuver within the relationship between territories and the empire.

A second response to the Interim crisis, as is well known, was the development of explicit "resistance theory" that justified active opposition to religious demands from impious sources. This position emerged among those Protestants, most notably Matthias Flacius Illyricus, who insisted on a complete break from the Roman Catholic liturgy as well as from political authorities willing to compromise with the Emperor or local Catholics. For these theorists, political intervention in questions of religion was unacceptable not only when it directly violated God's commandments, but also whenever its intention was to undermine 'true religion.' Like the adiaphorists, the creators of resistance theory insisted on the priority of interior religious authority, but instead of treating such interiority as autonomous from external conditions, they sought to subjugate external contexts to the demands of the spiritual sphere. Thus, proponents of resistance theory shared an emphasis on internal authority with adherents of accommodation, even though the

two positions led to diametrically opposed consequences. The dialogue that began with the crisis of the late 1540s consequently encouraged the turn toward a *sui generis* view of religion in general, which came to predominate in both scholarly and public discourses over the following centuries. Rein's analysis thus suggests a cognitive shift in religious consciousness after the Reformation, one that might correlate with the more visible changes proposed by theorists of confessionalization in this period.

Markus Friedrich's essay proposes an equally nuanced analysis of how the concept of orthodoxy itself evolved under the novel pressures that emerged after the first consolidation of the Lutheran movement. He, too, concentrates on the issue of adiaphora, already raised in Nathan Rein's contribution, in Lutheran debates from the 1548 Interim of Charles V to the Formula of Concord in 1577. Lutheran church leaders during these years found themselves divided at a moment when they were most eager to close ranks against the supporters of Calvin and against the re-energized Tridentine Catholics. Breaking from older scholarship that juxtaposes interior accommodation with external resistance to the Interim, Friedrich identifies two emerging conceptions of what orthodoxy demanded during the Interim crisis, labeling them the situative/performative and the essentialist positions. What Friedrich calls the essentialist position followed Philipp Melanchthon in accepting much the Interim for the sake of peace, as long as the essential core of Luther's doctrines remained intact. In contrast, supporters of the situative/performative understanding of orthodoxy insisted that context was as important as content. In Matthias Flacius Illyricus' memorable phrase, "if the Devil ordered a believer to pray the Our Father, one had absolutely to refuse to do so."[26]

By analyzing the emergence of these positions, Friedrich enriches our understanding of the dynamics between orthodox and heterodox positions in Reformation Germany. Even though both Lutheran camps still faced their greatest unorthodox opponent in the resurgent Roman Catholic Church, Lutherans also struggled to clarify their own understanding of orthodox religion. The situative/performative and essentialist groups each claimed to speak for the common folk, each had pastoral concerns rooted in love for the flock and they agreed about the substance, if not the consequences, of correct opinion on

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[26] See below, 51.

matters of faith. Yet resolution remained out of reach for a generation, in part because of the powerful arguments offered by Matthias Flacius Illyricus, who contested Melanchthon's views on adiaphora. Even after 1577's Formula of Concord, tensions between essentialist and situational interpretations of the boundaries of orthodoxy continued in the Lutheran camp. Friedrich's essay thus offers another perspective on the ways sixteenth-century development challenged the very conceptions of orthodox and heterodox, and the many shades in between. Like Rein, his analysis allows us to reconsider with fresh insight the wide range of familiar theoretical models that propose some kind of profound transformation after the Reformation.

Claire Gantet's essay launches exciting questions of knowledge and authority by investigating the world of dreams and how they were interpreted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Gantet notes that in the early Reformation period, ancient and medieval understandings continued to shape the meaning attributed to dreams, based on the conviction that dreams represented a form of divination that provided insights into the body and spirit. Christian commentators often worried that dreams might be dangerous, or even diabolical, yet the continuing reproduction of discourses about dreams and the increasing publication of dreambooks attest to a sustained interest in this form of spiritual experience. As confessional religion emerged in the sixteenth century, Gantet, proposes, each confession sought to encompass dreams within its own definition of truth and orthodoxy. In consequence, confessional thinkers needed to place dreams more specifically between the poles of waking and sleeping, divine and demonic, or body and mind. Attributing either too much or too little meaning to dreams could be dangerous, yet authorities found it essential to enter the debate and take a position. Gantet approaches the contemporary discourse from two vantage points: in light of the ordering of signs that could help interpret and characterize dreams, and how this approach eroded; and in terms of a transition in the role of imagination that distinguished dreams from authoritative knowledge aligned on a more rigid axis of orthodoxy/unorthodoxy.

Gantet recalls Thomas Müntzer's claims that his dreams were inspired in the manner of an Old Testament prophet, and how more mainstream thinkers denounced such assertions. Other thinkers tried to domesticate the dream, Gantet argues, as part of a broader strategy to define the faculties of knowledge and the nature of the spiritually guided mind. Over time, with the clearer articulation of confessional

epistemologies and with the growing stigmatization of dreams, dream-books, prophesying and other suspicious practices, those in positions of intellectual or magisterial authority excluded imagination entirely from the sources of authoritative knowledge. Even so, a lasting fascination with dreams remained a stimulus to thinkers on the boundaries of orthodoxy. Gantet's strikingly original analysis thus approaches the 'disenchantment of the world,' often posited for this period, in a novel perspective.

Practices

Thomas Kaufmann introduces the problem of orthodoxies in practice by investigating the issue of religious difference among neighbors, literally and figuratively, in early modern Europe. He probes the question of when and how early modern culture generated a 'culture of respect' (*respicere*) in which clear understanding of one's own religious stance enabled equally serious analysis of the strengths and weakness of alternative positions. While such respect soon represented a crucial feature of the confrontation between the Roman church and its new Protestant rivals, Kaufmann looks equally to the confrontation between Christians in Western Europe and the Muslims and Jews they encountered – the 'distant others' and 'closely living others,' as he calls them. In light of travelers' reports and the mounting Ottoman threat, he finds, Islam received fresh regard from Christian authors in both ceremonial as well as eschatological terms, although the 'respect' this involved was mobilized both to strengthen Christians against temptation and to motivate polemics against Christian confessional rivals. Europe's Jewish communities, too, received intensified regard during the Reformation era, though Kaufmann notes that such *respicere* should not be confused with tolerance, much less approval. In part because of Judaism's fundamental historical kinship with Christianity, in part because of the undeniable integration of Jewish individuals and groups into the social fabric in various parts of Europe, post-Reformation polemics showed a growing (and dangerous) fascination with the alleged obduracy and corruption of Jewish religiosity, as captured in such works as Antonius Margaritha's *Das gantze Jüdisch Glaub* of 1530. Ultimately, Kaufmann argues, Christians' growing interest in Jewish practices undermined rather than reinforced a 'culture of respect,' with lasting consequences.

Among Christians, the tension between knowledge and rejection continued to define confessional relations in general, and the status

of confessional outsiders in particular. The opinions of the Witten-
berg theological faculty on specific problems of co-existence provide
Kaufmann with a rich palette of differentiation, as Lutheran authori-
ties tried to cope with Catholics and Calvinists among them. The
variety of social contexts and specific circumstances led to differenti-
ated outcomes, even though all toleration represented a burden and
danger from the theologians' perspective. While the sixteenth century
did see serious efforts at 'respect' of religious difference in the form of
careful examination and self-examination (*respicere*), only the weaken-
ing of confessional coherence in the wake of the Thirty Years' War
opened the door to ethical and moral respect of religious diversity.
For Kaufmann, the theoretical respect of the earlier period may have
been a precondition of, but did not yet include, the culture of respect
found in the modern era.

Music "chases away the blues,/Makes clean and fine, merry and fresh
the blood,/The sound of music, with joyful human voice,/Rejuvenates
body and soul…"[27] This phrase appeared in the music compiled and
published by Martin Rinckart, whose work, along with the music of
Petrus Neander, is the subject of Susan Lewis Hammond's essay. Lewis
traces the genealogy of these two German music editors' work back
to Venetian madrigals and canzonettas, which were extremely popular
in the period. The editors' contribution was not limited to simply bor-
rowing or adapting music for a German audience, however. Rinckart
and Neander (and others like them) consciously reworked lyrics and
phrasing so that they conformed to their audience's sensibilities. In
the Lutheran context, they shaped the lyrics to be theologically sound
down to specific points of doctrine. In the prefaces to their collections,
the German music editors made direct reference to the writings of
Luther, noted Augustinian connections when they could (since Luther
had been an Augustinian), and encouraged the use of their music in
worship and pedagogy. In this examination of early modern music,
Lewis supports the argument of Anthony Grafton and others, which
asserts that editors not only collected and published information, but
also shaped or even created new intellectual and social contexts as they
brought older cultural forms to new geographical or cultural settings.
Lewis's essay makes a strong case for the view that editors were creators

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[27] See below, 128.

in their own right, performing significant theological analysis and in a real sense attempting to shape the aesthetic experience of those who played and appreciated their music. In effect, Lewis finds a "theology of music" in the practices of these German music editors. She sees both evangelism and spiritual transformation taking place in the editing process, and therefore argues for the significance of confessional consciousness in the work of German music editors.

Hildegard Elisabeth Keller's contribution turns to the Swiss Confederation during the early Reformation, focusing on historical myth and Swiss self-understanding as expressed in the work of Heinrich Bullinger and Jakob Ruf. She documents a developing sense of Swiss identity that emerged even as new religious ideas inflamed political and social conflict, leading to internal tensions, sharp religious divisions in the confederation, and eventually the death of Zwingli himself. One idea in particular – the notion that the Swiss had their own covenant as God's chosen people – bridged late Medieval and post-Reformation discourses on politics and religion within the Confederation. Bullinger sought to use this past to legitimate a religious present shaped by a new covenant, whereas Ruf hoped to reconceptualize the self-understanding of the cantons so that their political covenant could survive their religious divisions.

Keller gives special attention to Bullinger's *Anklag und ernstliches ermanen Gottes Allmaechtigen* (*Complaint and earnest admonition of God Almighty*). In this work, Bullinger transformed the Old Testament covenant between God and his chosen people, bringing it forward to represent the relationship between God and his special people in the Swiss Confederation. Written in the form of a message from God himself to the Swiss, Bullinger's tract presents God as the designer of the Confederation's political arrangements as well as the true founder of the city of Zurich. Those Swiss who agreed with Bullinger's religious position constituted a new Israel, punished and purged to a remnant that would be redeemed in the apocalyptic future.

Keller notes that earlier chroniclers and writers had already turned to both covenantal thinking and the Wilhelm Tell myth and similar legends in order to frame the political and geographical distinctiveness of the region. The playwright Jakob Ruf brought these ideas together by extending Bullinger's framework of election to encompass the damaged alliance among the cantons that emerged after the Second Kappel War of 1531. Keller sees in Ruf's work a reconceptualization

of long-standing Swiss myths that used the medium of drama to com-
municate with the Swiss people, in particular in his version of the play
Wilhelm Tell. Even though literary historians have paid little attention to
Jakob Ruf's work, Keller makes a compelling case for his importance
in understanding the ideological dynamics of the Swiss Confederation
during the early Reformation.

Robert von Friedeburg's paper also concentrates on the political
sphere, analyzing the rhetoric of fatherland in an early modern geog-
raphy that included many lands but no one German state. Friedeburg
demonstrates that by the seventeenth century, the rhetoric of a Ger-
man 'fatherland' (*Vaterland, patria*) operated most effectively at the level
of the principality, a territory within the empire. The claim that a
prince's jurisdiction constituted a fatherland, a *patria*, represented a
sharp break from medieval practice, yet we find it used by different
players with conflicting goals. Political estates (*Stände*) drew upon the
rhetoric of fatherland to assert customary privileges and legal rights,
whereas sovereign princes consciously struggled to claim greater author-
ity in their jurisdictions by using similar rhetoric, as Friedeburg reveals.
Princes had histories of their provinces written (or rewritten) in ways
favorable to their claims, invoking a public rhetoric reeking of antiquity
to support their new authority. As one might expect, provincial estates,
for example in Hesse, found themselves caught between the patriotic
subjects and the fatherly prince as they made their own claims to *patria*,
ancient constitutions and Roman law.

In this essay we encounter the orthodox and heterodox not in the
religious but in the political sphere. Although medieval political theory
had never achieved canonical unity, a widely shared vocabulary survived
into the early modern period, as princes, estates and subjects all vied
for legitimation and rights. Von Friedeburg shows how such agents
framed their political goals through language that was superficially
conservative, no matter how transformative its consequences. Despite
the growing availability of ideas from the radical tradition that evolved
from Machiavelli through Bodin to Grotius and Hobbes, German
practitioners found it safer to embed their demands in the language
of historical continuity and fatherly care. The estates had to walk the
finest line to become simultaneously subjects of the prince and holders
of political and economic power in their own right, both sons of the
patria and patriots themselves.

Limits

Ashley West's contribution demonstrates how previously unquestioned practices of knowledge came into doubt. Around 1500, the canonical view about the artistic presentation of historical events rested on a theory of exemplarity, which proposed that the past provided exemplary lessons for those living in the present. History, properly understood, represented a transparent and trustworthy guide, at least for the early modern intellectual willing to read his Livy and Tacitus. Historical paintings sought to capture the same lessons through a visual language of exemplarity. West outlines this understanding of a useful past as it appeared in the Bavarian court paintings of Altdorfer and Breu before turning to the profoundly heterodox view of history that appears in a crucial painting in the same series by Hans Burgkmair. Burgkmair, a well-respected artist, presented a *Battle at Cannae* whose visual characteristics undermined expectations of visual exemplarity. Rather than portraying a hortatory narrative, Burgkmair disturbed those who viewed his painting of Cannae with the chaos of warfare. Framing the viewer's experience with a chaotic image of torsos entwined with overlapping limbs, the painting's narrative was too obscure for comfortable viewing. Hannibal, the expected narrative focus in a representation of his greatest victory, appeared distant and detached from the painting's action, while the most important Roman participant actually appeared twice. At several levels of representation, West argues, Burgkmair challenged exemplarity itself.

Consequently, Burgkmair's tortured figures and battlefield chaos implied more than simply an antiwar message. West offers a different interpretation, that the painting "has perhaps more to do with the unraveling or evisceration of virtue and moral authority." West thus finds a contrarian understanding of the past and of history in Burgkmair's work. Rather than simply extending the canon of traditional exemplarity, Burgkmair revealed its limits by intentionally representing the action, characters, and outcome of a well-studied battle as lacking usefulness, too locked in their own unique past to be timeless teachers for the present.

Early modern Prussia in the eighteenth century is the focus of Benjamin Marschke's essay, which takes up the influential model of court society formulated by Norbert Elias. Elias argued that monarchs designed and used their court cultures to present a desired image to their subjects, to peers and to foreign diplomats. Courtly behavior became an

essential activity for baroque sovereigns, who believed that public percep-
tions of them and their cultural life largely defined who they were and
what power they could wield on the European stage. Elias's model hits
a snag, however, when it comes to explaining Frederick William I, King
in Prussia, who abolished many of the court accoutrements established
by his father, fired courtiers or sent them to distant military posts, and
failed to offer ballets and operas for the entertainment of diplomatic
visitors. Nineteenth-century historians of Prussia and its eccentric king
preferred to concentrate on his alleged creation of the first modern
bureaucracy in Europe, and on his obsession with military preparation.
Although this view remains influential even today, Marschke offers a
fresh approach to Frederick William's court and public persona that
avoids the snares of later Prussian triumphalism.

Marschke confirms that Frederick William reduced traditional courtly
practices when he came into his kingdom, but argues that it is mis-
taken to say that the king dispensed with all courtly display, or that he
did not care about such things. Instead, the king offered his courtiers,
and sometimes his guests, entertainments that ranged from drinking
parties to court jesters. These, Marschke argues, constituted a work-
ing, if unconventional, court society. The king also cared about his
public persona and carefully presented himself as pious, austere, and
hyper-rational about affairs of state in ways that played off, rather than
conforming to European norms. Frederick William thus represents an
exception that proves the rule. He did not ignore representation, nor did
he reject the need to perform public roles for audiences both domestic
and international – which could have been self-defeating – but rather
worked to redefine the categories involved in a bold way.

In the final essay of the volume, we encounter a very different kind
of limit in Claudia Benthien's cultural history of silence. In her scintil-
lating analysis of Baroque rhetorical theory, dramas, and other litera-
ture, Benthien shows that in this cultural world, the encounter between
speech and silence was loaded with meaning. For example, her analysis
of Baroque dramas shows that when characters were demonstrably
silent, this was itself a speech act that demanded a response from the
other characters. The early modern cultural world's nervousness about
the absence of speech provided an opportunity to make powerful liter-
ary and dramatic statements. Benthien suggests that the deployment
of deliberate and provocative silence could call into question Baroque
assumptions about human relationships or, when wielded by skilful
writers, affectively invoke the deepest passions of the heart. A near

parallel today in modern English occurs when one "is rendered speechless" by strong feelings. However, dramatic speechless moments not only conveyed strong emotions, but also constituted self-contradictory communicative acts. The silence of knowledge threatened to swallow the knowledge hidden in silence, thus throwing the entire process of discourse and knowledge into doubt.

The profoundest issues arise in Benthien's discussion of literary understandings of death and of a God who is silent. Some baroque literature presented death as the moment when even the most articulate public speaker faced the negation of never again using his voice. The poet Gryphius dared readers to consider an important person suddenly stripped of his importance through such an imposed silence, speaking only to evoke his powerless muteness. Even more unnerving to the early modern mentality was the possibility that God, who had spoken to humanity in salvific and life-sustaining ways, now chose to be silent to his creation. Benthien examines interpretations of the Old Testament Book of Job that reveal the unease which early modern thinkers confronted in a silent God, and with silence in general. Doctrinal orthodoxy celebrated the survival of truth, and thus of meaning, beyond the grave through the resurrection of Christ, but the intellectual strife and the uncertainty of the early modern period undermined such confidence. When love of God itself seemed best expressed through silence – "mit von lieb verzuckten schweigen deinen Ruhm man mehr ausspricht"[28] – we can be confident that contemporaries had become fully aware of the complexity of 'right opinion' in their changing world.

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[28] See below, 268.

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PART ONE

EPISTEMOLOGIES

FROM THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS TO THE HISTORY OF 'RELIGION': THE LATE REFORMATION AND THE CHALLENGE TO *SUI GENERIS* RELIGION

Nathan Baruch Rein*

In recent years the problem of defining religion has returned to center stage in the discipline of Religious Studies. For most of the postwar period, the so-called '*sui generis* model' for religion generally prevailed. According to this broadly humanistic model, religion is an interior, universal, often ineffable and always irreducible aspect of human consciousness. Human beings are naturally religious, and religion reflects a special interior faculty for encountering a transcendent realm of ultimate meaning and power, often termed 'the sacred.' More recently, however, scholars have begun to question the adequacy of the supposedly self-evident concept 'religion' as a basic category for understanding human experience, arguing instead for a historical and critical problematization of the term.[1] Scholars who have taken up this effort, moreover, have tended to view the present-day concept 'religion' as arising out of the struggles of the early modern period.[2] Frequently named factors include the pressures and conflicts spawned by the Protestant schism, the emergence of the territorial state, a growing European awareness of the New World, and rapidly changing economic conditions. However,

[1] For an introduction, see Jonathan Z. Smith, "Religion, Religions, Religious," in *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, ed. Mark C. Taylor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 269–84; Russell McCutcheon, *The Discipline of Religion: Structure, Meaning, Rhetoric* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003); Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), esp. 1–79.

[2] See esp. Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 99–100; Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *The Meaning and End of Religion* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), ch. 2 and *passim*.

clear historical evidence that might provide a basis for sorting out these
factors is still scarce.

During the aftermath of the Schmalkaldic War (1546–47) and the
Augsburg Interim (1548), a series of often vitriolic arguments over
liturgy, doctrine, and resistance to authority broke out in the Saxon
imperial districts. This paper argues that disputes over the shape and
function of the liturgy, and over the authority to control it, offer an
important window into the early modern development of a concept
of religion closely akin to the *sui generis* view. Specifically, I examine
two responses to the crisis created by the Augsburg Interim and the
program of ecclesiastical change connected with it: the idea of adi-
aphora and the push for resistance. The adiaphora concept provided
support for those who wished to forge a political compromise over
ecclesiastical rules and practices by defining some liturgical actions as
'indifferent,' and thus outside the purview of faith. Resistance theory,
in contrast, provided a theological justification for active defiance of
higher political authority by defining secular power as always subject
to the absolute law of God. In practice, proponents of both adiaphora
and resistance theories shared a common concern with the authority
of religious interiority, and in both cases, the notion of interiority as
central to religion had far-reaching political ramifications. Proponents
of adiaphora and resistance theorists alike saw the idea of interiority
as authorizing strong claims about the extent and limits of differing
forms of authority and control in society.

Sui generis *religion*

A brief sketch of some recent developments in the study of religion may
help to set the following discussion into a clearer intellectual context.
The academic study of religion in North America since World War
II was largely dominated by a set of methodological and theoretical
presuppositions broadly derived from the work of Mircea Eliade. Eli-
ade, a Romanian émigré who spent the last thirty years of his life at
the University of Chicago Divinity School, was a towering figure who
sought to define religious studies as an autonomous field of humanistic
inquiry, free from the 'reductionist' impulses of Durkheimian sociol-
ogy, Freudian psychology, and Marxist historical materialism. Eliade's
scholarly approach consistently attempted to 'protect' a higher sphere
of religious experience and awareness from being explained away by

crass materialism and reductionism. His efforts had an undeniable intuitive and aesthetic appeal, suggesting as they did a deep level of authentic meaning still available to individuals in the modern, secular, disenchanted, and industrialized world. Eliade insisted on the centrality of 'the sacred' as an irreducible component of human consciousness, and saw myths and rituals as persistent expressions of a timeless human striving toward eternity. This, for him, was the most fundamental element in any definition or theory of religion: the historical manifestation of human beings' existential encounter with a transcendent sacred realm.[3] The underlying assumption here – an assumption that brings these theoretical concerns into dialogue with early modern historical studies – is that just as human beings consist most fundamentally of a private, interior essence and a public, exterior, contingent persona, so also does human culture consist of a set of ineffable and transcendent meanings that stand over and against the contingencies, ambiguities and improvisations of everyday reality.

Today, however, the worm has turned, and Eliade's legacy has become deeply suspect to a new generation of scholars. Critiques of the master's work have tended to center on the way it decontextualizes, de-historicizes, and flattens difference. In effect, Eliade's approach depoliticizes. According to the Eliadean view, truly significant (i.e., religious) acts and beliefs are concerned with the invisible, intangible, and timeless realm of the sacred. To classify any practice as 'religious' therefore links it to an otherworldly referent, and by definition strips it of any this-worldly meaning that it might have. Conversely, if a practice can be shown to have this-worldly import for those practicing it (if, for example, it enriches them), then it is not authentically 'religious.' This understanding of religion in itself reflects a political maneuver, according to its critics, whom, for the sake of brevity, I will refer to as 'historicists.' By prescribing the *sui generis* model as the normative definition for religion, one effectively neutralizes difference and dissent by 'imprisoning' deviant views, so to speak, in an otherworldly, subjective, or purely private realm. To put it tendentiously: any conviction

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[3] Classic introductions to Eliade's corpus include his *The Sacred and the Profane*: *The Nature of Religion* (Orlando: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1987 [orig. pub. 1957]) and his *The Myth of the Eternal Return*: *Or, Cosmos and History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991 [orig. pub. 1954]). On Eliade, see Bryan Rennie, ed., *Changing Religious Worlds: The Meaning and End of Mircea Eliade* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2001); and Steven Wasserstrom, *Religion after Religion: Gershom Scholem, Mircea Eliade, and Henry Corbin at Eranos* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

defined as 'sacred' is simultaneously also rendered powerless to effect change in the real, visible world.

Extending this same logic, historicists argue for discarding the binary language that distinguishes 'religion' on the one hand from 'historical context' on the other – as if religion represented some kind of unchanging core around which swirl the unruly tides of history. Instead, they see religion itself as part and parcel of the negotiated messiness of ordinary historical life. Religious behavior, in other words, does not take place *in* history; rather, religion *is* history. The historicists' logic rejects the widely held assumption that religion, at least in its ideal form, occupies a 'pure' realm where actions and motives are untainted by greed, ambition, or any kind of self-interest at all. Similarly, if this critique of Eliade is correct and religion does not represent a timeless and universal facet of human consciousness, then religion is a historical phenomenon like anything else, and should be susceptible to historical analysis. This critique rejects as tendentious the traditional, received view that sees religion as transcendent, as somehow floating aloof from the *ad hoc*, untidy, tactical maneuvering of everyday life. Instead, historicists see religious practices and ideas as an integral part of that maneuvering.

A corollary of the historicist critique of the *sui generis* model for religion is that since the category 'religion' in its modern, private sense is not universal and timeless, the term itself must have originated in some specific historical setting, in response to identifiable historical pressures. For the most part, recent scholars have proceeded on the assumption that this point of origin lies somewhere in the early modern period, but this assumption has never been subject to rigorous historical investigation. Opinions differ on exactly how the epistemological shift that brought 'religion' into being as an autonomous, or putatively autonomous, category ought to be understood. In 1963, W. C. Smith carried out a broad survey of early modern printed works, on the basis of which he identified a fundamental shift in the meaning of the Latin *religio*, away from something more or less approximating 'piety' and toward something closer to our modern conception of 'religious tradition.'[4] Sam Preuss connects the shift to the growth of the early modern state and sees the new ideas best reflected in Machiavelli's notion of *ragione di stato* (with the attendant sharpening of the public-private distinction,

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[4] W. Smith, *Meaning and End*, ch. 2.

relegating convictions and conscience to the latter of the two realms).[5] Talal Asad draws links to, *inter alia*, Shakespearean notions of selfhood.[6] J. Z. Smith discusses Zwingli's sacramental theology, focusing on the emerging need to distinguish clearly between symbolic and materialist understandings of ritual (i.e., the Eucharistic presence could be either memorial, spiritual, and symbolic or real and physical, but not both at once).[7] However, all of these writers, as well as others who have offered similar analyses, tend to present their early modern evidence as an aside; with the exception of Preuss, they are generally more interested in the contemporary implications of their conclusions. On the whole, they tend to concentrate on the Enlightenment, on colonial and post-colonial situations, and on present-day politics and scholarship. The set of assumptions they have developed, however, suggests a provocative historical hypothesis, namely that the early modern period may have seen a dramatic epistemic shift connected with the emergence of new forms of social organization (i.e., the nascent modern state), and that this shift was in effect responsible for what one writer has called "the invention of religion."[8]

The late Reformation period in German-speaking Europe offers a particularly rich field for investigating the interactions between competing religious groups, and between political and religious forms of authority. Mutually exclusive claims to doctrinal and ecclesiastical legitimacy were suddenly forced to coexist inside more or less unified polities, yet precedent could provide no acceptable *modus vivendi*. For many contemporary thinkers, the very *existence* of multiple competing Christian affiliations, entirely apart from the particular practices or beliefs at stake, endangered political cohesion and the survival of the Holy Roman Empire. As Protestant communities grew, put down roots, and established themselves as legitimate, their presence represented an implicit but forceful challenge to the medieval understanding of *imperium*. The impact was heightened because Protestant actions even managed to stymie the Imperial Chamber Court for a time. The move

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[5] Samuel Preuss, "Machiavelli's Functional Analysis of Religion," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 40, 2 (1979): 171–190, here 173.

[6] Asad, *Genealogies*, 11.

[7] J. Smith, *To Take Place*, 99f.

[8] Derek Peterson and Darren Walhof, eds., *The Invention of Religion: Rethinking Belief in Politics and History* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002).

to Protestantism thus seemed to carry an explosive charge that could potentially destroy all traditional institutions.

If the historicists are correct, then it should be possible to see certain social facts reflected in the religious thought of this period. By mid-century, the colloquy movement, the Council of Trent, and finally the Schmalkaldic War had each failed to eradicate confessional difference in the Empire. Consequently, the demand for some form of negotiated coexistence became pressing. The historicist position suggests that this is a moment when we should expect to see a turn toward interiorist, subjective, privatized understandings of religion, since these offered a strategy for relativizing difference, resolving conflict, and neutralizing the power of competing theological claims to authority. I think that strong evidence exists that supports this hypothesis. This paper argues that evidence from the 1540s and 1550s supports historicist critiques of the *sui generis* view, though it also suggests that such critiques must be further nuanced.

Two historical problemata

During these decades, several actors attempted to solve the novel problem of religious difference by circumscribing and articulating the social location and function of religion itself. I turn now to two specific concepts that emerged from their efforts: the idea of adiaphora on the one hand, and resistance theory on the other. Both emerged into broad significance during the period we might term the 'second generation' of the Reformation – roughly the period between the Anabaptist kingdom of Münster on one end (1534) and the treaty of Passau in 1552 on the other. This was a stormy period punctuated by the death of Luther, the Schmalkaldic War, the Augsburg and Leipzig Interims, and the siege of Magdeburg. For both responses, the *idea itself* of religion – religion as a conceptual category with an important normative and interiorist component, rather than any particular religious doctrine or practice – came to operate as a political or ideological lever.

Both the idea of adiaphora and the idea of resistance theory can be understood, among other things, as rhetorical strategies intended to negotiate tensions between two different kinds of authority. Adiaphora are 'indifferent things,' i.e. practices that are neither commanded nor forbidden, such as whether and when Christians ought to fast, or whether clergy ought to wear distinctive clothing. The concept played

an important role in arguments over the Augsburg Interim (1548) and the related Leipzig church ordinance (1549). Proponents of the Interim argued that certain liturgical practices like fasting and the use of vestments were 'indifferent' in the gospel, and were therefore not matters of faith for contemporary Christians. Consequently, the secular government was free to set standards for such practices on the basis of consistency and orderliness. Adiaphora thus limited the jurisdiction of religion to so-called 'essential' matters – defined as matters of the heart, faith, and conscience.

Resistance theory, in contrast, limited the jurisdiction of civil government by expanding the sphere regulated by 'conscience' to include more aspects of social organization and behavior. The best example of this from sixteenth-century Germany is probably the famous document known as the Magdeburg Confession, which argued that an attempt by an overlord, even a legitimate one, to hinder the practice of the true religion invalidated that lord's rule. All lower authorities were thus not only justified in resisting his rule, but were in fact *required* to do so, lest by their acquiescence they jeopardize their subjects' salvation.

The conceptual framework behind both adiaphora and resistance theory was similar. Each term rested on the assumption that two types of authority, spiritual and temporal, existed; that both were legitimate; and that under ordinary circumstances they should not conflict, for the explicit reason that they governed different things.[9] Spiritual authority governed private matters of conscience, while temporal authority governed matters of public, civic behavior. Each position also recognized, therefore, that in practice, historical individuals had to negotiate *where* exactly the line between the two realms ought to fall. It was over this issue, whose answers were far from being self-evident, that proponents of adiaphora diverged from adherents of resistance theory. Lutheran supporters of the Leipzig Interim, for example, argued that the old Catholic practice of fasting could be reintroduced in Albertine Saxony as an act of *civil obedience*, justifiable because of its great utility in teaching lay folk the virtues of self-restraint and moderation. Those who made such arguments took care explicitly to disclaim any salvific component for fasting, thus effectively moving the practice out of the realm of worship and conscience and into the realm of the civic and

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[9] On this topic, see Ralph Keen, *Divine and Human Authority: German Theologians on Political Order, 1520–1555* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1997).

temporal. On the contrary, Nicholas Gallus, the presumed author of the Magdeburg Confession, argued that *any* change in liturgy imposed by a civil government, no matter how seemingly trivial, constituted an unacceptable infringement against the autonomy of spiritual authority and of the conscience, and therefore needed to be resisted. As he put it in a letter, "our confession rests just as much on the small things as on the great."[10] His collaborator Flacius famously wrote, "there are no indifferent matters when it comes to confessing the faith or giving offence."[11]

My point here is that in both of these cases – adiaphora and resistance theory – a shared, two-pronged understanding of the concept 'religion' was at work. The two prongs were: (1) religion governed a realm of conscience and interiority and (2) religion was absolutely autonomous. Both points, it is important to note, are also fundamental to the *sui generis* view of religion. Those who rely on the idea of adiaphora to make their arguments focus rhetorically on the first prong, the interiority of religion, in order to restrict the competence of legitimate spiritual authority to govern the lives of individuals and societies. The rhetoric of resistance focuses on the second prong, the autonomy of the spiritual authority, in order to carve out a sphere of operation for religion into which civil authorities cannot legitimately intrude without attacking the very idea of worship itself, and thus upsetting the whole social order. In other words, the adiaphora idea effectively circumscribes the sphere of the religious, while the resistance idea effectively limits the sphere of the secular. Both, however, similarly assume a separation of the two spheres that (1) depends on a binary interior-exterior distinction and (2) at least in theory accords full legitimacy to both realms. In general, adiaphora are most typically invoked in situations where religious conviction is understood as exercising a potentially disruptive force, often when a particular religious identity threatens to fragment a larger, more inclusive social or political unity. In contrast, resistance theory seems to be invoked in situations where a minority perceives its

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[10] Nicholas Gallus, letter to Ambrosius Hiltner, January 13, 1550, Regensburg Stadtarchiv Eccl. I/11, No. 24, p. 6285, quoted in Hartmut Voit, *Nikolaus Gallus: ein Beitrag zur Reformationsgeschichte der nachlutherischen Zeit* (Neustadt a.d. Aisch: Degener, 1977), 143.

[11] "*Nihil est adiaphoron in casu confessionis et scandali.*" The origin of this motto is a matter of dispute, but Flacius probably composed it in 1548. See Oliver Olson, *Matthias Flacius Illyricus and the Survival of Luther's Reform* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), 114; Wilhelm Preger, *Matthias Flacius Illyricus und seine Zeit* (Erlangen: T. Blasing, 1859) 1:109.

particular identity to be in jeopardy from the flattening or homogeniz-
ing influence of a larger social unity.

<div style="text-align:center;">Adiaphora</div>

The adiaphora concept, which originated with the ancient Stoics, burst
into general Protestant awareness during the controversy surrounding
the Augsburg Interim of 1548. The Interim was a church ordinance
created at the behest of Emperor Charles V in the wake of his victory
over the Schmalkaldic League, the Empire-wide Protestant alliance, at
the battle of Mühlberg in April 1547. The Interim, which is probably
best characterized as a moderate, reform-oriented Catholic document,
was to have the force of law in all Protestant territories throughout the
Empire.[12] Charles' demand that it be enforced, and the widespread
and vigorous resistance to its mandates among Protestant populations,
left many Protestant princes and lords in a quandary, since they were
unwilling to risk either Charles' reprisals or popular revolt. The Interim
was presented to Protestants as a church ordinance compatible with the
fundamental tenets of Luther's teachings, and indeed, its framers had
taken great care to adopt language that echoed Luther's on topics like
justification and the Mass. However, the Interim also required Protes-
tants to reinstate a long list of previously abolished liturgical practices,
which amounted in effect to a return to the old Catholic worship in
many respects. Additionally, its theology deviated significantly from
Lutheran doctrines, often in ways that were far from obvious to the lay
reader. All of this was highly problematic for many ardent Lutherans.
Some became convinced that the Interim represented a fundamentally
deceptive ploy to fool Protestants into giving up their true Christian
faith, luring them back into Catholicism with the promise of peace and
security. Others, however, advocated compromise in lesser matters for
the sake of self-preservation. In this spirit, Maurice [Moritz] of Saxony's
theologians crafted the so-called "Leipzig Interim" (1549), an attempt to
satisfy Charles by adopting some of the Augsburg Interim's proposals
for worship while attempting to preserve exclusively Lutheran dogma.

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[12] On the Interim, see Horst Rabe, *Reichsbund und Interim: Die Verfassungs- und Religions-
politik Karls V. und der Reichstag von Augsburg 1547/1548* (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau
Verlag, 1971); and Joachim Mehlhausen, ed., *Das Augsburger Interim von 1548: nach den
Reichstagsakten deutsch und lateinisch* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1970).

The authors' crucial idea was that some liturgical practices could in fact be classed as 'lesser,' 'minor,' or 'inessential.'[13] These supporters of compromise, along with other like-minded theologians, argued that where such elements occurred in the Interim, Lutherans could treat them as negotiable. They designated these elements adiaphora, which, as noted above, could include such practices as fasting, wearing distinctive vestments, and using specific liturgical texts – all of which were included under the Interim's prescriptions. In effect, Maurice's territorial government was claiming for itself the prerogative of setting general standards for matters that his religious advisors deemed adiaphora.

Pamphlet evidence suggests that many sixteenth-century people, with characteristic cynicism toward the motives of those in power, understood such deployments of the term adiaphora as fundamentally political, since they offered governments a new authorization for controlling individuals' lives. One polemical anti-Interim pamphlet commented acerbically that:

> They [i.e. the supporters of the adiaphora doctrine] say that the Lutherans have been preaching a little too crudely on the doctrine of faith, and that this has made the common folk too fresh [*frech*], so now faith has to be wrapped up in charity and be made visible by good works.[14]

In other words, according to this anonymous text, the Interim was motivated by a desire to rein in the liberating and disruptive power of the Lutheran *sola fide* in the social realm. This argument stigmatized references to adiaphora as fundamentally political – indeed, as fundamentally repressive. In fact, supporters of adiaphora provided a certain amount of evidence for this view. Joachim of Brandenburg, for example, in a letter to Maurice of Saxony, explained why it was correct for the prince to assert control over liturgy.

> For as far as ceremonies and outward observances are concerned, everyone is obligated to obey the secular authorities, and it is not right that everyone simply follow his own head.... The Interim permits that the ceremonies should be held as a Christian pedagogy, or as discipline for children, for the sake of good order; it does not hold that one can obtain or earn salvation through them, or that one can become holy and pleasing to God;

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[13] Extensive documentation on this process can be found in Erich Brandenburg et al., eds., *Politische Korrespondenz des Herogs und Kurfürsten Moritz von Sachsen* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1992), esp. in vol. 4.

[14] *Das INTERIM ILLVMINIRT vnd außgestrichen mit seinen angebornen natürlichen farben* (n.p., 1548), fol. A3ᵛ.

but rather they are a fine outward discipline and order, as any clever and learned preacher ought to be able to explain to his flock.

This meant, in effect, that the purpose of ceremonies was primarily to cultivate an orderly and disciplined society – in other words, to further a political program of creating good citizens.

Joachim's letter went on to argue:

> Fasting [is desirable] not because meat is in itself impure, but rather as a practice of moderation, of chastisement and mortification of the flesh. This in itself is good, but in addition, it supports the common good that one abstain from meat from time to time, since otherwise there would not be enough livestock for daily use.[15]

We see here the explicit transfer of the physical practice of ritual from the purview of ecclesiastical authority – which, on this view, ruled only the inner life – to that of the secular, with an appropriate shift in justification and conceptualization. One should fast not because God commanded it, but because it shaped good subjects and benefited society. Similar arguments appeared in an Albertine decree issued under Maurice of Saxony, which gave a parallel justification for princely authority over liturgy. Here again, we find an emphasis on the practice of fasting:

> as for the Friday fast, it seems good to us that this be instituted…as a command of the secular government.… The preachers must, however, explain from the pulpit that this is not a form of worship or a spiritual law according to which one may earn salvation. Instead, it is a political regulation touching an arbitrary, indifferent matter. At the same time, however, whoever violates such a regulation offends against God, because God has commanded that we obey our rulers.[16]

Here, the line between inner conviction (and its salvific consequences) on the one hand and outward behavior ('mere' ceremony) on the other was clearly drawn, to the benefit of the secular government. The notion that authentic religion was purely interior opened up a huge area of externals for government control. On this view, accordingly, opponents

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[15] Nikolaus Müller, "Zur Geschichte des Interims," *Jahrbuch für brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte* 5 (1890): 74f., 140.

[16] Philipp Melanchthon, *Philippi Melanthonis Opera quae supersunt omnia*, ed. Karl Gottlieb Brettschneider and Heinrich Ernst Bindseil (Halle: Schwetschke, 1834–60), 7: col. 108–113, No. 4228 ("Mauritius ad legatos suos," 1548.08.19), here col. 111f.

of the adiaphorist view had simply failed to understand the true, tran-
scendent nature of religious life.

In another situation during the same years, proponents of the
adiaphora idea explicitly linked the idea of a religion of 'the heart'
to political submission. During the opening days of the notorious
Magdeburg siege, a team of negotiators working to secure a truce in
Maurice's favor wrote to the Magdeburg Senate that their fears of a
loss of religious liberty under Maurice of Saxony were misplaced and
misguided:

> It is necessary to differentiate between religious and profane matters, and
> to keep one separate from the other; the Word of God is preserved solely
> through the power and spirit of God, miraculously, in human hearts.…
> [W]e should not doubt that the Almighty will preserve us in his Word.
> In all other, profane matters, Christians are required to be obedient to
> the proper authorities, and to show appropriate humility.[17]

In all of these quotations, we see at work a rhetoric that denied that
religious concerns could legitimately shape political policy, based on the
perception that the purview of religious authority should properly be
confined to an *inner* realm of conscience, doctrine, faith, and inward
consolation. Religion, in this view, existed "miraculously, in human
hearts," whereas in the practical, external world of politics and society,
true Christians should set aside stiff-necked, prideful attachment to their
particularistic affiliations in favor of a secure political order and social
integration on a broader scale. The notion of a thoroughly interior,
otherworldly religious sphere was thus employed to compartmentalize
and neutralize dissent.

Resistance Theory

The term 'resistance theory' refers, loosely, to a body of doctrine
that began to take shape as the formation of the Protestant League
of Schmalkalden was discussed at the courts of Hesse and Ernestine
Saxony. It originated in an attempt to justify resistance or disobedi-
ence on the part of Protestant princes against their Catholic emperor.

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[17] Sächsische Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, Geheimarchiv Loc. 9151, "Magdebur-
gische Belagerung," vol. 2, 1551, p. 115rf., letter to Magdeburg Senate dated October
4, 1550.

These ideas underwent further development in Magdeburg during the Schmalkaldic War, and during the ensuing ban and siege against the city, culminating in the publication of the famous Magdeburg Confession in 1550.[18] This document, whose primary author was probably the pastor Nicholas Gallus, systematized and broadened these ideas and grounded them more solidly in theological tradition. Theodore Beza in Geneva later adopted the ideas in the Magdeburg Confession, which then made their way into the Calvinist monarchomach tradition.[19]

Those who wrote in support of resistance based on spiritual concerns took, predictably, the opposite stance from the adiaphorists. They concentrated primarily not on interiority, but rather on autonomy as the defining characteristic of 'religion.' However, interiority still played an important role in their thought. Most interesting in this context are the self-stylizations of theologian Matthias Flacius and pastor Nicholas Gallus. Both men authored important theological justifications for resisting authority, basing their grievances against the government on the doctrinal and liturgical errors they found in the Augsburg Interim. They drew authority for their position from a number of sources, some quite predictable: the Bible, their understanding of natural and positive law, and exempla from church history. But both also appealed to a key existential drama of inner struggle, doubt, and consolation as a way of proving the rightness and effectiveness of their position. Gallus described the shattering experience of learning that his old teachers at Wittenberg, Melanchthon among them, were collaborating with the adiaphorist project:

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[18] On Magdeburg, see Thomas Kaufmann, *Das Ende der Reformation: Magdeburg's 'Herrgotts Kanzlei' (1548–1551/2)* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003); and Nathan Rein, *The Chancery of God: Protestant Propaganda against the Empire, Magdeburg 1546–1551* (London: Ashgate, 2008). On the Confession, see especially David Whitford, *Tyranny and Resistance: The Magdeburg Confession and the Lutheran Tradition* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2001); Oliver Olson, "Theology of Revolution: Magdeburg 1550–1551," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 3, 1 (1972): 56–79; and Cynthia Schoenberger, "The Development of the Lutheran Theory of Resistance," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 8, 1 (1977): 61–76. Quentin Skinner, in *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), offers a brief overview. On Lutheran resistance theory more broadly, see esp. Eike Wolgast, *Die Religionsfrage als Problem des Widerstandsrechts im 16. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1980); R. Benert, "Lutheran Resistance Theory and the Imperial Constitution," *Lutheran Quarterly* NF 2 (1988): 185–207; and W. D. Cargill Thompson, "Luther and the Right of Resistance to the Emperor," *Church, State & Society* 12 (1975): 159–202.

[19] Irmgard Höß, "Zur Genesis der Widerstandslehre Bezas," *Archive for Reformation History* 54 (1963): 198–214; Robert Kingdon, "The First Expression of Theodore Beza's Political Ideas," *Archive for Reformation History* 46 (1955): 88–100.

> A struggle began within me. I thought I could easily be mistaken. These
> are great men; it is perilous to reject their teachings....I noticed that
> my faith began to weaken, my prayers faltered, and in my heart I grew
> reluctant to confess the truth.[20] Not only that, I began to fall into doubt,
> and to ask myself, should I accept this article of doctrine or reject that
> one...What was I to do? Where could I turn?[21]

Note that this account was never intended to be private: Gallus pub-
lished it in a pamphlet aimed at a wide audience. As one of the major
theoreticians of religiously justified political resistance, Gallus recounted
the story of his own inner struggles and conflicts as a way to claim
authority for his position. He ended the story with his discovery, via
heartfelt prayer, Bible study, and fellowship with other like-minded
Christians, of a renewed simplicity of faith and commitment to the
pure Gospel. From this, he derived his willingness to stand up against
the spiritual tyranny of adiaphora.

  Gallus's close collaborator, Matthias Flacius, saw the necessity for
resistance as part of a broader pastoral responsibility. Flacius' anger at
the Wittenberg professors reflected his deep disappointment and shock
at their failure, as he saw it, to mount a principled defense against the
political exploitation of the church and its authority. He, like Gallus, jus-
tified his position with references to interior, subjective states and events.
He went a step further than Gallus, however, and painted a picture of
a hypothetical lay Christian whose conviction, and therefore salvation,
was jeopardized by his leaders' refusal to fight for the truth:

> [C]ountless people are doubtless saying to themselves: "Look, our great
> Doctors...certainly would show more constancy if this [Protestant]
> doctrine were true. For myself, I can't say which teaching is true or false.
> Who knows? Perhaps all of religion is just a human daydream, each one
> just as much as the next...." Whoever is thus weary and doubtful, cannot
> pray; and whoever cannot pray is the Devil's own.[22]

Both Gallus and Flacius argued repeatedly, in their numerous publi-
cations, that their refusal to abandon their apparent rebellion against
political authority rested on an inward experience of communion with

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[20] "... mein muth vnlustiger war zubekennen."

[21] Nicholas Gallus, *Eine Disputation von Mitteldingen* ([Magdeburg: Rödinger], 1548);
reprinted in Hans-Joachim Köhler, comp., *Flugschriften des späteren 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leiden:
IDC, 1990–), fiche 753, no. 1366, fol. A3v–4r.

[22] Matthias Flacius Illyricus, *Entschuldigung Mathiae Flacij Illyrici/geschriebe(n) an die
Vniuersitet zu Wittemberg/der Mittelding halben* (Magdeburg: Rödinger, 1549), reprinted in
Köhler, *Flugschriften*, fiche 556, no. 1042, fol. [E4r].

God. They saw their own authority to speak as flowing directly from their sense of inner conviction, which they took as evidence of an overarching dogmatic mandate.

This was not to be confused with simple knowledge alone, which they both saw as sterile. Rather, the key to this mandate was the transformative and ineffable experience of faith itself. Flacius wrote:

> I explain all of this so that you will not think that I have the teaching of the Gospel merely from reading and from otiose, idle speculation. Rather, I have come to see the truth through my own experience. I am not in the least an untested Christian.[23]

In his most famous piece of writing, the resistance-oriented Magdeburg Confession, Gallus charged his opponents with misunderstanding the meaning of 'faith,' since they gave insufficient weight to its interior and inward dimension. Here he pointed out that the interior conviction he relied on was affective and irresistible, and thus could not be reduced to a set of facts or propositions.

> [They] think that faith is nothing but bare knowledge alone (*das blosse Wissen*) about the story of Christ and all the other facts that one ought to know. The trust and assurance that one feels in one's heart, the joyousness of faith – they simply get rid of all that.[24]

In other words, the trouble with the Interimists and Gallus's other opponents is that they knew about Christ without actually *feeling* his inward presence. This emphasis on authenticity of feeling and on inward spiritual drama formed a part of Gallus's claim to a political, not just a religious mandate. According to his self-presentation, he was a man struggling not for material advantage but for his very heart and soul, his existential survival – and this fact itself endowed his speech with authority. In his case, an underlying understanding of religion as located in an inward and ineffable experience became a way of claiming power for the self in the face of external demands for conformity.

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[23] Flacius, *Entschuldigung*, fol. E1v.
[24] "Zum neunden/so verstehen auch beyde/Papisten vnd Interimisten/durch den Glauben allhie allein das blosse Wissen/der Historia oder Geschichte von Christo/vnd was sonst mehr noth zu wissen ist. Das hertzliche Vertrawen/Versicherung vnd Frewdigkeit des Glaubens/an vnd durch Christum/heben sie glatt auff." *Bekändtnüß/Vnterricht vnd Vermahnung der Pfarrherrn vnd Prediger der Christlichen Kirchen zu Magdeburg* (Magdeburg: Lotter, 1550); reprinted in Friederich Hortleder, comp., *Von Rechtmässigkeit, Anfang, Fort- und endlichen Aussgang deß Teutschen Kriegs, Keyser Carls deß Fünften, wider die Schmalkaldische Bundsoberste…* (Gotha: W. Endter, 1645), 2:1053–91, here 1063.

Conclusion

In some ways, the examples of Gallus and Flacius would seem to contradict the historicist critique of the *sui generis* model. Clearly, the construction of an interiorist, subjectivist model of 'religion' could be a powerful tool for delegitimizing dissent, as we saw in the particular case of princely support for the adiaphorist elements in the Interim. However, as a rhetorical tool, this approach could function in diverse ways, as well. Whereas Joachim and the Albertines used the notion of an inner, religious realm as a way to define a secular, public realm in which the authority of the state was paramount, Flacius and Gallus use it as a way of carving out a zone of thoroughgoing autonomy for themselves. In their arguments, an interiorist view of religion marshaled the absolute and irrefutable evidence of the conscience in support of political and social particularism. For the proponents of both adiaphora and of resistance theory, this crucial understanding of religion was complex and multivalent. In either case, inner and outer authority were both viewed as equally real and legitimate, and each form of authority had its proper purview. However, the adiaphorists focused on the boundedness of the inner realm, leaving everything else in a public, secular realm subject to state regulation. The resistance theorists, in contrast, deemphasized the separation between inner and outer, while seeing the subjective experience of faith as an effective and unimpeachable source of prophetic power and social authority.

The concepts of adiaphora and of resistance theory I have analyzed here suggest that we can and should see early modern events as illuminating moments in the development of the modern, commonsense, *sui generis* notion of religion. Both ideas demonstrate the deployment, from opposite positions, of a heightened normative distinction between inward experience and outward behavior. The distinction involved offered a way of defining religion and of claiming authority (or, perhaps more accurately, of rhetorically constraining the authority of an opponent). The historical developments that we have seen suggest that historicist critiques of Eliade are at least partly right. To put it pointedly: while beliefs, rituals, and institutions may exist in the real, observable world, we cannot confidently say the same thing about the term 'religion.' It is an abstract conceptual category, and as such it has to be invented by human beings. This invention takes place in an *ad hoc* fashion, in response to particular historical circumstances. Through the historical cases examined here, we can begin to identify

those circumstances, since two sides of a this-worldly struggle mobilized the contested notion of an inward, otherworldly religion in support of their political programs.

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ORTHODOXY AND VARIATION:
THE ROLE OF ADIAPHORISM IN
EARLY MODERN PROTESTANTISM

Markus Friedrich*

This paper reflects on how early modern Lutherans thought about orthodoxy, starting from the assumption that confessional identities possess a set of core ingredients that are indisputable and not negotiable. They therefore must rely on a certain homogeneity concerning thoughts, behavior, and cultural forms, which together constitute the identity of a distinctive group, in our case orthodox Lutherans. The actual content and extent of this field and its borders – that is, the borders of orthodoxy – can vary.[1] The amount of aberration found within particular orthodoxies differs, meaning that the balance between orthodoxy and variation is itself negotiable. I will discuss this unstable balance between homogeneity and diversity in early modern Protestantism by focusing on adiaphorism: the theory that some religious matters are indifferent, neither forbidden nor recommended. I will argue that this theory played an essential role in conceptualizing the boundary between the absolutely essential and the negotiable parts of a religious identity. The first section will demonstrate that different assumptions existed when it came to defining the absolute and indispensable essentials of Lutheranism. More specifically, I will analyze two particular ways of understanding religious authenticity, which, for lack of better terms, I will call the 'essentialist' and the 'situative/performative.' The

  [1] Jürgen Straub, "Identität," in Friedrich Jaeger and Burkhard Liebsch, eds., *Handbuch der Kulturwissenschaften*, Vol. 1: *Grundlagen und Schlüsselbegriffe* (Stuttgart and Weimar: Böhlau, 2004), 277–303, makes the point that collective identities are never based on complete identity among members, but rather on comparable members, thus striking a balance between similarity and variation.

debate between Philipp Melanchthon and Matthias Flacius Illyricus concerning imperial religious law (the Interim) around 1550 will provide a case study for this section. The adiaphoristic debate around 1550 included a meta-controversy concerning the questions of 'how to be orthodox?' and 'what is absolutely essential for orthodox Lutheranism?' Since Melanchthon's more optimistic position on adiaphora was excluded from the Lutheran consensus after the Formula of Concord in 1577, the second part of this paper will discuss possible functions of adiaphorism in later Lutheran theology under the auspices of the more skeptical Flacian interpretation.

To focus on these aspects, the following discussions inevitably leave out most of the political context and many major theological topics of the post-Interim era; moreover, conceptualizing orthodoxy was never a particularly explicit focus of the debates discussed here. However, the basic assumption behind this paper is that this issue formed an important underlying subtext for the whole debate over the Interim. In order to make that subtext clearly visible, it is necessary to analytically disentangle it from the broader social, political, and theological contexts. A considerable range of evidence allows us to do so: enough passages and statements can be drawn from both sides that focus precisely on how to produce orthodoxy, and several distinct lines of argument emerge concerning the (non-)negotiability of religious content. Other passages debate whether a totally intransigent defense of religious practices and dogma is mandatory, or not. Was it possible to compromise in some areas?

The focus here on the implicit structures of discourse is inspired by methodological convictions. Following recent developments in the history of ideas, I try to read this intellectual controversy against the grain, thus following a general trend in contemporary cultural analysis toward looking behind the surface of texts and discourses to reveal their (usually implicit) frameworks. Consequently, this paper concentrates on some basic assumptions regarding religious authenticity and Lutheran orthodoxy that steered early-modern theological conflict. Only by spelling out the principles that underlay and framed religious discourse can historians adequately evaluate theological conflict in early modern Europe.

How to be orthodox? Melanchthon vs. Flacius in the debates over the Interim

By 1550s, discussions about adiaphora already had a long history. The term itself had both philosophical and theological roots in antiquity.[2] Stoic ethics dealt repeatedly with the so-called *adiaphora*, or middle-things, things that are neither good nor bad, neither commanded nor forbidden. The Gospels, too, and particularly the letters of Paul, raised the question of how to deal with seemingly neutral options for action, thus providing important points of reference for later debates.[3] Thus, already in antiquity the philosophical problem had acquired a strong theological note, so that the word *adiaphoron* came to signify things that God declared neither sinful nor necessary for salvation. Further philosophical implications were developed by the Scholastics. First, Bernard of Clairvaux and Abelard, and later especially Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus dissented over the question of how to determine the ethical status of certain human actions. Was it the circumstances or some intrinsic quality that made a particular action good or evil?[4]

In Protestantism, the question occurred for the first time when reformers such as Zwingli in Zurich started to abolish what they called papist rites; the term played an important role, for example, in debates about images and their status.[5] Most of the Reformers, including Melanchthon,

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[2] My account generally relies on the following literature: Thomas Kaufmann, *Das Ende der Reformation. Magdeburgs 'Hergotts Kanzlei' (1548–1551/2)* (Tübingen: Mohr, 2003); Bernard Verkamp, *The Indifferent Mean: Adiaphorism in the English Reformation to 1554* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1977); Carl Christian Erhard Schmid, *Adiaphora. Wissenschaftlich und Historisch Untersucht* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1809); Joachim Mehlhausen, "Der Streit um die Adiaphora," in *Bekenntnis und Einheit der Kirche. Studien zum Konkordienbuch*, eds. Martin Brecht and Reinhard Schwarz (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1980), 105–28; Oliver K. Olson, *Matthias Flacius and the Survival of Luther's Reform* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002); Claude L. Manschreck, "The Role of Melanchthon in the Adiaphora Controversy," *Archive for Reformation History* 48 (1958): 165–87; Günter Wartenburg, "Philipp Melanchthon und die sächsisch-albertinisch Interimspolitik," *Lutherjahrbuch* 55 (1988): 60–88; and Reimund Sdzuj, "Unvorgreifliche Überlegungen zur Bedeutung des frühneuzeitlichen Adiaphorismus für die Genealogie des neueren Kunstverständnisses," *Daphnis* 30 (2001): 645–63. Sdzuj's impressive monograph, which will become the starting point for every future investigation on this topic, became available only after this paper was complete: Sdzuj, *Adiaphorie und Kunst. Studien zur Genealogie ästhetischen Denkens* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2005), esp. 127–233.

[3] James L. Jaquette, *Discerning what counts: The Function of the Adiaphora Topos in Paul's Letters* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995).

[4] Verkamp, *The Indifferent Mean*, 23–25; Schmid, *Adiaphora*, 613f., 630f.

[5] For an introduction to this vast topic, see Sergius Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts: The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe* (London: Routledge, 1993). For the development of Lutheran attitudes toward visuality, see Markus Friedrich,

eventually took up the question of 'things indifferent' in one way or another.[6] Adiaphorism as an explicit problem only moved to center stage, however, in the wake of the Augsburg Interim of 1548. Following his victory in the war against the Protestant princes in 1546, Emperor Charles V used the occasion of the imperial Diet in Augsburg 1548 to promulgate a new religious law that was supposed to be binding on all imperial estates.[7] Although almost all Lutherans rejected this document, their party split in the aftermath. Most parts of Lutheran Germany soon became caught up in a theologico-political debate that touched on highly sensitive political and theological topics.

The bone of contention was the question of how to deal with the so-called Leipzig Interim, issued late in 1548 by Maurice [Moritz] of Saxony, recently made Elector. Maurice sought to cope with the Augsburg text by replacing it with his own religious law, which he presented to his estates in late 1548 in Leipzig. Drafting this text involved long and complex debates among the court's counselors, regional discussions, and continuous participation from the Wittenberg theologians, who backed the result more or less fully. Notably, Philipp Melanchthon became notorious for defending the Leipzig Interim and its promulgation as a means of fulfilling the imperial mandates. He argued that the compromise implied in the Leipzig text affected not the core features of confessional Lutheran identity, but rather only adiaphora that could be sacrificed in order to gain peace and order and to obey imperial mandates. The opponents of this compromise, as is well known, centered around Melanchthon's former student Matthias Flacius Illyricus in Magdeburg. Facing the pressure of imperial power, Flacius disapproved

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"Das Hör-Reich und das Sehe-Reich. Zur Bewertung des Sehens bei Luther und im frühneuzeitlichen Protestantismus," in *Evidentia – Reichweiten visueller Wahrnehmung in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Frank Büttner et al. (Münster: LIT, 2007) 413–41.

   [6] For Melanchthon's position in the 1530s, see Thomas F. Mayer, "Starkey and Melanchthon on Adiaphora: A Critique of W. Gordon Zeeveld," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 11,1 (1980): 39–50; and Bernhard J. Verkamp, "The Limits upon Adiaphoristic Freedom: Luther and Melanchthon," *Theological Studies* 36, 1 (1975): 52–76. For an earlier statement of the *Variata*, seemingly closer to Flacius, see Philipp Melanchthon, *Philippi Melanthonis Opera quae supersunt omnia*, ed. Karl Gottlieb Brettschneider and Heinrich Ernst Bindseil (Halle: Schwetschke, 1834–60), 26: col. 391. [Cited henceforth as "CRM" with the volume number.]

   [7] Horst Rabe, "Zur Entstehung des Augsburger Interims 1547/48," *Archive for Reformation History* 94 (2003): 6–103. The most recent discussion is Luise Schorn-Schütte, ed., *Das Interim (1548/50): Herrschaftskrise und Glaubenskonflikt* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2005). See also Johannes Herrmann, *Moritz von Sachsen (1521–1553) Landes-, Reichs- und Friedensfürst* (Beucha: Sax-Verlag, 2003).

of any compromise and denied the peacemaking possibilities implicit in Melanchthon's use of adiaphorism. I analyze these two positions here as different ways of understanding religious orthodoxy. In this context, the Flacian way of thinking orthodoxy can be described as 'situative/performative,' and the Melanchthonian way as 'essentialist.' In my reading, the controversy between Magdeburg and Wittenberg in the wake of the Leipzig Interim 1548 concerned not only how to interpret the imperial documents involved, but also how to think about and produce orthodoxy and confessional homogeneity. Melanchthon's adiaphorist interpretation of the documents thus at once documented and triggered an internal schism within Lutheranism; the erupting debate was thus at least as much concerned about affairs within the Lutheran camp as it was about Catholic oppression.

Since I lay particular stress on the differences between the Flacian and the Melanchthonian way of defining and producing orthodoxy, it is important to begin by mentioning explicitly what both concepts had in common. First, both parties argued in the name of the simple folk and their spiritual well being, framing their position according to the pastoral needs of their flocks even as they reached completely opposite conclusions.[8] Both parties also unambiguously rejected the original imperial document, the Augsburg Interim. Both agreed in principle about the need for ultimate sacrifices in the name of Christian essentials. Both were thus far away from trying to avoid orthodoxy, however differently they conceived of it. Both parties, furthermore, had a clear conception of the political background and conditions that had produced the imperial Interim: none of them was politically naive. Flacius as well as Melanchthon understood that the situation in 1548 was not necessarily one in which an open-minded politics of reconciliation was possible.[9] Both of them cooperated with (different) political authorities, Melanchthon with Maurice of Saxony, Flacius with the city of Magdeburg. Both

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[8] The spiritual needs of the parishes was one of the central points that Melanchthon made against Flacius's call that priests should leave their posts and sacrifice their own civil life as a sign of protest. Melanchthon made this point several times, e.g. CRM 7: cols. 228 (to Osiander, who went into exile), 416, 517.

[9] E.g. CRM 6: col. 894; Matthias Flacius, *Gründliche Verlegung aller Sophisterey/so Juncker Isleb/D. Interim/Morus/Pfeffinger/D. Geitz in seinem gründlichen bericht und ihre gesellen/die andere Adiaphoristen/das Leipsische Interim zu beschönen/gebrauchen* (n.p. [probably Magdeburg], 1551), fol. C^v.

parties, finally, saw themselves deeply rooted in the genuine Lutheran tradition, since both traced their positions back to Luther.[10]

Awareness of these shared foundations makes the differences between the two approaches all the more visible. Flacius's rejection of the Leipzig Interim worked on several levels. He argued that some of the regulations were too Catholic, and could not be treated as adiaphora at all. Indeed, one of his most striking arguments was that the Emperor himself did not treat the re-established rites as adiaphora, but as essential (*cultus*). How, then, could the Lutherans be asked to debate the problem as if it had to do with things indifferent?[11] Flacius further denied that adiaphorism had proved to be a successful strategy. However, I wish to focus on a particular aspect of his argument, here, one less concerned with the actual content of the document than with its context. Against what he saw as cowardly, incoherent and unchristian Melanchthonian appeasement, Flacius claimed that Lutheran positions had to be upheld with special rigor when they were under pressure. He argued that to make any concessions at all when beleaguered would ultimately mean forsaking ones convictions. In effect, the devilish origin of the changes made them completely unacceptable, regardless of their substance. Christ himself had resisted Satan's call to cede on peripheral things.[12] If the historical circumstances called on Lutherans "to bear the cross," they should not try to avoid it. Steadfastness was called for, and adherence to convictions and traditions. Flacius thus perceived adiaphorism as a construct intended to avoid the obligation of 'bearing the cross.'[13] In other passages Flacius accordingly rejected the application of *epieikeia*, the philosophical principle of balancing consequences, to the post-Interim situation.[14] No room for negotiation could remain.

Visible and symbolic resistance against external pressure was of utmost relevance to the Flacian position, since affliction provided the

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[10] Johannes Herrmann and Günther Wartenberg, eds., *Politische Korrespondenz des Herzogs und Kurfürsten Moritz von Sachsen* [henceforth cited as PK], Vol. 4: *26. Mai 1548–8. Januar 1551* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1992), 326 (Fachs to Komerstadt, Torgau 24.2.1549); CRM VII, 365 (ad #4); Flacius, *Gründliche Verlegung*, fol. B^r–Bij^r, C^r.

[11] Mathias Flacius, *Omnia latina scripta Matthiae Flacii Illyrici, hactenus sparsim contra Adiaphoricas fraudes & errores aedita* [Cited henceforth as OLS], (Magdeburg: Lotter, 1550), C3^{r-v}.

[12] See the impressive letter of Michael Schultheiss in PK 4: 433f. Schultheiss was a deacon in Torgau. He and other preachers followed a more Flacian understanding, and rejected the Leipzig Interim; see ibid., 288f., 439f.

[13] References abound; e.g. Flacius, *Gründliche Verlegung*, fol. Aiiij^v, Cij^v–Ciij^r.

[14] Flacius, *Gründliche Verlegung*, fol. D4^{r-v}.

opportunity and the necessity to bear the cross. This necessity, in turn, annulled all differences regarding initial causes. The differences between adiaphora and essentials vanished, since they both allowed, and called for, bearing the cross. Consequently, Lutheran identity rested not on static definitions that presupposed a clear-cut *a priori* distinction between the necessary and optional aspects of faith, between fundamentals and adiaphora, between right and wrong. For Flacius, the question of what was essential for Lutheranism changed with the circumstances: when these called for 'bearing the cross,' adiaphora became essentials.[15] Following Flacius, other thinkers also stressed the dependence of the adiaphorist character on the specific ends of a rite.[16] If the Devil ordered a believer to pray the Our Father, one had absolutely to refuse to do so.[17] These characteristics justify calling Flacius's approach to orthodoxy 'situative/performative.'

In a significant text, Flacius distinguished several grades of purity that might be necessary and appropriate in different circumstances.

> It is necessary to know that a huge difference exists between tolerating some remnants of the Antichrist while moving the right way toward Christian doctrine, and reintroducing the Pharisees' doctrine into an already well-ordered church. A father will tolerate his toddler (which is just starting to talk) to babble or crawl on the floor, whereas he would not tolerate the same nonsense anymore after the child has come of age. Accordingly, Dr. Luther accepted the reformation in the Mark Brandenburg and several other reformations, since he held that it would be better to reform the churches at least a little bit than to leave them completely in their old godless manners. [...] That, however, does not mean that one may reintroduce papist atrocities in places where they have been abandoned already.[18]

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[15] The famous passage is Flacius, OLS, fol. C2^v.

[16] E.g. the pastors of Hamburg, CRM 7: col. 374.

[17] Flacius, *Gründliche Verlegung*, fol. K^r recounts this saying of Jost Schalreuter of Zwickau.

[18] Flacius, *Gründliche Verlegung*, fol. D4^r: "Hie ist zuwissen/das ein grosser unterscheid ist/ob man etwas/das vom Antichristenthumb auff den rechten weg Christlicher leer gebessert und gebracht wird/ein zeit lang duldet/Oder/ob mann die wolgeordenten Kirchen widderumb mit dem Sawrteig der Phariseer lest beschmeist werden. Denn ein vater kan wol leiden/das die jungen kindlein/die erst anfahen zureden/kakeln/oder auff der erde umbher kriechen. Wenn aber das kind zu seinen jaren ist komen/so würde er solche geuckeley one zweifel nicht mehr leiden. Also hat D. Luther die Merckische und etliche andere Reformation gern geduldet/weil er meinte/Es were besser/das die kirchen ein wenig reformiert würden/denn das sie gar in dem vorigen Gottlosen wesen stecken blieben [...]. Darumb ists nichts gesagt/das man die Papistischen grewel/an den örtern da sie abgethan sind/darumb widder auffrichten möge."

According to whether the mixture of right and wrong represented progress or regression, it was either tolerable or not. Many preachers resisted the introduction of the Interim on precisely these grounds. Jacob Klappe of Großenhain, for instance, rejected his duke's order to wear a cassock, but proclaimed he might just put it on at another occasion without any external pressure.[19] Moreover, the obligating force of the Christian conscience changed with the situation, too.[20] It is hard to imagine a more circumstantial, situational concept of religious right and wrong.

A certain style of debate and a specific type of behavior flowed from the Flacian understanding, namely a highly agonistic way of promoting Lutheranism.[21] This can be sketched here only briefly. First of all, a certain tendency toward segregation, or at least toward separation of the 'true Christians,' is obvious.[22] Additionally, although quarrelling was not in itself desirable, it was sanctioned as a sometimes necessary aspect of being orthodox. Closely linked was a strong sense of publicity, since public action was a Christian duty and not just a matter of propaganda.[23] The polemical literature produced in the so-called *Herrgottskanzlei* in Magdeburg has recently received attention from this perspective.[24] Furthermore, the Flacian model of orthodoxy implied a strong belief in the importance of the clergy, based on a highly hierarchical understanding of the relation between the religious and the secular sphere, in which the secular was clearly subordinate. Consequently, pragmatic arguments about keeping the peace had little force, according to Flacius, who called them "stupidity."[25] Finally, the model's contributions to political theory and the right to resistance,

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[19] Albert Chalybäus, *Die Durchführung des Leipziger Interims* (Chemnitz: Oehme, 1905), 19–22; PK 4: 553.

[20] Flacius, OLS, fol. Y5ᵛ: "Item, ne extra casum scandali incipiant obligare conscientias, atque ita laqueos inijciant conscientijs."

[21] Markus Friedrich, "Der Streit um das Streiten. Wahrnehmung von Dissens um 1600 – das Beispiel des Helmstedter Hofmannstreits," in *Autorität der Form – Autorisierungen – Institutionelle Autoritäten*, eds. Winfried Schulze, Gerhard Regn, and Wulf Oesterreicher (Münster: LIT, 2003), 293–308.

[22] Flacius, *Gründliche Verlegung*, fol. Diijʳ; idem, OLS, fol. Aʳ–A6ʳ.

[23] See, e.g. Flacius, *Gründliche Verlegung*, fol. Ciijʳ–Ciiijᵛ.

[24] Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation*.

[25] Flacius, OLS, fol. C2ʳ: "OBIICIUNT quidam, qui maioris terrena, quam coelestia faciunt, imminere magnas bellorum calamitates, quibus respondemus, esse valde stultum putare, quod homines sibi placando, & Deum offendendo, sit possibile effugere bella, vel alia quaecunque mala."

flowing from the assumed dominance of the religious sphere, have also received considerable attention.[26]

Melanchthon did not promote his opinions through frequent public statements, as did Flacius, because he had a different understanding of public action and its consequences.[27] His position must therefore be reconstructed mostly through his letters, which makes it appear more piecemeal and less like a coherent and systematically articulated mindset. Parts of Melanchthon's adiaphorist position, in fact, became articulate only in reaction to Flacius's polemics. Several parts of the adiaphorist position thus emerged only through Melanchthon's struggle against the Magdeburgers' impositions. Still, the passages that are available can be put together in what can be seen as a real alternative to the Flacian way of thinking about orthodoxy.

Melanchthon was ready to make concessions because he viewed certain areas affected by the Interim as consisting of things indifferent, and thus negotiable. Compromise was therefore possible. In contrast to Flacius, he did not subscribe to the view that circumstances necessarily altered the adiaphoristic essence of a certain practice. Even though the religious changes contained in the Interim represented a setback caused by political pressure, these circumstances did not affect the adiaphoristic nature of the rites in question. The Christian conscience, for him, remained untouched by forced concessions, as long as these touched only adiaphora.[28] Melanchthon did call the imperial proceedings 'servitude' but even this did not constrain his ability to concede.[29] Rather, he saw a space for balancing pros and cons, and hence for compromise, in the adiaphoristic parts of the religious field.[30]

For him the distinction between 'adiaphora' and 'necessary things' was fixed by a recognizable boundary between the things worth suffering for and those that could be tolerated for the sake of some higher good. Melanchthon accepted the need to articulate this boundary, which he considered as clearly defined in the essence of the things

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[26] Robert von Friedeburg, *Widerstandsrecht und Konfessionskonflikt: Notwehr und gemeiner Mann im deutsch-britischen Vergleich 1530–1669* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1999); Schorn-Schütte, *Interim*.

[27] See, e.g., PK 4: 447.

[28] E.g. CRM 7: cols. 259, 364. PK 4: 439f.

[29] CRM 7: col. 297. PK 4: 345f. Against this position, see Flacius, OLS, fol. Y8ʳ.

[30] CRM 7: col. 86f.

themselves.[31] Circumstances could not alter their nature.[32] I therefore designate Melanchthon's position as 'essentialist.' Because Melanchthon presupposed such a static distinction between necessary and indifferent things, moreover, he felt able as well as obliged to measure and describe each area as precisely as possible. That he at one point proposed to draw up a detailed list of allowable concessions was probably a tactical move, meant to avoid the dangers of describing adiaphora only in general terms.[33] Nevertheless, the very possibility of producing such a list shows that Melanchthon did in fact assume that the realm of adiaphora was more or less circumscribed, definable, and independent of circumstances and situations.

Melanchthon positioned his conception of adiaphora against the understanding proposed by Flacius and his followers. He also suggested ways of forging, upholding, and defending religious truth, as well as requirements for behavior pertaining to confessional identity, that differed clearly from Flacius's standards of orthodoxy. Whereas Flacius urged conflict not only over the essentials of faith, but also over the practices at the heart of the adiaphora debate, Melanchthon suggested "putting aside" the latter for the sake of reducing controversy.[34] This approach toward defining religious orthodoxy underlay Melanchthon's relatively positive attitude toward giving in and accommodating to the needs of the day. On the one hand, Melanchthon was very well aware of theological and social needs for boundaries that defined the truth and the confessional body. He therefore clearly stressed the boundary between the essential and the negotiable, in order to prevent laxity in the name of adiaphorism.[35] On the other hand, he did not include all Lutheran traditions and habits inside the boundary of the essential. His layered understanding of orthodoxy and religious order distinguished between an unquestionably necessary essence, worthy of fight, and any number of customs, habits, usages, and regulation where flexibility was possible, though they were not irrelevant. Not all parts of the Lutheran confessional culture, he insisted, demanded intransigent defense, even though they were all 'good Lutheran' and preferable to

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[31] E.g., CRM 6: col. 843.

[32] CRM 7: col. 477–482.

[33] CRM 7: col. 182.

[34] CRM 7: col. 171.

[35] An example in PK 4: 549. It reports that people believed a Christian should accept dangers to life and possession on account of the first two commandments, but not for the remaining eight.

other habits: "We fight for the big issues where the evidence convinces even the more sober of our enemies. This we judge more useful than fighting about vestments or similar things."[36] Melanchthon therefore presented a real alternative to the Flacian way of thinking about confessional identity, although without in the least trying to avoid orthodoxy altogether. Rather, Melanchthon proposed a different understanding of orthodoxy.

Concerning the self-perception of the Wittenbergers, the surviving sources, which consist mostly of (personal) letters and administrative documents from an open internal debate, suggest three major conclusions. First, concerning his style of debate, Melanchthon framed himself as the exact opposite of Flacius. Tranquility, peace, and unity of the church figured prominently among Melanchthon's major goals. He consequently cultivated an image of himself as being anti-polemical. Intellectual strife contradicted his existence as an erudite scholar. He styled himself as the opposite of Flacius's contentious and juvenile attitude, and even flirted with calling himself "servile."[37] Second, the Wittenberg theologians considered their own position to be only one contribution to a complete evaluation of current affairs. Melanchthon openly took into account that political responsibility might lead to different reasoning. At the very least, he did not want to oblige the princes to unconditional obedience to the theologians.[38] Third, the Wittenbergers thus accepted the need to put their purely theological position into a broader perspective. They even volunteered to remove themselves in order to avoid theologico-political partisanship.[39]

The theological positions that Melanchthon and his followers took often appeared as concessions or individual offers in a dynamic process of deliberation. Several times, we find formulations stressing that the theologians "went as far as they could" or "have been as conforming

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[36] CRM 7: col. 385: "[…] de magnis rebus pugnamus, in quibus evidentia veritatis convincit saniores etiam inter inimicos. Id iudicamus utilius esse, quam de vestitu aut re simili rixari […]" See also ibid., col. 404.

[37] References abound for all of these elements, e.g. CRM 7: col. 418: "nos tueamur consensum Ecclesiarum in his regionibus." See also CRM 7: col. 442f., 481f. The "ingenio servili" is mentioned in the crucial passage CRM 6: col. 882f. A summary at CRM 7: col. 409: "Ego nihil pugnabo, etiamsi magno in dolore sum."

[38] E.g. CRM 7: col. 85f., 115f.

[39] See e.g. CRM 6: col. 954f. This is the opposite of Flacius's willingness to endure exile, since he accepted it as a consequence of the necessary polemics, whereas Melanchthon offered exile to avoid conflict.

as possible."[40] This was precisely the attitude that the prince and his counselors expected from theologians.[41] In fact, the political correspondence of Duke Maurice shows in detail how the Leipzig Interim was hammered out in the summer of 1548 through an arduous process of negotiation and compromise.[42] Even though Flacius did not know about all of these documents, it seems to have been precisely this careful mode of negotiating the boundaries of the essential that stirred his criticism. For his part, Melanchthon's behavior might have been influenced by his views about political responsibility, by personal attitudes or by pure fear. But even though his position on adiaphora had strong political overtones, he did not neglect its theological implications and consequences.[43] Rather, Melanchthon employed adiaphorism in order to make his broader position theologically possible and defensible, through developing a layered understanding of orthodoxy and religious authenticity. Only his reliance on theological argument could counter the accusation that he was acting out of cowardly irresponsibility and servile obedience.

Throughout history, several major theological issues have been discussed in connection with adiaphorism. It was closely related to questions of Christian liberty, it was useful in debating the proper structure of ecclesiastical regimes, and it helped articulate the status of rites in a faith-centered religion. Furthermore, adiaphorism could help explain the relation of doctrinal and ethical elements in the church's life, and it was concerned with defining an adequate liturgy.[44] Recent discussions have also focused on the relationship between adiaphorism and civil (dis)obedience.[45] Perhaps most of all, adiaphorism was deeply

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[40] CRM 7: col. 214: "Nu bitten wir erstlich, sie [die Räte], als die hoch Verständigen wollen selbs bedenken, daß die Pastores sich auf dies Mal nicht hart erzeugen, sondern willig und so viel nachgeben, als aufs Äußerst ihnen mit Gewissen möglich gewesen, und wird schwer seyn, bei dem Volk diese beschwerliche Rede zu stellen. Gleichwohl hat man sich so weit eingelassen, damit man sehe, daß wir Kais. Maj. und unserm gnädigsten Herrn in allen möglichen Dingen gehorsam seyn wollen."

[41] CRM 7: col. 112.

[42] See PK 4: 123 and passim. See Herrmann, *Moritz*, for a detailed account of this.

[43] Wartenberg, *Melanchthon und die Interimspolitik*, 81, sees adiaphorism more as an "Ausdruck politischen Taktierens" than as a "theologische Fragestellung."

[44] Mehlhausen, *Der Streit um die Adiaphora*, 124f. Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation*, 100, also calls the controversy an "Identitätsdebatte," but with a different focus.

[45] John Sommerville, "Conscience, Law, and Things Indifferent: Arguments on Toleration from the Vestarian Controversy to Hobbes and Locke," in *Contexts of Conscience in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Harald Braun (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004), 166–79; Andrew

involved in hermeneutical issues: Everyone agreed that the Bible had
to be obeyed where it provided clear obligations or prohibitions. But
what if the holy scriptures were silent concerning specific problems?
What was allowed and what was not, and how could standards for such
cases be established at all? Naturally, Flacius incorporated all these
areas into his arguments, though none of them formed the specific
focus of his position. More central to him was a distinctive concept
of 'Christian authenticity,' resting on an apocalyptic perspective.[46] In
contrast to Paul Schmediken's later and exegetically complex discus-
sion of the matter, for example, Flacius relied on a different register of
theological discourse (without necessarily rejecting other approaches).[47]
More than once he took as his starting point the biblical verse Acts 5:29
("We must obey God more than human beings.")[48] Bearing the cross,
which meant both following Christ and honoring Christ's own cross,
provided his criterion.[49] Negatively, Flacius's decisive reason to reject
Melanchthon's position was the link he perceived between adiaphorism
and "*carnis prudentia*" or "mundane wisdom." Adiaphorism to Flacius
meant blurring the boundaries between orthodoxy and heterodoxy by
tampering with the hierarchies between the sacred and the secular.[50]
According to Flacius, Lutheranism was in danger of corruption not only
from the outside, but also from inside.[51] This was what was at stake:
the internal split in the Lutheran camp over the necessary boundar-
ies of, and behavioral attitude toward, Lutheran identity. Ultimately,
in the controversy over adiaphorism, Flacius's primary interest was
neither exegetical, institutional nor pastoral. Instead, through reject-
ing Melanchthon, Flacius fundamentally tried to promote a specific
understanding of what it meant to be a good Lutheran Christian.

R. Murphy, *Conscience and Community: Revisiting Toleration and Religious Dissent in Early Modern
England and America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001).

[46] Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation*, particularly stresses the apocalyptic dimension
of the affair.

[47] Paul Schmedikens, *De Natura et Cura Adiaphororum. Dissertatio Theologica* (Strassburg:
Johann Friedrich Spoor, 1667).

[48] E.g. Flacius, OLS, ff. C6ᵛ, Gʳ.

[49] This blending of the perspectives is particularly clear in Flacius, OLS, fol. E7ᵛf.

[50] See Flacius, OLS, fol. B3ᵛ. Matthias Flacius and Nicolaus Gallus, *Provocation oder
erbieten der Adiaphorischen sachen halben/auff erkentnis und urteil der Kirchen* (Magdeburg: Lotter,
1553), fol. Aiiijʳ⁻ᵛ. See also Flacius, *Gründliche Verlegung*, fol. Aiijʳ.

[51] See e.g. Flacius, *Gründliche Verlegung*, fol. Aijʳ⁻ᵛ, where he parallels Catholic with
adiaphoristic aggression. He calls adiaphorism more dangerous than the imperial
warriors.

Clearly, the debate transcended the technical questions of adiaphora.[52] At its very basis, the adiaphoristic controversy was about the nature of orthodox Lutheranism.

The Relevance of Adiaphorism after the Interim Crisis

Generally, Flacius's position on adiaphora is held to have prevailed, since the Formula of Concord (Art. 10) of 1577 endorsed his version. His definition of true religious commitment exercised a long-lasting influence throughout Protestantism. I give but one later example, coming from the Reformed cleric Johannes Piscator (1546–1625). Piscator dealt with a question that frequently involved the concept of adiaphora: liturgical vestments. This was also a topic that excited many quarrels, particularly in England.

> Question: Did the ministers act rightly when they burned the liturgical vestments? […]
> Answer: If they burned the vestments assuming that they are impious *per se*, then they did the right thing insofar as they protected themselves against being contaminated with something they judged impious. However, this assumption would have been mistaken, since vestments *per se* are *adiaphora*, things indifferent, and not explicitly forbidden by God. If, however, they burned the vestments in order to give public testimony, and to distinguish themselves as ministers of Christ from the papist priests as ministers of the Antichrist, and if they did so to eradicate the error of the simple folk – namely that hardly any difference between papist and evangelical liturgy exists, since no difference in vestments marks the difference in rites – then they did the right thing. Because things that are naturally indifferent and allowed, give up their nature and turn into illegitimate and forbidden things when they start offending God's glory and the salvation of the people.[53]

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[52] See Flacius, *Gründliche Verlegung*, fol. Dij[r]: "Aber es wird nicht gehandelt von gering Mitteldingen/sondern vom Bekentnis und von der gantzen Religion."

[53] Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, clm 13237: #41 (no fol.): "Quaestio, an Ministri […] recte fecerint, quod exuerunt vestitum Ecclesiasticum. […] respondeo. Si vestitum illum exuerunt tanquam per se impium: recte quidem fecerunt, quod noluerunt se contaminare ea re quam judicarunt esse impiam: sed si ita judicarunt, non recti judicarunt: quum talis vestitus per se sit adiaphoron, indifferens: ac proinde nullo Dei praecepto vetitus. Si vero exuerunt vestitum illum, ut publice testatum facerent, se velle discerni atque dignosci a sacerdotibus Papisticis, tumque ministros Christi a ministris Antichristi: ac proinde ut eximerent errorem rudioribus quasi aeque bona conscientia ineresse possint liturgiae sacerdotis Papistici atque ministri Evangelici, quum in vestitu aliisque id genus ceremoniis non videant discrimen: hactenus recte fecerunt: quia res

Here again all the ingredients of a situative/performative concept of religious authenticity come together. Some things might be adiaphora *per se*, but they lost this character if the circumstances turned the matter into a question of public testimony. In this example, the circumstantial need to proclaim one's identity through distinction from the Catholics changed the character of the priest's dress. Piscator's situative/performative notion of orthodoxy thus attended closely to the performance of symbolic action in establishing a strong distinction between the necessary and the indifferent.

In Piscator's phrasing, this general attitude even overrode philosophical precision. It is quite striking that he did not see any problem in writing that "things give up their nature" (*amittunt naturam suam*), since by the early 1600s, it had become obvious that adequately combining philosophical and theological standpoints in describing any 'change of nature' of things under the auspices of the Aristotelian metaphysical framework raised enormous difficulties.[54] How could the nature of a thing be altered and yet the thing remain the same? How could accidental circumstances have the power to alter the substance or nature of a thing? However, Piscator evidently saw little need to be careful when talking about adiaphora. He simply asserted that things indifferent changed their nature, without explaining how this could be thought through. This philosophical weakness of the Flacian concept of adiaphora can also be observed in the usually philosophically alert Balthasar Meisner. *Prima facie*, Meisner seemed to solve the dilemma by distinguishing between the *usus* and *natura* of adiaphora, thus combining two perspectives: focus on situational use, and essential identity of the object's nature. However, just sentences later, Meisner, too, insisted that use and circumstances were capable of altering the nature of a thing.[55]

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natura sua indifferentes ac licitae, quum incipiunt officere gloriae Dei & saluti proximi, amittunt naturam suam, & ex indifferentibus atque licitis fiunt illicitae & vetita." A biblical reference is added on the margins: "(etenim quicquid non fit ex fides, peccatum est, Rom. 14. vers. ult.)."

[54] Particularly the debates around Flacius's theory of original sin centered not least on this problem. See Anselm Schubert, *Das Ende der Sünde. Anthropologie und Erbsünde zwischen Reformation und Aufklärung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002).

[55] Balthasar Meisner, *Collegii Adiaphoristici Calvinianis oppositi Disputatio prima. De Libertate Christiana et Adiaphoris in genere, ubi cum primis ventilatur quaestio: Num Calvinianis in usu Adiaphororum cedere possimus ac debeamus?* (Wittenberg: Johann Gormann, 1628), fol. Cʳ: "Et hinc fit, ut ea, quae per naturam libera sunt, & manent, usu quandoque libera non sint, sed naturam pro circumstantiarum ratione mutent." Hardly more convincing is Schmedikens, *Natura et Cura Adiaphororum*, 26 with his distinction "inter Adiaphora, quae

Again, he left open how such a use of language could adequately be legitimized. The proposition that the nature of adiaphora changed according to circumstances must have stood almost beyond doubt, judging by the lack of philosophical elaboration in these authors.

This does not mean, however, that the issues at stake had been settled once and forever, or that Melanchthon's position had been forgotten. Lively debates about adiaphora took place, addressing the larger issues at stake, throughout the seventeenth century. In fact, it was only *after* the Interim debates and the Formula of Concord that separate and systematic treatments of adiaphorism began to crop up, first with Jakob Heerbrand in 1584 and then particularly in Meisner's seminal *Disputations* of 1627.[56] Three aspects of this continuing story deserve brief mention.

First of all, the tension between situative/performative and essentialist attitudes toward confessional identity showed up in the seventeenth century throughout Europe. On the one side, strongly essentialist concepts of religious truth und adiaphora can be found in several authors, for instance in the treatise of the Anglican Francis Mason from 1634.[57] Arguing in favor of monarchical rights in the Church, Mason favored a non-situative, non-circumstantial version of adiaphora. His position neither required nor allowed any resistance to changes in adiaphora, as long as the proper authority commanded them. The power of the king and his prerogative in religious matters could be, and had to be obeyed. Mason's version of adiaphorism was tailored to curtail any possibilities that might legitimize opposition to the monarch. A similar conclusion holds true for a famous German dissertation of 1695, presided over by Christian Thomasius and written by Enno Rudolph Brenneysen, the future chancellor of Eastern Frisia, entitled "The Rights of the Prince in Adiaphora."[58] By this time, however, the concept of adiaphora had changed considerably. For Brenneysen, it was less the Bible and

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spectantur vel in se, vel prout aedificationis […]. posteriori vero respectu necessaria fiunt, non quidem necessitate absoluta ac simplici, sed necessitate ordinis & mandati."

[56] Jakob Heerbrand and Martin Curbinus, *Disputatio de adiaphoris, et Calendario Gregoriano* (Tübingen, 1584). Meisner, *Collegij*.

[57] Francis Mason, *The Authority of the Church in making Canons and Constitutions concerning Things Indifferent* (Oxford, 1634), 37–39, 48.

[58] Christian Thomasius and Enno Rudolph Brenneysen, *Dissertatio Juris Publici inauguralis […] De Jure Principis circa Adiaphora* (Halle: Christopher Salfeld, 1695). For a brief account of the subsequent polemic see Ingrid Joester, "Enno Rudolph Brenneysen (1669–1734) und die ostfriesische Territorialgeschichtsschreibung: Versuch eines Beitrags zur historischen Empirie des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Univer-

more "natural religion" that guided its elaboration; this position also made it evident "that all external cult is adiaphoristic." Furthermore, Brenneysen placed adiaphorism under the influence of early enlightenment public law and political theory: "the topic pertains to the sphere of law."[59] Adiaphorism, which had always pertained to the relation between the secular and the spiritual, now provided an argument in favor of secular rule over religious issues. The theory had changed again, transformed into a centerpiece of early modern absolutist state building; it had thus moved away not only from Flacius but also from Melanchthon and Mason.

On the other hand, not only the Flacian concept of adiaphora, but also his understanding of religious commitment more generally remained influential as well.[60] The debates around Daniel Hofmann in Helmstedt from 1598 onward provide a case in point. As had been the case for Flacius, Hofmann denied that Aristotle (or the Devil) could be called truthful if he said, "God exists."[61] For Hofmann, too, theological truth was not independent of the who, when and where. From here, further traces of this position can be found in the debates around Johann Arndt throughout Germany, or later in the Pietist movement with the so-called 'second adiaphoristic debate.'

At a second level, Melanchthon's position during the Interim crisis became a famous Lutheran (*anti*)*lieu de memoire*. This holds true in particular with respect to his inherent instinct to de-escalate the conflict. Throughout the early modern period, the Melanchthonian tendency toward "indiscriminate use of Adiaphorism"[62] for the purpose of blurring confessional antagonism received severe criticism. Writing the history of this negative reception would be a rewarding task that could draw on sources from many famous authors. Balthasar Meisner, for example, knew of and feared the possibility of appeasement through

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sity of Muenster, 1963), 22–26. See also Ian Hunter, "Christian Thomasius and the Desacralization of Philosophy," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 61,4 (2000): 595–616.

[59] Both statements are in Thomasius and Brenneysen, *Dissertatio*, 1: "Secundum religionem naturalem omnis cultus externus Dei est adiaphorus," and "Thema nostrum pertinere ad JCtos. Casus conscientiae etiam ad JCtos pertinent."

[60] Robert Kolb, "Dynamics of Party Conflict in the Saxon Late Reformation: Gnesio-Lutherans vs. Philippists," *Journal of Modern History* 49 (1977): 1289–1305.

[61] Markus Friedrich, *Die Grenzen der Vernunft. Theologie, Philosophie und gelehrte Konflikte am Beispiel des Helmstedter Hofmannstreits und seiner Wirkungen auf das Luthertum um 1600* (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004).

[62] Meisner, *Collegij*, fol. Cʳ: "promiscuus Adiaphororum usus," without mentioning any names.

adiaphorism, Johann Saubert made sure to distinguish his resignation toward confessional polemics from the much-criticized adiaphorist position,[63] and Georg Schmedikens insisted as late as 1667 that adiaphorism made the Wittenbergers "give in more quickly than behooved them."[64] Lutheranism throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth century thus (re)configured its codes of orthodox religious commitment and its notion of Lutheran essentials in no small part by discussing the Interim crisis and the protagonists' behavior at the time.

Positive receptions of adiaphorism's potential for de-escalation can also be found, but adiaphorism did not become a universal founding principle in the discourse on toleration.[65] Even in the work of authors who favored confessional tolerance, adiaphorism did not necessarily play the central role that one might expect. 'Things indifferent' appear quite prominently in the work of John Locke, but adiaphora have received little further attention in the recent historiography on toleration.[66] Perhaps it was the highly ambiguous character of adiaphorism, having been used to argue both for and against state power over religion, that made other options seem more promising. Instead, from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards, the distinction between private belief and public behavior took the primary role in the discourse on dealing with religious heterogeneity.[67] Privatizing religion became a key strategy for coping with religious plurality.[68] This forward-looking dis-

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[63] Johann Saubert, *Psychopharmacum pro evangelicis & pontificiis, Seelen Artzney, für die Lutherische unnd Päbstische…* (Nürnberg: Endter, 1636), 12f.

[64] Schmedikens, *Natura et Cura Adiaphororum*, 28: "cesserunt promptius, quam decuit."

[65] William Chillingworth, *The religion of Protestants a safe vvay to salvation, or, An ansvver to a booke entitled Mercy and truth, or, Charity maintain'd by Catholiques, which pretends to prove the contrary* (Oxford, 1638), 60: "I may hold my Opinion, and do you no wrong, and you yours and do me none. Nay, we may both of us hold our Opinion, and yet do our selves no Harm; provided, the Difference be not touching any Thing necessary to Salvation."

[66] The central role is claimed by Murphy, *Conscience*, 49, n. 69. Murphy discusses adiaphorism mostly in relation to Locke; see ibid., 220f. But note the almost complete absence for instance in Mario Turchetti, *Concordia o Tolleranza? François Bauduin (1520–1573) e i 'Moyenneurs'* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1984), 544–55. See also Perez Zagorin, *How the Idea of Toleration Came to the West* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), who discusses the topic almost exclusively in connection with Locke.

[67] The seminal work is Reinhart Koselleck, *Kritik und Krise. Eine Studie zur Pathogenese der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1997). See also Bernhard Ruthman, *Die Religionsprozesse am Reichskammergericht (1555–1648): eine Analyse anhand ausgewählter Beispiele* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1998).

[68] Winfried Schulze, "Pluralisierung als Bedrohung: Toleranz als Lösung. Überlegungen zur Entstehung der Toleranz in der Frühen Neuzeit," in *Der Westfälische Friede.*

tinction left neither a need nor any real space for adiaphorism, though both perspectives could be combined. In many respects, the intellectual distinction 'private vs. public' solved the problem more generally, since it worked on a non-theological level, whereas the distinction between the religiously essential and indifferent inevitably remained itself a *theological* question.

In this context it is interesting to compare adiaphorism briefly with the almost contemporary Peace of Augsburg (1555), which established a juridical system for dealing with religious conflict. Adiaphorism went beyond this settlement insofar as it tried to establish a *theological* solution that not only banned conflict de facto, but also explained theologically why conflict over certain religious issues was unnecessary. However, it fell short at the same time, since its theological foundations could never be excluded from the debate between theological opponents.[69] The means to keep the peace (adiaphorism) and the problem to be contained (religious conflict) remained parts of the same realm (theological discourse). Only by completely restructuring the discursive field of cult, belief and conscience, and by anchoring the adiaphoristic distinction in new grounds, could adiaphorism lose its tautological character. This happened for instance when Thomasius/Brenneysen framed the question in terms of "natural religion," and thus human reason.[70] Before such a reformulation, adiaphorism could never provide a safeguard for peace that extended beyond the theologians' far-from-stable consensus on adiaphora. The juridical instruments of Augsburg, in contrast, did successfully install such a guarantee for religious peace in institutions *external* to the religious realm: law and the courts, sanctioned by secular powers.

Third, we should note that neither of the previous developments barred the theory of adiaphorism from fulfilling important functions within Lutheran theology. Besides the capital question whether the Gregorian calendar could be considered an *adiaphoron* or not, a thin but steady stream of discussions took place, mostly fuelled by specific questions

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Diplomatie – politische Zäsur – kulturelles Umfeld – Rezeptionsgeschichte, ed. Heinz Duchhardt (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1998), 115–40. Olson, *Flacius*, 91, seems to follow Flacius's negative evaluation of this trend.

[69] A similar observation in Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 344.

[70] The consequences, of course, were rather drastic, including a far reaching devaluation of *cultus* in general and a transposition of all questions of conscience to the realm of law.

that started with local issues.[71] The larger context had changed, however. In many cases, distinctions about adiaphora were now used against the Reformed, rather than against Catholics. A series of conflicts, not least the second Reformation in Sachsen-Anhalt, made the divines come back to the topic. Did images and an exorcism during baptism constitute adiaphora? Was the elevation of the host a neutral thing? What about church music and vestments?[72] All of these things were indifferent in principle, yet Lutherans maintained that the Reformed authorities could not be allowed to change them. Over and over again, Lutheran thinkers defended the Flacian position that changes were impermissible during a religious confrontation, even though they agreed that the specific actions involved were adiaphora, and thus not commanded by God. In effect, the Flacian position on adiaphora now exercised a conservative and protective thrust. Even though not all current Lutheran habits and practices were necessarily unalterable *per se*, the status quo of the Lutheran accomplishment had to be defended. Clearly, this stance depended on the dominant Flacian reading of adiaphora much more than on Melanchthon's thought.

That such conservative Flacian arguments could lead to paradox quickly became visible. Did it make sense to argue that the Pope did well in 764 to compromise with the Byzantine Church over differing calculations of Easter dates (because this was a highly adiaphoristic decision), but to argue vehemently against the Gregorian calendar? Could one possibly defend the often symbolic changes that had transformed the church's rites in the early stages of the Reformation, but disapprove of the equally symbolic abolition of the remnants of Catholic rites by the Reformed? One could, if one accepted the argument laid out above about the role of progress in determining whether a religious practice was an *adiaphoron*. One could, if one held a Flacian notion of adiaphorism, with its strong insistence on situative/performative criteria.

Thus, even if its potential for justifying toleration and appeasement were neglected, adiaphorism in its Flacian reading continued to perform an important function in Lutheran theology. It proved to be important because it allowed Lutheran theology to acknowledge the variety of appearance and structure found among the Protestant churches with-

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[71] Heerbrand and Curbinus, *Disputatio*.

[72] Joyce Irwin, "Music and the Doctrine of Adiaphora in Orthodox Lutheran Theology," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 14, 2 (1983): 157–72.

out setting loose a spiral of constant mutation and experimentation.[73] The local variety in the new Churches was in fact a difficult topic for Lutheran theologians seeking to deal adequately with the local embedding of universal truth. Adiaphorism was able to explain and evaluate such local variety. Already in Augustine's Letter 54, the theory of things indifferent helped Augustine cope with the historically developed variety of church practices.[74] Flacius used the theory in the same way in order to deal with "dissimilarity of ceremonies and some circumstances of the ministry." Existing differences in rites, habits, and details were adiaphora, not worth of serious debate.[75] The historical appearance of Lutheranism could thus be defended in its actual form, remaining religiously irrelevant in terms of salvation, but without being exposed unconditionally to the vicissitudes of public opinion or politics. Through Flacian adiaphorism, some local variation could be accepted, yet the possibility of change could be strictly curtailed. Consequently, variety became static and inconsequential, an existing fact rather than the result of a dynamic process of change. The historicity of religious cultures could be at once legitimized and impaired. However, by removing the dangers of variety, Flacian adiaphorism also lost the ability to legitimate religious change. This might have been the potential of Melanchthon's position. Although Melanchthon did not promote religious change per se, his understanding of adiaphora allowed not just variation, but also change in the name of some higher good. Melanchthon's notion of adiaphora could have served to distinguish the unchangeable essential from areas where "mutation can be tolerated."[76] Flacius, also in the name of the higher good, rejected such forms of change.[77]

My reconstruction of the debate thus suggests that Lutheranism underwent a profound process of self-evaluation around 1550. Part of this process took the form of a meta-controversy over the question what orthodoxy could and should consist of, how it was to be defined, and how religious truth should be implemented and defended. Most of

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[73] Schmedikens, *Natura et cura Adiaphororum*, 17–19. See also CRM 7: col. 383, 477f. Sdzuj, *Unvorgreifliche Bemerkungen*, 658, addresses the topic, but does not adequately differentiate the attitude toward *varietas* from the one toward *mutatio*.

[74] Jean-Paul Migne, ed. *Patrologia Latinae* (1844–1855), 33: col. 200, 202f. See however Sdzuj, *Adiaphorie*, 145f.

[75] Flacius, OLS, fol. X3^{r-v}. See also, more polemically, ibid., fol. Z5^{r-v}.

[76] E.g. CRM 7: col. 255.

[77] Flacius had a very skeptical stance toward *mutatio* in general; see OLS, fol. B4^r. Such reluctance to welcome change was widespread in early modern thought.

these ideas were implicit in other, more specific arguments, but during the post-Interim debates some of them surfaced more explicitly. The polemics of the mid-sixteenth century thus provide an excellent opportunity to grasp some of the fundamental structuring assumptions of early modern theological discourse. While quarrelling over the question of whether the Leipzig Interim contained adiaphora, and how Lutherans should react to imperial pressure, some long-lasting decisions were made concerning the shape of orthodox Lutheran religious commitment. Herein lies the deeper significance of the adiaphoristic controversy for the reconstruction of early modern understandings of orthodoxy.

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DREAMS, STANDARDS OF KNOWLEDGE AND 'ORTHODOXY' IN GERMANY IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Claire Gantet*

In the early modern period, dreams were defined as a product of the imagination appearing in the soul during nightly sleep. A dream was regarded as a set of images created while the soul remained active and fed by the humors deriving from digestion, although the body rested, cut off from the external senses which by day shaped the ideas and actions of the individual. Dreams' nighttime status distinguished them from visions, which were received by day by a waking consciousness and were less 'fleshly.' During sleep, the dream soul, withdrawn into itself, could nevertheless acquire knowledge.

This definition itself suggests some of the issues raised by the status of the dream in this period. The conception as well as the interpretation of dreams juxtaposed three frameworks, mixing considerations that were both essentialist (i.e., what is the dream, what are its causes?) and functionalist (i.e., how does the union between soul and body function?). In the sixteenth century, first of all, dreams fell into the realm of hermeneutics. Within the context of an Aristotelian science that aimed to apprehend the universal, knowledge consisted in recognizing, gathering and ordering signs. It therefore involved both establishing prognostic conjectures on the inner and hidden nature of things, and inferring specific discourses about the effects of this nature. The status of dreams in this context revolved around their relationship with divination, which was considered a method of acquiring knowledge. Divination also lay at the core of astrology and semiotic medicine. The main Arabic author of astrological treatises and dreambooks, Abû Masar, had been translated into Latin in the twelfth century, even before

translations of Aristotle appeared, and most Humanists in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries held astrology in high esteem. Second, dreams were also used in medicine in order to decipher the body and establish a diagnosis, within the context of interpreting causal links between the body, the soul and the external world. Especially in the Galenic tradition, dreams were ultimately regarded as a physiological product of the body, emanating from the four humors (blood, phlegm, yellow and black biles) as they were infused into the brain during digestion. Finally, a Christian framework overlay these antique and medieval traditions. In early modern times, dreams also belonged to a broader epistemic field. In addition to the more common states such as dreams (during the night), (waking) visions and (spiritual) ecstasy, the same field also included various sorts of diabolical effects, such as witchcraft, obsession and possession. Dreams' association with divination also explains the popularity of the genre of dreambooks in this period, and their importance in religious controversies.

Because of their role in knowledge, dreams possessed an intrinsic link to truth, or at least the quest for truth. The status and sources of truth became a particularly acute issue in the sixteenth century, when three magisterial confessions (Catholicism, Lutheranism and Calvinism) established their own churches, each of which claimed to define the truth. The main context for epistemology became confessionalization, i.e., the delimitation of 'orthodoxies' in the form of dogmatic and cultural borders between the confessions. Within Protestantism, an additional challenge required fending off radical or spiritual tendencies, some of which emphasized dreams and visions as a pathway to revelation and an indicator of a direct relationship with the divine without any ecclesiastical or political mediation. Here lay the potential danger of the dream – or rather of the interpreter of dreams, placed in an intermediate position between the living and the dead, between mankind and God. The power of truth, as mediated in dreams, potentially amplified the authority of the mediating instance, making it a potential rival to the new ecclesiastical institutions.

In both senses, therefore – as source of knowledge and as means of divine inspiration without clerical control – dreams provoked central issues in the debate over the definition of standards of faith and of knowledge. I will outline in this article the shifting status of dreams during the confessional era, as truth came to be defined no longer in relation to signs, but rather in terms of facts, a process that paralleled

the evolution from vague rejections of 'heterodoxy' to precise defini-
tions of 'unorthodoxy' and 'orthodoxy.' I will argue that the competing
efforts to legitimate confessional orthodoxy during the sixteenth century
unavoidably generated accompanying quests for appropriately defined
standards of knowledge.

Dreams, 'heterodoxy' and knowledge

The debate on dreams and revelations, which was first clerical, then
public and finally academic, developed in distinct steps from the early
Reformation to the end of the sixteenth century. The progressive defi-
nition of confessional orthodoxies contributed to the delimitation of a
sphere of legitimate knowledge, within which dreams had to struggle
for a place.

The anthropological background and its differentiation

During the early sixteenth century, anthropological issues lay at the heart
of debates between the different actors interested in religious renewal. As
early as 1519, such issues formed the core of the controversy between
the Catholic Johann Eck and Martin Luther. Eck (like Erasmus) drew
a clear distinction between 'flesh' ('*caro*') and 'mind' ('*animus*'), the latter
denoting the human ability to know, and the consequent inclination
toward the good. In this view, the *animus* enabled the human will to
choose and direct itself toward the good. The creation of the human
being according to God's image implied that the mind, too, reflected
God's image. But the mind was permanently struggling with flesh. In
order to reconcile this topos of inner conflict with the powerful meta-
phor of God's image, Catholics developed an instrumental conception
of the body.

Luther, on the contrary, consistently rejected any clear distinction
between body and soul. He thought that the whole human being,
body *and* soul, was subject either to salvation or to damnation. For
him, the soul was not a median substance between flesh and mind,
but was simultaneously both – it had a material dimension – so that it
was the battlefield, rather than a party, in the struggle between good
and evil. Later, Huldrych Zwingli and Jean Calvin rejected the body's
power to interfere with the soul in such a fashion, even as they stressed

the omnipotence of almighty God over all living beings, including the physical body.[1] These anthropological differences explain why the emergence of radical movements that turned to bodily forms of religious enthusiasm was a particularly thorny problem for the Lutherans, who related soul and body so closely with one another.

Nevertheless confessional differences in anthropology did not determine the Reformers' diverse attitudes toward dreams. Rather, the dream as a divine and bodily medium divided not only confessions, but also individuals. Luther, who at first had no particular opinion about dreams, was soon drawn into the dispute by the attacks of those who charged him with founding a new religion through his own (diabolical) 'visions.' His disciple Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560), in contrast, was more influenced by his humanistic interest in an antique pagan heritage, notably in astrology, and was therefore more attracted to the dream. Melanchthon, like Zwingli, began recording and propagating personal dreams that could be used as confessional propaganda.[2] He also admitted the influence of the stars upon the soul (which for the Paduan physician Pietro Pomponazzi explained dream activity).[3]

Debates over dreaming became even more acute as different spiritual tendencies asserted themselves within or at the margin of Protestantism. However different these spiritual movements were, they all shared both a reverence for 'enthusiasm,' in contrast to the rites and the clergy of the established churches, and a tendency to deprecate the written word in favor of the spirit. Thomas Müntzer's reliance on dreams and

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[1] On Luther's anthropology, see Sachiko Kusukawa, *The Transformation of Natural Philosophy: The Case of Philipp Melanchthon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 75–123. On Zwingli's conception of soul and body, see W. P. Stephens, *The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 139–53. On the larger problem, see Claire Gantet, "Âme et identité dans le Saint Empire (début du XVIᵉ – début du XVIIIᵉ siècle)," *Les Temps Modernes* (forthcoming).

[2] See Melanchthon's correspondence in *Melanchthons Werke in Auswahl*, ed. Robert Stupperich, vol. VII/1–2 (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1971–1975). See also Aby Warburg, "Heidnisch-antike Weissagung in Wort und Bild zu Luthers Zeiten," in idem, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. 1, *Die Erneuerung der heidnischen Antike. Kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der europäischen Renaissance* (Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1969), 487–558.

[3] Pietro Pomponazzi, *De naturalium effectuum admirandorum causis, sive de incantationibus* (Basel, 1567 [reprint Hildesheim: Olms, 1970]), chapter XIII. Pomponazzi distinguished the *intellectus agens*, which was immortal like God, from the intellective soul, which was like the sensitive soul in that it was mortal. When separated from the body and deprived of the imagination that supplied its object, the intellective soul had to perish with the body.

visions during the Peasants' War as a new medium of revelation and a
source of authority against the established clergy played a tremendous
role in the rejection and repression of the Anabaptist movement.[4] From
then on, indeed, German discourse associated dreams with subversion.
Luther published sermons thanking God for having sent him no revela-
tion through dreams, which, he asserted, he viewed with contempt. As
early as 1524, he also designated the Anabaptist *Schwärmer*; I will come
back to this name below.

Thomas Müntzer's use of dreams actually seems relatively marginal
within the Anabaptist and spiritualist movements. What was at stake,
rather, were visionary practices associated with early Anabaptists. In
Strasbourg for example, the 'prophets' Ursula and Lienhard Jost, who
claimed to have God-sent visions, found support both from people disap-
pointed with the magisterial Reform implemented by Martin Bucer, and
from the Anabaptist Melchior Hoffman, who conferred great publicity
on them. Ursula and Lienhard Jost's visions were published in 1530
and reissued in 1532 by the printer Balthasar Beck. But after the city
joined the League of Schmalkalden in February 1531, the Strasbourg
magistrates endeavored to establish a stricter Lutheran orthodoxy by
repressing the *Schwärmer*. In June 1534, the Anabaptists either had to
take an oath of religious and social conformity or leave the city. The
main issue lay in the definition of authority. Among the Anabaptists,
and even among the simple humanists, many feared clerical usurpa-
tion of the attributes of the political magistrates. The most prominent
victims were the spiritualists Sebastian Franck, who was banished as
early as December 1531, and whose *Geschichtsbibel* was censured, and
Caspar Schwenckfeld. Both discredited the Bible as a book of dead
letters and regarded preaching as the hearing of fleshly words in order
to encourage the 'spirit' or 'inner Word,' namely unmediated illumi-

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[4] Identifying himself with the judge Gideon (Jg 6–8), who with only 300 soldiers
defeated the Midianites after having discovered the dream of an enemy, Thomas
Müntzer (1488/89–1525) raised 300 soldiers against the count of Mansfeld in May
1525. In his two theological formulations, the *Manifest of Prague* (November, 1521)
and the *Sermon to the Princes* (July 13, 1524), he included an ecclesiological dimension.
Through the realization of the prophecy of Daniel and of the Apocalypse, a "new
apostolic church" would rise up. He, Müntzer, was the new Daniel who interpreted the
dream of the pagan (implicitly, like the present princes of the Holy Roman Empire)
Nebuchadnezzar and showed him his duty as temporal chief. Müntzer's claims united
all fronts against him.

nation. For Schwenckfeld, the true Church of Christ, which gathered the few elect, was invisible – an assertion which led him to reject the territorial church and the confessionalized state.[5]

2. *Dreambooks and the control of the interpretation of dreams*

The issue at stake shifted soon from the problem of "false doctrine" (*falsche lere*, as Bucer designated it) to the definition of "bad knowledge." The first step in this epistemological shift lay in the publication of certain dreambooks.

The most widely propagated dreambook of Antiquity, and the only one to survive to the Renaissance, was the *Oneirocriticon* by Artemidor of Daldis. Its Greek version was first published in 1518 by Aldus Manutius, and translated into Latin in 1539. The Latin version was translated into German as early as 1540 in Strasbourg, before the Italian (1542), French (1546) and English (1563) translations.[6] A comparison between the Latin version and the German translation by the itinerant barber Walther Hermann Ryff (1500?–1548) shows that Ryff systematically adapted antique examples to German society of the sixteenth century, and repeatedly used the word *geyst*, found already in the motto and epitaph from the prophetic verse of Joel 2:28, throughout the book. The whole translation, in fact, shared many affinities with the thought of Melchior Hoffmann, who was then imprisoned in Strasbourg. The printer Balthasar Beck himself belonged to Hoffmann's circle, and underwent several interrogations and an imprisonment for this reason.

A reaction to the success of Ryff's dreambook came quickly, not surprisingly from the Lutheran side. The Lutheran authorities did not try to censure or ban the book (or did not succeed in doing so), but sought rather to master its message and control the market. The second edition of Ryff's translation of the dreambook in 1551 was followed by a new, revised and updated version, published in 1554 at Strasbourg by Samuel Emmel, with an expanded introduction attributed to Melanchthon. In fact, the introduction consisted of a summary and a compilation of Melanchthon's treatise *De anima*. At the same time, several comprehensive surveys of dreams appeared in print: Caspar Peucer's

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[5] See Klaus Deppermann, *Melchior Hoffman: Soziale Unruhen und apokalyptische Visionen im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979).

[6] Cf. Ludger Grenzmann, *Traumbuch Artemidori: Zur Tradition der ersten Übersetzung ins Deutsche durch W. H. Ryff* (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1980), 11–12.

Commentarius, de praecipuis divinationum generibus, in quo a prophetiis, authoritate divina traditis…(first edition Wittenberg, 1553) and Girolamo Cardano, *Somniorvm Synesiorvm, omnis gene ris insomnia explicantes, Libri IIII…*(Basel: Heinrich Petri, [1562]), as well as its German translation from 1563, *Traumbüch Cardani, Warhafftige / gewüsse und unbetrügliche underweisung / wie allerhandt Traum / Erscheinungen unnd Nächtliche gesicht…*(Basel: Heinrich Petri, [1563]), translated by Johann Jacob Huggelin. The demand for these dreambooks and the desire on the Lutheran side to deliver a non-heterodox interpretation of dreams was so considerable that from 1554 to 1616, one new edition of Emmel-Melanchthon's dreambook (with a practically identical text) was published every three years on average – that is, in these 62 years more than 21 editions appeared (my list is still incomplete), propagating, popularizing and perpetuating a debate that was originally clerical and erudite.

These new publications all tried to domesticate the dream. Melanchthon, like Peucer, rejected the classification of Macrobius, using instead Augustine's tripartite division of dreams into divine, diabolical or physical, which he reinterpreted by adding a fourth category, the mantic dreams aroused by the stars' influence upon the soul. Melanchthon and Peucer tried to distinguish God-sent dreams clearly from all others. Insofar as revelation from God was complete, finished and closed, God no longer communicated through dreams; consequently, the dreams of Anabaptists or spiritualists lacked any sacred status, and spiritualists who were killed or burnt for their belief were no martyrs. The Anabaptists, from this perspective, were just sectarians who deserved their death sentences in accordance to the German law.[7] Since the Peasants' War (1524–1526), the term '*Schwärmer*' had been applied to all spiritualists, and legislation had identified them with heretics.[8] In this way the Lutherans could clear themselves of any suspicion of spiritualist heresy, and consolidate their inner unity by excluding any subversive tendencies. The rejection of the dreamers was part of the process of confessionalization.

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[7] See Caspar Peucer, *Commentarius, de praecipuis divinationum generibus…*(Wittenberg, 1553); *Der Ro[e]mischen / Kayserlichen Majest[e]t…Edicta Wider die Rebelleischen Wider-Taeuffer…*(1702), 1; this recapitulated the whole legislation since 1529.

[8] Martin Luther, "Sermon on Matt. 15, on March 1, 1523," in *Weimarer Ausgabe*, 11: 42, lines 24–31. Idem, "Letter to the Princes of Saxony," (July, 1524); ibid., 15: 216, lines 12–20.

From public to academic debate

While discussions about the interpretation of dreams were being popularized through the diffusion of broadsheets, the problem of controlling such interpretations also received learned attention anchored in the universities. The universities had been critical sites since the beginning of the Reformation. Several major ones were located in territories that became Lutheran: first Wittenberg, then Leipzig, and Helmstedt. As early as 1530, Philipp Melanchthon reorganized these universities situated in Lutheran territory in order to train clerical servants for the emerging confessional states.

   The main handbooks touching on the sources of knowledge, including dreams, that were taught in Lutheran faculties of art and medicine were Melanchthon's *Commentarius de anima* (1540) and its revised edition *Liber de anima* (1553), which were reprinted fifteen times during the next fifteen years. Melanchthon's starting point in his discussion of these topics included the Lutheran rejection of any clear distinction between soul and body, the conviction that the divine was accessible only through physical objects, and the desire to tear Anabaptist doctrine to shreds. Against the "illiterate theology" of the *Schwärmer*, which Melanchthon denounced as false and methodologically unsound, he promoted the study of philosophy. Each theologian should absorb the most erudite discussions about the soul, the five external senses (sight, hearing, smell, touch, taste), learning and knowledge, as well as the will. In contrast to the Aristotelian conception of entelechy, which could be applied to all living beings, Melanchthon focused his analysis on human beings. With reference to Galen, he distinguished three functions of the soul, each of them inscribed in a specific bodily organ. The rational soul, which led voluntary movements on the basis of the five external senses, had its seat in the head; the sensitive soul, which guided the movements in accordance with the sensual appetites, was located in the heart; last, the nutritive soul, which nourished the body and let it grow, was situated in the liver. Each part of the human body – which had been created by God and deserved great respect for this reason – had a precise aim. The rational soul was composed of the intellect and the will, defined as a supreme power that had to be trained. The intellect comprised the ability to know, the capacity to recognize singulars and universals, and innate knowledge. Among the latter, Melanchthon placed "natural law" given by God, which he invoked in order to justify the death

penalty against the Anabaptists.[9] From this moment on, a Lutheran epistemic standard was defined that precisely identified the opposition and legitimated the representation of Lutheran orthodoxy.

The domestication of the dream and its academic elaboration thus served the confessionalization process. Beyond the eradication of the *Schwärmer*, Lutheran pedagogues intended to control and train the youth in the 'right' doctrine of their fathers, which they regarded as 'orthodox.' No longer was controversy driven by a simple rejection of the vague 'heterodoxy' of the 'enthusiasts,' but rather by an affirmation of standards of learning, willing and believing. Through their academic institutionalization, these discussions reached not only the dogmatic and cultural level, but also shaped standards of knowledge.

Orthodoxy and standards of truth

The issue at stake remained, as before, the definition of the truth, i.e. the relationship between knowledge and belief. An important early development consisted in a shift from theological to medical models of dissent: unorthodoxy came to be regarded as pathological belief. But what did it mean to call something a 'sick belief'? Inevitably, discussions about heterodoxy and the progressive definition of an orthodoxy both led to a more general debate over truth criteria.

Schwärmerei as pathological belief

The magisterial Reformers' negative reaction to enthusiasm should not be interpreted in terms of a simple conflict between establishment and charisma. Caspar Schwenckfeld, for example, one of the most prolix among those accused of *Schwärmerei*, was a Silesian nobleman. From the beginning, moreover, the terms *Schwärmerei* or *Enthusiasmus* were used ambiguously, referring sometimes to specific groups among the radical or spiritualist Protestants, sometimes to specific traits in their doctrine or their behavior. In his treatise *Der Widertoueufferen Ursprung* (1560), one of the central texts written against the Anabaptists, Heinrich Bullinger

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[9] See Kusukawa, *Melanchthon*, 75–123.

called them "enthusiasts," "ecstatics," "enraptured," and "enabled to
come out of themselves":

> When they awoke from their ecstatic sleep and dreams, they started to
> tell of wonderful visions that the spirit had revealed to them, and of
> what they had seen in another world […]. They then ran around like
> madmen and shouted in the streets, the day of the Lord, we announce
> to you the day of the Lord etc.[10]

Bullinger assimilated such visions and divine inspirations to the con-
vulsions of mad people. As he described the *Schwärmer* "falling to the
ground, as if they were seized by the evil,"[11] he suggested that they
were suffering from the falling sickness – the Latin version of the text
was even more explicit since it used the term "*comitialis morbus.*"[12]

What was most denounced in the spiritualists was nevertheless less
their reliance on dreams than their fascination with the *reverie*, which
some texts also called *Schwärmerei*. In contrast with the "true religion"
that was "well regulated," and in which piety "gathers itself in its lim-
its," the spiritualists lived in a "great licentiousness," "flung all that was
coming ahead about" and "fluttered about here and there," behavior
that also characterized "superstition."[13] Superstition was thus no longer
regarded, as it had been by Thomas Aquinas, as an excess of religion
(which had always raised the problem of defining the line between the
good measure and the excessive), but rather as a durable refusal of 'true
knowledge.' Furthermore, what characterized the cognitive attitude of
the spiritualists, according to the mainstream thinkers, was the image
of a swarm (*Schwarm*) in the soul.

The origins of the term *Schwärmerei* still remains obscure. I can
suggest two explanations. The first derives from medical theories. In

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[10] Heinrich Bullinger, "Wenn sy dann erwachtend von irem verzuckten schlaaff und
troum/ huobend sy an zellen wunderbare gesichten/ was inen der geyst hette geof-
fenbaret/ unnd was sy gesaehen hettind in yener waelt […]. Die lüffend dann/ den
touben lüten glych/ herumm/ und schwürend uff den gassen/ Der tag dess Herren/
etc.," in *Der Widertoeufferen ursprung* (1561 [reprint Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der DDR,
1975]), 30ʳ; quoted by Michael Heyd in his important book *"Be sober and reasonable":
The Critique of Enthusiasm in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill,
1995), 15–16.
[11] "…fielend darnider zuo der erden/ glych sam sy waere das boess wee angangen";
Bullinger, *Der Widertoeufferen*, 30ʳ.
[12] Heinrich Bullinger, *Adversus Anabaptistas Libri VI* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1560), 34ʳ.
[13] Here I am quoting Calvin, *Institution chrétienne* (Geneva: Labor & Fides, [1955]),
vol. I, XII, 1, but the theme is omnipresent in his work as well as in many Lutheran
texts.

his treatise on the divination, Caspar Peucer wrote that dreams were produced by "fluttering thoughts," like a swarm, that stung the brain.[14] My second speculation (which could overlap with the first one) is that the term may derive from interrogations of the cognitive dimension of prophecy. Calvin himself quoted Virgil and "the common opinion among the Greek and the Latin writers" – a possible trace from the antique dreambooks, in which divination was often associated with the activity of bees – according to whom "the bees had some portion of the divine spirit and have drawn some virtue from the sky."[15] In the course of time, Christian authors increasingly rejected the pantheistic connotations of such (originally positive) swarms, as did Calvin in this chapter "against the philosophical idea of a universal spirit that would support the world." A swarm was thus a complex whole of elements that "fluttered about" without order. Now, in conventional theories of the soul, a true thought was the product of direct mediation, from the external senses through the imagination to the memory, the judgment and the will. According to Erasmus, in consequence, disorder in language, such as chattering here there and everywhere (*garrulitas*), was one form of evil, for him still regarded in religious and moral terms, and not in pathological ones. In contrast, as the pathologization of dissent became more common, the chattering unorthodox came to be classed as feeble-minded, or even mentally sick.[16]

The transformation began in the 1540's. "I ask you, how detestable is this madness, that a man finding God a hundred times in his body and in his soul, under cover of the good which has been given him, takes the opportunity to deny God!"[17] wrote Calvin about the Anabaptists. The Lutheran Peucer, in his *Commentarius* of 1553, put the superstitious into the category of the "deranged," that is, "men fallen from grace through sin." The devil attacked the soul, more than the body,

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[14] See Caspar Peucer, *Commentarivs*, chapter X.

[15] Calvin, *Institution chrétienne*, I, V, 5: "Contre l'idée philosophique d'un esprit universel qui soutiendrait le monde": "Car voilà comment l'expose ailleurs Virgile, duquel j'ai récité les mots, voire suivant l'opinion recue communément entre les Grecs et Latins: c'est que les abeilles ont quelque portion d'esprit divin…"

[16] As early as the sixteenth century madness was regarded as a disease. See Erik H. C. Midelfort, *Mad Princes of Renaissance Germany* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994).

[17] "Je vous prie, combien est détestable cette forcenerie, que l'homme remontant en son corps et en son âme Dieu cent fois, sous couverture de l'excellence qui lui est donnée, prenne occasion de nier Dieu!" in Calvin, *Institution chrétienne*, I, V, 4.

by "sending illusions of false doctrines, idolatries and superstitions."[18] Such a diabolical-pathological model seemed all the more suitable to Peucer since it also brought to mind the idea of contagiousness and infectiousness. The danger of the unorthodox thus lay less in the content of their doctrines than, first, in their public expression of their convictions (with the attendant risks of contamination), and second, in the fact that, if enthusiasm was a mental illness sent by the devil because of humankind's sins, then many people were likely to be affected. In particular, melancholic and female bodies (with their cold and moist humors), and more generally the imagination as a whole, were regarded as malleable substances that could easily be invested by the devil.

As a background hypothesis, I suggest that behind the spread of this medicalized interpretation of the devil's influence over the imagination lay, at least in part, the process of confessionalization. Even as several heresies were progressively asserting themselves first as confessions, later as churches, the categories of the orthodox and of the unorthodox or heterodox were taking on new definitions. More than doctrinal criteria, the principle of adherence to a well-defined religious group was becoming a more important ground for certainty. The education of children thus became a major concern. In fact, the core of Peucer's treatise was devoted to a physiological analysis of children's imagination. "True doctrine," he wrote, was presented in the form of "pictures" to the brain, which transmitted them to the understanding, which in turn drove the will. An ill-bred understanding, however, could not tell truth from falsehood and therefore delivered extravagant discourses; and when the will went so far astray, extravagance became a habit and an inclination.[19] Significantly, the *Schwärmer* were also often accused of using amazing terms such as might astonish the ignorant, rather than teaching the docile.

The deep concerns that *reverie/Schwärmerei* raised among magisterial Reformers thus contributed to redefining the relationship between knowledge and belief. The common people who were likely to be attracted through the contagious madness of the 'unorthodox' *Schwärmer* were described as *credulous* persons, the superstitious redefined as *ignorant* and *timorous*.[20] All confessions emphasized the role of the education,

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[18] Peucer, *Commentarius*, I, 1.
[19] Peucer, *Commentarius*, II, V.
[20] Cf. Ludouicus Milich, *Der Zauber Teuffel*…(Frankfurt a.M., 1563).

and superstition was ascribed (at least by the Protestants) primarily to ignorance; consequently, participation in knowledge, which was defined by a social elite, tended to become a criterion of social hierarchy. One might then ask whether the perpetuation or even recrudescence of visionaries in the seventeenth century was not in a sense an expression of anti-intellectualism linked to the socially discriminating status that authoritative knowledge had taken on.[21]

Prophecy and authorization

The specific problems that the orthodox faced included not only the question of what the *Schwärmer* said, but also what their authorization might be for whatever they were saying. Were new revelations legitimate? Already in 1522, Luther expressed his reservations about the new 'prophets.' In his lectures on Deuteronomy in 1525, he asserted the necessity of external signs, in order to guarantee the authenticity of any extraordinary act performed by new prophets.

The main issue involved what was meant by prophesying. The Protestant theologians in particular endeavored to domesticate prophecy. In addition to their theological assumptions about the transcendence of God and the consequent separation of divine dreams from all others, they also redefined prophecy in order to adapt it to their dogmatic argumentation. While they did acknowledge that some prophets presently existed (e.g. Luther or Calvin), they insisted that these exceptional men possessed an eloquent prophetic word rather than a visionary one.[22] That is, they no longer viewed prophecy as predicting the future or talking under extraordinary divine inspiration, but rather as preaching or expounding Scripture. Beyond the social issues that confessionalization brought (since prophecy could not flourish without the right to preach, a right tightly controlled by the established hierarchies), an epistemological element may have been at stake in this redefinition, too. In this transformation lay the beginnings of a new definition of knowledge. These post-Reformation thinkers no longer regarded knowledge as Aristotle had: as something produced when images of things

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[21] In this direction, see Michel de Certeau, *La Fable mystique, XVIe–XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1982).

[22] See Olivier Millet, "Éloquence des prophètes bibliques et prédication inspirée: la 'prophétie' réformée au XVIe siècle," in *Prophètes et prophéties au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Presses de l'ENS, 1998), 65–82.

were transmitted by the senses through the imagination to the intellect, where they might progressively enhance written discourse as well as the operation of judgment. Rather, knowledge was redefined in terms of a developing discourse, thus detaching it from the imagination and entirely undercutting its connection with divination.

Melancholy, imagination and heterodoxy

The link between enthusiasm and melancholy provides another way of capturing the transformation that was taking place. The idea of such a link was anything but new, since it went back to Plato's notion of frenzy (*furor* or *mania*). But whereas this linkage had been established by physicians for the purpose of diagnosis by the end of the sixteenth century, transferring this kind of medical argumentation into the sphere of confessional controversy gave it a quite different significance.[23] The controversy over spiritualist movements not only sharpened general interest in dreams and visions, but also recast the specific notions involved. At stake was the precise role of the imagination in knowledge and belief. In the Aristotelian tradition, as we have seen, knowledge emerged through receiving information from the five external senses and conveying them to the three internal senses (first imagination, then memory, last intellect), where it was identified and judged.[24] Imagination thus played a major role in cognition.

The most active *Schwärmer* were learned men who, like mystics, developed a specific conception of soul, body and imagination that built on such concepts. What Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520–1575) rejected in Caspar Schwenckfeld, for example, was not only his subversive hermeneutics but also his anthropology and his epistemology. Schwenckfeld distinguished in human beings a "rational" or an "inner" part (heart, soul and conscience), as well as a non-rational part, which in turn consisted of vegetative soul, sensitive soul and motion. According to Schwenckfeld, the Bible appealed only to the five external senses and thus to the body; in contrast, only solely inner revelations through dreams and visions could truly reach the heart, the soul and the conscience. Flacius rejected in this conception both the negation of God's

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[23] On enthusiasm and melancholy in the intellectual tradition up to the seventeenth century, see Heyd, "*Be Sober*", 45–64.

[24] See the classic study by Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972).

anthropomorphism (God in the Bible had spoken with a perceptible, outer voice), and the negation of the intermediary status between the five external senses and the three inner senses that the Aristotelian tradition attributed to the imagination.[25]

But Flacius went further, using the word 'dream' in a metaphorical and polemical sense in order to denigrate Schwenckfeld's assertions. In the course of the controversy between the two men, the word 'dream' increasingly shifted away from its traditional Aristotelian meaning, becoming instead a synonym for madness. Imagination, too, if it was viewed as synonym of the dream, could no longer function as an intermediate faculty between the five external senses and the three inner senses, becoming instead as an internal space that did not necessarily refer to reality. In the course of this influential debate, therefore, imagination began losing its role in cognition.

Two competing interpretations thus developed for investigating this internal space. Those who addressed the *Schwärmers*' deviance in terms of a melancholy pathology tended to stress their intercourse with the devil. But against the theologians who, like Heinrich Bullinger und Caspar Peucer, attributed heterodoxy to the devil – a move that rescued the authority of the theologians –, other learned men investigated the *Schwärmers*' clouded souls. Such debates about the role and nature of the imagination in defining standards of faith aroused a larger debate on the respective delimitations of the spheres of the natural, the preternatural and the supernatural,[26] as well as of the realms of reality and imagination. In this latter debate, the most famous players were Johann Wier or Weyer (1515–1588) and Jean Bodin (1529–1596).[27]

Historians have long presented the physician of Duke Wilhelm of Jülich-Cleves-Berg as a champion of modernity on the grounds that he denied the reality of the witches' Sabbath, which he considered the result of dreams or of a melancholy madness inspired by the devil. His

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[25] The most interesting texts by Flacius are Matthias Flacius Illyricus, *Gründtliche verlegung etlicher newer Donatistischer schrifften des Stenckfelts...*(Nürnberg: Johann vom Berg and Ulrich Newber, 1555); and *Gründliche verlegung aller schedlichen Schwermereyen des Stenckfelds...*([Magdeburg, 1557]).

[26] See Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature 1150–1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998); Lorraine Daston, *Wunder, Beweise und Tatsachen: Zur Geschichte der Rationalität*, trans. Gerhard Herrgott, Christa Krüger, and Susanne Scharnowski (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2001), 147–63.

[27] Johannes Wier, *De praestigiis daemonum, et incantationibus ac veneficiis libri V* (Basel, 1563); Jean Bodin, *De la Demonomanie des sorciers...*(Paris: Iacques du-Puys, 1587, [reprint Paris: Gutenberg Reprints, 1979]).

interpretation meant that witches, as victims of an illusion, did not need to be sentenced: only heretics, ruled by "their stubbornness of their will," had to be condemned to the stake, whereas witches were guilty only of an "error in their mind." In opposition to this position, Bodin, in conformity with his definition of absolutism, promoted the eradication of witches. But if these two learned men took different stances on this notorious issue, they nevertheless belonged to the same intellectual world.[28]

Weyer did not deny the existence of the devil, but restricted his influence to the soul. He mistrusted the "unlearned doctors" who ascribed supernatural causes to phenomena they could not explain. Instead, Weyer's medical understanding of possession allowed him to suggest a new concept of the imagination: more than an intermediary faculty between outer and inner senses, imagination went "beyond the senses because it feigns images," thus generating "fictions" that Weyer contrasted with reality. The characteristic feature of the dream, for Weyer, was that one could upon waking distinguish fiction from reality, a distinction that the "frenetics" could no longer make.[29] He thus proposed a connection among imagination, fiction, feigned beliefs and lies. Whereas exorcism and "deceitful practices" of healing were false, he presented science as manifest and verifiable knowledge.

Bodin, who put in the appendix to his *Demonomanie* a "Refutation of the opinions of Johann Weyer," admittedly started from an opposite point of view. Unlike "Weyer who wants to deal with metaphysics as a physician," Bodin distinguished three levels of reality: the realm of physical phenomena caused by natural laws, the sphere of political science (all human actions, provoked by human will and physical laws), and the divine order containing all unexplainable facts, which were a matter for theology and sacred history. Excusing diabolical sorcery either as a natural (madness) or an artificial (drugs, unguents) disorder, or as a defect of the imagination (which saved the existence of the devil),

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[28] On this topic, see Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Hartmut Lehmann and Otto Ulbricht, eds., *Vom Unfug des Hexen-Processes: Gegner der Hexenverfolgungen von Johann Weyer bis Friedrich Spee* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1992); and André Petitat, "Un système de preuve empirico-métaphysique: Jean Bodin et la sorcellerie démoniaque," *Revue européenne des sciences sociales* 30/93 (1992): 39–78.

[29] See Wier, *De praestigiis Dæmonvm…* citing here from the 1586 edition, (Frankfurt a.M.: Nicolaus Basseus, 1586, [reprint Darmstadt: Josef Gotthard Bläschke, 1970]), 134ᵛ.

led to a confusion of the realms and the skills appropriate to them. It ascribed to the devil things that did not fall within his abilities, and it weakened the state. Bodin encompassed in the diabolical all the magical practices that defied the church as well as the state; thus, like Weyer, he rejected the occult.

Weyer and Bodin thus embodied two partially antagonistic responses to a major shift, according to which reality was no longer regarded as a set of signs, whether astral, godly, diabolical or physiological, but rather as an assemblage of facts. Whereas Weyer limited supernatural participation in this order to the imagination, Bodin connected it to the devil. But both took part in the process of dualistic classification of the world.

In the course of the sixteenth century, theologians increasingly drew on secular knowledge as a helpful tool in preaching the word of God. In other words, the type of orthodoxy that emerged during the confessional era could draw on evidence such as medical arguments, which seemed more suitable for excluding the tendencies considered heterodox. Evolution in this direction was nevertheless neither linear nor complete: this was an era rich in paradoxes. Admittedly, the magisterial Reformers insisted that Revelation was complete and closed. But did this also mean that all prophecy had ended, or did certain persons still possess a prophetic gift? What kind of power might such prophets have, and who could recognize them? More practically, how was it possible to determine whether a dream had been aroused by God, by the devil, or by the imagination? Above all, the denigration of the 'unorthodox' on account of their waking daydreams (*Schwärmerei, reveries*) or their confusion of dream and reality was highly paradoxical. A daydream or a dream, indeed, cannot be refuted. The theological controversy seemed to demonstrate incapacity to solve the epistemological issues raised by the unorthodox.

The main consequence of this discussion, however, was a shift concerning the definition of reality. During the confessional controversies, imagination came to be regarded as an inner space deprived of any direct link to reality, and progressively lost its connection with cognition; in consequence, knowing lost its link to divination, coming to be viewed as the result of the activity of understanding. This major epistemological shift at the end of the sixteenth century, namely the turn by which reality was no longer regarded as a set of signs but of facts, seems directly related to the process of confessionalization and the related problem of defining orthodoxies and diversities. By the

seventeenth century, *Schwärmerei* was defined in relationship not to mad-
ness, but to truth and science. The ambivalence of the accompanying
rejection of enthusiasm is exemplified by the fact that most important
philosophers and doctors (like Christian Thomasius, Georg Ernst Stahl,
Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz) were in close contact with *Schwärmer*. In
other words, the pathologization of heterodoxy had not led to a defini-
tive and hermetic rigidity, and the dream retained a certain power of
truth. In spite of the negative connotations of its foils, the definition
of orthodoxy kept some flexibility.

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PART TWO

PRACTICES

RELIGIOUS, CONFESSIONAL AND CULTURAL CONFLICTS AMONG NEIGHBORS: OBSERVATIONS ON THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

Thomas Kaufmann

It is a commonplace today, when discussing the importance and the role of Christianity in pre-modern European societies, to say that religion was omnipresent, that religion was all encompassing or that religion made all embracing claims on society.[1] Modern scholarship tends to view religion as a reality that deeply informed, or at least influenced, every aspect of life for the individual and for society, including public and private life, political decisions, scientific knowledge, relations between states and relationships among individuals. Equally, in this view, it influenced legal, emotional, cognitive and poetic expressions about life and culture. Given the complexity, the all-encompassing claims and the pervasiveness of Christian religion in early modern confessional societies, there can thus be little doubt that religion in itself did not advance tolerance *or* intolerance, humanity *or* inhumanity, freedom *or* bondage. Just as wars might be carried out, peace treaties concluded, murders committed, reconciliation brought about, and intolerance or tolerance practiced in the name and interest of Christianity, so also could one practice respect or lack of respect in the name and in the interest of Christianity.[2]

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[1] For the history of the term "religion," see Ernst Feil, *Religio: Die Geschichte eines neuzeitlichen Grundbegriffs vom Frühchristentum bis zur Reformation*, 3 vols., (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986–2001); for a general survey "Religion," in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie* (Basel: Schwabe, 1971–), 8: 632–713; "Religion," in *Theologische Real-Enzyklopädie* (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1976–), 28: 513–59.

[2] Cf. Kaspar von Greyerz, *Religion und Kultur: Europa 1500–1800* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), esp. 13ff.; and my review: "Religion und Kultur – Überlegungen aus der Sicht eines Kirchenhistorikers," *Archive for Reformation History* 93 (2002): 397–405; for a detailled analysis of religion in the late middle ages and early modern period see Wolfgang Reinhard, *Lebensformen Europas: Eine historische Kulturanthropologie* (Munich: Beck, 2004), p. 551ff.

This ambiguity might be resolved by drawing up a balance sheet, drawing on the tradition of Max Weber, Ernst Troeltsch or Georg Jellineck, and focusing on the modernizing potential of Protestant dissent within a general history of toleration that culminates with the founding fathers of the United States. Such a view, however, has the great weakness that it does not characterize this entire age comprehensively. Instead, it portions out tolerance and intolerance to different groups across the period: over here, tolerance for the pioneers on the margins of European religious culture, and over there, intolerance from the confessional churches. I do not want to go down this path. I make this decision not out of disrespect for the dissenters, but out of the sober realization that the basic features of early modern religious history took shape rather through the fundamental structures of the religion rather than through the individualists and small groups, which were often condemned to being ineffective in their own time.

Let me pursue this question further: did early modern Christianity advance or hinder the development of a culture of respect? The term 'culture of respect' offers certain possibilities when it is properly adapted as an object of historical inquiry, because 'respect' – in addition to the ethical meaning of the word, which still predominates today – can also be grasped in its original Latin meaning as a term implying cognitive theoretical understanding.[3] The Latin word *respicere* encompasses both cognitive and behavioral aspects in its various meanings: to look after something or someone, to look at, or to comment, also, to watch out for something or someone, to consider, to look after something or even to care for something. When applied to the complex of meanings concerning *respicere*, the question "did religion establish or disrupt a culture of respect in the early modern period?" leads to answers not only about the religious and culturally marginal groups of European history, but also about the influential confessional churches. It was precisely the religious confessional contradictions within the Old Empire that both advanced and demanded a certain *respicere* – that is, a consideration both for one's own and the other's claims, precise consideration about

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[3] See Vincentius de Vit, *Totius Latinitatis Lexikon, opera et studio Aegidii Forcellini* (Prato: Typis Aldinianis, 1858–75), 5: 205, s. v. "respicio," for an intransitive use of *respicere*. For the expression "*respicere* ad Dei cultum," du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* (reprint: Graz, Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1954), 6: 149. For 'respectus' in the sense of 'recognition' in legal matterss in middle Latin, J. F. Niemeyer and C. van die Kieft, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon minus, überarbeitet von J. W. J. Burgers* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 2: 1193.

one's own confessional doctrine and the other's, a clear understanding of one's own and the other's strengths and weaknesses – because one's confessional opponent compelled respect. He was not one to be defeated either militarily or politically.[4]

The following discussion distinguishes three aspects of a specifically early modern concept of *respicere* from each other as they relate to the Christian religion. These, in turn, correspond to three different forms of experiencing the other or the foreigner according to the three dimensions of distance, closeness or neighborhood:

1. The 'distant others,' or the view on Islam.
2. The 'closely living others,' or Europe's Jews.
3. The 'closest other': members of other religious confessions in the neighborhood.

I

For the year 1539, the following report appears in a Magdeburg chronicle: "In this year there came to Magdeburg a Turk with a camel… and the Turk's wife came here in the weeks that followed and the child was baptized on St. John's Day."[5] The source mentions in addition that the Duke of Cleve made a present of the camel to the Saxon Duke Georg Heinrich. Such an appearance in a central German town of the distant other, an archenemy of Christianity, the most concrete and dramatic threat to Europe, was anything but a commonplace occurrence. To be sure, contemporary prints made the appearance of this scourge of God widely known. One also recognized camels from their pictures. But actually to see a living representative of this scourge was so sensational that it was recorded in the chronicle. The specific details, in particular the gift of the camel, pointed to the fact that the Turk was a prisoner of war. Up close, in one's own environs, such an

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[4] For some recent contributions to the confessionalization debate cf. Jean-Marie Valentin and Patrice Veit, eds., *La confessionalisation dans le Saint Empire XVIe–XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Didier Erudition, 2002); also Kaspar von Greyerz et al., eds., *Interkonfessionalität – Transkonfessionalität – binnenkonfessionelle Pluralität. Neue Forschungen zur Konfessionalisierungsthese* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2003).

[5] Cf. *Die Chroniken der niedersächsischen Städte: Magdeburg*, vol. 2, (*Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, vol. 27), (reprint: Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), 113; for Magdeburg in the Reformation era cf. Thomas Kaufmann, *Das Ende der Reformation. Magdeburgs 'Herrgotts Kanzlei' 1548–1551/2* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 13–38. On a baptism of a Turk in Halle in 1573, see Emil Sehling, *Die Evangelische Kirchenordnungen des XIV. Jahrhunderts* (Various cities and publishers, 1902–), 2: 432.

encounter with the distant other, whose military strength created fear and terror and who normally engendered deep revulsion and respect from a distance, became a noteworthy curiosity, to be sure, but a harmless one. The religious and cultural domestication of the other in the form of baptizing the Turkish child defused the threat of his foreignness and confirmed the sustaining power of one's own model of life. The unusual nature of this event, which by itself made it worthy of telling and remembering, drew particular interest. Because the Turk was a distant other whose threat invoked a key mental schema of the age, the lone camel rider in Magdeburg became part of an intensive operation of *respicere*. The curious *respicere* directed at the Magdeburg Turk and the anxious respect accorded the archenemy of Christianity were directly connected to each other. In this way, the little scene mirrored the highly ambivalent perception and interpretation of the Turks that shaped the late medieval and certainly the Reformation-era picture of the Turk.

The Reformation-era literature about the Turks, which flourished after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 and was closely connected to continuously updated reports on military events, possessed a specific tendency to bring ambivalent features of the picture of the Turk to the fore.[6] On the one hand, the Turk embodied force, cruelty and barbarism. The carefully noted cultural achievements of the Turks – mentioned by Luther, for example[7] – appeared precisely under this decidedly negative rubric. On the other hand, the Turk fulfilled a sacred role in history,

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[6] Cf. Erich Meuthen, "Der Fall von Konstantinopel und der lateinische Westen," *Historische Zeitschrift* 327 (1983): 1–36.

[7] For Luther's view of the Turks cf. Martin Brecht, "Luther und die Türken," in Bodo Guthmüller and Wilhelm Kühlmann, eds., *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000), 9–27; Rudolf Mau, "Luthers Stellung zu den Türken," in Helmar Junghans, ed., *Leben und Werk Martin Luthers von 1526 bis 1546*, 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 1: 647–62 and 2: 956–66; Günther Vogler, "Luthers Geschichtsauffassung im Spiegel seines Türkenbildes," in Leo Stern and Max Steinmetz, eds., *450 Jahre Reformation* (Berlin: VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1967), 118–27; Hartmut Bobzin, "Martin Luthers Beitrag zu Kenntnis und Kritik des Islam," *Neue Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie* 27 (1985): 262–89; idem, "'Aber itzt...hab ich den Alcoran gesehen Latinisch...'" Gedanken Martin Luthers zum Islam," in Hans Medick and Peer Schmidt, eds., *Luther zwischen den Kulturen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 260–76; for Melanchthon and Islam cf. Manfred Köhler, *Melanchthon und der Islam. Ein Beitrag zur Klärung des Verhältnisses zwischen Christentum und Fremdreligionen in der Reformationszeit* (Leipzig: L. Klotz, 1938); for general orientation see Marco Frenschkowski, "Die Reformation und der Islam. Die Wahrnehmung des Islam zwischen Apokalyptik und Politik in der Reformation," *Blätter für Pfälzische Kirchengeschichte und religiöse Volkskunde* 70 (2003): 311–32.

that is, his life-threatening assault on Christianity was given an ultimate historical-theological meaning.

The first, traditional view was widely held. The view that the Turks "are all the Devil's own and are possessed by the Devil like their lord, Muhammad, and the Turkish emperor himself,"[8] so wrote Luther, represented a self-evident conviction among almost all Protestant authors. The demonstration they offered for the demonic barbarism of the Turks speaks for itself: out of pure blood lust, they claimed, the Turks murdered children, publicly displayed the bodies of impaled children, raped virgins and cut open the bellies of pregnant women, deported and sold men like dogs or cattle, and burned and pillaged like the devil himself. It is characteristic for Luther and other Protestant authors that the cultural fascination of the Ottomans, to which pre-Reformation texts had already drawn attention, lay not in something outside of the Turks' relationship with the Devil, but rather precisely in this specific expression of Satanic diabolism. In this way, they transformed events that were much closer to reality: that Christians were deported to Turkey or that they lived under Turkish occupation, and that through this the maintenance of their Christian faith was threatened. The religious threat that came from Islam consisted precisely in its highly respectable cultural forms of presentation and in the emphatically ethical quality of its spiritual representatives: "Among the other offenses of the Turks, the most outstanding is their priests or clerics live such a serious, brave and rigorous life, that one might take them for angels and not for men, which is a joke on all of our clerics and monks in the papacy."[9] Religious ecstasies and other spectacular "wondrous signs" among the Turks "anger and move"[10] Christians, as did the Turks' frequent and disciplined prayers, accompanied "with such decorum, stillness and beautiful bodily gestures,"[11] of a kind that were in "our churches nowhere to be found."[12] Precisely the comparison of religion and culture that the Christians living under Turkish domination experienced proved the superiority of the Turkish religion over Christianity,

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[8] Luther, *Heerpredigt wider den Türken* (1529), in WA 30 II: 160–97, here 173.

[9] "Unter andern ergernissen bey den Türcken ist wol das fürnemeste, Das yhre priester odder geistlichen solch ein ernst, dapffer, strenge leben füren, das man sie möchte für Engel und nicht für menschen ansehen, das mit allen unsern geistlichen und mönchen ym Bapsttum ein schertz ist gegen sie." WA 30 II: 187.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

at least as far as related to outward conduct, ethos and social discipline.
Whether in regard to their culture of pilgrimages or their willingness
to endure religious martyrdom, their ascetic lives or their architectural
achievements, military and social discipline and the regulation of the
relationships between the sexes: across a broad front an impressive
Turkish culture required the "ill informed and weak Christian"[13] to call
into question his own religion, "with consternation."[14]

   Such respect for Turkish culture, which to Luther represented an
almost perfectly realized form of the religiously oriented life in regard
to lawfulness, service and discipline, was amplified by the fact that the
Turk forced no one to deny Christ and convert to the Muslim faith.
In this, the Turks differed from the Pope, living under whose tutelage
was worse for the just Christian than life under the Turk.[15] In the face
of the 'respectable' religious and cultural superiority of the Turks, the
danger loomed of an insidious alienation from Christianity. Yet this
danger also highlighted the necessity of the *proprium christianum* for a
decisive strategy of survival. Precisely the concentration on that which
formed Christians' own self-identity, the confession of Christ as the Son
of God, revealed the diabolism hidden beneath the beautiful appear-
ance of Turkish culture. To live in awareness of this article of faith
was the "iron ration" that ensured the spiritual survival of prisoners
or Christians living under Turkish domination, since it allowed them
to turn aside the attractive allure of Islamic culture:

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   [13] Ibid., 190.
   [14] Ibid.
   [15] Ibid., 195. Providing proof of the superiority of the Turkish over the papist
religion, for example with regard to its ceremonial practices, was a significant motive
for Luther's new edition in 1530 of the *Libellus de ritu et moribus Turcarum* by George
of Hungary, a young Christian who had been seized or sold out of Siebenburgen.
George gained his freedom around 1481 and returned to Rome, together with some
Turks who had allowed themselves to be baptized. Cf. WA 30 II, 198ff. and WA 30
II: 206–207. On George see his *Tractatus de Moribus, Conditionibus et Nequicia Turcorum:
Traktat über die Sitten, die Lebensverhältnisse und die Arglist der Türken*, ed. Reinhard Klockow,
2nd ed. (Cologne: Böhlau, 1993); and Gert Melville, "Die Wahrnehmung des eigenen
und die Wirklichkeit des Fremden. Über frühe Augenzeugenberichte des osmanischen
Reiches," in Franz-Reiner Erkens, ed., *Europa und die Osmanische Expansion im ausgehen-
den Mittelalter* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1997), 79–101. George's report on his
imprisonment offered nuanced views into Turkish elite culture (which he presented as
a deceptive illusion), which exercised considerable influence on Protestant literature on
the Turks. For example, during the conflicts over the 1548 Augsburg Interim, Matthias
Flacius Illyricus polemically developed the theme that life under the Pope was more
awful than under the Turks by publishing a report from a Hungarian pastor in the
Turkish-occupied territories. See Kaufmann, *Ende*, 286ff.

> Thus, should you come to Turkey, where you can have no preacher nor books, then you should remind yourself of the Our Father and the Ten Commandments, whether at bedtime or while you work, whether in words or in your thoughts; and when you come to this [scl. the second] article, then squeeze one finger with your thumb or give yourself some other sign with your hand or your foot, in order that you may well remember this article and make it memorable; and do it in particular where you may see some Turkish outrage or face some temptation.[16]

This Christian will to preserve oneself in a personally and physically perceptible way represented in its most irreducible, individualized form the Reformation's denial of respect for the otherwise praiseworthy culture of Islam.

The second, eschatological aspect of the image of the Turk, which was central for Protestant thinkers, contributed to the fact that it was Protestant authors in particular who made an effort to spread awareness about Islam and Turkish culture. This second aspect of the image concerned the theology of history (*Geschichtstheologie*). In Wittenberg in the wake of the Turkish threat of the year 1529, one discovered that Daniel 7 could be applied to the Turkish war. Next to the first papal Anti-Christ stood the Turk, the second Anti-Christ; in consequence, what was now left of the Roman Empire gained an eschatological purpose from God, to halt the decline of the Empire.[17] The apocalyptic

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[16] "Darumb, wo du ynn die Türckey komest, da du keine prediger noch bücher haben kanst, da erzele bey dir selbs, es sey ym bette odder ynn der erbeit, es sey mit worten odder gedancken, dein Vater unser, den Glauben und die Zehn Gebot, und wenn du auff diesen artickel [sc. den zweiten] kömpst, so drucke mit dem daumen auff einen finger odder gib dir sonst etwa ein zeichen mit der hand odder fuss, auff das du disen artickel dir wol einbildest und mercklich machest, Und sonderlich, wo du etwa wirst ein Turckisch ergernis sehen odder anfechtung haben." WA 30 II, 186; cf. also p. 187, where the suggestion also appears, drawn from pedagogical memory techniques, to confront any temptation arising from the orderliness of Islamic religious services by "pressing one's thumb against a finger" and thinking of Christ.

[17] For further detail, also in regard to the differences between Luther and Jonas on the one hand, Melanchthon on the other, Arno Seifert, *Der Rückzug der biblischen Prophetie von der neueren Geschichte* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1990), 11ff. See also WA 30 II, 207. On the context within Luther's own biography, Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther*, Vol. 2: *Ordnung und Abgrenzung der Reformation 1521–1532* (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1986), 350ff. On the significance of the Franciscan Johannes Hilten's prophecies during the Wittenberger debate over what position to take with regard to the Turks, see Thomas Kaufmann, "1600. Deutungen der Jahrhundertwende im deutschen Luthertum," in Manfred Jakubowski-Tiessen et al., eds., *Jahrhundertwenden* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 73–128, here 97–99 and note 99; and Hans Peter Hasse, "Melanchthon und die 'Alba amicorum': Melanchthons Theologie im Spiegel seiner Bucheintragungen'" in Günter Frank and Johanna Loehr, eds., *Der Theologe Melanchthon* (Sigmaringen: Jan

view of the Turk propagated from Wittenberg circulated in the certainty
that the Holy Writ, in particular the Book of Daniel, was concerned
with the Turks and allowed one to unlock the meaning of contem-
porary experience. In this way, an intensive engagement with Islam
appeared as a commandment of Christian reason and as a pastoral
duty. His reading the Latin translation of the Quran by Robert von
Ketton occasioned Luther's intervention in favor of the 1543 Bibliander
edition of the Quran.[18] This led him in 1542 to allow the publica-
tion of a German translation of the *Confutatio Alcorani* of Recoldus de
Montecrucis, one of the most widely distributed medieval discussions
of the Quran. Earlier, he had seen little value in this text. According
to Luther, the historical-theological meaning of the Turk as the scourge
of God, driving Christians in the Final Days to a decisive confession
of Christ, necessitated an intensive engagement with the Turk and the
foundation of his religion, the Quran. Knowledge about the Quran
became the precondition for refuting it, while the distribution of the
Quran in a language other than Arabic was the surest means of mak-
ing the Turk harmless. The study of the Quran by learned ministers
would help provide protection for Christian communities in the zones
threatened by Turkish power. The historical experience of the Turkish
threat, interpreted in the light of such prophetic promises, therefore
demanded a fundamental *respicere* of the Turk. This substantive *respicere*
was also driven Humanistic philology's recognition of the enemy of
Christianity[19] – but it was not respect in the ethical sense.

<center>II</center>

With regard to the 'other living close by,' Europe's Jews, one can dem-
onstrate during the era of the Reformation an intensive *respicere* in the

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Thorbecke, 2000), 291–330, here 321–326; and Volker Leppin, *Antichrist und Jüngster
Tag* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1999), 145ff.

[18] Cf. Hartmut Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Beirut: Franz Steiner
Verlag, 1995) 159ff; WA Br 10: 161f; Heinz Scheible, "Bibliander, Theodor," in *Die
Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*,
4th ed. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998–), 1: Cols. 1538f. Further literature: Ludwig
Hagemann, "Die erste lateinische Koranübersetzung – Mittel zur Verständigung zwi-
schen Christen und Muslimen im Mittelalter?" in Albert Zimmermann and Ingried
Craemer-Ruegenberg, eds., *Orientalische Kultur und europäisches Mittelalter* (Berlin and
New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1985), 45–58; see also Johannes Ehmann, *Recoldus de
Montecrucis Confutatio Alcorani (1300): Martin Luthers Verlegung des Alcoran (1542)* (Würzburg
and Altenberge: Echter Verlag and Oros Verlag, 1999), 20.

[19] See *D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe: Briefwechsel*, 18 vols. (Weimar:
Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1930–85) 10: 161f.

form of an intensified interest in more information, a growing effort
to gain glimpses behind the walls of the neighborhood synagogue.[20]
Such *respicere* was multi-faceted, but should not be confused with toler-
ance. The *tolerantia* allowed toward the Jews was, if anything, a *tolerantia
limitata* paid for at a high price with official letters of protection. It
depended on living arrangements characterized by thorough segrega-
tion and separation. In many ways, such limited toleration also rested,
not infrequently, on the fiscal interests of the worldly authorities who
acted against the tendencies of the population and of Protestant theo-
logians.[21] The situation of the Jews as 'the other close by' in terms of
living conditions and historical perceptions was therefore fundamentally
different from that of the Turks as the 'distant other.' Jews in Western
Europe were visibly present in the world where Christians lived. As
the newest research rightly emphasizes, contacts with Christians were
not restricted to economic relationships, but instead included partial
integration into the social environment of the neighborhood, many
dramatic conflicts notwithstanding. The constellation of individual
conflicts we can discern took shape through a certain participation in
the life of the community. A Jew in the County of Hanau attracted
attention in 1559, for example, when in a conversation with a guard,
a messenger and a baker, he said that the Christian were great fools
when they believed that Jesus was born of a virgin. He went too far for
his interlocutors, however, with the provocative statement that he, too,
"wanted to lie with a virgin, have a child by her and then say after-
wards, the child is Christ."[22] He said all of this without consequences
at the time. It was only five years later, on the basis of an anonymous
denunciation to the authorities, that the Jew was brought to trial. He
was condemned to death, though he escaped the judgment by fleeing.
Such participation also motivated efforts by Christian authorities and
Protestant theologians to restrict the influence of Jewish physicians,
pointing toward a mode of restriction within established contacts, since
one saw particular dangers from Jews in life-threatening situations: "to
make a patient err in his faith, to lead him away from Christ, and to
guide him toward their supposed old faith…"[23]

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[20] Rainer Walz, "Der nahe Fremde. Die Beziehungen zwischen Christen und Juden
in der Frühen Neuzeit," *Essener Unikate: Geisteswissenschaften* 6/7 (1995): 54–63.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Cited according ibid, p. 54.
[23] "…einen Patienten in seinem Glauben irig [zu] machen / von Christo ab[zu]führen /
und auff ihren vermeintlichen alten Glauben [zu] verleiten." Thus in an opinion of
the Wittenberg theological faculty from 1643: *Consilia Theologica Witebergensia, Das ist /*

At the micro-level of communication within everyday relationships between Christians and Jews, respectful cooperation could operate just as well as deadly enmity, although the latter increasingly became the rule in Protestant confessional societies. As 'the other living close by,' the Jews were routinely present, however. Ongoing learned contacts in the tradition of Reuchlin between Christian Hebraicists and learned Rabbis are documented. Such relationships could occasionally be bound up with expressions of respect and lead to positive processes of reception of rabbinical exegetics, as for example in Strasbourg in the case of Wolfgang Capito toward Josel von Rosheim.[24] As a rule, however, a deeper knowledge of Jewish theological literature did not contribute to a re-assessment of the Christian claim on divine revelation, but instead – following the example of Reuchlin – served at most as an apologetic argument that discovered truths in Jewish texts that either remained hidden to the Jews themselves, or that they denied. Yet the 'other who lived nearby' was different from the 'distant other,' the Jew was different from the Turk, in that Jewish religious traditions could be made theologically interesting and relevant for Christian apologetics. This was possible since one had at one's disposal the same holy texts, even if Christians argued that the Jews misunderstood them; in addition, Jewish scholars, bearers of the tradition of the biblical language, were irreplaceable master teachers for the development of Christian Hebrew studies. The few examples of religious respect toward Judaism that one encounters in the Reformation era, in the "prophets of Worms," for example, or in the Anabaptist millenarianism of the

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Wittenbergische Geistliche Rathschläge (Frankfurt a.M.: Johann A. Endter, Wolfgang d. J. Erben, 1664) [henceforth cited as CTW], 1057–1160, here 1058. See also Robert Jütte, "Contacts at the Bedside: Jewish Physicians and their Christian Patients," in Ronnie Po Chia Hsia and Hartmut Lehmann, eds., *In and Out of the Ghetto: Jewish-gentile relations in late medieval and early modern Germany* (Washington, D.C. and New York: German Historical Institute and Cambridge University Press, 1995), 137–50.

[24] Cf. Emil Silberstein, *Conrad Pellicanus. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Studiums der hebräischen Sprache in der ersten Hälfte des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Rosenthal, 1900); and Stephen G. Burnett, "Dialogue of the Deaf: Hebrew Pedagogy and Anti-Jewish Polemic in the Sebastian Münster's *Messiahs of the Christians and the Jews* (1529/39)," *Archive for Reformation History* 91 (2000): 168–90. On Pellikan's warning to Capito about 'judaizing' tendencies, R. Gerald Hobbs, "Monitio amica: Pellican à Capiton sur le danger des lectures rabbiniques," in Marijn de Kroon and Marc Lienhard, eds., *Horizons Europeens de la Reforme en Alsace* (Strasbourg: Librairie Istra, 1980), 61–93; see also Achim Detmers, *Reformation und Judentum. Israel-Lehren und Einstellungen zum Judentum von Luther bis zum frühen Calvin* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001), 71ff, 268ff.

Swabian eccentric, Augustin Bader, may have been grounded not least in a mentality of exclusion, since being treated as an enemy of Christian society created a surprising affinity toward the neighbor who was similarly 'foreign,' the Jew.[25]

Disputes over the rights of Jews to remain in Protestant cities and territories, which were carried out with theological, socio-ethical and also ethnic arguments, often called on specific 'insights' into the corrupt nature of 'the Jews' and on the dangerous enmity of Jews toward Christians. The Protestant schema for perceiving Jews did not merely reproduce pre-Reformation anti-Jewish sentiments, but rather had its central motives, on the one hand, in a theory of the Jews' unusual obduracy and, on the other hand, in a conviction about the sacrilegious devotional practices of the Jews. When the evangelical mission to bring Christ to Jews failed, in the view of Reformation authors, this contributed significantly to their receptiveness toward reports, dressed up in the guise of eyewitness accounts, that condemned Jews as the enemies of Christ. The Reformation and Protestant conviction that the truth about the evangelical testimony of Christ, hidden by the Roman church, was being expressed for the first time in centuries, led to growing Christian expectations toward Europe's Jews. Protestant exegetes consequently viewed the Jewish 'refusal' of the Gospel as a guilty expression of obduracy.

Under these circumstances, the notable success achieved by a book of 'unveilings' written by the Jewish convert Antonius Margaritha, *Der gantz jüdische Glaub* (1530), becomes more understandable.[26] Margaritha's work

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[25] See Günther List, *Chiliastische Utopie und radikale Reformation* (Munich: Fink, 1973), 172–86; Werner O. Packull, *Mysticism and the Early South German-Austrian Anabaptist Movement 1525–1531* (Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1977), 130–38; and still Gustav Bossert, "Augustin Bader von Augsburg, der Prophet und König, und seine Genossen, nach den Prozessakten von 1530," *Archive for Reformation History* 10 (1912/13): 117–165, 209–41, and 297–349; 11 (1914): 19–64, 103–33, and 176–99.

[26] Antonius Margaritha has received considerable attention in recent research. See Thomas Kaufmann, "Die theologische Bewertung des Judentums im Protestantismus des späteren 16. Jahrhunderts (1530–1600)," *Archive for Reformation History* 91 (2000): 191–237, esp. 197ff; Peter von der Osten-Sacken, *Martin Luther und die Juden. Neu untersucht anhand von Anton Margarithas "Der gantz Jüdisch glaub" (1530/31)* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 2002), esp. 162ff. Osten-Sacken's new biographical evidence on Margaritha connects with the dissertation by Maria Diemling, "'Christliche Ethnographien' über Juden und Judentum in der Frühen Neuzeit: Die Konvertiten Victor von Carben und Anthonius Margaritha und ihre Darstellung jüdischen Lebens und jüdischer Religion," Diss. phil. Vienna, 1999. See also idem, "'Chonuko – kirchweyhe.' Der Konvertit Anthonius Margaritha schreibt 1530 über die Feier von Chanukka," *Kalonymus* 3 (2000): 1–3. In light of the

belongs among the most successful historical handbooks about the Jews of the early modern period. In many regards, only Buxtorf's *Judenschul* in the seventeenth century represented a comparable competing book.[27] To be sure, the *respicere* offered by Margaritha in his glimpse behind the curtains of the mysterious synagogue in the neighborhood rejected the most dangerous traditional accusations against Jews, including ritual murder, the desecration of the host and poisoning of wells. At the same time, using the appearance of objective knowledge – 'authentic' evidence as it were – Margaritha delivered the view that the striving of the Jews amounted to nothing more than a struggle against Christians. Margaritha pretended to 'inform' Christians and to help them to relate to the Jews without illusions. He seeks to counter a different position during the Reformation, one on which he draws and against which he wants to warn, that expressed itself in the argument that "Jewish nature is good / the Jews keep their law better than we" ("der Juden wesen sey gut / die Juden hallten ire gesatz baß dann wir.")[28] Margaritha warns against this depiction of a respectable, even model Jewish observance of the law, best seen in the contemporary spectrum of opinion in an anonymous report of Osiander's against an accusation of ritual murder. Margaritha entirely rejected the argument that one should behave in a "friendly / loving and brotherly" way ("freuntlich / lieblich und brüderlich") toward Jews so that one can then move them "more easily to the Christian faith" ("dester ehe zu Christlichem glauben.")[29] Friendly and respectful treatment of the Jews, he insisted, only led Jews:

> to curse, make fun of and despise him together with Christ and his faith; and he thinks to himself that this Christian knows that I hold him, together with his God and faith, as an enemy, curse him and despise him, nor does God demand that he must love me.

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unclear confessional boundaries of the period as well as the limited sources, there is little to be gained in assigning Margaritha or other Jewish converts in this period to a particular post-Reformation confession.

[27] See in particular Diemling, "Christliche Ethnographien." On Buxtorf, see Stephen G. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies. Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1996); and Rudolf Smend, "Der ältere Buxtorf," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 53 (1997): 109–17.

[28] Antonius Margaritha, *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub mit sampt einer gründtlichen und warhafften anzaygunge Aller Satzungen…Mit schönen und gegründten Argumenten wyder jren glauben…*(Augsburg: H. Steiner, 1530), here A 2ᵛ. On this publication see Hans-Joachim Köhler, *Bibliographie der Flugschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Part I: *Das frühe 16. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, Bibliotheca Academica Verlag 1996), 3: 23, No. 3209.

[29] Margaritha, *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*, a3ᵛ.

("mit sampt Christum und seinem glauben verflucht / verspottet / und verachtet / und bedenckt bey yhm selbs / sich diser Christ waißt das ich in mit sampt seinem Got und glauben / feind habe / verfluche und verachte / noch schickt es Got / das er mich muß lieb haben.")[30]

Since Christian respect toward the Jews, according to Margaritha, will be answered with Jews showing disrespect toward Christians, one should conclude that Jews must be treated with extreme harshness. Only then, when they perceptibly experience "the wrath of God" can they come to the "the recognition of the Christian faith" ("erkanntnus Christlichen glaubens").[31] Only when the Jews visibly suffered and "serve all peoples as an accursed example" through visible expressions of social marginalization and stigma that reflect God's condemnation of them, would there then be a chance for conversion and a chance for peace with Christian society. The fear of Jews stirred up by Margaritha, widely echoed in Protestant writings of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, stood *against* a culture of respect. In contrast to the powerful threat of the 'distant other,' the Turk, which repeatedly instilled respect in the West, it was the fate of the Jewish 'other living close by' to become a visible sign of God's punishment and an object for lack of respect from Christian confessional societies, left to wander aimlessly through the ages. The character of Ahasver / Ahasuerus represented the literary enactment of their role.

Even if the specific points of accusation against Jews and the forms of defamation and stigmatization differed among the Christian confessional churches of the early modern period, they widely agreed that a "culture of respect" for the enemies of Christ was impossible. The very process of legitimizing the variants of the Christian church, a process which was bound up with confessionalization and channeled through imperial law in the Old Empire (and which was intensified at the level of the territories), increased Christian impatience toward the Jews. For the Braunschweiger Superintendent Martin Chemnitz, one of the most influential Lutheran theologians of the last third of

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[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid., J3ᵛ–4ʳ; a4ᵛ: "Darumb sag ich [sc. Margaritha] man sol dy Juden auß barmherztigkeit uns zu ainem Exempel beleyben lassen / unnd zur arbait treyben / dann ein mal hat sy got verflucht / darumb kanst du sy nycht benedeyen / Inn summa / was Got hinwürfft und verachtet sol niemandt auffheben und großmachen / und zuvor auß so ergernuß des glaubenn darauß volget / Nun hat ye gott dye Juden mänigfeltig in der schrifft verworffen / und noch verauß Deut. 28 wie im end volget."

the sixteenth century,[32] a willingness to tolerate Jews was equated with
"not wanting to be Lutheran" any longer.[33] A special religious legal
status for the Jews, such as had existed for ages under Roman imperial
law, was no longer acceptable. The very system that secured parity for
the religious confessions covered in the Peace of Augsburg rested on
a mindset that drew sharper limits. It required attention to one's own
rights, but ignored or set aside the religio-legal niches occupied by the
'other living close by,' the Jews in Germany. If one looks at the law as
an institutionalized form of respect in an ethical sense, then the law
did not come to the aid of the only non-Christian religion in Western
Europe under the conditions that reigned during the Reformation,
Counter Reformation and confessionalization.

<div align="center">III</div>

The legal solution to conflict between Christian confessions in the Old
Empire was established first in 1552 by the Peace of Passau, was largely
incorporated into the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, and remained in
force up to the *Reichsdeputationshauptschluß* of 1803. This solution rested
primarily on the principle of the confessionally closed territorial- or
city-state, the *corpus christianum* in a microcosm. Especially in imperial
cities, regulations for confessional parity came into force that ensured
that the religious confessions legally approved by imperial law would
pay careful attention to maintaining the rights granted to them. By
directing confessional conflict into legal channels, the religious peace
favored a culture of painstaking observation of both one's own and the
other, foreign confession. In everyday life, in legal affairs and in theol-
ogy, the confessions turned to constant attention in order to maintain
their own claims to acceptance and truth, and to refute those of oth-
ers. The acrimony and intensity of the theological debates between
the confessions, which for decades drew into their paths the brightest
minds, corresponded to a legalized structure of permanent *respicere*
within the confessional standoff.

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[32] On Chemnitz see Theodor Mahlmann, "Chemnitz, Martin," in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 2: cols. 127f; and Thomas Kaufmann, "Martin Chemnitz (1522–1586). Zur Wirkungsgeschichte der theologischen Loci," in Heinz Scheible, ed., *Melanchthon in seinen Schülern* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), 183–254.

[33] *Bedencken des Ministerij zu Braunschweig von den Juden, welchen Herzog Julius wolt wide-rumb gleit geben auch hir in der stadt etc. 13.11.1578,* printed in Rotraud Ries, ed., "Zum Zusammenhang von Reformation und Judenvertreibung: Das Beispiel Braunschweig," in H. Jäger, F. Petri, and H. Quirin, eds., *Civitatum Communitas: Festschrift für Heinz Stoob* (Cologne and Vienna: Bohlau, 1994), 630–654, esp. 648–654, citing from 653.

Actual living conditions in the cramped cities and territorial units certainly reflected circumstances that could not simply be regulated according to the norms of religious law or confessional dogmatics. The boundary lines between the confessions were often unclear, or could alter substantially because the world's people lived in overlapped in their economic, civic or personal relationships; changes in government or religious lines could shift further through population mobility. Actual interactions with 'the other who lived very near by,' fellow Christians of another confession, were not checked by an unbridgeable barrier of disgust, but occurred regularly, which created a number of problems. At any given time, these problems demanded solutions that were concrete, situation-specific and tailored to the individual case, yet for all of that also needed to be theologically responsible. As a rule, conflicts were not addressed through the operation of clear legal principles. In what follows, some examples of this kind of confessional conflict between neighbors will be discussed from the vantage point of the Lutheran theologians who were consulted as assessors and consultants. I refer especially to examples drawn from the consultation practice of that body shrouded in an aura of uncontested orthodoxy, the Wittenberg faculty of theology.

In 1597, the Wittenberg Faculty was asked to take a position concerning whether a Lutheran prince could engage a papist musician.[34] It was self-evident that the musician would also play for the church services in the court chapel. The court preacher objected to this musician, who could be faulted neither with regard to his personal nor with regard to his professional conduct. The faculty's answer rested on a central categorical distinction, which was important both for the regulation of civic intercourse with those of another religious confession and at the same time for managing religious boundaries: that between the *dociles*, *sanabiles* or the foolish on the one hand, and the *pertinaces*, the obdurate or the wanton, on the other.[35] The former are born into an alien and, from a Lutheran point of view, false religion through birth or other life circumstances. In a confessional cultural milieu, they act as if they were resident guests, and are blameless. They do not burden

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[34] CTW, Teil 3, Tit. II, Nr. 40, 60aff.

[35] In making this distinction, the Wittenberg faculty evoked the preamble to the Formula of Concord. CTW Teil 2, Tit. V, Nr. 21, 109bff, here 111a. See also *Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche* (Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1956), 756, 1ff. For further discussion of this distinction, Thomas Kaufmann, *Dreißigjähriger Krieg und Westfälischer Friede: Kirchengeschichtliche Studien zur lutherischen Konfessionskultur* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck,1998), 93f.

what to them is a foreign religion, and do not engage in any religious agitation against the host religion. They offer the hope that through friendly, respectful behavior and polite instruction into the Lutheran confession, they can be taken in and in the end converted. They are therefore to be tolerated. The obdurate, on the other hand, who reveal no openness to the true faith and who might secretly work against it, are to be kept within their own borders according to the principles of religious law, and if necessary banished from the land. In the view of the Wittenberg watchmen of Lutheran orthodoxy, the Catholic musician in the service of a Lutheran prince should therefore be left alone in accordance with these fundamental principles.

More difficult was the case of an apparently well-to-do French Catholic innkeeper who lived in a Brandenburg town during the Thirty Years War under the special protection of the Calvinist authorities and a Lutheran pastor, who turned to Wittenberg in search of help.[36] The man had married a Lutheran, and the pastor's wedding sermon had left no doubts about what he thought of a marriage involving people of "a false and a true religion." Naturally, the Frenchman took offense. In fact, he even recorded that the pastor publicly called him and his wife "a Turk and a heathen," something which the pastor contested. Under the pastor's predecessor in office, the Frenchman had enjoyed a few liberties that now angered his successor: specifically, he had set up "a memorial (*Epitaphium*) with a crucifix publicly in the church." He had his church seat "painted with pictures" and, when he was asked about it, he had "answered defiantly that he would like to have a mass painted on his chair." When he then instructed his brother-in-law, a cabinet-maker, "carve a rough crucifix" about a yard tall "with strong, clumsily shaped arms and legs and a strangely painted face" and then, in reference to Catholic processional images, mounted it on a pole four yards long and had it fastened to his church pew, the new pastor went on the counterattack and had the artifact removed. The Frenchman then posted polemical tracts against the pastor on the church door; for two years, he also avoided his sermons and was for this reason not allowed to become a godparent.

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[36] CTW Teil 2, Tit. VI, Nr. 8, 175f. The dating of 1646 suggests that the date on p. 176b (1654) should then be corrected to 1644. The citations in the text refer to this opinion.

On the basis of a liturgical error during a performance of Holy Communion, the Frenchman finally accused the pastor before the Brandenburg Consistory. Even though the parish considered him to be a papist, according to information provided by the pastor, the innkeeper apparently enjoyed support in the community, so that the pastor failed in his attempt to keep his "faithful parish children" from conversing with "an unbelieving person." The only thing the Wittenberg faculty could do was to encourage the pastor to file a countersuit before the consistory, and support him in his official orthodox zeal. But the faculty also made it clear to him that his attempt to isolate the quarrelsome man socially was unrealistic. The case clearly shows that enforcing any boundaries against members of a foreign confession in the neighborhood was exceptionally difficult, and depended to a great extent on concrete social conditions and local communication within the community.

The concrete options for conduct that the Wittenberg faculty offered depended each time on the specific circumstances. Thus, when faced with a confessionalizing offensive from the Reformed church, the Wittenberg faculty refused secular authorities "all outward company"[37] with Calvinists, but when confronted with a minority situation, as when Lutheran Christians were dependent upon Reformed tolerance, the faculty admitted that participation in weddings and burials was "a civic matter."[38] Nevertheless, the boundaries remained clear concerning the participation or non-participation of Christians from other confessions in the sacraments. To participate or not was understood as "an official witness and confession of what church one belonged to" ("ein öffentlich Zeugniß und Bekäntnuß welcher Kirchen Gliedmaß ein jeder sey.")[39] Participation in the community of Holy Communion represented the criterion that determined whether someone could become a godparent or guaranteed a Christian burial. A Lutheran Christian should therefore not become the godparent to a child with Calvinist parents. Married Lutherans who lived in a Reformed territory, to whom was granted only the *exercitium religionis privatum*, should spare no effort or cost in having their child baptized by a Lutheran pastor on the other side of

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[37] CTW Teil 2, Tit. V, 116ff, here 177a (1654), regarding a mandate issued by the adminstration in Hesse-Kassel, which ordained that Calvinists should be admitted as godparents at Lutheran baptisms.
[38] CTW Teil 2, Tit. V, 118f. (1558).
[39] CTW Teil 2, Tit. V, 126a.

the territorial boundary – not because the validity of a Reformed baptism was contested, but because the baptized child "when he is grown and reminded of his baptism in the Calvinist church, could easily fall into temptation" ("wann er erwachsen / und von seiner Tauffe in Calvinischen Kirchen erinnert würde / leichtlich […] drüber in Anfechtung gerahten.") Similarly, someone who understood himself to be thoroughly Lutheran but who in matters involving Communion believed with the Calvinists, and who nevertheless still wanted to take part in the Lutheran service of Holy Communion, should not to be allowed to do so. This question arose with regard a nobleman in 1568. Even more, he was to be warned that he not become "one of the obdurate." Another example involved an old Mansfelder, who in the wake of foreign military service had converted to Catholicism. When he returned to his homeland and wanted to receive Holy Communion after he became sick, the pastor saw himself faced with a conflict of conscience. He consulted his fellow pastors; but before they had come to a decision, the former soldier fell into madness and soon after died. The pastor sought the advice of the Wittenberg faculty because the friends of the deceased pressed him to grant the man a church burial. The faculty decided that the deceased person "had indeed fallen away [from the faith] but before his end had returned again to [lit: had been resurrected to] the right Lutheran faith," ("zwar gefallen / aber für ihrem Ende wiederumb zu dem rechten Lutherischen Glauben auferstanden") and could therefore be buried in an orderly manner.[40]

A traveling journeyman from another religious confession who wanted to take part in the Lutheran Holy Communion should be granted permission to do so only after a prior hearing concerning his faith and confession.[41] To baptize a child of Calvinist parents was considered legitimate if the parents expressed their wish for such baptism with no hypocrisy, and if they showed an openness to Lutheranism.[42] Finally, one could baptize Turkish or Jewish children who came into Christian power ("christliche Gewalt"), even if their parents did not seek baptism. To force anyone to the true faith through baptism, however, as the Catholics did, was expressly rejected. To be sure, Jewish children should not be taken from their parents' power. In the case of Jewish

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[40] CTW Teil 2, Tit. VI, Nr. 7, 174b–175a (1613), here 175a.
[41] CTW Teil 3, Tit. II, Nr. 27, 44b–45b.
[42] CTW Teil 2, Tit. V, Nr. 19, 108 (1624).

children aged 12 to 14 years, who still lived with their parents and whose parents did not support their wish for baptism, one should only give in to when their request demonstrably came out of their own impulse and when they had received Christian instruction.[43]

The Wittenberg faculty warned against the taking of Holy Communion in common with a Lutheran and a Calvinist pastor. Such circumstances applied in the ambiguous transitional and border zones of the Herrschaft of Jever and the Counties of Oldenburg and East Frisia, where such practices could frankly take place out of necessity.[44] The faculty allowed liturgical accommodations with the Reformed rite, however, so long as these did not touch on the highly ritualized breaking of the bread, which had become a confessional shibboleth. In the dense and confessionally mixed situation in East Frisia, people who were not transparently obdurate were allowed to become godparents and were granted a Lutheran burial. In order "to maintain the relationship, peace and harmony between neighbors" ("zu erhaltung Nachtbarlicher Correspondentz / Frieds / und Eintrechtigkeit,") moderate behavior appeared to be a dictate of strategic confessional reasoning.[45]

The demonstrable patience that the Wittenberg theologians showed toward those from other Christian confessions was limited to what was unavoidable politically and socially. When a change of a territorial government in favor of Lutheranism raised the possibility of abolishing the Calvinist order of service, which had been in place, this should take place without interruption and with no intermediate compromises, such as in the infamous Interim of 1548.[46] In the view of

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[43] CTW Teil 2, Tit. V, Nr. 23, 115b (1623).

[44] Annaliese Sprengler-Ruppenthal offers instructive examples of transitional conditions between Lutherans and Calvinists from a canon law and liturgical perspective in East Frisia: Sprengler-Ruppenthal, "Lutherische liturgische Formen in Ostfriesland am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts und Voraussetzungen ihrer Entstehung," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte* 59 (1961): 67–91. On the iconographical dimension of interactions between Reformed Protestants and Lutherans in East Frisia and Oldenburg, Dietrich Diederichs-Gottschalk, "Die protestantischen Schriftaltäre des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in Nordwestdeutschland. Eine kirchen- und kunstgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu einer Sonderform liturgischer Ausstattung in der Epoche der Konfessionalisierung," Diss. theol. Göttingen, 2004. The same theme is developed, with a tendency toward interpreting a missing consciousness of confessional difference as indifference, in Nicole Grochowina, "Grenzen der Konfessionalisierung – Dissidententum und konfessionelle Indifferenz im Ostfriesland des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts," in von Greyerz et al., *Interkonfessionalität*, 48–72.

[45] CTW Teil 2, Tit. V, Nr. 23, p. 127a.

[46] CTW Teil 3, Tit. II, Nr. 14, pp. 27bff.

the Wittenberg faculty, Christian authorities who were able to abolish a false religion within their territory were obliged to do so. Only when political stability was threatened was it legitimate to exercise limited toleration of the erroneous confession, in the sense of an emergency measure. Under such circumstances, Lutheran magistrates should nevertheless guarantee that the territory's subjects become familiar with true religious teachings. In this respect, the Wittenberg faculty was in accord with Catholic theologians: "Under peaceful conditions it is not allowed to practice the false religion; in disturbed conditions, when the true religion cannot be practiced without great impediment, the false religion may be tolerated."[47] In any event, as the Wittenberg faculty emphasized in regard to the Lutheran County of Oldenburg when it acquired the Lordship of Kniphausen, forced acceptance of the true religion was to be avoided. If the subjects wanted to abide in their false religion while keeping the peace and refraining from distributing religious propaganda on behalf of their own confession, they could be granted their *exercitium privatum*.

In light of the common feeling of Christian solidarity, particularly against the Turks, Lutherans and Papists might also pray together against the "traditional and arch-enemy of common Christianity."[48] Such prayer, however, was not to be accompanied by grants of indulgences or superstitious appeals to the saints, nor was the prayer to become a burden on the conscience of Lutherans. One remained vigilant concerning Luther's warnings against taking part in the heathen services of the papists.

All of the confessional alarm bells went off regarding Jesuit schools, which enjoyed great approval from Lutheran parents because they provided an excellent foundation in languages and the arts. The opinion that one could visit a Jesuit school "without danger to religion"[49] was completely misguided, the Wittenberg faculty insisted, because such "Jesuit institutions" were the "secret hellish bands of Satan,"[50]

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[47] "…in statu pacato non esse permittendum exercitium falsae religionis: in turbato autem ubi religio peregrina sine majori incommodo boni publici prohiberi nequit illud tollerandum esse." CTW Teil 3, Tit. II, Nr. 14, 34b, noting that it is citing from Johannes Molanus, *De fide haereticis servanda libri quinque* (Cologne: Kempen 1584), lib. 1, cap. 10 Th. 4 (reference not verified).

[48] CTW Teil 2, Tit. VI, Nr. 4, p. 172.

[49] CTW Teil 2, Tit. V, Nr. 12, 121b–122b, here 121b (1614).

[50] CTW Teil 2, Tit. V, Nr. 12, 122a.

which the Devil used to bring children under his power. The same held for contacts with foreign confessions that resulted from migration and mobility. To send children to Spain in order that they might learn Spanish – so a request to the Wittenberg faculty in 1618 – was irresponsible, since it certainly reflected reasons of "temporal well-being and pleasure."[51] Such children, however, would receive nothing "but the pure abominations of the anti-Christ" and would fall into "the most extreme ruin," since there they would be forced to go to confession and driven toward a fall, ending finally as "apostates and Mamelukes." To a query from Hamburg whether a merchant's apprentice could with a good conscience go to Spain for vocational purposes for a few years, the faculty answered similarly: God hated hypocrisy, but simply in light of the heathen images on display everywhere in Spain, before which one was supposed to remove one's hat, a Lutheran Protestant in Spain could escape death only through hypocrisy. Against pressures to attend confession he might try to save himself by buying confessional slips, which would constitute a denial of true religion. As much as possible, one should therefore avoid travel to papist foreign countries.[52]

The examples given here, drawn from Lutheran Protestantism, show that multi-confessional or multi-religious living situations developed at the level of practical life to a considerable degree during the early modern period. According to the propagandists of theological identity, however, these situations represented burdens and dangers, which could be accepted on an interim basis if necessary but which were not to be fundamentally embraced. The leading goal of all advice for dealing with Christians from another confession consisted of convincing these others, by means of the appropriate means, of the truth of Lutheranism. With regard to their fellow Lutherans, the Wittenberg orthodox guides sought to defend them against each and every act of indifference, to avoid any annoying "syncretism" and to fortify in them the roots of their own religious confession. To propagate any ethical respect that went beyond regulating civic relationships with foreign religions and confessions lay beyond the conceptual horizons of the watchdogs of confessional faith.

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[51] CTW Teil 2, Tit. V, Nr. 13, 122b–123a (1618).
[52] CTW Teil 3, Tit. II, Nr. 24, 42a/b (1620).

The confessional era was conditioned by intense experiences of confessional and religious-cultural foreignness, a foreignness that required a cautious *respicere*, some basic recognition of the other. The transition from this theoretical perception of *respicere* to a notion of ethical respect occurred only when the constraints and the plausibility of the confessionalized forms of Christianity began to weaken in the wake of the Thirty Years' War. Certainly, the interpretations and experiences of religious alterity that had been gathered and stored during the confessional period may have contributed to the process by which what one began to know, one also began to respect. The *respicere* that one perceived theoretically was therefore an essential precondition for the concept of moral respect, especially as it applied to other religions. In this regard the confessional era may have provided an essential precondition for the development of a culture of respect in the modern era.[53]

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[53] I have developed some provisional reflections on the increasing fluidity of relations between 'orthodoxy' and Enlightenment – a phenomenon that is often interepreted through models of replacement or successful competition – in Kaufmann, *Dreißigjähriger Krieg*, 146ff; and in "Nahe Fremde – Aspekte der Wahrnehmung der 'Schwärmer' im frühneuzeitlichen Luthertum," in von Greyerz, *Interkonfessionalität*, 179–241. See most recently my "Religions- und konfessionskulturelle Konflikte in der Nachbarschaft. Einige Bemerkungen zum 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," in *Religion und Respekt*, eds. Georg Pfleiderer and Ekkehard W. Stegemann (Zürich: TVZ Verlag, 2006), 139–172; and *Konfession und Kultur. Lutherischer Protestantismus im späteren 16. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006).

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EDITING ITALIAN MUSIC FOR LUTHERAN GERMANY

Susan Lewis Hammond

Renaissance music editors carried out a range of tasks that included
proofreading for notational errors and spelling; revising manuscripts
to conform to the particulars of a house style; and designing indexes,
contents lists, and other paratextual devices to make books easier to
use. Brian Richardson, Anthony Grafton, and Peter Burke have drawn
attention to how editors could shape new intellectual, social, and reli-
gious contexts for texts.[1] The consequences of using professional edi-
tors became most visible when a book crossed cultural and linguistic
regions, and hence required the hands of an editor or translator to
refashion it for a new audience. For music, the transnational produc-
tion of Italian secular song offers a compelling example of the critical
role that editors played in the assembly, adaptation, and marketing of
music books. In the decades of the so-called late Reformation, roughly
from the Peace of Augsburg to the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War,
German editors like Friedrich Lindner, Valentin Haussmann, Martin
Rinckart, Petrus Neander, and Balthasar Musculus reworked music
largely drawn from Venetian books for new, German audiences. The
Italian madrigal and canzonetta (terms that refer to through-composed
and strophic poetic forms, respectively) proved highly responsive to local
and regional conditions.

This essay focuses on the Lutheran appropriation of the Italian mad-
rigal and canzonetta as demonstrated in Martin Rinckart's anthology
Triumphi de Dorothea (Leipzig, 1619) and Petrus Neander's two volumes
of *Canzonetten Horatii Vecchi* (Gera: 1614, 1620).[2] Both editors reworked

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[1] See Brian Richardson, *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy: The Editor and the Vernacular
Text, 1470–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Anthony Grafton,
"Correctores corruptores?: Notes on the Social History of Editing," in Glenn W. Most,
ed., *Editing Texts/Texte edieren* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 54–76; and
Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's* Cortegiano
(Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995).

[2] See RISM B/I 1619[16] in François Lesure, ed., *Recueils imprimés XVIᵉ–XVIIᵉ siècles*.
(Munich: G. Henle, 1960); and RISM A/I V1038 and RISM A/I V1039 in Karl-Heinz
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well-known models. Rinckart's collection is based on the famous *Il trionfo di Dori* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1592), an anthology of twenty-nine six-part Italian madrigals by twenty-nine different composers and poets – which makes it one of the most diverse compilations of the period. The anthology inspired commercial ventures and artistic creativity on both sides of the Alps. It was reprinted once by Angelo Gardano in 1599 and five times by the Antwerp-based Pierre Phalèse (1595, 1596, 1601, 1614, and 1628); it also inspired an English version in 1601, two derivative volumes with German secular texts by Johannes Lyttich (1612, 1613), and Rinckart's *Triumphi de Dorothea*, with religious texts in German.[3] Rinckart departed furthest from his predecessors in replacing the Italian original's texts of pastoral love with ones that championed the power of music, a central tenet of Lutheran theology.

Neander's choice of canzonettas by Orazio Vecchi as his model reflected an intense German interest in the composer and the genre. The Nuremberg firm of Gerlach-Kauffmann issued all four volumes of Vecchi's canzonettas, which had appeared earlier in Venice, in a single volume in 1593; Paul Kauffmann reissued them in 1600/01 and sponsored Valentin Haussman's German translation of the set in 1610. While retaining the general theme of love, Haussmann 'cleaned up' Vecchi's more sexual imagery, using instead references to honor, marriage, and even God. Petrus Neander grafted entirely new paraphrases of texts from the Psalms in the Lutheran Bible onto a total of thirty-six canzonettas taken from the Nuremberg Vecchi publications.[4]

As poet-editors, Rinckart and Neander deemphasized the themes of pastoral love that typified Italian madrigals and replaced them with texts that conformed to Lutheran doctrine and values. The result was a new canon of works suitable for both devotional and pedagogical purposes. Their contrasting approach to translation – the sacred interpretation of

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[3] Settings of individual madrigals appeared in the following anthologies: *Piu e diversi madrigale e canzonette* (Nuremberg, 1594), *Fiori del giardino* (Nuremberg, 1597), *Musica Transalpina II* (London, 1597), *Ghirlanda di madrigali* (Antwerp, 1601), *Trias precum vespertinarum* (Nuremberg, 1602), *Nervi d'Orfeo* (Leiden, 1605), *Hortus musicalis II–III* (1609), and *Lieblicher Madrigalien I* (Nuremberg, 1624). See Edward Harrison Powley III, "*Il trionfo di Dori*: A Critical Edition," (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1975), 1: 211–18.

[4] Neander used Haussmann's collection for his first book of *Canzonetten Horatii Vecchi* of 1614; for the second volume of 1620, Neander returned to Kauffmann's Vecchi edition of 1600/01 as the source. For variants, see *Orazio Vecchi: The Four-Voice Canzonettas With Original Texts and Contrafacts by Valentin Haussmann and Others*, Part 1: *Historical Introduction, Critical Apparatus, Texts, Contrafacta*, ed. Ruth I. DeFord (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, Inc., 1993).

secular texts in Rinckart's case, and the substitution of existing texts, in the case of Neander – makes these authors aptly suited for comparison. Further, their editorships coincided with a decade of intense confessional strife, which raises the question of music's role in shaping Lutheran identity within the context of an emerging "German nation."[5]

Rinckart's *Triumphi de Dorothea* often goes unmentioned in lists and studies of his works, an omission that overlooks the interaction among his religious, musical, pedagogical, and literary roles.[6] At the age of fifteen, Rinckart entered the prestigious Thomasschule in Leipzig, where he sang under the direction of Sethus Calvisius.[7] Following theological studies at the University of Leipzig, Rinckart accepted the post of Kantor at the Nikolaikirche in Eisleben in 1610, and in 1617 assumed the position of archdeacon in his native Eilenburg, where he remained for the rest of his life. Rinckart's inspiration for the *Triumphi* undoubtedly came from the two-part *Mvsicalisches Streitkränzlein* (Nuremberg, 1612–13), a two-volume work that included all 29 madrigals from the *Trionfo di Dori*, provided with German secular texts by Johannes Lyttich.[8] (See Table 1). Lyttich taught at the royal Mansfeld Gymnasium, founded in Eisleben by Luther in 1546, and succeeded Rinckart as Kantor at the city's Nikolaikirche. In his texts, Lyttich retained the pastoral quality of the original *Trionfo* poems, which tell the story of shepherds and Arcadian nymphs singing praise to the beautiful Dori. Each madrigal ended with the unifying refrain "Viva la bella Dori" ("Long live fair Dori"). The title pages of the *Mvsicalisches Streitkränzlein* noted that Lyttich's contrafacta honored "excellent authors" and "all chaste German maidens" with "amusing and artful German texts, in

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[5] See the work of Georg Schmidt, esp. "Die frühneuzeitliche Idee 'deutsche Nation': Mehrkonfessionalität und säkulare Werte," in Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Dieter Langewiesche, eds., *Nation und Religion in der Deutschen Geschichte* (Frankfurt and New York: Campus, 2001), 33–67.

[6] The anthology is omitted in Karl Dienst, "Rinckart, Martin," in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, ed. Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz (Herzberg: Verlag Traugott Bautz, 1994), 8: cols. 367–69; and Richard Erich Schade, "Rinckart, Martin," in *Literatur Lexikon. Autoren und Werke deutscher Sprache*, ed. Walther Killy (Gütersloh and Munich: Bertelsmann Lexikon Verlag, 1991), 9: 473–74.

[7] For biography, see Walter Blankenburg and Dorothea Schröder, "Rinckart, Martin," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 26 April 2007), http://www.grovemusic.com.

[8] RISM B/I 1612[13] and RISM B/I 1613[13] in Lesure, ed., *Recueils*. According to the title page of the 1613 volume, Lyttich's Mansfeld colleague, Salomon Engelhard, "legally acquired [the remaining songs] upon Lyttich's death" ("nach absterben Herrn Johannis Lyttichii, vollendt absolviert.")

the correct alphabetical order of feminine names."[9] After an opening
song in honor of music, the volumes progressed through the alphabet
from Annelein to Ursula. Lyttich wrote three verses for each song,
effectively transforming the original madrigals into strophic canzonettas,
each of which now ended with the refrain "Meine Schön ist die Beste"
("My love is the best"). Rinckart also penned a Latin epigram for the
second volume of this collection, calling on the choir to "Sing Songs to
the Renowned Doris" ("In Dorin Hisce Cantionibus Celebrem"). This
epigram thus anticipates the title of Rinckart's own collection, which
transformed Doris into Dorothea, meaning gift of God.

　　Rinckart's activity as both poet and editor suggests that his own
theology of music drew heavily on Luther's. The significance of music
in Lutheran thought remained surprisingly consistent over the first
century of the Reformation. In his study of musical rhetoric during
the German Baroque, Dietrich Bartel argues that Luther "provided
Protestant musicians and music theorists alike with a fundamentally
theocentric philosophy of music."[10] Luther's attitude toward music
hinged on three basic premises. First, music was a sermon in sound.
Writing in the preface to Georg Rhau's *Symphoniae jucundae* of 1538,
Luther proclaimed:

> next to the Word of God, music deserves the highest praise .... The Holy
> Ghost himself honors her as an instrument for his proper work when
> in his Holy Scriptures he asserts that through her his gifts were instilled
> in the prophets, namely the inclination to all virtues, as can be seen in
> Elisha [II Kings 3:15]. On the other hand, she serves to cast out Satan,
> the instigator of all sins, as is shown in Saul, the king of Israel [I Sam.
> 16:23].[11]

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　　[9] *Rest Musicalisches Streitkräntzleins* (Nuremberg, 1613; RISM B/I, 1613[13]), tenor part-
book, fol. 1r: "Den trefflichen *Authoribus* zu vnsterblichen Ehrn / vnd allen der Music
Liebhabern / zu günstigem gefallen / mit lustigen vnd anmutigen züchtigen Texten /
nach richtiger alphabetischer Weiblicher Namen ordnung." Cited from the exemplar
located at Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden,
Deutsche Fotothek: Mus. gri. 22,2.
　　[10] Dietrich Bartel, *Musica poetica: Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music*
(Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 3.
　　[11] Martin Luther, "Preface to Georg Rhau's *Symphoniae iucundae* (1538)," translation
from Martin Luther, *Works*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan and Hartmut Lehmann (St. Louis:
Concordia, 1955–), 53: 323, quoted in Joyce L. Irwin, *Neither Voice nor Heart Alone:
German Lutheran Theology of Music in the Age of the Baroque* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993),
23–4 and 158 n. 81.

This preface became an important document for Lutheran musical culture. Johann Walter's German translation appeared in Wittenberg in the same year,[12] Leonhard Lechner paraphrased it in the preface to his own *Neue teutsche Lieder* of 1577, it appears in another German translation in Wolfgang Figulus's *Cantiones sacrae* of 1575, and Michael Praetorius reprinted it in his *Musae Sioniae I* of 1605. As theology's handmaiden, music promoted conversion, confessional consciousness and worship.[13] Second, Luther's prefaces to songbooks repeatedly pointed out that the education of youth should include training in the musical discipline. Writing to composer Ludwig Senfl, Luther argued that "We should always make it a point to habituate youth to enjoy the art of music, for it produces fine and skilful people."[14] Third, Luther embraced the concept of music's affective and formative power, based ultimately on a Christian interpretation of Greek teachings about ethos.[15]

All three facets of Lutheran musical theology found resonance in the prefatory material to *Triumphi de Dorothea*.[16] As the work of Gérard Genette makes clear, prefaces served a critical function in this kind of collection.[17] Then as now, editors used them to contextualize musical works, to explain foreign styles and terminology, and to guide readers. Thus, on the verso of each title page of his *Triumphi*, Rinckart excerpted passages from the writings of Luther, the church fathers, and ancient Greek philosophers, all in an effort to lend authority to his anthology. The Cantus opened with quotations from Luther, drawn from his

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[12] The *Vorrede* was published independently, without the music (Wittenberg, 1538); a copy survives at the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, shelfmark H Yn Helmst. 4o Kapsel 1 (1).

[13] The German term *Konfessionalisierung* ("confessionalization") describes the rise and consolidation of the three main churches and the formation of confessional identity among the common people. For a useful summary, see Heinz Schilling, "Confessionalization in the Empire: Religious and Societal Change in Germany between 1555 and 1620," in *Religion, Political Culture and the Emergence of Early Modern Society: Essays in German and Dutch History* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), 205–45.

[14] Walter Buszin, *Luther on Music* (Saint Paul: Lutheran Society for Worship, Music and the Arts, 1958), 8, quoted in Bartel, *Musica poetica*, 6.

[15] Bartel, *Musica poetica*, 5.

[16] All examples are drawn from the exemplar at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, Deutsche Fotothek: Mus. 1-C-2, nr. 527 (cantus partbook), Mus. 1-C-2, nr. 528 (altus partbook), Mus. 1-C-2, nr. 530 (quinta partbook), Mus. 1-C-2, nr. 531 (sexta partbook), and Mus. Gri. 23,10, nr. 529 (tenor partbook).

[17] Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, tr. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

preface to *Symphoniae iucundae* and his letter to Ludwig Senfl (both cited above), alongside praise drawn from the *Tischreden* for music as among "the most beautiful, glorious, and excellent gifts of God"[18] Another passage from Luther paid tribute to music's healing qualities: "She is a comfort to a person in distress…. She makes people more gentle and mild, more virtuous and sensible."[19] Music's affective powers were praised again in the Sexta partbook. Rinckart freely adapted Plato's dialogue *Timaeus*, writing "Music is given to the human race mainly for this reason: that we might consider sweet song and harmonious music as correcting dissonances of the mind, will and heart."[20] A passage from Joachim Camerarius in the Quinta partbook made the case even more strongly: "Divine music affects not only the minds of people, but their very bodies as well."[21] Rinckart emphasized the theme of music's causes and effects across the volumes through the use of running heads. The first eighteen madrigals used the running heads "Laus Musicae â variis causis" ("Praise to music in accordance with various causes," Canto and Quinta partbooks) and "Musicen Lob, nach allen causis und Umbständen" ("Praise to music according to all causes and circumstances," Sexta and Altus partbooks).[22]

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[18] "…der schönsten, herrlichsten und vortrefflichsten Gaben Gottes," Martin Luther, *Tischreden* in *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Karl Drescher, 2d ser. (Weimar: Herman Böhlaus, 1912–21), 1: 490–91, quoted in Powley, "*Il trionfo di Dori*," 2: 215.

[19] "Sie ist ein Labsal [b]eim betrübten Menschen: und eine halbe Disciplin- und Zuchtmeisterin, die das Hertz frölich, und die Leute gelinder und sanfftmütiger, sittsamer und vernünfftiger macht," Martin Luther, "Luther an Ludwig Senfl in München, 4 October 1530," *Briefwechsel* in *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Karl Drescher, 4th ser. (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1930–70), 5: 638, quoted in Powley, "*Il trionfo di Dori*," 2: 215.

[20] "Musica generi humano hanc ob causam praecipuè data est; ut suavem Cantum et concentum audietes cogitemus de corrigendâ Dissonantia mentis, voluntatis et cordis," adapted freely from Plato *Timaeus* 47D, cited in Powley, "*Il trionfo di Dori*," 2: 217.

[21] Quinta partbook, fol. 1ᵛ: "Divina Musica, non tantum Animos hominum, sed et ipsa corpora quodammodo afficit" (translation in Powley, "*Il trionfo di Dori*," 2: 219).

[22] See Powley, "*Il trionfo di Dori*," 2: 220 n. 1 regarding consistency in the Sexta and Altus partbooks.

Table 1. Martin Rinckart, *Triumphi de Dorothea* (Leipzig, 1619) and Its German Predecessors[23]

Composer	Text and Placement by Martin Rinckart (RISM B/I 1619[16])	Text and Placement by Johannes Lyttich (RISM B/I 1612[13], B/I 1613[13])
Ippolito Baccusi	I Frisch auff ihr Musicanten	I (1612) Artlich unnd wol formiret
Giovanni Croce	II Wo wart ihr Menschenkinder	XVI (1612) MARGARETHA Edles Perlein [1612]
		I (1613) KAETCHEN, mein Mädchen, mei Liebschen
Ruggiero Giovanelli	III Von Gott wir haben	VIII (1613) SIe will Studenten haben [SIBYLLA]
Giovanni Gabrieli	IV Das Musica die schone	IV (1612) BLANDINA meine Schöne
Felice Anerio	V Jesu wahr Gottes Sohne	VI (1613) Regiert auch wieblich Geblüte [REBECCA]
Giovanni G. Gastoldi	VI Wer bringt uns auff	XII (1613) SO kommt nun all' und thut euch praesentiren [SOPHIA]
Costanzo Porta	VII Herbey wer Musickunst	XIII (1613) SCHOnt thut andere nicht so hoch erheben [SCHOLASTICA]
Paolo Bozzi	VIII Was haben wir zu singen	XI (1612) Ey lieber rath ihr Schwestern [EVA]
Giovanni Florio	IX Jesu laß mir gelingen	IV (1613) MARIAE MAGDALENAE
Giulio Eremita	X Viel hndert tausent Englein musiciren	XIV (1612) Her ihr Edlen Jäger alle [HELENA]
Leone Leoni	XI Oftmals und auch jetzunder	V (1613) MARgreth, du edle Perle
Giovanni de Macque	XII Bringet her ihr Lautenisten	VII (1612) Christlich, from[m] und Gotseelig [CHRISTINA]
Alfonso Preti	XIII Eins mals geing ich spatzieren	V (1612) Bey dir ist freud und wonne [BEATA]
Tiburtio Massaino	XIV Die Lerch thut sich gar hoch erschwingen	XII (1612) Forthin wil ich alls trauren legen [FORTUNA]
G.P. Palestrina	XV Wach auff mein Ehre	XIV (1613) SAgt einer viel von seiner [SABINA]

[23] Table 1 is based on the exemplars Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv: Mus. ant. pract. L1200, cantus partbook (RISM B/I, 1612[13]); and Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, Deutsche Fotothek; Mus. gri. 22,2, tenor partbook (RISM B/I, 1613[13]) and Mus. 1-C-2, nr. 527, cantus partbook (RISM B/I, 1619[16]).

Table 1. (cont.)

Composer	Text and Placement by Martin Rinckart	Text and Placement by Johannes Lyttich
Lodovico Balbi	XVI O Mensch bedenck dich eben	XI (1613) Sagt mir ihr lieben Schwestern [SALOME]
Luca Marenzio	XVIII Eins mals im grünen Meyen	XVI (1613) EINs mals im grünen Mayen [EINICH MEINE]
Orazio Vecchi	XIX Hört wunder uber wunder	III (1612) AGNES ist teusch und stille
Luca Marenzio	XX Musicen klang und Menschen stimm darneben	VI (1612) BARBARA komm inn deinen schönen Garten
Gasparo Costa	XXI Da Israel den Herre[n]	IX (1613) SUSANNA keusch und reine
Gasparo Zerto	XXII Solt man mit Musiciren	VII (1613) REGINA hoch geboren
Alessandro Striggio	XXIII Gleich wie ein süsses Zucker	III (1613) MARTHA hat viel zu schlaffen
Annibale Stabile	XXIV Nur weg Teuffel weg	X (1612) Elend hat sich verkehret [ELISABETH]
Ippolito Sabino	XXV O du hoch edle Musica	II (1612) ANNELEIN Zuckermündelein
Pietro Andrea Bonini	XXVI Sihe, wie fein und lieblich ist es	II (1613) LUCRETIAE ihr Tugend
Philippe de Monte	XXVII O wie viel armer Knaben	XV (1612) Jungfräulein ewrent wegen [JUSTINA]
Giovanni Cavaccio	XXVIII Hoch thewr und werth sind alle freye Künste	IX (1612) DOROTHEA Gottes gabe
Giammateo Asola	XXIX Gleich wie ein edel Gsteine	XIII (1612) Getreues hertz in ehren [GERTRAUT]
Orazio Columbani	XXX Wolauff, wolauff mein Ehre	VIII (1612) Clar scheint die liebe Sonne [CLARA]
Lelio Bertani	XXXI Fahr hin, fahr hin, fahr mein Klage	X (1613) SARA, Sara liebe Sara
Present only in Rinckart		
Christian Erbach	XVII Domine, quis linguae usus in tabernaculo tuo?	
Antonio Scandello	Appendix, Ich weiß mir Gott lob viel ein schöner Hauß	
Present only in Lyttich	(XV 1613)	
Hans Leo Hassler	URania tritt auff [URSULA]	

The prefatory material aptly introduced the poetic and musical contents that followed. (See Table 1). A table of contents, the *Register und Ordnung nachfolgender Gesange*, gave the composer and subject matter of each piece.[24] Settings 1–12 were unified by their calls to praise God with voices and instruments. Praise for music from the natural world – birds, mountains, and animals – dominated the texts of selections 13–14, while numbers 15–16 focused on what separated the human voice from animal sounds. In the second half of his anthology, Rinckart turned to an account of music's effects (17–24), once again providing the musical fulfillment of the prefaces. Settings 25–29 praised music itself: "O Thou high and noble Music, Thou lovely Dorothea…Next to God, the Lord above, Thou art a chosen angel." The final two settings (30–31) built on the refrain that ends each piece, "Unsere Kunst bleibt ewig" ("Our art remains eternal"). An Appendix, finally, was based on music by Antonio Scandello that is not found in either the Venetian *Trionfo* or the two-part *Mvsicalisches Streitkränzlein*. Here Rinckart evoked the metaphor of a heavenly house reserved for his Lutheran audience.

Example 1. Excerpt from the third stanza of Antonio Scandello, "Ich weiß mir Gott lob viel ein schöner Hauß," fols. 31ʳ–32ʳ.

Ich weiß mir Gott lob in demselben Hauß,	(I know, praise God, in the selfsame house
ein Fräwlein, das kömpt nimmer drauß	Is a maiden who never steps out,
aller Ehr und Tugend voll,	Who's full of virtue and of honor
ihr Lieb und Gunst ich haben muß,	Her love and favor I must have,
Es kost Christum sein Leiden,	[Though?] It cost Christ his sorrows,
Das ist die himlisch Musickunst,	This is the heavenly art of music,
In ewigr Wonn und Frewde.	In everlasting joy and love.)

Rinckart left the performer with a final message at the bottom of the page: "Affect me, I pray, Or leave me, May God protect you."[25]

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[24] I cite the table of contents from the tenor partbook, fols. 5ᵛ–6ᵛ.
[25] "Trieff mich / Das bitt ich / Odr laß mich / Gott bhüt dich."

The relationship between Rinckart's preface and the collection's content was strongest for settings that praised music's causes and effects (nos. 17–24). In this section, Rinckart recast two of the most famous accounts of music's hold on its listeners, the myth of Orpheus and St. Augustine's struggle. His "Hört Wunder uber Wunder" transformed Orazio Vecchi's madrigal into a strophic song that recounted the myth of Orpheus. The Orphic mood appeared already in the headline found in the Cantus partbook: "Music according to the Greek poet, the most powerful worker of miracles."[26] Orpheus was then named directly in the second stanza.

Example 2. Cantus partbook, XIX, Orazio Vecchi, "Hört Wunder uber Wunder" (second stanza), fols. 19ᵛ–20ᵛ.

Da Orpheus musiciret,	(When Orpheus made music,
Mit Klang und Gsang nach Kunst wie sich gebüret,	With artful tone and song as was proper,
Hat er Stein, Stahl und Eisn gezwungn und gbrochen,	He overcame and broke stone, steel and iron,
Wild Thier sich schmogn und bogen,	Wild beasts turned and changed their ways
All Vöglein mit ihm süngen,	All the birds sang along with him,
Die Berge hüpfftn und sprungen,	The mountains hopped and jumped,
Die Bäum im Wald verliessen irn Ort und Stelle,	The trees in the woodlands left their places,
Sie folgtn nach gschwind und schnelle,	They followed quickly and swiftly,
Und sungn all mit ihm frölich,	And all sang happily with him,
Orphei Kunst bleibt ewig.	The art of Orpheus remains eternal.)

Rinckart's use of the Orphic myth to explain the miraculous power of music united the natural, pastoral, and spiritual worlds that figured prominently across the anthology.

Rinckart's "Solt man mit Musiciren," set to a madrigal by Gasparo Zerto, adapted the story of St. Augustine, whose views on music were granted special status in Reformation Germany on account of Luther's own background as an Augustinian monk.[27] Headlines from the Cantus

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[26] "Musica: secundum Poëtas Ethnicos Miraculorum Effectrix potentissima."

[27] Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 39.

and Quintus partbooks evoked Augustine's conflict with the pleasures of music: "Music, according to St. Augustine, the Lord's most pleasant victress."[28] The headline found in the Altus partbooks settled the conflict by granting God's approval: "Music, be happy for God gives his consent." Meanwhile the headline from the Sexta partbook reminded the reader of music's power of persuasion: "Der nicht zu zwingen, lest sich gern zwingen, durch geistlich singen" ("Whoever cannot be compelled, loves to be compelled by sacred singing"). According to his *Confessions*, St. Augustine's "grievous sin" was finding the singing of music in church "more moving than the truth it conveys."[29] Rinckart captured Augustine's struggle in the first stanza of "Solt man mit Musiciren."

Example 3. Cantus partbook, XXII, Gasparo Zerto, "Solt man mit Musiciren" (first stanza), fols. 22ᵛ–23ʳ.

Solt man mit Musiciren,	(Should one by making music
Den allmächtigen Gott,	To almighty God
Können so starck moviren,	Be moved so strongly
In allem Fall der Noth,	In any case of need?
Solt man ihn können binden,	Should one bind him in his deeds
Und uberwinden,	And maybe overcome him
Mit was güldenen Ketten?	With what golden chains?
Mit so schönen Moteten,	With motets so beautiful,
Ja wol, die wil er hören,	Yes, those are what he wants to hear,
Willig und geren,	Quite eagerly and willing,
Hier zeitlich und dort ewig,	Temporarily here and eternally there,
Des singn wir allzeit frölich,	Evermore we'll joyfully sing,
Unsere Kunst bleibt ewig.	Our art remains eternal.)

Rinckart resolved St. Augustine's turmoil by arguing that God himself enjoyed song, reinforcing his overriding argument for music's place in worship and praise

Beyond celebrating sensory pleasure, Rinckart tapped into a venerable tradition about music's medicinal powers to heal and strengthen the body. The metaphor of music as medicine was commonplace in the early modern period; most famously, music was promoted as a cure in Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621). Decades earlier Leonard Lechner welcomed music as a diversion from worries and anxieties about the plague in the dedication of his *Newe Teutsche Lieder zu drey*

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[28] "Musica secundum Augustinum, Iehovae victrix blandissima."
[29] Augustine, *Confessions*, Book X, 33.

Stimmen Nach art der Welschen Villanellen (1577). Rinckart set a similar tone in the headline to his "Musicen klang und Menschen stimm darneben" with a citation from the theologian and physician Joachim Camerarius (1500–74): "Music, according to Camerarius the most effectual quickener of body and soul."[30] The text (to a madrigal by Luca Marenzio) espoused the powers of music to heal the body.

Example 4. Cantus partbook, XX, Luca Marenzio, "Musicen klang und Menschen stimm darneben," fols. 20ᵛ–21ᵛ.

Musicen klang und Menschen stimm darneben,	(The sound of music, together with human voices,
Gibt dem Gmüth Krafft und Leben,	Gives strength and life unto the soul
Das in Trübsal versuncken,	That may be drowned in sorrow:
Vertreibt manch Gdancken,	And chases ill thoughts far away,
Melancholey, seltzame Taubn und Grillen,	And melancholy thoughts and gloom,
Die uns als Fallstrick stellen,	That throw a snare into our life.
Der Teuffl und all sein Gsellen,	The devil and his cohorts
Müssn fliehn von dannen,	Must at that moment flee,
Musica kan sie bannen, […]	For music bans them well. […]
Musicen klang und Seitenspiel darneben,	The sound of music, together with the sound of strings
Gibt dem Leib Krafft und Leben,	Gives strength and life unto the body,
Daß nicht in Kranckheit falle	That it will not fall to any illness;
Vertreibt manch Grillen,	Chases away the blues,
Macht rein und fein, frölich und frisch Geblüte, […]	Makes clean and fine, merry and fresh the blood, […]
Musicen klang und Menschen stimm erfrewet,	The sound of music, with joyful human voice,
Leib und Seel gantz vernewet,	Rejuvenates both body and soul
Recht tieff in Hertzens Grunde,	Deep down within the heart,
Vertreibt manch stunde, […]	It makes the hours pass away, […])

Rinckart's verses thus reinforced tropes of music's efficacy in curing melancholy, chasing away illness, and balancing the humors.

The most striking example of music's healing powers appeared in Rinckart's setting of Mutio Manfredi's "Eran Ninfe e Pastori," set to music

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[30] "Musica, secund. Camer. Animorum et corporum Vivificatrix Efficacissima"; Cantus partbook, fol. 20ᵛ.

by Alessandro Striggio. Rinckart's three new verses were devoted to the personification of music as doctor, lawyer, and theologian – connections first introduced in the preface to the Alto partbook, where "Fraw Musica" was likened to the professions of doctor, politician, philosopher, and theologian. The metaphor of the doctor was particularly apt for paying tribute to music's affective powers.

Example 5. Cantus partbook, XXIII, Alessandro Striggio, "Gleich wie ein süsses Zucker," first stanza, fols. 23ʳ–24ʳ.

Gleich wie ein süsses Zucker,	(Just as a sweet candy,
Nach Kunst der Medicorum und Apotheker,	By the art of the Doctor and Apothecary
Herbe Artzney und Pillen,	Lets bitter pills and drugs
Beybringt ohn widerwillen,	Go down without reluctance,
Also verzuckert Musica der Jugend,	Just so music sweetens youth,
Und uns die herbe Tugend,	And bitter virtue,
So bald man frölich singet,	As soon as one sings happy songs,
Steigt auff Hertz, sinn und Gmüth, sich hoch erschwinget,	Grows in our heart, mind and soul, and rises high,
Unser Doctorin ist glückselig:	Our lady Doctor is joyful:
Ihre Practic und Kunst bleibt ewig.	Her art and practice remain eternal.)

Rinckart may have been inspired by Manfredi's original text, in which nymphs and shepherds produce such sweet sounds and songs that the sun stood still and the grass flowered.

Example 6. Alessandro Striggio, "Eran ninfe e pastori" with text by Mutio Manfredi.[31]

Eran Ninfe e Pastori	(Nymphs and shepherds
Uniti con le gratie e con gl' Amori,	United with the graces and the gods of love
E di suoni e di canti,	And with music and songs,
Facean tal armonia,	Produced such harmony
Che si fermava il sol l'herba fioria,	That the sun stood still and the grass flowered.
Poi di rose e d'acanti	Then from roses, acanthus,
Tessevano ghirlande e d'amaranti,	And amaranth they wove garlands
E ne i versi dicean cogliend'i fiori,	And, in their verses, gathering flowers, they said:
Viva la bella Dori	"Long live fair Doris!")

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[31] Text and translation from Harrison Powley, ed., *Il trionfo di Dori: The 29 Madrigals of the 1592 Collection for Mixed Voices* (New York: Gaudia Music and Art [Schaffner Publishing Co., sole agent], 1990), 143.

Rinckart's anthology represents a strong recasting of the *Trionfo di Dori* madrigals. His Lutheran vision of the *Triumphi de Dorothea*, realized through an intertwining of musical and religious goals, furthered the circulation and performance of Italian madrigals in religious and educational settings. At the same time, the secular melodies promoted the learning, repetition, and memory of sacred messages.

Whereas Rinckart reworked madrigals, Petrus Neander looked back to the tradition of psalm singing in Lutheran worship to reconstruct Vecchi's canzonettas. Psalm texts had long provided multi-functional material for religious devotion, education, and spiritual pleasure across German-speaking lands. The sixteenth century witnessed a proliferation of songbooks specifically for Lutheran services. Luther promoted the liturgical use of psalms in his psalm commentaries, in which he praised the Book of Psalms for "it contains such clear prophecies concerning the death and resurrection of Christ, and holds forth such great and gracious promises concerning the kingdom of Christ, the spread of the Gospel, and the state of the whole church."[32]

Church ordinances governed how and in what contexts psalm singing took place. In general, psalms were suitable for the Gradual, after the Gospel reading and during the Communion, and as representative and confessional festival music for a variety of occasions.[33] The title page to Neander's first volume sought to tap into this market, recommending his settings "for better and improved use in churches in place of the Benedicamus, [and] also as practice for schoolboys."[34] As substitutes for the Benedicamus, the psalm canzonettas marked the end of Vespers, a musically rich service that Neander himself led at the *Stadtkirche* in Gera, where he served as *Figuralkantor* at the church and at the affiliated Gymnasium Rutheneum from 1608 until his death in 1645.[35]

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[32] Martin Luther, *A Manual of the Book of Psalms: or, The subject-contents of all the Psalms*, tr. Henry Cole (London: Bohn, 1847), 5. The tradition of Lutheran psalm commentaries dates back to Luther's first series of lectures on the Psalms (*Dictata super Psalertium)*, delivered between August 1513 and October 1515.

[33] Friedrich Blume, *Protestant Church Music: A History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1974), 101, quoted in Kristin M. Sponheim, "The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe (1589–1661) and the Transmission of Italian Music in Germany" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1995), 90.

[34] "…zum bessern und nützlichern Brauch in Kirchen an statt dess Benedicamus, auch sonderlicher Ubung der Jugendt in Schulen." I rely on the exemplars located at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv. Examples from the first volume are drawn from Mus. Ant. Pract. V288, Höchste Stimme. Examples from the second volume are drawn from Mus. Ant. Pract. V293, Dritte Stimme.

[35] The title *Figuralkantor* indicates that Neander directed polyphonic music, rather

His presence at the Gymnasium suggests that the *Canzonetten* had a pedagogical function as well, a purpose confirmed by Neander's dedication of the second volume to his students in Gera.

The performance contexts for the *Canzonetten Horatii Vecchi* provide a backdrop for examining the contents of the collections. (See Table 2). The complicated process of fitting Vecchi's melodies to the German language required a high level of textual and musical sophistication. As poets, both Vecchi and Neander positioned rhymes mostly between pairs of adjacent lines (ABAB). For stanzas with an odd number of lines, however, Neander often departed from Vecchi's rhyme structure.

Example 7. Comparison of Rhyme Structure Between Neander and Vecchi.[36]

Neander, Ach mein "Herr ins Himmels Thron"	Vecchi, "Non si sa chi tu sei"
(Book 2, no. 9, fol. 6ᵛ)	(Kauffmann 1600/01 no. 87, fol. 33ᵛ)
Ach mein HERR ins Himmels Thron,	Non si sa chi tu sei,
Zu dir heb ich mein Augen auff Hülff zu thun.	C'hora vuoi far la schifa ai desir miei?
Gleich wie ein Knecht, Der wil thun recht,,	Tu mi gridi, tu mi scacci,
Auff den H.[errn] sein Muß sehen allein,	Tu mi spregi à piu non posso;
Also sehn auch die Augen auff den HErrn mein.	Guarda chi mi vuol far del fiero adosso.
(Oh my Lord in heaven's throne,	(Who do you think you are
To you I lift my eyes for help.	To despise my desires like this?
As a servant who wants to do right	You shout at me, you chase me away,
To his Master must look alone,	You disdain me until I can't stand it.
So my eyes look to my Lord.)	Look who's swaggering behind my back.)

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than unison singing, which fell under the auspice of the *Musica choralis*. Hans Rudolf Jung, "Ein unbekanntes Gutachten von Heinrich Schütz über die Neuordnung der Hof-, Schul- und Stadtmusik in Gera," *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 1 (1962): 17–36, here 24.

[36] Text and translation from *Orazio Vecchi: The Four-Voice Canzonettas. With Original Texts and Contrafacta by Valentin Haussmann and Others*, Part 1: *Historical Introduction, Critical Apparatus, Texts, Contrafacta*, ed. Ruth I. DeFord (Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, vol. 92), (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, Inc., 1993).

Table 2. German Psalm Paraphrases in Petrus Neander, *Canzonetten Horatii Vecchi I–II* (Gera, 1614 and 1620).[37]

Book 1 (Gera, 1614)

1. Lobet den Herren Alle	Psalm 117	"Praise the Lord, all people"
2. Herr, unser Herrscher	Psalm 8	"O Lord, our Lord"
3. Last uns von Hertzen singen	Psalm 147	"Let us sing fro our hearts"
4. Erhebet ewre Hertzen	Psalm 147	"Lift up your hearts"
5. Herr, lehre uns bedencken	Psalm 91	"Lord, teach us to remember"
6. Herr, der du gnädig warst	Psalm 85	"Lord, you have been merciful"
7. Lobt Gott den Herrn mit schallen	Psalm 92	"Praise the Lord God with glad sounds"
8. Ich wil dem Herren dancken	Psalms 57/146	"I want to thank the Lord"
9. Ach Gott, thu dich erbarmen	Psalm 15	"Oh God, have mercy on my misery"
10. O Gott, O unser Herre	Psalm 143	"Oh God, oh our Lord"
11. Wie lang in meiner Seelen	Psalm 91	"How long shall my soul"
12. Ach Herr, strafe mich nichte	Psalms 1/143	"Oh Lord, do not punish me"
13. Nicht uns, nit uns, Herr	Psalm 115	"Not to us, not to us, Lord"
14. Auff meinem lieben Gotte	Psalm 71	"On my dear God"
15. Ich frewe mich der Reden	Psalm 122	"I am glad when they say"
16. Jauchtzet Gotte, alle Land	Psalm 66	"Rejoice in God, all lands"
17. Wie der Hirsch rennet	Psalm 42	"As the hart runs"
18. Singet dem Herren lieblich	Psalm 147	"Sing sweetly to the Lord"
19. Herre, ich trawe auff dich	Psalm 31	"Lord, I trust in you"
20. Meinm lieben Gott und Herrn	Psalm 146	"I thank my dear God and Lord"
21. Frolocket Gott, ihr Völcker	Psalm 74	"Praise God, all people"
22. Herr Gott, mit diesem Gesang	Psalm 74	"Lord God, with this song"
23. Ich wende meine Augen zu dem Herren	Psalm 21	"I turn my eyes to the Lord"
24. Her sey dem Vater schone		"Glory be to the Father"

Book 2 (Gera, 1620)

1. Der Herr ist mein trew Hirte	Psalm 23	"The Lord is my true shepherd"
2. Gott sey uns gnädig allen	Psalm 67	"May God be merciful to us all"
3. Eyle zu mir, Herr Gott	Psalm 70	"Hasten to me, Lord God"
4. Kompt herzu: im Herren fröhlich seyn	Psalm 95	"Come, rejoice in the Lord"

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[37] Text and translation from *Orazio Vecchi: The Four-Voice Canzonettas. With Original Texts and Contrafacta by Valentin Haussmann and Others*, Part 1: *Historical Introduction, Critical Apparatus, Texts, Contrafacta*, ed. Ruth I. DeFord (Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, vol. 92), (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, Inc., 1993), 105–14.

5. Jauchtzet dem Herren alle	Psalm 100	"Rejoice in the Lord, all people"
6. Mein Seel soll dich, O Gott	Psalm 104	"May my soul praise you, oh God"
7. Gebet dem Herren Ehr	Psalm 118	"Bless the Lord"
8. Ich ruff zu dir, Herr	Psalm 120	"I cry to you, Lord"
9. Ach mein Herr ins Himmels Thron	Psalm 132	"Oh my Lord in heaven's throne"
10. Lobt den Herren, ihr knechte	Psalm 134	"Praise the Lord, you servants"
11. Ich schrey . . .	Psalm 142	"I cry . . ."
12. Lobt Gott im Heyligthume	Psalm 150	"Praise God in His holiness"

Seven- and eleven-syllable lines were normal in Vecchi's texts, reflecting the influence of Italian madrigal poetry on the canzonetta. A greater variety of line lengths appeared in Neander's replacements. In many cases Neander split eleven-syllable lines into two shorter ones in order to accommodate the syntax of the German language. In the opening of "Lobt Gott im Heyligthume," for example, Neander divided Vecchi's single eleven-syllable line into lines of seven and four syllables: "Amor con ogni impero e gran possanza" was replaced with the couplet, "Lobt GOtt im Heyligthume / Gebt ihm Ruhme."[38] Neander also adopted a self-conscious approach in working with his models, which thus remained visible to the reader. He marked each setting in the second volume with the number of the corresponding piece from Kauffmann's edition of Vecchi's canzonettas, as well as labeling each piece with the corresponding psalm number(s) from the *Luther Bible* (1545). By identifying his sources, Neander invited comparison between the model and its reworking, thereby highlighting his work as editor and translator.

As an editor, Neander chose psalms that evoked the art of song itself, literally the "hymns of Israel." The two volumes included nine psalms of David, who is described in the second book of Samuel (2 Samuel 23:1) as "the sweetest psalmist of Israel."[39] Fourteen further settings made specific reference to music-making, following the trope of praise through singing.[40] In the opening "Lobet den Herren alle," for instance,

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[38] Vecchi, "Amor con ogni impero," (Kauffmann 1600/01), no. 35, fol. 14ᵛ; Neander, "Lobt Gott im Heyligthume," Book 2, no. 14, fol. 8ʳ.

[39] RSV (1977).

[40] From the first volume, piece numbers 1, 3, 7–8, 16, 18, 21, and 22; from the second volume, numbers 3–7 and 12.

Neander added the verb "to sing" ("sing praise," *singt ihm*), which was absent from the Lutheran Bible, his source text. For the seventh piece, "Lobt Gott den Herrn mit schallen," Neander paraphrased Psalm 92, a text infused with musical resonance. The opening two verses called for praise through "glad sounds" (*mit schallen*) and songs "to honor Him" (*singet ihm zu Ehren*). "Singet dem Herren lieblich," in turn, called upon the performers to "sing sweetly to the Lord," a paraphrase of the opening verse of Psalm 147. The request was made again in "Mein Seel soll dich, O Gott" from the second volume, which paraphrased Psalm 104. Neander also evoked "the playing of psalteries" in "Kompt herzu: im Herren fröhlich seyn," from Book 2 (Psalm 95).

The finale of the two-volume series consisted of a paraphrase of Psalm 150, "Lobt Gott im Heyligthume," the doxology marking the end of the Psalter, and thus a fitting conclusion for Neander's series as well. Images of music-making in "Lobt Gott im Heyligthume" swelled across the three strophes: the first called for "glad sounds"; the second added instruments, trumpets and psalteries; and the finale invoked the musical climax with a full symphony of sound – strings, cymbals, and pipes. Turning to Vecchi's own canzonetta text, we find a rare case of an intertextuality of musical demands between the two texts.

Example 8. First Stanza of Vecchi's "Amor con ogni impero."[41]

Amor con ogni impero e gran possanza	(Love, with all authority and great power,
S'è mosso con furor per assediarmi,	moved in fury to lay siege to me,
A suon di Trombe e di Tamburri e d'armi.	to the sound of trumpets and drums and arms)

With its refrain calling for trumpets and drums, "Amor con ogni impero" foreshadowed key sonorous ingredients for Neander as well.

Neander's inclusion of four Psalms of Ascent suggests a more specific message for his Lutheran audiences. Known as the "pilgrim song," Psalms 120–134 relate to the ascent to Jerusalem. Neander's choice of confessional poetry distinguished him from contemporary psalm editors like Adam Gumpelzhaimer, the Cantor at the Lutheran St Anna in

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[41] Text and translation from *Orazio Vecchi: The Four-Voice Canzonettas. With Original Texts and Contrafacta by Valentin Haussmann and Others*, Part 1: *Historical Introduction, Critical Apparatus, Texts, Contrafacta*, ed. Ruth I. DeFord (Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, vol. 92), (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, Inc., 1993).

Augsburg, who avoided these highly polemic psalm texts in his collections.[42] Neander's paraphrases only enhanced the confessional tension, moreover. For example, he rendered the second verse of Psalm 120 as "The liars who strip me of my honor and slander me fearlessly with their false tongues." By including an exile's prayer for deliverance from the injustice suffered at the hands of his enemies, Neander made a clear association to the religious strife of the time.

In choosing texts, Neander was drawn to traditional settings that emphasized music's role in worship and praise, along with texts that spoke to the Lutheran community more specifically. For the first volume, Neander presented texts from throughout the Book of Psalms, with no respect to their ordering. In the second volume, however, he followed their appearance in the Book of Psalms, capping off the series with the final 150th psalm. Neander created textual unity by framing the series with multiple versions of the text "Lobt den Herrn." The opening psalm canzonetta "Lobet den Herren alle" (Psalm 117) became "Lobet den Herren mit Gesang" in the last strophe of the closing psalm-canzonetta in volume two (Psalm 150). Within the first book, the line appears three further times in the third ("...loben Gott den Herren"), seventh ("Lob Gott dem Herren mit schallen"), and sixteenth ("Lobsinget Gott dem Herren") settings. In the sixth setting of the second volume, the text became even more emphatic in the first person: "Ich will den HERREN loben." It returned, back in the imperative form, in the tenth piece, "Lobt den Herren, ihr knechte." Neander thus reinforced the central message of the volumes through repetition and strategic placement.

As poet-editors, Rinckart and Neander demonstrate the malleability of musical forms and texts during the early modern period. Their Lutheran transformations of Italian secular music appeared at a time when discussions of imitation and borrowing started to penetrate the discourse on music theory as well. The most prominent and oft-cited authority on the matter was Quintilian. In his lengthy chapter on imitation in Book 10 of his *Institutions of Oratory*, he wrote:

> It is from these and other authors worthy of our study that we must draw our stock of words, the variety of our figures and the methods of composition, while we must form our minds on the model of every

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[42] Alexander Fisher, *Music and Religious Identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg, 1580–1630* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 33.

excellence . . . . the elementary study of every branch of learning is directed by reference to some definite standard that is placed before the learner.[43]

Theories of imitation and music were explored specifically by Georg Quitschreiber in his short defense *De parodia tractatus musicalis* (Jena, 1614). Here, Quitschreiber, the cantor at Jena, used the term 'parody' to include simplified new arrangements, motivic parallels, the substitution of new texts, the alteration of the number of voices, and the transplantation of a voice in other musical connections. The theoretical discourse on parody, derived from the Greek 'paroidia,' meaning 'countersong,' attests to an expanded notion of musical composition in the early Baroque – one that challenges our own assumptions about authorship and originality in early modern musical thought. Adaptation became authorship as poet-editors like Rinckart and Neander created new, religious and pedagogical contexts for musical works.

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[43] Marcus Fabius Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, tr. H.E. Butler (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), Book X, Chapter II, quoted in Sponheim, "The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe (1589–1661)," 102.

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GOD'S PLAN FOR THE SWISS CONFEDERATION: HEINRICH BULLINGER, JAKOB RUF AND THEIR USES OF HISTORICAL MYTH IN REFORMATION ZURICH

Hildegard Elisabeth Keller*

In the development of its political, constitutional, linguistic and con-fessional structures, Switzerland could be construed as representing a special case within European national history. Certainly, the Swiss have consistently seen themselves as a case apart, characterizing their nation as a "hedgehog" until well into the twentieth century. The notion that Switzerland is a hedgehog, bristling and armed to the teeth to fend off hostile neighbors, has proved crucial in times of danger, such as in the 1930's and 1940's. It offers more than what might – in an ironic applica-tion of François Lyotard's term for defining foundational meta-narra-tives – merely be called a "grand narrative" for a small nation, however. Rather, this tradition opens up a more general topic: the genealogy of national identity. In historical terms, the consciousness that a collective might consider itself both "particular" and "distinctive" from others was originally religiously motivated. The idea that a given ethnic group had been chosen or elected by God was widespread in Antiquity, and received its canonical expression in the Old Testament covenant with Abraham, that is, with the people of Israel. As Anthony D. Smith has convincingly demonstrated, this paradigm also became foundational for many later nations' emerging identities within a more secular modernity. Switzerland offers just such a case, not least because of its concept of a homeland (*Heimat*) closely tied to the Alpine region – an example of what Smith called an "ethnoscape."[1]

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[1] Anthony D. Smith, *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003): on Switzerland and its homeland tradition, cf. 155–61; for his term "ethnoscape," 136–37; for the four aspects of this "cultural resource and sacred foundation," 255–56. See also Clifford Longley, *Chosen People: The Big Idea that Shaped England and America* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2002); Howard Brotz, *The Black Jews of Harlem. Negro Nationalism and the Dilemmas of Negro Leadership* (New York: Schocken Books, 1970). For the early-modern semantics of nation in the context of the Swiss

The first stirrings of the Reformation were unmistakably colored by Swiss conceptions of themselves as an elect people. The early decades of the sixteenth century witnessed two major challenges to the Confederation. Whereas the crushing defeat near Marignano (1515) tested the self-confidence of the confederates, who had previously viewed their legendary *Schlachtenglück* as proof that they were God's chosen people, the Reformation produced long-lasting pressures that threatened to fracture the Confederation's unity. The leaders of the Reformation explained both challenges in religious terms, demonstrating God's providence in the past toward his chosen people, and presenting themselves as restorers of a right relationship with God. Political events, they argued, manifested God's approval of or anger at the Confederation's development. The passionate, missionary zeal with which the first generation of reformers appealed to their Catholic contemporaries to return to the supposed authenticity of a mythic golden age would have been unthinkable without their first defining the Confederation in terms of a religiously charged "covenant." Just such a political appeal to spiritual orthodoxy can be found in Heinrich Bullinger's early pamphlet, *Anklag vnd ernstliches ermanen Gottes Allmaechtigen* (1525/1528).

After Zurich's defeat in the second war at Kappel in 1531, which ensured that the Confederation would remain a confessionally split entity, the need for new approaches became urgent. The Swiss needed models that could integrate all the Confederation's members, Catholic or Protestant, into an alliance of heterogeneous partners that reflected God's will. Randolph Head has argued that Swiss political thinkers did not intend to abolish inequality on earth, but rather sought ways to overcome it, as best as possible, through volitional structures.[2] Not only the first generation of Reformers, but also those who held to the older beliefs, had to learn to cope with the political challenges that the new religious situation threw up. For example, following the Reformation, the yearly renewal of the Swiss alliance became problematic, for the

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confederation see Thomas Maissen, "Weshalb die Eidgenossen Helvetier wurden. Die humanistische Definition einer *natio*," in *Diffusion des Humanismus. Studien zur nationalen Geschichtsschreibung europäischer Humanisten*, eds. Johannes Helmrath, Ulrich Muhlack and Gerrit Walther (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2002), 210–49.

[2] Randolph C. Head, "William Tell and His Comrades: Association and Fraternity in the Propaganda of Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Switzerland," *Journal of Modern History* 67, 3 (1995): 527–57, here 557. On the difference between the Confederation's model of rulership and the German Empire, see Thomas A. Brady Jr., *Turning Swiss: Cities and Empire, 1450–1550* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985).

Catholics insisted on swearing by God, Mary and the saints, whereas
the Reformed Swiss wanted to swear only by God; the divergence made
any mutual oath of allegiance impossible.[3] In the first two decades fol-
lowing the Reformation, the inhabitants of Zurich in particular needed
to reflect on what form of federalism their Confederation with the
other confederates, the *Eidgenossen*, should adopt. As the civic medium
par excellence of the early modern period, theater not only com-
mented on but also actively participated in this debate. No figure was
more central to the production of theater in Zurich at this time than
the protagonist of this paper, Jakob Ruf. His plays, especially *Wilhelm
Tell*, staged and printed in Zurich in 1545, underscored how much the
intensified political and cultural flux of the period required both the
invention and affirmation of new models of communitarian rule, and,
at the same time, a growing acceptance of inner diversity.

Heinrich Bullinger's Anklag

In the year 1525, God spoke directly to the Swiss Confederation. The
twenty-one year old Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575) made God's autho-
rial voice in Zurich audible in his polemical tract *Anklag vnd ernstliches
ermanen Gottes Allmaechtigen*.[4] The pamphlet's rhetorical stance mirrored
the reformatory zeal of Zurich's Reformers, who saw themselves as
Sprachrohr Gottes ('God's mouthpiece'), and who envisaged the total ref-
ormation of the Confederates' territory as a precondition for remaining
God's elect. The tract was written in 1525, although the first 47-page

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[3] Christian Sieber, "Eidleistungen und Schwörtage im spätmittelalterlichen Zürich,"
in *Zürich 650 Jahre eidgenössisch* (Zurich: Verlag NZZ, 2001), 19–58; William E. Rappard,
Du renouvellement des pactes confédéraux (1351–1798) (Zurich, 1944).

[4] *Anklag vnd ernstliches ermanen Gottes Allmaechtigen / zuo eyner gemeynenn Eydgnoschafft /
das sy sich vonn jren Sünden / zuo jmm keere* (n.p. [Zurich], 1528). Published by Heinrich
Brennwald and Heinrich Utinger, according to a handwritten note in the copy pre-
served in Zurich [Zentralbibliothek Zürich Zw 291]; page references according to the
handwritten pagination in this copy. Hans Ulrich Bächtold graciously made available
his transcription and introduction to the *Anklage*, which will appear in vol. 6 of the
edition of Bullinger's works. See also his valuable study: Bächtold, "History, Ideology
and Propaganda in the Reformation: the Early Writing '*Anklag und ernstliches ermanen
Gottes*' (1525) of Heinrich Bullinger," in *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century
Europe*, Vol. 1: *The Medieval Inheritance*, ed. Bruce Gordon (Aldershot: Scholar Press,
1996), 46–59; see also Fritz Büsser, "Bullinger als Prophet. Zu seiner Frühschrift *Anklag
und Ermahnen*," in *Wurzeln der Reformation in Zürich*, ed. Fritz Büsser (Leiden: Brill, 1985),
106–24.

imprint appeared only in 1528, after which it was reprinted repeat-
edly well into the seventeenth century.[5] Bullinger had just returned to
Switzerland from the University of Cologne with a Master's degree in
the liberal arts, and had taken a position as *ludimagister* at the cloister
Kappel am Albis. The young Latin teacher in the cloister became a
student and ideological colleague of Zurich's reformer, Ulrich Zwingli.
After Zwingli's death in 1531, Bullinger governed over the Reformed
church in Zurich for over four decades, from 1531 to 1575. His tract,
an adhortation to the assembled confederates, conveyed a different mes-
sage at the time it was composed, that is, in 1525, than at the time it
was finally printed, three years later. 1525 was politically an extremely
difficult year for Zurich, since its ecclesiastical reform and its rejection
of mercenary service brought isolation from the Confederation. In
this context, the tract came across as a justification of and polemic in
favor of the Reformation. By 1528, however, several other cities (Bern,
Basel, and Schaffhausen) had allied themselves with Zurich and carried
out comparable Reformations. After the passage of three years, God's
speech still came across as apologetic in part, but also as triumphal,
owing to the missionary spirit that lasted until 1531.

  Bullinger was a leading formulator of covenant theology, which was
also relevant for thinking about constitutional matters. In his *Anklag*, he
accentuated the motif of Jewish election for the purpose of his own
critical reflection on the present. The first third of his text narrated
the history of the Confederation, followed by a Reformation critique
of church practices. Bullinger applied the idea of a covenant between
God and his chosen people, bringing it up to date, however, as God's
alliance with the Confederates. 'National' history and history of salva-
tion thus mirrored each other. The ideological heart of the piece rested
on the clever use of key terms that had political, institutional and
theological meanings that intertwined political renewal with religious
reform. The word *eyd* (oath), for example, referred both to the political
alliance among the Confederates as well as to the baptismal covenant
between God and the Confederates, with the latter one exceeding the
first in relevance:[6]

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[5] Cf. Heinrich Bullinger, *Bibliographie.* Vol. 1: *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der gedruckten Werke von Heinrich Bullinger*, ed. Joachim Staedtke (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 1972), Nos. 4–8.

[6] Fritz Büsser, *Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575): Leben, Werk und Wirkung* (Zurich: TVZ Theologischer Verlag, 2004), 35, 40–41. This idea is also elaborated in Bullinger's

> Lieben Eydgnossen gedenckend yetz / das jr üch mir in dem Touff mit sterckerem Eyd verbunden habend / dann jr vnder einanderen / ein Ort dem anderen verbundenn sye. Der Eyd / das jr mich wellind für üweren eynigen Gott halten / fürtrifft all brüch / sitten vnnd lange gezyten. Deß erman ich üch yetzund.

> (Dear confederates, bear in mind that in baptism you have bound your-self to me with a stronger oath than that which you binds you among yourselves in one place to another. The oath that you wish to recognize me as your only God supersedes all customs, practices and traditions. Of this I sternly remind you now.)[7]

The *Anklag* also reflected Bullinger's understanding of the covenant in its rhetorical structure: the whole text – written by a twenty-two year old theologian trained in rhetoric who assumed an authorial gesture of prophecy – consisted a fervently accusatory speech by God.[8] The relevant rhetorical figure was thus that of *prosopopeia*, as confirmed by the marginalia in the printed edition (See figures 1 and 2) and by an entry in Bullinger's *Diarium: Germanica illa prosopopeia Dei*.[9] The trope of *prosopopeia*, which belongs to allegory, lends a message a 'face' (in Greek, *prósōpon* 'face, visage') by making use of a dramatic speaking figure.[10] God's gesture of showing or averting his face, which in the five Books of Moses reveals a religious state of grace or lack thereof, confronted the reading or listening public in the most direct manner, before their very eyes (in Greek, *prós-* and *ōps* 'eye'), with the presence of God. In Bullinger's case, he wanted the members of the Confederation to feel that they were under observation, and to recognize how God judged their present actions. God's keen vision penetrated space (the Alpine

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play *Lucrezia und Brutus*; Emidio Campi, "Bullinger's Early Political and Theological Thought: Brutus Tigurinus," in *Architect of Reformation. An Introduction to Heinrich Bullinger, 1504–1575*, eds. Bruce Gordon and Emidio Campi (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 2004), 181–99; Rémy Charbon, "Lucretia Tigurina: Heinrich Bullingers Spiel von Lucretia und Brutus (1526)," in *Antiquitates Renatae. Deutsche und französische Beiträge zur Wirkung der Antike in der europäischen Literatur*, ed. Verena Ehrich-Häfeli et al. (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1998), 35–47.

[7] Bullinger, *Anklag*, 33.

[8] Büsser, "Bullinger als Prophet," 116 (Bullinger "spielt den Propheten").

[9] *Heinrich Bullingers Diarium (Annales vitae) der Jahre 1504–1574*, ed. Emil Egli (Basel, 1904), 12. For an overview to the interplay between Swiss humanism and Reformation see Thomas Maissen, "Literaturbericht Schweizer Humanismus," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte* 50 (2000), 515–44.

[10] For the description, see Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik: Eine Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft*, 2nd ed. (Munich: Hueber, 1960), 411–13, §§ 826–929.
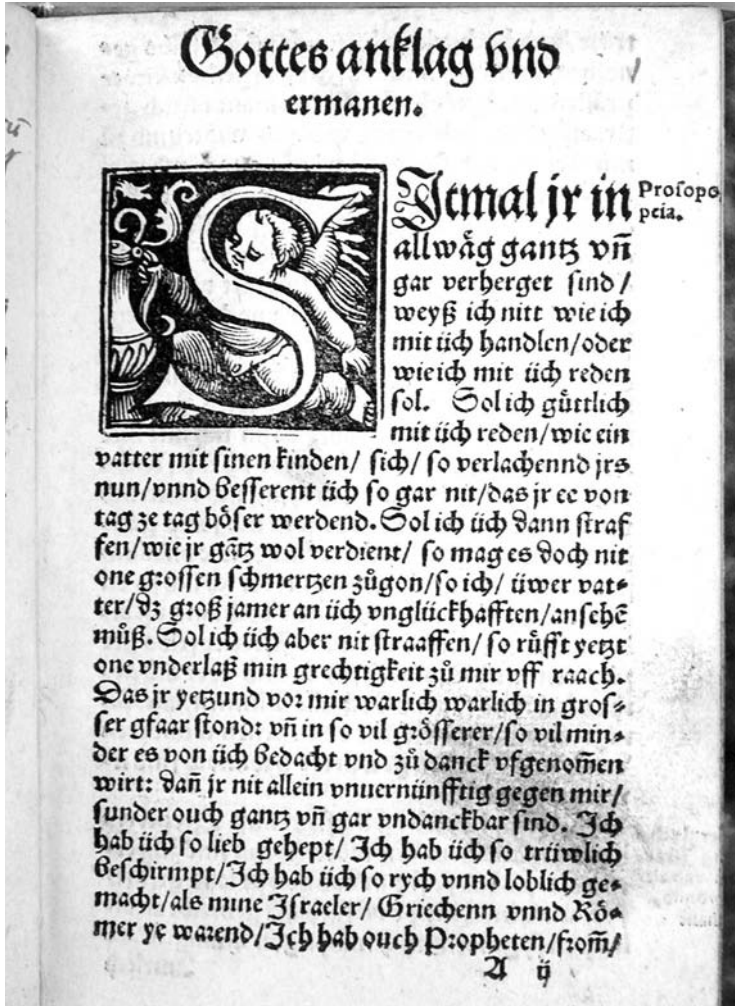
Figure 1:   Marginalia in the 1528 print of Bullinger's *Anklag* (fol. A2r). Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Zw 291.

Figure 2: Marginalia in detail (fol. A2r), Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Zw 291.

landscape) and time (the history of the Confederation). In a manner anticipating tourism, God in the *Anklag* described the Alps in detail as the homeland of the confederates. He praised the fertile hills with their vineyards and meadows, in which cows and oxen trotted in grass reaching their bellies, and he evoked the fresh air, the many lakes rich with fish, and the many rivers that, together with the natural mountain ring-wall, made Switzerland a well-protected paradise.[11] The Confederation, in Bullinger's recounting, was guarded by natural barriers and cleverly organized by God to permit more than just a harsh subsistence.

For Bullinger, this topography represented more than a fortunate natural resource. Rather, it proved that the Creator of the world was the architect of the Confederation's political arrangements as well. With its thirteen members, the alliance therefore appeared to him as a special sort of protectorate. In this context, the theology of the covenant and constitutional concepts of alliance and freedom came together in the right to resist tyranny and oligarchy – an allusion to William Tell's murder of the tyrannical bailiff, whom Bullinger called Gryßler.[12] Bullinger also evoked the humble "fathers" (*vaetteren*), the initial founders of the Confederation. With God's help, they struggled to achieve their *Democratia* and their *Commun* against aristocratic tyrants; they cultivated an ethos of work with an unpretentious attitude, and knew nothing of "golden rings and chains" or of "silk and French couture" – code words for a fancy, foreign lifestyle. A cascade of virtuous adjectives in the text characterized the widely known generosity of the 'old confederates.'[13]

The political and religious message of the pamphlet was therefore as unmistakable as its title. A speaking God was reproaching his "beloved sons" for their behavior, noting especially that the ruling class, indifferent to the common good, had reintroduced tyranny and slavery, thus betraying their community and their fellow citizens for blood money. Even worse, they had fallen into idolatry. The divine voice therefore demanded that the Swiss immediately return to the honorable ways ("*eerberen laeben*") of their forefathers, that they adopt a reform of the faith based on the Word of God and – in remarkably harsh words – that they renounce the all-too-dirty income that they received for providing

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[11] Bullinger, *Anklag*, 39–40.
[12] Gryßler was also the name used in Petermann Etterlin's *Kronica* (1507), the first extensive history of the Confederation Bullinger alludes several times to this mythic key event. Cf. Bullinger, *Anklag*, 2–5.
[13] Bullinger, *Anklag*, 40.

Swiss mercenaries to the French monarch and to other rulers.[14] Fulfilling these demands – which unmistakably reflected the genuine aspirations of Zurich's Reformers – would strengthen the political unity of the whole Confederation and help it achieve more respect beyond its borders than even the forefathers had garnered. The speech did not recognize any other way to fulfill this aim: "By such means the Confederation will once again become one – and otherwise by no way whatsoever."[15]

God spoke as a military commander when he turned his analytical eye to the results of the confederate wars of liberation. This God had always been alongside, indeed, right in the midst of the confederates as they fought their battles, not only the glorious victories at Morgarten and Sempach, but also the disastrous defeats during the *Alte Zürichkrieg* or at Marignano. In the *Anklag*, God declared himself the commander of all Swiss commanders, and described himself as their captain, their *houptmann*.[16] Bullinger incorporated the miracle of success against all odds into his reminiscences, calculating the number of the living and the dead who fell in battle. The "little trooplet" ("*kleyn hüfflin*") of Confederates had defeated extremely powerful enemies, with God's help, time and again, and had brought home a great number of captured banners and large quantities of spoils.

When it came to the bloody defeats of the Confederates, the divine speaker simply mentioned their injuries and their shame. Who was behind all this, asks the *Anklag*. Bullinger's speaker clearly sought to impress on his listeners that at Marignano and elsewhere, he had been the one who inflicted these disasters and defeats, ordaining the death of their leaders in order to take revenge on the sinning Confederates

> wüssend jr noch nit waer üch den grossen schaden / vnnd das erbermklich leyd zuostattet? Jch habs gethon / jch / jch üwer Herr vnd grusamer Gott: vnd hab damit üwer sünd / hassz / verbunst / pensionen / gaellt / gyt / vnd hochmuot schwarlich vnd ruch heymgesuocht.[17]

> (Are you not yet aware who brought about these incalculable damages and pitiful suffering? I have done it, I, I, your Lord and vengeful God, for I have punished you severely for your sins, your hate, your service as mercenaries, your avarice and pride.)

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[14] Bullinger, *Anklag*, 43.
[15] "Dardurch wirt ouch ein Eydgnoschafft widerumb in eynigkeyit kummen / vnd sust in keinen andern waeg." Bullinger, *Anklag*, 40.
[16] Bullinger, *Anklag*, 7.
[17] Bullinger, *Anklag*, 46.

Bullinger's *prosopopeia Dei* thus represented a God who spoke powerfully to Zurich's citizens and to all confederates, at times beneficent, at times vengeful and angrily threatening like the God of the Old Testament. Throughout the text, he reminded his listeners of his historical relationship with his chosen peoples, connecting Jewish and a few Roman references seamlessly with political events from the history of the Confederation. The *Anklag* ended with a furious and apocalyptic threat of punishment, in keeping with the *ius talionis*: the accuser threatened "jch wil üch gentzlich mit der maaß messen / wie jr ander lüten messend" ("I will measure by the same scale you have used to measure others") and prophesized that he would once again subjugate them under lords, "die sy biß vff das beyn gnagind" (lit. "who will gnaw them right down to the bone.")[18] The same formula appeared again in the opening scene of Ruf's play, *Wilhelm Tell*.

The myth of a chosen people and its fathers

As Bullinger's text reveals, the biblical topos of the "promised land in which milk and honey flow" could be projected onto the alpine topography with its meadows, cows and shepherds. Such projections legitimized the unity of a fateful sliver of the earth, called on by God to overthrow foreign tyranny through a confederate covenant that launched the bloody struggle for freedom and a republican order. That, in a nutshell, was the ideological heart of Bullinger's historiography in the *Anklag*. Bullinger's "I" spoke to the confederates like a ventriloquist of the God found in the Books of Moses.[19] The analogy was intentional: here as elsewhere, Bullinger provided a visual signal to the reader in a marginal note saying "comparison between Israel and the Confederation" (See figure 3). Two comparably constructed sections concentrated on the "wonders" that God had carried out on behalf of the people of Israel, and twice a single sentence argued that as far Bullinger was concerned, the wonders worked by God on behalf of the Swiss were no less extraordinary than those found in Jewish history. God's love for the Confederation, which in Bullinger's text even exceeded that for Israel, became visible through a series of step-by-step analogies

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[18] Bullinger, *Anklag*, 46.
[19] Ex. 3:8, 17; 13:5; 33:3; Lev. 20:24.

Figure 3: Marginalia with the comparison between Israel and the Confederation in the 1528 print of Bullinger's *Anklag* (fol.). Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Zw 291.

between Jewish and Swiss history.[20] As Bullinger's God affirmed: "not less [than for the Jews] have I done through you" ("Nit minders hab ich mit üch verwürckt").[21]

The vision of a Swiss Confederation chosen by God was not original to Bullinger.[22] It was much older and served, in narrative form, as an ideological engine both before and after the mercenary activities that had, depending on one's perspective, made the Confederation famous or infamous.[23] The motif of the struggle for freedom, which constituted the most important link to Old Testament self-projections, belonged as much to humanist rhetorical praise of the Confederation as to chronicles and battle songs.[24] Chronicles were the first written sources to celebrate Swiss success in war in terms of the history of salvation. In the early fourteenth century, for example, Johannes von Winterthur (1302–1348) reported on the battle of Morgarten, interpreting the victory of the confederates against their 'tyrannical' lords in terms of the Old Testament's salvational history, and literally adapting quotations from the Book of Judith 4 to the history of the confederates.[25] Battle songs emerged during the second half of the fifteenth century. Several songs by Mathis Zollner (d. 1507/8) expressed the self-confidence of the elect, of which his *Lied über die Schlacht bei Murten* offers perhaps the best and most relevant example. Zollner celebrated the Confederation's victory over Charles the Bold as evidence of divine election by drawing precise parallels with various liberational battles in the Old Testament.[26]

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[20] Cf. Bullinger, *Anklag*, 2–6.

[21] Bullinger, *Anklag*, 2–3.

[22] Ruf's reference to the election of the Eidgenossen finds parallels across Europe, e.g., in late fifteenth-century Florence, one of many locations where the theme of election resonated with the *res publica*; see Donald Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence: Prophecy and Patriotism in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970); Lorenzo Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation: The Savonarolan Movement in Florence, 1494–1545* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

[23] Cf. Bächtold, "History, Ideology and Propaganda in the Reformation," 49–51.

[24] E.g. Heinrich Glarean's *Helvetiae Descriptio* of 1514/1515. See Franz-Dieter Sauerborn, "Die Krönung des schweizerischen Humanisten Glarean zum *poeta laureatus* durch Kaiser Maximilian I. im Jahre 1512 und seine *Helvetiae Descriptio* von 1514/1515," *Zeitschrift des Breisgau-Geschichtsvereins "Schau-ins-Land"* 116 (1997): 157–92.

[25] Friedrich Baethgen and C. Brun, eds., *Die Chronik Johanns von Winterthur* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1924), 78; cf. Friedrich Baethgen, "Zu Johannes von Winterthurs Bericht über die Schlacht am Morgarten," *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Geschichte* 3 (1923): 106–10.

[26] *Die historischen Volkslieder der Deutschen vom 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. R. v. Liliencron (Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1869), 99–102 (No. 144). For Zollner's work, see Frieder Schanze's discussion in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon* (Berlin and New

Zollner's song included material drawn from Joshua's liberation of the besieged Gibeon (Joshua 10); he also saw the Confederates' victory against the Burgundian troops who were drowned in the Lake of Murten as an echo of the destruction of Pharaoh in the Red Sea.[27] Bullinger, who also made this comparison, must have been well acquainted with these chronicles und songs, which shared his tendency to articulate praise of nature and of the Alps, and to combine it with an archaic anthropology of Alpine inhabitants.

Such specific quasi-Jewish myths of liberation and foundation of the Confederation entered into theological pamphlets only in Reformed Zurich. Jakob Ruf's plays in the same city marked the first time that it entered explicitly into a work of theater. Focusing this ideological model specifically on the history of the city of Zurich may well be Bullinger's original contribution: in the *Anklag*, he introduced the analogy between the two elect peoples by describing the freeing of the people of Israel from their bondage in Egypt and the destruction of Pharaoh's forces in the Red Sea. According to Bullinger, this biblical history of resistance corresponded to Zurich's defeat of the lords of Regensberg – right up to and including their subjugation, as he noted derisively in the *Anklag*. This success, only one of the many Confederate victories that he mentioned, fit perfectly with the Reformers' prophetic self-image of the city of Zurich as having been called by God.[28] That was the context within which Bullinger's adaptation of the myth fulfilled its function. We can further differentiate this process, and prepare for an interpretation of Ruf's plays, by using a concept developed by Jan Assmann.

According to Assmann, the myth describing the people of Israel as God's chosen belongs to a larger group of myths that deal with dominion and with overcoming tyrannical rulers.[29] His reflections help characterize such myths' function for collective processes of self-discovery, since "societies shift under the spell of foundational histories,

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York: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1977–), 10: 1583–1586. For the song of the battle at Murten, see Hellmut Thomke, "Der se der ward von bluote rot: Die Burgunderkriege im Spiegel der Dichtung," *Berner Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Heimatkunde* 38 (1976): 1–40, esp. 14–17.

[27] In stanzas 10–11.

[28] This point of view is touched on lightly here, but is presented more forcefully in his later historical work, the *Tigurinerchronik*. An edition is planned by Hans Ulrich Bächtold.

[29] Jan Assmann, "Frühe Formen politischer Mythomotorik: Fundierende, kontrapräsentische und revolutionäre Mythen," in *Revolution und Mythos* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1992), 39–61.

from which they draw their identity and a sense of continuity and on the basis of which they base their knowledge of unity and distinctive character."[30] In Assmann's view, it was essential that its textual transmission through the Torah gave the myth of the Israelites as God's chosen people a mobilizing function, be it progressive or conservative, with regard to Jewish interpretations of their society's present or future development. The resulting formative dynamic Assmann calls *Mythomotorik* (which might be translated as "the dynamics of myth").[31] One aspect emphasized by Assmann is undoubtedly of special importance for the consideration of the performing arts as practiced by the citizenry of Zurich: in order for such kinetic, collective energy to become effective, history not only has to be self-consciously "known," but also "inhabited."[32] Following Assmann, we can designate the Swiss myths described here as foundational in so far as their mobilizing effect made possible both self-determination and the overcoming of foreign rule. The foundational myths of the Confederation, however, at least as recontextualized in early sixteenth-century pamphlets and theatre, undoubtedly served another function, also defined by Assmann: they provided a critical "counter-presence." In this function, the mythical, idealized past serves as a platform for criticism of a present that is perceived to be deficient.[33] To this extent, Bullinger's *Anklag* was a particularly revealing document that made the collective concept of the *alt eydgnossen* or *vaetter* the backbone of its fight for the Reformation. Bullinger's vision allowed no doubt about Zurich's (and all reformers') special place in God's plan of salvation.

The fathers on Zurich's stage

In Bullinger's and Ruf's Zurich, the idealized heroic age was conjured up in the form of the aforementioned *vaetter*, the old, pious confederates. The first decades of the sixteenth century witnessed the rediscovery of

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[30] Assmann, "Frühe Formen," 40.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Assmann, "Frühe Formen," 47.

[33] "In ihrer 'kontrapräsentischen Funktion' […] geht Mythomotorik von Defizienzerfahrungen aus und beschwört in der Erinnerung eine Vergangenheit, die meist die Züge eines Heroischen Zeitalters annimmt. Von diesen Erzählungen her fällt ein ganz anderes Licht auf die Gegenwart: es hebt das Fehlende, Verschwundene, Verlorene, an den Rand Gedrängte hervor und macht den Bruch bewusst zwischen 'einst' und 'jetzt.'" Assmann, "Frühe Formen," 52.

these mythical figures on the stage in two works: first, the anonymous *Urner Tellenspiel* (1512, probably performed in Altdorf);[34] and second, *Das Spiel von den alten und jungen Eidgenossen*, staged in Zurich at New Years, 1514, by Balthasar Spross. Spross's play is transmitted only in a manuscript that is appended, without any graphic mark of separation, immediately before the manuscript of Jakob Ruf's *Etter Heini*.[35] Spross's play, viewed by Randolph Head as "the most important text in the Swiss debate about the nature of 'true' nobility," depicts events in Act V concerning the mythical fathers that confirm this analysis.[36] Rusticity and simplicity like that displayed by these fathers was often a target of ridicule, but Spross legitimized them, at a different level, in terms of the history of salvation.[37] The leading reforming circles of Zurich industriously sought to affiliate themselves with the charismatic *vaettern* – an effort that took on scholarly dimensions in the case of Bullinger, whose involvement with the Church Fathers testifies to this.[38]

The myth of the Helvetic fathers, set in the three forest cantons (which remained Catholic), acquired a different function in Zurich in the years following the city's defeat at Kappel. The situation had changed, confessional defamation was forbidden, and the reality of a bi-confessional Confederation had to be accepted, more or less soberly, by the leaders and citizens of Zurich. The building blocks of Confederate historiography, the authentic lives and beliefs that the Reformers in Zurich had claimed as their own, now had to be reinterpreted and applied to all the Confederates in order to invigorate the fragile fabric of the alliance. As a result, although Zurich did not abandon the foundational myth of the elect fathers, it brought the myth up-to-date on the stage two decades after the Reformation. This task was assumed by Jakob Ruf, who came to Zurich as an adult in 1532. Although he

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[34] Max Wehrli, ed., *Das Lied von der Entstehung der Eidgenossenschaft: Das Urner Tellenspiel*, (Aarau: Sauerländer, 1952); Martin W. Walsh, "The *Urner Tellenspiel* of 1512: Strategies of Early Political Drama," *Comparative Drama* 34 (2000): 155–73.

[35] The manuscript is housed in the Zentralbibliothek Zürich (Ms. A 151). *Das Spiel von den alten und jungen Eidgenossen*, ed. Friederike Christ-Kutter (Bern: Francke, 1963).

[36] Head, "William Tell," 537; see also Christ-Kutter's introduction, 27.

[37] *Das Spiel von den alten und jungen Eidgenossen*, lines 535–44.

[38] Bullinger had read the Church Fathers toward the end of his period of study in Cologne, partly in the newly printed editions of Erasmus of Rotterdam, partly in the well appointed library of the Dominicans. Silke-Petra Bergjan, "Bullinger und die griechischen Kirchenväter in der konfessionellen Auseinandersetzung," in *Heinrich Bullinger und seine Zeit: Eine Vorlesungsreihe*, ed. Emidio Campi (Zurich: TVZ Theologischer Verlag, 2004), 133–59; Alfred Schindler, "Bullinger und die lateinischen Kirchenväter," ibid, 161–77; see also Fritz Büsser, "Bullinger als Prophet," 12–26.

had not been born a member of the Confederation, he became a vocal and persuasive champion of its values. Before considering Ruf's role, however, another set of questions must first be addressed, namely, what function did theater perform in early modern cities, and why did authors resort to it?

To say that urban performances were one of the mass media of the early modern era does not convey the full range of their implications. They belonged to the symbolic forms of communication that allowed the population of a city – not yet bound together by a sense of community based on modern administrative, educational and cultural institutions – to form its own understanding of itself. In the sixteenth century, civic productions served as "political propaganda and instruments of struggle in actual situations of conflict" as well as providing an overwhelmingly republican didactic theater.[39] This proved to be especially true for contemporary theater in Zurich, but also applied other Swiss towns, such as Bern, Basel and Lucerne. Performers and public alike drew on dramatic stagings to come to an understanding of themselves as citizens of a city-state within an Empire, as allies within a Confederation, and as avant-garde reformers of ecclesiastical, social and civic institutions. Plays in these towns enacted the community's own history, staged in a way that allowed the critical larger alliance among the Confederates, which by definition was heterogeneous in character (constituted, as it was, by religiously and politically divergent partners), to recognize and represent a shared identity.[40] Research on the history of early modern Swiss theater, however, has not yet fully come to terms with the many ways that these productions projected salvational history, universal history and civic law into their compelling narratives of the foundation of the Confederation. Ruf's *Wilhelm Tell* may serve here as an adequate point of departure for such a discussion.

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[39] Christel Meier, "Symbolische Kommunikation und gesellschaftliche Werte im vormodernen Theater: Eine Einführung," in *Das Theater des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit als Ort und Medium sozialer und symbolischer Kommunikation*, eds. Christel Meier et al. (Münster: Rhema, 2004), 7–22, here 16.

[40] Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, "Zeremoniell, Ritual, Symbol. Neue Forschungen zur symbolischen Kommunikation in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 27, 1 (2000): 389–405; Glenn Ehrstine, *Theater, Culture, and Community in Reformation Bern, 1523–1555* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Silvia Seraina Tschopp, "Reformationsdrama," in *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft*, ed. Jan-Dirk Müller (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2003, 247–249; Meier, "Einführung."

Jakob Ruf's plays for the Confederation

Jakob Ruf was born in Constance around 1505 as the eldest son in a rather poor family.[41] His theatrical and medical work has largely been overlooked by twentieth-century scholarship on those fields.[42] After several years of monastic education, he left the monastery, became an apprentice to a barber and, later on, earned the title of a master of surgery. He came to Zurich in 1532, right after the second war of Kappel, during which the city surgeon Jakob Sprenger fell, and was appointed as the new *chirurgus tigurinus*. In the same year, he received citizenship. Ruf, a remarkable social climber, continued a successful career within Zurich's hierarchy of medical offices. He died in the city in 1558, respected as a well-known authority who had bridged theory and practice in surgery and ophthalmology as well as in the training of Zurich's midwives. He was equally notable for his commitment to urban theater: from the late 1530's until 1550, he was Zurich's most visible playwright, staging four of his five plays in the Münsterhof, one of the main places in town. All five have come down to us either as manuscripts, (one of them richly illustrated), or as contemporary imprints from the publishers Christoph Froschauer and Augustin Fries.[43]

Ruf acquired considerable authority as city surgeon and briefly as town physician – a post he held for two years until the university-trained doctor Konrad Gessner (1516–1565) was appointed to it.[44] In his theatrical works, he represented himself with the authority of the *chirurgus tigurinus*. The title pages of two plays, the *Passion* and the *Wilhelm Tell*,

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[41] For Jakob Ruf's biography, newly reconstructed on the basis of archival research, see Hildegard Elisabeth Keller, ed., *Jakob Ruf: Leben, Werk Und Studein* (Zurich: NZZ Libro, 2008), 27–157.

[42] Cf. Hildegard Elisabeth Keller, "Einleitung," in Keller, ed., *Jakob Ruf*, 1:11–25. Ruf's complete works are edited for the first time according to scholarly standards in this series. All quotations from Ruf's texts in this paper are cited from volume 1 without further reference, and with their orthography standardized (e.g., all superscripts are transformed into modern umlauts).

[43] His works, in addition to the plays and medical texts in German and Latin, also include broadsheets on heavenly apparitions and monstrous births, calendars, political songs and prognostic texts. See the list in Keller, ed., *Jakob Ruf*, 1:161–67.

[44] The most important document for Ruf's career and his appointment as the town physician (which was uncommon for a person without a university degree) is the so-called *Bestallungsurkunde*, published in Keller, ed., *Jakob Ruf*, 1:259–62, and as an audio-version on a CD-ROM contained in the book.

portray his coat of arms (See figure 4), adorned by a banderole with the inscription "IACOB RVEF STEINSCHNIDER. ZVRI" ("Jakob Ruf, lithotomist, Zurich," i.e., one skilled in performing the operation of removing stones from the bladder). Below the coat of arms, a Latin inscription signaled the author's scholarly background: "PER IACOBVM RVEF, urbis Tigurinæ Chirurgum."

Ruf's interest in visual representation through the "wonderwork of the eye," as he called it in his Latin treatise *Practica copiosa de arte ophthalmica* (ca. 1545), was manifested no less in the theoretical interests he expressed as an author than in his practical activities as a surgeon (See figure 5).[45] Removing cataracts and restoring his patients' sight, he dealt with the eye as a key organ for bodily perception. His differentiated interest in visualization – a particularly intriguing issue after the iconoclasm of the Reformation had swept away the sumptuousness of visible images in Zurich – also found expression in the prologue to his passion play *Das lyden vnsers Herren Jesu Christi* (1545). There, he argued that the life of Christ had to be impressed on the mind's eye of the audience if it was to have a lasting effect. *Vor Augen führen* ('to make things visible to the eyes') represented a central motif in this as well as in his other plays.[46] The *tableaux vivants* that he organized on stage, consisting of figures from the Bible or from the history of the Swiss, were not intended to become cult objects, however. Rather, Ruf thought that the *tabula rasa* in Zurich's churches and public places should once again be filled with pictures, both negative and positive, that provided exemplary figures as models of action and behavior for the citizens. Ruf's understanding of vision explains the seeming paradox of a Protestant playwright who confronted his viewers with God on stage, as Ruf did, for example, in his play *Adam und Eva* (1550). Ruf's dramas, no less than Bullinger's early tract, aimed to convince Zurich's citizens that their God was always present as a passionate observer of their deeds. Ruf's focus, however, differed importantly from Bullinger's. The younger playwright's work

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[45] The *Practica* has never been printed. It is conserved in a single manuscript, richly illustrated with drawings in ink: Sammlungen der medizinische Universität Wien, JB 6.452. It is edited by Hubert Steinke and Clemens Müller in Keller, ed., *Jakob Ruf*, 3:465–599.

[46] For that purpose, the passion play uses rhetorical trope of *prosopopeia* in a theological context as well, namely in the opening speech of the herald on the second day (verses 2274–2299). A new edition of the play by Seline Schellenberg Wessendorf is published in Keller, ed., *Jakob Ruf*, 3:229–461.

Figure 4: Jakob Ruf's coat of arms from the title-page of his *Wilhelm Tell*, 1545, identical with the colored one on the title-page of his *Passion*, 1545
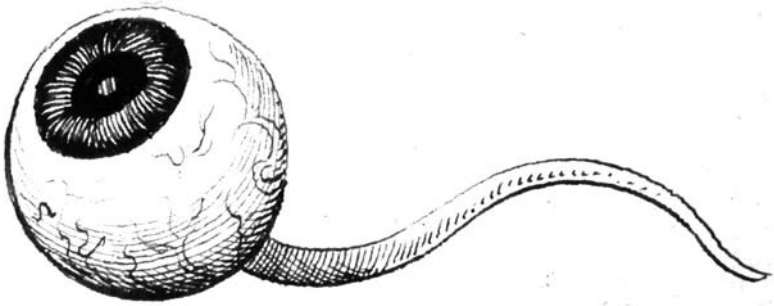Photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Rar. 76.

Figure 5: Pen-drawing from Jakob Ruf's *Practica copiosa de arte ophthalmica*, ca. 1545 (fol. 13v). Photo: Sammlungen der medizinische Universität Wien.

taught Zurich's citizens to see themselves as part of a larger unity, one that could encompass Switzerland's confessional differences, thus ensuring the freedom of the Reformed Confederates in particular. The former inhabitant of Constance knew just how precious such political unity was, especially in the difficult years when his native city faced re-Catholicization and those who wished to remain Reformed had to go into exile to Switzerland.[47]

Ruf's play *Wilhelm Tell*, staged as an open-air performance involving an impressively large number of citizens in 1545, and printed in the same year in Zurich, belonged to the wave of popularization of William Tell and his comrades, those founding fathers of the Confederation so admired by Zurich's reformers.[48] The narrative around William Tell became especially popular in the 1530's and 1540's, and not only in Zurich.[49] The myth belonged to secular historiography as much as to salvation history, insofar as it revealed God's plan for the 'small people' in the Alps and for their political self-determination. No other play illustrated these connections better than Ruf's *Wilhelm Tell*, and no part of his play demonstrates this point more effectively than the speeches of the heralds at its beginning.

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[47] Andrea Kauer and Seline Schellenberg Wessendorf, "Jakob Rufs soziale Netze in Zürich und Konstanz," in Keller, ed., *Jakob Ruf*, 1:130–41.

[48] The play is edited by Andrea Kauer and published in Keller, ed., *Jakob Ruf*, 3:121–225.

[49] The presence of this liberation-myth can be richly documented in media addressed to various audiences, ranging from carved tablets, dagger sheaths, and glass panes to printed calendars; cf. Walter Dettwiler, *Wilhelm Tell: Ansichten und Absichten* (Zurich: Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, 1991).

Ruf opened the play with two heralds (*erst Herold, der jung herold*), representing two different generations. They performed the typical herald's function of accompanying the public audience into the world of the play, but the length of their speeches far exceeded what was customary in dramas of this period. Moreover, their role was not limited to framing the fictional reality of the drama. Rather – and this is the decisive point – their principal purpose was to offer learned lessons in history that appealed to the spectators to identify themselves as Confederates, as *Eidgenossen*, and not just as Reformed citizens of Zurich. In 146 verses, the first herald presented a version of salvation history based on the canonical four world empires. He explained their rise and fall, and emphasized that in each case, their degeneration made necessary a transition of power to the next.[50] In the following 141 verses, the second herald took up the ethnogenesis of the Alpine peoples by conflating secular Roman historiography with the originary myth of the Confederation. His speech culminated in his declaration that the freedom of the confederates had been granted from the very beginning.

As printed by the Zurich publisher Augustin Fries, the play manifested two other significant features. First, the printed edition made all the decisive scenes of the Confederates' struggle for liberation visible in the form of woodcut illustrations, thus offering further insights into Ruf's dramaturgy of the heralds. The first two woodcuts of the edition showed the heralds, with the second visualizing the moment when the shield was handed over to the child herald (See figure 6). On this shield, the griffin from Ruf's family coat of arms appeared (See figure 4, above). At the very least, the printed play suggested that Ruf associated his own name with the authority that he invested in *Wilhelm Tell*. The heralds' speeches were thus paratexts in the classical sense – a means of shaping reception and, in this case, an aid to understanding the performance as a history of origins. The heralds themselves embodied the voice of the Lord, which on the stage of Jakob Ruf was connected with the voice of the author.[51] Moreover, in addition to the illustrations, the printed edition commented on the heralds' speeches with marginal glosses. For the first herald, the glosses provided the relevant scriptural sources and Latin references to the four empires;

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[50] Christian Moser, "Weltalter – Weltreiche," in Keller, ed., *Jakob Ruf*, 1:241–43.
[51] Otto Koischwitz, *Der Theaterherold im deutschen Schauspiel des Mittelalters und der Reformationszeit* (Berlin: Emil Ebering, 1926).

Yetz gibt der Herold dem junge Kna
ben den schilt / laßt jn den nachgen=
den spruch ouch sagen.

Der jung Herold ist ein junger
Knab/ spricht das Argument.

Figure 6: Transmission of the shield of the heralds on a woodcut in Jakob
Ruf's *Wilhelm Tell*, 1545 (fol. A2r). Photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München,
Rar. 76.

for the second, younger herald, they supported Ruf's historiographical discourse with chronological indications. These glosses thus not only provided visual links with the printed historical and theological works of the period, as had also been the case with Bullinger's treatise, but they also transformed the play, following its public performance, into a printed book of history and a richly illustrated historical commentary for the inhabitants of the city.

An analysis of the text reveals how Ruf reworked his models for *Wilhelm Tell*. The play emotionalized the theatrical representation of the myth of liberation in various ways, including elaborations of familiar scenes and additions of new elements to the action. Like the *Urner Tellenspiel*, Ruf's play opened with a speech by the bailiff Gryßler. In keeping with the woodcut illustration inserted in the printed edition, Gryßler on horseback spoke to the Confederates standing before him in their assembly ("an der Tagsatzung"), announcing his assumption of power (See figure 7). Ruf supplemented his models here by adding numerous threatening undertones. Since these harked back to Gryßler's opening address ("jr lieben fründ," i.e. "my dear friends"), they sounded like mockery in their denial of Swiss liberty.[52] It would have been obvious to the audience that this new ruler sought to enslave the peasant population of central Switzerland, to terminate their existing freedom, and to make them fear his sovereignty. Gryßler declared that his Austrian nobility legitimized his power, but from the perspective of the Confederates who appeared after him to portray his impact on their land, his claims to rulership were illegitimate. The negative introduction of the bailiff thus laid the groundwork for the later justification of his assassination.[53] When the complaints of the peasants concerning the predations of the bailiff increased – an addition that Ruf inserted in order to heighten the atmosphere of anxiety – and when Tell finally fell into the clutches of the bailiff, the drama accelerated.

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[52] In Ruf's model, the bailiff had addressed the confederates as "jr buren alle sampt." Cf. *Urner Tellenspiel*, ed. Wehrli, verses 125–36. The two protagonists of the play, the bailiff and Tell, are joined by the discourse of Swiss liberation, which takes material shape (especially in its aspects of mockery and denial) in the bailiff's hat and the "hat of Tell" (*Tellenhut*); cf. Thomas Maissen, "Der Freiheitshut. Ikonografische Annäherungen an das republikanische Freiheitsverständnis in der frühneuzeitlichen Eidgenossenschaft" in *Kollektive Freiheitsvorstellungen im frühneuzeitlichen Europa (1400–1850)*, eds. Georg Schmidt, Martin van Gelderen and Christopher Snigula (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006) 191–222.

[53] Guy P. Marchal, "Die Antwort der Bauern: Elemente und Schichtungen des eidgenössischen Geschichtsbewusstseins am Ausgang des Mittelalters," in *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewusstsein im späten Mittelalter*, ed. Hans Patze (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1987), 757–90.

Figure 7: The bailiff speaks to the confederates; woodcut in Jakob Ruf's *Wilhelm Tell*, 1545 (fol. A7r). Photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Rar. 76.

Tell derived his right of resistance from the discrepancy between the bailiff's claims to authority and his actual conduct. In shooting the bailiff from his ambush, therefore, Tell murdered a tyrant. Ruf was the first author to truly dramatize this critical scene.[54] As Gryßler's corpse was dragged away, his murderer praised God in a monologue resembling a prayer for having helped him to vanquish a tyrant and to free himself as well as his people from their tormentor. Tell's prayer emphasized the collective political significance of his deed for the Confederation, and thus let him appear, in his role as a murderer of a tyrant, as an instrument of God:

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[54] Cf. *Urner Tellenspiel*, ed. Wehrli; following verse 376 an extensive set of instructions for performance appear, which provide information about the murder. All further speeches by the characters, including Tell's monologue after the act, are missing.

Gott sy gelobt in dewigkeit
Das er vns hat in sonderheit
Erlößt von der bezwungenschafft
Ein fromme lobliche Eydgnoschafft

(May God be praised in eternity,
for he has specially chosen us,
a virtuous, praiseworthy Confederation,
for liberation from oppression.)

The young herald at the opening of the play had already announced that this outcome represented God's will for the Confederation:

Biß Gott nit mee wolt han verguot
Der tampt vnd milteret jren pracht
Das er gantz ward zenüti gmacht
Mit siner raach zuo sinen stunden
All wüetrich vnd jrsglychen kunden
Biß vßgrüt ward jr gschlächt vnd stamm
Vnd keiner nit ins land mee kam.

(God did not want to tolerate [the unjust rulers], so he reduced and diminished their glory, so that it was entirely destroyed; with His judgment at His time, he annihilated all such villains and their followers, their kin and their lines, so that none came into this country any more.)

Tell's triumphant celebration of the Confederation allows us to consider once again how he recontextualized the myth of its sacred election.

Remarkably, Ruf's prologue to *Wilhelm Tell*, like that to his 1538 *Etter Heini*, stressed neither the special status of the citizens of Zurich nor that of its reformers, but rather the union between peers within the Confederation, and eventually among all Christians. This rather surprising turn represented Ruf's attempt to identify a least common denominator for reconciliation that could strengthen unity among the confederates – a unity that, for him too, was (and should remain) rooted in a divine plan. To this end, Ruf put less emphasis on covenant theology in the spirit of Bullinger, emphasizing instead the way that the Confederation's unity ought to reflect the essential unity of God himself. The speech of the herald in the *Etter Heini* sought to prove this point: the number one was indivisible (*unteilbar*) as was God, one in himself. This unity of God appeared to be mirrored in the history of salvation, especially through the election of "one small people," a term that evoked the community among the Swiss:

zal eins ist eins wirt nit zertrennt /
in dem man warlich gott erckennt /

der einig ist in sinem wäsen /
hatt im ein völckli vserläsen.

(The number one is one and won't be divided.
In it one truly recognizes God,
Who is One in his essence,
And has chosen for himself one small people.)

Contrary to what one might expect, however, the expression *völckli* in this passage introduced neither the chosen people of Israel nor the Swiss Confederates, but took a new turn. Obviously, Ruf did not simply want to enhance the myth; indeed, it appears that by this point, he counted it as common knowledge. Much more important to him as a precondition for unity was a modest way of life that would be pleasing to God. The first Swiss character to appear on the stage was therefore described as "schlechtlich bkleidt im grawen bart" ("modestly dressed with a gray beard"), embodying the ideal of the forefathers discussed above. Only after his entry did Ruf's drama explicitly mention the political entity that concerned him: the Confederation as a whole.

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Bullinger's harsh *prosopopeia Dei* was legitimized by the concept of a covenant that provided the mythic cornerstone for the Confederation and its fortunate history of resistance. At its heart lay a myth of election, which was itself rooted in the archetype of Jewish election and the liberation of the people of Israel. Even the cows in their meadows that Bullinger praised signaled what was at stake: the salvation history of the Confederation, and power over the homeland of the Confederates. The Alpine homeland and its denizens embodied Bullinger's argument, since they formed part of the Alpine ethnoscape that it was his goal to celebrate. His *Anklag*, a speech made by God to a people in the midst of political and ideological turmoil, thus captured a key moment in the self-reflection of the Swiss Confederation during the period 1450–1550.

Ruf's plays also showed the Confederation in a critical situation of trial. However, the notions of election established by Zurich's reformers now seemed more of a hindrance than a help to in overcoming the dangers that threatened Swiss unity. In order to remove the blinders from the eyes of his contemporaries, Ruf found ways to enact and thereby reconceptualize the Confederation's mythic self-understanding. Whereas Bullinger enhanced an agonal past in order to legitimate the Reformation – in historical fact, a development that nearly shattered

the Confederation – , Ruf reminded its members that the precondition for peace was their unity as Christians. Ruf's reading therefore served as a criticism of the foundational character and function of the Swiss founding myths. Myths have the power to mobilize a citizenry, but they can also paralyze, an ambivalence that Ruf must have felt not only as a playwright and a rhetorical re-inventor of the dramatic herald, but no less as an immigrant from Constance who never lost sight of his own status as an outsider.

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WHY DID SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ESTATES ADDRESS THE JURISDICTIONS OF THEIR PRINCES AS FATHERLANDS? WAR, TERRITORIAL ABSOLUTISM AND DUTIES TO THE FATHERLAND IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY GERMAN POLITICAL DISCOURSE

Robert von Friedeburg

The late medieval *regnum teutonicum* was a monarchy difficult to rule. Some kings were deposed, and those who were not found it difficult to secure obedience.[1] Some commentators were not sure that Germany was a monarchy at all. If so, it was surely a *regimen politicum* characterized by the substantial power of its princes. While token acknowledgment of the imperial *plenitudo potestatis* remained common, the emperor's actual will was interpreted in ways that conformed to the political will of princes or cities.[2] Even after his victory at Mühlberg in 1547 over the Schmalkaldic League, Charles V recognized that Germany could not be run by the sword.[3]

By the middle of the sixteenth century, nevertheless, princely rule also came to be described as 'monarchical.' Such development of autonomous territorial states has long been considered a hallmark of German political peculiarity, marking its aberration from Western European history, dividing the nation into different states and entrenching absolutism in the territorial power of princes.[4] The sovereign princely

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[1] Ernst Schubert, *Königsabsetzung im deutschen Mittelalter* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005); Horst Carl, "Landfriedenseinung und Ungehorsam – der Schwäbische Bund in der Geschichte des vorreformatorischen Widerstandsrechts im Reich," in *Widerstandsrecht in der frühen Neuzeit. Erträge und Perspektiven der Forschung im deutsch-englischen Vergleich*, ed. Robert von Friedeburg (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2001), 85–112, esp. 99–103.

[2] Eberhard Isenmann, "Der römisch-deutsche Koenig und 'imperator modernus' als 'monarcha' und 'princeps' in Traktaten und in deutschen Konsilien des 15./16. Jahrhunderts," in *'Panta rei.' Studi dedicati a Manlio Bellomo*, ed. Orazio Condorelli (Rome: Il cigno, 2004), 15–79.

[3] Luise Schorn-Schütte, ed., *Das Interim 1548/50: Herrschaftskrise und Glaubenskonflikt* (Heidelberg: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2005).

[4] Leonard Krieger, *The German Idea of Freedom: History of a Political Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).

territorial state, though a constitutional fact only after 1815, (and then either condemned or hailed by its nineteenth century contemporaries for their own reasons),[5] became so entrenched as historiographical orthodoxy that even its critics after World War II simply reversed earlier appreciation of its alleged strength into condemnation for its alleged authoritarianism, while still accepting assumptions about the post-Reformation decay of the Empire from earlier historiography. Perspectives as diverse as Francis Carsten's 'princes and parliaments,' Marc Raeff's 'early modern police state' and Helmut Koenigsberger's 'monarchies, states-general and parliaments' paid homage to this narrative, since it was too useful, especially for the construction of large pan-European meta-histories, to be easily abandoned.[6]

Since the 1960s, however, research has slowly but completely dismantled the traditional narrative.[7] Historians such as Karl-Otmar von Aretin, Peter Moraw, Volker Press, Heinz Schilling, and Georg Schmidt have shown that there was no disintegration of a high medieval unified German state into modern sovereign territories, but rather a consolidation of state-like institutions in that part of the Empire increasingly addressed as belonging to the 'German Nation.' This consolidation, taking place most notably through the formalization of the Imperial Diet and through the establishment the Imperial Chamber court in 1495, happened *in conjunction* with similar consolidation in many princely jurisdictions. The reinterpretation of the Religious Peace of Augsburg

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[5] Heinrich von Treitschke, *Deutsche Geschichte im 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Volksverband der Bücherfreunde, 1927), 3: 474, on the "living monarchical order" above social conflicts; Reinhold Koser, "Die Epochen der absoluten Monarchie in der neueren Geschichte," *Historische Zeitschrift* 61 (1889): 246–287; from a Catholic perspective see Johannes Janssen, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalter* (Freiburg: Herder, 1876–90). For emphasis on the culture of obedience within the territorial state see Gerhard Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State*, ed. Brigitta Oestreich and H. G. Koenigsberger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

[6] These three examples must suffice: Francis Carsten, *Princes and Parliaments in Germany* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959); Marc Raeff, *The Well-Ordered Police State: Social and Institutional Change through Law in the Germanies and Russia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983); H. G. Koenigsberger, *Monarchies, States Generals and Parliaments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). While Koenigsberger focuses on the Netherlands, he subsumes Germany under the triumph of royal absolutism, providing a useful cliché to construct a dichotomy of parliamentary and absolutist pathways in Europe, e.g. 337. Only Poland, the Netherlands and Britain, he says, escaped royal absolutism.

[7] Heinz Schilling, "Wider den Mythos vom Sonderweg – die Bedingungen des deutschen Weges in die Neuzeit," in Paul-Joachim Heinig et al., eds., *Reich, Regionen und Europa im Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Festschrift für Peter Moraw* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2000).

brought about by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 provided another constitutional hallmark for something that began to be perceived as the historic constitution specific to the Empire of the German Nation and its territories, replacing the assumption of a *translatio imperii* from Rome. This historic constitution was understood to protect the liberties, i.e. privileges, of a German nation consisting of corporate estate groups.[8]

As the older narrative of a transfer of state functions from Empire to territories was dismantled, scholars' attention has once again turned to the always controversial relationship between the rhetoric of nation and fatherland, on the one hand, and the Empire and its parts, on the other.[9] The existence of this rhetoric has been recognized all along.[10] Both Humanist praise of the 'German Nation' and the waves of pamphlets that emerged during the Reformation, the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, arguing in defense of a German nation and fatherland, have been subject to detailed research.[11] The relationship between the

[8] While this fundamental shift in approach is not least due to the multiplication of specialized monographic research in both social history and the history of political thought, some historians stand out: Peter Moraw, *Von offener Verfassung zu gestalteter Verdichtung: das Reich im späten Mittelalter, 1250 bis 1490* (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1985); Georg Schmidt, *Geschichte des alten Reiches: Staat und Nation in der Frühen Neuzeit, 1495–1806* (Munich: Beck, 1999); idem, "Angst vor dem Kaiser? Die Habsburger, die Erblande und die deutsche Libertät im 17. Jahrhundert," in H. Duchhardt and Matthias Schnettger, eds., *Reichsständische Libertät und Habsburgisches Kaisertum* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1999); Peter Moraw, "Königliche Herrschaft und Verwaltung im spätmittelalterlichen Reich (ca. 1350–1450)," in *Das spätmittelalterliche Königtum im europäischen Vergleich*, ed. Reinhard Schneider (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1987), 185–200; idem, "Zu Stand und Perspektiven der Ständeforschung im spätmittelalterlichen Reich," in *Über König und Reich. Aufsätze zur deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte des späten Mittelalters*, ed. Peter Moraw and Rainer Christoph Schwinges (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1995), 243–275; Volker Press, *Kriege und Krisen: Deutschland 1600–1715* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1991); Karl-Otmar von Aretin, *Das Alte Reich 1648–1806*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: Klett Cotta, 1993–97).

[9] Schmidt, *Geschichte des Alten Reiches*; Martin Wrede, *Das Reich und seine Feinde: Politische Feindbilder in der reichspatriotischen Publizistik zwischen Westfälischem Frieden und Siebenjährigem Krieg* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 2004); Heinz Schilling, "Reichs-Staat oder frühneuzeitliche Nation der Deutschen oder teilmodernisiertes Reichssystem: Überlegungen zu Charakter und Aktualität des Alten Reiches," *Historische Zeitschrift* 272 (2001): 377–549.

[10] Robert von Friedeburg, "Dickens, the German Reformation, and the Issue of Nation and Fatherland in Early Modern German History," *Historical Research* 77 (2001): 79–97; Adam Wandruszka, *Reichspatriotismus und Reichspolitik zur Zeit des Prager Friedens von 1635* (Graz: H. Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1955).

[11] On the Humanists, Herfried Münkler, et al., *Nationenbildung: Die Nationalisierung Europas im Diskurs humanistischer Intellektueller, Italien und Deutschland* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1998). On the rhetoric of nation and fatherland, see esp. Georg Schmidt, *Altes Reich*; Wrede, *Reich und seine Feinde*; Georg Schmidt and Dieter Langewiesche, eds., *Föderative Nation. Deutschlandkonzepte von der Reformation bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (Munich:

state-character of either – or both – Empire and territories and the rhetoric of 'nation' and 'fatherland' remains highly controversial. I will argue that in the second half of the sixteenth century – in sharp contrast to the fifteenth and earlier sixteenth century – the rhetoric of fatherland began to be used to describe the jurisdictions of princes as well as to describe the Empire. More then that: rather then functioning as literary rhetoric, the denomination of a jurisdiction as a *patria* carried the legal meaning of a coherent closed legal district, rather then a bundle of varying rights over diverse tenants and vassals.

This new use of *patria* both reflected and supported the transformation of princely jurisdictions into such closed districts, over which princes now claimed exclusive control. In consequence, princes' tenants and vassals were transformed into subjects of a *pater patriae* by virtue of physically inhabiting such a fatherland. This potentially allowed their princes to burden them with more duties and dues then the specific contracts they had possessed as vassals and tenants would have allowed. At least since the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, the rhetoric of fatherland was also used by these very subjects to define their new fatherland as governed by laws that protected their own privileges, the *leges patriae*, and as inhabited by certain subjects with a special care for the fatherland and its laws. Especially between the 1610s and 1670s, as political, social, economic and military crisis hit the Empire and threatened to undermine the influence of the territorial estates, and as Roman Law precedents gave way to historic precedents based on the alleged ancient constitution of the 'Empire of the German nation' and its lands, estates from Württemberg to Calenberg and from Hesse to Pomerania began to defend their privileges as historic *leges patriae* specific to the territorial fatherland in question. In what follows, this argument will be pursued from two perspectives. I will begin with a short outline of the significance of the term *patria* within legal discourse (I), followed, for lack of space, by a single example that reveals in more detail that, although the application of the new term remained muddled, contradictory and haphazard, its use tended to become openly anti-absolutist in the seventeenth century (II).

<div align="center">I</div>

We know that the plural 'German lands' became a singular 'Germany' (*Teutschland*) only around 1500. By the same token, the various lands

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Oldenbourg, 2000); and Heinz Duchhardt and Andreas Kunz, eds., *Reich oder Nation? Mitteleuropa 1780–1815* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1998).

that princes ruled were not, around 1500, units usually referred to when describing these German lands. In a document from 1422, for example, the German lands were "Swabia, Bavaria, Franconia, at the Rhine, in the Alsace, the Wetterau, Hesse, Thuringia, Saxony, Westphalia, Meissen…" and so forth. These were mainly geographical regions, not princely jurisdictions. Well into the early sixteenth century, the term 'territory' designated only a spatially defined district of village lands. Only much later did historians address the various scattered rights of princes with this term, thus implying a geographical and legal uniformity neither achieved nor recognized by early sixteenth century contemporaries.[12] Correspondingly, the princely *terrae* of late medieval constitutional thought were not spatial territories, but scattered areas where princes had accumulated diverse rights.[13] By the 1550s, though, the terminology had begun to change. Now, not only did the existence of spatially closed territories begin to be acknowledged, but they were also characterized as *patriae*, fatherlands, at least in technical legal discourse. By the later eighteenth century, the tide had turned completely. By 1760, German intellectuals such as Justus Möser in Osnabrück or his young friend and intended son-in-law, Thomas Abbt, were highly skeptical about Germany or the Empire being a tangible fatherland, whereas they insisted that certain territories, such Prussia or Osnabrück, could and should be fatherlands.[14] Right into the later nineteenth century, Germany remained a bundle of such territorial fatherlands, ranging from free cities such as Hamburg or Lübeck to small independent principalities such as Brunswick, Mecklenburg or Lippe to large kingdoms such as Württemberg, Bavaria or even Prussia.[15]

Two issues need to be kept in mind. First, throughout the early modern period, fatherlands could be and were sought on various levels. The *patria communis*, the wider *regnum teutonicum*, coexisted with the narrower hometown or region. Thus, we do not propose here that one single sense of fatherland replaced another one, but rather argue that the jurisdictions of princes rose to take a well-recognized position within the ensemble of

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[12] Ernst Schubert, "Der Rätselhafte Begriff 'Land' im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit," *Concilium Medii Aevi* 1 (1998): 15–27, here 17.

[13] Ernst Schubert, *Fürstliche Herrschaft und Territorium im späten Mittelalter* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1995).

[14] Karl H. L. Welker, *Rechtsgeschichte als Rechtspolitik: Justus Möser als Staatsmann*, 2 vols. (Osnabrück: Verein für Geschichte und Landeskunde von Osnabrück, 1996), 1:194–251; Thomas Abbt, *Vom Tode für das Vaterland* (Berlin: F. Nicolai, 1762).

[15] Abigail Green, *Fatherlands: State-building and Nationhood in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

definitions. Second, this trajectory seems at first to justify John Breuilly's remarks about nation and fatherland: first come the bureaucratic state structures, no matter how embryonic, that enforce certain areas of communication and organization, then follows the emergence of rhetoric involving terms such as nation or fatherland.[16] But what did these shifts in language actually entail? Without doubt, many princes in Germany succeeded in emancipating themselves to a considerable extent from the formal control of estate assemblies. But we know as well that princely rule hardly ever succeeded in entirely implementing territorial absolutism, as occurred in Bohemia in 1620, let alone becoming independent of support from the society in which it remained embedded.[17] The Imperial Public Peace (*Reichslandfrieden*) of 1495 stipulated that only those represented at Imperial Diet should be allowed to associate directly with one another and to defend their privileges and subjects against illicit hostile force. Most of those thus excluded from representation at the Imperial Diet found themselves increasingly defined as mere subjects, though still entitled to legal protection under the emerging constitution of Empire and territories. While many towns, monasteries and even a few peasant villages south of the Main escaped these changes, the princes north of the Main more successfully extended their spheres of influence.[18] They bullied and subjugated towns and noble families under their sway, bolstered by lawyers who by 1600 turned factual might into legal right by inventing a new legal category: *superioritas* or *landesherrliche Oberkeit*.[19]

Although it fell short of full-scale Bodinian sovereignty, *superioritas* was more then the sum of the various feudal and jurisdictional rights of which late medieval princely rule had consisted. It assumed a prince's

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[16] John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982).

[17] Ronald Asch and Heinz Duchhardt, "Die Geburt des 'Absolutismus' im 17. Jahrhundert: Epochenwende der europäischen Geschichte oder optische Täuschung?" in Asch and Duchhardt, eds, *Der Absolutismus – ein Mythos?* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1996).

[18] On the prince-elector of the Palatinate's failure to consolidate territorial rule over former vassals, see Volker Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat: Regierung und Zentralbehörden der Kurpfalz 1559–1619* (Stuttgart: E. Klett, 1970). Similarly, the archbishop-elector of Trier failed to subordinate the local knights under his jurisdiction. On Franconia, see Hans Hubert Hofmann, "Freibauern, Freidörfer, Schutz und Schirm im Fürstentum Ansbach: Studien zur Genesis der Staatlichkeit in Franken," *Zeitschrift für bayrische Landesgeschichte* 23 (1960): 195–327.

[19] Heinz Schilling, *Konfessionskonflikt und Staatsbildung: eine Fallstudie über das Verhältnis von religiösem und sozialem Wandel in der Frühneuzeit am Beispiel der Grafschaft Lippe* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus G. Mohn, 1981).

comprehensive power over subjects, within which earlier specific rights or claims were simply features or tokens of the larger whole. The full weight of princely power, the lawyers argued, applied to anyone inhabiting the defined space that became a legal entity over the course of the sixteenth century: the princely jurisdiction as closed district. Therefore, legal definitions that projected power over defined spatial units rather then with respect to specific treatises and contracts became crucial. For example, in his discussion on controversies regarding fiefs, Ulrich Zasius, a major legal scholar of the first part of the sixteenth century, treated the relevance of the boundaries of such spatial units. Vassals holding a fief within a certain geographical area, he argued, could also be assumed to owe homage in a wider sense to the area's prince.[20] Legal dictionaries and handbooks for students often turned to the provinces of the later Roman Empire and their heads, the *presides provinciarum*, to provide an example for this new spatial unit. For this purpose, the Roman province could also be called *patria*. For example, Johannes Spiegel's *Lexicon Iuris Civilis* of the 1540s, "one of the major pedagogical handbooks" on law of the century, gave among the listed meanings of *patria* the *patria potestas*, i.e. the legal power of the father over his family. But it also defined *patria* as *provincia*, a spatially defined area in which all powers and administrative agencies necessary for the maintenance of political order (*ordinationes politiae*) were controlled by a single magistrate.[21] In 1577, a later edition of this dictionary took over the article on *patria* as *provincia* from the earlier edition, but added not only a further reference to the subjects' duty of *caritas* to the *patria*, but also a reference to Johannes Oldendorp's *In Verba Legum XII Tabularem Scholia*. This work was added to this edition of the dictionary so that readers could immediately check the reference. Oldendorp's commentary informed about the offices and legal rights of various magistrates under Roman law, and in particular about the *presides provinciarum*, the heads of the provinces.[22] The Roman magistrates' concatenation of

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[20] Ulrich Zasius, *Usus Feudorum epitome*, in *Omnia Opera*, vol. IV, ed. Johann Ulrich Zasius and Joachim Münsinger von Frundeck, (Lyon, 1550 [reprint, Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1964]), 244–341, here 327.

[21] Jacob Spiegel, *Lexicon Iuris Civilis, ex variis autorum commentariis* (Lyon, 1541; Leiden, 1549), 426. Jacob Spiegel was a student of Ulrich Zasius, a major proponent of humanist legal scholarship. See Steven Rowan, "Ulrich Zasius. A Jurist in the German Renaissance, 1461–1535," *Ius Commune* 31 (1987): 222.

[22] *Lexicon Iuris Civilis par Iacobum Spigelium* (Basel, 1577), 2010–2012; Johannes Oldendorp, *In Verba Legum XII Tabularem Scholia* (Cologne, 1539), Title II, De Magistratibus,

powers within their provinces was thus used to bolster the princes'
claims to rule over spatial districts.

The period between the later sixteenth and the early eighteenth
century saw unprecedented litigation over the nature and extent of
princely power, and in particular about the actual extent of the emer-
gency powers associated with princely *superioritas*. Princes in Bohemia,
Bavaria, the Palatinate, Württemberg, Lippe, Brandenburg, Calenberg,
Hesse and elsewhere attempted to assert unaccountable personal rule.
But only in a few exceptional cases, such as Bohemia after 1620, was
territorial absolutism successfully introduced. Combinations of judicial
defeat in the imperial courts and pressure from territorial estates in many
cases led to the preservation or re-installation of estates' rights, and in
some cases even to the abdication of a given prince. Notable examples
include the dukes of Württemberg (banned in 1516 and expelled in
1519), of Bavaria (abdication in 1583), and of Mecklenburg (1719), as
well as two successive landgraves of Hesse-Kassel (abdication in 1627,
banishment of the successor in 1636), one archbishop-elector of Trier
(1635), the elector-prince of Bavaria Max Emanuel (1704) and the
archbishop-elector of Cologne Joseph Clemens (1702/1703). These
eight cases, though each different in its legal-political framework, judi-
cial detail and territorial significance, amply demonstrate the potential
stumbling blocks to princely control that estate resistance, imperial
intervention and political vicissitude could provide.

After the later sixteenth century, moreover, the concept of fatherland
gained significance in disputes such as these. During this period, both
during the Thirty Years War and in the tumultuous period following
it, power relations in the Empire swung substantially, at first in favor
of the Emperor, as during the time of the peace of Prague, but then
increasingly in favor of the princes. After the military defeat of the
Emperor in 1648, the princes instituted imperial laws in 1654 that
established their right to tax their subjects in order to raise troops for
the defense of the Empire; they soon attempted to enlarge this provision
to cover all of their military forces. Some princes even thought about
building an alliance to help one another establish absolutism in their
lands, and to prevent legal protection from the courts of the Empire
from interfering with their control over their subjects.

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c. XV, 39, alleging that the rights of the *presides provinciarum* had re-emerged as part of
the transferral of *imperium* and were now the "mandatis principum"; Hermann Vultejus,
ed., *Lexicon Iuridicum* (Cologne, 1612).

II

For example, Moritz, landgrave of Hesse-Kassel, not only commissioned a new history of the Hessian fatherland, the *Hessische Chronik* of 1605, but also had the map of his fatherland and its adjacent regions redrawn. His goal was to prove that the counts of Waldeck and of the Wetterau, who had occasionally attended the diets of the Hessian princes in the fifteenth century and had taken certain lands as fiefs for various reasons, lived within the spatial district of the Hessian fatherland and were therefore his subjects. The history projected the origins of this fatherland far back into the Early Teutonic past. The counts retaliated by commissioning their own histories of their own fatherlands. The landgrave also used the term *patria* when asking those noblemen who had accepted their membership in this new entity already for more taxes then he was legally entitled to.[23] Thus, well into the 1600s, princes very much used the term fatherland to underscore the duties and obligations of their subjects. We have to turn to the catastrophic circumstances of war in Hesse to understand how and why the estates appropriated this term.

In 1615, the Hessian estates – faced with landgrave Moritz's policy of preparing for military confrontation with the Emperor and thus dragging the country into war – framed their resistance by referring to themselves as *Patrioten* with their own responsibilities to the land Hesse. Similarly, in Württemberg in 1613, the estates executed Mathäus Enzlin, the favorite of the late duke Friedrich (1593–1608), because of his alleged attempt to violate the rights of the estates, established through written accords with the prince but now styled by the estates as *mores patrios*. The Pomeranian estates possessed a written constitution, established in 1634, that reserved the right to counsel the prince and participate

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[23] Gerhard Menk, "Die Chronistik als politisches Kampfinstrument—Wilhelm Dilich und Marquard Freher," in *Hessische Chroniken zur Landes- und Stadtgeschichte*, ed. idem (Marburg: Verlag Trautvetter & Fischer Nachfolger, 2003); idem, "Recht und Raum in einem waldeckischen Reichskammergerichtsprozeß," *Geschichtsblätter für Waldeck* 88 (2000): 12–47. Marquard M. Freher, *Historischer Bericht von der Wetterau, und anderen an das Fürstentum Hessen grenzenden Landen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1608), was produced to respond to the Hessian claims on the Wetterau. To claim Waldeck, Moritz had *Deduktionen* produced in 1619, 1622 and 1624. Waldeck retaliated with the *Gräfflich-Waldeckischen Ehrenrettung*. Moritz responded with a *Gründliche Abfertigung und Widerlegung dieser Ehrenrettung*. See Gerhard Menk, *Waldecks Beitrag für das heutige Hessen* (Wiesbaden: Hessische Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1995), 220; see also the *Articulata Deductio et Probatio in continenti: Die hessische Oberherrliche Bottmäßigkeit und Landsässerey dero Graffschaft Waldeck betreffend* (Marburg, 1630), 220–22.

in his council to *Patrioten* only. The Pomeranians were among the first
to use the neologism *Patrioten* to designate those who could claim an
office of state. Finally, in 1674, the Calenberg estates in lower Saxony
defended their right to counsel by describing themselves as a "*corpus
politicum*" and "*senatus patriae*."[24] Indeed, even later seventeenth century
standard accounts written for princes by their advisors accepted some
limits on princes. For example, Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff reflected
explicitly in his *Teutsche Fürstenstaat* on the need for any prince to act
within the legal constraints imposed by the Empire, and the social
constraints imposed by the expectations of his subjects.[25] Going even
further, Hermann Conring, one of the leading legal scholars and politi-
cal scientists in mid-seventeenth century Germany, explicitly argued that
legal relationships in Germany had to be molded in conformity with
Germany's ancient constitution, which meant taking into account the
rights of estates.[26] Over time, princely jurisdictions were thus redefined
not only as closed spatial territories, making everyone within them sub-
ject to princely power, but also as legal units with their own history and
even constitutions, which protected subjects against arbitrary princely
actions. The latter development, however, also depended on how estates
chose to describe their own resistance against princely aggrandizement.
In this context, the case of Hesse is especially interesting.

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[24] For Württemberg, Ronald Asch, "Der Sturz des Favoriten. Der Fall Matthäus
Enzlins und die politische Kultur des deutschen Territorialstaats an der Wende vom
16. zum 17. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* 57 (1998): 37–63,
esp. 41, 55; for Hanover-Calenberg, Annette von Stieglitz, *Landesherr und Stände zwischen
Konfrontation und Kooperation: Die Innenpolitik Herzog Johann Friedrichs im Fürstentum Calenberg,
1665–1679* (Hanover: Hahn, 1994), 106; for Pomerania, Herbert Langer, "Die pom-
merschen Landstände und der Westfälische Friedenskongreß," in *Der Westfälische Friede.
Diplomatie – politische Zäsur – kulturelles Umfeld – Rezeptionsgeschichte*, ed. Heinz Duchhardt
(Munich: Oldenbourg, 1998), 485–499; Friedeburg, "In Defence of *Patria*. Resisting
Magistrates and the Duties of Patriots in the Empire, 1530s-1640s," *Sixteenth Century
Journal* 32 (2001): 357–382. For the neologism *Patrioten* in Pomerania, see Archivum
Panstwowe w Szczecinie P I Tit 79 Nr. 57, Sig. I/3145, Poland: "Belangendt die
newe Regimentsverfassung" (1634). In 39 pages the term "Pomersche Nation" is used
twice, "Vaterland" six times, "patria" and "Patrioten" six times; Christian Rowe, "Die
Pommersche Regimentsverfassung von 1634" (M.A. Thesis, University of Hamburg,
2001), 72. Further, Robert von Friedeburg, *Self-Defence and Religious Strife in Early Modern
Europe. England and Germany 1530–1680* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), ch. 4; for Hesse,
idem, "Resisting Magistrates."

[25] Gerhard Menk, "Der deutsche Territorialstaat in Veit Ludwig von Seckendorffs
Werk und Wirken," in *Dynastie und Herrschaftssicherung in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Heide
Wunder (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2002), 55–92.

[26] Hermann Conring, *Exercitatio de Germanici imperii civibus* (Helmstadt, 1641).

The plausibility of new arguments for estates' rights was rooted in very real experiences of war and occupation. Indeed, across Germany the war's devastation provoked a well-known flood of pamphlets deploring the plight of an ill-defined German fatherland. Hesse suffered particular devastation, so that contemporary Europeans saw it as a paradigmatic case for the outrages of war.[27]

The core possessions of the landgraves of Hesse lay in the principality of Hesse, traditionally administered from a northern centre at Kassel for the lower principality and a western centre at Marburg for the upper principality. Around 1620, these northern and western cores counted about 200,000 and 80,000 inhabitants, respectively.[28] By comparison, the county of Essex in England, one of the largest and wealthiest of the realm around 1600, had a population of only about 100,000. Competition for influence between the mighty archbishop-elector at Mainz and the landgraves had restrained the landgraves' influence until the 1450s. In the middle of the fifteenth century, however, the landgraves inherited the counties of Diez, Ziegenhain and Upper- and Lower Katzenellenbogen, allowing them to reach the Rhine, where they established a tariff station that greatly increased their financial resources. In the wake of the Reformation, the archbishop of Mainz ceded most of his jurisdictional influence in the region to landgrave Philip, who in 1567 left unequal parts of the principality to each of his four sons. Despite this division, each of the four brothers now possessed substantial influence and power, not least because each exercised the former jurisdiction of the archbishop of Mainz within his own part of the inheritance.

Lutheran confessionalization among the Darmstadt and Marburg branches of the principality and a hostile Calvinist response in the Kassel

[27] Terence McIntosh, "Urban Demographic Stagnation in Early Modern Germany: A Simulation," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 31 (2001): 581–612; John Theibault, *German Villages in Crisis: Rural Life in Hesse-Kassel and the Thirty Years' War, 1580–1720* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1995). Contemporary British accounts include: Mary F. S. Hervey, *The Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), 392; William Crowne, *A True Relation of all the remarkable Places and passages observed in the Travels of the right honourable Thomas, Lord Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey* (London, 1637), 38, 46; and Henry Parker, *The Manifold Miseries of Civill Warre and Discord in a Kingdom by the examples of Germany, France, Ireland and other places* (London, 1642), 2–3.

[28] Ulrich Moeker, *Entwicklungstheorie und geschichtliche Wirtschaft: makroökonomische Erklärungen wirtschaftlicher Zustände und Entwicklungen der Landgrafschaft Hessen—Kassel vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (Marburg: Möker, 1971), 105–106.

branch began to drive an increasingly bitter wedge into the family, eventually leading to a legal battle over disputed inheritances between the Lutheran Darmstadt family branch and the Calvinist Kassel family branch under Moritz. In 1605, Moritz unequivocally converted to the Reformed faith, not only provoking massive unrest in the formerly Lutheran parts of the former Marburg line's territories, but also sealing his complete alienation from both the Catholic Habsburgs and his Lutheran Darmstadt cousins, who henceforth worked closely together against him.[29] Several hints about the "ancient fatherland" of the Hessian people and their religion had been part and parcel of the propaganda Moritz deployed to justify his shift to the Reformed confession. In addition to this application of growing antiquarian interest in Germany to Hesse's ancient roots, Moritz repeatedly used the term *patria* not only in his efforts to subdue the neighboring counts, but also to confront the Hessian nobility assembled in their diet with their duty to "defend the fatherland," i.e. to finance his army against the Emperor.[30] The nobility, however, remained vehemently opposed to any armed conflict. After 1609, they repeatedly warned against the consequences of war with the Habsburgs, in particular after the Bohemian crisis escalated in 1618/20. As early as 1615, when opposing landgrave Moritz's demands for money, they sought to capture the rhetoric of *patria* by describing themselves as loyal patriots (*getreue Patrioten*), who would defend the prince and the fatherland—though according to what they themselves deemed necessary.[31]

In November 1620, the army of the Bohemian estates was crushed. Bohemia became subject to military occupation and was turned into an absolute dominion. Spanish forces captured the Palatinate, while Tilly moved to the Rhine. Catholic forces victoriously approached the Hessian borders even as Moritz frantically sought to mobilize further support from the Lutheran princes of Northern Germany. The leaders of the estates now began to negotiate, first with the Spanish general Spinola in

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[29] Volker Press, "Hessen im Zeitalter der Landesteilung (1567–1655)," in Walter Heinemeyer, ed., *Das Werden Hessens* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1986), 267–331.

[30] In a note to the councilor Curion, Moritz wrote in 1607 that only those should be recruited for service who were "capables des servir la patre et estre coutez pour membres utiles de la Republique," quoted by Holger Gräf, *Konfession und internationales System. Die Außenpolitik Hessen-Kassels im konfessionellen Zeitalter* (Darmstadt: Hessische Historische Kommission Darmstadt, 1993), 245; see also Dietrich Christoph von Rommel, *Geschichte von Hessen* (Marburg: Krieger'schen Buchhandlung, 1820–58), 7: 25. Moritz urged the nobles in 1609 to support the "Defendierung des Vaterlandes," and again in 1615 to work in favor of the "Liebe des ganzen Vaterlandes."

[31] On 1615, Staatsarchiv Marburg [henceforth StAM], Bestand 304 (Stiftsarchiv Kaufungen), Nr. 424, "Resolutio auff beschehene Proposition Illustrissimi."

1621, delivering his demand for Moritz's immediate withdrawal from the Protestant Union, and then with the Catholic commander-in-chief Tilly in 1623.[32] Moritz and his advisors were outraged by this betrayal on the part of his subjects. In spring 1624, Moritz's main advisor, Wolfgang Günther, blamed both the nobility and the urban magistrates for having "built the bridges on which the enemy entered the land."[33] To the noblemen, however, their actions represented an effort to save the country at the very last minute from occupation and plunder, something they had warned against for nearly a decade. Thus, they again used the term *patria* when demanding that Moritz preserve the peace at all costs, in order to protect the "welfare of the fatherland."[34] They even demanded that Moritz, "for the fatherland," should respect "the supreme and ancient law *salus populi suprema lex esto*," even if that meant submitting to whatever the Emperor's and Tilly's demands were.[35] Exasperated by the way in which Moritz, without any reasonable hope of protecting his land and its people, remained unwilling to submit to the Emperor, the estates in spring 1626 further demanded that Moritz put "*salutem patriae* before all other considerations, even by abdicating as General Tilly demands."[36] In 1627, Moritz had to abdicate in favor of his son Wilhelm V, the husband of Amélie. Moritz' advisor, Günther, who had blamed the nobility for treason, was executed.[37] The official announcement of the abdication from the Hessian pulpits, prepared by the Kassel court preacher, made its case plainly enough. It compared Moritz's with David's abdication in favor of Solomon. Parishioners all over Hesse were reminded, "that David's subjects and his whole kingdom suffered because of his fault: And he did not refrain from confessing, when he stated, see, I have sinned, I have done misdeeds, be your hand against me and my father's house."[38]

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[32] W. Grotefend, "Der Prozeß des landgräflichen Raths Dr. Wolfgang Günther," *Hessenland* 12 (1898): 226–28, 270–72, 288–90, 298–301, here 226.

[33] Walter Keim, "Landgraf Wilhelm V in Hessen–Kassel," *Hessisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 12 (1962): 166; Rommel, *Geschichte von Hessen*, 7: 682–690, esp. 688.

[34] StAM Bestand 73 Nr. 32: "Deß Vatterlandt Wohlfahrt" and "des ganzen Landes itzige Wohlfahrt."

[35] Quoted in Grotefend, "Der Prozess," 270; Keim, "Landgraf Wilhelm V," 140–41.

[36] Quoted in Keim, "Landgraf Wilhelm V," 140: "salutem patriae allen anderen respecten voraus zu setzen, solte es auch mit der von General Tilly vorgeschlagenen abrettung der Regierung geschehen."

[37] Grotefend, "Der Prozeß."

[38] Hofprediger Paul Stein, sermon commenting on the abdication of March 20, 1627, Universitätsarchiv Gießen W50532, quoted by Eßer, "'Gottesfurcht'": "…daß also umb seiner [Davids] Thorheit willen sein ganzes Koenigreich und seine armen Underthanen leiden müssen: Inmassen er sich dann nicht scheuet oder schämet, solcher

In July 1630, the Swedish king Gustav Adolph entered the fray. Wilhelm decided to join the anti-Habsburg cause, as well. Although Swedish troops moved from one victory to the next in Saxony, Thuringia, Franconia and Bavaria during 1631 and 1632, Tilly's troops still threatened the Hessian area.[39] When Wilhelm instituted a war council in the spring of 1631, he therefore once again attempted to collect subsidies and troops to keep the land out of trouble (or, as the estates believed, in trouble). He even exclaimed that the French king should now be made king of the Romans.[40] Already by 1632, even humble servants in Hesse, such as one Peter Müller of the von Baumbach family, were allegedly saying that the emperor acted as a "rogue if he let the current prince in Kassel to continue proceeding as he does."[41] In the event, Wilhelm's plans only led to further slaughter in Hesse: Hessians paid dearly for the folly of their lord. In 1635, Wilhelm was excluded from the amnesty of the peace of Prague, and he was banned in 1636. He died in exile in Eastern Frisia in 1637.[42]

Even as Wilhelm died in exile, Hesse became infamous for the horrors of war it experienced. The 1637 invasion by yet another Imperial army led to even worse atrocities in a land that had already experienced in its share of plunder and extortion. Those left behind after the prince had fled complained in graphic detail. The Croats among the Imperial soldiers were cutting off "noses, ears and tongues. They had gouged out eyes, and poured liquid lead and tin into people's mouth and ears. The women had been raped, their breasts had been cut off and the children had been baked in ovens like bread."[43] In the early 1640s, scattered evidence suggests that Hessian peasants occasionally engaged in guerilla-like assaults on enemy troops.[44] Population losses were unprecedented, reaching one

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seins rund herauß zu bekennen, wenn er sagt: Siehe, ich habe gesündigt, ich habe die Missethat gethan, laß Deine Hand wider mich und meines Vaters Hauß sein."

[39] See plea of the knights to Wilhelm to be allowed to accept special protection (*salva guardia*) from Tilly, June/July 1631, StAM Bestand 4h No. 974.

[40] Georg Schmidt, *Der Dreissigjaehrige Krieg* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1995), 57.

[41] Peter Müller allegedly was guilty of "gantz vergeßlicher hochverräterischer undt unverantwortlicher reden…wie nämlich/: der Kaißer thet wie ein Dieb undt Schelm, wen er die itzige proceduren des Kasler Fürsten hingehen ließe," StAM, Bestand 4h, Politische Akten nach Philipp dem Großmütigen, Nr. 1033, fol. 3.

[42] Press, "Hessen," 296–323.

[43] *Londorpius suppletus et continuatus*, ed. M. Meyer (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1739–44), Part IV, 29–31, quoted by Asch, "Wo der soldat hinkömbt," 293.

[44] Hermann Bettenhäuser, "Räuber- und Gaunerbanden in Hessen. Ein Beitrag zum Versuch einer historischen Kriminologie Hessens," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde* 75/76 (1964–65): 275–348, esp. 284–5.

third to two thirds of the population, not to mention the loss of cattle, horses and grain. Far beyond Germany, Hesse became infamous for the misery of its people.[45]

Starting in 1645, when negotiations for a peace had already begun at Osnabrück, the troops of Wilhelm's widow, Amélie, incited yet another war in Hesse, seeking to recover not only the northern part around Kassel, but also the alleged inheritance of upper Hesse around Marburg.[46] As early as 1642, her councilor Hans Heinrich von Günderode had written that, considering the estates' dismay at her policies, only an "absolute lord" ("*absoluter Herr*") could successfully deal with such an unruly subject body.[47] To the people and to the estates in Hesse, however, Amélie's rule had already utterly failed to protect her vassals and subjects. The very savagery of the war brought home to those left in Hesse that princely government had ceased to exist. For them, Hesse was clearly no longer constituted on the basis of a ruling family dynasty, but by its suffering inhabitants, rich and poor, high and low. When Amélie finally returned to the country, even more devastated then the estates envisaged in 1609, the estates were therefore in no mood to accept her claim to unconstrained power.

While a detailed analysis of the theoretical implications of later documents from this conflict appears elsewhere, it is worthwhile to review one very early and short document from 1647 that reflects the mood of those who had stayed behind.[48] The central issue after Amélie's return was the estates' claim that they possessed the right to assemble whenever they wanted, that they could discuss common issues, and that they had to be consulted both about taxes in general and about major policy decisions. Amélie, in contrast, was prepared to allow only meetings that she herself had convened, and on topics that she would choose. What the estates viewed as legitimate assemblies to discuss public politics, she interpreted as seditious meetings and illegal conjurations of subjects, punishable under imperial statute law.[49] The initial point of contention

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[45] Henry Parker "The Manifold Miseries of Civill Warre," 223.

[46] See Hans Heinrich Weber, *Der Hessenkrieg* (Giessen: O. Kindt., 1935), 130–40.

[47] Quoted by Erwin Bettenhäuser, ed., *Familienbriefe der Landgräfin Amalie Elisabeth von Hessen-Kassel und ihrer Kinder* (Marburg: Elwert, 1994), xii n4.

[48] For a full discussion, see Robert von Friedeburg, "The Making of Patriots: Love of Fatherland and Negotiating Monarchy in Seventeenth-Century Germany," *Journal of Modern History* 77 (2005): 881–916.

[49] StAM Bestand 73 no 1816. Her 1651 statement accordingly criticizes the "Unterstützung aller Rebellion."

proved to be a meeting of the knights in December 1646, along with another meeting called for March 22, 1647, that intended to discuss and eventually obstruct the delivery of corn for Amélie's forces. Amélie had not consulted the estates earlier regarding her demands, viewing them as rightful emergency measures in a state of necessity. Amélie blocked the planned second meeting, and in June repeated her order that forbade any further assemblies.[50]

In the arguments of her lawyers and councilors at Osnabrück, who backed her military endeavor with legal niceties, neither the terms "land" nor "fatherland" played any role during these years. To Amélie's advisors, restitution of "all possessions of the house of Hesse-Kassel" ("omnes ditiones, territoria, Jura, Praerogativa…Domui Hasso-Casselanae") was what the struggle was about. If there was one core term that informed Amélie and her advisors in their dealings with both the Emperor and her unruly subjects, it was *superioritas territorialis*, superior power over a territory. For Amélie and her lawyers, proof of possession of such superiority served as the *criterion infallibile*, as undisputable evidence, that anyone in a tenant or vassal relationship to her family was her subject.[51] While at Osnabrück, Amélie and her councilors insisted on the liberties of the princes, but toward her tenants and vassals she insisted on obedience.[52]

The estates did not wish to deny the reality of the new territorial authority to which they were subject.[53] However, in September 1647 they secured from the Imperial Chamber Court a mandate (*mandatum inhibitorum et cassatorium*) ordering Amélie not to disturb their legitimate assemblies.[54] In December 1648, Otto von Malsburg, the representative

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[50] Günter Hollenberg, ed., *Hessische Landtagsabschiede 1526–1603* (Marburg: Elwert, 1994), 10–13.

[51] Weber, *Hessenkrieg*, 137; her response in January 1651 to the demands of the estates, StAM Bestand 73, 1816; 5 no 14660. On the crucial role of her and her advisors in improving the legal state of the princes against the emperor, Klaus Malettke, "Scheffers Gesandtschaft in Osnabruck: 'Stände syn nicht nur Räthe, die man hören, sondern deren Räthen man auch folgen müsse,'" in *Der Westfälische Friede*, ed. Duchhardt, 501–522; Erich Bettenhäuser, *Die Landgrafschaft Hessen auf dem Westfälischen Friedenskongreß 1644–1648* (Wiesbaden: Wiku, 1983); Fritz Wolff, "Hessen-Kassel auf dem Westfälischen Friedenskongreß 1648," *Hessisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 49 (1999): 111–25.

[52] Weber, *Hessenkrieg*.

[53] Indeed, the nobility had petitioned the emperor to secure the inheritance of Wilhelm VI after the death of Wilhelm V (StAM Bestand 4h no. 1405) and remained uneasy about the degree to which the conflict with Amélie should be escalated; see Hollenberg, *Landtagsabschiede*, 13.

[54] Only when Amélie threatened members of the nobility with financial penalties, and even had one leading nobleman arrested in January 1650, did the nobility ask the Imperial Chamber court to renew the mandate, which was done on 5 January 1650 and delivered to Amélie on 9 February the same year.

of the knights, reached out to the towns, the other order of the estates, by sending them the new argument of 1648 and asking them to join, so that "all estates should blow on one whistle and stick together as one man" ("damit saemmtliche Staende aus einem Horn blasen und für einen Mann stehen"). Beginning in January 1648, he and the *Erbmarschall* Riedesel, the highest official in the late medieval hierarchy of officeholders, also set about organizing new meetings.[55] Late in 1649, both the *Erbmarschall* and Malsburg were fined for these efforts, and Malsburg was even arrested. In response, the knights had the 1647 mandate of the Imperial Chamber Court renewed (January 5, 1650), and delivered to Amélie on February 9, 1650. During August, the knights even tried to secure a further *mandatum de non offendo*.[56]

The document in question here is the estates' letter to Amélie of 1647, which consisted of six folio leaves.[57] It reiterated that any government had to be law abiding to be legitimate, that prince and fatherland must be distinguished, and that *Principis et Patriae salutis* were key goals. In addition, it contained three quite extraordinary claims. The first accepted Amélie as Hesse's prince, but asserted that her government was bound to laws, or was otherwise a tyranny that could and should be resisted. In the second, meetings of the estates to discuss politics, and indeed the responsibility of the estates for the whole principality, were declared to be part and parcel of the laws of a *Vaterland* Hesse, which laws had to be preserved even against the prince. The third claim stated that if Amélie prevented such meetings, she should be treated like the tyrant Caesar and repulsed by force. The letter referred to Johann Wilhelm Neumair von Ramsla, one of the authors of the 1620s and 1630s who had underscored the rights of estates in the Empire, in order to insist that a prince must not steal the possessions of his subjects.[58] The letter culminated with references to Caesar and Cicero and indirectly threatened Amélie with physical force.

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[55] Rommel, *Geschichte von Hessen*, 785.

[56] Hollenberg, *Landtagsabschiede*, 13.

[57] StAM Bestand 73 Nr. 1816, Remonstratio 1647. The rejection of this remonstration is to be found in StAM Bestand 5 19158.

[58] Johann Wilhelm Neumair von Ramsla, *Vom Auffstand der Untern wider ihre Regenten und Obern sonderbarer Tractat* (Jena, 1633), 755; see Horst Dreitzel, "Politische Philosophie," in *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie. Die Philosophie des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Vol. 4: *Das Heilige Roemische Reich Deutscher Nation, Nord und Mitteleuropa*, ed. Helmut Holzhey and Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann (Basel: Schwabe, 2001), 609–866, here 615.

The largest part of the letter, however, consisted of a history of Hesse that concentrated on situations of turmoil and crisis. This history was intended to demonstrate the nature of the Hessian fatherland's laws. In each crisis, the estates had allegedly acted to remedy the "plight of the fatherland" ("nothdurfft des Vaterlands," fol. 4ʳ). This narrative, which explained the estates' obligation to save the fatherland, drew on the *Hessische Chronik*, a history commissioned by their erstwhile bitter opponent, Prince Moritz, to promote his own idea of a Hessian fatherland. For their own purposes, the estates selected individual instances and turned them into examples of their dutiful obedience, less to the lords of the land or the family of the house of Hesse, but rather to the alleged *Vaterland* itself. For example, in 1247, in pursuit of these duties, Hessian noblemen had secured the inheritance of the land for Henry of Brabant rather then for margrave Henry of Meissen, thus securing Hesse for the predecessors of Amélie. When, in 1376, the servants of one prince had violated their duties and oppressed the population, the noblemen had prevented them from doing further damage. When, in 1422, Ludwig of Hesse was ill and margrave Frederick of Maissen sought to displace him and capture the land, the noblemen had prevented this by securing help from emperor Sigismund. In 1466, they had negotiated peace between two warring brothers of the Hessian princely family. In 1467, members of the estates had even instituted a council, which judged that only two male members of the house of Hesse should exercise power at any time. When a later landgrave, Wilhelm, wanted to sell part of the principality, the estates had prevented this by forming an association in 1509.[59]

The estates' narrative thus sought to prove that whenever the plight of the fatherland demanded it ("so offt es die Notdurft erfordert"), the knights had acted without prior order or permission from the princes for the "conservation of the fatherland" ("vatterlandts conservation") and the "welfare of the fatherland" ("vatterlandts heyl und wohlfahrt"). From this, they concluded that it had been their ancestors' duty, and was still theirs, to prevent "damage to the fatherland" ("vatterlandts schaden") so that posterity might not chide them they had "sold the fatherland" ("vatterlandt verkauft").[60] In this way, the knights sought to turn their claim to participate in policy-making into a legal privilege, something that should be protected under any legitimate and thus law-abiding regime,

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[59] Remonstratio 1647, ff. 2–5.
[60] Remonstratio 1647, ff. 2–5.

and that was validated by proof of its unmolested exercise in the recent and more distant past.

While one copy of this letter identified only the knights of Hesse as its collective author, another copy now located with the documents of Amélie's administration, carried the signatures of forty-three knights. These represented less then a third of the about 150 noble families that held land in the area. Still, these forty-three acted for the whole nobility, and had been willing to sign. These signatories must at least have read the letter and thus supported its content. Their signatures not only allowed Amélie to identify the malcontents, but also made them liable to later charges, as the penalties for Riedesel and von Malsdorf would prove. In particular, their invocation of the image of Caesar (who had been slain as a tyrant), their quotation of Cicero (who had more than once argued for the legitimacy of homicide to save the republic), and their quotation of Neumair (a now obscure but then relatively well-known author on the right of estates to resist their princes) all reflected the militancy that accompanied their argument about the fatherland. Against a Caesar who captured Rome and then prevented the citizens from exercising their ancient rights, ("die Stadt gewaltamblich occupiret…ihnen ein *tribunus plebis* verwehren wolte…als *victor et invasor reipublicae*"), as the estates reminded their prince, Cicero had spelled out possible responses in his *Pro Milone*. T. Annius Milo had been a supporter of Cicero, but had been indicted by Cicero's opponents in 51 BC. for murdering P. Clodius, a major opponent, during civil unrest in the city. Cicero's essay attempted to describe this action as an act of self-defense.[61]

The fact that the letter contained references to Plutarch, Cicero and Aristotle reminds us that some classical texts were part of the everyday knowledge of anyone who had attended university, or even just a *gymnasium* for some time. Such basic knowledge could become quite significant, since some of these texts, after all, described citizens struggling with tyrants and licensed the salvation of a republic by slaying the tyrant. However, while Cicero and Aristotle belonged to the core curriculum of the *gymnasia* of the day, they fulfilled various purposes: their presence did not in itself suggest any anti-monarchical sentiment. Thus, the way

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[61] Cicero, *Pro Milone*, x: "Est enim haec, iudices, non scripta, sed nata lex, quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus, verum cx natura ipsa adripuimus, hausimus, expressimus, ad quam non docti ed facti, non instituti sed imbuti sumus, ut, si vita nostra in aliquas insidias, si in vim et in tela aut latronum aut inimicorum incidisset, omnis honesta ratio esset expendiendae salutis."

in which the knights appropriated the little classical thought available to them was not determined by these classical sources as such. How should we, then, understand the challenge to princely power the knights made in claiming to run the *patria* on their own, or the outrage that is reflected in the physical threat at the end of the letter, effectively comparing Amélie with the tyrant Caesar?

The knights provided a clue immediately before they began quoting Plutarch and Cicero. There, they presented the second narrative of their letter. This second narrative did not concern the plight of the fatherland, but rather the promises that landgraves from Wilhelm IV, the son of Philip, to Moritz and his son Wilhelm, Amélie's late husband, had made to their vassals and tenants. This narrative culminated in the promises that Moritz had made to his father, Wilhelm, at Wilhelm's deathbed. The knights used these promises to prove that through all time, the landgraves had promised to secure the liberties and possessions of their vassals.

> And as reiterated in 1627 by landgrave Wilhelm [Amélie's late husband] and again in 1637 after his death…it was repeated that for estates and subjects to be true to the person they swore their oath of allegiance to, the prince himself had to remain true to the promises he had made when allegiance was sworn, for it was a mutual contract [*mutuus enim sic contractus*]…which, without doubt, landgrave Wilhelm IV had in mind when in council with his son landgrave Moritz he told his son to protect his subjects and vassals – counts, noblemen and non-noblemen [*Grafffen, Adell undt Unadell*] – and to keep them in his heart and conscience [and] to love them as his own flesh and blood and protect them against all injustice and violence and to use his own possessions and means and his own body and blood to protect them and deliver justice unto them, and that such was required of a loyal prince and father of the fatherland.[62]

Written to Amélie as the land around them lay in ruins after decades of war incited by the landgraves, this narrative of failed promises reflects the knights' deep disappointment and exasperation.[63] In the wake of these experiences, they had begun to separate the fatherland from the father, the prince from the territory. Their letter sought to provide not a recipe for rebellion, but a vocabulary for negotiating submission to the emerging territorial state and its monarchical order.

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[62] Remonstratio 1647, fol. 5.

[63] Evidence for these claims was mainly provided by citing the *Hessische Chronik* of Wilhelm Dillich, StAM Bestand 73 no 1816. At the end of the text (fol. 5), the promise of Moritz to his father Wilhelm to protect his subjects more than himself was cited, and the terrible state of the country contrasted with these promises.

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In 1655, facing pressure from the Imperial Chamber court and lacking resources, Wilhelm VI, the son of Amélie, finally had to give in. The first paragraph of the compromise that was made law in 1655 stipulated that the landgraves had to ask for the advice of the estates in all matters concerning the *notdurft*, the plight and fate of the land.[64] Rather then installing territorial absolutism, as earlier historiography incorrectly concluded, this compromise instituted the kind of constitutional restraints that most princely regimes in Germany, to varying extents, remained embedded in.[65] As German constitutional thought abandoned the *translatio imperii* and began to search for legitimacy in a supposed Teutonic past, the turmoil of the seventeenth century led princes and estates to project their various goals back on to the history of their fatherlands. During exactly the same period, as power relations in the Empire underwent significant changes, estates in Württemberg, Pomerania, Hesse and Calenberg used the rhetoric of fatherland to defend what they understood as their rights.[66]

By the eighteenth century, evidence about local privileges had grown so abundant that, for example, the estates of Mecklenburg not only referred to their established privileges when fighting off the absolutist attempts of their duke, but also established, in the wake of their victory, the most repressive aristocratic regime over peasant subjects anywhere in Germany.[67] As early as the 1710s, enlightened arguments in favor

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[64] Hollenberg, *Landtagsabschiede*, xxiii.

[65] Now outdated: Walter Sohm, *Territorium und Reformation in der hessischen Geschichte 1526–1555* (Marburg: Elwert, 1915); and Adolf Lichtner, *Landesherr und Stände in Hessen-Cassel 1797–1821* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1913). More recent scholarship, taking the actual compromise into account, includes Aretin, *Das Alte Reich*, 1: 91–93.

[66] On Württemberg, Asch, "Der Sturz." On Hanover-Calenberg, Annette von Stieglitz, *Landesherr und Stände*, 106. On Pomerania, Friedeburg, "In defence of patria."

[67] The new regime was enshrined in the compromise of 1755. Von Aretin, *Das Alte Reich*, 91–93; Sigrid Jahns, "'Mecklenburgisches Wesen' oder absolutistisches Regiment? Mecklenburgischer Ständekonflikt und neue kaiserliche Reichspolitik (1658–1755)," in *Reich, Regionen und Europa in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, eds. Paul-Joachim Heinig, et al. (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2000), 323–51; Robert von Friedeburg, "Natural Jurisprudence, Argument from History and Constitutional Struggle in the Early Enlightenment: The Case of Gottlieb Samuel Treuer's Polemic against Absolutism in 1719," in *Early Modern Natural Law Theories: Contexts and Strategies in the Early Enlightenment*, ed. T. J. Hochstrasser and P. Schröder (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2003), 141–167; Aloys Winterling, "Der Hof des Kurfürsten Clemens August von Koeln (1723–1761)," *Rheinische Vierteljahrblätter* 54 (1990): 123–41.

of the Mecklenburg estates that drew on ideas about the liberty of all subjects already differed remarkably from the arguments put forward by the Mecklenburg knights and patricians themselves.[68] By the middle of the eighteenth century, many adherents of the German Enlightenment began to abandon their support for privileged corporate groups, aristocratic or ecclesiastical, choosing instead to throw in their lot with the territorial monarchies that alone might be able to break the entrenched privileges of estates and corporations. It was in this context that Thomas Abbt published his "On Merit" about the virtues of patriots. What this Enlightenment writer hoped to achieve was a monarchy that allowed its subjects to participate in the common weal in order to develop into full citizens. By the time he wrote, a hundred years after the struggles in Hesse and elsewhere, patriotism had become a concept directed against noble privilege, one which sought to find support from the monarch rather then arguing, as in 1647, against the monarchical prerogative.[69] Willingness to die for the fatherland and proof of sacrifice once again founded claims to participate in public affairs, something denied by the monarchical territorial state. To fully understand the meaning of this later patriotism as well as the extent and meaning of its mid-seventeenth century precursors – let alone the complex connections between the two – much further research will need to be done.[70]

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[68] Friedeburg, "Natural Jurisprudence."

[69] Rudolf Vierhaus, "'Patriotismus.' Begriff und Mentalität einer moralisch-politischen Haltung," in *Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert. Politische Verfassung, soziales Gefüge, geistige Bewegung. Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987); G. Birtsch, ed., *Patriotismus* (Hamburg: Felix Meiner, 1991); C. Prignitz, *Vaterlandsliebe und Freiheit: Deutscher Patriotismus 1750–1850* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1981); G. Kaiser, *Pietismus und Patriotismus im literarischen Deutschland* (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1961); Hans Erich Bödeker, "Thomas Abbt: Patriot, Bürger und bürgerliches Bewußtsein," in *Bürger und Bürgerlichkeit im Zeitalter der Aufklärung*, ed. Rudolf Vierhaus (Heidelberg: L. Schneider, 1981).

[70] These issues are being pursued further in a research project supervised by Istvan Hont at King's College, Cambridge University.

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PART THREE

LIMITATIONS

THE EXEMPLARY PAINTING OF HANS BURGKMAIR THE ELDER: HISTORY AT THE MUNICH COURT OF WILHELM IV

Ashley West*

Hans Burgkmair's *Battle at Cannae* of 1529 presents an image of violent warfare (See figure 8, also in color section). The painting is congested with clashing bodies, the landscape largely obscured by the battle, which occupies a full two-thirds of the panel's height. The opposing armies attack each other on foot and from horseback in three rows stacked one upon the other. The image resembles a mosaic of bodies and limbs, some wielding swords and standards, while others lie unrecognizably twisted or crushed underfoot. Flashes of red, ocher and white on banners and costumes serve as the only relief from an otherwise dingy palette of steely gray and muddy brown, tones that evoke the turbulent sky and riverbed terrain of the historical battlefield. Small inscriptions in Roman capital letters are scattered across the painting's surface. These tiny labels name the participants in the action – the leaders ANIBAL, LUCIUS AEMILIUS PAULUS, TERENTIUS VARRO, and their troops, the NUMIDIER, AFRICANI, GALLI, HISPANI, ROMANI – as well as geographic markers for the city VENUSA and the River AUFIDUS. In larger capitals at the top left of the panel, the words CLADES. ROM. AD. CANNAS. appear in the sky identifying the painting's subject: the defeat of the Romans at Cannae.

The *Battle at Cannae* depicts the decisive defeat of the Romans by Hannibal during the Second Punic War in 216 B.C. The Carthaginian commander Hannibal had led a huge army across the Pyrenees into Gaul, and continued marching with elephant chargers over the Alps into Upper Italy with the aim of delivering the peninsula from Roman control. In attempting to thwart Hannibal, the Roman armies of Terentius Varro and Aemilius Paullus aggressively fought him at Cannae (now Canne) near the mouth of the Aufidus River (now the

Figure 8 (also in color section): Hans Burgkmair, *The Battle at Cannae*, 1529.
Munich, Alte Pinakothek. Photo: Joachim Blauel – ARTOTHEK.

Ofanto). Terentius impetuously instigated the attack after a quarrel with Aemilius and the other Roman generals over the correct strategy to follow against Hannibal. The result was a stunning defeat of the Roman army by a mixture of Spanish, Gallic, African, and Numidian soldiers under Hannibal's direction.

Burgkmair's painting was part of a larger cycle commissioned by the Wittelsbach Duke Wilhelm IV of Bavaria (1493–1550) and his wife Jacobäa of Baden (1507–1580) at the Munich court.[1] The commission went out to several of the most renowned artists of the region. During its earlier stages, the artists included Albrecht Altdorfer (of Regensburg), Barthel Beham (originally of Nuremberg), Jörg Breu and Hans Burgkmair (the last two both from nearby Augsburg). The cycle consisted of eight vertical-format panels narrating the exploits of virtuous military heroes and eight horizontal panels of roughly the same size showing the deeds of virtuous heroines taken from Greek and Roman history, the Old Testament and legends of the saints.[2] The entire set was executed over the course of twelve years, from 1528–40. All of the paintings from the cycle are listed in the 1598 inventory of the Wittelsbach ducal collection, indicating that by the end of the sixteenth century they had been removed from their original viewing context and become part of a larger *Kunstkammer*.[3] The intended setting for the series remains

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[1] On this cycle of paintings, Barbara Eschenburg, "Altdorfers Alexanderschlacht und ihr Verhältnis zum Historienzyklus Wilhelm IV," *Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft* 33 (1979): 36–67; Gisela Goldberg, *Die Alexanderschlacht und die Historienbilder des Bayerischen Herzogs Wilhelm IV und seiner Gemahlin Jacobaea für die Münchener Residenz* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1983); and the more recent study by Volkmar Greiselmayer, *Kunst und Geschichte: Die Historienbilder Herzog Wilhelms IV. von Bayern und seiner Gemahlin Jacobäa* (Berlin: Mann Verlag, 1996).

[2] Each panel measures about 150–160 cm. by 110–120 cm., though many have been trimmed at some point. For specifics about each painting's subject, size, and inscriptions, see Goldberg, *Die Alexanderschlacht*. Today, the paintings are divided between Munich's Alte Pinakothek and, as a result of the Thirty Years' War, the Swedish National Museum in Stockholm. In Munich are Burgkmair's *Esther* (1528) and *Battle at Cannae* (1529); Altdorfer's *Battle of Issus* (1529); Breu's *Lucretia* (1528) and *Battle of Zama* (c. 1530); Beham's *Empress Helena* (1530); Melchior Feselin's *Cloelia* (1529) and *Julius Caesar's Siege of Alesia* (1533); Hans Schöpfer's *Virginia* (1535) and *Susanna* (1537); and Ludwig Refinger's *Marcus Curtius* (1540). In Stockholm are Abraham Schöpfer's *Mucius Scaevola* (1533); and Refinger's *Horatius Cocles* (1537) and *Titus Manlius Torquatus* (1540). Two additional panels no longer extant may have shown the stories of the Queen of Sheba and Judith and Holofernes.

[3] Inventory of the ducal Kunstkammer in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. germ. 2133. The inventory has been transcribed and published by Peter Diemer, ed., *Johann Baptist Fickler, das Inventar der Münchner herzoglichen Kunstkammer von 1598* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2004).

a matter of controversy among scholars. Otto Hartig has argued for a setting in a pleasure-garden house, whereas Gisela Goldberg has proposed a more official space, such as in a *Kaisersaal*.[4] Regardless of the original context, however, this painting cycle, with subjects ranging from Mucius Scaevola to Julius Caesar and Lucretia to Empress Helena, certainly functioned to promote the largesse of the duke and his wife, both materially and intellectually. It was a production that not only advertised their prestige as the owners of works by the most esteemed artists of their extended territories, but that also made claims to a certain kind of knowledge, one steeped in humanist discourses on the practical and moral value of history.

This paper discusses how the painting cycle fit conceptually within the conventions of humanist historiography, which viewed history as a treasure house of exempla relevant to contemporary court life that could serve as guides to moral conduct and practical action. I shall argue that Burgkmair's contribution in the *Battle at Cannae* framed the traditional exempla in unexpected ways, offering up a world that was ripe with conflict, chaos, and inescapably violent drives. Burgkmair rejected the strategic clarity permitted by a bird's eye view in favor of a low vantage point that brought the viewer uncomfortably close to the fray of battle, where both legibility and judgment might be impaired. Not only did his staging of a heroic battle scene depart drastically from that of his peers, but its distinctive features thwarted any simple, unified reading, thus exposing contemporary problems in historical interpretation itself. In so doing, Burgkmair actively and uniquely participated in emerging sixteenth-century humanist debates about the limitations – not simply the value – of viewing history as a collection of exemplars to be either imitated or eschewed.

The Humanist Enterprise of Producing History at Court

According to Cicero, the first rule of history was the pursuit of truth (*prima lex historiae veritas est*).[5] Originally, this idea of historical truth

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⁴ Otto Hartig, "Die Kunsttätigkeit in München unter Wilhelm IV und Albrecht V 1520–1579," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 10 (1933): 147–225; Goldberg, *Die Alexanderschlacht*, 71–73.

⁵ *De oratore* 2.15. The scholarship on the study and writing of history in the early modern period is vast. Relevant to this essay are Donald R. Kelley, *Faces of History: Historical*

meant not a philosophical truth dealing in the knowledge of univer-
sals, but rather one related to the truth of particulars.[6] Such a truth
of particulars entailed an accurate description of events themselves, of
deeds done (*res gestae*). It offered no causal conjectures or explanations.
However, Renaissance thinkers widely maintained that history should
not only be true, but also useful. To these ends, humanists north and
south of the Alps treated history as a source of mobile heroic exempla
to be rejected or imitated, and therefore sought to find contemporary
relevance for figures and events from the past. Already in the first cen-
tury A.D., Livy recognized this value of history, writing in his preface
to the history of Rome, the *Ab urbe condita*:

> What chiefly makes the study of history wholesome and profitable is
> this, that you behold the lessons (*exempli*) of every kind of experience set
> forth as on a conspicuous [or clear] monument (*inlustri monumento*); from
> these you may choose for yourself and for your own state what to imitate,
> from these mark for avoidance what is shameful in the conception and
> shameful in the result.[7]

Livy's text had been rediscovered earlier, but was not printed in its
entirety until 1496 in Rome; a German translation appeared in Mainz
in 1501. Its influence was widespread in both letters and arts, and we
shall see later how it served Burgkmair as a basis for his Cannae battle
composition.

Such a view of the past as a bounteous source of exempla was system-
atized through the courtly canon of Nine Worthies – the Three Good
Heathens (Hector, Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar), Jews (Joshua,
King David, Judas Maccabaeus), and Christians (King Arthur, Char-
lemagne, Gottfried de Bouillon) – and through the more open-ended

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Inquiry from Herodotus to Herder (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Gabrielle M.
Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore:
The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); and Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient,
Medieval and Modern*, 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). See also Pia
F. Cuneo's excellent chapter on "History" in *Art and Politics in Early Modern Germany:
Jörg Breu the Elder and the Fashioning of Political Identity ca. 1475–1536* (Boston: Brill,
1998), 178–233.

[6] This understanding of history relates to its roots in the term *historia* (ιστορια), in
the sense of Pliny's *Historia naturalis*, which was an investigation of particulars.

[7] Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, I.10 (preface): "Hoc illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum
salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in inlustri posita monumento intueri;
inde tibi tuaeque rei publicae quod imitere capias, inde foedum inceptu, foedum exitu,
quod vites." Unless otherwise stated, citations are from the Loeb Classical Library edi-
tion of Livy, tr. B. O. Foster (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1922–1959).

cast of famous men, or *viri illustri*, developed from Petrarch's fourteenth-
century text, *De viris illustribus*.[8] Barbara Eschenburg has convincingly
demonstrated that the Munich painting cycle is securely rooted in these
two overlapping traditions of virtuous exemplarity, without drawing
exclusively from one tradition or the other. Underlying such theories
of exemplarity represented by the Nine Worthies and *viri illustri* were a
cyclic view of history and the assumption that knowable truths about the
human condition could be revealed in the larger, repeatable patterns of
history that the exempla embodied. For many humanists, including the
Munich court historian Johannes Aventinus (1477–1534), knowing the
cycles of history thus became a tool for prognostication, more reliable
than reading the stars.[9] In his *Bavarian Chronicle*, first dedicated in Latin
to Wilhelm IV and his brother Ludwig in 1526, Aventinus' tone shifts
between a belief in human achievements and a pessimistic sense of
futility in the human inability to escape the patterns of history. History
demonstrated that empires rose through great human achievements and
the display of virtue, whereas the overpowering sins of greed and pride
made empires fall. Aventinus' writings and the painting cycle, which
together trace the ascent and collapse of Persians, Greeks, Etruscans,
Hebrews and Romans, thus expressed strong statements about their
patrons' understanding of these patterns of history. To be sure, the
patronage of historical studies, textual and visual, was not simply an
antiquarian activity serving vain erudition: it was thought to serve the
higher attainment of virtue, while also being an effective outlet for
self-fashioning and a tool of political statecraft.

   Implicit in humanist theories of exemplarity was the idea that heroic
exempla were somehow movable fragments, immune to the contin-
gencies of time and even cultures, which could therefore be applied
to different situations. Exempla were supposed to provide normative
guides for behavior, especially for those in power. Their very quality of

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   [8] See R. L. Wyss, "Die neun Helden: eine ikonographische Studie," *Zeitschrift für
Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 17 (1957): 73–106; the still invaluable Horst
Schroeder, *Der Topos der Nine Worthies in Literatur und bildender Kunst* (Göttingen: Vanden-
hoeck & Ruprecht, 1971); and Heidy Böcker-Dursch, "Zyklen berühmter Männer in
der bildenden Kunst Italiens: '*Neuf Preux*' und '*uomini illustri*'" (Ph.D. diss., Ludwig-
Maximilians-Universität, Munich, 1973).
   [9] Gerald Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis: The Life and Work of Johannes Aventinus
1477–1534* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963). On history as a means of
prognostication and the historian as a kind of seer, esp. 207–09.

exemplarity or virtue was thought to make them a species of universal truths. In many ways, then, this kind of knowledge based on historical texts was meant to be authoritative and unchanging, closed and consistent. The only difficult part was knowing how to read history correctly. Livy, as we saw above, thought that exempla presented themselves 'as on a clear monument.'

The Potential and Promise of Exemplarity

The first three paintings in the Munich cycle consisted of battle scenes showing male heroics, by Burgkmair, Altdorfer and Breu. Each portrayed critical moments in ancient history when world powers and military leaders were pitted against each other. The most famous of the entire set, Altdorfer's *Battle of Issus* – painted in the same year as Burgkmair's *Cannae* – shows the earliest event of the three (See figure 9, also in color section). It depicts the clash of empires between Alexander the Great and the Persian King Darius in 333 B.C. *Issus* might represent the kind of 'clear monument' about which Livy wrote. Altdorfer used an innovative bird's eye view that imposes an almost clinical clarity on the thousands of figures in the landscape through the use of a cartographic structure and through the orderly effect of the 'forest of lances.' The composition clearly centers on one moment: when the vanquished Darius retreated ahead of a pursuing Alexander, the masses of troops parting in front of him to let him flee.

Around 1530, Breu painted the third battle picture of the cycle (See figure 10, also in color section). His subject was the great Roman triumph at Zama, when Scipio Africanus took the fight to Hannibal in North Africa, and finally defeated him on his home turf in 202 B.C., fourteen years after the Roman defeat at Cannae. The Roman victory put an end to the Second Punic War. Breu seems to have imitated Altdorfer in the painting, recapitulating his use of a high perspective in order to observe the battle in the landscape from above. Art historians have tended to interpret Breu's work as demonstrating not only the victory of the exemplary Roman army, but also an artistic triumph for Altdorfer and his innovative perspective.

That the male exempla in the painting cycle were virtually all military men, and that these first paintings were explicitly battle scenes is not all that surprising in the context of the *viri illustri* tradition and politics at
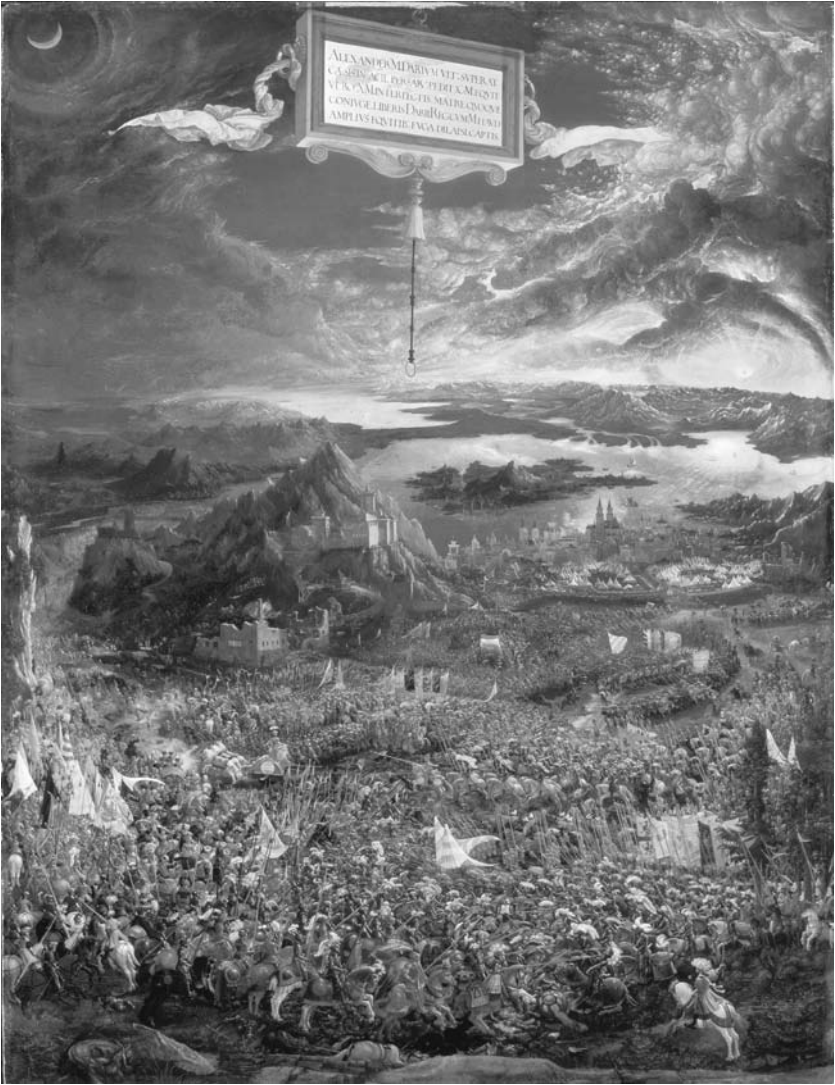
Figure 9 (also in color section): Albrecht Altdorfer, *The Battle of Issus*, 1529. Munich, Alte Pinakothek. Photo: Joachim Blauel – ARTOTHEK.

Figure 10 (also in color section): Jörg Breu, *The Battle of Zama*, c. 1530. Munich, Alte Pinakothek. Photo: Blauel/Gnamm – ARTOTHEK.

the Munich court.[10] Aventinus wrote repeatedly in the *Bavarian Chronicle* about how the condition of the military provided an indicator of the internal soundness of a land and its leadership. Emperor Maximilian I had understood this connection, and consequently had made enormous efforts to cultivate his own image as an ancient battlefield commander like Julius Caesar, a chivalric knight like St. George, and a modern field general trained in the latest developments of artillery.[11] However, ever since his death in 1519, the leadership of the Holy Roman Empire had been in crisis. On the basis of a string of imperial defeats at the hands of the Ottoman Turks at Belgrade (1521), Rhodes (1523) and Mohàcs (1526), along with the siege of Vienna (1529), Aventinus judged the land and its leadership to be very sick, indeed. Maximilian's death had exacerbated vicious divisions in the empire, as noblemen like Duke Wilhelm entered into unsavory alliances in attempts to become the next King of the Romans or Holy Roman Emperor.[12] Aventinus criticized the empire's moral deficiency as well as its failure to respond to the Turks in a sustained and unified way. Even his patrons, the Wittelsbachs, became his targets for pursuing their divisive alliances. Any sense of hope or

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[10] Images of warfare were not scarce north of the Alps at the time of Wilhelm's commission, but virtually always depicted battles and sieges of the present or very recent past. All three artists had previously created images of contemporary battles, sieges, and soldiers for Emperor Maximilian I. See Elke Anna Werner, "'Warhafftige abcontrafactur…' – Geschichtliche Wirklichkeit und die Authentizität des Bildes: Zu den Darstellungen zeitgenössischer Schlachten unter Maximilian I. und Karl V. (1470–1550)" (Ph.D. diss., Freie Universität Berlin, 1997), 74–129; Pia Cuneo, "Images of Warfare as Political Legitimization: Jörg Breu the Elder's Rondels for Maximilian I's Hunting Lodge at Lermos (ca. 1516)," in Cuneo, ed. *Artful Armies, Beautiful Battles: Art and Warfare in Early Modern Europe* (Boston: Brill, 2002), 87–106; and Larry Silver, "Shining Armor: Emperor Maximilian, Chivalry, and War," in *ibid.*, 61–86. For more on the relation of the Munich cycle to Wilhelm's political ambitions, see Eschenburg, "Altdorfers Alexanderschlacht," esp. 53–54.

[11] E.g., Maximilian's commissioning of the *Weisskoenig* (with battle accounts imitating Julius Caesar), his equestrian portrait woodcut of 1508, and his frieze-length multi-block woodcut of the *Triumphal Procession*. For Maximilian as a chivalrous knight, see Larry Silver, "Shining Armor: Maximilian I as Holy Roman Emperor," *Museum Studies* 12, 1 (1985): 9–29.

[12] On the anti-Habsburg maneuvering of Wilhelm IV, see Alfred Kohler, *Antihabsburgische Politik in der Epoche Karls V: Die reichsständische Opposition gegen die Wahl Ferdinands I zum römischen König und gegen die Anerkennung seines Königtums (1524–1534)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1982); Heinrich Lutz and Walter Ziegler, "Bayern im Kreise der reichsfürstlichen und europäischen Opposition gegen Habsburg (1525–1534)," *Handbuch der Bayerischen Geschichte*, ed. Andreas Kraus (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1969), 2: 352–60; and Cuneo, *Art and Politics*, 135–36, 187–89.

direction for future action under a new leader, Aventinus implies, would come only through examining exempla drawn from history.

Aventinus brought up the condition of the empire's military again in 1526 and 1529 in two cautionary tracts about current policies. Exercises in applied history, these treatises coincided in time with the battle paintings by Burgkmair, Altdorfer and Breu. In *The Causes of the Turkish Wars* and *The Roman War Regiment*, Aventinus identified Rome's ancient army as both a suitable model for opposing the Turkish threat and also as an explanation for the Turks' own successes against the Holy Roman Empire.[13] On more than one occasion, Aventinus praised the Roman policy of sending troops into enemy territory, citing Scipio's legacy at the Battle of Zama in North Africa and the decisive tactics of the Turks on the eastern edge of the Holy Roman Empire in his own day.[14] He mentioned Alexander's leadership at the battle of Issus as an example of how a smaller, well-trained force could out-maneuver a much larger one.[15] Together, these texts by Aventinus provide a sense of urgency about what was at stake in reading history 'correctly.' At stake at Issus, Cannae and Zama was the triumph or decline of the Holy Roman Empire's predecessors amid Mediterranean rivalries, first with the Persians and then the Phoenicians. It seemed that the Ottoman Empire had made better use of historical exempla than its rival, moreover, so that the fate of the Christian empire now hung in the balance.

By patronizing Aventinus' history writings and the Munich cycle of paintings, the Wittelsbachs promoted their image as rulers alert to the patterns and lessons of history. Altdorfer's use of contemporizing costumes, showing the Greeks dressed as imperial knights and the Persians as turbaned Turks, clearly directed the viewer to think in contemporary terms about how authoritative lessons from the past could help in confronting the Ottoman threat. Altdorfer incontrovertibly

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[13] The full text of *The Causes of the Turkish Wars (Ursachen des Türkenkrieges)* and *The Roman War Regiment (Römisches Kriegsregiment)* is published in *Johannes Turmair's genannt Aventinus sämmtliche Werke* (henceforth *Sämtliche Werke*) (Munich: Christian Kaiser, 1880) I: 171–242 and 243–54. Though they disagree about the nature and degree of Aventinus' involvement in the cycle, Eschenburg, Greiselmayer, and Cuneo view these treatises as an important backdrop for ideas raised at least in the three earliest battle pictures. See in particular Eschenburg, "Altdorfers Alexanderschlacht," 43–44, 66; Greiselmayer, *Kunst und Geschichte*, 197–98; Cuneo, *Art and Politics*, 225–26.

[14] *Sämtliche Werke* I: 224, and I: 250.

[15] According to Aventinus, Darius had 200,000 men in the field to Alexander's 37,000; *Sämtliche Werke* I: 248.

presents Alexander the Great as a leader whose example should be followed, and presumably Duke Wilhelm saw himself as a potential new Alexander.[16] Jörg Breu's painting of the *Battle of Zama* follows suit, portraying the Roman general Scipio dressed as a sixteenth-century imperial commander defeating Hannibal and his turbaned forces. Moreover, the spiral-like composition of the battlefield makes reference to a large woodcut designed by Hans Sebald Beham and printed by Nikolaus Meldemann, which showed the recent, ultimately unsuccessful Ottoman siege of Vienna (See figure 11). The six-block woodcut was published in Nuremberg in 1529–30 and distributed widely as a kind of wake-up call to the princes of the empire to unite and take effective action. Surely, Emperor Charles V's hope to repeat the great triumph at Zama must have been on his mind when he successfully took the fight to the North African Ottomans in Tunis, in 1535.[17] In short, the battle paintings of Breu and Altdorfer seem to take for granted the ease with which ancient histories could be interpreted as clear exempla for contemporary circumstances.

In many ways, Burgkmair's Cannae painting is *also* a pertinent exemplum: one of vulnerability and loss. It warns of the dangers of disunity amongst leaders, since it was the impatient Terentius, arguing with his fellow Roman generals over the correct military strategy, who was lured into battle by the well-prepared Hannibal. The parallels between the defeated Romans at Cannae and the numerous recent imperial defeats at the hands of the Ottoman Turks certainly would not have been lost on viewers at the Munich court. The ultimate lesson of Cannae, however, is that one may lose to a formidable foe and still redeem oneself in a later confrontation, provided one is resilient and has learned the lessons of history.[18]

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[16] Eschenburg, "Altdorfers Alexanderschlacht," focuses on the premise that Wilhelm wanted to see himself in this role, especially during the early phase of the commission, when he was contriving to succeed Maximilian as King of the Romans and possibly as the future emperor.

[17] Charles may have adopted this precise kind of modeling upon seeing the newly completed battle paintings in Munich in 1530 when he stopped there following his coronation in Bologna, the memory of the Vienna siege still fresh in his mind.

[18] According to Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, XXVI.xli.2–25, Scipio himself used Cannae as an exemplum of resiliency when he addressed his troops in Spain. For other examples of Cannae being used as an exemplum for 'internal audiences' within Livy's history, see Jane D. Chaplin, *Livy's Exemplary History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 50–72.
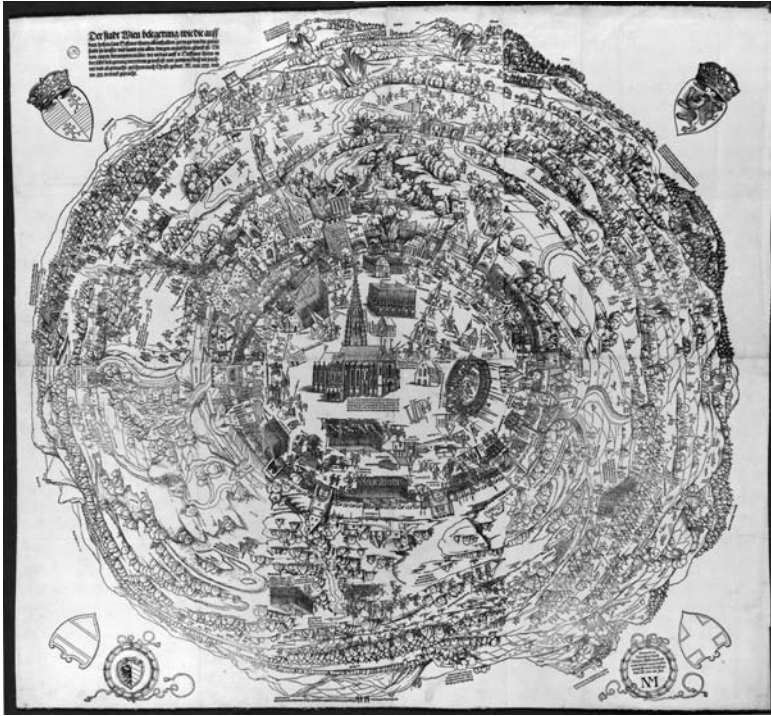
Figure 11: Hans Sebald Beham, *The Siege of Vienna*, 1529–30. Berlin, Kupfer-stichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY.

The Practical Pitfalls of Exemplarity

Though beholders certainly would have been familiar with extracting exempla from these paintings, the way Burgkmair actually painted the *Battle at Cannae* does not support a straightforward exemplary interpretation. Such a reading, I would suggest, derives more from the battle as measured against its thematic counterpart, the battle at Zama, than it does from its actual representation on the panel by Burgkmair. Presumably, Breu's painting of Zama would have been shown nearby when the cycle was first installed, so that the two paintings could be viewed as a dialogic pair. However, one must address the fact that in its double rejection of contemporary costume and bird's eye view, Burgkmair's battle painting was strikingly dissimilar from Breu's and Altdorfer's. What could be the possible reasons for and implications of Burgkmair's distinct narrative strategy?

Burgkmair's use of *all' antica* armor and other details of weaponry, pose, and military strategy sought to convey a sense of ancient authenticity and vividness, rather than to direct the viewer transparently to a contemporary reading. The lower vantage point that Burgkmair chose, close to the fray of battle, permitted a particularly good view of the *all' antica* armor – Burgkmair's own artistic inventions, but historically measured against a variety of visual sources. Burgkmair clothes his figures in muscle armor, splendidly ornamented helms and visors, and felt boots. Some of the fighters wear body armor made from strips of leather hanging from the waist designed for protection and flexibility, while many of the infantrymen wear only the loose *lorica* of the legionnaire, or even a simple cloth tunic. They fight with short swords or spears, and nowhere is there seen a halberd, crossbow, or set of canons that might dispel the illusion of an ancient battle scene.

Like Aventinus, who arduously gathered from a wide range of textual and visual material, Burgkmair by this time was well-known through his woodcuts for his ability to glean and translate information about reliably ancient poses, portraits and costumes from Roman coins and from Quattrocento relief plaquettes, medallions, and engravings.[19] A sophisticated viewer at the Munich court might also recognize in Burgkmair's battle scene the mediated idioms of a specifically Roman antiquity in poses modified from Antonio Pollaiuolo's engraving, the *Battle of the Naked Men* (c. 1465) or in ancient victory motifs, such as the galloping horse at bottom center, seen also in *Battle at the Milvian Bridge* (c. 1520–24) by Raphael and his workshop, located in the Vatican's Sala di Costantino (See figure 12). Crucial, too, was Burgkmair's knowledge of contemporary *all' antica* armor production, designed in Augsburg by his friends, the Helmschmieds, for imperial tournaments and ceremonies.[20]

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[19] On Burgkmair and his sources, see Karl Feuchtmayr, *Das Malerwerk Hans Burgkmairs von Augsburg* (Augsburg: Bayerischen Staatsgemäldesammlungen, 1931), esp. nos. 30 and 31; Claudia Baer, *Die italienischen Bau- und Ornamentformen in der Augsburger Kunst zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993), 9–56; and Frank Jakupski, "Der Maler Hans Burgkmair der Ältere" (Ph.D. diss., Bochum University, 1984). For Aventinus' working methods, see Alois Schmid, "Johannes Aventinus und die Realienkunde," *Neue Wege der Ideengeschichte: Festschrift für Kurt Kluxen zum 85. Geburtstag*, ed. Frank-Lothar Kroll (Munich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1996), 81–101; and Martin Ott, "Römische Inschriften und die humanistische Erschliessung der antiken Landschaft: Bayern und Schwaben," in *Deutsche Landesgeschichtsschreibung im Zeichen des Humanismus*, ed. F. Brendle, et al. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2001), 3–18, 213–26.

[20] Kolman Helmschmied had moved into the house of Burgkmair's recently deceased father in 1525. Tilman Falk, *Hans Burgkmair. Studien zu Leben und Werk des Augsburger Malers* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1968), docs. 86 and 90.

Figure 12: Raphael and workshop, *Battle at the Milvian Bridge*, c. 1520–24, detail. Vatican State, Stanze di Raffaello, Vatican Palace. Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY.

The painting's figures in profile with their plumed helms might recall ancient coins or gems more directly, while the piled-up action evokes ancient reliefs (or engravings based on these reliefs) found on the Column of Trajan, Arch of Constantine and Roman sarcophagi.

Moreover, Burgkmair's composition with its three stacked rows of combatants corresponded closely to Livy's account of the field order of the day, as recorded in Book XXII of his *Ab urbe condita*: two wings of cavalry flanking a middle line of infantry, with the River Aufidus demarcating one edge of the battlefield.[21] According to Livy, Hannibal had positioned Gallic and Spanish cavalry on one wing to face the Roman cavalry led by Aemilius Paullus; Gallic, Spanish, and African infantry in the middle line under his own command with his brother

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[21] Livy's full description of the battle appears in *Ab urbe condita*, XXII.xliv–xlix.

Mago against the superior Roman infantry; and Numidian cavalry against Roman cavalry led by Terentius Varro. Burgkmair depicted these formations and figures as Livy described them, and labeled them appropriately, although in tiny letters that require close scrutiny. The galloping horse trampling the bodies at the bottom center of Burgkmair's battle scene (See figure 13, also in color section) not only cited an ancient victory motif, but also provided an abbreviated visual reminder that Hannibal's success at Cannae was praised by Livy and other strategists as above all a cavalry victory. Hannibal had feinted back in the middle with his infantry to draw the superior Roman foot soldiers forward, making them believe that they were pushing the Carthaginians to defeat. Then Hannibal sent wings of his cavalry ahead to swoop around the Romans in a brilliant pincer move, trapping them from behind. At the time, Livy was one of the most authoritative voices on the Punic Wars. His account thus served Burgkmair's interest in rendering this important battle as authentically ancient as possible.

Unlike Altdorfer and Breu's approaches to the task of painting an ancient battle, Burgkmair's use of *all' antica* costumes and adherence to Livy's description resist an easy contemporary interpretation. Ironically, Burgkmair's efforts to lock the action into a specific place and time actually threatened to subvert the heroic idealization of the exemplum he was supposedly exhibiting as worthy of imitation. The more Burgkmair heightened an awareness of historical detail that distanced ancient figures and events from contemporary ones, the more he raised questions about the timeless value of models such as those found in ancient histories. In other words, his pursuit of historical authenticity knocked up against the enduring authority of the exemplum.

Renaissance literary scholars, such as François Rigolot and John D. Lyons, have described such questioning of the imitative value of traditional exempla as a "crisis of exemplarity."[22] They have character-

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[22] François Rigolot, "The Renaissance Crisis of Exemplarity," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 59, 4 (1998): 557–63; and John D. Lyons, *Exemplum: The Rhetoric of Example in Early Modern France and Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989). Describing this phenomenon less as a crisis than a tension and anxiety are Timothy Hampton, *Writing from History: the Rhetoric of Exemplarity in Renaissance Literature* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990); and Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: the Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 153–58.

Figure 13 (also in color section): Hans Burgkmair, *The Battle at Cannae*, detail.
Photo: Joachim Blauel – ARTOTHEK.

ized this crisis as resting on epistemological anxiety that began when
individuals increasingly recognized the vicissitudes of real experience,
and thus turned away from ancient textual authorities as sources for
compelling models of duplication or moral conduct. I suggest that the
tension Rigolot and Lyons describe was inherently present in differing
concepts of history, especially as they were discussed by humanists in
the early sixteenth century. Potential conflict was already present in
the understanding of history as a 'truth of particulars' and the more
allegorical idea of history as a collection of timeless fragments that
could be taken out of context in order to find contemporary relevance
at court, on the battlefield or even in art itself. Rather than feeling such
tensions as a crisis, in fact, Burgkmair exploited them in ways that Alt-
dorfer and Breu did not. In fulfilling the requirement that a historian
describe a 'truth of particulars' – that is, by so vividly re-creating a
distant past – Burgkmair drew attention to his own skills as an artist, but
also to the critical gap between the two ideas of history. The learned
viewer had to perform a threefold shift when viewing the *Battle at Cannae*,
seeing the painting as a representation of an ancient event unfolding

before his eyes, as a presentation of exempla awaiting interpretation, and finally as a work of art enabling both of the other effects.

Let us return to the figure of the rider galloping over the dead bodies at the bottom center of the image to examine closely this pivotal instance, in which Burgkmair comments on the shifting status of exempla and the viewer's necessary interaction with them (See figure 13, also in color section). The figure repeats an ancient *Dexilios* motif, signifying victory. When Raphael deployed it in *The Battle at the Milvian Bridge*, he was imitating figures from ancient sarcophagi and the Arch of Constantine. Burgkmair's likely immediate source was neither Raphael's painting nor the Roman monuments themselves, but rather a widely-dispersed Italian medallion from the school of Moderno commemorating Gonzalo de Córdoba's imperial victory over the French in 1503, at the Battle of Cerignola in southern Italy.[23] One variant to which Burgkmair probably had access was a medal commissioned in 1527 by Duke Wilhelm's cousin, Count Philip of the Palatinate (See figure 14). The coin's ancient motif and its inscription made clear references to Hannibal's memorable victory at Cannae. Cerignola was fought just five miles from the ancient battlefield of Cannae, and, like Cannae, represented a chance for domination of the Italian peninsula. However, although it could be treated as a worthy modern restaging of Hannibal's success at Cannae, a learned viewer at the Munich court would also know that the imperial victory at Cerignola equally represented a refutation of its famous precursor. Not only was Cerignola a tremendous imperial *victory*, not a loss, but it was also a victory of *infantry* and firepower over the traditionally-armed French *cavalry*. Tactically, the battle had very little to do with Cannae. As taken up by Burgkmair, this reference to the ancient victory motif found on the commemorative medal was on one level part of the artist's effort to recreate the appearance of an authentically ancient battle, with appropriately ancient poses. On another level, however, it served as a clever visual commentary on the multiple uses and re-uses of exempla – heroic, strategic, and artistic. Burgkmair reassigned the ancient motif of the rearing horseman to its rightful ancient battle context of Cannae,

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[23] Attributed to the Master IO.F.F. by Christopher B. Fulton, "The Master IO.F.F. and the Function of Plaquettes," in *Italian Plaquettes*, ed. Alison Luchs (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1989), 154–56. For the connection between this motif and Burgkmair's painting, see Helmut Nickel, "The Battle of the Crescent," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 24, 3 (November, 1965): 110–27.

Figure 14: School of Moderno, *Gonzalo de Córdoba's Victory at the Battle of Cerignola*, 1527. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung. Photo: Ashley West.

but nevertheless rendered the exemplum contemporary and open to interpretation by making it the focus of contemplation in a painted representation at the Munich court.

As seen at the battle of Cerignola, Cannae actually provided a very problematic model for the realities of sixteenth-century warfare. Repeating a cavalry victory on the scale of Hannibal was simply out of the question against modern artillery. Though not displaced entirely, the value of cavalry and the opportunity for individual heroics were forever altered by the use of gunpowder and canons.[24] For these and other reasons, around the turn of the sixteenth century we can observe the emergence of a number of military books that offered practical instruction based on personal experiences in warfare, rather than depending solely on the authority of ancient texts and Roman histories.[25]

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[24] In "Shining Armor," Larry Silver questions an older assumption that cavalry was completely replaced by infantry after the Swiss successes in the late fifteenth century, noting that texts, armor designs, and images suggest the continued use of cavalry with infantry in the Holy Roman Empire.

[25] Such as Philipp von Seldeneck's book on war of 1484, *Das Kriegsbuch des Philipp von Seldeneck vom Ausgang des 15. Jahrhunderts: Untersuchung und kritische Herausgabe des Textes*

Additionally, despite Hannibal's successes with foreign troops at Can-
nae, in their own day Aventinus and other humanists harshly criticized
the practice of hiring foreign mercenaries, arguing that they were a
financial drain, unreliable, and shared no common language.[26] Aven-
tinus urged a return to the model of Rome's citizen army as the only
way to fight the Turkish scourge. Yet Hannibal's strategy of combining
cavalry with foreign troops had produced repeated and unquestionable
successes against the more unified citizen army of Rome, especially at
Cannae. It was not until the Battle of Zama that Hannibal's methods
had proven vulnerable. When juxtaposed, the tactics and outcomes of
Cannae and Zama highlighted all the more the innumerable permuta-
tions of behavior provided by history.

A Problem of Selection

Exemplarity in military matters by no means unraveled completely after
1500, for history texts were filled with an excess of figures and circum-
stances, among which one could always find practical or moral models
to follow. However, the challenge of selection and application became
ever more complex as historical knowledge was disseminated, because
contradictory models could be found for virtually every situation. The
so-called 'crisis of exemplarity,' then, emerged not only from questioning
the appropriateness of extrapolating from a distant past with different
circumstances, but also from the difficulty of selecting whom to use as
a model, what traits to maintain and what to discard.

   Burgkmair's composition gives visual expression to the problem his
contemporaries had become conscious of: determining which model to
select for imitation in practical, moral, and artistic terms. The exempla
offered by Livy in his text, as on a 'clear monument,' become obscured
by Burgkmair's muddy palette and on-the-ground action, with all of
its chaos and grimness. Were it not for the large letters inscribed in
the sky – 'the Defeat of the Romans at Cannae' – it would be difficult

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der Karlsruher Handschrift (Heidelberg: A. Grosch, 1963). See Werner, "'Warhafftige
abcontrafactur…,'" 94.
   [26] It was well known that Emperor Maximilian's ability to maintain mercenary
soldiers to wage war was sustained only through tremendous financial debt to the
Fuggers of Augsburg. For a discussion of the humanist literature revealing a consen-
sus against the use of mercenary troops on both sides of the Alps, see Cuneo, *Art and
Politics*, 86–94.

to guess the outcome of the events unfolding in the main scene of the panel. No clear winner is visible. Burgkmair's battle picture also does not establish which side the viewer should identify with. A beholder of Altdorfer's *Issus* or Breu's *Zama* almost certainly would have identified with the victors, Alexander and Scipio, dressed like imperial soldiers and Christian knights and fighting turbaned soldiers. Yet might a noble German view the Romans in Burgkmair's painting as latter-day adversaries, and seize on the example of Hannibal as an outsider who could control the Italian peninsula? Such an interpretation could recall the imperial victory at Pavia in 1525 or perhaps even the sack of Rome by imperial forces in 1527. Or would this hypothetical German viewer instead identify with the defeated ancient Romans, seeing their fate at Cannae reflected in the current imperial losses to the Ottomans, and hoping for a future Zama? I suggest that Burgkmair deliberately left the determination of which exemplum applied open to the viewer.

Burgkmair compounded this interpretive challenge through his placement of the great Carthaginian general, Hannibal. Rather than appearing as a hero worthy of imitation, Hannibal is in danger of seeming insignificant. Whereas Altdorfer places Alexander and his confrontation with Darius at the center of his battle, Burgkmair visually minimizes Hannibal, pushing him off to the left edge of the painting and identifying him only with a small inscription (See figure 15, also in color section). Indeed, Hannibal can scarcely be distinguished from others in the melee. More prominent than Hannibal is the Roman consul Aemilius, who appears on his white horse in the bottom right corner. Aemilius' most heroic moment, however, is enacted in the distant background at upper right, where he reappears with the tribune Lentulus, both barely visible to the eye and recognizable only through the tiniest of labels. Only a viewer very well-versed in Livy would recognize that Burgkmair here depicts the moment when Lentulus offered his steed to Aemilius (who bravely declined).[27] More than in the battle paintings of Altdorfer and Breu, and more than in Aventinus' writings, the question of how to extract useful lessons from history remains an obstacle in Burgkmair's scene. In Burgkmair's painting, both sides of the battle are relativized and problematized: Hannibal is marginalized, while competing for attention with the other hero Aemilius, whose brave deed is hidden in

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[27] The deed is recounted by Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, XXII.xlix.1–14. Nearby Burgkmair shows the other Roman consul, Terentius Varro, fleeing on horseback toward the town Venusia.

Figure 15 (also in color section): Hans Burgkmair, *The Battle at Cannae*, detail.
Photo: Joachim Blauel – ARTOTHEK.

the distant background. At the same time, Burgkmair emphasizes the
gap between past and present by his rejection of contemporary costumes
and his portrayal of inapplicable ancient battle tactics.

Prudence and the Moral Pitfalls of Exemplarity

Though Cannae and Zama typified the rise and fall of powers that so
interested Aventinus, these battles also exposed the dissolving reliability

and arbitrariness of exemplars in history. They revealed how different conduct could lead to the same successful results, or conversely, how the same conduct could bring about very different ends. Under these circumstances, prudence became a valuable virtue, one that was fluid rather than steadfast, demanding flexible and relative thinking on the basis of past experience in the service of anticipating the future. Indeed, Rigolot and Lyons repeatedly invoke Niccolò Machiavelli and the primacy of the Machiavellian virtue of prudence as both the catalyst and beneficiary in this crisis of exemplarity. Scholars conventionally view Machiavelli's high valuation of prudence as a sign of modernity, since in his work, experiential learning and empirical observation seemed to supersede reliance on authoritative exempla found in texts. However, the growing acceptance of prudence as a productive virtue in the early sixteenth century seems also to have unleashed very real anxiety. In his own series of woodcuts of the *Seven Virtues*, Burgkmair represented *Prudencia* as a seductively dressed woman with jewelry, exposed cleavage, and clinging drapery, holding a convex mirror, compass, and snake (See figure 16). These attributes denote reflection and sound measure, but also deceit and slipperiness, or even the specter of the biblical serpent in Eden.[28]

Virtue, after all, was thought to subtend all knowledge, legitimizing it as a worthy endeavor and saving those who pursued it from accusations of vanity or even blasphemy. What kind of exemplum, then, did Hannibal's performance at Cannae really offer, if his prudence – that most practical but problematic virtue – took the foreground to the detriment or neglect of the other six virtues? Hannibal's tactics may have been effective, but they were questionable if judged against the other virtues, such as justice and temperance. In fact, Hannibal was a brilliant military strategist, but also the ultimate fox who tricked Terentius into battle. What is more, as Livy reports, part of Hannibal's strategy involved the duplicity of the Numidians, who pretended to give up the fight and lay down their weapons, only to pick them up again and brutally attack the Romans from their flanks. Burgkmair even depicts

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[28] The biblical reference to the snake of Prudence is actually found in Matthew 10:16, when Jesus is sending his apostles out on their missions. He tells them, " 'See, I am sending you out like sheep into the midst of wolves; so be wise as serpents and innocent as doves.' " The context for this kind of wisdom of the snake is one of self-preservation, a quality that easily could be twisted in politics, warfare, or the market to exclude any system of morality altogether. Translation from *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, rev. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

Figure 16: Hans Burgkmair, *Prudence (Die Fürsichtigkeit)*, c. 1510. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz / Art Resource, NY.

the Numidians across the entire length of the top row of fighters, label-
ing them three times to mark their progress all the way through the
Roman lines. This suggests that any crisis of exemplarity may have had
more to do with the perceived unraveling – not to say evisceration –
of virtue and moral authority than it did with the growth pangs of an
increasingly 'modern' stance toward authoritative ancient texts.[29]

More than in Italy, the exemplary moral status of warfare was a
much-debated topic among humanists north of the Alps. In *The Edu-
cation of a Christian Prince* (1516), Erasmus adamantly opposed warfare
for moral reasons, and warned the future Emperor Charles V that it
always would be unjustified to spill Christian blood. His moral leadership
would also be at stake if he dealt with miscreant mercenaries,[30] whom
Erasmus elsewhere called "the very scum of the earth."[31] Charles's
grandfather, Maximilian, had carefully navigated the morally ambigu-
ous terrain of warfare when he had been emperor. His cultivation of
a medieval chivalric code – normative rules of engagement at odds
with a shifting virtue of prudence – was as much to provide moral
substance to the pursuit of arms as it was to tap into a Germanic past
that rivaled Rome's ancient one.

Some humanists, like Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim,
saw a fundamental incompatibility between the pursuit of virtue and the
example of military leaders, who were skilled at unleashing extraordi-
nary violence. In the chapter on history writing in his *On the Uncertainty
and Vanity of the Arts and Sciences*, published in 1526, Agrippa launched
a devastating attack against using men-at-arms as heroic exempla.
He named many of the famous men who would appear in Wilhelm's
painting cycle as anything *but* worthy of imitation:

> Very many [historians] represent the most awful things as examples worthy
> of imitation. They loudly sing the praises of . . . Darius, Alexander, . . . Han-
> nibal, Scipio, Pompey and Caesar, while in reality they have glorified
> megalomaniacal bandits and world-famous plunderers. Although the

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[29] See Ethan Matt Kavaler, *Pieter Bruegel: Parables of Order and Enterprise* (New York:
Cambridge University Press, 1999).
[30] Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Education of a Christian Prince*, tr. Lester Born (New York:
Octagon Books, 1965), 250.
[31] Erasmus of Rotterdam, "The Complaint of Peace," in *The Praise of Folly and Other
Writings*, tr. and ed. Robert Adams (New York: Norton, 1989), 112. On the moral vacuity
or ambivalent status of mercenaries and soldiers expressed in early modern prints, see
also Keith Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago:
University of Chicago Press, 1989), 67–100.

above-named have all been supremely successful in their command of
power, they…indubitably acted in a reprehensible and even criminal
fashion.[32]

Agrippa thus characterized canonical heroes, rather unexpectedly, as
figures of raw individual ambition who stole from others what was not
theirs to take.

  Burgkmair's visual foregrounding of dead bodies would seem to
validate such an ambivalent appraisal of Hannibal and other field
commanders who caused so much death and destruction on their way
to personal glory (See figure 17, also in color section). These corpses
embody the most literal references Burgkmair made to the actual text
of Livy. However, rather than having their numbers serve as a final
battle report that closes out the narrative through a tabulation of the
dead, as in Livy's text, Burgkmair serves up the dead at the bottom
edge of the painting as a lens over which to view the other actions of
the battle, occurring simultaneously. Livy provided a clinical equation
for the Roman defeat, calculated in the amount of blood lost by Roman
citizens. Burgkmair, in contrast, challenges his viewer with a more vis-
ceral tallying up of the dead, as he lays out fallen, contorted bodies,
each serving metonymically for hundreds more. The body counts and
identities inscribed by the artist in Roman capital letters correspond
closely with Livy's account:

> In the number [of 45,500 dead infantry and 2700 dead cavalry] were the
> quaestors ('QVAESTORES') of both consuls, Lucius Atilius ('L:ACILIV')
> and Lucius Furius Bibaculus ('L.FVRIVS BIBACVLVS'), and twenty-
> nine military tribunes ('TRIBVNI MILIT XXI OCCISI')….Amongst
> others are mentioned Gnaeus Servilius Geminus ('CN.SERVILIVS') and
> Marcus Minucius ('C.MINVTIVS NVMATIVS'),…and besides these,
> eighty senators ('SENATORES LXXX')…[33]

Although Burgkmair could not possibly render the thousands slain, he
achieved a vivid effect by forcing the viewer to confront the carnage at
the front of the picture plane, with the visual task of sorting out body
from twisted body, human limb from horse. Burgkmair highlights the
grim realities of warfare; his vision of confusion and uncontainable
violence expands over the panel's edges in a composition that is not

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[32] Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum et artium*. As translated by Cuneo, *Art and Politics*, 199.

[33] Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, XXII.xlix.16–17.

Figure 17 (also in color section): Hans Burgkmair, *The Battle at Cannae*, detail.
Photo: Joachim Blauel – ARTOTHEK.

only faithful to Livy, but that also pointedly invokes scenes from Roman sarcophagi, these ancient monuments of glory and ultimately also of death. It is as if he meant to say that military greatness and power become possible only through the annihilation of others.[34]

Burgkmair's exposure of the dark side of such a heroic past challenges the more conventional interpretation of exempla, such as those portrayed positively and clearly by Altdorfer and Breu, who maintain a detached distance in their depictions of battle. Though not single-handedly toppling the authoritative status of the exemplum, Burgkmair visually dismantles it by revealing its limitations and instability in a vivid depiction of an ancient battle. He questions the possibility of having a univocal interpretation of exempla from history by providing a rich and chaotic tableau of figures, which thematizes the problem of selecting and evaluating military, moral, and artistic models for imitation. In so doing, he positions his own art, and image-making more generally, as another source of valuable knowledge. A crisis of exemplarity to some, perhaps, but for Burgkmair, the *Battle at Cannae* provided a critical space for artistic invention and lasting visual interest that distinguished his painting from the adjacent works by his rivals Altdorfer and Breu.

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[34] Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, 154; and specifically in the court context of Mantua and the re-enacted spectacle of the ancient military triumph, Stephen J. Campbell, "Mantegna's Triumph: The Cultural Politics of Imitation 'all' antica' at the Court of Mantua," in *Artists at Court: Image-Making and Identity, 1300–1550*, ed. Stephen J. Campbell (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner, 2004), 91–105.

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'VON DEM AM KÖNIGL. PREUSSISCHEN HOFE ABGESCHAFFTEN *CEREMONIEL*': MONARCHICAL REPRESENTATION AND COURT CEREMONY IN FREDERICK WILLIAM I'S PRUSSIA

Benjamin Marschke*

Introduction: the enigmatic Frederick William I

Scholars have recognized the significance of the court in early modern Europe since Norbert Elias's *The Court Society* made its great impact in the 1970s and 1980s.[1] Elias's foundational work explained the political usefulness of opulent baroque courts and argued that the court was indispensable as a 'filter' between the monarch and his country. Elias' basic argument has since been generally accepted as one of the basic tenets of early modern European history, but the utility of a magnificent court was already understood in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[2] By the early eighteenth century, various writers explained the court's functions quite explicitly. Indeed, the norms of monarchical representation and court ceremony had become so standardized by this period that contemporaries could write exhaustive 'scientific' volumes about court fêtes and courtly behavior.[3] A central

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[1] This article's title comes from [David Faßmann] "Cap. XIX. Von dem am Königl. Preußischen Hofe abgeschafften *Ceremoniel*," in *Leben und Thaten des Allerdurchlauchtigsten und Großmächtigsten Königs von Preußen Friederici Wilhelmi* (1735 [reprint Bad Honnef: LTR-Verlag, 1982]), 835–47.

[2] Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, tr. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983). Elias's book is not without its flaws, and his thesis that Louis XIV 'domesticated' the French nobility at Versailles has been conclusively refuted. See especially Jeroen Duindam, *Myths of Power: Norbert Elias and the Early Modern Court* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1994).

[3] Bossuet, Montesquieu and others candidly discussed the utility of Louis XIV's lavish court, while discussion of ceremonial was especially popular among German authors such as Gottfried Stieve, Julius Bernhard von Rohr and Johann Christian Lünig. Within Prussia, both Christian Thomasius and Christian Wolff discussed the utility of the monarchical court. On Louis XIV, see Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992). On German authors, see Milos

proposition at the time – and in modern scholarship – was that the court allowed a monarch to portray himself as he wished foreigners and his subjects to perceive him. Typically a monarch used emblems, architecture, festivals, artwork, ceremonies and other means to represent his legitimacy, magnificence, power and glory. This article explores some of the implications and limits of such monarchical representation by closely examining one exceptional case.[4]

My empirical focus is on the royal court and the self-representation of Frederick William I of Prussia (r. 1713–1740). Frederick William was known during his reign, and has been viewed ever since, as a bizarre enigma who dissented from orthodox modes of courtly behavior.[5] Frederick William's reign has generally been understood as a cultural and intellectual dark age between the magnanimous baroque patronage of his father, Elector/King Frederick III/I (r. 1688–1701–1713), and the

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Vec, *Zeremonial-Wissenschaft im Fürstenstaat: Studien zur juristischen und politischen Theorie absolutistischer Herrschaftsrepräsentation* (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1998); and Johannes Kunisch, "Funktion und Ausbau der kurfürstlich-königlichen Residenzen in Brandenburg-Preußen im Zeitalter des Absolutismus," in Peter-Michael Hahn, ed., *Potsdam, Märkische Kleinstadt, europäische Residenz: Reminiszenzen einer eintausendjährigen Geschichte* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995), 61–83.

[4] Courts were also understood as centers of power and communication, and as clearinghouses for patronage and information that provided a vital locus for informal governance. Current scholarship takes up these themes, which will be touched on below. However, this article concentrates on addressing the issues raised by monarchical representation at early modern courts.

[5] Frederick William's seemingly self-contradictory mix of militarism, frugality, efficiency, asceticism, brutality, organization, work ethic, piety and crudeness confounded contemporaries and continues to confound scholars. When Frederick William assumed the throne, the French envoy wrote home that he had a "caractère bizarre." Klaus Malettke, "Die französisch-preußischen Beziehung unter "Friedrich Wilhelm" I. bis zum Frieden von Stockholm (1. Februar 1720)," in *Preußen, Europa, und das Reich*, ed. Oswald Hauser (Cologne: Böhlau, 1987), 123–50, here 123. Peter Baumgart, "Friedrich Wilhelm I. (1713–1740)," in *Preussens Herrscher: Von den ersten Hohenzollern bis Wilhelm II*, ed. Frank-Lothar Kroll (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 2000), 134–59, here 134, says: "Die Spannweite der Urteile über Friedrich Wilhelm I. war und ist denkbar weit und in ihren Extremen kaum miteinander vereinbar…" Johannes Kunisch, "Funktion und Ausbau," 79, observes that: "…der Stil, in dem sich Friedrich Wilhelm I. der Fürstenwelt seiner Zeit präsentierte, [hat] als ausgesprochen eigenwillig und bizarr zu gelten." Gerhard Ritter, *Frederick the Great: A Historical Profile*, tr. Peter Paret (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 19, calls Frederick William "strange" and "half-barbaric." Rodney Gothelf, "Frederick William I and the Beginnings of Prussian Absolutism, 1713–1740," in *The Rise of Prussia, 1700–1830*, ed. Philip G. Dwyer (Harlow, England: Longman, 2000), 47–67, here 48, names Frederick William "perhaps the least understood Hohenzollern ruler…because of his puzzling and contradictory behaviour."

liberal enlightened tolerance of his son, King Frederick II (r. 1740–1786).[6] Upon his accession to the throne, the infamous 'Soldier King' immediately dismantled the conventionally lavish baroque court that had been created by his father. The elaborate court ceremonies that had punctuated his father's daily routine were immediately abolished, and Frederick William declined the customary renewal of royal officials' oaths or any coronation ceremony.[7] The cultural elite that his father had attracted to Berlin lost their positions or had their salaries dramatically reduced. The King sent the court musicians to the infantry and the horses from the royal stables to the cavalry.[8] The 'Royal Drill Sergeant' flattened the baroque gardens into parade grounds so he could drill his troops (especially the Potsdam Giants, his favorite regiment of extremely tall soldiers).[9] Later in his reign, the ascetic king famously traded the royal porcelain to Saxony and the royal yacht and the amber room (*Bernstein Zimmer*) to Russia in return for contingents of especially tall troops for the Potsdam Giants. Contemporaries then and historians since have generally attributed this iconoclasm to the new King's sheer miserliness or mean-spiritedness. The only significant revisions to this view have taken the form of apologetics, explaining that the dire financial straits that Prussia found itself in under Frederick III/I compelled Frederick William's stinginess, or explaining teleologically that only Frederick William's miserliness and militarism could have produced the overfilled war chest and tremendous army that made possible Prussia's rise to great power status under Frederick II.[10]

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[6] The historiography of Frederick William and his reign is eclipsed by that of his predecessor and especially that his successor. Even more problematic is that the most influential works on Frederick William have been not scholarly works but works of fiction. Theodor Fontane's various references regarding Frederick William are well known and often cited, and the most popular book about Frederick William is Jochen Klepper's historical novel: Klepper, *Der Vater. Der Roman des Soldatenkönigs* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1937). See Thomas Stamm-Kuhlmann, "Der Vater in den Nöten seines Dienstes. Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte Friedrich Wilhelms I.," in *Der Soldatenkönig: Friedrich Wilhelm I. in seiner Zeit*, ed. Friedrich Beck and Julius H. Schoeps (Potsdam: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 2003), 315–336, here 315.

[7] Caspar Abel, *Preußische und Brandenburgische Reichs= und Staats=Historie…* (Leipzig and Gardelegen: Ernst Heinrich Campen, 1735), 293.

[8] Just about any work on Frederick William includes such anecdotes. Robert Ergang's description of Frederick William's iconoclasm is not atypical; see Ergang, *The Potsdam Führer: Frederick William I, Father of Prussian Militarism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), 53–54.

[9] On the Potsdam Giants, see below, note 47.

[10] An alternate analysis of Frederick William's court is Volker Bauer's suggestion that it was the quintessence of the 'hausväterliche Hof' ideal type, though Bauer

Just as important for Frederick William's legacy as his dramatic rejection of baroque courtly norms was his single-handed creation of an allegedly modern, rational and systematic bureaucracy in Prussia. Frederick William famously created the 'General Directory' and reorganized the entire Prussian government. Prussia became renowned for its parsimonious, forthright and efficient bureaucracy, a reputation happily perpetuated by later Prussian historians.[11] It is for this accomplishment that Frederick William became known as 'the founder of the Prussian bureaucracy' and 'Prussia's greatest domestic king.'[12]

Finally, both Frederick William's earnest and public piety and his open enjoyment of rowdy and crude entertainments diverged significantly from contemporary expectations of how a monarch should present himself. One measure of Frederick William's extreme eccentricity is

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admits that Frederick William's court was more an exception than an example, and that the size of Prussia and Frederick William's motivations set it apart from other 'hausväterliche' courts. See Bauer, *Die höfische Gesellschaft in Deutschland von der Mitte des 17. bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts: Versuch einer Typologie* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1993), 66–70.

[11] The creation of the Prussian bureaucracy by Frederick William has been dogma for Prussian historiography for well over a century. See Gustav Schmoller, "Die innere Verwaltung des Preußischen Staates unter Friedrich Wilhelm I," *Preußische Jahrbücher* 25, 5 (1869): 575–91; and 26, 1 (1870): 1–17; idem, "Der Preußische Beamtenstand unter Friedrich Wilhelm I." *Preußische Jahrbücher* 26, 2 (1870): 148–72; and 26, 3 (1870): 253–70; Walter L. Dorn, "The Prussian Bureaucracy in the Eighteenth Century," *Political Science Quarterly* 46, 3 (1931): 403–23; 47, 1 (1932): 75–94; and 47, 2 (1932): 259–73; Friedrich von Oppeln-Bronikowski, *Der Baumeister des preussischen Staates: Leben und Wirken des Soldatenkönigs Friedrich Wilhelms I* (Jena: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1934); Fritz Hartung, *König Friedrich Wilhelm I. Der Begründer des Preussischen Staates* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1942); and Reinhold August Dorwart, *The Administrative Reforms of Frederick William I of Prussia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953).

[12] Schmoller first declared Frederick William to be Prussia's "größter innerer König." Schmoller, "Die innere Verwaltung II," 16. Hans Rosenberg's revision cast this claim in a negative light, blaming the creation of a blindly obedient bureaucracy and autocratic state by Frederick William for putting Germany on a 'special path' (*Sonderweg*) toward authoritarianism and totalitarianism. Rosenberg, *Bureaucracy, Aristocracy, and Autocracy: The Prussian Experience 1660–1815* (Harvard University Press, 1956 [reprint: Boston: Beacon Press, 1966]). Rudolf Vierhaus does much more to cast the well-established history of the Prussian bureaucracy into doubt when he argues that the nineteenth-century histories of the creation of the Prussian bureaucracy in the early eighteenth century actually projected the Prussian government of their authors' time back onto Frederick William's reign. Vierhaus, "The Prussian Bureaucracy Reconsidered," Angela Davies, tr., in *Rethinking Leviathan: The Eighteenth-Century State in Britain and Germany*, eds. John Brewer and Eckhart Hellmuth (London: German Historical Institute, 1999), 149–65. Wolfgang Neugebauer has thoroughly explored how pre-bureaucratic the 'cabinet absolutist' reign of the "most absolutist of the Hohenzollerns" was. Neugebauer, "Das alte Preußen. Aspekte der neuesten Forschung," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 122 (2002): 463–482, here 467, 472.

the argument among his biographers over his sanity.[13] That Frederick William was genuinely God-fearing is reaffirmed by all accounts, both by contemporaries and in subsequent histories of his life and rule. Indeed, during his reign the king's piety became a major bone of contention between Frederick William and members of his court, especially Crown Prince Frederick.[14] Yet Frederick William was equally well known (and has been ever since) for allowing and even encouraging rowdy and carnivalesque amusements in his presence. His notorious nightly *Tobakskollegium* witnessed rough and tumble revelry with his favorites, all men, smoking and drinking to excess.[15] Additionally, court fools and their antics were a regular feature of Frederick William's court.[16] His most famous *Hofnarr* was Jacob Paul Gundling, whom he also appointed President of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, ennobled, and even made a baron.[17] Most infamously, after the alcoholic Gundling died (having

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[13] Hartung argues that Frederick William *was* sane (*König Friedrich Wilhelm I.*, 10), but Gerhard Oestreich characterizes him as a 'psychopath' (*Friedrich Wilhelm I.: Preußischer Absolutismus, Merkantilismus, Militarismus* [Göttingen: Musterschmidt, 1977], 4). The psychohistorical study by Kurt R. Spillmann and Kati Spillmann credits Frederick William's deep-seated emotional problems with making him Prussia's "größter innere König." "Friedrich Wilhelm I. und die preußische Armee: Versuch einer psychohistorischen Deutung," *Historische Zeitschrift* 246 (1988): 549–89, here 589. Regarding Frederick William's bouts of dementia, see Richard Hunter and C. Rimington, "Porphyria in the Royal Houses of Stuart, Hanover, and Prussia: A follow-up Study of George III's Illness," in *Porphyria, A Royal Malady: Articles Published in or Commissioned by the British Medical Journal* (London: British Medical Association, 1968); and Claus A. Pierach and Erich Jennewein, "Friedrich Wilhelm I. und Porphyrie," *Sudhoffs Archiv* 83:1 (1999): 50–66.

[14] This did not mean that Frederick William was a Pietist. Though quite willing to cooperate with August Hermann Francke's movement, Frederick William always remained decidedly outside it. See Benjamin Marschke, *Absolutely Pietist: Patronage, Factionalism, and State-Building in the Early Eighteenth-Century Prussian Army Chaplaincy* (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2005); and Wilhelm Stolze, "Friedrich Wilhelm I und der Pietismus," *Jahrbuch für brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte* 5 (1908): 172–205. For the contrary argument, cf. Richard L. Gawthrop, *Pietism and the Making of Eighteenth-Century Prussia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[15] Perhaps even more significantly, the *Tobakskollegium* was only open to men that Frederick William regarded as 'real men.' I discuss the intensely gendered character of Frederick William's court elsewhere.

[16] See Gerhardt Petrat, *Die letzten Narren und Zwerge bei Hofe: Reflexion zu Herrschaft und Moral in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Bochum: Dieter Winkler, 1998).

[17] On Gundling by contemporaries, David Fassmann's *Der gelehrte Narr* is generally acknowledged to have been aimed at him (there is an unmistakable cartoon of Gundling as frontispiece). Fassmann, *Der gelehrte Narr, Oder, Ganz natürliche Abbildung Solcher Gelehrten, Die da vermeynen all Gelehrsamkeit und Wissenschafften verschlucket zu haben, auch in dem Wahn stehen, daß ihres gleichen nicht auf Erden zu finden…*(Freiburg, 1729); and Johann Michael von Loen, "Der unglückliche Gelehrte am Hof. Oder: Einige Nachrichten von dem geheimen Rath und Ober-Ceremonienmeister, Freyherrn von Gundling," in *Des Herrn*

reportedly drunk himself to death), Frederick William staged a scandalous funeral, the centerpiece of which was Gundling's body lying in an open casket shaped like a wine barrel.[18]

Suffice to say that Frederick William's court diverged dramatically from typical early eighteenth-century forms of monarchical representation and court ceremony. The question, then, is how Frederick William managed to effectively govern Prussia *without* the baroque court that has been understood to have been enormously useful, if not indispensable. If establishing a monarch's legitimacy and magnificence through a baroque court was a necessity during the age of Louis XIV, then how did Frederick William do without?

'Rocher von Bronse'?

The explanations found in the canonical history of Prussia do not answer these questions adequately. Most commonly, scholars have assumed that because the Hohenzollern monarchy was established stably and because Frederick William ruled as a 'bureaucratic absolutist monarch,' he could therefore afford to do without the lavish trappings of a conventional baroque court. This explanation reflects the perceptions of the late nineteenth century, when the foundational works on Prussian history were written; seen in hindsight, the early eighteenth-century Hohenzollern dynasty appeared far more stable and legitimate in the works of nineteenth-century authors than it had actually been.

Historians of Prussia have generally overlooked that when Frederick William ruled, the Hohenzollern succession was far from secure and

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von Loen gesammelte Kleine Schrifften, ed. J. C. Schneider (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1750 [reprint Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1972]), 198–218. See also Anton Balthasar Koenig's anonymous *Leben und Thaten Jakob Paul Freiherrn von Gundling, Königl. Preußischen Geheimen Krieges= Kammer= Ober= Apellation= und Kammergerichts=Raths…* (Berlin: Friedrich Francke, 1795); and more recently Martin Sabrow, *Herr und Hanswurst: Das tragische Schicksal des Hofgelehrten Jacob Paul von Gundling* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 2001).

[18] See Hannelore Lehmann, "Wurde Jakob Paul Freiherr von Gundling (1673–1731) in einem Sarg begraben, der die Gestalt eines Weinfasses hatte? Der Brief eines Potsdamer Pfarrers bestätigt es," *Jahrbuch für Berlin-Brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte* 58 (1991), 199–217. The similarities to 'sacred parody' at the court of Peter I of Russia, Frederick William's contemporary, are profound, but have until now been unnoticed. Thanks to Brian Boeck for the suggestion. See Russell Zguta, "Peter I's 'Most Drunken Synod of Fools and Jesters,'" *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 211 (1973): 18–28; and Ernest A. Zitser, *The Transfigured Kingdom: Sacred Parody and Charismatic Authority at the Court of Peter the Great* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).

the House of Brandenburg had serious legitimacy problems. To begin with, the regular succession of the Hohenzollerns through primogeniture from Frederick William 'The Great Elector' (r. 1640–1688) to Frederick II might have seemed predestined by the late nineteenth century, but at the turn of the eighteenth century it was anything but certain.[19] The Great Elector actually issued instructions in 1680 to divide the various Hohenzollern territories at his death, with some parts going to his sons from his first marriage (including the future Frederick III/I), and others to the sons by his second marriage. The Great Elector's testament drove his eldest son Frederick to flee and take refuge in Hesse-Kassel, where he negotiated with the Holy Roman Emperor to secure support for his succession to all the Hohenzollern lands. The succession crisis was only settled and Frederick only returned to Brandenburg two years before the death of the Great Elector.[20] The year before Frederick came to the throne, his younger brother died, apparently poisoned, and the same year Frederick nearly died from a serious illness, which was rumored to have resulted from his having been poisoned by his stepmother.[21] In the end, Frederick's half brothers established the Brandenburg-Schwedt agnate line of the Hohenzollern dynasty, which remained a constant threat to the ruling line well into the reign of his grandson, Frederick II.[22]

If Frederick III/I had challenged his father's authority, he later faced problems with his own son, crown prince Frederick William. Frederick William reached his majority during Frederick III/I's reign, and he

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[19] Benjamin Marschke, "The Crown Prince's Brothers and Sisters: Succession and Inheritance Problems and Solutions among the Hohenzollerns, From the Great Elector to Frederick the Great," in *Sibling Relationships in Europe from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, eds. Chris Johnson and David W. Sabean (Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books, forthcoming).

[20] Caspar Abel, *Fortgesetzte, vermehrte und verbesserte Preußische u. Brandenburgische Reichs= und Staats=Historie*…(Leipzig and Gardeleben: Ernst Heinrich Campen, 1747), 122–23.

[21] Abel, *Fortgesetzte, vermehrte und verbesserte*, 123. Frederick III/I's brother died the same year, "nicht ohne Verdacht beygebrachten Giftes, oder wie andre meynten, von allzuvielem Caffe-trincken." Abel, *Preußische und Brandenburgische*, 248–49.

[22] On the Brandenburg-Schwedt line, see Udo Geiseler, "'Daß ich nicht allein sein Vater, sondern auch sein König und Herr sey.' Die Beziehungen der Markgrafen von Brandenburg-Schwedt zu den Hohenzollernkönigen im 18. Jahrhundert," in *Pracht und Herrlichkeit: Adlig-fürstliche Lebensstile im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Peter-Michael Hahn and Hellmut Lorenz (Potsdam: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 1998), 45–93. Two generations later, in his first instructions to his successor (1752), Frederick II still found it necessary to warn against the "princes of the blood," by which he meant the Schwedt agnates. Geiseler, 47.

made no secret of his discontent with his father's rule and his intention to make sweeping changes once he came to power.[23] Frederick William was not only militaristic and ascetic, he was also impatient. In a sort of palace coup just over two years before his father's death, Frederick William actually forced out his father's key ministers and essentially seized control of the government with his own party of advisors.[24]

Historians have made much of Frederick William's famous pledge to establish his authority like a *Rocher von Bronse*, but have disregarded this statement's implication that his authority was *not yet* well established.[25] At his accession, Frederick William faced, or at least seemed to face, real challenges to his rule. Early in his reign, credible reports circulated about conspiracies among his foreign and domestic enemies to kidnap him and replace him on the throne with his young son, crown prince Frederick.[26] Rather than consolidating his authority as his reign continued, moreover, Frederick William was increasingly threatened by the aggressively contentious crown prince after the mid-1720s.[27] Space limitations preclude a thorough discussion here of the relationship between Frederick William and his son Frederick, but historians have overestimated the solidity of Frederick William's rule and underestimated the menace that the crown prince represented. There was a very real danger that his son would undermine Frederick William's authority

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[23] Frederick William was born in 1688, just before the death of his grandfather. By the later part of the first decade of the eighteenth century he had attracted his own party of advisors and favorites.

[24] By 1709 the crown prince had taken control of the Prussian army: Oestreich, *Friedrich Wilhelm I.*, 30. Moreover, in December 1710, Frederick William ousted several of his father's favorites, including the de facto prime minister, Johann Kasimir Kolbe von Wartensburg. Abel, *Preußische und Brandenburgische*, 286–87.

[25] In 1716 Frederick William wrote regarding resistance to his reforms: "ich komme zu meinen zweg und stabiliere die suverenitet [sic] und setze die krohne fest wie ein Rocher von Bronse..." *Die Behördenorganisation und die allgemeine Staatsverwaltung Preußens im 18. Jahrhundert*. Vol. 2: *Akten vom Juli 1714 bis Ende 1717 (Acta Borussica)*, ed. G. Schmoller, D. Krauske, and V. Loewe (Berlin: Parey, 1898), Nr. 175; 352.

[26] This was the "Klement affair." Michael von Klement was a confidence man who in 1718 attempted to swindle money from Frederick William by offering to sell him documents about such a conspiracy among the Holy Roman Emperor, Saxony and several members of the king's court. Although the story turned out to be entirely fraudulent, Frederick William and his closest advisors found the threat credible. See the anecdotal account in Friedrich von Oppeln-Bronikowski, "Die Klementschen Händel," in *Abenteurer am Preußischen Hofe, 1700–1800* (Berlin and Leipzig: Gebrüder Paetel, 1927), 46–70.

[27] Frederick II was born in 1712. By the late 1720s he had reached his majority and, with the complicity of his mother, had his own party of advisors and favorites and his own contacts to foreign powers.

and ultimately usurp his rule, just as Frederick William had done to his own father. Frederick William became a 'lame duck' relatively early, since his health was visibly failing by the early 1730s. Though the King did survive the decade, he was never expected to do so.[28] It was obvious to contemporaries, too, that Frederick's succession to the throne would again bring dramatic changes in Hohenzollern policy, both foreign and domestic.[29] The crown prince's cabal thus became a governmental opposition of sorts. Historians have usually treated Frederick William's famously harsh treatment of Frederick anecdotally, as an impatient and brutal father dealing poorly with his teen-aged son, but in fact Frederick William's humiliation and imprisonment of Frederick would be better understood as pre-empting a palace coup.[30]

Not only was Frederick William beset with threats against his personal rule, but the Hohenzollern dynasty's legitimacy as royalty also remained quite uncertain during his reign. Frederick III/I's exertions to turn Prussia into a kingdom are well known, and Frederick II's oft-quoted judgment that his grandfather's coronation in 1701 was a trifle was incorrect.[31] In fact, recognition of the Hohenzollerns as royalty at the turn of the eighteenth century would have been a great diplomatic triumph – had it happened.[32] The subsequent successful establishment

[28] Regarding the king's worsening health, see the works on Frederick William and porphyria, note 13 above. During an attack of the disease in 1734, even Frederick William thought that his death was imminent; he had a mausoleum built in the Potsdam Garrison Church.

[29] The stark contrast between the cultured, philosophical and liberal Frederick and his crude, pious and severe father is well known. In terms of foreign policy, Frederick and his mother formed the core of the "English party," actively opposing the "Austrian party" that was dominant at Frederick William's court.

[30] Frederick was frequently verbally and physically abused by his father, and in 1730 he attempted to run away. He was caught and imprisoned, and one of his close friends and co-conspirators, Hans Hermann von Katte, was executed. See Gerhard Simon, "Der Prozeß gegen den Thronfolger in Rußland (1718) and in Preußen (1730): Carevic Aleksej and Kronprinz Friedrich," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 36, 2 (1988): 218–47.

[31] A plethora of works appeared around the 300th anniversary of Elector Frederick III's coronation as King Frederick I in 1701. For example, see Patrick Bahners and Gerd Roellecke, eds., *Preussische Stile: Ein Staat als Kunststück* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001); *Preußen 1701. Eine Europäische Geschichte*, Vol. 2 (Berlin: Henschel, 2001); Heide Barmeyer, ed., *Die preußische Rangerhöhung und Königskrönung 1701 in deutscher und europäischer Sicht* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2002); and Günther Lottes, ed., *Von Kurfürstentum zum 'Königreich der Landstriche': Brandenburg-Preußen im Zeitalter von Absolutismus und Aufklärung* (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2004).

[32] On the significance of royal status, see William Roosen, "Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial: A Systems Approach," *Journal of Modern History* 52 (1980): 452–76; Barbara

of the Hohenzollerns as kings (and later Emperors) has led many historians to overlook the incomplete and tentative nature of their royal status in the early eighteenth century. Of course, staging a coronation was hardly the same as being recognized as a king, and Frederick III/I was one of many monarchs aspiring to royal status during the War of Spanish Succession (1701–1713), most of whom were unsuccessful.[33] In the Hohenzollerns' case, *claiming* royal status had been a tremendous political gamble, and the gamble had not yet turned out successfully when Frederick William took the throne.[34] Though Prussia's allies in the War of Spanish Succession had accepted Frederick III/I as King, Spain and France did not recognize the Hohenzollerns as royalty until the Peace of Utrecht (1713). In any event, Prussian royal status was only twelve years old when Frederick Wilhelm came to the throne – hardly a *Rocher von Bronse*. Additionally, we should remember that Frederick William was only King *in* Prussia, not King *of* Prussia, meaning that even those powers that did recognize the Hohenzollerns as royalty did so only with serious reservations. For example, the Holy Roman Emperors refused to acknowledge the Electors of Brandenburg as sovereigns, despite their concurrent status as Kings in Prussia.

In short, Frederick William personally and the Hohenzollern dynasty in general were hardly as secure at home or abroad as has been imagined. The insecurities they faced, moreover, were exactly the kind that usually *intensified* monarchical representation, since insecure monarchs often attempted to 'invent' legitimacy, authority, and tradition through pomp and ceremony. Nevertheless, Frederick William is thought to have sworn off self-representation. Thus far we are no closer to unraveling the enigma of Frederick William.

Stollberg-Rilinger, "Höfische Öffentlichkeit: Zur zeremoniellen Selbstdarstellung des brandenburgischen Hofes vor dem europäischen Publikum," *Forschungen zur brandenburgischen-preußischen Geschichte* n.F. 7, 2 (1997): 145–76; and Milos Vec, "Das Preussische Zeremonialrecht: Eine Zerfallsgeschichte," in *Preussische Stile*, ed. Bahners and Roellecke, 101–13.

[33] King Philip V of Spain was eventually accepted as such, but many others' royal pretensions were crushed. "James III" of England and "Charles III" of Spain both failed to force acceptance of their claims. Duke Max Emanuel of Bavaria's hopes to become King of Sardinia or Naples also came to naught. Duke Victor Amadeus II of Savoy ultimately was recognized as King of Sardinia in 1720, but only after making him King of Lombardy during the war proved diplomatically impossible, and only as recompense after Spain successfully ousted him as King of Sicily.

[34] Stollberg-Rilinger, "Höfische Öffentlichkeit," 172–73.

Vacillating

Part of the solution to the enigma of Frederick William is that he *did* conform to baroque court protocols, at least to some extent. A certain 'common currency' in protocol and ceremony was absolutely necessary to interact with foreign powers and his own subjects, and Frederick William seems to have understood this well.[35] Frederick William not only forced full recognition of the Hohenzollerns' royal title from their enemies, but he also finished construction of his father's baroque palace in Berlin. In keeping with the custom of the day, an allegorical portrait of Frederick William placed over his chair presided over the General Directory when he himself was not present at meetings.[36] Hohenzollern royal weddings were performed normally, that is, they were appropriately ostentatious (if famously unhappy).[37] Foreign envoys, ambassadors, and heads of state were received according to prevalent norms, though they were often entertained by Frederick William drilling his troops, rather than by the more fashionable ballet, opera, or comedy theater.[38]

Moreover, there was a conventional baroque court culture in Prussia: it was just that Frederick William had little or nothing to do with it. Queen Sophie's court at the Monbijou Palace in Berlin is now virtually forgotten, but during Frederick William's reign the Queen conducted a fashionable, ceremonial baroque court, complete with typical *divertissements* that included ballet, sleigh rides, concerts, feasts, theater, etc.[39]

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[35] See Neugebauer, "Hof und Politisches System in Brandenburg-Preussen: Das 18. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 46 (2000): 139–169, here 147–148; Neugebauer "Vom höfischen Absolutismus zum fallweisen Prunk. Kontinuitäten und Quantitäten in der Geschichte des preußischen Hofes im 18. Jahrhundert," *Hofgesellschaft und Höflinge an europäischen Fürstenhöfen in der Frühen Neuzeit (15.–18. Jh.)* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2001), 113–24, here 117–18. See also Hahn, "Pracht und Selbstinszenierung. Die Hofhaltung Friedrich Wilhelms I. von Preußen," in *Der Soldatenkönig: Friedrich Wilhelm I. in seiner Zeit*, ed. Friedrich Beck and Julius H. Schoeps (Potsdam: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 2003), 69–98, here 77–86.

[36] The painting showed Frederick William balancing the Domains Chamber and the War Commissariat, the two state organs combined in the General Directory.

[37] See the many mentions of Prussian court ceremonies in contemporary periodicals, such as *Die Europäische Fama, Welche den gegenwärtigen Zustand der vornehmsten Höfe entdecket* (1702–1733); and *Die Neue Europäische Fama, Welche den gegenwärtigen Zustand der vornehmsten Höfe entdecket* (1735–1740).

[38] Johannes Kunisch, "Hofkultur und höfische Gesellschaft in Brandenburg-Preußen im Zeitalter des Absolutismus," in *Europäische Hofkultur im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. August Buck et al. (Hamburg: Dr. Ernst Hauswedell & Co., 1981), 3: 735–744, here 740.

[39] Neugebauer, "Hof und Politisches System," 149; Neugebauer, "Vom höfischen

The separation of the king's and the queen's courts was actually quite normal in the early modern period, though the dramatic difference between the two in Frederick William's Prussia was extraordinary.[40] In addition to the queen's court, several high nobles and foreign envoys in Berlin also operated their own *Hofstaaten* in Berlin that offered amusements and entertainments.[41] The resulting court life in Berlin with all of its amusements was not only tolerated and even financially supported by Frederick William, but actually described as splendid in Frederick William's own court literature. Indeed, the production of commemorative literature containing idealized representations of self-representative court ceremonies and festivals was in itself quite a nod to contemporary expectations.[42] It seems clear, then, that Frederick

Absolutismus," 120. Thomas Kemper's new book on Monbijou was not yet available for this article: Kemper, *Schloss Monbijou: von der königlichen Residenz zum Hohenzollern-Museum* (Berlin: Nicolai, 2005).

[40] Space limitations preclude a more nuanced gender analysis of the Prussian court under Frederick William. Frederick William spent most of his time at his 'masculine' court in Potsdam, which was militaristic, scatological, ascetic, misogynistic and brutal, but also work-obsessed, frugal, sincere and sexually conservative. Frederick William derided the conventional court in Berlin as 'womanly,' presumably for the feminine qualities that made it the opposite of his masculine court in Potsdam. It was French-speaking, cultured, educated and cosmopolitan, but also ceremonial, extravagant, superficial and relatively sexually liberal.

[41] See Neugebauer, "Hof und politisches System," 151; Neugebauer, "Vom höfischen Absolutismus," 119. Friedrich Wilhelm von Grumbkow, who was essentially Frederick William's prime minister for most of his reign, had his own lavish court in Berlin, as did the Holy Roman Emperor's envoy in the late 1720s and early 1730s, Count Friedrich Heinrich von Seckendorff, and the Russian envoy, who put on feasts and festivals. Later in Frederick William's reign the crown prince's court at Rheinsberg became a fashionable enlightened court without the direct involvement of Frederick William, but with his acquiescence and with at least his indirect financial support.

[42] Most explicitly, the chapter following that from which I have taken the title quote of this article in the quasi-official biography of Frederick William describes at length the splendor and magnificence of the court in Berlin, "Cap. XX. Von dem Königl. Schlosse zu Berlin, und der Königl. Hofstadt, wie auch von der Königl. Tafel"; [Faßmann], *Leben und Thaten*, 847–76. See further examples: Erhard Reusch, *Als die Hohe Vermählung des Durchleuchtigsten Fürsten und Herrn, Herrn Carls, Herzogen zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg, mit der Durchleuchtigsten Fürstin und Frauen, Frauen Philippina Charlotta, Gebohrnen Prinzessin in Preussen, Marggräfin zu Brandenburg u. a. m…*(Helmstädt: Paul Dieterich Schnorrn, [1733?]); [Heinrich Cornelius Hecker] Bellamintes, *Das itzt-blühende Potsdam, Mit poëtischer Feder entworffen, Von Bellamintes. Nebst einer Beylage verschiedener Anmerckungen und Nachrichten* (Potsdam: Johann Andreas Rüdiger, 1727); Johann Christoph Müller and Georg Gottfried Küster, *Altes und Neues Berlin. Das ist: Vollständige Nachricht von der Stadt Berlin…*(Berlin: Johann Peter Schmid, [1737]); and *Das fröliche Dretzden, als daselbst zu Ehren Sr. Königl. Majestät in Preußen &c.&c. und Dero Kron = Printzen Königl. Hoheit, bey Dero selben hohen Anwesenheit täglich Lustbarkeiten angestellet und vergnüglich vollbracht worden…*(Dresden, 1728).

William did not eliminate the customary court ceremony and culture of the day in Prussia as much as he divorced the normal ceremonial and the cultural aspects of the Prussian court from the exercise of power by distancing himself personally from the obligatory 'orthodox' baroque court in Berlin.[43]

Baroque pomp and ceremonious protocol belonged to the diplomatic 'common currency' of the time, and Frederick William's clearly made some concessions to them in order to maintain Prussia's ability to interact normally with other European powers. Still, this provides only a part of the answer to the riddle of Frederick William. A more significant step toward understanding Frederick William would be to reject the notion that there was a canon of monarchical representation and court ceremony in Europe during his reign so rigid that it did not allow considerable deviation.

Diplomatic precedence offers us one vivid illustration of this. Scholars who have delved into the convoluted diplomatic precedence system of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries have understood precedence as a one-dimensional system in which every interaction was hierarchical.[44] The agonizing precision and unremitting one-upmanship of late seventeenth-century courtly ceremonial had become a real hindrance to diplomacy. Strict exactitude regarding protocol was necessary to avoid international humiliation, but this bogged negotiations down in petty details or even precluded personal meetings between sovereigns or their envoys altogether. Frustration with the orthodox system of court ceremony was reflected in the increasing use of unaccredited envoys and in frequent instances of monarchs traveling incognito, since both practices were common shortcuts through the labyrinth of precedence rules. By the early eighteenth century, many observers recognized that foreign relations would be easier if deviations from standard protocol were accepted and precedence was more vague. Attempting to upstage other monarchs or their representatives was not helpful or productive, whereas representing oneself on a different plane or a different 'frequency' could satisfy all parties involved.[45] Rather than understanding

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[43] Neugebauer, "Hof und politisches System," 149–151; Neugebauer, "Vom höfischen Absolutismus," 120.

[44] See Roosen, "Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial." Vec calls this system "ziemlich eindimensional." Vec, "Das Preussische Zeremonialrecht," 102.

[45] The most explicit examples of this come from Western Europeans' interactions with outsiders. Relations with the Turks were made easier because they considered

diplomatic intercourse and courtly ceremony as having only one 'common currency,' then, we should recognize that by the early eighteenth century there were many 'currencies' in circulation.

Similarly, by the turn of the eighteenth century a monarch like Frederick William could represent the power and splendor of his state and himself in ways quite different than those employed by his contemporaries. For example, Peter-Michael Hahn has shown that Frederick William recognized that he could not hope to match August the Strong of Saxony's collection of precious gems, so he collected silverware, instead. Over the course of his reign Frederick William built up what was probably the largest and most magnificent collection of silverware and silver decorations in all Europe.[46] Most conspicuously, Frederick William's reform, enlargement, and embellishment of his army must be understood not simply as the result of his own compulsive militarism, but also as a form of monarchical representation.[47] Though Frederick William's obsessive collection of tall troops was later lampooned by Voltaire (and by virtually every scholar studying Frederick William since), such collections were commonplace and viewed as prestigious throughout Europe in the early eighteenth century.[48] Johann Michael

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opposite sides to be the place of honor (the Turks the left side and Western Europeans the right side); Roosen, "Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial," 466. Russia's relations with the West were eased by the use of the untranslated title "czar" rather than "Kaiser" or "emperor," because "czar" had no equivalent in the Western rules of precedence; Gabriele Scheidigger, "Das Eigene im Bild vom Anderen: Quellenkritische Überlegungen zur russisch-abendländischen Begegnung im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 35 (1987): 341–55, here 346; and Iwan Iwanov, "Die Hansische Gesandtschaft nach Moskau von 1603: ein Zusammenspiel der Repräsentationen," paper presented to Hans Medick's Doktorandkolloquium, Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte, Göttingen, 4 June 2005, which led me in the direction of understanding Frederick William's ceremonial and representative interactions with foreign powers as '*nebeneinander spielen*.'

[46] See Hahn, "Pracht und Selbstinszenierung," 87–91; and Hahn, "Die Hofhaltung der Hohenzollern: Der Kampf um Anerkennung," in Bahners and Roellecke, *Preussische Stile*, 73–89, here 86.

[47] It has been generally accepted that part of the "militarization of society" in Prussia was the assumption by the Prussian officer corps of the role of the "court society" during Frederick William's reign. See Otto Büsch, *Militärsystem und Sozialleben im Alten Preußen, 1713–1807. Die Anfänge der sozialen Militarisierung der preußisch-deutschen Gesellschaft* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1962). Only recently have the representative functions of the "Potsdam Giants" been recognized. Beyond their primary function as a test bed for new tactics and equipment, the *Potsdamer Riesen* were repeatedly mobilized. See Jürgen Kloosterhuis, "Klischees und Konturen des Königsregiments," introduction to *Legendäre "lange Kerls": Quellen zur Regimentskultur der Königsgrenadiere Friedrich Wilhelms I, 1713–1740* (Berlin: Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 2003), vii–xlvi; and Hahn, "Pracht und Selbstinszenierung," 91–94.

[48] See Voltaire, *Candide*, "Chapter 2: What Happened to Candide Among the

von Loen's oft-quoted statement that Frederick William's court had "nothing lustrous and nothing showy but its soldiers" has been misunderstood as implying that there was nothing splendid or magnificent in Prussia.[49] In reality, in the context of praising Frederick William's simplified court, von Loen recognized the parading troops as the defining form of ostentation for Frederick William.

Evidently, Frederick William was not so far outside the baroque court norm as is often assumed. In fact, many of his eccentricities that now seem outlandish were actually aspects of his self-representation, which fit well within the expectations of the time. Going a step further, we should note that Frederick William's public rejection of the importance of court ceremony and diplomatic precedence allowed him to become far *less* of an international pariah than his precedence-focused father or grandfather had been. Ironically, their aggressive insistence on ceremonial acknowledgement from foreign powers had effectively made the Hohenzollern state a diplomatic outcast, whereas Frederick William's inattention to precedence and protocol allowed him to engage in normal diplomatic relations and to benefit from the associated reciprocal valorization.[50]

Frederick William made state visits not only to many smaller German principalities but also to the kings of Saxony-Poland and Great Britain and even to the Holy Roman Emperor, and he repeatedly received in Berlin the rulers of Saxony-Poland, Russia, Great Britain and smaller German principalities. We can assume that Frederick William and his

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Bulgars." Commemorations of Frederick William's visit to August the Strong in Dresden in 1728, in contrast, celebrated Frederick's military ostentation: "Uber die Portraite beyder Königl. Majestäten, von welchen Ihro Königl. Majestät in Preussen, ein Regiment in Parade neben sich sehen, Ihro Königl. Majestät in Pohlen aber die unter Ihnen blühende Künste zur Seite stehen haben, mit der Uberschrifft: Es lebe der König in Preussen! Ein HErr von grossen Thaten, Und mit Ihm die braven Soldaten; Es lebe der König von Pohlen! GOTT laß Sein Hauß stets wachsen, Und mit Ihm die Wohlfahrt von Sachsen." Johann Gottlob Kittel, *Bey der, Wegen Höchster Gegenwart Ihro Königl. Majestät in Preußen, Friedrich Wilhelms, Und Dero Durchlauchtigsten Cron = Printzens Hoheit, in Dreßden den 8. Febr. 1728. gehaltenen Prächtigen Illumination . . .* (1728), 2.

[49] von Loen, "Der königlich Preußische Hof in Berlin, 1718," in *Des Herrn von Loen gesammelte Kleine Schrifften, Dritter Abschnitt*, ed. J. C. Schneider (Frankfurt, 1750 [reprint Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1972]), 22–39, here 22. The full passage constitutes an endorsement of Frederick William's transformation of the Prussian court. "Ich sehe hier einen königlichen Hof, der nichts glänzendes und nichts prächtiges als seine Soldaten hat. Es ist also möglich, daß man ein groser König seyn kan, ohne die Majestät in dem äusserlichen Pomp und in einem langen Schweiff bundfärbigter, mit Gold und Silber beschlagenen Creaturen zu suchen."

[50] Stollberg-Rilinger, "Höfische Öffentlichkeit."

entourage were normal enough to participate in such formal occasions, and presumably Berlin was adequate for receiving such guests. Moreover, Frederick William successfully married off all five of his children who reached maturity during his lifetime.[51] Finally, Frederick William understood the norms of courtly behavior well enough to know when he had been slighted, and indeed well enough to appropriately slight others.[52] For example, the king repeatedly showed his favor or disfavor toward the Austrian and French envoys in an attempt to play the two off against each other. A subtle (and yet outlandish) example occurred when Frederick William arranged for executioners' assistants to be dressed like the French ambassador and his retinue during a reception in 1720.[53]

To stray further from the legendary portrayal of Frederick William: not only his rejection of baroque court norms, but also the 'bureaucratic absolutist' nature of his government have been exaggerated. Rather, his court continued to be a center of power and communication, and informal channels remained more important than the fledgling bureaucracy. Bureaucratization in Frederick William's Prussia quite often consisted simply of the legitimation of existing patron-client networks and court factions.[54] The king himself often found it useful to short-circuit the bureaucratic channels that he had created, and abundant evidence shows that Frederick William often ruled through subtle snubs and virtually imperceptible nuances. Courtiers in Berlin and Potsdam kept careful track of such gestures and agonized over their meaning. Viewed in light of such sources, Potsdam appears to have functioned

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[51] Much has been made of the supposed "failure" of Frederick William to conclude more successful marriages for his children, especially the crushing of his (entirely unrealistic) hopes for a double marriage between the crown princes of Prussia and England and their sisters. While the marriages of Frederick William's children were not especially advantageous politically, they did not need to be, because their purpose was to dispose of surplus heirs (the dynasty's 'biological reserve'), not to form alliances. Hahn, "Pracht und Selbstinszenierung," 87; Marschke, "The Crown Prince's Brothers and Sisters."

[52] For example, Frederick William was enraged when his envoy to Hanover was disrespected. [Theresius von Seckendorff], *Versuch einer Lebensbeschreibung des Feldmarschalls Grafen von Seckendorf, meist aus ungedruckten Nachrichten bearbeitet* (Leipzig, 1792–1794), 169.

[53] On the 1720 reception, [Éléazar de Mauvillon], *The Life of Frederick-William I: Late King of Prussia. Containing Many Authentick Letters and Pieces, very necessary for understanding the Affairs of Germany and the Northern Kingdoms*, William Phelips, tr. (London: T. Osborne, 1750), 229–30.

[54] Hans Rosenberg describes Frederick William's state as pervaded by nepotism and corruption: Rosenberg, *Bureaucracy, Aristocracy, and Autocracy*. Marschke, *Absolutely Pietist*, describes even more extreme examples within the Prussian army chaplaincy.

surprisingly like Louis XIV's Versailles, albeit in front of an entirely different backdrop.

Frederick William, though, represented himself and his government as something entirely different from the rest of contemporary Europe.[55] Frederick William *wanted* to be seen as frugal, workaholic, pious and unforgiving.[56] We should view the constant rhetoric of efficiency, diligence, cost cutting, integrity and competence that pervaded the official proclamations and orders from Frederick William's reign as part of this self-representation. The representative imagery surrounding the king (or conspicuous lack thereof) was austere, even puritanical: Frederick William commissioned no grand art works, built no grand palaces and conspicuously disdained luxury.[57]

Furthermore, he cultivated a 'ceremony of informality' at his court, or perhaps an 'anti-ceremonial ceremony.' Rather than distinguishing themselves and excluding outsiders by taking part in ornate ceremonies, as the conventional baroque court is understood to have functioned, Frederick William and his favorites differentiated themselves from those who did not belong to the inner circle through their *informality*. The *Tobakskollegium* was extremely informal, so much so that those present addressed the King simply as *Oberst* and did not rise when the king entered the room: it would have been offensive (and a clear sign that one did not belong) to do otherwise. Instead of distinguishing himself though fashionable clothing, Frederick William famously wore the same uniform as the rest of the Prussian officer corps, and those who presumed to

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[55] Not only Frederick William, but also his favorites pretended that his government operated along bureaucratic absolutist lines and was strictly subordinate to the will of the king. The envoy from the Holy Roman Emperor, von Seckendorff, defended his principal ally at court, von Grumbkow, from charges that he was accepting bribes by telling Frederick William: "…an anderen Höfen könnte vielleicht die Gewinnung der Minister einigen Nutzen haben, aber da der König seine Geschäfte alle selbst thäte und resolvirte, so würde man sein Geld umsonst anwenden." Quoted in Wilhelm Oncken, "Sir Charles Hotham und Friedrich Wilhelm I. im Jahre 1730: Urkundliche Ausschlüsse aus den Archiven zu London und Wien," *Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preußischen Geschichte* 7 (1894): 377–407, here 108. In his letters to Vienna, Von Seckendorff repeatedly boasted of his ability to manipulate Frederick William; [von Seckendorff], *Versuch einer Lebensbeschreibung*, passim.

[56] In fact, Frederick William cultivated an image of himself as miserly, obsessive and brutal; his public statements that he would discipline government officials with gruesomeness like that of the czar of Russia or would handle Prussia as if he had conquered it are well known. See Oestreich, *Friedrich Wilhelm I.*, 46, 101.

[57] Frederick William's cost-cutting regarding food and the plain fare served at his court are legendary.

dress better were mocked.[58] Frederick William also gave up wearing a wig, and he looked askance at anyone who wore one. It is telling that even though wigs remained popular in the rest of Europe, they quickly went out of fashion in Berlin and Potsdam.[59] Frederick William's court in Potsdam seemed informal compared to his contemporaries' courts, but the court at Wusterhausen was shockingly casual.[60] Such informality marked a divergence from typical court ceremony of the time, but it served a similar purpose: outsiders had to learn appropriate behavior at Frederick William's court, just as they had to learn conventional courtly behavior at any other court.[61]

Clearly, Frederick William's departure from the court ceremony and culture of the time took the form of a reaction against baroque sensibilities. Rather than using the usual expressions of magnificence to legitimize himself as king, he justified his rule based on his administrative competence and parsimony.[62] Moreover, I want to suggest that Frederick William represented himself as doing something radically new: not only did he do away with the traditionally opulent representative court, but he also represented himself as unrepresentative.

Representing Unrepresentativeness

It is an oversimplification to conclude, as Johannes Kunisch does, that "Frederick William was a ruler who stood out less through his own form of courtly representation and much more through his complete

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[58] The lampooning of fine clothes and fashionable wigs through the court fool Gundling is well known. Gundling was forced to wear a costume with exaggerated lapels and cuffs and an outlandish towering wig. See Sabrow, *Herr und Hanswurst*. Frederick William also dressed convicts up as courtiers to mock the fashionable attire at his queen's court. Ritter, *Frederick the Great*, 24.

[59] Oestreich, *Friedrich Wilhelm I.*, 59. Johann Ulrich Köppen, a Pietist protégé headed to Berlin to audition before the King to become an army chaplain, thanked his patron for a helpful "reminder" regarding wigs and gloves. Köppen, Berlin, letter to August Hermann Francke, Halle, 12 May 1725, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußische Kulturbesitz, Handschriftenabteilung, Nachlass Francke, 13,1/3: 30.

[60] The only similar contemporary court that I am aware of is that of Peter I of Russia, who had his own 'ceremony of informality.'

[61] Courtiers in Potsdam actually warned the uninitiated of this eccentricity at Frederick William's court. [Seckendorff], *Versuch einer Lebensbeschreibung*, 42.

[62] Thus Bauer's suggestion that Frederick William's court was the quintessence of the 'hausväterliche Hof' ideal type. Bauer, *Die höfische Gesellschaft*, 66–70.

negation of it."[63] Frederick William's spectacular dissolution of his father's representative court should really be understood as another representation of himself and the reign. The king not only wanted to be perceived as frugal and industrious, but also as genuine, as authentic and as unrepresentative. Again, Frederick William's representation of himself was based on a disavowal of the utility (much less necessity) of the conventional baroque court. Ironically, once the practical purpose of displays of magnificence at court had been widely recognized at the turn of the eighteenth century, such displays lost much of their effectiveness. Another dimension of Frederick William's representation of himself and the state as unrepresentative was its typically negative response to the mendacity and opacity of the early modern court, in keeping with the broader cultural trend toward prizing authenticity and transparency in the early eighteenth century.[64]

Frederick William, in any event, was quite aware of his public image, and he carefully managed it. Courtiers who were very close to him understood that he was manipulating the public view of himself. For example, Frederick William, even when overcome with religious piety, was careful to hide his tears from those around him.[65] He also wanted to appear more attentive, harder working, more detail oriented, and more literate than those close to him knew him to be.[66] The king's periodic bouts of porphyria, too, were covered up by his aides. In fact,

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[63] "Er war ein Herrscher, der weniger durch eigene Form höfischer Repräsentation als vielmehr durch deren völlige Negierung hervorgetreten ist." Kunisch on Frederick William, "Funktion und Ausbau," 80.

[64] See James Van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[65] Pietists in Potsdam reported to Halle that they brought the King to tears, which he artfully hid: "Bey diesen Gesprach stand die gantze Gasse voller Leuthe, der König aber moderite sich im reden, daß niemand was hören kannt, u. wuste seine Thränen so artig zu bergen." Letter from Heinrich Schubert, Potsdam, to August Hermann Francke, Halle, 29 April 1727, Archiv der Franckeschen Stiftungen [henceforth AFSt], HA C 632:28.

[66] Along with the common refrain that letters to the King should be short to accommodate his attention span, a Pietist in Berlin also reported to Halle that the King claimed to be able to read Latin, but he doubted that Frederick William really could: "Könten sie das *memorial* etwas kurtzer faßen, doch so, daß die Sachen drinn gleich lebhaft vorgestellet wurden, wäre es so viel beßer, damit der König es desto lieber lese *de meo addo*, daß etliche Lateinische ausdrucke der immer waren, die faße man lieber teutsch, damit solche keine *hasitationem* in *animo legentis* machen. *Potest esse*, der sie verstehe, es kann aber auch *contrarium* wahr seyn d er sie nicht verstehe." Letter from Georg Heinrich Neugebauer, Berlin, to August Hermann Francke, Halle, 13 April 1720, AFSt, HA A 129a1: 1.

Frederick William took special measures to screen the mail leaving Potsdam and Berlin, and even employed special 'plumbers' to track down leaks of unauthorized information, because he could not stand being written about.[67]

If we look closely at one of the especially conspicuous characteristics of Frederick William and his reign, then even something as seemingly simple as Frederick William's compulsive frugality appears to be more monarchical representation than reality. We should view the conspicuous dearth of consumption and the constant rhetoric of parsimony, efficiency and austerity during his reign as how Frederick William wanted to be perceived, not how he actually governed Prussia. Indeed, Frederick William spent money quite freely on things that were opulent, superfluous and even wasteful.[68] Clearly we can understand his immoderate collection of silver decorations this way. Perhaps most famously, the Soldier King's obsession with recruiting tall soldiers, not just for the *Potsdamer Riesen* but also for the entire army, cost Prussia millions. Contrary to his contemporary notoriety and his enduring legacy as thrifty and efficient, Frederick William's focus on the height and outward appearance of his soldiers (rather than their numbers) was extremely cost-ineffective in military terms.[69]

The palaces that Frederick William built, such as Jagdhaus Stern outside Potsdam and his residence at Wusterhausen, provide further examples of his representation of himself and his rule as thrifty and unrepresentative. Both were simple and quite small, modeled on bourgeois Dutch homes. Although Frederick William may have conspicuously abstained from building representative baroque palaces, he did spend tremendous sums on other forms of representative architecture. The representative functions of Frederick William's expansions of Berlin and

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[67] "…der König könne nicht leyden, wenn von ihm anders hin etwas geschrieben ward, daher auch die Briefe auf der Post, sonderl. die nach Halle gehen biß weile unvermuthet auf Königl. *Ordre* seid *visitir*et ward." Letter from Heinrich Schubert, Potsdam, to August Hermann Francke, Halle, 20 March 1727, AFSt, HA C 632:26. On Frederick William's "plumbers," see Ernst Friedlaender, "Einleitung," in idem, ed., *Berliner geschriebene Zeitungen aus den Jahren 1713–1717 und 1735: Ein Beitrag zur Preussischen Geschichte unter König Friedrich Wilhelm I* (Berlin: Vereins für die Geschichte Berlins, 1902), iii–xix, here xiv.

[68] Frederick William's economic policies have been regarded as tremendously successful, but this has recently come into question. See Hahn, "Pracht und Selbstinszenierung," 72–77. Here I am more interested in the representative function of Frederick William's conspicuous economizing, regardless of its success.

[69] Willerd R. Fann, "Foreigners in the Prussian Army, 1713–1756: Some Statistical and Interpretive Problems," *Central European History* 23, 1 (1990): 76–84, here 80.

Potsdam have been largely overlooked, because they did not involve conventional baroque representative architecture.[70] His dramatic expansions of Potsdam in the swampy Havel estuary required a series of major engineering projects, such as digging canals and placing pilings. Legendarily, Frederick William had the building receipts destroyed, because he did not want the cost overruns to become public.[71] The return on his investment, though, was a model city that claimed to rival the great capitals of Europe. Modeling Potsdam on Amsterdam, rather than Versailles or Vienna, explicitly rejected baroque magnificence and created a concrete edifice displaying Frederick William's cameralist policies. Potsdam's 'Dutch Quarter,' especially, delivered an architectural and spatial representation of the orderliness, frugality, and efficiency that Frederick William wanted associated with his rule.

Aside from his ostentatiously modest palace-building, Frederick William built dozens of churches. These architectural expressions of the King's piety were also representations of his majesty. Frederick William retained the foremost architects of the day for these projects and built tremendously tall and expensive baroque towers atop the churches in Berlin and Potsdam. These towers, typically topped by his 'FWR' monogram in the form of a weathervane, were re-represented in celebratory illustrations of the Prussian capital and residence cities.[72] The construction and dedication of these churches were reported in contemporary periodicals and in commemorative literature from the Prussian court, which enthusiastically pointed out how much taller, more beautiful and more fashionable they were than those in Paris or Vienna.[73] Beyond representing Frederick William's piety and his magnificence, several of the churches that he built conveyed overt

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[70] See, for example, Hahn's contrast of "representative" architecture with Frederick William's expansion of *bürgerlich* Berlin and Potsdam; Hahn, "Die Hofhaltung der Hohenzollern," 86. However, foreigners described the new wide boulevards and the orderly rows of uniform houses as magnificent, as did the commemorative works coming from the Prussian court. See Oestreich, *Friedrich Wilhelm I.*, 61; and [Hecker], *Das itzt-blühende Potsdam*, 59–63. The paintings of Potsdam and Berlin done in the 1730s by Frederick William's court painter, Dismar Dägen, portray the massive construction projects and the impressive symmetry of the expansions.

[71] H. C. P. Schmidt, *Geschichte und Topographie der Königl. Preussischen Residenzstadt Potsdam* (Potsdam: Ferdinand Riegel, 1825), 74.

[72] Johann Friedrich Grael and Johann Philipp Gerlach both designed churches for Frederick William.

[73] *Die Europäische Fama* and *Die Neue Europäische Fama* reported on the dedications. See also the commemorative literature on church building in Berlin and Potsdam: Müller and Küster, *Altes und Neues Berlin*. Hecker claimed that Potsdam's churches were the match of Notre Dame or the Stephanskirche; Hecker, *Das itzt-blühende Potsdam*, 41–44.

political messages; for example, he combined Lutheran and Calvinist congregations in *Simultankirchen*, and he demonstratively built churches for French and Bohemian Protestants. Here, as elsewhere, Frederick William publicly represented his disdain for the representative culture of his contemporary monarchs.

Conclusion

Frederick William was something 'orthodox' and something 'dissenting' at the same time. The King's court and his representations of himself and his rule are especially interesting exactly because he did not fit into the baroque court culture of the time – or at least, he pushed that culture's limits to the breaking point. Studying Frederick William, the most enigmatic ruler of the period, therefore highlights contemporaries' assumptions and scholars' subsequent suppositions about monarchical representation and court culture.

To offer some tentative answers to the initial questions raised above: Clearly some kind of court as a center of informal channels of power and communication remained indispensable in early modern Europe, but by the early eighteenth century, a court could take on just about any form. A king like Frederick William could abolish court ceremony and absent himself from conventional *divertissements*, but a certain level of ceremonial behavior still surrounded the person of the king – even if it consisted of ritualized informality. Furthermore, just because Frederick William diverged radically from the typical monarchical self-representation of the time does not mean that he did not represent himself as majestic, legitimate, and powerful. Indeed, given his unsteady position and the questionable status of the Hohenzollerns, he needed to do so. Put metaphorically: Frederick William may have operated on a different frequency than most of his contemporaries, but he was still broadcasting. By the time of Frederick William, not only could many of the representative functions of the court be performed outside the typical ceremony and style of the baroque court, but conspicuous rejection of those norms could also be a form of self-representation. Furthermore, Frederick William represented himself as unrepresentative by fostering an image of himself as authentic and sincere. Indeed, Frederick William was so successful at managing how he and his rule appeared to his subjects and to foreigners that he persuaded generations of historians, as well.

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AMBIGUITIES OF SILENCE: THE PROVOCATION OF THE VOID FOR BAROQUE CULTURE

Claudia Benthien

Whether silence should be considered "the most ambiguous of all linguistic forms," or indeed a linguistic phenomenon at all, remains in question.[1] Deeming it to be a form of speech, and not as something fundamentally other, is a result of a decision, an attribution or an act of interpretation in much the same way as thinking it as 'other' to speech would be.[2] The choice to treat silence as speech appears most frequently within literature itself, but also within literary theory, language philosophy, and linguistics – all fields that have strong interests in the notion of a linguistic coding of the world.

German possesses two words for silence: *Schweigen*, which means absence of words, and *Stille*, which stands for any absence of sound or noise. Whether silence is understood as a *Schweigen* or as a *Stille* – in other words, as a conscious decision against speech, or as a to some extent coincidental noiselessness – depends strongly on cultural negotiations. In literature, the choice is often made by the author who attributes silence to a certain character – in a play, for instance, by using stage directions, or in prose by narrating that a protagonist keeps silent. In such cases, the resulting silence is usually considered eloquent, constituting an indirect mode of expression. Looking at literary history, one realizes that silence plays a more and more important, and eventually even a crucial role over time. In the medieval and early modern periods, silence was viewed essentially as a rhetorical move, and accordingly as representing specific emotions or states of being. In the *longue durée*, however, silence gradually came to be figured as an increasingly vague entity. It no longer stood for fullness and intensity, but rather for void, emptiness, absence, weakness, and impotence.

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[1] Adam Jaworski, *The Power of Silence: Social and Pragmatic Perspectives* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1993), 24.

[2] See among others, Jacques Derrida, "How to Avoid Speaking: Denials," in Sanford Bundick and Wolfgang Iser, eds., *Languages of the Unsayable: The Play of Negativity in Literature and Literary Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 3–70.

The double ambiguity of silence – whether it is considered as a form of speech at all, and, if this is granted, what exactly it is supposed to denote – made it a virulent topic for early modern culture. In a 'rhetorical age,' something beyond the systems of representation is hardly conceivable. Walter Benjamin was arguing along the same lines when he claimed that in the German *Trauerspiel* ('mourning play'), a tragic silence of the hero does not exist, in contrast to classical tragedy.[3] The resulting 'absence of absence' is significant, since it alludes to a phantasmal fear of the void that is to be found especially in Baroque arts. Silence is all the more disquieting, the closer it comes to non-signification. Its ambivalence becomes clearly evident in the German composite term *Stillschweigen*. In seventeenth-century literature, rhetoric, theology and philosophy alike, this term was used to translate the Latin noun *silentium*. The word is also frequently found in German texts, which further indicates that a neat distinction between the notions of *Schweigen* and *Stille* did not yet exist. Rather, one may argue, the terms diverged only in the eighteenth century.[4] *Stillschweigen*, after all, is tautological: it signifies 'being silent silently.' The absence of speech and the absence of sound are correlated in such a way that their phenomenological difference is suspended. Another indicator for the problematic status of silence in the Baroque 'culture of eloquence' is that there seems to have been no other historical period when silence was more discussed. There is an eye-catching discrepancy between the rare factual silence in early modern works, and the continuous meta-linguistic treatment of the idea of silence. Silences appear as diverse aberrations within an orthodox realm of discursive signification, as deviations that must be incorporated into the linguistic system by all means.

This essay will explore six dimensions of Baroque silence: first, it will look at the rhetoric of silence; second, it will elaborate upon its performative dimensions; third, it will discuss silence with regard to emotional excess and raise the question of its depiction; fourth, it will

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[3] Benjamin is referring to Franz Rosenzweig, who speaks of "silence" as the only appropriate "language" of the tragic hero. Walter Benjamin, *The Origins of German Tragic Drama* tr. John Osborne (London: NLB, 1977), 108; Franz Rosenzweig, *The Star of Redemption*, tr. Barbara E. Galli (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), 85–86.

[4] This becomes evident for instance in the entries "Schweigen," "Stille," and "Stillschweigen" in Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Großes vollständiges Universal-Lexikon* (Halle and Leipzig, 1743 [reprint Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1962]), 36: cols. 244–46; 40: cols. 89–90 and 97–99.

reflect upon the modes and limitations of a formal representation of silence; fifth, it will analyze death as a figure of radical silence; and finally, it will touch on early modern exegesis of God's silence and the epistemological problem of the void.[5]

The Rhetoric of Baroque Silence

Both religious as well as secular writings from the Baroque period reflect upon the rhetoric of silence. In religious contexts, silence is discussed mainly in two contexts: the silence of the believer during ascetic practice, and mystic silence related to the epiphany of the divine. An engraving entitled *In silentio et spe* ("In silence and hope" [Isaiah 30:15]) from Gabriel Rollenhagen's emblem book of 1611 depicts a monk with a padlock sealing his mouth as he faces a lonesome country chapel (see figure 18).[6] He carries an anchor, a symbol of hope, and a precious locked Bible. The Latin subscription claims silence as a religious virtue: "Mortal saints are adorned by deep silence. *Hope keeps quiet* in expectation of the price of victory, that shall be given to those that are pious."[7] Silence here stands for humility and devotion. The verbal isolation of the monk is figured as a central attitude of religious asceticism.

A further religious dimension is expressed in a type of altarpiece, popular in the late sixteenth century, that depicted the holy family with John the Baptist making an appeal for silence (see figure 19, also in color section). In a typical oil painting of this genre, an infant Christ sleeps peacefully while Mary holds a transparent veil over him. Her gesture is ambivalent, since it could indicate that she is covering or unveiling his body – protecting it, or offering it. St. John's stick, as well as the small inscription *Cor meum vigiliat* on the sheet, also indicate a sacrifice: "I slept but my heart was awake" is a line from the Song of Songs (5:2), which is often quoted to indicate contemplative silence,

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[5] The following discussion presents central ideas from my book: Claudia Benthien, *Barockes Schweigen: Rhetorik und Performativität des Sprachlosen im 17. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Fink, 2006).

[6] Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Sinn-Bilder. Ein Tugendspiegel* [= *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum, quae itali vulgo impresas vocant […]* (Arnheim 1611 [reprint, ed. and tr. Carsten-Peter Warncke, Dortmund: Harenberg, 1983]), 61.

[7] «Ornant mortales taciturna silentia Sanctos, | *Spes silet* exspectans, danda brabea, pijs.» Rollenhagen, 133.

Figure 18: *In silentio et spe*, engraving from: Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Emblematum selectissimorum*, Arnheim 1611.

Figure 19 (also in color section): Lavinia Fontana: *Sacra Famiglia col Bambino dormiente e san Giovannino*, oil painting, 1591. Rome, Galleria Borghese. Photo: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

ecstasy, and mystical sleep.[8] Here, silence is used as rhetorical device to suggest the ineffable.

In secular contexts, in contrast, silence is considered as a technique for social interaction. Prudent silence is theorized in relation to *dissimulatio*, as a form of concealing that is ethically acceptable and politically necessary, by authors including Justus Lipsius, Francis Bacon, Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, and Balthasar Grácian.[9] The inscription of an engraving taken from the *Emblemata horatiana* (1607)[10] by Otho Vaenius – a popular emblem book that had many editions in different European languages – reads *Nihil silentio vtilivs* ("Nothing is more useful than silence") (see figure 20).[11] Several classical proverbs function as subscriptions, among them one from Horace's *Epistles* that reads "You will never uncover anybody's secret and will not be able to veil your own trespasses if you are driven by wine and by rage."[12] Vaenius' emblem thus contains a call for silence and self-control. Since the figure appears here in a public space – more precisely, in front of the Roman senate – the wisdom of silence is closely linked to the realm of the political and the ongoing discussion about *arcana imperii*. The central figure in front represents the ancient god of silence, Harpocrates. He indicates

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[8] Enriqueta Harris Francfort, "El Greco's Holy Family with the Sleeping Christ and the Infant Baptist: An Image of Silence and Mystery," in Robert Enggass and Marilyn Storkstad, eds., *Hortus Imaginum. Essays in Western Art* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1974), 103–11, here 106.

[9] See among numerous other studies Heidrun Kugeler, "'Ehrenhafte Spione.' Geheimnis, Verstellung und Offenheit in der Diplomatie des 17. Jahrhunderts," in Claudia Benthien and Steffen Martus, eds., *Die Kunst der Aufrichtigkeit im 17. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2006), 127–48; Ursula Geitner, *Die Sprache der Verstellung. Studien zum rhetorischen und anthropologischen Wissen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992), 22 and 30; Adalbert Wichert, *Literatur, Rhetorik und Jurisprudenz im 17. Jahrhundert. Daniel Casper von Lohenstein und sein Werk* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991), 251–55; Wilhelm Kühlmann, *Gelehrtenrepublik und Fürstenstaat. Entwicklung und Kritik des deutschen Späthumanismus in der Literatur des Barockzeitalters* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1982), 243–55.

[10] For this and following citations, the year of first publication will be given, which does not necessarily correspond to the production date of the respective text.

[11] It is taken from the ancient Greek author Menander; cf. Bartholomaeus Amantius, Dominicus Nanus Mirabellus and Franciscus Tortius, *Polyanthea [nova, hoc est,] Opus suauissimus floribus [celebriorum sententiarum tam Graecarum quam Latinarum]…* (Frankfurt am Main: Zetzner, 1612), 1113. (Located at Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel [henceforth HAB] H:P 371.a Helmst.).

[12] "Arcanum neque tu scrutaberis vllius vmquam Commißumque teges, et vino tortus, & ira." Otho Vaenius [Otto van Veen], *Quinti Horatii flacci emblemata, imaginibus in aes incisis, notisque illustrata* (Antwerp, 1607 [reprint, ed. Dimitrij Tschizewski, Hildesheim and New York: Olms, 1972]), 62. In Horace the caption runs: "arcanum neque tu scrutaberis illius umquam, conmissumque teges et vino tortus et ira." Horace, *Sämtliche Werke*, tr. Wilhelm Schöne, ed. Hans Färber (Munich: Heimeran, 1979), 188 (I, 18).

Figure 20: *Nihil silentio utilius*, engraving from: Otho Vaenius, *Emblemata horatiana*, Antwerp 1607.

silence with his left index finger on his lips, while his other hand holds
the Roman flag with a centaur repeating this gesture. Topologically,
this personification of *silentium* is depicted in a liminal position between
the viewer and the scene in the background. Silence is figured as a
barrier, here, as a perceptive and cognitive threshold between two dif-
ferent spheres.

Even though silence is rarely mentioned in sixteenth and seventeenth
century rhetoric books, it does, curiously enough, figure on the frontis-
piece of a manual by the rhetorician Gerhard Johann Vossius, published
in 1646 (see figure 21).[13] The engraving depicts a standing male figure
covering his mouth with one hand while making an eloquent gesture
with the other. The inscription *Tutum silentii praemium* ("Silence is the
safest gain") is taken from Erasmus – a somewhat paradoxical opening
for a book that aims at teaching its readers how to speak.[14] Perhaps the
engraving indicates that one should keep silent about having searched
for rhetorical assistance. Prominently placed on the first page, it also
alludes to the theme of silent reading, that is, to the media change
and mentality shift evolving at this time owing to the introduction of
book printing.[15]

Performative Silences

Whereas a rhetorical silence transfers meaning, a performative silence
constitutes reality. A rhetorical silence is representative, a performative
silence, in contrast, is executive. The category of the performative will
here be applied mainly to two dimensions. First, it stands for the vague,

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[13] Gerhard Johannes Vossius, *Elementa rhetorica, Oratoriis ejusdem Partionibus accomodata; Inque usum Scholarum Hollandiae; & West-Frisiae, emendatius edita* (Amsterdam: Jansson, 1646) (HAB P 902 Helmst. 8°).

[14] Desiderius Erasmus, *Adiagorum. Epitome. Ex novissima chiliadvm recognotione excerpta & quod diligens Lector facilê videbit, multis in locis iam quàm antè, diligentiùs emendata [...]* (Wittenberg: Hoffmann, 1599), 603 (HAB P 1159 Helmst. 8°).

[15] Some early modern emblem books allude directly to this notion, e.g. the repre-sentation of *silentium* in Andrea Alciato's influential *Emblematum liber*. Whereas in the *editio princeps* of this book, the figure is depicted as a standing monk holding his index finger to his mouth, later editions show a more complex figure. The monk now sits at a desk in a monastic study with a finger on his mouth, while his other hand rests on an open book. His two hands, one might say, mediate between silence and reading. Compare Andrea Alciato, *[...] Emblematum liber* (Cologne: Steyner, 1531), f. A3 (HAB P 859.8° Helmst. (3)); and Andrea Alciato, *Emblemata, cum commentariis amplissimis* (Padua: Frambotti, 1661), 65 (HAB WA 6394).

GER. JO. VOSSII

ELEMENTA

RHETORICA,

Oratoriis ejuſdem Partitionibus
accommodata;

Inque uſum Scholarum Hollandiæ, &
VVeſt-Friſiæ, emendatius edita.

AMSTELODAMI,

Apud JOANNEM JANSSONIUM,
cIↃ IↃC XLVI.
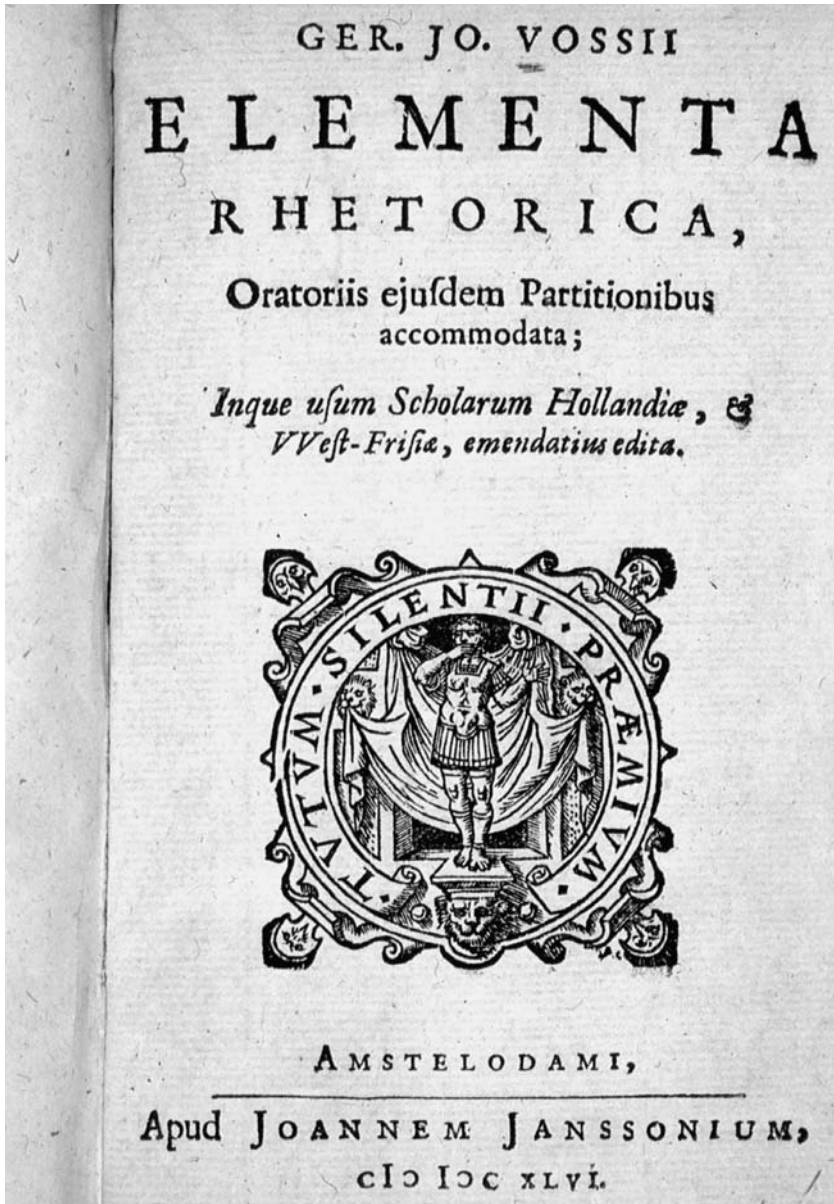
Figure 21: *Tutum silentii praemium*, frontispiece of: Gerhard Johannes Vossius. *Elementa rhetorica*, Amsterdam 1646. Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel (P 902 Helmst. 8°).

ungraspable appearance and reality of silence that one may experience, for instance, in live performances. I refer here to recent performance theory that emphasizes the role of perception as well as the co-presence of persons in a shared space.[16] In collective situations, silence constitutes a diffuse, though intense and perceivable, a-semiotic physical 'absence' that often appears as an atmospheric 'presence.' Looking for such performative silences in early modern culture, however, one faces the methodological problem that the Baroque here-and-now is inevitably gone.[17] One therefore has to rely on the discursive traces of such performative silences.

Second, the category of the performative will be used in the sense of 'performance,' as in speech act theory, where it describes a certain self-referential aspect of language in which speaking and the execution of actions coincide. For the case of silence as an oral phenomenon, this simultaneity is usually given – although only in the form of indirect articulation. In early modern literature, however, one encounters factual silences less frequently than those that are anti-performative, or in other words: that produce performative self-contradictions. For example in Lohenstein's tragedy *Sophonisbe* (1680), the hero Masinissa complains: "Ach! ich kan | Nicht sprechen!" ("Oh! I cannot speak!"). In Heinrich Mühlpfort's burial song "Auff eine Leiche" ("On a corpse," 1687), one reads: "[i]ch kan nicht weiter sprechen/ | Da doch Beredsamkeit bey diesem tieffen Leid | Das beste solte thun" ("I am incapable of speaking any further, although eloquence should do its best in this deep grief"). In Lohenstein's tragedy *Ibrahim Bassa* (1653), to give one more case, the protagonist Bassa Achmat cries out: "Ich schweige!" ("I am silent!")[18] In all three examples, silence is maintained and broken at the same time. Such exclamatory silence, moreover, is brought forward in a grammatical form that resembles that of a speech act. It is thus a paradoxical act, simultaneously executed and denied.

In a broader sense, one may also apply the notion of performativity to cases where reality is changed or even established through silence.

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[16] See Erika Fischer-Lichte, *Ästhetik des Performativen* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2004).

[17] Rudi Laermans, "Performative Silences," *Performance Research* 4, 3 (1999): 1–6.

[18] Daniel Casper von Lohenstein, *Afrikanische Trauerspiele*, Klaus Günther Just, ed. (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1957), 18 (IV, 208–09); Heinrich Mühlpfort, "Auff eine Leiche," *Poetischer Gedichte Ander Theil* (Breslau: Steckh, 1687), 26–30 (Located at the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin [henceforth SPK] Yi 8301–2); Daniel Casper von Lohenstein, *Türkische Trauerspiele*, Klaus Günther Just, ed. (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1953), 76 (V, 272).

This phenomenon is often found in seventeenth century prints, in particular. A dialogue in Balthasar Grácian's moralistic novel *El Críticon* (1651–1657) enumerates situations in which silence becomes an act:

> I have come, says another, to search for good silence. This made everybody laugh: What then, is there bad silence? Oh yes, answered Virtelia, and it is something that causes much evil. The judge keeps silent in not having to administer justice. The father keeps silent and does not amend his son. The preachers keep silent and do not punish the sinners. The spiritual inspector keeps silent in the presence of terrible vices. The evil person keeps silent and does not ask God to forgive his sin. The debtor keeps silent and disavows his debts. The witness keeps silent and becomes guilty for the depravities not being punished. All keep silent and hide their bad deeds, therefore one may very well call good silence a Saint and bad silence a devil![19]

The first four figures that Grácian lists are male authorities (judge, father, preacher, inspector) whose cowardly silence does not conform to their ethical duties. The fifth person is loaded with a moral burden, whereas the sixth is loaded with debts. The last person mentioned refuses to give evidence, which is considered a criminal deed. In each case, silence is described as a passive but effective act that modifies reality. Gracián implies a legal dimension when discussing these silent acts, since both framing examples, the first as well as the last (judge, witness), are taken from the juridical sphere.

Other authors of the period refer to ancient Roman law and history, for instance with regard to the so-called *consensus taciti* (silent consent). In Daniel Georg Morhof's *Dissertationes Academiace & Epistolicae* (1699), for example, one finds a "Tractationis juridicae De Jure Silentii" in which silent consent is historicized and discussed with regard to its juridical limits.[20] The lawyer and writer Hippolytos a Collibus asks in his treatise *Harpocrates Sive de recta Silendi ratione* (1603) why we may be perceived as speaking "when our deeds as well as our tongues keep

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[19] "Yo vengo, dixo vno, en busca del silencio bueno: rieronlo todos, diziendo que callar ay malo? O si, respondiò Virtelia, y muy perjudicial; calle el Iuez la justicia, calle el padre, y no corrige al hijo trauiesso, calla el Predicador, y no reprehende los vicios, calle el Confessor, y no pondera la grauedad de la culpa, calla el malo y no se confiessa, ni se enmiẽda, calla el deu dor, y niega el credito, calla el testigo, y no se auerigua el delito, callan vnos, y otros, y encubrense los males: de suerte, que si al buen callar llaman Santo, al mal callar llamenle diablo." Baltasar Gracián, "El criticon," *Obras* 1 (Madrid: De LaBastida, 1663), 256 (HAB Ll 108).

[20] Daniel Georg Morhof, *Dissertationes Academicae & Epistolicae, quibus rariora quaedam argumenta eruditè tractantur, omnes in unum Volumen collatae, & Consensu Filiorum editae* (Hamburg: Liebernickel, 1699), 53–70.

silent."[21] Collibus draws on classical authors such as Pliny, Valerius Maximus, and Tacitus, who describe a variety of explicit or implicit silent acts. The key moments in his long and complex argument can be paraphrased as follows. In the case of an unresolved lawsuit, Collibus claims, one needs to understand the person who keeps silent. He refers to a classical author who claims that the beginning of confession is not a result of the interrogation of the opponent, but of his taciturnity. Silence may express pride as well as attention – that is to say, Collibus takes account of the referential function of silence. It may also imply revenge, he maintains a little later, and is consequently performative – a silent act similar to the speech act of a challenge. It is obvious, Collibus claims, that if a young man put on the witness stand lowers his gaze in a fearful silence, he is expressing his deepest guilt. Similarly, if an angry person bridles his rage through silence, this clearly indicates painful rumination. Finally, he gives the example of a situation in which illegal business is conducted and a person is asked for her opinion but keeps silent; this silence will no doubt be interpreted as approval.[22] Collibus's argumentation thus reveals that early modern authors were aware of the crucial performativity of silence. By interpreting silence as a deed, he transforms its vague, ungraspable quality into something conscious, active and understandable.

Such transformations of silence can be found throughout Baroque literature, prominently in the German *Trauerspiele*, where one is regularly confronted with scenes in which silence is viewed as a speech act, in other words, as a deed that produces manifest results. In *Carolus Stuardus* (1657), a martyr tragedy by Andreas Gryphius, for instance, one protagonist confesses: "Carl felt durch jener Spruch; und stirbt durch unser Schweigen"[23] ("Charles will fall because of their sentence, and will die because of our silence"). The protagonists' non-interference in the king's case, figuratively rendered as silence, leads to his execution. Speech and silence are equated with regard to their respective fatal effects. In Daniel Caspar von Lohenstein's tragic drama *Agrippina* (1665), one protagonist

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[21] "[Q]uam ratione, cum & lingua actiones nostrae tacent, loqui intelligamur." Hippolytus a Collibus [Hippolyt von Colle], *Harpocrates Sive de recta Silendi ratione* (Leiden: Commelinus, 1603), 35 (HAB A: 1028.20 Theol. (2)).

[22] Collibus, *Harpocrates*, 35–36.

[23] Andreas Gryphius, *Dramen*, Eberhard Mannack, ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Klassiker, 1991), 527 (IV, 289).

is aware that "Ein schweigend Wissen würd uns selbst in Meyneyd stürtzen"[24] ("A silent knowledge would plunge us into perjury"). Both examples make evident that the withholding of information is considered an indirect, though nevertheless illegal, criminal act.

Silence and emotional excess

In his *Conduite pour se taire et pour parler* (1696), the French Jesuit Jacques du Rosel distinguishes eight variants of silence (which have in fact very little to do with the religious matters this book supposedly treats). He asserts the existence of prudent, malicious, polite, mocking, spiritual, stupid, approving, and despising silence, and attributes these contingent variants to different character types as well as to specific passions.[25] Numerous other works could be mentioned whose authors seek to treat silence as a distinct means of expression, and who consequently aim at differentiating it. This discourse reveals the Baroque impulse to include silence within the paradigm of language, and to integrate it into oral communication.

Nevertheless, only one manual contains a substantive treatment of silence as a rhetorical category: Johann Matthäus Meyfart's *Teutsche Rhetorica oder Redekunst* (1634), the first such manual to appear in the German tongue. Meyfart discusses the composite *Schweigfigur* ('figure of silence,' a grammatically curious translation for the Greek *aposiopesis*), a rhetorical figure in which the speaker pauses and leaves out certain words, but does not cease his discourse entirely.[26] The rhetorician is

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[24] Daniel Casper von Lohenstein, *Römische Trauerspiele*, Klaus Günther Just, ed. (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1955), 26 (I, 267).

[25] "IL y a un silence prudent, & un silence artificieux. | Un silence complaisant, & un silence moquer. | Un silence spirituel, & un silence stupide. | Un silence d'approbation, & un silence de mêpris." Jacques du Rosel, *Conduite pour se taire et pour parler, principalement en matière de religion* (Paris: Benard, 1696), 12 (HAB M: Lm 1293). Further on pp. 16–17: "Le silence prudent convient aux personnes doüées d'un bon esprit, d'un sens droit & d'une application exacte à observer les conjonctures qui engagent à se taire ou à parler. […] Le silence spirituel ne subsiste qu'avec des passions vives, qui produisent des effets sensibles au dehors, & qui se peignent sur le visage de ceux qui en sont animez. Ainsi l'on voit que la joye, l'amour, la colere, l'esperance sont plus d'impression par le silence qui les accompagne, que par d'inutiles discours, qui ne servent qu'à les affoiblir."

[26] "Gleich wie wir die *Exklamation* eine Rufffigur genennet haben/ also können wir die Aposiopesin eine Schweigfigur nennen/ nicht daß der Redener ganz stillschweige/ sondern daß er von seinem Spruch etzliche Wort verschweige/ dergestalt/ daß der

advised to use the *Schweigfigur* to express extreme emotions such as hate, anger, mourning or shame; it is also suitable for bad presentiments, or for underlining the importance of a subject.[27] *Aposiopesis* is common in Baroque literature, occurring when protagonists claim that they cannot speak because of overwhelming emotions, or utter a certain topic due to their affective involvement. They eloquently articulate their lack of words, while at the same time precisely explaining the signification of their silence.

Such affective silences appear frequently in Baroque tragedies, where they are applied as 'pathos formulas' in Aby Warburg's sense.[28] In a genre that is characterized more by its rhetorical opulence then by formal openness or even emptiness, the figure of silence rarely interferes with the cadence of alexandrine lines, but rather appears within them. The protagonists continue their elaborate, syntactically correct and highly ornamented speech even at the climax of their affective crisis; indeed, one may even observe a hypertrophy of rhetoric at just such moments.[29] As a pathos formula, silence is not executed, but called upon rhetorically. This formula is applicable for all intense passions, including pain ("O Schmertz! der unaußsprechlich beist und reist" – "Oh pain! that bites and hurts unspeakably"), grief ("Ein Kummer / welchen kaum die Zunge melden kan" – "A grief that the tongue can hardly report"), horror ("Die Zunge starret mir / daß Jch kaum sprechen kan!" – "My tongue freezes, so that I can hardly speak!"), shame ("Verzeihe / grosser Fürst. Ich darf mein Laster kaum | Eröfnen. […] | Die Zunge stammelt mir / wenn ich es aus wil sprechen" – "Pardon me, great lord. I can scarcely articulate my vice. My tongue stammers when I want to voice it"), wrath and fear ("Die Zungen waren uns vor Grimm und Furcht

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Zuhörer auff die volle Meynung zu dichten habe/ weil aus dem was geredet worden/ der gantze Sinn nicht erscheinet." Johann Matthäus Meyfart, *Teutsche Rhetorica oder Redekunst* (Coburg, 1634 [reprint, ed. Erich Trunz, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1977]), 366.

[27] "Die Redener gebrauchen diese Figur/ Erstlich in verhasseten Sachen. […] Zum Andern in zornigen vnd trohenlichen Geberden […]. Es wird zum Dritten diese Figur gebrauchet in schmertzhafftigen Dingen. […] Es wird zum Vierdten diese Figur aus Schamhafftigkeit gebrauchet. […] Zum Fünften wird diese Figur gebrauchet in vnglückhafftigen Muthmassungen. […] Zum Sechsten wird diese Figur gebrauchet zu Andeutung einer Wichtigkeit." Meyfart, *Teutsche Rhetorica*, 366–69.

[28] Aby Warburg, "Dürer und die italienische Antike," in idem, *Die Erneuerung der heidnischen Antike: Kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der europäischen Renaissance*, ed. Horst Bredekamp and Michael Diers (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1998), 443–50.

[29] Compare Erika Geisenhof, "Die Darstellung der Leidenschaften in den Trauerspielen des Andreas Gryphius," Ph.D. Diss. Heidelberg (1958), 155.

gebunden" – "Our tongues were bound by anger and by wrath") or love ("Die Zunge wird durchs Band der Liebe mir gehemm't" – "My tongue is restrained by a bond of love").[30]

In figuring the passions through silence, ineffability is turned into a highly useful pathos formula. It is remarkable not only that these protagonists constantly verbalize the failure of their speech – instead of actually ceasing to speak – but also that they eloquently identify the precise passion that causes their affective distress. By simultaneously naming their overwhelming passion and referring its intrinsic unspeakability, such speakers create a self-contradiction that cannot be resolved. Furthermore, the interchangeability among verbal formulations that becomes obvious in the series of quotations above stands in opposition to the semiotic difference among the passions themselves and their specific pathognomies.[31] For a dramaturgy of *movere* and *percellere*, it seems that silence constitutes the most adequate mode of expressing intense passions. Yet integrating silence into the Baroque system of the affective and using it in an undifferentiated way simultaneously eliminates its ambivalence.

Modes and limits of representing silence

Another dimension of silence appears through its formal application in literary texts and in the visual arts, which relates to how the intrinsic problem of representation was solved in early modern works. The question is, how can silence be performative, even on a textual level. I will approach the issue with reference to three poems by the Protestant mystic Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg and a secular painting by Salvator Rosa.

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[30] The quotations are from the following tragic dramas: Gryphius' *Papinianus* (1659), Lohenstein's *Ibrahim Sultan* (1673), Johann Christian Hallmann's *Catharina* (1684), Lohenstein's *Sophonisbe* (1680), Gryphius' *Cardenio und Celinde* (1657), and again from Lohenstein's *Sophonisbe*. References are given in the order of quotation: Gryphius, *Dramen*, 346 (II, 304); Lohenstein, *Türkische Trauerspiele*, 162 (III, 138); Johann Christian Hallmann, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Gerhard Spellerberg (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1980), 2: 194 (II, 36); Lohenstein, *Afrikanische Trauerspiele*, 287 (II, 334–36); Gryphius, *Dramen*, 252 (I, 458); Lohenstein, *Afrikanische Trauerspiele*, 297 (III, 67).

[31] See for instance Charles Le Brun, *Effigies et repraesentatio affectionum animi* (Amsterdam: Schenck, 1700) (HAB M: Uh73).

In religious poetry, one frequently finds a pathetic silence with regard to God. Appeals to the divine often lead to poetic self-reflection. Writing about mystic love can be understood as a specific form of speaking, as an act of oral expression that proceeds in real time and space. The leading term for the problem of representation in this context is therefore 'the ineffable,' which stands for an affective threshold that hinders articulation. On a theological level, the ineffable is related to taboo, on a formal level to the problem of superabundance. The final couplet of one of Greiffenberg's sonnets may illustrate these connections:

> Guter GOtt und Gottes Güte! meine Schrifft erreicht dich nicht: mit von lieb verzuckten schweigen deinen Ruhm man mehr ausspricht.[32]

> (Kind God and God's mercy! my writing does not reach you: with love's ecstatic silence one may better voice your glory.)

The poetic juxtaposition of writing and silence here is twofold. Greiffenberg contrasts speech and silence as well as speech and writing. On a third level, her lines claim that one may best articulate God's praise through the medium of silence. She thus regards silence as inverted speech. One needs to ask, then, whether the absence of sound right after the poem belongs to the mystical silence she evokes, an assumption that is supported by the fact that these are the final lines of the sonnet. Positioning evocations of silence in such a liminal way occurs frequently in Greiffenberg. The same rhetorical technique is applied in another poem, for example, dedicated to the passion of Christ. The final stanza reads:

> Nun komm/mein Schatz! du hast schon Platz: mein Herz gehört dir eigen. In mir muß jetzund die Welt/dich zu hören/schweigen.[33]

> (Now come/my Sweetheart! you now find space: my heart is yours alone. The world inside me now, to hear you, must be silent.)

In an allusion to bridal mysticism, Jesus Christ is addressed as "mein Schatz" and asked to communicate in silence with the I after her discourse ends. The liminal position of silence here again has a double function: on the one hand, the medium of language is used to refer to

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[32] Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg, "Geistliche Sonette, Lieder und Gedichte" in *Sämtliche Werke in 10 Bänden*, eds. Martin Bircher and Friedhelm Kemp (Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus, 1983), 1: 130.
[33] Greiffenberg, *Sämtliche Werke*, 1:267.

its own beyond; on the other hand, however, this speaking about silence is performative, since by ending, the poem actively creates the silence named before. It is therefore no coincidence that the verb *schweigen* is placed at the very end of the poem. A further example appears in the following self-reflexive lines from a poem called "Morgen-Gedanken" ("Morning thoughts," 1662):

> Könt' ich allen Meeres=Sand / alle Stern / zu Zungen machen/
> aller Wälder Haar das Laub / alle Zahl befreyte Sachen;
> wann mir Mensch=und Engel hülffen: könt ich deines Lobes Preiß
> nicht den ringsten Theil aussprechen. Dieses nur allein ich weiß/
> daß die Vnaussprechlichkeit / dessen Allgröß etwas zeiget.
> Dieses lobt dich auf das höchst / das in Lieb verzuckt still schweiget.[34]

> (Could I turn the sand of all oceans and all the stars into tongues,
> all the hair and leaves of the woods, all existing liberated objects;
> if humans and angels helped me: of your praise's glory
> I could not articulate the tiniest part. This alone I know,
> that ineffability may express the all-extending greatness a little.
> This praises you the most, which in ecstatic love keeps silent.)

Even by mobilizing all thinkable and even hypothetical means, the speaking I would not be able to articulate the tiniest part of the appropriate praise of God. The poem culminates – after a short pause, indicated through the final punctuation mark – by appealing to the referential figure of inexpressibility. The final, epigrammatic verse "Dieses lobt dich auf das höchst/das in Lieb verzuckt still schweiget" paradoxically proclaims the failure and the success of the poem at once. Through the use of the demonstrative pronoun, the text becomes self-referential, pointing to its own failure as the ultimate form of success. Ecstatic *Stillschweigen* holds the floor.

Such a multi-layered and highly reflexive treatment of silence is not limited to mystical works. This becomes obvious when looking at a baroque painting by the Neapolitan painter Salvador Rosa (see figure 22, also in color section). In this enigmatic self-portrait, Rosa depicts himself in the robe of a melancholy philosopher.[35] In his right hand

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[34] Greiffenberg, *Sämtliche Werke*, 1:380.

[35] This self-portrait "is an exaggerated self-idealisation in which the thick-featured, swarthy Neapolitan represented himself as a more refined, ascetic type to better suit his image as scholar-philosopher." Wendy Wassyng Roworth, "The Consolations of Friendship: Salvator Rosa's Self-Portrait for Giovanni Battista Ricciardi," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 23 (1988): 103–24, here 113. Cf. also Jonathan Scott, *Salvator Rosa: His Life and Times* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 62.

Figure 22 (also in color section): Salvator Rosa: *Self Portrait*, oil painting, around 1640–49. Photo: National Gallery Picture Library, London.

he holds a placard with the inscription "Aut tace, aut loquere meliora silentio" ("Be silent, unless you have something better than silence to say"). The imperative is taken from the Greek writer Stobaios, who quotes it as a Pythagorean aphorism. The lips of the depicted figure are firmly pressed together, he knits his brows and his gaze is severe. The left eye is in the shadow, while the right stares at the viewer with a grave appeal for silence. The impossibility of representing silence in a painting – being in itself a mute medium – is compensated through the inscription, whose task is to verbalize what the figure conveys through its facial expression. It is the placard that speaks of non-speaking. The content of the dictum, which proposes something better than silence, may accordingly refer to the communicative modes of the image itself. This image, namely, is in a position to transgress the opposition between speech and silence, immanent to language, because it is capable of doing both at once. The placard with the inscription is positioned like a barrier between the viewer and the depicted figure, therefore placing *silentium* in a liminal position. It takes on the function of a threshold – between the image and the not-seen, between representation and withdrawal, between presence and *memoria*.

Death as figure of silence

In some early modern poems, death figures as radical silence. Andreas Gryphius, for example, employs as *exempla* persons who distinguished themselves in life precisely through their performance of speech: jurists, rhetoricians, and scholars. They mourn their loss of voice by paradoxically delivering their own epitaph. In his sonnet, "Auff eines vornehmen Juristen Grab-Stein" ("On an elegant jurist's gravestone," 1643), Gryphius has death appear as the final judge who ruthlessly destroys the eloquence of a court judge. In the first three lines, the speaking I proudly presents its former worldly power and arbitrary actions. Its authoritative voice enables it to break laws, to ignore justice, etc. The voice thus vainly praises the knowledge and skills it used to have. Confronted with death, however, this potent I instantly loses all its strength. It can only complain:

> Hab vber mich den Todt mußt lassen Urtheil sprechen /
> Den Todt / an dem mich nicht mein grosse Macht könt rächen!
> Nichts galt mein hoher Sinn; nichts galt der Worte schar.

> Mein wolberedte Zung erstumbte gantz und gar /
> Als mich der scharffe Pfeil des Richters thät erstechen.[36]

> (Had to let death speak its judgment over me,
> Death, upon whom not even my great power could take revenge!
> For nothing counted my high spirit, for nothing my many words.
> My fine eloquent tongue became completely dumb,
> As the judge's sharp arrow pierced me.)

When the personification of death speaks its sentence, the worldly judge is instantly deprived of his potency. It is therefore intentional that the first line quoted lacks a personal pronoun – it is the linguistic mark of the narcissistic I having to face its deepest humiliation. Gryphius describes the jurist's death as the silence of a tongue that fails in its final dispute. The performativity of silence is captured formally here, as in several of Gryphius's poems, through the temporal adverb "*Itzt*" ('now'), positioned at the most important formal caesura of the sonnet, between quartets and tercets.[37] "Itzt" stands for the suddenness of the change as well as for the 'present absence.' The deceased I is mute, whereas the retrospective I paradoxically receives a voice only to articulate its own fading. Death figures as a silencer negating the linguistic power of the jurist, whose speech used to call forth performative effects. Death now carries out the same kind of speech act. Oral language is understood here as having the power to create reality, but at the same time as a highly volatile medium that emblematically illustrates the "Vergängligkeit Menschlicher Sachen" ("transitoriness of human affairs").[38] Gryphius reflects not only upon the potency but also upon the *vanitas* of the human voice. Its contingent loss is equated to death as its most graphic mark. According to a Latin ode that Gryphius translated into German, even death itself is mute: "Ach Schweig! wofern du wilst den stummen Tod anhören" ("Alas, keep silent! If you want to listen to mute death").[39]

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[36] Andreas Gryphius, *Gesamtausgabe der deutschsprachigen Werke*, ed. Marian Szyrocki (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1963), 1: 5–16 (lines 4–8).

[37] "Itzt sind mein Augen zu/ dehn vor nichts mochte sein | Verborgen / vnd mich selbst verbirgt ein kurtzer Stein." Gryphius, *Gesamtausgabe*, 1: 16 (lines 9–10).

[38] These words are taken from the preface of the tragedy *Leo Armenius*. Gryphius, *Gesamtausgabe*, 1: 11.

[39] Andreas Gryphius, "Jacobi Balden S.J. | Entzückung / als er auff dem Kirchhoff / den Tod und die Gebeine der Verstorbenen betrachtet. Vbersetzet. Auß seiner Lateinischen Ode, *Ut se feroces deniq; littori & c. Lyricorum lib. II. Ode XXXIX.*," *Gesamtausgabe*, 3: 22.

Such a linguistic conception of death appears in the German *Trauers-piel* as well. Here the loss of voice is most frequently represented through a theatrical decapitation of the main protagonist. The cutting of the throat, often staged with spectacular effects, instantly silences the speaker. His or her last words receive heightened importance, and are considered epigrammatic. Death is also personified in German Baroque literature in the form of mute servants who turn against their tyran-nical master and strangle him with their own hands – for instance in Lohenstein's tragedies *Ibrahim Bassa* (1653) and *Ibrahim Sultan* (1673), as well as in his *Arminius* novel (1689–90). In these works, the author refers to the practice at Turkish courts of employing naturally deaf and mute servants, as described in several contemporary history books – e.g., in Paul Ricaud's *Histoire de l'etat present de l'empire Ottoman* (1672), where they are even represented visually (see figure 23).[40] The so-called *muets du grand seigneur* (mutes of the grand master) are depicted on the right, making eloquent gestures. In Baroque literature, such mute secondary characters figure as uncanny representations of a 'dead silence.' All in all, these examples make evident that in early modern thought, hav-ing the capacity to speak equaled being alive. In a culture of rhetoric, silence and muteness were feared as forms of death, or even considered as death itself.

God's Silence

With this notion of silence as absence and death in mind, it is illumi-nating to look at early modern interpretations of God's silence. These appear, among other locations, in theological commentaries on the biblical book of Job. Receiving no answers from God, Job continues to lament and ask him why he is subjected to his terrible fate. From a psychological perspective, one might argue that this incessant address functions as a denial of God's absence: as long as there is speech, the painful experience of isolation can be suspended. Some contemporary commentaries likewise emphasized that Job's friends reproached him with the vice of garrulity.[41] In a long German exegesis on Job, the Protestant

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[40] Paul Ricaud, *Histoire de l'etat present de l'empire Ottoman […]* (Amsterdam: Wolfgank, 1672) (HAB Gv 964.2), between 114 and 115.

[41] E.g. Jacques Boulduc, *Commentaria in librum Iob* (Paris: La Noüe, 1619), 1: 470 (SPK Bn 680).
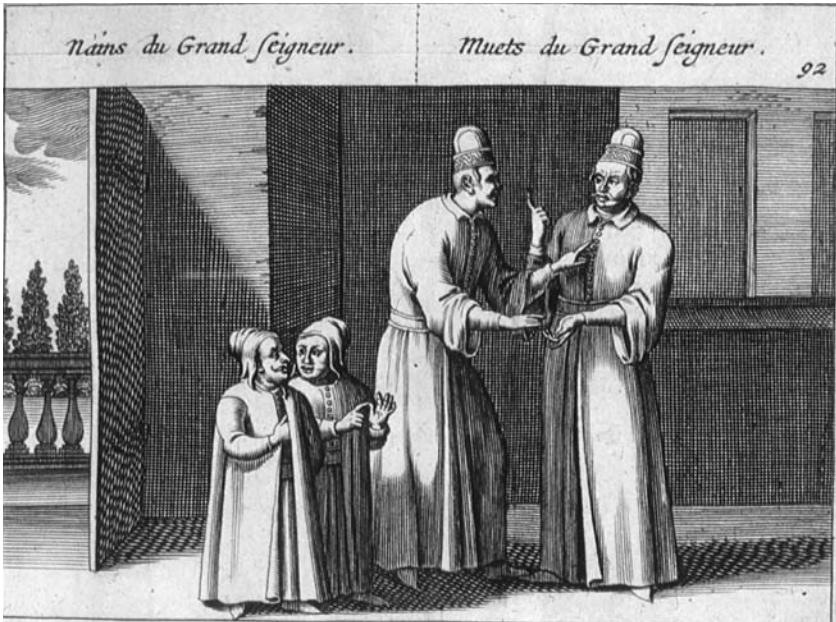
Figure 23: *Muets du Grand Seigneur*, engraving from: Paul Ricaud, *Histoire de l'etat present de l'empire Ottoman*, Amsterdam 1672. Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel (Gv 964.2), between pp. 114 and 115.

theologian Paul Egardus sought to explain, "[w]arum Gott eine Zeitlang schweiget" ("why God keeps silent for some time"). A brief passage from his elaborate argument reveals his response to divine silence:

> Therefore, although God does not answer the soul's outcry by the means of sensitive help, he does answer in time with his resolution. Here nothing is denied, but only delayed. Thus, if God does not reply, he does reply; if he does not hear, he does hear, since the cries of the suffering souls are not in vain. What is not revealed yet will be revealed in due time, because silence has its time and answering has its time. […] This is why we should have patience if God confronts us with his silence, and be confident that he will talk to us in his time.[42]

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[42] "Ob aber GOtt nicht antwortet auf der Seelen Geschrey / durch empfindliche Hülfe / so antwortet er doch mit seinem Beschluß von der Hülfe zu seiner Zeit. Hie wird nichts versaget / sondern aufgeschoben. Darum / wenn GOtt nicht antwortet / so antwortet er; wenn er nicht erhöret/ so erhöret er; denn das Geschrey der Nothleidenden Seelen ist nicht umsonst. Was aber nicht offenbar ist / das wird zu seiner Zeit offenbar; denn Schweigen hat seine Zeit / und Antworten hat seine Zeit? […] Darum sollen wir Geduld haben / wenn GOtt uns schweiget / und gewiß dafür halten / er werde

Egardus argues that there is no such thing as God's silence, since such silence always provides an indirect answer, and simultaneously constitutes an appeal to the believer's patience and trust. In a number of other comments and sermons, God's silence is further explained, e.g., as a test of one's faith or as a gesture of mercy for overlooking human faults.[43] It is significant that early modern theologians always find a cause for God's silence. In consequence, they systematically deny that there could ever be an existential experience of the absence of divine communication.

Parallel to such efforts to interpret silence affirmatively, however, one also encounters incertitude and alienation from God. The strengthened religiosity of the confessional era could itself be viewed as a manifestation of such doubt. Increasingly, not only the suffering creature but also God's quality of not answering came to be associated with the figure of Job. In the *longue durée*, God's silence was treated more and more as an absence and lack. A central motif in this essentially modern, critical experience of the void might be the decentering of the world in the cosmos as a result of the so-called Copernican turn. Suddenly, silence became associated with absence and the uncanny void of the universe. Blaise Pascal, for instance, in a much-quoted phrase from his *Pensées* (1669), writes about the cosmic silence of endless spaces, which he dreads ("Le silence éternel de ces espaces infinis m'effraie").[44] The *deus absconditus* is here more than a theological topos; rather, it conveys the emblematic counterpoint of a being who no longer receives answers.

With regard to the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century, one may relate this tendency to contemporary developments in physics, e.g., to Otto van Guericke's 1661 discovery of the *vacuum* as the physical 'nothing.'[45] His pneumatic experiments exploring empty space

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zu seiner Zeit uns reden." Paul Egardus, *Eines weyland geistreichen Lehrers zu Nordorf in Holstein/ Erläuterung des Buches Hiob/ Oder Die Schule der leiblichen und Geistigen Anfechtungen Welche Denen Gläubigen nach dem Willen GOttes in dem Lauf des Christenthums begegnen/ im Bilde Hiobs gezeiget [...]* (Halle: n.p., 1716), 283–84 (SPK Bn 875).

[43] See for instance Petrus Tuckerman, *Eine Predigt vom Cananeischen Weiblein* (Wolfenbüttel: Holwein, 1619) (HAB C 349 (1)); August Hermann Francke, *Buß=Predigten über verschiedene Texte der Heil. Schrifft von einigen wichtigen und Zur Erbauung des wahren Christenthums nöthigen Materien gehalten In der St. Georgen Kirche zu Glauche an Halle [...]* (Halle: Wäysen-Haus, 1699), 191–99 (HAB H:Q 119.4o Helmst (1)).

[44] Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, ed. Philippe Sellier (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 2000), 172 (fr. 233).

[45] Compare Friedrich Vollhardt, "Otto von Guerickes Magdeburger Versuche über den leeren Raum. Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis von Naturerkenntnis und

followed from his desire to simulate the vast cosmic spheres surrounding the atmosphere of the earth. A parallel discussion about the problem of infinity took many forms in early modern philosophy, the arts and the sciences. Infinitude evoked divergent reactions, ranging from a phantasmagoria of expansion and ecstatic self-dissolution on the one hand (e.g., in Giordano Bruno), to a phantasmal fear of disintegration and loss of orientation on the other. Gradually, the phenomena of the void or nothingness came to be semantically coded as silence.

The experience of God's absence as a confrontation with silence – an idea articulated only tentatively during the Baroque – became in the following centuries a common trope of an unbearable 'screaming silence,' found for example in Georg Büchner's famous oxymoron in his *Lenz* novella (1839) describing the "entsetzliche Stimme, die um den ganzen Horizont schreit, und die man gewöhnlich die Stille heißt"[46] ("the terrible voice that screams around the whole horizon, which is commonly called silence"). Likewise, Johann Georg Sulzer spoke in his *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste* (1777) of a cultural "Furcht vor dem Stillschweigen"[47] ("fear of silence"). This fear had already taken first shape a century earlier, in Baroque culture's phantasmal avoidance of the void.

<p align="center">* * *</p>

In order to analyze early modern silence, this paper has investigated its linguistic treatment, cultural interpretation, and rhetorical and theological exegesis. The materials discussed reveal that Baroque authors attempted to integrate silence into the linguistic realm by coding or classifying it. Both the rhetoric and the performativity of silence were subject to constant scrutiny and application, in literature as well as in other textual genres and artistic spheres. Formally, the trope of silence was often invoked to exemplify paradoxical or self-contradictory facts, especially through figures that simultaneously spoke and ceased their articulation. Another feature that appeared repeatedly was the

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Literatur im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert," in Gunter Schandera and Michael Schilling, eds., *Prolegomena zur Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte des Magdeburger Raums* (Magdeburg: Scriptum, 1999), 165–85.

[46] Georg Büchner, *Werke und Briefe*, ed. Karl Pörnbacher et al. (Munich: dtv, 1988), 157.

[47] Johann Georg Sulzer, "Stumme[s] Spiel," *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste* (Biel: Heilmannische Buchhandlung, 1777), II.2: 720 (HAB Ua 96).

positioning of a 'figuration of silence' at a liminal juncture between two distinct spheres. Silence functioned here as an affective, ethical or semiotic threshold. In the texts included here, crucial silences, such as the silence of God, were interpreted not as denial of communication, but rather as a suspension of it. The very ambiguity of silence was a cause for its frequent use, yet simultaneously represented a provocation that authors had to face. Silence ultimately became a provocation not just for Baroque literature, but for early modern culture as a whole.

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FIG. 8.

Fig. 9.

Fɪɢ. 10.

Fig. 13.

Fig. 15.

Fig. 17.

Fig. 19.

AVT TACE.
AVT LOQVERE MELIORA
SILENTIO.

FIG. 22.

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