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Catholic Reform and Society: Rottweil, 1525-1618

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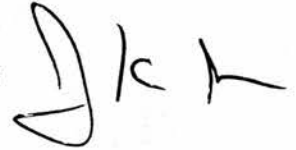Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D.

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2000

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Abstract:

This thesis examines the question of why the Imperial City of Rottweil remained Catholic during the German Reformation of the sixteenth century. Further, it explores the character of the Catholic reform undertaken in the city and its territory in the period 1525-1618. Following a failed Reformation attempt in 1526-1529, Rottweil supported the Habsburg cause within the Empire and began a root and branch reform of its own ecclesiastical institutions. Through the use of archival material it has been possible to reconstruct the reasons why the magistrates and citizens of Rottweil rejected the Evangelical cause. Further, this dissertation studies the nature of the late medieval Church in Rottweil to demonstrate how a vibrant religious culture could resist change from outside. The thesis argues for the importance of local circumstances in determining the success or failure of a religious movement. The initial attempts by the magistrates to bolster their defenses against their Evangelical neighbors gave way to a full-blown reform movement under the leadership of Johannes Uhl. Uhl, a native of Rottweil, worked closely with the ruling council to reform the clergy and the laity. His inspiration for reform came first from the long-standing tradition of legislation in the diocese of Constance following the Council of Basel, and then secondly from the reform legislation which flowed from the final sessions of the Council of Trent. This thesis examines the shrewd manner in which Uhl implemented reform; he was aware that he had to make canny decisions in the face of political and social opposition. Rottweil is an important case study which demonstrates that German Catholicism did not entirely collapse in the wake of the Luther affair. It was perfectly capable of survival when the local conditions were auspicious.

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List of Abbreviations:

DAR -- *Diözesanarchiv Rottenburg*

EBAF -- *Erzbischöfliches Archiv Freiburg*

GLAK -- *Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe*

HSTAS -- *Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart*

PBHKR -- *Pfarreibibliothek Heilig Kreuz Rottweil*

STAR -- *Stadtarchiv Rottweil*

Southwest Germany in the Sixteenth Century

Speyer■

Rhine

Straßburg ■

Stuttgart ■   ■Esslingen

Tübingen ■
■Reutlingen

●Ulm

Rottweil ■

Freiburg ■

Mühlhausen ■

■Überlingen

Constance ■   Bodensee

Basel ■

Rhine

Zurich ■

■ Rottweil
■ Outer Austria
□ Württemberg
■ Other Imperial Cities
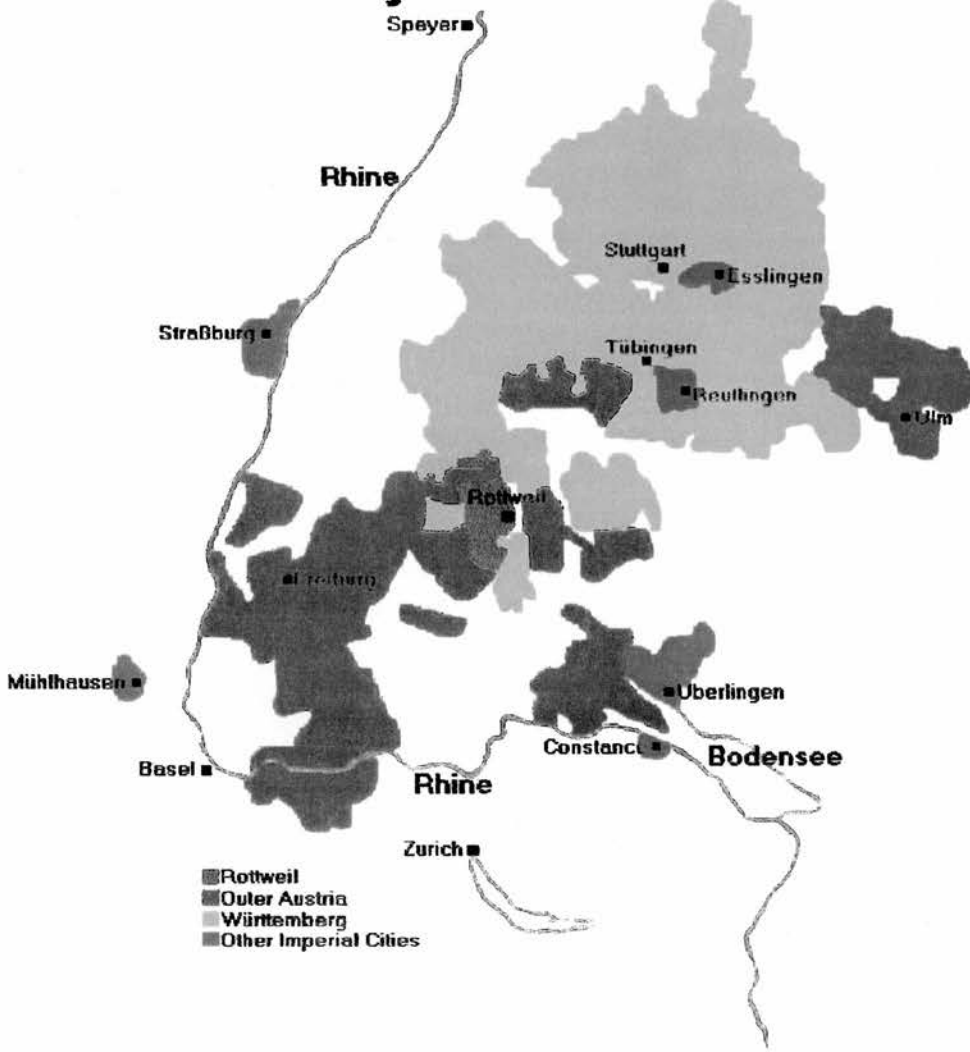
Rottweil and Territory, 1600

Introduction

Wer zu uns zieht und wem das Bürgerrecht geliehen wird, der soll schwören zu Gott und den Heiligen, daß er sich der heiligen katholischen christlichen römischen Kirche und Religion inmaßen dieselbe allhier hergebracht exerciert und gebraucht wird, gemäß verhalten und bleiben will. Er wird gemeiner unserer Stadt und dero Bürgerrecht insgemein treu und hold sein, Wahrheit halten, dero Nutzen schaffen und Schaden warnen nach bestem Vermögen.
       -- Beginning of the *Burgher*'s oath, *Rottweiler Eidbuch*, 1593[1]

The people in the Free Imperial City of Rottweil and its subject villages and territory were forced to question their religion from 1526 to 1529 when an attempt was made to bring Evangelical ideas into the city. Rottweil, however, chose to remain Catholic, unlike many Imperial Cities when confronted with the religious questions posed by the Reformation. Evangelical ideas were not popular in Rottweil and a Catholic majority of guild members and *Ratsherren* voiced its opinion in 1528 when it voted to outlaw Evangelicalism in the city and its territory. This Catholic majority took further action in 1529 when it exiled the Evangelicals by force after they had disobeyed the laws of the community by continuing to worship in an Evangelical fashion. Angered and anxious about the possibility of a further attempt at Reformation, Rottweil began a program of Catholic reform with the goal of creating a loyal and reformed Catholic society. Initiative for its efforts needed to be local in the absence of any reform-minded bishops in Constance until later in the sixteenth century. Furthermore, in the first phase of Catholic reform, the initiative

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[1]Eugen Mack, ed., <u>Das Rottweiler Eidbuch nach der Stadtrechtsreformation</u> (Rottweil, 1923), p. 33.

rested on the shoulders of the laity, headed by the Rat and the city's chief lay

confraternity, which invigorated popular religious activities, while the local clergy

remained marginal figures in reform until 1559. A second phase began when

Johannes Uhl became city priest in Rottweil in 1559. During his control of the

Rottweil Church from 1559-1606, he began to reform Church institutions, the clergy,

and worship practices with the support and blessings of the Rat. These developments

and their impact on Rottweil form the focus of this study.

Much remains undiscovered about the religious identity and practices found in

early modern Catholic communities in Germany. It is accepted that post-

Reformation Catholic communities were loyal to the Catholic Church, but the

characteristics of this development are relatively unknown. The predominant thesis of

confessionalization explains this by pointing to the efforts of ecclesiastical and secular

officials, working together to discipline society from above towards a common goal

of establishing order and religious uniformity.[2] Confessionalization therefore

becomes solely an explanation for Catholic uniformity and identity in the few larger

Catholic states with strong centralized control institutions in both state and Church.

The theory of confessionalization is much less applicable to the numerous smaller

Catholic states where institutions of control were weaker. Catholicism in these areas

was forced to draw on its ability to adapt to customs and to appeal to local popular

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[2]R. Po-Chia Hsia, Social Discipline in the Reformation. Central Europe, 1550-1750 (New Haven, 1989); Heinz Schilling, "Confessionalization in the Empire: Religious and Societal Change in Germany between 1555 and 1620," chapter 5 in Religion, Political Culture and the Emergence of Early Modern Society (Leiden, 1992), pp. 205-245; and Wolfgang Reinhard, "Gegenreformation als Modernisierung? Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des konfessionellen Zeitalters," Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte 68 (1977), pp. 226-252.

beliefs and needs. Rottweil can be counted among this group and, although some attempts at social discipline were made, clergy and Church institutions were not employed to strengthen the authority of the state in its own territory. As such, the case of Rottweil is not entirely compatible with the top-down approach of confessionalization.

The movement towards religious uniformity and reform in Rottweil was determined more by the principles of communal spirit than by confessionalization. Communal spirit was especially strong in Southwest Germany and the Swiss Confederation where communities were based on equality, with all members sharing equal rights and obligations.[3] At the core of the association was the common good and peace of the community. Citizens were usually required to give an oath which assured their consent to comply with the common will and protect the common good, as demonstrated in the Rottweil *Burgher*'s oath cited at the beginning of this introduction. Town councils, or Rats, were staffed by officials who were selected by an electoral process and were sworn to protect the statutes of the community as well as the common good and peace.[4] In 1528, during Rottweil's failed Reformation attempt, a vote of the *Ratsherren* and guild members was held to determine the fate of Evangelicalism in the city which confirmed by a large majority the will to outlaw Evangelicalism. Afterwards, in support of the decision to remain Catholic and adhering to the statute against Evangelicalism, the Rat and all members of the

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[3]Thomas Brady, Jr., Turning Swiss: Cities and Empire 1450-1550 (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 28-34.

[4]Peter Blickle, "Reformation and Communal Spirit: The Reply of the Theologians to Constitutional Change in the Late Middle Ages," in Scott Dixon, ed., The German Reformation (Oxford, 1999), pp. 139-143.

community were obliged to uphold Catholicism. This communalization of Catholicism in Rottweil became one of the central duties of each member of the community, to the extent that a promise to uphold the Catholic faith became the first sentence in the *Burgher*'s oath.

The community's commitment to Catholicism and its promise to uphold it continued, providing a responsive and supportive audience for reforms led by the local Rottweil Church headed by the dean of Rottweil, whose appointment was controlled by the Rat. This only became possible in 1559, when a religious leader was appointed who was committed both to the reform of Catholicism and to the autonomy of Rottweil in determining its own religious affairs. Johannes Uhl was city priest in Rottweil in 1559 and was appointed dean by 1574. He quickly became the leader of the Rottweil Church, and during a long tenure in office (1559-1606), he was able to institute much change among the clergy. He possessed a number of qualities which enhanced his leadership; he was energetic and enthusiastic about reform. Perhaps chief among these qualities, however, was his social background as a local patrician which ensured his commitment to the well-being of Rottweil as well as the confidence and support he received from the Rat due to his inclusion in their social circle. Catholic communities in other areas of early modern Germany resisted changes imposed from bishops and the Church hierarchy who were not always aware of local custom and sentiment.[5] The commune in Rottweil, however, internalized control of Catholicism and reformed by way of local initiative. Operating within the control sphere of the commune which, by its nature, was responsive to local

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[5]Marc Forster, The Counter-Reformation in the Villages: Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560-1720 (Ithaca, 1992).

conditions, needs, and fears, ensured that resistance to religious change was minimized. Johannes Uhl was allowed time to enact reform gradually, because he was aided by the fact that he inherited the control of a healthy Catholic Church. Although the clergy were guilty of minor offenses such as drunkenness, improper dress, and concubinage, they were for the most part diligent in offering the sacraments, the vehicles of salvation, which was their main function in the eyes of the laity. The notion of reform proposed by Uhl in Rottweil essentially concerned the reform of the clergy, as a prerequisite for reform of the laity which, it was hoped, would follow. For its part, the laity was not Tridentine Catholic, but it was active in traditional forms of piety such as pilgrimage, feast day celebrations, and ceremonies to aid the dead on their journey towards salvation. Conversion was not required in Rottweil, only reform. As witnessed by a lack of social discipline required to enforce religious reforms, the process was largely accepted by the community. Therefore, the case of Rottweil demonstrates that the communal spirit which fueled the Reformation in many areas of Germany could also fuel Catholic renewal even before the Catholic Church and its hierarchy had begun to reform itself.

Catholic reform in the Empire has traditionally been portrayed as being generated by the higher echelons of Church government, and centered on diocesan clergy.[6] Surveys of the Catholic Reformation promote this idea by providing a useful European-wide perspective, but they can also conceal the diversity of Catholicism in Germany. Many historians have recently warned of the dangers of studying official religion without also considering its effect on popular religion as practiced in the

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[6]R. Po-Chia Hsia, The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770 (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 217-218.

parishes.[7] Types of early modern Catholicism were extremely varied, and it is

therefore necessary to study Catholic Reformations in the plural, in their local

settings rather than as a singular European-wide event, especially in the politically

and religiously fragmented Empire of the sixteenth century.[8] The diversity of

reforming Catholicism can be illustrated best by studying regions which functioned

independently from the Church hierarchy. Rottweil provides such an example and

demonstrates how Catholicism could reform itself without the aid of diocesan

leadership. I argue that Catholicism in Rottweil was actually strengthened by a lack

of diocesan interference in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Reforms

which were chosen with an eye towards appealing to the sentiments of the local lay

community were more likely to be met with enthusiasm than resistance.

We must look at Rottweil's Church leadership in a different light as well.

Johannes Uhl assumed the role of a reforming bishop while holding the titles of city

priest and dean of Rottweil. Even so, he ought not to be viewed as an institutional

link in the Church hierarchy, but as a citizen of Rottweil and a pastor for his flock.

He was very much governed by the rules of the commune of Rottweil, and was

forced to conform to a communal will and expectation. As a native son he was

keenly aware of what the populace would endure and what the Rat was prepared to

support. The setting of Rottweil during his tenure required Uhl as a citizen and

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[7]See especially: Craig Harline, "Official Religion - Popular Religion in Recent Historiography of the Catholic Reformation," Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte 81 (1990), pp. 239-262; Philip Hoffman, Church and Community in the Diocese of Lyon, 1500-1789 (New Haven, 1984), pp. 5-6; and Marc Forster, "With and Without Confessionalization. Varieties of Early Modern German Catholicism," Journal of Early Modern History 1/4 (November 1997), pp. 315-343.

[8]Ibid.

Church administrator to lead a reform of the local Church which would ideally

reinforce communal principles by creating uniform Catholic loyalty and consciousness

in the populace. Before his arrival in 1559, this role had been performed by the Rat

and the chief confraternity, who increased emphasis on religious feasts and

celebrations and levied punishments for Evangelical behavior and attitudes. As a

pastor, Uhl promoted greater knowledge of Catholic belief and practice through

catechization, preaching, and by leading the people through the performance of

specifically Catholic worship practices. Enforcement of behavior was not Uhl's

responsibility as leader of the Rottweil Church. Pressure for conformity or the

imposition of sanctions against the recalcitrant was a responsibility of the Rat, which

represented the extension of the communal will and the protector of the common

good.

Recently, the historiography of the Catholic Reformation in Germany has

shifted focus from an institutional perspective with the study of bishops and diocesan

reforms at its core towards more local and popular centered scholarship.[9] Local

studies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have shown the way forward for

scholars of Catholic Germany and, although they remain few in number, their ranks

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[9]Wilfried Enderle, Konfessionsbildung und Ratsregiment in der katholischen
Reichsstadt Überlingen (1500-1618) im Kontext der Reformationsgeschichte der
oberschwäbischen Reichsstädte, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für
geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, Reihe B, 118 (Stuttgart, 1990);
Wolfgang Zimmermann, Rekatholisierung, Konfessionalisierung und Ratsregiment:
Der Prozeß des politischen und religiösen Wandels in der Österreichischen Stadt
Konstanz 1548-1637 (Sigmaringen, 1994); R. Po-Chia Hsia, Society and Religion in
Münster, 1535-1618 (New Haven, 1984); and Marc Forster, The Counter-
Reformation in the Villages.

have grown considerably in the last fifteen years.[10] These recent studies have focused

on the relationship between official and popular religion, and include examinations of

the cities of Überlingen, Constance, and Münster, as well as the rural parishes of the

diocese of Speyer.[11] These have shed a valuable light on the impact of official

religion on the lives of common people in the parishes and their reaction to changes

in the behavior of parish clergy and in their own expected participation in worship.

This study of Rottweil aims to add to their successes in understanding Catholicism in

the parishes of sixteenth and seventeenth century Germany, and owes much to their

ground breaking research.

Historians of Catholicism in sixteenth and seventeenth century Rottweil have

thus far followed the traditional historiographical approach which favors studying the

institutions of religious change rather than the more popular aspects.[12] Some

Rottweil institutions, with different levels of religious affiliations, have been

meticulously studied with an eye towards their development, constitution, and

function. These studies, however, have focused on the whole lives of establishments

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[10]Studies of Spanish Catholicism have also concentrated on popular aspects of reforming Catholicism. See especially, Sara Nalle, God in La Mancha: Religious Reform and the People of Cuenca, 1500-1650 (Baltimore, 1992); and Henry Kamen, The Phoenix and the Flame: Catalonia and the Counter-Reformation (New Haven, CT, 1993).

[11]Wilfried Enderle, Konfessionsbildung und Ratsregiment in der katholischen Reichsstadt Überlingen; Wolfgang Zimmermann, Rekatholisierung, Konfessionalisierung und Ratsregiment; R. Po-Chia Hsia, Society and Religion in Münster; and Marc Forster, The Counter-Reformation in the Villages.

[12]Winfried Hecht, Das Dominikanerkloster Rottweil (1266-1802), Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs Rottweil 13 (Rottweil, 1991); Jürgen Mehl, Aussatz in Rottweil. Das Leprosenhaus Allerheiligen der Siechen im Feld (1298-1810), Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs Rottweil 15 (Rottweil, 1993); and Ludwig Ohngemach, Stadt und Spital: Das Rottweiler Heilig-Geist Spital bis 1802, Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs Rottweil 16 (Rottweil, 1994).

such as the *Siechenhaus* (1298-1810), the *Spital* (1275-1802), and the Dominican monastery (1266-1802).[13] The treatment of the Dominican monastery is the only one of these which devotes much particular attention to the events surrounding religious change in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Rottweil.[14] The last twenty five years has also produced a handful of articles which deal specifically with the failed Reformation event. The first of these was Martin Brecht's article on the failed Reformation in Rottweil (1526-1531), which has been heavily cited since its publication in 1975.[15] Brecht discarded the possibility of religion as a cause for the Reformation's failure and argued instead that it was due to a series of calculated political decisions by the Rat which had opposed Evangelicalism.[16] It was not until 1992 that Bernhard Rüth improved on Brecht's work by suggesting that, in addition to politics, religious issues helped ensure the Reformation's failure,[17] and his is the latest work to address the Reformation in Rottweil. Catholic reform in Rottweil after

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[13]Ibid.

[14]Winfried Hecht, Das Dominikanerkloster Rottweil, pp. 87-119.

[15]Martin Brecht, "Die gescheiterte Reformation in Rottweil," Blätter für württembergische Kirchengeschichte 75 (1975), pp. 5-22.

[16]Ibid. Brecht's view that political maneuvers were responsible for the Reformation's failure has continued to receive support, most recently by Wilfried Enderle: "Die katholischen Reichsstädte im Zeitalter der Reformation und der Konfessionsbildung," Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung 106/75 (1989), p. 246; "Rottweil und die katholischen Reichsstädte im Südwesten," in Anton Schindling and Walter Ziegler, eds., Die Territorien des Reichs im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung, Land und Konfession 1500-1650, Volume 5, Der Südwesten (Münster, 1993), pp. 214-230.

[17]Bernhard Rüth, "Reformation und Konfessionalisierung in oberdeutschen Reichsstädten. Der Fall Rottweil im Vergleich," Blätter für württembergische Kirchengeschichte 92 (1992), pp. 7-33.

the Reformation has received little attention from historians, and to date it has not been studied in detail. This thesis addresses both of these questions with an examination of the religious and political motivations which contributed to the failure of the Reformation and later Catholic reforms in addition to their effect on the society of Rottweil.

Political power in Rottweil rested in the hands of the Rat, which was in charge of developing and enacting all forms of government. There were two separate assemblies in the Rottweil Rat, the *kleine Rat* which had thirteen members and the *Achtziger*, with membership to both assemblies being restricted to guildsmen or the city's élite, the *Patriziat* or *Müßiggänger*.[18] Political power was concentrated in the *kleine Rat* which served as the civil court for the city, and it alone could nominate candidates for important posts such as *Schultheiß*, *Bürgermeister*, and city priest.[19] The members of the *kleine Rat* were elected for life and, although the election of a guildmaster was theoretically possible, successful candidates were always patricians.[20] The *Achtziger* was composed of guildsmen, and up to the turn of the fifteenth century was the main constitutional body for Rottweil.[21] The *Achtziger* looked to the *kleine Rat* for political inspiration increasingly throughout the fifteenth century in what amounted to an almost complete transfer of power by the beginning of the

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[18]Jörg Leist, Reichsstadt Rottweil. Studien zur Stadt- und Gerichtsverfassung bis zum Jahr 1548 (Rottweil, 1962), pp. 34-37.

[19]Ibid, pp. 34-36; 59-72.

[20]Ibid, pp. 68-72.

[21]Ibid, p. 36.

sixteenth century to the *kleine Rat*.[22] This process was common to many

Reichsstädte in Southwest Germany at the time, and was often a major factor in

limiting the voice of the *Gemeinde* in city government.[23] It has been argued that this

effective unification of powers in Rottweil was the beginning of an attempted process

by the patricians in the *kleine Rat* to rule the *Gemeinde* as subjects.[24]

In control of the *kleine Rat* and, therefore, to a large degree the government

of Rottweil, the patricians came from the old local families, and many were lesser

nobility.[25] They socialized regularly in the *Herrenstube*, an exclusive salon in the city,

where they also welcomed discourse with a number of the *Hofgericht* administrators,

namely the *Prokuratoren* and the *Fiskal*, who though they may not have belonged to

one of the old families were nevertheless accepted.[26] The patricians themselves owed

much of their status and economic position to the Imperial Court, since the thirteen

members of the *kleine Rat* also served as the thirteen *Urteilsprecher* for the

Hofgericht.[27] The patricians had also assembled large personal land holdings and

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[22]Ibid, p. 78.

[23]Eberhard Naujoks, Obrigkeitsgedanke, Zunftverfassung und Reformation. Studien zur Verfassungsgeschichte von Ulm, Esslingen, und Schwäbisch Gmünd, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, Reihe B, Nr. 3 (Stuttgart, 1958), p 11.

[24]Jörg Leist, Reichsstadt Rottweil, p. 78.

[25]Ruth Elben, Das Patriziat der Reichsstadt Rottweil: von den Anfängen bis zum Jahre 1550, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, Reihe B, 30 (Stuttgart, 1964), pp. 1-12.

[26]Many of the old family patricians also held various offices in the *Hofgericht*. Ibid, pp. 54-56.

[27]Georg Grube, Die Verfassung des Rottweiler Hofgerichts, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, Reihe B 55 (Stuttgart, 1969), pp. 128-129.

parish patronage rights in the territory of Rottweil by the early sixteenth century.[28]

Rottweil shared this experience with many of the Upper Swabian *Reichsstädte*,

whose patricians began collecting land and parish patronage rights beginning in the

fourteenth century.[29] The Reformation was a threat to individual ownership of

patronage rights and its spread was of great concern to its owners.[30] When combined

with the warnings of Ferdinand of Austria in 1528 that the *Hofgericht* would be

moved if the city were to become Evangelical, the patricians saw both their social

status and financial well-being in jeopardy.[31] Although not out with the scrutiny of

the commune as a whole, their political influence was immense and would surely have

been used to its maximum in order to defend Rottweil against the force of the

Reformation, possibly even to the extent of suppressing voices of dissent among the

citizenry. Furthermore, after the scare of the Reformation, it was essential that a

Church reformer obtain the trust of the patricians in the *Kleine Rat* before finding

support for his reform initiatives.

This study focuses on Catholicism and Catholic reform in those parishes of

the deanery of Rottweil which also fell under the political jurisdiction of the Imperial

City of Rottweil. Other parishes in the deanery, which were within the duchy of

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[28]Josef Adolf Merkle, Die Entwicklung des Territoriums der Stadt Rottweil bis 1600 (Stuttgart, 1913), pp. 76-82.

[29]Gerhard Kallen, Die oberschwäbischen Pfründen des Bistums Konstanz und ihre Besetzung (1275-1508). Ein Beitrag zur Pfründgeschichte vor der Reformation, Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen, 45/46 (Stuttgart, 1907), pp. 188-189.

[30]Thomas Brady, Jr., Ruling Class, Regime and Reformation at Strasbourg 1520-1555, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought XXII (Leiden, 1978), pp. 224-227.

[31]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade IX, Fasz 1, Nr. 1.

Württemberg, have been excluded because they were lost to Lutheranism after its

1534 Reformation. The examination of the clergy after 1529 is limited to the secular

clergy while the religious orders have been omitted. The bulk of the parishes

examined were in the twenty-one subject villages in the territory of Rottweil.[32]

Religious life in each of these village parishes was supervised by a single priest with

the exception of Dauchingen and Weilersbach, which were amalgamated to form one

parish. The two urban parishes in the city of Rottweil are also studied. The main city

parish, *Heilig Kreuz*, was the chief church for the region and was managed by the city

priest of Rottweil who had as many as eight priests assisting him. The second city

parish, *Unsere Lieben Frau*, served primarily as a pilgrimage destination, for it

possessed a chapel dedicated to the Virgin. It was staffed by a head priest who had

as many as two assistants.

Edmund Kern points out, historians should not concentrate on the success or

failure of Catholic or Protestant reform movements.[33] By drawing parallels with

diverse areas and assessing the level of acceptance of reform ideas, the peculiarities

of local circumstances can be ignored, thereby leading studies towards the realm of

official religion. When compared to other areas of Catholic Germany, Rottweil was

able to achieve much in its efforts to reform Catholicism in its jurisdiction during the

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[32]The parishes of Balgheim, Bösingen, Dauchingen, Deißlingen, Dietingen, Dunningen, Epfendorf, Fischbach, Hausen, Herrenzimmern, Hochmössingen, Kappel, Mühlhausen, Niedereschach, Rottweil-Altstadt, Seedorf, Stetten, Villingendorf, Waldmössingen, Weilersbach, and Zimmern.

[33]Edmund Kern, "The "Universal" and the "Local" in Episcopal Visitations," in Max Reinhart, ed., Infinite Boundaries: Order, Disorder, and Reorder in Early Modern German Culture, : Sixteenth Century Studies and Essays 40 (Kirksville, MO, 1998), pp. 35-54.

last half of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth century. Comparisons between Rottweil and other Catholic areas in Germany can only be made concerning the approaches to reform made in diverse areas. Any correlations that are made ought to be restricted to an examination of local responses to what might seem to be similar local conditions. Success or failure can only be assessed in individual cases based on local achievements in relation to local goals. In the absence of a strong bishop that mandated and enforced official religion from above, an already solidly Catholic Rottweil was afforded the time to enact reform gradually. It was able to prioritize the types of reform, from both the late medieval synodal tradition in the diocese of Constance as well as Tridentine ideas, which would be implemented in Rottweil based on the expectations it felt were realistic and popular.

This thesis has been able to draw upon a large source base, mostly archival, in order to make its arguments. Like most historical studies, however, the resources for this thesis are not without their limitations. The documents are especially abundant for the institutional aspects of Catholic reform and the political responses and initiatives of the Rottweil Rat. The laity and its response to reform attempts is much less represented and in some cases entirely absent. Due to this imbalance in available sources, this thesis has by necessity focused more narrowly on the institutional aspects of Catholic reform in Rottweil than what was envisioned for it initially when it was intended to include much more analysis of lay reaction to reform.

The failed Reformation event has already received attention from other historians. Studies have relied on the texts of two regional and contemporary chronicles, petitions of Swiss Evangelicals, and correspondence of the Rottweil Rat with Archduke Ferdinand, Charles V, the diocese of Constance, and the prior of the

Dominicans in Ulm to fashion their narratives.[34] These studies have also examined

the polemical pamphlet exchange between the main defender of Catholicism in the

city, the Rottweil Dominican prior Georg Neudorffer, and the de facto leader of the

Evangelical cause, Ambrosius Blarer the reformer of Constance.[35] In chapter one on

the failed Reformation, I have attempted to examine in closer detail than these earlier

works the content of this polemical exchange. The sources, especially archival, are

scarce for this period in Rottweil's history which leaves many gaps. The political and

religious debate at the higher levels can be ascertained, but the sentiments and

activities of average citizens on both sides of the Reformation's religious divide are

largely unknown.

Information concerning the political initiatives in support of Catholicism is

much more readily available after the failed Reformation attempt. Documentation of

the activities of the Rottweil Rat increases greatly after 1530, beginning with sources

related to the Augsburg *Reichsstag*.[36] Political correspondence of the Rat with the

Imperial magistracy and the Catholic members of the Swiss Confederation is

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[34]Paul Hermann, ed., Zimmerische Chronik (Meersburg, 1932), 4 volumes;
Christian Roder, ed., Heinrich Hugs Villinger Chronik von 1495 bis 1533 (Tübingen,
1883); Johannes Strickler, ed., Amtliche Sammlung der älteren eidgenössischen
Abschiede (Brugg, 1873-1876); HSTAS, B203; GLAK, 82 and 82a; and STAR,
Reichsstadtarchiv I and II.

[35]*Fragstuck Georgen Neudorffers / gezogen auss der entschuldigung
Burgermeisters und Rat der stat Costentz / von wegen irer predicanten / als ob sie
ausserhalb der warheit versagt wurden / sy hetten nach bewilligung der gelerten in
ein disputation / den spieß am hag abgezogen* (Tübingen, 1526); *Antwurtt Ambrosii
Blaurers uff Georgen Nüwdorffers fünff im fürgehaltne fragstuck* (Constance, 1526);
and *Widerred Georgii Neudorffers / auff die ungegründten verantwurtung Ambrosii
Blarers / so er im über etliche seiner fragstuck geben hat* (Tübingen, 1526).

[36]For documents related to the *Reichsstag*, see: STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade
LIII, Fasz 4; HSTAS B203, Bü 2.

abundant after 1530.[37] There is also a trickle of missives with the diocese of Constance.[38] The *Ratsprotokolle* is extant after 1580, and serves as an excellent source for the opinions and activities of the Rat with its highly detailed descriptions of the daily business of Rottweil's governing body.[39] One volume of the *Missivbuch* also survives, providing copies of the Rat's official correspondence between 1585 and 1607.[40] These documents provide an obviously useful insight into Rottweil's external politics and its confessional allegiances in the Empire, but their value is not limited to these areas. For example, the Rat displayed its wariness of external control of religion and its desire to control clerical discipline in its correspondence with the diocese. The *Ratsprotokolle* serves also as the largest well of evidence for the Rat's support of Catholic reform in its decrees and discipline of the laity. Due to the absence of a *Geistliche Rat* in Constance before the 1590s and its ineffectiveness thereafter until the mid-seventeenth century, the Rat, functioning in its capacity as the city court, assumed the role of religious enforcer for the deanery of Rottweil. The records of nearly all of the court proceedings have been unfortunately lost, but many of the decisions to discipline both priests and the laity for religious infractions were also recorded in the *Ratsprotokolle* which makes it a useful source for determining the forms of discipline being pursued in the deanery. Further evidence of the Rat's support for Catholicism is found in the accounts of the *Heilig Kreuz Bruderschaft*,

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[37]STAR, Reichsstadtarchiv I and II; HSTAS, B203.

[38]Ibid; DAR, AI2a; GLAK, Abt 82, Abt 82/a.

[39]STAR, Ratsprotokolle.

[40]STAR, *Missivbuch der Kaiserlichen Reichsstadt Rottweil von 1585-1607.*

the city's chief confraternity whose management was dominated by the *Ratsherren*.[41]
These financial records are useful in discerning the city élite's desires for focusing the
laity on feast day celebrations in the years between 1529 and 1563.

Sources for the Rottweil Church concentrate on the institutional reform of
the Church, especially the local clergy. Among the most useful of these documents
are the visitation reports for the deanery from 1550, 1574, 1581, 1584, 1590, 1597,
and 1608.[42] All five of the visitations between 1574 and 1597 were done locally by
Johannes Uhl, making them a valuable resource for determining a local hierarchy for
reform in addition to their reports on the status of the clergy. Uhl's reports,
however, did not ask questions of or about the laity, instead concentrating on clerical
matters which he felt would be the building blocks of later reforms for the laity. The
first visitation to ask questions of the laity was that of 1608, performed by officials
from Constance and it too was extremely limited in its research on lay activities.[43]
Uhl's admonitions and instructions towards the reform of his clergy are often noted
in the visitations themselves. They are more commonly found, however, either in his
manual-like instructions for his priests or, when serious discipline was required, in the
records of the Rat.[44] Uhl's instruction manuals for priests in the deaneries also spend
considerable effort explaining what they ought to preach, which makes them also a

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[41]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade XI, Fasz 5, Nrs 2D-H.

[42]GLAK, 82a/B4, fo.. 105; GLAK, 61/7321, fos. 45r-49v, 151r-153r; EBAF,
HA61, fos. 182v-183r, 359v-360v, 454r-458v, 610r-613r; and EBAF, HA62, fos.
232r-257r.

[43]EBAF, HA62, fos. 232r-257r.

[44]DAR, Pfarreiarchiv Heilig Kreuz Rottweil, vol. 161, pp. 131-154; PBHKR,
vols. 21-22. STAR, Ratsprotokolle, *Missivbuch der Kaiserlichen Reichsstadt
Rottweil von 1585-1607.*

valuable insight into Uhl's wishes for lay education and catechesis.[45] Correspondence

between Uhl or the Rat and the diocese of Constance further displays local intentions

for reform in addition to illuminating the wishes of the Rat and the local Church to

control Rottweil Catholicism from within and with a minimum of interference from

the diocese.[46] Documentation of the institutional reform of the Rottweil Church is

rich, however, the voice of the laity either in support or dissent of reforms must

remain largely unknown. Although not an exhaustive description of all of the sources

used in this study, those mentioned above form the heart of the research for the

analysis that follows.

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[45]DAR, Pfarreiarchiv Heilig Kreuz Rottweil, vol. 161, pp. 131-154; PBHKR, vols. 21-22.

[46]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, *Missivbuch der Kaiserlichen Reichsstadt Rottweil von 1585-1607*, Reichsstadtarchiv I and II; GLAK, 82, 82/a; DAR, AI2a; HSTAS, B203, B467a.

Chapter One

The Failed Reformation in Rottweil, 1526-1529

Introduction

One of the defining moments for Catholic reform in Rottweil came in the late 1520s when Evangelical ideas arrived in the city. An understanding of this failed attempt at Evangelical Reformation is essential for the study of later Catholic reform and renewal. The presence of Evangelicalism forced city residents to choose sides in the religious debate. Tensions with the Emperor escalated when the struggle for confessional allegiance threatened the city's stability as well as its Catholic position. Pressure from the Habsburgs to remain wholly Catholic or suffer the loss of the city's main source of pride, the *Hofgericht*, provided the impetus to undermine the Evangelical minority's impact on the city. The exile of the Evangelicals in 1529 proved important to the vitality of Catholicism in Rottweil for they failed to regain their influence. From this point onwards, the Rat openly supported all efforts to strengthen and reform Catholicism, and it took an active role in promoting lay religious activities through the city's chief confraternity. The failure of the Reformation inaugurated a long period of effective lay Catholic reform. Eager to prove its commitment to the Emperor and Catholicism, the city remained a staunch supporter of the Habsburgs and their religious policies until 1802, when Napoleon revoked Rottweil's privilege as an Imperial City.

As witnessed by events in other Imperial Cities which underwent Reformation attempts, the political efforts of ruling city élites who opposed the Reformation were rarely successful in stopping Evangelical movements which had the backing of the populace.[1] This was not the case in Rottweil, however, where the Reformation lacked popular support. The Reformation failed to win the hearts of the majority and especially those among the ruling civic élite for a number of complex and varied reasons. The German Peasants' War of 1525 raged across southwest Germany, but Rottweil remained an oasis of calm throughout the struggle. The drive to carve greater control over their own affairs drove many German communities to revolt in 1525 against older traditional power structures. According to some historians, this communal spirit of the 1525 revolt was the same spirit which made Evangelical theologies and their emphasis on equality attractive to the common man.[2] Economic prosperity had strengthened the sense of common good, or *Gemeinnutz*, and heightened the city's political autonomy. Moreover, the city's recent treaty with the Swiss Confederation and its apparent continued commitment to peasant liberties reduced the appeal of Evangelicalism in Rottweil.

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[1]Some examples are Schwäbisch Gmünd: Eberhard Naujoks, Obrigkeitsgedanke, Zunftverfassung und Reformation. Studien zur Verfassungsgeschichte von Ulm, Esslingen und Schwäbisch Gmünd, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, Reihe B, Nr. 3 (Stuttgart, 1958), pp. 60-64, 96-102; and Überlingen, Pfullendorf, Buchhorn, and Wangen: Wilfried Enderle, Konfessionsbildung und Ratsregiment in der katholischen Reichsstadt Überlingen, pp. 29-35, 45-47. The failure of the Reformation in Rottweil has also been attributed to the efforts of the Rat which closed ranks in opposition in order to save the Hofgericht: Martin Brecht, "Die gescheiterte Reformation in Rottweil."

[2]Peter Blickle, Communal Reformation: The Quest for Salvation in Sixteenth-Century Germany, Thomas Dunlap, trans. (Atlantic Highlands, NJ, 1992).

The Evangelical attempt at Reformation provided the antithesis of the Catholic movement which would prevail. The Evangelicals lost the war of preaching in the city. The prior of the Dominican convent was a more effective preacher in defense of Catholicism than the main Evangelical preacher was in the promotion of his beliefs. Anticlericalism, which had fueled the Reformation in many areas of Germany, was not present in the city.[3] Although some priests kept concubines, this was an issue of lesser significance for the laity. More importantly, Rottweil's clergy provided the sacraments and therefore the means of salvation to their parishioners.[4] Other factors included the lack of a strong local leader in the Evangelical camp, which looked instead to the reformers in Constance for direction. The movement never reached higher than a minority status among the general population and found no patronage in the Rat. The turning point came at the end of 1528 when a citizen's vote was held in the city in order to determine whether Evangelical preaching should be allowed. The result of the vote was a large majority in favor of outlawing Evangelical preaching.[5] The Evangelicals sealed their own fate when, as a political and theological minority, they ignored the statement of the commune and attempted a political coup in response to the vote.[6] As a

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[3]Robert Scribner, "Anticlericalism and the Reformation in Germany," Chapter 11 in Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany (London, 1987), pp. 243-256.

[4]GLAK, 82a/320, 82a/B4.

[5]Wilfried Enderle, "Rottweil und die katholischen Reichsstädte im Südwesten," p. 222.

[6]Heinrich Ruckgaber, Geschichte der Frei- und Reichsstadt Rottweil (Rottweil, 3 Volumes, 1835-1838), Volume 2,2, p. 243.

result, the Evangelical minority was exiled from the city in 1529.

After the departure of the Evangelicals, Rottweil entrenched itself as a staunch patron of Catholicism, with the control of religious affairs firmly in the lay hands of the Rat. The event in Rottweil was a Reformation, but a Catholic one. Both burgher and peasant alike had expressed their support for the established government and religion in the city, and were willing to take up arms against those who opposed the will of the majority. The decision to remain Catholic and outlaw Evangelicalism by popular vote was an assertion of communal rights, thereby defining the principles of the community; in this instance, the definition of religious affiliation and obligation was undertaken in the face of a divisive religious debate. The decision was then followed by a period of Catholic reform. The failed Evangelical Reformation signaled, therefore, the beginning of a communal and Catholic Reformation in Rottweil.

Economy, Relations with the Swiss, and the Peasants' War, 1519-1526

On the eve of the 1526-1529 Reformation attempt, Rottweil was one of the oldest, and proudest *Reichsstädte* in southwest Germany. The city had gained the status of a Free Imperial City towards the middle of the twelfth century or at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[7] By the 1520s, the city had reached a population of 5000.[8]

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[7]The actual date is disputed. Jörg Leist, Reichsstadt Rottweil, p. 5.

[8]Heinrich Ruckgaber, Geschichte der Frei- und Reichsstadt Rottweil, Volume 2,2, p. 243.

Rottweil's territory was the second largest among the Imperial Cities in Swabia, with only Ulm possessing greater landholdings.[9] Most of its twenty seven villages and accompanying land was amassed in the fifteenth century, with a few acquired in the sixteenth century before 1529.[10] Seven villages would also be added between 1531 and 1603.[11] Its standing as one of the more important Imperial Cities in Swabia was confirmed by the 1521 *Wormser Matrikel*, in which Rottweil's tax was levied third highest amongst them, with only Ulm and Augsburg giving more.[12]

Rottweil enjoyed economic prosperity in the 1520s as a result of the fostering of numerous trades and farm industry. A surplus of grain was produced in the territory, and numerous mills in the city prospered through the trade of flour with neighboring regions, and an abundance of forests also allowed the city to export wood products.[13] In addition, Rottweil was a major exporter of cattle and sheep, providing the neighboring Outer-Austrian cities of Rottenburg am Neckar and Villingen with meat.[14] As a

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[9]Adolf Laufs, Die Verfassung und Verwaltung der Stadt Rottweil (Stuttgart, 1963), p. 112.

[10]Edwin Ernst Weber, Städtische Herrschaft und bäuerliche Untertanen in Alltag und Konflikt. Die Reichsstadt Rottweil und ihre Landschaft vom 30jährigen Krieg bis zur Mediatisierung, Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs Rottweil 14 (Rottweil, 1992), pp. 74-75.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Winfried Hecht, "Rottweil und sein Rang unter den deutschen Reichsstädten," Rottweiler Heimatblätter 35/3 (1974), n.p.

[13]Winfried Hecht, "Rottweil und die Städte am oberen Neckar," in F. Quarthal, ed., Zwischen Schwarzwald und Schwäbischer Alb. Das Land am oberen Neckar (Stuttgart, 1984), p. 489.

[14]Winfried Hecht, "Das reichsstädtische Rottweil als Zentrum des Viehhandels," Rottweiler Heimatblätter 39/4 (1978), n.p.; idem, "Die Geschichte der Rottweiler

byproduct of this trade, the city also sold many hides to Rottenburg am Neckar to supply

its tanning industry.[15] Manufacturing in the city was supported by linen, metalware

(Rottweil sickles were famous), and goldsmithing industries,[16] and it also thrived as a

regional marketplace.[17] The city's markets served as trade centers not just for its

immediate neighbors, but also for international merchants since the markets of Rottweil

and of its neighbor Villingen lay on the route from the Danube to the Rhine.[18]

Rottweil's main source of pride, however, was the *Hofgericht*. Founded in 1299

by King Albrecht, the *Hofgericht* brought prestige to the city, and especially to the

Rottweil jurists who filled positions on the court.[19] The *Hofgericht* served as an Imperial

court of appeals, and its jurisdiction stretched from the Vosges mountains in the West to

Bamberg in the East, and from the Swiss Confederation in the South to Cologne in the

North. Many territories and cities had received exemption from the *Hofgericht* by the

sixteenth century, but it continued to be a force for judicial proceedings.[20] To this effect,

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Metzger," Rottweiler Heimatblätter 41/5 (1980), n.p.

[15]Winfried Hecht, "Das reichsstädtische Rottweil als Zentrum des Viehhandels," n.p.

[16]Winfried Hecht, "Rottweil und die Städte am oberen Neckar," p. 491.

[17]Ibid, p. 499.

[18]Tom Scott, Freiburg and the Breisgau: Town-Country Relations in the Age of Reformation and Peasants' War (Oxford, 1986), pp. 16, 60.

[19]Georg Grube, Die Verfassung des Rottweiler Hofgerichts, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, Reihe B, Nr. 55 (Stuttgart, 1969), p. 10.

[20]Friedrich Merzbacher, "Österreich und das kaiserliche Hofgericht Rottweil," Historisches Jahrbuch der Gorres-Gesellschaft 85 (1965), pp. 50-63.

Maximilian I in 1496 had called it the "highest court in Germany."[21] The *Hofgericht*'s

large area of jurisdiction, and the fact that it sat at least thirty days per year, ensured that

many travelers came to the city on judicial business.[22] While the jurists and

administrators made money from their positions on the court, the city's merchants and

innkeepers benefitted from the patronage of traveling litigants.[23] The *Hofgericht* helped

to forge a large part of the identity of Rottweil, giving both prestige to the civic élite

who sat on its benches and an economic boost to the rest of the populace. Its loss would

have been disastrous for many in the city.

While the urban population was preoccupied with the *Hofgericht*, relations with

the rural population were established on a different basis. Relations to the peasantry

were tightened by Rottweil's establishment of ties with the Swiss Confederation. A

formal treaty was first drawn up between Rottweil and the Swiss in 1463. The

Zimmerische Chronik described it thus:

> *Sie haben sich in ein pündtnus mit den Schweizern eingelassen, gleichwol, wie*
> *sie fürgeben, ußer zulassen und vergunen kaiser Friderrichs des dritten. Damit*
> *haben sie allen nachpurn ein forcht eingestroben.*[24]

Only fragmentary evidence survives to suggest why Rottweil made the treaty. But it

appears that the city signed it in order to protect itself against military incursion by

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[21]Ibid, p. 50.

[22]Winfried Hecht, "Zur Erforschung der Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Reichsstadt Rottweil," in 150 Jahre Rottweiler Geschichts- und Altertumsverein (Rottweil, 1981), p. 41.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Paul Hermann, ed., Zimmerische Chronik (Meersburg, 1932), volume 3, p. 277.

Württemberg and Austria, which were attempting to expand their territories in southwest

Germany in the mid-fifteenth century.[25] Improved trade relations were the main

attraction for the Swiss, and an additional benefit for Rottweil.[26] The *Zimmerische*

Chronik also mentions that the city hoped to join the Swiss Confederation as a full

member.[27] Rottweil did eventually increase its official involvement with the Swiss in

1519 when it signed an *Ewige Bund* with the Confederation.[28] The 1519 treaty has also

been interpreted in terms of an attempt by Rottweil to defend itself against the

expansionist policies of its neighbor Württemberg which, after the death of Maximilian I

in 1519, had begun an aggressive campaign to subjugate neighboring Free Imperial

Cities, beginning with the takeover of Reutlingen and later turning towards Esslingen.[29]

In 1519, however, Rottweil did not need to turn to the Swiss for protection; it was

already firmly allied with the Swiss. Rottweil's treaty with the Swiss had officially

expired in 1505, but the relationship continued in its full capacity until 1519 when the

Ewige Bund was announced. Rottweil had never called on the Swiss for military

assistance, but the city had sent contingents of troops on a few occasions to fight

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[25]Paul Kläui, "Rottweil und die Eidgenossenschaft," <u>Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte</u> 17 (1959), p. 4.

[26]Ibid, pp. 5-6.

[27]Paul Hermann, ed., <u>Zimmerische Chronik</u> (Meersburg, 1932), volume 3, p. 277.

[28]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade L, Fasz 6, Nr. 1.

[29]Thomas Brady, Jr., <u>Turning Swiss</u>, pp. 95-96.

alongside the Swiss between 1505 and 1519.[30] Military support and continued trade

relations from the initial treaty of 1463 paved the way for the *Ewige Bund* of 1519.[31]

Although the official treaty had expired in 1505, Rottweil was still fully part of the Swiss

fold, and the city was '*Bundesgenosse ohne Bundesbrief*' from 1505 to 1519.[32]

The confirmation of the *Ewige Bund* in 1519, however, came at a most awkward

time for Rottweil. Württemberg, after the exile of Duke Ulrich imposed by the Swabian

League and the subsequent sale of the duchy to Charles V in 1520, was no longer a

threat.[33] Relations with the Empire and Charles V were strained in 1521 when Rottweil

joined the Swiss in the *Soldvertrag* with his arch-enemy France.[34] Furthermore, Charles

V was eager in the early 1520s to continue Maximilian I's efforts to tie the Free Imperial

Cities in the Southwest more closely to the Empire, thereby alienating them from the

Swiss.[35] Charles V wanted Rottweil to be brought back into the Empire, especially since

the city was the seat of a *Kaiserliche Hofgericht*. Rottweil's circle of political associates

in the Empire shrunk even further in 1522 when it decided not to renew its association

with the Swabian League.[36] By 1522, Rottweil had placed all of its allegiance with the

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[30]Rottweil sent troops to fight with the Swiss in Milan in 1512, in the Dijon campaign against Louis XII in 1512, and to Marignano in 1515. Paul Kläui, "Rottweil und die Eidgenossenschaft," pp. 8-10.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Ibid, p. 10.

[33]For a discussion of the Habsburg takeover of Württemberg, see: Hans Puchta, Die Habsburgische Herrschaft in Württemberg, 1520-1534 (Munich, 1967).

[34]Paul Kläui, "Rottweil und die Eidgenossenschaft," p. 12.

[35]Thomas Brady, Jr., Turning Swiss, pp. 59, 115.

[36]Ibid.

Swiss.

Although the formal alliance with the Swiss was made for political and economic reasons, there was another apparent benefit in the context of Rottweil's relationship with its peasants and those of its neighbors. Since the Swiss were seen to be the defenders of peasant freedoms, Rottweil's status as the only member state or *zugewandte Ort* in the region had made the city the reputed champion of peasant liberty in southwest Germany. The reputation was not inconsiderable as witnessed by an event in Simonswäldertal, situated in the Breisgau.[37] In 1505, two peasants, unhappy about the level of taxation on one of the routes through the Black Forest, attacked two road inspectors from Freiburg. They commented that Rottweil had superseded Freiburg as a political force in the region, declaring *Man schiss uff die von friburg. Sy sint nit mer herren im land - die von rotwil sint yetz herren.*[38] Rottweil's status as the defender of peasant freedom in southwest Germany must have been magnified even further when the city entered the *ewige Bund* in 1519 and made Rottweil's Swiss status official.

The greatest testament to Rottweil's reputation as a friend of the peasants came in 1524 to 1525 during the German Peasants' War. Although peasant armies marched all through southwest Germany and many areas of the Swiss Confederation, Rottweil was left largely untouched by the conflict. There was a scare, nevertheless, when a peasant army came near the city in 1525. The army had come to Oberndorf, a town upstream on

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[37]Tom Scott, Freiburg and the Breisgau, p. 104.

[38]Quoted in ibid.

the Neckar river and just outside Rottweil territory.[39] *Bürgermeister* Konrad Mock went

to meet the captain of the army, Thomas Mayer, and requested that no Rottweil peasants

be recruited for his army.[40] In a show of friendship and mutual respect, the request was

granted.[41] As shown in the correspondence, Rottweil had cordial relations with other

peasant armies as well.[42] The Duke of Württemberg was even falsely led to believe that

Rottweil had made a contract with the peasants, whereby it would be left alone.[43] The

relative safety of Rottweil during the peasant revolts was not lost on the lesser nobility of

the region either. Many local noblemen, including the Count von Zimmern, and the

Abbots of Alpirsbach and Saint Georgen, took refuge in the city during the Peasants'

War of 1525.[44] Rottweil's own villagers do not appear to have engaged in any of the

revolts and, unlike many of the full-member states of the Swiss Confederation, the city

did not have to make concessions to its peasants in order to avoid rebellion.

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[39] Paul Hermann, ed., Zimmerische Chronik, Volume 2, p. 626.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Johannes Strickler, ed., Actensammlung zur Geschichte der schweizerischen Reformation im Anschluß an die gleichzeitigen eidgenössischen Abschiede (Zurich, 1878-1884, reprint 1989, 5 Volumes), Volume 1, pp. 372, 387.

[43] Tom Scott and Bob Scribner, eds., The German Peasants' War: A History in Documents (Atlantic Highlands, NJ, 1991), p. 213.

[44] Paul Hermann, ed., Zimmerische Chronik, Volume 2, pp. 358-359.

The Failed Reformation, 1526-1529

Evangelical ideas first appeared in Rottweil in 1525 with the arrival of the city physician, Valerius Anshelm, who had been living in Bern.[45] Anshelm was a native of Rottweil, had served as the schoolmaster in Bern from 1505, and city physician for Bern from 1509.[46] After his time as city physician in Rottweil from 1525 to 1529, he returned to Bern and is well-known for writing a chronicle of that city.[47] As city physician in Rottweil, Anshelm was in contact with a number of influential members of society. Among his contacts was Konrad Stücklin, the new city priest in 1526.[48] Stücklin admired the Evangelical ideas he learned from Anshelm and began promoting them from the pulpit of the city's *Heilig Kreuz Kirche*.[49] A small, but devoted following soon developed for the reformed messages.

Stücklin was confronted quickly by opposition from other clergy. Georg Neudorffer, the prior of the city's Dominican monastery, led the Catholic rebuttal of

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[45]Wilfried Enderle, "Rottweil und die katholischen Reichsstädte im Südwesten," p. 221.

[46]Rudolf Pfister, Kirchengeschichte der Schweiz: Zweiter Band, von der Reformation bis zum zweiten Villmerger Krieg (Zurich, 1974), p. 70.

[47]Ibid.

[48]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade VI, Fasz 2, Nr. 2.

[49]Martin Brecht, "Die gescheiterte Reformation in Rottweil," p. 11. His association with Anshelm, and later Ambrosius Blarer and Conrad Spreter in Constance, suggest that Stücklin was a Zwinglian.

Evangelicalism.[50] Neudorffer appears infrequently in records outside of the Reformation years (1526-1529), and little is known about his background. He was, however, an exceptional opponent for Stücklin. He proved to be a capable author and debater during the years 1526 to 1528, when he engaged in a battle of pamphlets with two of the reformers in Constance, Ambrosius Blarer and Johann Spreter. Stücklin had relied on these two particular reformers in order to promote Evangelicalism in Rottweil. Both Blarer and Spreter had close family connections with Rottweil, and were interested in bringing their new beliefs to the city.[51] The problem for the Evangelical movement in Rottweil was that its leaders were essentially outsiders. Blarer and Spreter had family ties, but they had made their careers elsewhere, and there was little sense of them as native sons. Neudorffer attempted to create a perception of Blarer and Spreter as being outsiders in his pamphlets. In Neudorffer's 1526 pamphlet, entitled *Widerred Georgii Newdorffers / auff die ungegründten verantwurtung Ambrosii Blarers / so er im über etliche seiner fragstuck geben hat*, he remarked:

> *ob du mich noch eigentlicher erkennen wildt / komm gen Rotweil / du weist on zweifel wo es ligt / nitt fern von Alperspach / do du etwann ein geregulierter münch bist gewesen.*[52]

Neudorffer deliberately used this language on the first page of his pamphlet before the

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[50]Winfried Hecht, Das Dominkanerkloster Rottweil, pp. 89, 190.

[51]Blarer's mother was from Rottweil. Spreter came from one of the most influential magisterial and patriciate families of the city. He was born and grew up in Rottweil. Ibid, p. 89.

[52]*Widerred Georgii Neudorffers / auff die ungegründten verantwurtung Ambrosii Blarers / so er im über etliche seiner fragstuck geben hat* (Tübingen, 1526), Sig A1v.

main part of the text. All who read it would be immediately aware that his opponent

Blarer was now living away from Rottweil, although his mother may once have lived

within its walls and he had lived as a monk in nearby Alpirsbach. Neudorffer wished to

present himself as a religious leader who was not only resident in Rottweil but also in

touch with the views of the people. Blarer was portrayed as the opposite, a distant

reformer who did not even know his Catholic opponent personally.

The debate began in 1526, when Neudorffer spoke out against the Constance

Rat's decision to allow Evangelicalism within its walls. His pamphlet response was a

direct attack against the Constance Rat for ignoring the "learned theological merit" of

the debate which had taken place at Baden in Aargau in May 1526, and for continuing to

allow the Evangelical faith in Constance.[53] His attacks were addressed to the Constance

Rat and centered on the inability of the Constance preachers to interpret Scripture

correctly.[54] He argued that they did not appear to understand the word of God because

they were preaching doctrine that opposed time-honored traditions. He declared that

any Scriptural interpretation that contradicted the practice and knowledge of the Church

Fathers was *ketzerisch* and ought to be suppressed.[55]

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[53] *Fragstuck Georgen Neudorffers / gezogen auss der entschuldigung Burgermeisters und Rats der stat Costentz / von wegen irer predicanten / als ob sie ausserhalb der warheit versagt wurden / sy hetten nach bewilligung der gelerten in ein disputation / den spieß am hag abgezogen* (Tübingen: 1526). Winfried Hecht, Das Dominkanerkloster Rottweil, p. 87.

[54] This was a common argument of early Catholic controversialists. David Bagchi, Luther's Earliest Opponents: Catholic Controversialists 1518-1525 (Minneapolis, 1991), pp. 89-91.

[55] *Fragstuck Georgen Neudorffers*, Sigs A4r-A4v.

Neudorffer's attack was soon answered by Blarer, when he published his

pamphlet *Antwurt Ambrosii Blaurers uff Georgen Nüwdorffers fünff im fürgehaltne*

fragstuck.[56] Blarer compared Neudorffer's assault to the attempts of the Pharisees to

silence Christ, as described in *Matthew* 22.[57] Drawing from *Matthew* 18, he also

stressed the promise of Christ that He would be present whenever the people assembled

to worship.[58] This teaching, Blarer argued, meant that God did not speak through the

Popes or councils of bishops, but from all people who assembled to adore and glorify

Him. Thus, the interpretation of Scripture in Constance was not only valid, but also

guided by the Holy Spirit, since the people of that city felt a strong love of God and were

diligent in their worship.[59] Blarer also raised other points of contention, namely

Purgatory, the veneration of saints and relics, and devotion to the Virgin, arguing that

these practices were not founded in Scripture.[60]

Neudorffer responded swiftly, claiming that he had written his pamphlet answer

only two days and one night after receiving Blarer's piece.[61] The content of the

Widerred . . . auff die ungegründten verantwurtung Ambrosii Blarers is lively and

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[56]*Antwurtt Ambrosii Blaurers uff Georgen Nüwdorffers fünff im fürgehaltne fragstuck* (Constance, 1526).

[57]Ibid, Sig A2r.

[58]Ibid, Sig A4r.

[59]Ibid, Sigs A4r-A4v.

[60]Ibid.

[61]*Widerred Georgii Neudorffers.* No publisher or place is named, but the illustration on the front page is identical to his *Fragstuck Georgen Neudorffers* from earlier in 1526, which suggests it was also printed in Tübingen. The reference to the two days and one night comes on the final page, Sig E2v.

impassioned. He again attacked the Constance Rat for their part in allowing

Evangelicalism in the city. The Rottweil Rat, however, felt that he had been too harsh

towards Constance, and in an effort to maintain good political relations between the

cities, he was publicly warned to reduce the strength of his attacks on the régime in

Constance.[62] In his tract, Neudorffer concentrated on the late-medieval Scholastic

theology of his Dominican heritage.[63] He defended the traditional structure and

hierarchy of the clergy, and the veneration of saints and relics. He compared Blarer to

Zwingli in Zurich, Oecolampadius in Basel, Capito in Straßburg, Luther in Wittenberg,

and Hus in Bohemia. All of these men presumed the role of bishops, but, he argued,

because they did not assume the title or office, they did not speak or lead with

authority.[64] These communities had two bishops, but only the man who bore the title

was legitimate, and only those who acknowledged him constituted a truly Christian

flock.[65] He used this argument further to instruct those in Constance who still followed

the Catholic Bishop of Constance, Hugo von Hohenlandenberg, to continue their

allegiance to him and the Church and attempt to bring their Evangelical neighbors back

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[62]Martin Brecht, "Die gescheiterte Reformation in Rottweil," p. 12.

[63]N. Paulus, Die deutschen Dominikaner im Kampf gegen Luther (Freiburg, 1903) p. 281. Specifically, the pamphlet is replete with references to the writing of Antoninus, the fifteenth-century Dominican and Archbishop of Florence. F.L. Cross, ed., The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (Oxford, 1985) p. 67.

[64]The margin makes a reference to Psalm 25, with Neudorffer's words: "*odivi ecclesiam malignantium et cum impiis non sedebo.*" *Widerred Georgii Newdorffers*, Sig B4v.

[65]Ibid.

into the fold.[66] Most interesting was his justification for devotion to the Virgin Mary.

Blarer had attacked Marian devotion specifically in his pamphlet, which Neudorffer was

eager to refute. In his fervor to buttress the practice of Marian devotion, Neudorffer

went to extremes, even misunderstanding the doctrine, regarding Mary as *Göttin* in his

response.[67]

Unlike his other pamphlet, *Fragstuck Georgen Newdorffers*, which referred to

tradition as the reason to remain faithful to Catholic doctrine, the *Widerred Georgii*

Newdorffers made use of Scripture as well as tradition to make its argument, in addition

to citing Dominican theologians such as Antoninus.[68] Neudorffer structured his

argument as a question by question response to Blarer.[69] Neudorffer's approach was not

unusual when compared to other German Catholic controversialists in the 1520s. The

combination of tradition with Scripture was commonly used by Catholic controversialists

at the time.[70] Other authors, like Neudorffer, also wrote in the vernacular in order to

reach the same audience as their opponents.[71] Neudorffer's constant defense of the

authority of the Church and his tendency to respond to his opponent's criticisms

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[66]Ibid.

[67]Other authors have noted Neudorffer's mistake on this issue. See: N. Paulus, Die deutschen Dominikaner im Kampf gegen Luther, p. 281; Martin Brecht, "Die gescheiterte Reformation in Rottweil," p. 12; and Winfried Hecht, Das Dominikanerkloster Rottweil, p. 89.

[68]*Widerred Georgii Newdorffers.*

[69]Ibid.

[70]David Bagchi, Luther's Earliest Opponents, p. 206.

[71]Ibid.

sentence for sentence were also common traits among Catholic controversialists.[72]

The exchange of pamphlets became more directly involved with the Rottweil religious debate in 1527, when Johann Spreter sent his pamphlet *Christenlich instruction und frintlich ermanung, Göttlichs wort anzenemen, der kirchen Christi in der stat Rotwil . . . zugeschickt.*[73] Spreter's instructions included material on beliefs, good works, Purgatory, pilgrimages, the Mass, marriage, confraternities, and prayer.[74] The Rottweil Rat reacted swiftly and harshly to the arrival of Spreter's pamphlet, responding with a confidence that derived from the realization that it had the support of a large majority of burghers and peasants. The messenger who brought the text from Constance was immediately jailed in the *Hochturm.*[75] The booklet received a symbolically worse fate, and was burnt in the marketplace by the city executioner as an heretical document.[76] Encouraged to intervene by the threat of a reformer who directed his program specifically at Rottweil, the Rat had officially entered the religious debate by declaring the message from Constance to be heretical. The Rat had aligned itself clearly on the side of Catholicism when it used heresy as the justification for burning Spreter's pamphlet. The Rat had openly declared itself for the majority of the populace in support of the old religion. Furthermore, the Rat commissioned Neudorffer to write another

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[72]Ibid, pp. 10, 248.

[73]Gustav Bossert, "Johann Spreter von Rottweil," Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte 15 (1911) p. 106. I have been unable to locate a copy of this pamphlet myself.

[74]Ibid.

[75]Martin Brecht, "Die gescheiterte Reformation in Rottweil," p. 13.

[76]Gustav Bossert, "Johann Spreter von Rottweil," p. 107.

piece, this time attacking Spreter's authority to interpret Scripture and other matters of faith.[77]

The last half of 1527 witnessed the beginnings of anti-Evangelicalism in Rottweil. The Rat exercised its powers as patron of priests' benefices in the city and forced priests who preached Evangelical ideas to leave the pulpit.[78] The city oath was also changed, so that it now required all citizens to swear not to adhere to Evangelical beliefs.[79] The commune had once again performed its function, exercising the will of the majority to regulate the behavior of its membership, "with the intention of ensuring peace and organizing communal life by the criterion of the common good."[80] Evangelicals who failed to adopt the new oath were either imprisoned or fined.[81] In an effort to rehabilitate them, the Rottweil Dominicans were charged to give intensive religious instruction to the incarcerated, whether they were guilty of a religious offence or not; it was an effort to which Neudorffer later attributed great success.[82]

In early 1528, Neudorffer wrote another treatise, *von der Heiligen erung*, in which he was especially critical of the reformers and the Rat in Constance for their

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[77]Ibid, p. 108.

[78]The number of Evangelical-minded priests is unknown. Martin Brecht, "Die gescheiterte Reformation in Rottweil," p. 13.

[79]Ibid; Eugen Mack, ed., Das Rottweiler Eidbuch, p. 33.

[80]Peter Blickle, "Reformation and Communal Spirit," p. 146.

[81]Winfried Hecht, Das Dominikanerkloster Rottweil, pp. 89-90.

[82]Neudorffer reported the Dominicans' success in teaching the imprisoned in a later pamphlet: *von der Heiligen erung*, (1528). Martin Brecht, "Die gescheiterte Reformation in Rottweil," p. 13. I have been unable to locate a copy of this pamphlet.

Evangelical views.[83] The Constance Rat responded with a plea to the Rottweil Rat to

impose sanctions on the Dominican prior so that he would no longer be able to deliver

his open criticisms against their city and its religion. Rottweil's stance towards

Constance concerning religious matters had hardened, and, unlike Constance's request in

1526, when the city attempted to calm relations by publicly warning Neudorffer, on this

occasion the Rottweil Rat refused to even reply.[84]

Blarer believed the next step in fighting off Neudorffer's challenge on behalf of

Rottweil was to invite him to a debate.[85] An opportunity arose in early 1528, when the

Swiss Evangelicals called a meeting in Bern to discuss religious issues.[86] Representatives

from the southern German cities and their leading theologians were also invited.[87]

Rottweil declined to attend, assuming the Catholic stance and stating that any conflicts

of religion ought to be submitted to a general council.[88] The city also refused to send a

theological representative.[89] Instead, Neudorffer chose to write a treatise and send it to

the meeting. The piece he sent was a scathing attack on the Bernese preachers, with the

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[83]Ibid.

[84]Gustav Bossert, "Johann Spreter von Rottweil," p. 108.

[85]Martin Brecht, "Die gescheiterte Reformation in Rottweil," p. 13.

[86]The Bernese disputation of 1528 was held because Bern was majority Evangelical and its lands were majority Catholic. Bern wished to have the blessing of the other Swiss in order to enact the Reformation officially, and hoped to obtain it with a theological debate. Rudolf Pfister, Kirchengeschichte der Schweiz: Zweiter Band, pp. 71-74.

[87]Ibid, pp. 71-72.

[88]Johannes Strickler, ed., Amtliche Sammlung der älteren eidgenössischen Abschiede, (Brugg, 1873-1876), Volume 4, 1a, pp. 1230-1235.

[89]Martin Brecht, "Die gescheiterte Reformation in Rottweil," p. 13.

result that tensions quickly mounted between Rottweil and the Swiss and Constance Evangelicals.[90] Blarer intended to exploit the situation to force the Rottweil Rat to suppress Neudorffer, but the Rat instead denied any involvement in or knowledge of the Dominican prior's treatise, as well as earlier exchanges with Blarer in Constance.[91]

By February 1528, while becoming increasingly aware of the religious struggle in Rottweil, Archduke Ferdinand of Austria voiced his concerns. Ferdinand warned the Rat that the *Hofgericht* would not be allowed to remain in Rottweil if the city were to become Evangelical, and he admonished the Rat to remove all Evangelicals from the pulpit and punish them.[92] He also requested that once identified as Evangelical, all clergy be forwarded to the bishop of Constance for questioning and punishment.[93] The *Hofgericht* was an important part of the city's livelihood, and especially to many members of the Rat, and so Ferdinand had provided the Rat with the motivation for further sanctions against the Evangelicals.

In early 1528, at the same time as Ferdinand's threat, the bishop of Constance, Hugo von Hohenlandenberg, asked for all problematic or Evangelical clergy to be sent to him for questioning.[94] By the end of 1528, an unknown number of Rottweil citizens

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[90]Ibid.

[91]Ibid.

[92]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade IX, Fasz I, Nr. 1.

[93]Ibid.

[94]It is unknown how many priests were suspected of Evangelical sympathies. Martin Brecht, "Die gescheiterte Reformation in Rottweil," p. 14.

requested the bishop to excommunicate Stücklin.[95] He was then summoned to

Constance, but was excommunicated after failing to appear. A public gathering of

Evangelical supporters followed, demanding that Stücklin be reinstated.[96] The Rat,

however, had no other choice, and declined to let him preach or perform any duties in

the church, stating that the city priest ought to preach the Old and New Testaments *ohne*

ergernus und abbruch der satzungen kristenlicher kirchen, wie von allter her.[97] The

Rottweil Rat again expressed its unconditional support for Catholicism, announcing that

the old beliefs would continue in the city.

Apparently giving up on gaining influence within the circle of ruling élites, the

Evangelicals turned to Bern and Zurich for external assistance. Both these Swiss cities

sent delegates to Rottweil, while a representative for the seven Catholic Swiss states also

appeared.[98] On 17 December 1528, the Catholic Swiss states delivered a plea to the Rat,

advocating that it ought to remain faithful to the old beliefs and exile any Evangelicals.

Yet, the Evangelical Swiss delegations were able to obtain an agreement from the Rat

that a vote would be held to decide whether the Evangelicals could remain in the city.[99]

On 24 December 1528, and under the watchful eyes of the Swiss moderators, the

members of the Rat and guilds cast their ballots. The result was a large majority in favor

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[95]Bernhard Rüth, "Reformation und Konfessionalisierung in oberdeutschen Reichsstädten," p. 15.

[96]Martin Brecht, "Die gescheiterte Reformation in Rottweil," p. 14.

[97]HStAS, B203, Bü 18.

[98]Wilfried Enderle, "Rottweil und die katholischen Reichsstädte im Südwesten," p. 222.

[99]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade L, Fasz 6, Nr. 4.

of outlawing the *freie Predigt des Evangeliums*.[100] This appears to be the only example

of a majority vote against Evangelical ideas in an Imperial City.[101] The vote also signaled

a change in the Rat's policies. In 1527, citizens were required to reject the new beliefs

on oath.[102] By December 1528, however, Evangelicals were increasingly restricted; they

were not only prohibited from professing to be Evangelical, but they were also forbidden

to engage in the chief activity of their worship, the preaching of Scripture. Another

important consequence of the vote was the reduction of pressure from the Evangelical

Swiss, because both sides of the Swiss confessional divide were represented in Rottweil

at the vote. Already strained by division within the Confederation, the Evangelical Swiss

were unwilling to increase tensions by confronting their Catholic Swiss brethren over an

outside territory, even if that territory was affiliated with the Swiss Confederation.[103] An

additional effect of the vote was to draw Rottweil into the Catholic camp in Imperial

politics. Ferdinand of Austria had already added political pressure to the religious

struggle in Rottweil. The city's statement against Evangelicalism in the presence of

numerous foreign delegates pointed to its determination to maintain Catholicism. As the

next chapter shows, the dedication to Catholicism remained a cornerstone of Rottweil's

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[100]Wilfried Enderle, "Rottweil und die katholischen Reichsstädte im Südwesten," p. 222.

[101]Ibid.

[102]Eugen Mack, ed., Das Rottweiler Eidbuch, p. 33.

[103]Wolfgang Vater, "Die Beziehung Rottweils zur Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft im 16. Jahrhundert," in 450 Jahre Ewiger Bund. Festschrift zum 450. Jahrestag des Abschlusses des Ewigen Bundes zwischen den XIII Orten der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft und dem zugewandten Ort Rottweil (Rottweil: Stadtarchiv Rottweil, 1969) p. 31.

external politics throughout the next century.

The vote can be compared with the situation in Basel during the period 1528 to 1529.[104] Basel was also a Free Imperial City and it was forced to address a similar religious division, resulting from the presence of armed bands of Evangelicals and Catholics in the city. The ruling élite feared these bands which, with the right spark, could potentially provide the catalyst for a full scale civil war.[105] Although already visibly committed to the Evangelical majority of the Basel populace, the Rat was reluctant to complete the Reformation out of fear that the Gospel could promote further unrest and revolt, as was the case in nearby Solothurn, Bern, and Zurich.[106] Although a vote never took place in Basel, the Rat had hoped to settle the dispute by a majority decision of the guilds, following a disputation concerning the Mass.[107] The communal spirit displayed in Rottweil was also evident in Basel where the Rat believed the final decision on the choice of religion should be taken by the community.[108] In Basel, however, the disputation and subsequent vote never occurred, and in its stead violence and iconoclasm dictated the Reformation decree.[109] The situation in Rottweil turned in the opposite direction; a vote which determined a majority was held, and although violence might have served as a means to an end for the majority, communal peace and

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[104]Peter Blickle, Communal Reformation, pp. 69-73.

[105]Ibid.

[106]Ibid, p. 72.

[107]Ibid, p. 73.

[108]Ibid.

[109]Ibid.

unity were pursued through judicial measures.

The Rottweil Rat viewed the vote as a commitment to pursue total censure of the Evangelicals in an attempt to restore peace to the community. By early 1529, house searches for Luther Bibles and other reform-minded literature were ordered.[110] Bitterness quickly ensued, and Stücklin denounced the city council to an assembly of Evangelicals in Altstadt and declared *die allten christen gottlos, die obrigkhait nydisch, hessig unnd des gottsworts verhinderer*.[111] Neudorffer also increased his attacks from the pulpit, and was assaulted by Evangelical supporters after he described Zwingli and Oecolampadius as *ketzer*.[112] The Rat became anxious about the growing unrest and expelled both Neudorffer and Stücklin from the city in an effort to reduce tensions. Hopes for calm were soon dashed as the Evangelicals, now without their leadership, began protesting in the streets.[113]

Desiring their own services, Evangelicals did not attend Mass or any other service in the city and proclaimed Stücklin's successors as *kunstlosen Schwätzer und Plauderer, Hurer, Säufer und Spieler*.[114] Instead, they began attending their own services in the villages of Altstadt and Lauffen, both located south of the city.[115] On 18 July 1529, Evangelicals brought petitions to the Rat, using the influence of some

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[110]Martin Brecht, "Die gescheiterte Reformation in Rottweil," p. 15.

[111]HStAS, B203, Bü 18.

[112]Martin Brecht, "Die gescheiterte Reformation in Rottweil," p. 15.

[113]Ibid.

[114]HStAS, B203, Bü 18.

[115]It is unknown exactly where the services were held in Altstadt and Lauffen. Martin Brecht, "Die gescheiterte Reformation in Rottweil," p. 15.

members of the tailors' guild who had access to ruling circles and were also sympathetic

to the Evangelical cause. The supplications asked the Rat to allow *das luter und rein*

wort gottes des allmächtigen verkündt und geprediget.[116] They asked for the freedom to

preach in all churches of the city, or at least in the main church, the *Heilig Kreuz*

Kirche.[117]

Catholic supporters were angered by the Evangelical's further attempts to survive

against the Rat, and demanded the Rat take punitive action against them for their

obvious breach of the city oath and the 1527 decree against Evangelicalism. On 22, 23,

and 24 July, groups of angry Catholics met in the Dominican church to discuss how the

Evangelicals should be punished. Neudorffer had also resurfaced and was leading the

excitement.[118] An armed band of around 200 Evangelicals met in a house the next

night.[119] On 26 and 27 July, armed bands of Catholics also met in the city at night. The

two sides were preparing for a skirmish. Still confident that villagers were satisfied with

with its leadership in the aftermath of the Peasants' War, the Rat felt it could rely upon

the village militia for calm and support. Consequently, it ordered them into the city on

27 July in a hasty attempt to avert disaster.[120]

Some Evangelicals ignored the Rat's resolve, and a small, armed group stormed

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[116]Johannes Strickler, ed., Amtliche Sammlung der älteren eidgenössischen Abschiede, Volume 4, 1b, p. 388.

[117]Ibid.

[118]Martin Brecht, "Die gescheiterte Reformation in Rottweil," p. 16.

[119]Ibid.

[120]Ibid.

the *Rathaus* on 27 July 1529, demanding 100 *gulden* from the *Ratsherren* in return for their 'proper behavior.'[121] *Bürgermeister* Gall Mock asked for some time to consider their demands, which precipitated a cry of *Streckt die Bösewichter nieder* from some of the Evangelicals.[122] The besieged *Ratsherren* then fled to the city hospital, effectively ending the potential for violence. Peace was agreed the next day, with the Catholics swearing an oath in the *Heilig Kreuz Kirche* and the Evangelicals in the marketplace. Everyone on both sides of the divide was made to swear an oath of peace, with the notable exception of the *Ratsherren*.[123]

The Rat attempted to consolidate all power in the city on 31 July when it enforced the decree against Evangelical activity by removing all Evangelicals from guild membership or civic office, and put eighteen of them in prison.[124] Stücklin, who was by this time in Constance, attempted to counteract the Rat's perceived betrayal with appeals to Zwingli and to Bern, but the Evangelical Swiss were unprepared to help. They were wary of lending assistance for fear of upsetting the Catholic Swiss, who had established strong confessional ties with Rottweil.[125]

At the same time, Archduke Ferdinand reiterated his threats to remove the

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[121]Ibid.

[122]Ibid.

[123]Ibid.

[124]Ibid.

[125]Johannes Strickler, ed., <u>Amtliche Sammlung der älteren eidgenössischen Abschiede</u>, Volume 4, 1b, p. 386.

Hofgericht from Rottweil in two letters dated 6 and 8 August 1529.[126] The Rat reported

that the leaders of the Evangelical cause had been expelled from the city and that it was

then firmly in control of the conflict. Clearly more concerned than before because of the

violence that had erupted, Ferdinand suggested that Rottweil ought to accept the help of

troops from nearby Rottenburg, a stronghold of Habsburg Outer Austria,[127] and the

recommendation to accept Habsburg military aid was reaffirmed in a letter from the

régime in Rottenburg dated 24 August 1529.[128] However, the Rat was reluctant to invite

a foreign military presence to the city and declined Rottenburg's offer.

The Rat hoped that the unrest would cease, and the leaderless Evangelical

minority would fade away. However, the Evangelical camp again reacted with violence

to its persecution. On 26 August 1529, the Rat reported to Archduke Ferdinand that the

tailors' union had sworn an oath against it. Following their oath, a group of Evangelical

tailors stormed the guild house, and killed some of the citizens inside.[129] They

proclaimed themselves the new oligarchical leaders of the city, and issued a proclamation

to abolish the Mass. Other Evangelicals, with women and children in their ranks as well,

made their stronghold in the *Hochbrucker* suburb of the city.[130] They had become

desperate in their fight for acceptance and began to use violence as a first resort.

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[126]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade IX, Fasz 1, Nrs. 2, 4.

[127]Ibid.

[128]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade IX, Fasz 1, Nr. 5a.

[129]Heinrich Ruckgaber, Geschichte der Frei- und Reichsstadt Rottweil, Volume 2,2, p. 243.

[130]Ibid.

The Rat was also increasingly ready to use might to combat the unrest, and once again it called the village militia into the city to restore order. The militia acted less like peacekeepers and more like aggressors as they removed Evangelicals from their homes by force. The Rat had learned its lesson from July, and was committed to rounding up and expelling all of the Evangelicals from the city. Some 80 to 100 families left Rottweil in late August 1529, an estimated number of 400 people, or about 9% of the city's population of 5,000.[131] The Rat later justified its action on the basis that sending the Evangelicas into exile was the only solution that would yield peace.[132]

Most of the exiles fled to Evangelical areas within the Swiss Confederation.[133] Tensions with the Catholic Swiss that had previously made the Evangelical Swiss reluctant to interfere in Rottweil had been based on the struggle for the confessional make-up of the city. The setting changed with the permanent exile of the Evangelicals from Rottweil. Religion was no longer the sole issue after Zurich and Bern were confronted by 400 exiled Rottweilers arriving at their gates. The two cities made many requests for Rottweil to take back its former residents, but the Rottweil Rat was steadfast in its refusal, while careful not to base justification of its actions upon the sensitive sphere of religion, claiming instead that the 400 were exiled for purely political reasons, namely for rebellion.[134] An Imperial mandate from 19 April 1530 supported this

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[131]Ibid.

[132]Martin Brecht, "Die gescheiterte Reformation in Rottweil," p. 17.

[133]HStAS, B203, Bü 18.

[134]Johannes Strickler, ed., Amtliche Sammlung der älteren eidgenössischen Abschiede, Volume 4, 1b, pp. 442, 476.

claim.[135] Zurich and Bern, however, continued to mount heavy diplomatic pressure until the death of Zwingli at Kappel on 11 October 1531.[136]

Of particular interest was the Rat's sudden willingness to involve the Austrians in the struggle. Wary of allowing a Habsburg military contingent in the city in early August 1529, it seemingly changed its mind when it reported to Ferdinand the revolt at the end of the month. Surely the Rat was aware that this would cause more concern among the Austrians, probably resulting in Ferdinand's increased insistence on the use of Rottenburg's troops to quell the Evangelical rebellion. There are two possible explanations; either the Rat felt that it required military assistance to resolve the situation, or it had matters under control but wished to show Ferdinand it was so strongly committed to Catholicism that it would use force to overcome opposition. In the latter case, it is also possible that the Rat exaggerated the Evangelical threat of late August 1529 in order to convey a willingness to fight a more superior foe than the Evangelicals actually were, thereby increasing its perceived commitment to Catholicism. This policy was extended further at the 1530 Augsburg *Reichstag*, when, as the next chapter shows, Rottweil made serious efforts to persuade Charles V that it was committed to Catholicism and his Imperial religious policies.

Much has been made of the Habsburg threats to remove the *Hofgericht* and the role it played in deciding Rottweil's confession. Historians have treated the failure of the

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[135]Martin Brecht, "Die gescheiterte Reformation in Rottweil," p. 19.
[136]Ibid.

Reformation in Rottweil as a result of the Rat's fear of losing the Imperial Court.[137] Due

to the importance of the court to the city, and especially to the civic élite, the Rat has

been portrayed as making a calculated and political decision to remain Catholic and

support the Habsburgs in order to preserve the livelihood of its members. One must not

ignore the role these threats played in providing impetus for a stiffer and speedier

enforcement of anti-Evangelical decrees. It should also be noted, however, that the Rat

and a majority of the population were not persuaded by Stücklin and his Evangelical

preaching, and by August 1529, they remained committed to Catholicism. The expulsion

of the Evangelicals marks the extension of the majority will in religious matters in

addition to a search for civic order in the community.

There are a number of reasons why the Reformation in Rottweil was a failure.

First, the Evangelicals lacked a strong leader or preacher for their cause. City

Reformations were most successful where they had close associations with charismatic

reformers who were effective preachers and authors, and Stücklin did not fit this mold.[138]

Attempts at Reformation were also highly dependent on the ability of preachers to

spread reformed theology to the illiterate, and Stücklin was not as effective as

Neudorffer in persuading Rottweilers to follow his beliefs.[139] In addition, Stücklin was

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[137]Ibid, p. 7; Volker Press, "Die Reichsstadt in der altständischen Gesellschaft," in Johannes Kunisch, ed., Neue Studien zur frühneuzeitlichen Reichsgeschichte 1987, p. 21; and Wilfried Enderle, Konfessionsbildung und Ratsregiment in der katholischen Reichsstadt Überlingen, p. 155.

[138]Berndt Hamm, Bürgertum und Glaube: Konturen der städtischen Reformation (Göttingen, 1996), p. 92.

[139]Ibid, p. 78.

forced to rely on outsiders for leadership and advice, while Neudorffer felt capable of engaging in a polemical debate with the likes of Ambrosius Blarer. Perhaps the best method of comparing the persuasive capabilities of the two opposing preachers is the lack of support Stücklin found with the élites, when, in other areas of the Empire, Evangelicalism was most attractive to élites and the educated in the cities who in return took responsibility for protecting the reformers until they had gained sufficient following in the rest of the city.[140] The movement in Rottweil did not have ideal conditions for success; it was directed by nonresident outsiders and its leader was not as proficient in methods of communication (preaching and authorship) as his opponent. In an environment where home rule over all affairs was highly valued, it was most likely that external leadership of the Reformation would be received with extreme caution.

The Reformation effort in Rottweil was also deprived of one of the most successful arguments which reformers used against the Church in other areas of Germany, inadequate pastoral care, which allowed reformers to exploit anticlerical feelings.[141] Anticlericalism could be nurtured by pointing out the abuses of clerical privileges which were exercised in daily life.[142] The most grievous among these was the withholding of the means of salvation, the sacraments, and especially the Eucharist.[143]

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[140]Thomas Brady, Jr., "The Reformation of the Common Man, 1521-1524," in Scott Dixon, ed., The German Reformation (Oxford, 1999), pp. 102-105.

[141]Robert Scribner, "Pastoral Care and the Reformation in Germany," in James Kirk, ed., Humanism and Reform: The Church in Europe, England, and Scotland, 1400-1643. Essays in Honour of James K. Cameron (Oxford, 1991), pp. 77-97.

[142]Robert Scribner, "Anticlericalism and the Reformation in Germany," p. 244.

[143]Ibid, p. 249.

The clergy held a monopoly on sacred power and in some areas of Germany denied their services or exacted payment for them.[144] There is no evidence to suggest that anticlericalism was exploited by the Reformation movement in Rottweil. To the contrary, Rottweil's clergy enjoyed a good relationship with the laity and were providing them with the sacraments. The dean of Rottweil was asked by the bishop of Constance to report the effects of the Reformation and the status of the clergy in 1527.[145] The dean responded that there were few difficulties with the clergy, and the only problem he felt to be noteworthy was that some of the priests were having complications receiving their benefices, especially those parishes in the deanery under the patronage of Württemberg.[146] A later, more detailed visitation from 1550 gives further insight into the availability of the sacraments in the first fifty years of the sixteenth century in Rottweil.[147] Although the 1550 visitation occurred after the Reformation attempt, it also predates Church reforms of the clergy in Rottweil and is therefore useful as an indicator of the availability of sacraments at the time. In 1550, the visitors from Constance noted that the clergy in Rottweil were providing the sacraments and expressed the highest satisfaction for their behavior: *wir haben an keinen ort noch minder clag und mangel dis orts erfunden.*[148] The availability of sacraments had removed from the preaching arsenal of the reformers in Rottweil what had proved to be the most devastating criticism of the

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[144]Ibid.

[145]GLAK, 82a/320.

[146]Ibid.

[147]GLAK, 82a/B4, fo. 105.

[148]Ibid.

Church elsewhere in Germany.[149]

In the end, the failure to win the people of Rottweil to Evangelicalism is witnessed by the numbers of exiles in 1529, roughly 9% of the population. Foundations for anticlericalism were not present in the city, and the populace was receiving adequate pastoral care from the clergy. Most Rottweilers would not have been as concerned about the potential loss of the *Hofgericht* as the élites, and their continued support of Catholicism must be seen as spiritually motivated. Stronger behavioral regulation was demanded eventually by the populace in order to protect the integrity and peace of the community. The Rat had more to lose by forfeiting the court, although it had also displayed a commitment to Catholicism before such threats were made. The Rat made its intentions clear when it changed the civic oath to prohibit Evangelical beliefs in 1527, and the vote by the Rat and guilds in 1528 to outlaw Evangelical worship. All of these events and statements in support of Catholicism predated Ferdinand's warnings.

The Rottweil Rat and people decided to continue practicing Catholicism. They were presented with the Evangelical argument, and a majority chose to refuse it. Threats to remove the *Hofgericht* and the possibility of internal revolt provided impetus for them to harden their position and to stop tolerating the Evangelical presence in the city. The alliance with the Habsburgs and their religious policies resulted from the expulsion of the Evangelicals, and gave rise to the strong political ties throughout the remainder of the sixteenth and into the seventeenth century. One must recognize, however, that politics and the pursuit of internal peace merely provided the stimulus for the complete expulsion

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[149]Robert Scribner, "Pastoral Care and the Reformation in Germany," p. 77.

of Evangelicalism from Rottweil. The choice to remain Catholic had already been made. It was the memory of the threats of 1528-1529 that ensured the Rottweil Rat would continue to support Catholicism and its reforms of the later sixteenth century.

The 1529 failed Reformation event did much to shape the future of Catholic reform in Rottweil. It forced the Rat to begin the reform of Catholicism in the city immediately following the exile of the Evangelicals, and this it did with the backing of both the rural and urban communities, who were united in their defense of the Catholic religion. The next phase of Catholic reform was achieved through increased lay control over religious activities, and government-sponsored programs to promote some of them directly. Feast day celebrations became the primary focus of the Rat's energy in its pursuit to create communal unity through the pursuit of a distinct and loyal Catholic consciousness. The clergy remained marginal figures until 1559, as they also appeared to be during the initial Reformation debate. It was lay initiative which fueled the reform of Catholicism from 1529 to 1559. The events of 1529 represent the decision of the Rottweil community to follow this path. It was the first step in achieving a Catholic Reformation.

Chapter Two

Catholic Politics and Rottweil, 1529-1618

Introduction

The relationship between religion and politics in the Empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has received much attention of late. The thesis of confessionalization, largely associated with the work of Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhard, still figures prominently at the moment.[1] Confessionalization accepts that religion and politics, state and church were structurally linked so that neither could act without affecting the other, and many aspects of early modern life were encompassed in the broad sweep of this argument - the growth of the modern state, development of specialized bureaucratic elements of states, the relationships between Church and state, and the effects of religious and political change upon the populace.[2]

There is potential danger, however, for the historian who applies this thesis too rigidly, and in his reassessment of Peter Blickle's conception of a communal Reformation, Heinz Schilling himself has warned:

"We must strictly maintain the epistemological and methodological distinction between analytical concepts of this kind and historical

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[1]See: Heinz Schilling, "Confessionalization in the Empire;" Wolfgang Reinhard, "Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State: A Reassessment," The Catholic Historical Review 75/3 (July 1989), pp. 383-404.

[2]Heinz Schilling, "Confessionalization in the Empire," p. 208.

reality in order to prevent them from assuming an existence independent of the historical record."[3]

The same warning must be articulated for confessionalization as well. Such a thesis risks neglecting the diversity among regions of the Empire. The Empire was divided into numerous large states, small states, and cities. All encountered the confessionalized environment of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but each state's experience with politics and religion was its own.

Of all the confessions, Catholicism in particular has been portrayed as being uniform across the Empire.[4] The temptation to do so is understandable given the centralized structure of the Church and the theoretical coordinated reform efforts by Rome through its bishops. Walter Ziegler has recently criticized this approach, offering in its place the acknowledgement of regional diversity, especially among political and Church institutions, which caused different Catholic states within the Empire to have varied 'confessionalized' experiences.[5] Ziegler also pointed out that territories which experienced Catholic reform from an early stage were also beneficiaries of strong Catholic states such as Bavaria.[6] The strength of states varied greatly in the sixteenth century Empire, and according to Ziegler, this coincided with

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[3]Heinz Schilling, "The Communal Reformation in Germany: An Upper German, Zwinglian Phenomenon before the 'Turning Point of the Reformation' in 1525?," Chapter 4 in Religion, Political Culture and the Emergence of Early modern Society (Leiden, 1992), p. 196.

[4]Marc Forster, "With and Without Confessionalization," p. 340.

[5]Walter Ziegler, "Typen der Konfessionalisierung in katholischen Territorien Deutschlands," in Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling, eds., Die katholische Konfessionalisierung, Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 198 (Heidelberg, 1995), pp. 405-418.

[6]Ibid.

varying encounters with Catholic reform. Marc Forster has recently called for

increased enquiry into Catholic culture as lived in the villages and towns.[7] Such

research, Forster believes, will result in an even greater appreciation for the diversity

of Catholicism and Catholic culture in the Empire, from large areas such as the

Rhineland, Bavaria, and the Southwest, to that in the towns and villages.[8]

This chapter focuses on the interaction between politics and religion in

sixteenth and seventeenth century Rottweil. It will examine the confessional

motivations for Rottweil's activities on the Imperial political scene. Beginning with

the 1530 Augsburg *Reichstag*, Rottweil entered into a patronage relationship with

the Habsburgs which ensured the Emperor's support for the city's privileges as a

Reichsstadt and the continuance of the *Hofgericht*. In return, the House of Habsburg

received a new political ally in the Empire, which argued on its behalf and in defense

of Catholicism.

Rottweil's Imperial and Catholic Politic, 1529-1618

Rottweil was not assured of the survival of the *Hofgericht* even after the exile

of the Evangelicals in 1529. It had met the demands of Charles V and Archduke

Ferdinand in 1529 that the city be wholly Catholic in order to avoid losing the

Imperial court. However, Charles and Ferdinand had warned that the *Hofgericht*

would be removed if the Evangelical community was allowed to survive. These

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[7]Marc Forster, "With and Without Confessionalization," p. 342.

[8]Ibid.

threats provided no guarantee for the court's place in the city, even if Rottweil complied with Charles's and Ferdinand's demands.[9] The situation left the Rat uneasy about the fate of the *Hofgericht* in 1529 and 1530, and it desired to secure Habsburg favor in an effort to ensure the court's survival.

The opportunity to show Rottweil's colors to the Habsburgs arose at the Augsburg *Reichstag* in 1530. The great debate about religion, culminating in the hardening of confessional differences, the Confession of Augsburg, and the debates about the Turkish Tax, provided the occasion for Rottweil to support both the Habsburg regime and its religious policies. Charles was eager to heal religious divisions in the Empire after 1529 when the Evangelical princes in the Empire officially protested against the religious restrictions imposed by the Diet of Worms in 1521. The religious divide was becoming increasingly problematic, and the situation threatened to undermine the imposition of the Turkish Tax in addition to affecting the election of Charles's brother Ferdinand to be King of the Romans.[10] Taxes for the war against the Turks found almost unanimous opposition from the Free Imperial Cities. The Protestant cities especially became increasingly alarmed when many of the more important Protestant princes announced support for the Turkish Tax

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[9]HSTAS, B203, Bü2.

[10]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), Schriftenreihe der Bayerischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 19 (Göttingen, 1982), pp.248-250; and Georg Schmidt, Der Städtetag in der Reichsverfassung: Eine Untersuchung zur korporativen Politik der Freien- und Reichsstädte in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Abteilung Universalgeschichte 113 (Stuttgart, 1984), pp. 372-379.

without first discussing it with the cities with whom they were also attempting to form a Protestant defense league. Excluded from the decision-making process, cities on both sides of the confessional divide sensed a trend in Imperial politics which reduced both their political power and economic might.[11]

Rottweil saw its opportunity to display allegiance to the Emperor in a context where support amongst Imperial cities for taxes to fight the war against the Turks was relatively absent. Rottweil had worked closely on the Imperial political scene with the Catholic Imperial City of Überlingen from 1529, when it allowed Überlingen to act as its representative at the Speyer *Reichstag*.[12] Überlingen was not a large Imperial City, but it was able to assume a greater role at Speyer in 1529 than its size might otherwise have permitted. Although a number of Imperial Cities remained Catholic at the Reformation, none of them (with the exception of Cologne) was among the largest nor had they previously enjoyed much political power on the Imperial scene. Under these conditions, some of the medium-sized Catholic Imperial cities, such as Rottweil, Überlingen, Ravensburg, and Kaufbeuren, began to assume larger roles in Imperial politics.[13] These cities were further aided by the confessional parity that existed at the Imperial City Diets.[14] Although individual cities could send

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[11]Thomas Brady, Jr., Protestant Politics: Jacob Sturm (1489-1553) and the German Reformation (Atlantic Highlands, NJ, 1995), pp. 230-231.

[12]Wilfried Enderle, Konfessionsbildung und Ratsregiment in der katholischen Reichsstadt Überlingen, p. 178.

[13]Hermann Tüchle, "Die oberdeutschen Städte, der Reichstag von Augsburg und die Confessio Augustana,' in Erwin Iserloh, ed., Confessio Augustana und Confutatio: Der Augsburger Reichstag 1530 und die Einheit der Kirche, Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte 118 (Münster, 1980), p. 279.

[14]Georg Schmidt, Der Städtetag in der Reichsverfassung, pp. 476-525.

representatives to the *Reichstag*, the City Diets were also responsible for sending delegates to the *Reichstag*, in order to promote the collective body of Imperial Cities within the sphere of Imperial politics. After the Reformation, the City Diets largely chose their *Reichstag* delegation based on an equal proportion of Catholic and Protestant members. The medium-sized Catholic cities were chosen frequently because there were no obvious selections of Catholic delegates based on the cities' size or political or economic prowess.[15] For example, Augsburg, Ulm, Cologne, and Überlingen were the four cities which represented the *Städtetag* at the 1532 Regensburg *Reichstag* debates on the Turkish Tax.[16] Überlingen would not have enjoyed such political attention without the aid of a confessionally motivated selection process in the Imperial City Diet.

Überlingen was able to secure Habsburg favor as a result of its efforts on behalf of Habsburg Imperial political aims and its staunch support of the Edict of Worms and Catholicism from 1525 onwards.[17] It gained further Habsburg favor when it fully supported the *Türkenhilf* at the 1529 Speyer Reichstag, at the same time representing a bloc of Catholic Imperial Cities from upper Swabia.[18] Confirmation of Habsburg approval for Überlingen's support came in 1526 when the latter was allowed to raise excise taxes by ten percent. In 1528 Überlingen was allowed to create a new coat of arms, and in 1530, it was freed from the jurisdiction of the

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[15]Ibid.

[16]Wilfried Enderle, Konfessionsbildung und Ratsregiment in der katholischen Reichsstadt Überlingen, pp. 181-182.

[17]Ibid, p. 177.

[18]Ibid, p. 179.

Rottweil *Hofgericht*.[19] As a reward for its continued commitment to Catholicism,

Überlingen was also given the right by Charles V to deal directly with the Imperial

Vice-Chancellor in 1529 in matters concerning Imperial politics rather than being

required, as it had been before, to use the Tirol as mediator with the Emperor.[20]

Rottweil had worked closely with Überlingen in Imperial politics up to 1529.

By 1530, the city desired greater assurance in its relationship with the Emperor, and

envied the security that Überlingen had obtained. Rottweil, however, was on a

different footing with the Emperor than Überlingen had been throughout the 1520s.

Given the possession of the *Hofgericht*, Rottweil already had ties to the Imperial

establishment and could correspond directly with the office of Chancellor. The after-

effects of Rottweil's 1519 decision to sign an *Ewige Bund* with the Swiss

Confederation as an affiliated state, however, loomed large in its relationship with the

Habsburgs.[21] The political aspects of Rottweil's rejection of the Reformation in 1529

in the face of Imperial threats to remove the Hofgericht returned its focus towards

the Empire after it had turned Swiss. Strong relations with the Catholic Swiss were

maintained, but dealings with the Evangelical Swiss continued only on a reduced

level because of Rottweil's prohibition of Evangelical activity.[22] At the same time,

Rottweil recognized that resistance to the Reformation might not be sufficient to

secure its relationship with the Emperor and the future of the *Hofgericht*, and a

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[19]Ibid, p. 188.

[20]Ibid, p. 179.

[21]See Chapter 1, pages 17-20, for Rottweil's relationship with the Swiss up to 1522.

[22]Paul Kläui, "Rottweil und die Eidgenossenschaft," pp. 12-13.

further show of allegiance might be required.

Rottweil's aims at the 1530 Augsburg *Reichstag* were to ensure that Charles V was aware of the city's allegiance to the Emperor. The city's concerns can be seen in the correspondence between the Rat and Konrad Mock, its delegate to the *Reichstag*.[23] The first objective was to ensure the continuance of the *Hofgericht* in the city. At least three of Mock's earliest letters to the Rat pertained to the *Hofgericht*.[24] Whether Mock himself became increasingly assured of the court's status or whether he felt the Rat needed reinforcement against its fears is not known. Whatever the cause, the fact that Mock chose to write three different letters on separate days which made the same statement attests to the gravity of the matter in Rottweil politics.[25]

The next point of business for Mock in Augsburg was to improve overall relations with the House of Habsburg by reassuring the Emperor that Rottweil would support his political and religious policies in the Empire. With Rottweil only recently refocusing its political allegiance from the Swiss back towards the Empire, this relationship needed cultivation. One way in which Rottweil moved quickly to promote the Emperor's policies was to take a firm stance in the Imperial religious divide. The Protestation of Speyer in 1529 confirmed greater strife on the religious front, and was one of the main reasons why Charles V called for the 1530 Augsburg

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[23]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade LIII, Fasz 4.

[24]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade LIII, Fasz 4, Nrs. 1, 5, 9.

[25]Ibid.

Reichstag.[26] The protest was made by Evangelical states in the Empire against

Ferdinand's 1529 attempt to resurrect the Edict of Worms and withdraw the

concessions granted at the 1526 Speyer *Reichstag* which had allowed greater

freedom to Evangelicals.[27] Evangelical Protestant states, territories, and cities feared

for the worst in the form of military reprisals from the Emperor and began

discussions concerning a common military defense, thereby sowing the seeds for the

Schmalkaldic League.[28] Charles was eager to shore up his own support. Many of

the Free Cities had joined the Protestant cause and although the Emperor received

much backing from the principalities, he hoped to secure more support from the

shrinking number of Catholic Free Cities, who could then forward his political agenda

in the City Diets.[29]

Charles V had placed the issue of the Turkish Tax at the top of his agenda for

the 1530 Augsburg *Reichstag* before promising to move on to discussions about

religion.[30] His plans were threatened by numerous protests from Protestant states

and especially the Free Cities; they would not discuss the *Türkenhilf* until there was

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[26]Eike Wolgast, "Protestation of Speyer," in Hans J. Hillerbrand, ed., The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) Volume 4, pp. 103-105.

[27]Ibid.

[28]For a description of these early talks see: Thomas Brady, Jr., Protestant Politics, pp. 68-75.

[29]Johann Kühn, Die Geschichte des Speyrer Reichstags 1529, Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 146 (Leipzig, 1928), p. 78.

[30]Alfred Kohler, ed., Quellen zur Geschichte Karls V, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte der Neuzeit 15 (Darmstadt, 1990), pp. 160-164.

an assurance of peace in the religiously torn Empire.[31] Many of the larger Free Cities including Straßburg, Nuremberg, Frankfurt, Ulm, and Nördlingen joined in the protest.[32] Opposition to the tax was formed mainly from Protestant ranks, and the issue was quickly turned into a religious one. Jakob Sturm of Straßburg conveyed the message that the cities wished to approve the *Türkenhilf*, but they desired first an Imperial guarantee for a free council on religion and that the cities be allowed to send representatives to all *Reichstag* committees.[33] Religious division also began to dictate the selection of delegates to represent the cities.[34] Under these conditions, Charles V desired strong ties of patronage with Catholic Free Cities who could argue for his policies in the *Städtetag* and in the *Reichstag* as representatives of the *Städtetag*. Most appealing among the Catholic cities were the ones with strong patronage ties to the Emperor. Überlingen was one city with strong ties to the Austrian *herrschaft* system, due to its reliance on the Austrian Tirol as a market for its produce.[35] Überlingen had already fulfilled its potential as a leading proponent of the Emperor's policies at both the *Städtetag* and the *Reichstag*, proving its allegiance in 1529 at Speyer by declaring its unconditional support for the *Türkenhilf*.[36] The stage was set for Rottweil in 1530. It possessed the ties of patronage through the

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[31]Georg Schmidt, <u>Der Städtetag in der Reichsverfassung</u>, p. 374.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Ibid, p. 375.

[34]Ibid, pp. 375-376.

[35]Wilfried Enderle, <u>Konfessionsbildung und Ratsregiment in der katholischen Reichsstadt Überlingen</u>, p. 169.

[36]Ibid, p. 179.

Hofgericht and had recently declared itself a Catholic city. The 1530 Augsburg

Reichstag, its religious tensions, and the question of the *Türkenhilf* provided an ideal

setting for Rottweil to prove its mettle to the Emperor.

Rottweil's Rat was well aware of the benefits that Überlingen had received

from its 1529 declaration to support Catholicism as well as the *Türkenhilf.*

Correspondence between the Rottweil *Bürgermeister* and Rat with its representative

at the 1530 Augsburg *Reichstag*, Konrad Mock, sheds further light on the city's

Imperial political strategy. As mentioned above, Mock's earliest letters from

Augsburg were concerned largely with the preservation of the *Hofgericht*.[37] All

Mock's letters use the term *altglaubig* to describe the religious position of Rottweil

which he presented to the Emperor, indicating a keen awareness for the religious

divisions in the Empire which dominated the *Reichstag*.[38] After the *Hofgericht*'s

future was secured, Mock's attention at Augsburg was diverted towards forging

closer ties with the House of Habsburg by backing the *Türkenhilf*.[39] Rottweil

specifically wished to endorse the *Türkenhilf* at Augsburg because Charles V was

presiding over his first *Reichstag* since Worms in 1521 and the city might benefit

from his personal recognition. Beyond backing the *Türkenhilf* at any political

discussions which Mock attended, the Rat was also keen to pay its share of the

Türkenhilf to the Imperial Chancellor while he was still in Augsburg.[40] The Rat

wrote to Mock in Augsburg on 17 October 1530 to express its concern about the

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[37]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade LIII, Fasz 4, Nrs. 1, 5, 9.

[38]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade LIII, Fasz 4.

[39]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade LIII, Fasz 4, Nrs. 11, 23.

[40]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade LIII, Fasz 4, Nr. 11.

arrival of the money it had sent him in order to pay the *Türkenhilf*.[41] The Rat's

longing for an affirmative answer about the safe arrival of a large sum of money may

be partly attributed to its fear of theft along the journey to Augsburg. A later letter

from the Rat to Mock on 17 November 1530, however, illuminates the Rat's strategy

to gain Imperial favor through its quick payment of the *Türkenhilf*.[42] Rottweil had

hoped already within a month to utilize the patronage it felt it had gained with the

prompt payment of the *Türkenhilf*. The Rat wrote to Mock in Augsburg asking him

to seek a future reduction in the *Türkenhilf* for Rottweil:

> . . . auch bÿ derselbigen [Kaiserliche] Magistrat dargestelt zu
> Supplicieren und anzuhalten, darmit wir vermög dieser Supplication
> über unser Vermögen, und wir auch von alter her gehalten worden,
> nit beshwerdt, und witter überlegt werden, als Ir das mit bösten
> Augen fürzupringen wol wisset.[43]

The Rat was careful to ask Mock not to make it seem like a complaint, but rather a

need to reevaluate the levy placed on the city which, they argued, was above their

means. Rottweil's confidence in Mock's ability to sense the situation is also apparent

at the end of the Rat's instructions when it gave him the licence to choose his own

path to achieve a reduction in the tax.

Confirmation of Habsburg approval arrived quickly. The *Abschied* from the

1530 Augsburg *Reichstag* resulted in a 50% reduction in Rottweil's *Türkenhilf*

contribution.[44] Ravensburg, Überlingen, Wangen, and Kaufbeuren, all of which were

Imperial Cities which had expressed loyalty to the Habsburgs and Catholicism at

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[41]Ibid.

[42]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade LIII, Fasz 4, Nr. 23.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Georg Schmidt, Der Städtetag in der Reichsverfassung, p. 369.

Augsburg, experienced similar discounts.[45] By contrast, a Protestant Imperial City

such as Nördlingen failed to receive similar relief. Nördlingen was initially calculated

to pay 1200 gulden as opposed to Rottweil's 1095 gulden.[46] When actual demands

were pronounced, Nördlingen was required to pay 1142 gulden while Rottweil's

contribution was reduced to 547.5 gulden.[47] Rottweil and some other Catholic

Imperial Cities also received preferential treatment in the *Hilfsleistung* for the

Turkish campaign. Much to the chagrin of neighboring Protestant cities, Rottweil,

Überlingen, Kaufbeuren, and Ravensburg were exempt from providing troops for the

Emperor to fight against the Turks.[48] Further affirmation of Habsburg patronage for

Rottweil came in the form of a knighthood for its representative, Konrad Mock, at

the 1530 Augsburg *Reichstag*.[49]

Additional praise and confirmation came directly to the Rat in the form of

letters from both Ferdinand on 6 October 1530[50] and Charles V on 17 November

1530.[51] Charles V conveyed his pleasure for Rottweil's support of Catholicism:

> . . . *wir aber jetzo angesehen und betracht die getrewe Cristenliche
> gehorsam dar In sich Burgermeister Rath unnd gemeind gemelter Statt
> Rotweil hievor gegen Got den allmechtigen unns und den heiligen
> Reich dem Lutherischen und anderer falschen leer und feckht halben,*

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[45]Ibid.

[46]Ibid.

[47]Ibid.

[48]Ibid, p. 379.

[49]Wilfried Enderle, <u>Konfessionsbildung und Ratsregiment in der katholischen Reichsstadt Überlingen</u>, p. 180.

[50]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade IX, Fasz 1, Nr. 5b.

[51]HSTAS, B203, Bü 2.

die an vil orten in dem heiligen Reich Teutscher nation zu abfall unnd
zerrüttung unnsers heiligen glaubens Cristenlicher Kirchen Ordnung
und zerstoerung Teutscher nation entstanden sein . . .[52]

Charles was also keen to state his expectation that he would be able to rely upon

Rottweil to provide future backing for his cause:

> *. . . und sunst Im vil ander weg gehalten und erzeigt dieselben Im Irer*
> *Statt mit emtlicher straff aussgereut unnd verwilligt haben. Unnd*
> *darumb (zuergetzlicheit) solcher Irer Cristenlichen und anderer*
> *gehorsam auch der gethanen nutzlichen und wolligen dienste willen.*
> *So sye uns und den heiligen Reich gethan und hinfuro wol thun*
> *mögen und sollte, mit wolbedachten mute guten Rath und Rechter*
> *wissen. Den gemelten Bürgermeister und Rath der Statt Rotweil als*
> *Rhomischer Kaiser dise besonder gnad gethan zugesagt und*
> *versprochen haben, und thun dazu also hiemit von Rechter*
> *Kayserlicher macht volkhomenheit wissenlich In crafft diss briefs.*[53]

Charles V had confirmed with this letter the success of Rottweil's plan at the 1530

Augsburg *Reichstag*. The city had wished to secure the patronage of the Emperor in

order to overturn the threats he had made to remove the *Hofgericht* in 1529.

Following on the earlier example of Überlingen, Rottweil saw an opportunity of

cementing a patronage relationship through declarations on the Imperial political

stage of unconditional support for Catholicism and the Emperor's policies. In the

case of both Rottweil and Überlingen, the issue which provided them with the

opportunity was the *Türkenhilf.* The above letter from Charles V affirmed not only

his reception of the city's pledges, but also his eagerness to enter into a mutually

beneficial relationship for the future. By this arrangement, Rottweil could expect to

keep the *Hofgericht* and receive favorable taxation benefits, as long as it remained

Catholic and argued on behalf of the Emperor at political assemblies such as the

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[52]Ibid.

[53]Ibid.

Städtetag and *Reichstag.*

Although Habsburg perceptions of Rottweil was more as a political than a military ally, petitions for military assistance were made on a few occasions. After Augsburg, Rottweil did not have long to wait for such a request from the Habsburgs. Ferdinand had entered into an alliance with the five Catholic Swiss states on 22 April 1529, prior to the Kappel Wars.[54] Rottweil's ties with the Swiss made it an attractive partner for Ferdinand to coax into providing military aid for the defense of Catholicism in the Swiss Confederation. On 6 October 1531, five days before the battle at Kappel in which Zwingli died, the five Catholic Swiss states requested the assistance of Rottweil in their struggle against the Evangelical Swiss.[55] The city responded quickly, and sent 100 troops which took part in the battle.[56] On 17 October 1531 the Rat was in communication with the Outer-Austrian Grafschaft Hohenberg régime in Rottenburg am Neckar about coordinating its own efforts to send troops to fight against the Evangelical Swiss.[57] Ferdinand's personal call for Rottweil to assist the Catholic Swiss came at least by November 1531 when he asked the city to back the Catholic Swiss militarily against the Evangelical (*Zwinglischen*

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[54]Hans Berner, Ulrich Gäbler, and Hans Rudolf Guggisberg, "Schweiz," in <u>Die Territorien des Reichs im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung, Land und Konfession 1500-1650: Der Südwesten</u>, eds. Anton Schindling and Walter Ziegler, Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung 53 (Münster, 1993), p. 298.

[55]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade IX, Fasz 1, Nr. 6c.

[56]Wolfgang Vater, "Die Beziehung Rottweils zur Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft im 16. Jahrhundert," p. 32.

[57]HSTAS, B203, Bü 2.

und Lutherischen) Swiss.[58]

The patronage established between the House of Habsburg and Rottweil at the 1530 Augsburg *Reichstag* provided King Ferdinand and Charles V with a political ally which possessed influence beyond the usual restricted circles of most Imperial Free Cities. The Swiss were opposed to the nobility-dominated system of the Empire, and effectively removed themselves politically from the Empire after the Swabian War of 1499.[59] Although they were no longer attempting to bring the Swiss back into the Empire, Charles V and Ferdinand both harbored hopes of reviving their influence with the Swiss, and Rottweil's position as *Zugewandte Ort* of the Swiss Confederation allowed it to attend the Swiss Diets and to have its opinions heard at the assembly.[60] Although it did not hold the right to vote, Rottweil was still one of a small number of states which could send delegates to the Swiss assembly. Charles and Ferdinand may have felt that the city's influence might be even greater there than at the *Städtetag* because its voice was one of a smaller number.

Rottweil often promoted Habsburg policies at the Swiss Diets. The city's delegates to the 1546 Swiss Diet were particularly active in this regard.[61] This Diet heard much debate about the impending military confrontation between the Emperor

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[58]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade IX, Fasz 1, Nr. 3.

[59]Thomas Brady, Jr., Turning Swiss: Cities and Empire 1440-1550 (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 57-72.

[60]Bettina Braun, Die Eidgenossen, das Reich und das politische System Karls V, Schriften zur Verfassungsgeschichte 53 (Berlin, 1997), p. 31.

[61]The analysis which follows stems from the correspondence found in STAR, Arch I, Abt I, Lade 6, Fasz 2.

and the Schmalkaldic League.[62] Habsburg delegates arrived at the assembly in order

to assure the Swiss that the Emperor merely wished to punish members of the

Schmalkaldic League as rebels, because of their opposition to Imperial authority and

specific issues such as the Turkish Tax and the jurisdiction of the

Reichskammergericht in Speyer.[63] Bernese delegates responded with sympathy for

the Schmalkaldic League because they could associate with "an idea of liberty that

united the gospel with the autonomy of lords against the Habsburg monarchy."[64] The

Bernese attempted to persuade the Confederation to defend the Schmalkaldic League

based on the ancestral Swiss ideal to defend peoples' rights to be their own lords.

However, Bernese exhortations fell on unsympathetic ears amongst the remaining

Swiss and no action was prescribed.[65]

Rottweil's representatives at the 1546 Swiss assembly in Baden predictably

took the opposite line from that of the Bernese and projected the city's unconditional

support for the House of Habsburg. The first set of instructions for Rottweil's three

delegates, the *Stadtschreiber* Conrad Spretter, and the two *Ratsherren* Barius

Vischer and Wilhelm Armbruster, was meant to convey this message as clearly as

possible.[66] The delegation's first order of business was stated:

> *Darauff Inen entdecken nach dem sie in guthen gedencken tragen und*
> *Inen wol bewisst seÿe, völlicher gestalten gemeine Statt Rotweil mit*

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[62]Thomas Brady, Jr., Turning Swiss, pp. 210-211.

[63]STAR, Arch I, Abt I, Lade 6, Fasz 2, Nr. 6.

[64]Thomas Brady, Jr., Turning Swiss, p. 210.

[65]Ibid, p. 211.

[66]STAR, Arch I, Abt I, Lade 6, Fasz 2, Nr. 5.

*dem Huss Österreich und nämlich der herrschafft Hohenberg[67] in
verainigung stannden, wie sie die Eÿdtgnossischen gesanndten ausser
der Copeÿ sollicher verainunng die die Rotweilischen gesanndten
Inen hiemit ubergeben sollenndt, zuvermerckhendt nun seÿ aber ainen
Ersamen Rath seid nechste zu Baden gehaltnen tag von den
Amptleuten benanter Herrschafft Hohenberg ain schreiben unnd
annamung zu komen, völliches schreibens Original Inen auch zu
lesen angestelt werden soll.[68]*

Instructions for the delegates left little room for improvisation. Once they had

arrived and made their attendance known to all, they were to announce quickly their

treaty with the House of Austria and the Grafschaft Hohenberg. Once the agreement

with Austria had been proclaimed, the delegates were then instructed also to proclaim

the city's other non-Swiss allegiances to the Pope and the Holy Roman Empire

before they reassured the assembly that Rottweil would continue to back the Swiss to

the best of its ability.[69]

Charles V and Ferdinand had both sent delegations to the Swiss Diet at

Baden in 1546. Relations between the Empire and the Swiss had been good since

1499, but tensions rose from 1546 to 1548 during the Schmalkaldic War and the

Austrian takeover of the city of Constance on the Swiss border.[70] Although its

influence at the 1546 assembly is difficult to assess, Rottweil had one distinct

advantage over the Habsburg ambassadors in that it was speaking from the inside as

an official member of the assembly. The representation of the city was clearly

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[67]The Herrschaft Hohenberg, or Grafschaft Hohenberg was a part of the
Outer-Austrian lands with its administrative center in Rottenburg am Neckar.

[68]STAR, Arch I, Abt I, Lade 6, Fasz 2, Nr. 5.

[69]Ibid.

[70]Bettina Braun, <u>Die Eidgenossen, das Reich und das politische System Karls
V</u>, p. 451.

different from that of 1519 and the beginning of the *Ewige Bund* with the Swiss.

There could be no doubt that Rottweil felt allegiance to both the Empire and the

Swiss in 1546, although the Swiss would have known that if loyalty were put to the

test, Rottweil would quickly close ranks alongside the Habsburgs. Nonetheless, the

city's position as an affiliated state must have given it sincere attention when it made

official political statements. Rottweil's ability to argue a case before the Swiss was

an additional boon for the Habsburgs when they entered into the peculiar patronage

relationship with the city in 1530. Undoubtedly the Habsburgs had realized a victory

in turning a territory back from the Swiss. It is possible that they did not foresee

Rottweil maintaining its political ties to the Swiss and its ability to argue on their

behalf from inside the Confederation. This was an extra and perhaps at the time an

undiscovered benefit from establishing firmer ties with Rottweil.

After 1546, Rottweil's relations with the Swiss concentrated on alliances with

the Catholic Swiss States rather than on the Confederation as a whole.[71] This

relationship was a continuation of Rottweil's support for the policies of the

Habsburgs within the Empire, in this case promoting Catholicism and limiting the

growth of Protestantism. In 1586, seven Catholic states of the Confederation,

Luzern, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Fribourg, and Solothurn, formed an alliance

based on the defence of Catholicism within the Confederation as well as the

possibility for defence of external areas which desired to remain Catholic.[72] After the

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[71] The Catholic and Protestant Swiss were meeting in separate diets, making it likely that Rottweil had very little contact with the Protestant Swiss after 1546. An Imperial ambassador had been forced to meet with them separately to discuss the buildup to the Schmalkaldic War. Ibid, pp. 449-450.

[72] STAR, Arch I, Abt I, Lade 6, Fasz 1, Nr. 3.

coalition was agreed upon, the seven states sent a letter to the Rat and Bürgermeister of Rottweil which outlined the foundations for their union.[73] The letter is particularly strong in conveying the alliance's promise that military defense would be considered for all non-member states as well: *die mit unnsers alten wahren Glauben ist.*[74]

Although Rottweil was not officially part of the coalition, the Catholic Swiss considered the city to be their closest ally. This became apparent in July 1587, when interference by the Reformed Swiss in the affairs of Mühlhausen caused concern among the Catholic Swiss:[75] *die vier Luttrischen Stett die Statt Mühlhusen yngenomen und Inen das recht gezeigt haben.*[76] Their worries stemmed from the fear that France and the Protestant Swiss would attempt to bring Mühlhausen more closely into the Swiss sphere, thereby causing a disturbance in the balance of power between Catholic and Protestant states in the Confederation. Further concern was raised with the rumored intervention of France as well:

> *jetz die Luttrischen Inn wärbung irem König von neu erren zu*
> *zezüchen, Sÿ werden wol lütt finden die Innen wenig grosses werden*
> *under den füssen wachsen lassen, das haben wir gutter früntlicher*
> *Eüdgnossischer wolmeinung nitt underlassen wöllen, sonder üch*
> *dessen zu berichten und ob uns noch vernres anlangte üch dessen*
> *auch theilhaffttig zemachen unbeshwärtt und so üch auch ettwas*
> *shrifftlichs oder mundtlichs von den Rüttern zu khommen wäre so*
> *mitt den luttrishen züchen söllendt uns dessen zu berichten und im*
> *faal üch ettwas von denen von der nüwen Religion möchte begegnen,*

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[73]Ibid.

[74]Ibid.

[75]Mühlhausen in Alsace, was another Free Imperial City which became a *Zugewandte Ort* of the Swiss Confederation in 1511. Mühlhausen had embraced the Reformation in 1523-1524 when it passed an edict which gave freedom to Evangelical preaching. Thomas Brady, Jr., Turning Swiss, pp. 70, 157.

[76]Hans Berner, Ulrich Gäbler, and Hans Rudolf Guggisberg, "Schweiz," p. 304.

*das wellend Ir uns alle zÿtt berichten so wellend wir gegen üch glÿch
wie wir wüssend Ir gegen uns auch thun wurden Trüwlich zu üch
seyen, Thudt üch hiermitt sampt uns neben anerpiettung williger
diensten Göttlichen shein bevelchen.*[77]

Such rumors were not unfounded or unusual, and had flared up in the past such as

during the period from 1548 to 1553 in Constance, or shortly after that city had been

forcibly recatholicized by Austria.[78] There was a rumor at that time, with apparently

some substance, that Zurich along with the help of France was going to invade the

city and restore its autonomy and Protestant faith.[79] Fearing a similar situation, the

Catholic Swiss considered Rottweil to be one of their own, and expected it to behave

as an ally in the Catholic cause both militarily and politically. It was presumed that

the city would provide information at a minimum, and involvement with the use of

troops would certainly have been welcomed by the Catholic Swiss.

Soon after, the language of diplomacy suggests even stronger connections. In

1595, when the Catholic Swiss responded to Rottweil's petition for them to pay the

Turkish Tax, the seven states began to refer to the city as *Pundtsgnossen* with

reference to the alliance of the Catholic Swiss.[80] In 1597, this relationship appeared

to be equally strong. Due to its strong backing of Habsburg Imperial politics, one

might expect that Rottweil would have readily allowed passage of Spanish troops and

supplies on their way north to defend interests in other areas of the Empire, and

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[77]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade L, Fasz 6, Nr. 5v.

[78]Wolfgang Zimmermann, Rekatholisierung, Konfessionalisierung und Ratsregiment, pp. 80-84.

[79]Ibid.

[80]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade L, Fasz 6, Nr. 5w.

especially to the Spanish Netherlands along the so-called Spanish Road.[81] Even though Rottweil enjoyed a direct correspondence with the Imperial regime, however, it chose to negotiate its portion of the Spanish Road collectively with the Catholic Swiss.[82] The scenario as a whole embodied Rottweil's Imperial politic, embracing the Catholic states and acting on behalf of the Emperor's interests, and in this case acting in a pseudo-proxy capacity to maintain Imperial and Austrian ties with the Catholic Swiss.

Rottweil engaged in discussions concerning common defense leagues with other Catholic states in the Empire as well as with the Swiss. On 4 October 1584, Rottweil wrote to the Überlingen Rat suggesting that the Catholic Free Cities ought to maintain closer relations and begin the practice of holding a regular diet themselves.[83] Between 1585 and 1593, the Catholic Imperial Cities along the Rhine, led by Cologne, began discussions with Rottweil, Überlingen, and Pfullendorf about forming a Catholic League of Free Cities.[84] A Catholic League of all states and not just Free Cities became a reality in the Empire by 1609, largely as a response to the

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[81]Rottweil, however, was not located on the main 'Spanish Road.' The route which Spain secured with Rottweil and the Catholic Swiss served as a backup to the main route. Geoffrey Parker, The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567-1659. The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries' Wars (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 70-73.

[82]Rotweil Acta Copia, Confirmationis et Renovationis Conclus Federis inter Philippos Pr. Et 3tiam Hispaniarum Reges, et Cantorum Helvetiorum Catholicorum ac Civitatem Rotwilensem, anno 1597, STAR, Arch I, Abt I, Lade 6, Fasz 1, Nr. 4.

[83]Wilfried Enderle, Konfessionsbildung und Ratsregiment in der katholischen Reichsstadt Überlingen, p. 195.

[84]Ibid.

Protestant Union, which was formed in 1608.[85] Both Rottweil and Überlingen were

uneasy about joining the Catholic League due to the potentially high share of the

costs for maintaining it.[86] Nevertheless, Rottweil joined it in 1613.[87]

From 1530 onwards Rottweil had been firmly entrenched in the confessionally

charged Imperial political frontlines as a champion of Catholicism and its entrance

into the Catholic League in 1613 would not have surprised politicians in the Empire.

However, it signifies the completion of Rottweil's developing confessional politic,

fully consummating the political patronage relationship, hinging on the city's

unconditional support for Catholicism, that it had forged with the House of

Habsburg. By the late sixteenth century, it would have been unthinkable to alter this

course. The House of Habsburg was the only one which could ensure a place for

Rottweil in the Empire as well as provide it with the prestige of the *Hofgericht*.

Without this patronage and the Swiss allegiances, the aggressive Protestant Duchy of

Württemberg might have made an attempt to absorb its smaller Catholic neighbor.

As it was, there were easier and less risky targets for Württemberg. The Swiss,

though, were no longer the option they had been in 1519. Confessional division

within the Swiss Confederation would have made closer ties difficult to secure after

the Reformation since the inclusion of any other state would be seen as a threat to the

uneasy confessional balance there. The decision to accept Habsburg patronage in

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[85]Thomas Brady, Jr., "Settlements: The Holy Roman Empire," in Thomas
Brady, Jr., Heiko Oberman, and James Tracy, eds., Handbook of European History,
1400-1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation, (Leiden, 1995),
Volume 2, pp. 370-371.

[86]Wilfried Enderle, Konfessionsbildung und Ratsregiment in der katholischen
Reichsstadt Überlingen, p. 200.

[87]Ibid.

1530 was a permanent and pragmatically unalterable one, and alongside the Habsburgs, there was the danger of being drawn into a number of confessionally based political conflicts as well as the possibility of war, yet, with the Habsburgs, Rottweil also had a strong ally which worked to protect the city's chosen religion. What is curiously absent from the historical record is any Imperial request for assistance during the Schmalkaldic War or the Augsburg Interim of 1548 which followed it. No significant action or change in Rottweil foreign policy is noticeable during these events or even after the 1555 Peace of Augsburg. Rottweil had a special patronage relationship which went deeper than confessional politics and was more secure because of the ability of its *Hofgericht* to dispense Imperial justice. The relationship was therefore nearly set in stone. Regardless of specific benefits, it is certain that without the House of Habsburg and Catholic aligned Imperial politics, the medium-sized Imperial City would have been forced to stand alone.

Chapter Three

The Advent of Catholic Reform, 1529-1563

Introduction

The civic élite of Rottweil took in hand, before Trent, the renovation of the city's religious life. Their intentions were clear, and they achieved it with little help from the clergy who remained, until 1559 at least, marginal figures in the reform of Catholicism. Their plan kept Rottweil firmly Catholic until a competent local Church leader arrived in 1559. The Tridentine model of reform introduced by Rome in the 1560s, which focused on the roles of the bishop and lower clergy, was not applied. The governing civic élite followed instead a pre-Reformation development in German towns; increased lay control over Church institutions.[1] After the arrival of a dedicated local Church leader in 1559, however, the clergy joined in the effort to build a strong and reformed local Church. Thus, Rottweil built up a strong lay following for a vital and reformed devotion at an early date.

Catholic reform came early to Rottweil. The Imperial City and the surrounding deanery began implementing the reforms of the type mandated by the Council of Trent as early as 1563, the same year that saw the conclusion of the

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[1] Berndt Hamm, Bürgertum und Glaube, pp. 73-76.

Council.[2] It was Rottweil's initiative that fueled reform in the city in 1563, three

years before the first order came from the bishop or Emperor to obey Trent's

decrees. Emperor Maximilian II, as the temporal sovereign of the Imperial City, did

not command implementation of the decrees of Trent until 1566.[3] The bishop of

Constance, as the spiritual sovereign for Rottweil, did not order the reforms of Trent

until 1567.[4] The Catholic reform legislation, however, provided only a guideline for

reform, and, as such, was only one piece of the puzzle. By 1563, Rottweil's Rat and

populace had chosen to support Catholicism as the official religion for some time.

What was lacking was spiritual leadership and dedication to lead reform, and this was

provided by Johannes Uhl, the man appointed city priest in 1559, who also provided

the energy required of an effective Church leader for the first time since the failed

Reformation.[5] The combination of the Rat and Uhl working within the framework of

diocesan and Tridentine reform legislation resulted in a second era of reform which

was centered on the clergy and supported by the Rat from the early 1560s onwards.

This chapter demonstrates that before the early 1560s the mixture of Church

and state initiative had failed to provide an ideal environment for a reformed Catholic

Church in Rottweil. The years 1529 to 1559 saw a hardening of the Rottweil Rat's

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[2]DAR, AI2a, Nr. 382.

[3]Hermann Tüchle, "Das Bistum Konstanz und das Konzil von Trient," in Georg Schreiber, ed., Das Weltkonzil von Trient. Sein Werden und Wirken (Freiburg i. Br., 1951), Volume 2, p. 180.

[4]*Constitutiones et decreta synodalia civitatis et diocesis Constantiensis . . . anno domini M.D.LXVIII. Statuta, edita et promulgata, praesidente Marco Sittico S.R.E. tituli S. Georgii in Velabro Presbyterio, Episcopo Constantiensis* (Dillingen, 1568).

[5]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade VI, Fasz 2, Nr. 6.

support for Catholicism in addition to much evidence of clerical ineptitude to lead

reform. Lack of an educated clerical body dedicated to reform precluded the viable

alliance between local Church and state which would later prove to be effective.

During this period, reform initiatives needed to come from the Rat because it was the

only authority dedicated to change, and the Rat directed its energies at both lay and

clerical spheres. Priests were expected to be available to administer sacraments to

the people when required, and higher standards of clerical behavior began to be

enforced. Priests who remained disobedient could be fined or imprisoned by the Rat.

There is little evidence to suggest that many clergy failed to offer the sacraments,

however, and although they were guilty of more minor offenses such as concubinage

and drunkenness, the clergy was upholding its duty to offer the means of salvation.

For their part, the laity were encouraged to engage in civic feast day celebrations

which were increasingly stressed by Rottweil's chief lay confraternity. Laypersons

were also threatened with imprisonment or banishment if the Rat discovered that they

harbored Evangelical sympathies or possessed Evangelical books. Yet, as with the

clergy, there is little evidence to show that the punishments were undertaken. This

was the first stage in Rottweil's Catholic Reformation, and the clergy had only a very

small role to play in it.

Rottweil's Rat was the chief actor in each case, arguing that the right of

patronage for benefices enabled it to discipline clergy who failed to fulfill their

duties.[6] The diocese was unable to enforce disciplinary measures and the dean, as the

bishop's local representative, also failed to take action, so in order to make

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[6]GLAK, 82a/261.

corrections, the Rat was forced to take its own measures. Even in the absence of a local Church leader in either the dean or bishop, the period 1529 to 1559 saw Rottweil gain in confidence in the belief that it could reform and protect Catholicism in the city through lay efforts. The city guarded its jurisdiction to govern the Church from a weak bishop, and believed that it could be more successful without the aid of the Church hierarchy. Only the appearance of Johannes Uhl in 1559 caused the Rat to join forces with the Church in order to enact change. It comes as no surprise that Uhl was the first clerical leader who was entrusted with reform by the Rat since he was himself a member of the civic élite and dedicated to the preservation of ecclesiastical control away from the diocese.

The activities of the laity were controlled less directly by the Rat than those of the clergy. The *Heilig Kreuz Bruderschaft*, the city's chief lay confraternity, was continually active from 1529 onwards in its attempt to increase lay participation in Catholic religious activities, especially feast day celebrations.[7] The *Bruderschaft* did not have formal ties to the Rat, but its leaders were part of the political élite, many of whom held a seat in the Rat in addition to fulfilling their duties with the confraternity.[8] The *Bruderschaft*'s activities were concomitant with the Rat's program, especially during the years 1529 to 1559 when the Rat paid especially great attention to religion in the city. Between 1529 and 1559, the Rat increased its total committment to the preservation of Catholicism as the official religion of the city. The Rat would have supported any effort to strengthen Catholicism in the city.

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[7]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade XI, Fasz 5, Nrs. 2D-H.

[8]Ludwig Ohngemach, Stadt und Spital, p. 546.

Other pieces of the puzzle, however, would first have to fall into place in order for Catholicism to be reformed in Rottweil.

<center>Rottweil's Catholic Lay Reformation, 1529-1563</center>

Religious life in Rottweil does not appear to have changed much in the period 1529 to 1559 from what had existed prior to the Reformation. The Dominican prior, Georg Neudorffer, briefly led Catholicism in Rottweil in the face of the Evangelical threat of the late 1520s, but disappeared from the records in 1530.[9] After Neudorffer's apparent death or departure, the focus of Catholicism was consonant with its pre-Reformation state. Pre-Reformation Catholicism centered on popular religious activities such as feast day celebrations and local pilgrimages. First mentioned in 1314, the confraternity of the *Heilig Kreuz Bruderschaft*, whose members consisted of the local élite and some of the wealthier artisans, was the focal point and chief organizer of religious feasts in Rottweil.[10] The management of the *Bruderschaft* fell mostly on two laymen: the *Oberpfleger*, who acted as the executive, and the *Unterpfleger*, who acted as the treasurer.[11] Both officers were usually members of the *Hofgericht* and the Rat, and often held a master's degree or doctorate in law, and had served at least one term in the financial administration of the *Hofgericht*.[12]

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[9]Winfried Hecht, Das Dominikanerkloster Rottweil, p. 190.

[10]Ludwig Ohngemach, Stadt und Spital, p. 546.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Ibid.

The records of the annual financial accounts for the *Bruderschaft* survive for the years 1529, 1541, 1543, 1547, and 1563.[13] There is a number of observations that can be made for the period between the failed Reformation and the early 1560s through an examination of the income and expenses of the *Bruderschaft*. The activities of the confraternity were highly valued by the Rat, as seen by the Rat's steady increase in the *Bruderschaft*'s endowment throughout the period, and the Rat increasingly sacrificed incomes from land rents in order to bolster the *Bruderschaft*'s potential.[14] As shown in table one below, in terms of value, that is the cash income plus the value of the grain intake, the Rat assisted in increasing the endowment value of the *Bruderschaft* by 53% between 1529 and 1543. By 1563, this income value increased a further 209%, and by a total of 372% between the years 1529 to 1563. Some of this fluctuation was affected by the price of grain, the most common form of payment. As table one shows, most of the income for the *Bruderschaft* was paid by goods in kind. Both money and grain were useful for the execution of the confraternity's mission. Money was required for costs associated with feast day celebrations as well as the *Bruderschaft*'s obligations for a priest to say Mass in the *Spital* and the *Siechenhaus*, and for its portion of the Latin Schoolmaster's salary.[15] Usually, more cash was needed for expenses than there was cash income, while at the same time more grain was paid to the *Bruderschaft*'s coffers than was needed for its

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[13]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade XI, Fasz 5, Nrs. 2D-H.

[14]This was done through a number of grants for the control of some village rents. The four villages of Deißlingen, Dauchingen, Weilersbach, and Mühlhausen were completely controlled by the *Bruderschaft* by 1509. Half the rents from the village of Kappel were added in 1566. Ludwig Ohngemach, Stadt und Spital, p. 553.

[15]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade XI, Fasz 5, Nrs. 2D-H.

own use. The solution was a sale of surplus grain for money. Grain was used for

baking bread for feast day celebrations,[16] and for donations to the poor throughout

the year.[17] The grand increase in income pointed out above was distorted because it

was subject to fluctuation in the price of grain. Furthermore, gross inflation in the

period makes it difficult to gauge the actual value of grain relative to other years.[18]

Table One: *Bruderschaft* Income and Expenses, 1529-1563					
	1529	1541	1543	1547	1563
Income in Money	377 lb Heller	425 lb Heller	415 lb Heller	512 lb Heller	1330 lb Heller
Income in Grain	622 Malter	1274 Malter	1271 Malter	1674 Malter	1710 Malter
Cash Value of Grain Income	1505 lb Heller	2612 lb Heller	2466 lb Heller	Unknown	7558 lb Heller
Grain sold for Money	24 Malter	220 Malter	100 Malter	1137 Malter	540 Malter
Money from Selling Grain	58 lb Heller	450 lb Heller	194 lb Heller	Unknown	2389 lb Heller
Grain Price (per Malter)	2.42 lb Heller	2.05 lb Heller	1.94 lb Heller	Unknown	4.42 lb Heller
Total Income in lb Heller	1882.2 lb Heller	3036.7 lb Heller	2880.7 lb Heller	Unknown	8888.2 lb Heller
Increase in Total Income from last Entry	n/a	61%	-5%	Unknown	209% (Since 1543)

*One Malter equals 160 litres; see: Ludwig Ohngemach, Stadt und Spital. p. LIX. For data: STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade XI, Fasz 5, Nrs. 2D-H.

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[16]Ibid.

[17]Ludwig Ohngemach, Stadt und Spital, p. 551.

[18]For more on the long inflation of the sixteenth century, see: David Hackett Fischer, The Great Wave: Price Revolutions and the Rhythm of History (Oxford, 1996), pp. 69-91.

The alternative method of analyzing this data is through measure for measure increase of intakes, the computation of which again provides impressive results. The grain intake is the more important figure for analyzing growth of the confraternity's endowment, since most of its income was expected to be in kind. What is more, cash intake was subject to inflation, and without exact inflation figures for Rottweil over the period, an accurate assessment of the relative value in cash intake adjustments cannot be made. The *Bruderschaft*'s grain intake rose an impressive 104% from 1529 to 1543, and a further 35% from 1543 to 1563. Regardless of inflation rates which affect the price of grain rather than the amount given, these two figures represent a dedication to the rejuvenation of the *Bruderschaft* and its activities. The confraternity was not a new foundation and, as such, these figures suggest its resurgence.

Increases from both periods is helpful in analyzing the emphasis placed on the activities of the *Bruderschaft* by its benefactors - the Rat and community of Rottweil. Within the data shown here, supplements to the confraternity's endowment occurred in two periods, and at two different rates. The first period encompasses the years immediately following the failed Reformation which saw immense growth in the *Bruderschaft*'s endowment. There was still a fear at this time of foreign influences on religion and the return of the conflicts experienced when Evangelicals lived in the city. Swelling of the *Bruderschaft*'s means from 1529 to 1543 was deliberately manufactured in order to bring about a sudden and profound impact on the religious consciousness of the Rottweil populace by giving it the examples and activities which were promoted by the confraternity, namely feast day celebrations. Financial development of the *Bruderschaft* continued rapidly from 1543 to 1563, but at a much

less frenetic pace than the years 1529 to 1543. It was, however, a period of more

gradual yet still substantial growth which signified a continued commitment to the

efforts and activities of the *Bruderschaft* in shaping Catholic consciousness through

popular religious activity.

Table Two: *Bruderschaft* Feast Day Expenses, 1529-1563					
	1529	1541	1543	1547	1563
Cash Expenses	83 lb Heller	181 lb Heller	165 lb Heller	181 lb Heller	325 lb Heller
Grain Used in Baking	270 Malter	388 Malter	326 Malter	438 Malter	406 Malter
Grain Price (per Malter)	2.42 lb Heller	2.05 lb Heller	1.94 lb Heller	Unknown	4.42 lb Heller

*One Malter equals 160 litres; see: Ludwig Ohngemach, Stadt und Spital, p. LIX. For data: STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade XI, Fasz 5, Nrs. 2D-H.

Feast day celebrations were the focal point of the *Bruderschaft* throughout

the period 1529 to 1563, much as they had been prior to the Reformation. The

importance of these activities had always been stressed, but their significance

increased dramatically between 1529 and 1563. I rely on the financial accounts of

the *Bruderschaft*, too, to illustrate this point. Expenses for feast day celebrations

incurred a significant jump between 1529 and 1541. The amount of grain used to

bake bread rose 44%, and cash expenses experienced a 118% rise. Between 1541

and 1563, the amount of grain used rose a more modest 5% while cash expenses

grew 80%. Again, one's evaluation of the cash figures requires adjustment due to

the heavy inflation rate. Not all grain used for baking was applied to feast days,

however. A conclusion can still be drawn that bread given to the poor was probably

on the decrease between 1529 and 1543. Since the price of grain, and therefore

bread, decreased steadily throughout this time period, it is unlikely that increasing

numbers of people required assistance in its purchase. It can, therefore, be deduced

that at least a majority of the increase in the amount of bread baked was used for

feast day celebrations rather than for the poor.[19] Within this assumption, the feast

day expenditure figures mirror the income growth levels for the same period. From

the failed Reformation to the early 1540s, there was an extreme rise in both income

and feast day expense, followed by a more modest, yet significant increase up to

1563. The *Bruderschaft*, acting in accordance with the Rat's wishes, directed much

of its new funds and grain towards the maintenance of Catholicism in the city by

enlarging its emphasis on participation in feast day celebrations. The fact that more

money and grain was spent on feast days does not mean the laity became more

Catholic, but such expenditure did ensure that it was more likely to behave in a

Catholic fashion. This solution was the most readily available option for the Rat and

Bruderschaft to promote Catholicism in the city. Without the leadership and spiritual

guidance of reformed clergy, however, feast day celebrations were more likely to

affect outward than inward piety among the people.[20] The development of a greater

obedience to the Catholic sacramental system remained the task for a future

generation of Church leaders. It would, however, have affected the Catholic

consciousness of the populace through constant behavioral reinforcement which, in

the end, was likely to create greater loyalty for Catholicism in Rottweil.

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[19]Analysis of the numbers of the poor which received bread from the *Spital* can not be made in the absence of data for these years. Records for the numbers of poor which received bread and wine from the *Spital* exist for four years in the sixteenth century only; 1574, 1592, 1596, and 1599. Ludwig Ohngemach, Stadt und Spital, p. 661.

[20]Unfortunately, no records survive which describe the events of the feast day celebrations.

Charity was another aspect of popular piety in pre-Reformation Rottweil. Both charity institutions of the hospital and leper house continued from their inception in the thirteenth century until the nineteenth century.[21] The leper house cared for the sick both from Rottweil and from abroad, while the hospital cared mostly for people from abroad.[22] Rottweilers were rarely resident in the hospital unless they had lost the use of their homes.[23] One common aspect of these two institutions was the requirement to attend the Mass at the chapels of each of the houses.[24] Because of its position on the main trade route between the Rhine and Danube, coupled with the traffic coming from abroad for business at the *Hofgericht*, Rottweil was a fluid society with a large influx of foreigners. Most people entering Rottweil for trade purposes or legal business at the *Hofgericht* were wealthy enough to support themselves. There were always exceptions to the rule, and the hospital and house for the sick provided for these exceptional people in addition to religious pilgrims. Needy visitors to Rottweil were met with charity in the form of food, lodging, and the spirituality of the Mass. The hospital gave food to needy foreigners, while bread for impoverished Rottweilers was administered by the Bruderschaft, which operated its own bakery in Rottweil, and used some of its grain income to bake bread to supplement those citizens that required its welfare.[25]

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[21]Ludwig Ohngemach, Stadt und Spital; and Jürgen Mehl, Aussatz in Rottweil.

[22]Jürgen Mehl, Aussatz in Rottweil, p. 144.

[23]Ludwig Ohngemach, Stadt und Spital, pp. 172-184.

[24]Ibid, pp. 240-257; and Jürgen Mehl, Aussatz in Rottweil, pp. 112-120.

[25]Ludwig Ohngemach, Stadt und Spital, p. 547.

Popular aspects of Catholicism were strengthened after 1529 because of the dedication of lay institutions such as the Rat, the *Bruderschaft*, and the charity houses. The care of souls, however, required the spiritual guidance of the clergy rather than the feasts and almsgiving administered by lay organizations. Effective leadership of the clergy and a high level of clerical involvement in daily religious life in the city and villages was essential in assuring the eventual success of the process. The Rat and *Bruderschaft* could make the people identify with Catholicism and feed their stomachs, but only an active clergy could feed their souls.

State of the Clergy, 1529-1559

It is difficult to gauge the state of the Rottweil clergy between 1529 and 1550. During this period, three priests held the post of city priest. Conrad Riser took over from the Evangelical Conrad Stücklin in 1529.[26] By 1534, he too was removed from his office because he was suspected of Evangelical sympathies.[27] Vinzens Hartweg served as city priest from 1534 to 1545,[28] but already by 1535, he was accused by another priest in Rottweil of embezzling Church funds and keeping a concubine.[29] He refuted the charges, and continued in an apparently uneventful tenure for ten years. The third, Johann Weyga, served from 1545 to 1559, when he

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[26]Heinrich Ruckgaber, Geschichte der Frei- und Reichsstadt Rottweil, Volume 2/2, p. 316.

[27]Ibid.

[28]Ibid.

[29]GLAK, 82a/260.

too was suspected of being a Protestant.[30] A letter written by Weyga to Bullinger in 1546 reveals that the former enjoyed reading some of the exegetical works of the latter and requested more of his writings to read.[31] The correspondence was apparently not discovered by the Rat since Weyga remained in office for another thirteen years after the letter. Those who had some inclination towards Protestant beliefs apparently kept it to themselves. There is little evidence of Protestant ideas surfacing among the people after the exile of Evangelicals in 1529. The Rat reacted quickly and exiled persons involved in the few instances when Evangelical ideas were detected in the early 1530s. It is possible, however, that the Rat was highly sensitive and suspicious of any activity that might be connected to Protestantism. If the Rat felt in any way threatened, it might simply remove the priest from office.

The first window on the activities of the Rottweil clergy between 1529 and 1563 is the episcopal visitation of 1550.[32] The visitation was ordered by the bishop of Constance who sent the dean of the cathedral chapter to make an inventory and assessment of the clergy within the diocese. The last visitation of the diocese had taken place in 1527, over two decades before the next visitation in 1550. In contrast to the visitations of the middle and late sixteenth century which detailed the state of all clergy and parishes, the 1527 report consisted of only a one-page letter from the dean of Rottweil which described to the bishop the extent to which the Reformation

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[30]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade VI, Fasz 2, Nr. 7.

[31]Zürich Staatarchiv, E II 355, 115. I am grateful to Rainer Henrich at the Institut für schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte, Universität Zürich for bringing this letter to my attention.

[32]GLAK, 82a/B4, fo. 105.

had spread in the deanery.[33] The only difficulty the dean had found with the state of

the Church in the deanery was that some priests which received their benefices from

Württemberg were having difficulty collecting them.[34] He also responded to the

bishop that he had found no serious faults among the clergy, suggesting that pastoral

care was being given due attention and that sacraments were being offered.[35]

In 1550, when Johann Weyga was city priest, visitors found the Church in

Rottweil to be irresponsible in the administration of sacraments such as baptism and

extreme unction, as well as being ineffectively organized.[36] Priests were wearing the

wrong vestments for the administration of sacraments, and some priests failed to

wear vestments at all when baptizing infants and wore eucharistic robes when

administering extreme unction.[37] The visitor expanded on this note by pointing out

that the sexton himself would also attend these sacraments and wear vestments as if

he were a priest, although, unlike the priests, he did manage to wear the correct

vestments.[38] The city priest, Johann Weyga, was reputedly responsible for much

misbehavior. He himself was accused of being drunk every day, wearing a sword and

inappropriate clothing for a priest, and keeping a concubine. The clergy as a whole

were found negligent in their knowledge of the synodal statutes and were having

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[33]GLAK, 82a/320.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Ibid.

[36]GLAK, 82a/B4, fo. 105.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Ibid.

difficulties in managing and collecting their benefices.[39] As mentioned above, Weyga was known to have harbored Evangelical sympathies and had requested literature from Bullinger in 1546. The behavior of Weyga and that of other priests in these matters suggests that they may have possessed sympathetic views towards Evangelicalism and its position on clerical dress and marriage. There exists, unfortunately, insufficient evidence to test this theory. The visitor from Constance set aside four items for improvement: first, that the priests sort out their benefices; second, that concubinage ought to be eliminated; third, that drunkenness among priests both during and after church services be eradicated; and fourth, that priests wear proper clothing.[40] These were minor offenses, however, and the clergy in the deanery of Rottweil were lauded for their responsibility towards providing the laity with the sacraments, the vehicles of salvation.[41] The visitor noted that in no other place had he found fewer complaints or defects than he had found in Rottweil.[42]

As noted above, Weyga remained in office until 1559, when he was replaced for suspicions of Protestantism. Whether Weyga had adopted Protestant ideas or not, the fact that the Rat wanted to remove him from office for unpriestly behavior of any kind suggests that the abuses noted in 1550 were probably not greatly improved by 1559. As late as 1550, and probably still by 1559, the clergy were not helping to create a reformed Catholic society in Rottweil. The Rat and the lay religious organizations were operating effectively in their roles, perhaps taking more control

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[39]Ibid.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Ibid.

becasue they were wary of the clergy which may have harbored Evangelical sympathies. Regardless of potentially heterodox views among the clergy, and although guilty of minor offenses, priests met pre-reform expectations of pastoral care and provided the laity with the sacraments. Catholicism ought to be seen as healthy in the first half of the sixteenth century in Rottweil. Catholicism was not reformed, however, and what was lacking was a clerical leader who could lead the reform of the priesthood.

Johannes Uhl and the Advent of Church Reform, 1559-1563

Prior to 1559, there had been a suggestion of heterodox views among the clergy, which makes it remarkable that Catholic reform came early to Rottweil. Johannes Uhl was appointed city priest in 1559, and brought with him a different view of Catholicism than his predecessors who may have harbored Evangelical sympathies. Uhl was very different from them because he was committed to reformed Catholicism. The first signs of reform in Rottweil appeared in 1563 with the reordering of the Latin School according to the model of Zurich.[43] The Council of Trent itself only reached its conclusion in the same year, announcing its decree ordering the creation of seminaries and religious educational institutions.[44] The council's decrees on education were not ordered for use in the Empire until 1566,

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[43]Johannes Greiner, Geschichte der Schule in Rottweil am Neckar (Stuttgart, 1915), pp. 22-24.

[44]J. Waterworth, trans., The Canons and Decrees of the Œcumenical Council of Trent (London, 1848), p. 187.

three years after the Rottweil school reform.[45] Rottweil also began the practice of
recording baptisms and marriages in parish registers by 1564.[46] The introduction to
the first baptismal register in 1564 clearly stated that the reason for its creation was
the corresponding decree from the Council of Trent, so Rottweil was ahead of its
time in implementing these reforms in the Tridentine of Trent.[47] Rottweil was not
only ahead of its peers within the diocese on reform matters, but it was also ahead of
the diocese.

But any connection made between reform beginning in 1563 and the
proceedings of the Council of Trent is tenuous at best. The first diocesan attempt at
reform after Trent was at the diocesan synod of Constance in 1567, with the synodal
statutes being published in the same year.[48] The Council of Trent itself only
concluded in 1563. Reform in Rottweil began in 1563 and was well on its way
before the diocesan synod of 1567. What the city lacked before 1559 was a local
Church leader who, with the blessings of the Rat, would reorganize and revitalize the
Rottweil Church.

The bishop of Constance was the direct supervisor of the dean of Rottweil.
The diocese of Constance, however, provided little direction for the deanery during
the sixteenth century. Bishops had begun a tradition of reform with a number of

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[45]Hermann Tüchle, "Das Bistum Konstanz und das Konzil von Trient," p.
180.

[46]DAR, Pfarreiarchiv Heilig Kreuz Rottweil, Band 1.

[47]Ibid.

[48]*Constitutiones et decreta synodalia civitatis et diocesis Constantiensis . . .*

synods throughout the fifteenth century.[49] The impact of their efforts was lessened because they lacked the necessary control to enforce the synods' decrees. Constance was a geographically large diocese which made central control from the episcopal city difficult. The situation required delegation of disciplinary powers in order to make it effective. The synods of the fifteenth century designated rural deans as the bishop's local representatives for control.[50] Rural deans assumed more power throughout the century. Benefitting from keeping the records of their own local church and their ability to pronounce disciplinary sentences for both clergy and laity, they effectively gained control over all religious life in their respective deaneries.[51]

These were the conditions under which bishop Mark Sittich (1561-1589) called the synod of 1567 in order to bring the decrees of Trent to the diocese. A nephew of Pope Pius IV and cousin to Archbishop Carlo Borromeo of Milan, Sittich was under strong pressure from these relations to hold the synod.[52] Sittich, however, proved no more effective than his predecessors at implementing reforms and, frustrated by his lack of control over the diocese and preferring the favors of the papal court, he left for Rome in 1569. He never returned, and the diocese was left

[49]Konstantin Maier, "Die Konstanzer Diözesansynoden in Mittelalter und Neuzeit," Rottenburger Jahrbuch für Kirchengeschichte 5 (1986), pp. 53-70.

[50]Joseph Ahlhaus, Die Landdekanate des Bistums Konstanz im Mittelalter, Ein Beitrag zur mittelalterlichen Kirchenrechts- und Kulturgeschichte, Kirchenrechtliche Abteilung 109/110 (Stuttgart, 1929), pp. 128-129.

[51]Ibid, pp. 151-152.

[52]Rudolf Reinhardt, Die Beziehung von Hochstift und Diözese Konstanz zu Habsburg-Österreich in der Neuzeit, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Reichskirche in der Neuzeit 2 (Wiesbaden, 1966), pp. 29-31.

without a resident bishop until his resignation in 1589.[53] From Rome, he ordered

visitations from 1581 to 1583, but they were neither performed by diocesan officials

nor was there a diocesan reaction to disciplinary problems described in the reports.[54]

Control of the Church remained firmly in the hands of local deans during his tenure.

By 1559, the Rottweil Church had discovered its reforming leader in

Johannes Uhl, who became the head of the Rottweil Church and priest of its *Heilig*

Kreuz church in that year.[55] He held that position for the remarkably long tenure of

47 years until his death in 1606.[56] Uhl's role in reforming the Church is important for

a number of reasons. He understood the situation in Rottweil well before he took

office at *Heilig Kreuz*, for he had previously held two benefices under the control of

the Rat and within the deanery of Rottweil. He was, moreover, conditioned by his

family background and university education for a life of service, having been born in

Rottweil and into a leading patriciate family in Rottweil which was accustomed to

important administrative positions. His grandfather and father had both held the

office of *Fiskal*, or attorney general, for the *Hofgericht*.[57] With the office of *Fiskal*

came the invitation to join the civic élite of Rottweil and to socialize with them in the

Herrenstube.[58] The Uhl family's acceptance into the local patriciate was fully

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[53]Konstantin Maier, "Die Konstanzer Diözesansynoden in Mittelalter und Neuzeit," p. 67.

[54]GLAK, 61/7321; EBAF, HA61.

[55]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade VI, Fasz 2, Nr. 6.

[56]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1599-1608, p. 515.

[57]Georg Grube, Die Verfassung des Rottweiler Hofgerichts, p. 233.

[58]Ruth Elben, Das Patriziat der Reichsstadt Rottweil, pp. 54-55.

confirmed when Nikolaus Uhl, Johannes Uhl's grandfather, was appointed *Unter-Stuben-Herr* in 1505, the second highest social office of the civic élite.[59] Like his

father before him, Uhl went to the University of Freiburg to study law in 1542.[60]

After his studies, he took a secretarial position at the *Hofgericht*, a common pursuit

for a young man of his background. Employment at the court also provided him with

ties to the circles of power in city government, since most administrators for the

court also held positions on the city council.[61]

By 1553, Uhl decided on a career change and joined the priesthood, a

vocation which was increasing in popularity among élites of the later sixteenth

century.[62] He took his first known benefice in 1553 as parish priest in Mühlhausen, a

village near Villingen but under Rottweil's control.[63] He remained there until 1556,

when a benefice became vacant for an assistant priest at the *Heilig Kreuz Kirche*, the

main church in the city of Rottweil.[64] During 1556, he also spent time in Freiburg,

where he continued his education at the university, this time studying theology.[65]

Returning to Rottweil proved extremely useful for him, as his years as an assistant

priest gave him valuable insight into the power structures and inner workings of the

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[59]Ibid, pp. 62, 205.

[60]Hermann Mayer, ed., Die Matrikel der Universität Freiburg I. Br. von 1460-1656 (Freiburg, 1907), pp. 152, 330.

[61]Jörg Leist, Reichsstadt Rottweil, pp. 194-200.

[62]R. Po-Chia Hsia, The World of Catholic Renewal, pp. 119-120.

[63]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade XI, Fasz 8, Nr. 4.

[64]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade X, Fasz 5, Nr. 2.

[65]Hermann Mayer, ed., Die Matrikel der Universität Freiburg, p. 417.

local Church which he soon led.

Johannes Uhl was appointed city priest of Rottweil in 1559.[66] His new employer, the Rat, charged him with the duties of reading, preaching, and administering the sacraments to the residents of the city. Other responsibilities included management of the city's churches and their priests.[67] Uhl's character was agreeable to Church leadership, and he quickly proved his energy and passion to direct a reform of the Rottweil Church. By at least 1574, other priests in the deanery noticed Uhl's zeal for his duties and elected him dean of Rottweil.[68] This office enabled his greatest contribution to the Church, giving him control over the activities of all priests and parishes in the deanery until his death in 1606. Reform and discipline of clergy and parish worship practices were all undertaken in Uhl's deanery. He expected the priests under him to perform their duties as diligently as he did.

His background also meant that he was more likely to be trusted with power by the Rat. As a native son, and a member of an élite family, Uhl became a Church leader with whom the Rat could deal, entrusting him with the power to reform religion. Uhl was a remarkably dedicated and energetic reformer, but in fairness to his predecessors, it should be noted that none of them since the Reformation seem to have possessed these intangible qualities. They may also have held Evangelical

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[66]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade VI, Fasz 2, Nr. 6.

[67]Ibid.

[68]He is first listed as dean in the baptismal register for Rottweil in 1574. DAR, Pfarreiarchiv Hl. Kreuz, Bd. 1. The deanery of Rottweil established in 1441 the dean's election by a vote of all priests in the deanery for a life term. See: K.J. Glatz, "Beitrage zur Geschichte des Landkapitels zu Rottweil a.N.," Freiburger Diözesanarchiv 12 (1878), pp. 1-38.

sympathies, which caused them to view reform differently than Uhl who was dedicated to the Catholic Church. For these reasons, perhaps they were unable to begin the types of Church reform which were open to Uhl.

Uhl was not a leader who was content to sit back and supervise from a distance. Active management of the Church's daily affairs was another of his important duties. He took an active role in bringing order to the clergy, not just in Rottweil but also in the villages of the deanery where he served as dean from at least 1574 until his death in 1606. Through his active use of visitations, he engaged the parishes and priests in the deanery. In his management of the clergy, he also extended the duties of the city priest in Rottweil to include the supervision of clerical education of priests, adding this function while reforming the Latin School in 1563.[69] Prior to the school reforms of 1563, the supervision of the Latin School was left entirely up to lay persons, namely members of the Rat and masters of guilds. Uhl was also a prolific preacher in Heilig Kreuz and made visits to other parishes in the deanery in order to preach.[70] He thus provided a presence for Rottweil within the diocese and played a visible role in the diocesan synod of 1567.[71] Rottweil was visited during the visitation of the diocese of Constance by the dean of the cathedral chapter in 1574.[72] In his reports, the visitor remarked that Johannes Uhl was for Rottweil *homo omnia exemptione maiore* - clearly the man in charge who

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[69]Johannes Greiner, Geschichte der Schule in Rottweil am Neckar, pp. 22-24.

[70]As witnessed by the large collection of sermon notes he left behind. PBHKR, XXI 135-136; Johannes Uhl's Sermon Notes, 1567-1603.

[71]*Constitutiones et decreta synodalia civitatis et diocesis Constantiensis . . .*, fo. 287r.

[72]GLAK, 61/7321, fos. 45r-49v.

energetically embraced and even expanded his duties.[73]

Uhl supervised a number of reforms during his tenure in Rottweil. These reforms helped to transform the Rottweil Church into a more vibrant and dedicated institution by the end of Uhl's time at the helm. These developments are examined in detail in the next chapter, and included the reform of the Latin School into an institution for educating clergy, an increased effectiveness in the management of Church finances, regulation of clerical behavior, and standardization and enforcement of clerical duties towards the parishes. All these reforms had as their end goal the creation of a loyal, devout, and strongly conscious Catholic society.

Reforming the Latin School heralded the advent of Catholic reform in the Rottweil Church. It came at the early date of 1563, but its early implementation of Tridentine ideas is not its most remarkable aspect. Rather, it was the great initiative taken and the resolve to see it through. The story of school reform is paradigmatic of Catholic reform in Rottweil. The Rat had long been ready to support or enforce Catholicism in its territory, and whereas the Rat could not provide effective spiritual guidance itself, it could give the money to provide education for priests who would care for the souls of its subjects.

The Council of Trent decreed that schools be set up in every diocese to train priests.[74] The diocese of Constance, however, was unable to erect its own seminary. Money and support from the Imperial Abbeys were the main problems, issues that are

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[73]Ibid, fo. 45r.

[74]J. Waterworth, trans., Canons and Decrees, p. 187.

discussed in detail in the next chapter.[75] The Rottweil school reform of 1563 arrived earlier than either the Tridentine mandates in the Empire (1566) or the diocesan synod in Constance (1567).[76] Rottweil not only helped to fill a void within the deanery, which was left by diocesan inactivity, but took steps to implement Tridentine-style school reforms very early and without outside help.

Uhl and the Rat initiated this early school reform for two main reasons. First, Rottweil saw itself as a religious leader for the region. The reformed school ordinance of 1563 specifically said that the school was intended to educate priests and the youth, from Rottweil and from the adjoining regions.[77] The Rat and Uhl believed that if neighboring Catholic areas became stronger in their faith as a result of improved religious education, they would also be better Catholic neighbors and create a buffer between them and outlying Protestant areas. Secondly, Uhl and the Rat sought to ameliorate their own clergy in the pursuit of providing better priests to lead the reform of the entire community. In addition, Uhl could more closely supervise the education of priests under his jurisdiction when they were educated in Rottweil. The reform of the Latin School in 1563 also gave him the opportunity to supervise personally the career of his future priests from education to vocation.

The reform of the Rottweil Latin School in 1563 was an effective instrument for implementing further reforms. The success of the reform of priestly education was not an immediate solution, but it nevertheless provided a framework on which to

[75]Hermann Baier, "Zur Konstanzer Diözesansynode von 1567," Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins 24 (1909), p. 567.

[76]Hermann Tüchle, "Das Bistum Konstanz und das Konzil von Trient," p. 180.

[77]DAR, AI2a, Nr. 382, fo. 1v.

build other reforms. The reform of the Latin School thus had long lasting effects for the Church in Rottweil. The effect of the reform of clerical education was to provide Rottweil with an educated and energetic clergy that was eager to bring other aspects of reformed Catholicism to the parishes. As seen from the events prior to 1559, the Rat could not achieve this alone.

The final pieces of the puzzle were the Rat's licence to reform, the energetic personality of Johannes Uhl, and the community's dedication to Catholicism that fueled reform in Rottweil for many years to come. The process of implementing reform was not straightforward. A sturdy framework was required, upon which other reforms could be based. The foundation for reform decreed by Trent and adopted in Rottweil was clerical education. Through education of clergy, other reforms could be brought to the people in the parishes through their ministry. The full effects of these reforms were not felt until the end of the sixteenth century in Rottweil, but the early start on the activation of reform ideas meant an earlier realization of the benefits. As a consequence, Catholicism in Rottweil began to profit from an educated and disciplined clergy at the end of the sixteenth century when most of its counterparts were still struggling to reform their clergy.

Chapter Four

Structural Reform of the Church, 1559-1618

Introduction

When Johannes Uhl assumed the post of city priest for Rottweil in 1559, he brought an energetic leadership and zeal for reform unknown in Rottweil. In the time leading up to Uhl's appointment, the Rottweil Rat had continuously supported Catholicism in the city at every opportunity, and from 1529, it helped preserve Catholicism through its lawmaking and its support for lay religious activities. Between 1529 and 1559, however, the clergy, although the primary defenders of Catholic culture, had no part in the reform discussions. Moreover, as was pointed out in the previous chapter, the impetus for reform from within the Church did not come from the bishops of Constance from 1532 to 1589. During these years, any movement towards Church reform in Rottweil had to be via a local initiative.

Johannes Uhl was prepared to lead the reform movement of the Rottweil Church. He possessed the direction and motivation to become the leader the Rottweiler Church needed, and he used his energy to take advantage of the Rat's favorable disposition towards Catholicism and began the reform of the Rottweil Church. He carried with him the added benefit of his civic élite background, which made greater the likelihood that his goals for reform of the Rottweil Church would be compatible with the aims of the Rat. The Rat embodied the spirit of the community

and was wary of giving up control of any portion of the city's life to an outsider, including the bishop of Constance, but Uhl proved throughout his tenure that he too was in favor of local control of religion. He took charge of the local Church and guarded its control against the diocese, since he firmly believed that he could provide greater leadership for reform. He had served as a parish priest in the Rottweil villages of Mühlhausen and Deißlingen (1553-1556) and as a priest in the city's Heilig Kreuz church (1556-1559) before his appointment as city priest of Rottweil in 1559.[1] These previous positions helped make Uhl keenly aware of the state of the Rottweil Church and the conditions under which it operated before becoming its chief administrator. It enabled him to select the most appropriate hierarchy for reform. He carefully selected certain reforms for implementation rather than all those mandated by the Council of Trent or by the 1567 Synod of Constance, but his main goal was not the implementation of the will of Rome or Constance, but the creation of a stronger Catholic Church in Rottweil. Uhl was the catalyst for Catholic reform in Rottweil. Although there is no evidence to suggest that the other clergy were opposed to reform, they did not promote it. Traditional Catholicism flourished in Rottweil up to 1559, and the Rat may not have felt there was a need for reform. It was Uhl who convinced the Rat to support his efforts so that reform could strengthen the Rottweil Church and lead to a more Catholic society.

First of all, Uhl chose to reform the structure of the Church in similar fashion

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[1]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade XI, Fasz 8, Nr. 4; Lade X, Fasz 5, Nr.2; Lade VI, Fasz 2, Nr. 6.

both to the Council of Trent and to the most recent diocesan statutes of 1497.[2]

Throughout his long tenure as city priest (1559-1606) and dean of Rottweil (1574-1606), he was well-informed about the state of all parishes through his active use of visitations.[3] Once the structure and capabilities of the Church had been improved, the Rottweil clergy would be ready to concentrate on its main duty, the pastoral care of souls, and thus a further step could be taken towards the completion of Uhl's goal for reforming Catholic worship and practice in the city and surrounding territory.

Uhl implemented structural reforms of the Rottweil Church sequentially, which allowed the reforms to build on the success of previous ones. The first of these stages was the reform of clerical education and the Latin School in 1563. This Humanist-orientated educational institution provided instruction for priests of a quality and quantity previously unknown in Rottweil. The dividends of the school were quickly realized through the production of greater numbers of well-educated, native priests to fill the parishes. The next step was a movement towards improved management of parish benefices and finances. Increased proficiency with incomes meant the provision of more money for Church institutions such as the school. It also ensured that Rottweil benefices were more wealthy, which, in turn, made Rottweil's parishes more attractive to the emerging group of reform-minded local clergy from the Latin School. This clerical body was then capable of leading Rottweil society towards a heightened consciousness as a reformed Catholic state,

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[2]*Expliciunt Constitutiones synodales ecclesie Constantiensis* (Augsburg, 1510).

[3]Jakob Khuon was elected to replaced the deceased Uhl in October 1606. STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1599-1608, pp. 528, 530.

and the reforms begun in the 1560s precipitated the reformed Catholicism of the later

sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in Rottweil. The tenure of Uhl in Rottweil

is remarkable not only because he exploited the Rat's willingness to support reform,

but also because he set so much into motion, and had the time and energy to see it

through.

Visitations

One of the most helpful tools available to Catholic reformers was the

visitation. The Council of Trent decreed that visitations of every benefice should be

conducted at least bi-annually by bishops in their dioceses.[4] This legislation was also

echoed by the diocesan synods of Constance in the fifteenth century, and the statutes

of the diocesan synod of Constance in 1567.[5] Although bi-annual visitation was the

target, financial and logistical restraints often restricted the frequency of visitations.

The Council of Trent decreed that the object of visitations:

> "shall be to lead to sound and orthodox doctrine, by banishing
> heresies; to maintain good morals, and to correct such as are evil; to
> animate the people, by exhortations and admonitions, to religion,
> peacefulness, and innocence; and to establish such other things as to
> the prudence of the visitors shall seem for the profit of the faithful,
> according as time, place and opportunity shall allow."[6]

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[4]J. Waterworth, trans., Canons and Decrees, p. 208.

[5]Konstantin Maier, "Die Konstanzer Diözesansynoden im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit." See also: *Constitutiones et decreta synodalia civitatis et diocesis Constantiensis . . . anno domini M.D.LXVII. statuta, edita et promulgata, praesidente Marco Sittico S.R.E. tituli S. Georgii in Velabro Presbytero, Episcopo Constantiensis*, Titulus XIX.

[6]J. Waterworth, trans., Canons and Decrees, p.209.

Visitations were designed to act as an opportunity for the visiting authority both to gauge the situation in his jurisdiction and to correct those priests or laypersons who were found to be in abuse. Visitors could check parish financial account books and the necessary possessions required to run a parish, in order to ensure their propriety. Laypersons could be questioned about the behavior of the priest and the execution of his duties. Priests were questioned about the behavior of their parishioners. Priests were also often questioned about the sacraments, checking their knowledge of the proper administration.[7]

Uhl diligently used visitations as a personal administrative tool. Although the intention of Trent was for visitations to be instruments of the bishop, it was acceptable for deans to perform visitations in dioceses where they had traditionally conducted visitations.[8] The synodal statutes of Constance in 1567 provided for the continuation of the traditional practice of deans conducting visitations in the diocese.[9] The five surviving visitation records performed during Uhl's tenure were spaced an average of five years apart, which allows for a representative spread of information during his tenure.[10] Uhl usually conducted visitations of the deanery of Rottweil himself. Of the five visitations during Uhl's time, only the 1574 visitation was

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[7]Marc Forster, The Counter-Reformation in the Villages, pp. 77-83.

[8]J. Waterworth, trans., Canons and Decrees, p.209.

[9]Constitutiones et decreta synodalia civitatis et diocesis Constantiensis . . . , Titulus XIX.

[10]Rottweil was visited in 1574, 1581, 1583, 1590, and 1597 during Uhl's tenure of 1559-1606. GLAK 61/7321 fos. 45r-49v, 151r-153r; EBAF, HA61 fos.40r, 97r-98r, 610r-613r, 454r-458v respectively.

conducted by a visitor from Constance.[11] In 1574, Uhl was not yet dean of

Rottweil.[12] The next visitation occurred in 1581, by which time Uhl had assumed this

position.[13] Uhl carried out all other visitations in the deanery after his promotion to

dean until his death.[14]

Uhl was also wary of outsiders conducting visitations of Rottweil. It is

possible that he enjoyed and protected the power he held as dean. A more likely

scenario, considering the lack of reform-minded ideas coming from Constance, was

that he felt that his management of reform of the Rottweil Church was better than the

advice which would come from Constance. The community of Rottweil and its Rat

were also more likely to support initiatives from within the local Church rather than

those coming from a distant outsider. Instead, the Vicar of Constance set vague

guidelines for the dean to perform his own visitations. Instructions from Constance

for the visitation of 1581 were to examine priests *in administrierung der haufigen*

sacramenten und predigung dass wortes Gottes, nach form und Regul des Römishen

Catechism sie sich verhalten, auch ain uss sonst bei der hausshaltung und

ordenlichen beruof.[15] By performing his own visitations under these general

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[11]The visitation of 1574 was conducted by Johann Bäyer, who was a vicar at the cathedral in Constance. GLAK 61/7321 fos.45r-49v.

[12]Johannes Pfeiffer, priest in Deißlingen was Dean in 1574. See: GLAK, 61/7321, fo. 45r. Uhl had been promoted to Dean by 1576, however, as seen in the dedication to the baptismal register of 1576. See: DAR, Pf.A. Heilig Kreuz Rottweil, Bd. 3, p. 1.

[13]GLAK, 61/7321, fos. 151r-153r.

[14]The visitations of 1583, 1590, and 1597. EBAF, HA61, fos. 97r-98r, 610r-613r, 454r-458v respectively.

[15]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1580-1582, p. 132.

constraints, the dean could practically choose his own program for the visitation. A visitation performed locally was more sympathetic to a separate local reform agenda if there was one, and also likely to be more realistic about the level of success it could achieve.

Uhl demonstrated his resolve to control the Rottweil Church firmly from within and to keep outside interference at bay, such as the announced visitations from Constance in 1586 and 1597. In 1586, the Rat received notification of an impending visitation from Constance. Uhl responded, with the Rat's blessing, that Rottweil was being visited regularly from within, and that a further visitation was unnecessary since the people's confession and communion was being monitored.[16] Subsequently, no record of a visitation from Constance appears for this time. In 1597, the Rat received another notice from Constance of an impending visitation, which it received with a pledge to promote the visitation and support the visitor from Constance.[17] Uhl conducted the visitation himself, which was described in the summary as being a report by the dean for the diocese.[18] The vicar of Constance appears to have accepted Uhl's protective efforts without a struggle, and in this way, Uhl was able to continue his personal supervision of the Rottweil Church.

Uhl used visitations as a means to check up on his priests. Reform of the clergy was his first priority, and this is reflected in his visitations when he directed all

[16]*die Jungste versheiden Jars angefragte gaistliche Inquisition des Beichtens und Communicierens seindt ander in eingestellt verbliben.* STAR, Missivbuch der kaiserlichen Reichsstadt Rottweil von 1585-1607, fos. 50r-50v.

[17]STAR, Ratsprotokolle. Book 1593-1598, p. 293.

[18]EBAF, HA61, fos. 454r and 458v.

of his inquiries towards the behavior of the clergy rather than the laity.[19] In a region as large as that controlled by Rottweil in the sixteenth century, the head of the Church would not have had frequent opportunities to discuss matters with his individual priests. Even less frequent were occasions to discuss the behavior of priests with the laity in their parishes. The visitation was a deliberate attempt by Uhl to discover what his priests were doing, how the laity perceived the priests' behavior, and to teach the priests any changes made in religious practice and policy since the last opportunity to meet with them. If necessary, priests were given time to change their behavior before they were disciplined. In the case of the deanery of Rottweil, most disciplinary measures were also enforced by the dean.[20] The reports are extremely useful documents for the historian, and chapters five and six will examine in detail the agenda for Uhl's inspections, in particular his findings for the state of the clergy, and the nature of his efforts to reform what he had brought to light.

Visitations in Rottweil were made as effective as possible by Uhl's supervision. Any information obtained was available for use by the Rottweil dean in the first instance. By eliminating the number of authorities involved, decisions could be undertaken more swiftly, and furthermore, these decisions were made by an authority familiar with local conditions. Seemingly accepted by Constance, visitations in Rottweil thus stood a better chance of being effective than if they had been completely controlled by the bishop or cathedral chapter.

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[19]GLAK 61/7321 fos. 151r-153r; EBAF, HA61 fos.40r, 97r-98r, 610r-613r, 454r-458v.

[20]The Bishop of Constance, Bishop Burkhard von Randegg (1462-1466), gave the deans the right to discipline clergy at the synod of 1463. Konstantin Maier, "Die Konstanzer Diözesansynoden im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit," p. 59.

Reforming the Latin School

In 1560, the diocese of Constance elected a new bishop, Mark Sittich von Hohenems.[21] During his early years in office, Sittich concerned himself largely with consolidating and expanding both his benefice and power base within the diocese, thereby neglecting issues concerning reform.[22] Nevertheless, Sittich convened one of the first diocesan synods in Germany in 1567.[23] It has been intimated, however, that it represents only the illusion of reform.[24] An attempt to form a cathedral seminary was made at the synod of 1567, and benefices were created for a theologian, a scholastic, and a confessor.[25] However, the bishop and the imperial abbeys were already making payments to the Emperor for the seminary at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau and were not interested in increasing their educational expenses.[26] The resulting cathedral seminary in Constance was therefore

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[21]Rudolf Reinhardt, Die Beziehung von Hochstift und Diözese Konstanz zu Habsburg-Österreich, pp. 29-31.

[22]Ibid, p. 31.

[23]Hermann Tüchle, "Das Bistum Konstanz und das Konzil von Trient," p. 180.

[24]Rudolf Reinhardt, Die Beziehung von Hochstift und Diözese Konstanz zu Habsburg-Österreich, p. 31. The statutes of the 1567 synod were limited to the profession of faith, the purity of teachings and the sacraments, clerical discipline, and the diocesan tax. These were all statutes that had been published by the synods of the fifteenth century. Konstantin Maier, "Die Konstanzer Diözesansynoden im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit," p. 65.

[25]Hermann Baier, "Zur Konstanzer Diözesansynode von 1567," p. 554.

[26]Ibid, p. 567.

underfunded and understaffed. Most students for the priesthood were still expected

to go to the University of Freiburg, or to study under the Jesuits at Dillingen or

Molsheim, or to one of the Imperial Abbeys, many of which were engaged in training

clergy.[27] As a result of the costs and the distances from many locations, much of the

diocese was unable to send priests to these universities for training, which left whole

regions short of competent clergy.

Reforming the Latin School was Johannes Uhl's first major reform

undertaking in Rottweil. Coming in 1563, the Rottweil school reform predated both

the promulgation of the Tridentine decrees for school reform in the Empire (1566)

and the discussions at the diocesan synod in Constance in 1567.[28] In 1563, or 1567

for that matter, neither the bishop nor the Imperial Abbeys were poised to take action

on school reform. Rottweil, led by Uhl, initiated this early school reform for two

main reasons. First, Rottweil was continuing its support of Habsburg religious

policies by attempting to become a leader for Catholicism in the region. As

mentioned in previous chapters, Rottweil had begun a tendency to support

Catholicism publicly for the Habsburgs, after the failed Reformation in 1529.[29] In

1563, the diocese of Constance was not quick to promote the decrees of Trent, but

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[27]Johannes Greiner, <u>Geschichte der Schule in Rottweil am Neckar</u> p. 29.

[28]Hermann Tüchle, "Das Bistum Konstanz und das Konzil von Trient," p. 180.

[29]Volker Press and Martin Brecht have also identified Rottweil as an unquestioning supporter of Habsburg religious policies after 1529. Volker Press, "Die Reichsstadt in der altständischen Gesellschaft," p. 21, and Martin Brecht, "Die gescheiterte Reformation in Rottweil," p. 7.

the Habsburgs were.[30] The Council of Trent decreed that schools should be set up in

every episcopal city to train priests and to educate youth "unto piety and religion,

before habits of vice have taken possession of the whole man."[31] Trent also

mandated that geographically large dioceses such as Constance should create more

than one of these institutions, with the first being erected in the episcopal city,[32] and

Rottweil tried to help meet these requirements by reforming its school, while citing

Trent as the impetus.[33]

Secondly, Rottweil wished to shore up Catholicism in its own territory as well

as in neighboring regions by educating competent priests to fill benefices. The school

ordinance of 1563 specifically outlined that the school was intended to educate not

just priests for Rottweil, but also youth from the region.[34] Acting as a regional

religious authority was also well-suited to the policies of Johannes Uhl as both city

priest for Rottweil and dean of Rottweil, since Uhl could more closely supervise the

education of priests when they were educated in Rottweil. The reform of the Latin

School in 1563 shows that Uhl was concerned with personal supervision of priests.[35]

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[30]These differences between the bishop and the Habsburgs resulted in serious conflict by the 1590s. Rudolf Reinhardt, Die Beziehung von Hochstift und Diözese Konstanz zu Habsburg-Österreich, p. 58.

[31]J. Waterworth, trans., Canons and Decrees, p.187.

[32]Ibid, p. 192.

[33]A later copy of the school ordinance from 1576 specifically mentions Trent as the motivation for the reform of the Latin School. DAR, AI2a, Nr. 382. The Schulexpedition from Rottweil in 1567 also mentions Trent as the motivating force for school reform. STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade XLIX, Fasz 3, Nr. 2.

[34]DAR, AI2a, Nr. 382, fo. 1v.

[35]This is an idea that may draw its influence from Johann Sturm in Straßburg. Sturm reformed the Straßburg Latin School, which would later turn into a

Prior to reform, the supervision of the school was administered by three members of

the Rat,[36] but after 1563, school supervision fell to a different trio, consisting of a

guild master, a member of the *Hofgericht* administration, and the city priest.[37] At this

time, Johannes Uhl was the city priest. With the reordering of the supervision of the

school, he was able to assume immediate control of the education of priests and lay

persons in Rottweil. He cemented his control further, on installing Dr. Hans Renner,

his brother-in-law, as schoolmaster in 1569.[38] Nepotism is traditionally seen as

having weakened reform efforts, but this instance would have had a strengthening

effect.

The curriculum and examination process in the reordered Latin School has

encouraged comparisons with Johann Sturm's school in Straßburg, and with the

Latin School in Zurich.[39] The influence of both these cities should not be

underestimated since Rottweil maintained close ties with both of them.[40] Motivation

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Gymnasium, in 1538. Sturm believed that he could control the success of the
evangelical faith in Straßburg through careful supervision of the lecturers. Thomas
Brady, Jr., Protestant Politics, pp. 121-125.

[36]Johannes Greiner, Geschichte der Schule in Rottweil am Neckar, p. 22.

[37]Ibid, p. 23.

[38]Uhl took an even firmer grip on the supervision of the Latin School in 1569,
when he installed Dr. Hans Renner as schoolmaster. Renner was Johannes Uhl's
brother-in-law. Ibid, p. 16.

[39]Ibid, p. 41.

[40]Straßburg and Rottweil exchanged a large amount of correspondence
throughout the sixteenth century as is evident in the Ratsprotokolle and the
Missivenbuch. STAR, Ratsprotokolle beginning in 1580, and "Missivbuch der
kaiserlichen Reichsstadt Rottweil von 1585-1607." The connection with Zürich was
maintained by Rottweil's inclusion in the Swiss Confederation as an affiliated state.
See: Winfried Hecht, "Eine Freundschaft durch die Jahrhunderte." Rottweil also
used the court in Zürich as a mediator between the city and the school as early as

for Rottweil's reform of the Latin School is probably due more to the examples of success in Straßburg and Zurich than to mandates from the Council of Trent. Rottweilers were in constant contact with these cities, and would have been keenly aware of the success of their Latin Schools in training ministers. What is more, the dates for the reform of the Latin Schools in Zurich and Straßburg were 1532 and 1538 respectively, so these examples would have been familiar to Rottweilers for 31 years by 1563.[41] At the same time, however, the decrees of the Council of Trent were only just being published, and it was not until 1566 that the initiatives for school reform were published in the Empire.[42] Although they were not the only possibilities, it seems that the most likely influences for school reform in Rottweil were the examples of nearby Zurich and Straßburg.

The two authors of the reformed Latin School charter of 1563 were Johannes Uhl and Adam Esser. Uhl had been city priest for four years by that time, and Esser had served as rector of the Latin School since 1554.[43] The new curriculum consisted of the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium*, namely grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, astronomy, geometry and music.[44] In the Humanist tradition, Classical authors were used to instruct students in grammar and rhetoric; Cicero for grammar and Quintilian

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1567. Johannes Greiner, Geschichte der Schule in Rottweil am Neckar, p. 41.

[41]Bruce Gordon, Clerical Discipline and the Rural Reformation: The Synod in Zürich, 1532-1580 (Bern, 1992), p. 179; Lewis W. Spitz and Barbara Sher Tinsley, Johann Sturm on Education: The Reformation and Humanist Learning (St. Louis, 1995), p. 14.

[42]Hermann Tüchle, "Das Bistum Konstanz und das Konzil von Trient," p. 180.

[43]Johannes Greiner, Geschichte der Schule in Rottweil am Neckar, p. 16.

[44]Ibid, pp. 33-34.

for rhetoric.[45] Classical Latin was stressed and after 1563 no diplomas were given

unless the student possessed the ability to speak Latin (without using German

explanations) and write well-structured Latin letters and essays.[46]

Religious education was provided alongside Humanist pursuits. Students

were encouraged, though not expected, to apply for the priesthood on reception of

their diploma.[47] Theology was taught to all students intending to seek the

priesthood, and already by 1564, scholarships were being created to send theology

students to the University of Freiburg in order to bring freshly trained theologians to

the school and to the deanery of Rottweil.[48] Johannes Uhl also successfully sought a

foundation from Pope Gregory XIII in 1585 for two Rottweil students to study in

Dillingen under the Jesuits.[49] Although essential for future priests, religious

education was not the sole preserve of those intending to enter the priesthood. Peter

Canisius' catechism of 1554 was used on a daily basis to instruct all students in the

Catholic religion.[50] Theological instruction was directed only at those students

seeking the priesthood, but religious education was a subject for all students with the

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[45]Ibid, pp. 33-34.

[46]Ibid, p. 38.

[47]DAR, AI2a, Nr. 382.

[48]Johannes Greiner, Geschichte der Schule in Rottweil am Neckar, p. 26. The largest of these foundations came from Johannes Uhl himself, who endowed 2280 fl. in 1600 for theology students in Freiburg, which was where he had also studied theology. STAR, Akten XXIV, Lade I, Fasz I, Nr. 3.

[49]Winfried Hecht, "Zur Bildungsgeschichte des Rottweiler Klerus gegen 1600," Rottweiler Heimatblätter 52/3 (1991), n.p. There is also a letter from the Rottweiler Rat in 1591 giving thanks for the foundation. STAR, "Missivbuch der kaiserlichen Reichsstadt Rottweil von 1585-1607," fo. 293.

[50]Johannes Greiner, Geschichte der Schule in Rottweil am Neckar, p. 39.

intention that they would promote and maintain loyalty to and consciousness of Catholicism amongst their neighbors in Rottweil.

Music was also stressed in the Latin School and was required of all students seeking a Church office.[51] Organ and choir music played a large role in Rottweil Catholicism, and, after 1563, the choir from the Latin School became the choir which sang at services in the *Heilig Kreuz Kirche*.[52] Organ music was also highly prized, and the organist could be one of the highest paid civic employees in Rottweil.[53] The choir was used not only for religious services in the *Heilig Kreuz Kirche*, but also for religious processions.[54] Students at the Latin School were also responsible for presenting plays in the city during periods of religious celebration, such as Holy Week.[55]

One of the greatest accomplishments of the reform of the Latin School was the *Schulexpedition* of 1567.[56] The *Expedition* was an ordinance backed by the Rat that outlined the monetary provisions for the school. It was designed to make large

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[51]Ibid, p. 34.

[52]Winfried Hecht, Musik in der Reichsstadt Rottweil, Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs Rottweil 9 (Rottweil, 1984) p. 28.

[53]Ibid, pp. 11-26. For example, Johann Krafft was given a salary of 25 fl. and 4 malter grain upon his installment as organist in Heilig Kreuz on 31 January 1583. STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1583-1586, p. 6. This amount was about the average received by a priest in Heilig Kreuz. On 28 October 1585, Krafft was given a remarkable 400% salary increase to 100 fl., which made him very well paid. STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1583-1586, p. 233.

[54]Winfried Hecht, Musik in der Reichsstadt Rottweil, pp. 27-40.

[55]Wolfgang Vater, "Karwoche und Ostern im reichsstädtischen Rottweil," Rottweiler Heimatblätter 54/2 (1993), n.p.

[56]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade XLIX, Fasz 3, Nr. 2.

financial sacrifices in the early years of the school, for the sake of getting it started.

Achievement lay in its ability to draw large financial support both from the city of

Rottweil and the priests and religious houses in the city's territory. In 1567, the city

of Rottweil gave one fifth of its total receipts from its villages to the Latin School.[57]

Those who attended the school but did not enter the priesthood were required to pay

fifteen pounds heller, or eleven gulden upon their departure.[58] Priests were also

required to give up a portion of their benefice to support the school. In rural

parishes, priests were required to give between one and three gulden of their benefice

to the school, as well as divide the tithe receipts so that one half went to the school,

and the other half towards the upkeep of the parish.[59]

One example of a priest in the Heilig Kreuz Kirche's contribution from 1569

gives an idea of how considerable the burden was on priests.[60] Jacob Renner held the

benefice of the altar to St. Sigismund in the *Heilig Kreuz Kirche*. The total brought

in by Renner for the year 1569 was 28 gulden, 16 batzen, and 10 heller.[61] Renner

gave out 6 gulden, 7 batzen, and 11 heller to the school, 5 gulden for the Turkish

Tax, and 3 gulden to the diocese in Constance.[62] Forty eight percent of Renner's

benefice was taken away by these contributions in 1569. Twenty two percent of his

obligations belonged solely to the Latin School in Rottweil. Renner's percentage

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[57]Ibid, fo. 2r.

[58]GLAK, 61/7321, fo. 45r.

[59]Johannes Greiner, Geschichte der Schule in Rottweil am Neckar, p. 25.

[60]DAR, Pf.A. Hl. Kreuz Rottweil, Akten 12.

[61]Ibid.

[62]Ibid.

contribution was nearly equal to the twenty percent of total village receipts paid by

the city of Rottweil. From this example, one can see that not only was the city of

Rottweil heavily taxed in order to provide for the school, but so were the priests, and

it shows the strong resolve Uhl and Rottweil had for implementing educational

reform.

Not all the Rottweil clergy, however, were content to pay their ordered sums.

Initially, the priests had lobbied for a one year plan of heavily financing the school

instead of the four year plan that was actually instituted.[63] Heavy financing for the

school continued even after the first four year plan ended, however. In 1601, the city

of Rottweil was still contributing a large amount of its income to the Latin School.

In that year, Rottweil gave it fourteen days worth of the receipts from the city

gates.[64] In 1587 and 1588, the Rat had to force the priests in Dietingen, Altstadt,

Balgheim, and Mühlhausen to pay the school contribution.[65] In 1595 and 1598, the

Rottweiler Rat felt compelled to reiterate the requirements for priests to pay a

contribution to the Latin School. In March 1595, the Rat officially pointed out that

priests must pay a contribution to both the Latin School and the Turkish Tax or the

Rat would impose sanctions.[66] By 1598, it was again clear that the priests in the

deanery no longer felt they were obligated to pay the contribution for the Latin

School or *seminarium* (as it had come to be called). And therefore, on 10 February,

the Rat reiterated its decision that the priests were obligated to pay the school

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[63] Johannes Greiner, Geschichte der Schule in Rottweil am Neckar, p. 25.

[64] STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1599-1608, p. 139.

[65] STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1587-1592, p. 110.

[66] STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1593-1598, p. 190.

contribution, and those refusing to pay would be punished, normally with fines but incarceration was also a possibility for the most disobedient.[67]

As shown above in the case of Jacob Renner, priests were expected to pay a large contribution to the school. In 1608, the vicar of the cathedral in Constance recognized the school contribution as a potentially destructive burden for priests in the deanery of Rottweil. Hence, after the visitation of 1608, the vicar mandated a one year reprieve from the school contribution for all priests in the deanery.[68] This reprieve, however, appears to have had only a limited and short-lived impact, and by 1627, the priests in the deanery of Rottweil were again complaining about the school contribution.[69]

Despite the complaints of the priests and the financial strains placed on both them and the city, the reform of the Latin School served as an instrument for placing educated local clergy into the parishes. The visitation of the deanery in 1608 shows that all benefices were filled without the use of pluralism, that seventy-nine percent of benefices were filled by priests from Rottweil, and that at least a further fourteen percent of the benefices were filled by priests from other towns or villages within the deanery.[70] Although a comparison of these statistics between 1563 and 1608 cannot be made in the absence of data prior to 1574, one can reasonably assume that the reform of the Latin School served to improve the number of local clergy. That the

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[67]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1593-1598, p. 442.

[68]EBAF, HA62, fo. 244v.

[69]DAR, AI2a, Bü 3, Nr. 106.

[70]Of the 29 priests, 23 were from Rottweil, and 4 were from other towns or villages within the Deanery. One priest came from outside the Deanery, and another from an unknown origin. EBAF, HA62, fos. 232r-257r.

majority of the clergy was both locally educated and serving in local parishes meant

that many of them were also supervised throughout their education and clerical

tenures by the same authority. The city priest in Rottweil supervised their religious

education in the Latin School and the dean of Rottweil later supervised their duties as

priests. Between 1563 and 1606, these two supervisory roles fell on the same man,

Johannes Uhl, and this continuity of supervision made it easier to implement chosen

reforms in the deanery. Once reforms were mandated, they were taught in the school

to future priests, and their compliance was enforced by the dean once the new priests

entered their benefices.

The achievements of the Latin School reform of 1563 continued into the

seventeenth century. In 1630, the Latin School was transformed into a Gymnasium

with the help and supervision of the Rottweil Dominican house.[71] In 1652, the

control of the Gymnasium switched to the newly established order of Rottweil

Jesuits, when there were already forty students studying at the Gymnasium.[72] After

the elevation to Gymnasium, the Rottweil school was given the right to teach

theology to future priests for all dioceses.[73] The accomplishments of the school

represented the success of the first phase of Catholic reform in Rottweil, as the

school played a large part in teaching reforms to new priests. Once the priests were

educated in the ways of reformed Catholicism, they were ready to lead the next phase

of reform and bring the message to their parishes. Even though it was financially

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[71]Eugen Mack, Geschichte des Gymnasiums Rottweil (Rottweil, 1934) p. 7.

[72]Dankwart Schmid, ed., Die Hauschronik der Jesuiten von Rottweil 1652-1773, Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs Rottweil 12 (Rottweil, 1989) p. 29; Johannes Greiner, Geschichte der Schule in Rottweil am Neckar, p. 29.

[73]Ibid, p. 19.

demanding, the sacrifice made for the school paid dividends in the implementation of reformed Catholic ideas in Rottweil and beyond.

Reforming the Financial Administration of the Parishes

Reforming the Latin School was crucial to bringing reforms to Catholic Rottweil, but, as shown above, it was also expensive. The school contribution was only one of many financial burdens placed on priests and their parishes in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Parish priests were also required to pay sums for the Turkish Tax and to the diocese in Constance. Normative costs for parish maintenance also needed consideration. A parish benefice provided the funds for the maintenance of the church building, clerical vestments, church ornaments, books for the instruction of both priests and the laity, and the daily sustenance of the parish priest. Normative costs were often difficult enough to meet, and the number of expenses to a parish benefice in the deanery of Rottweil grew in the sixteenth century due to additions such as the school contribution and the Turkish Tax.

Benefices were rarely paid by a single source, but were most often made up of numerous small contributions. These came from the tithe, pious bequests, and from authorities with the right of patronage for the benefice. Sometimes, the patronage authority would set aside specific revenues, such as the tribute from various farms, to meet their donation to the benefice. In these cases, the parish priest was often also expected to monitor and collect the tribute directly, instead of receiving it from the patronage authority. Record keeping was usually poor, and many priests had difficulty administering and collecting their dues, especially if their

benefices came piecemeal from a number of sources. Some income could unknowingly remain uncollected due to these circumstances.

The Church as a whole had a vested interest in maximizing income. Reforming the Church was expensive, and more income meant more funding for educational institutions, churches, and larger benefices that would attract more qualified clergy. The Council of Trent had also recognized this to be a problem, and decreed that all administrators of any ecclesiastical institution should give an annual account of their administration to their ordinary.[74] In Rottweil's case, it was required that the dean receive an annual account of the administration of parish benefices from the parish priests. From 1574, visitations also served to provide the dean with information about benefices, including total sums and the main contributors.[75] It was anticipated that priests would become more organized in the collection and spending of their benefices. This was necessitated by the requirement of keeping an account for audit by the dean who, in turn, could use the accounts to monitor the fiscal responsibility of priests, in the hope of avoiding fraud and malpractice. The fear relating to fraud and abuse by contributors to a benefice or by priests had also been conveyed at Trent, and the Council required stiff penalties for improper behavior.[76]

Another reason for supervising troublesome parish finances was given by the Rat in 1599.[77] The management of the benefices in Balgheim, Spaichingen, and

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[74]J. Waterworth, trans., Canons and Decrees, pp. 167-168.

[75]GLAK, 61/7321, fos. 45r-49v, 151r-153r; EBAF, HA61, fos. 40r, 97r-98r, 182v-183r, 359v-360v, 454r-458v, 610r-613r; EBAF, HA62, fos. 232r-257r.

[76]J. Waterworth, trans., Canons and Decrees, pp. 168-169.

[77]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1599-1608, pp. 2-3.

Aixheim had been experiencing difficulties, and the Rat stepped in to supervise them. The reasons for the Rat's actions were clearly stated; it wanted to remove any financial problems so that the priests could return to their principal duty, the care of souls.[78] Church finance was fundamental to the administration of reform in Rottweil, and tight control of income and detailed accounts would ensure maximum funds for use in the reformed church.

The setting of precedent was an additional benefit from keeping detailed accounts. It was difficult to prove that a sum was due without any record of past payments, or documents outlining required payments to a benefice. Future payments could be secured with just one receipt. Payment could easily be enforced in the absence of conflicting evidence if a previous payment was proven. One litigation from 1552 provides a striking example of the dangers of bad record keeping.[79] The Dominican convent in Rottweil pursued Michael Pfeffer for not paying the tithe on a piece of land he had owned for fifteen years. Pfeffer's reason for not paying was that he believed the tithe remained with him as the landlord. When asked to produce a document of sale detailing the particulars of tithe payment, Pfeffer said he could not since he had not received one at the time of purchase.[80] The previous owner was still living, and was called in to testify to the practice during his ownership. He replied that he had annually given three schillings, one sixth malter oats, and one malter rye to the convent. Pfeffer was told to pay the same amount in the future and a legal

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[78]Ibid.

[79]HSTAS, B203, Ur. 541.

[80]Ibid.

precedent was set for the tribute.[81] Although the convent had lost payment for fifteen years, future payments were secure. The convent was fortunate in this case that the previous owner was still alive and available to testify to its claims. Keeping annual records of payments, however, could have avoided this proceeding.

Unpaid or abused benefices were another problem which received attention in Rottweil. The Rat used its power and influence to intervene and take control of situations involving abuses with benefices. This intervention could be as simple as ordering an unpaid portion of a benefice to be paid. Johann Herderer asked the Rat for help of this kind in February 1587.[82] He had experienced difficulty collecting some of his benefice. The Rat simply ordered the unpaid portion of the benefice to be paid and no further mention of it was necessary.[83] Herderer was a competent administrator of his benefice and was aware of what he was due, so the Rat simply needed to enforce the benefice arrangement.

Some other priests were not as capable or trustworthy of managing their own benefices. In instances such as these, the Rat could order supervision of the management of these benefices. Methods at the Rat's disposal included reviewing the accounts or even usurping control of financial management for delegation to a more responsible and capable overseer. The Rat was willing to become involved in supervision by at least 1580.[84] Once the Rat began this practice, intervention in problem cases quickly progressed from a simple review of practice in 1580 to

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[81]Ibid.

[82]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1587-1592, pp. 10-11.

[83]Ibid.

[84]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1580-1582, p. 13.

complete administration by 1599.[85] In the visitation report of 1608, the Vicar of

Constance noted the irregularity of the Rat's practice in addition to the strong degree

to which it had taken control of Church finances.[86] He was surprised to find that the

land rents were collected by the city of Rottweil and was quick to note that this was

contrary to the synodal statutes.[87] The vicar's surprise in 1608 was an indication of

how comfortable the Rat had become in directly managing parish finances, in order to

ensure proper collection of benefices in the interest of maintaining a strong Catholic

Church.

In 1580, the Rat began to monitor troubled benefices personally by ordering

the receipts of Horgen and Altstadt to be submitted for audit.[88] In 1587, the Rat

further supervised parish finances by ordering the audit of two more benefices.[89] In

another case from November 1588, the level of supervision of poorly managed

benefices was increased so that a governing authority was created.[90] It had been

brought to the attention of the Rat that the priest in Dietingen had been administering

his benefice poorly and the Rat decreed that the benefice should be monitored

continually by the priestly community.[91] The community of priests was appointed as

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[85]Ibid; STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1599-1608, pp. 2-3, 59.

[86]EBAF, HA62, fo. 242r.

[87]*Novalia percipit Magistratus Rottwillanus, non Parochus contra Statuta Synodalia,* Ibid. The synodal statutes he referred to were the statutes of 1567.

[88]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1580-1582, p. 13.

[89]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1587-1592, pp. 10-11, 68.

[90]Ibid, p. 116.

[91]Ibid.

the first continual governing body for monitoring benefice collection.

In July 1593, the benefice of Dietingen again caused concern because of its mismanagement.[92] Apparently the community of priests was not performing competent supervision. Control of the collection and distribution of the benefice of Dietingen was then handed over to the *Heilig Kreuz Bruderschaft*.[93] The *Bruderschaft*'s leadership possessed expertise in legal and financial administration, and it was these skills which needed to be applied to the parish benefice in Dietingen.[94] In 1599, the Rat continued the practice of calling on skilled laymen to settle disputes.[95] Magister Wilhelm Armbruster and a guildmaster were appointed to manage the benefice for Johann Kraft, a priest and the organist for the *Heilig Kreuz Kirche*.[96] Armbruster had previously served as an assessor and a procurator for the *Hofgericht*,[97] as well as an administrator for the *Heilig Geist Spital* in Rottweil.[98] He was especially qualified to translate the skills which he had acquired by managing the *Spital* to dealing with the benefice of Kraft. As seen above, Rottweil was not only paying close attention to the administration of benefices, but also, by the 1590s, soliciting the services of the most qualified people available to assist when needed.

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[92]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1593-1598, pp. 60-61.

[93]Ibid.

[94]See Chapter three, pages 77-82, for the structure and mission of the *Bruderschaft*.

[95]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1599-1608, p. 59.

[96]Ibid.

[97]Ludwig Ohngemach, Stadt und Spital, p.595; Georg Grube, Die Verfassung des Rottweiler Hofgerichts, pp. 235, 238.

[98]Ludwig Ohngemach, Stadt und Spital, p. 20.

The effects of the Rat's attentions are clear: with skilled and trained administrators, the Church's finances were effectively managed. The Church was receiving the contributions it was due, and could enforce payment by citing precedent if necessary. The resulting concerns of the laity are seen in new pious bequests which were carefully drawn up to protect the exact wishes of the donors. One example was the bequest of Hans Brün from 1603.[99] Brün, a cartwright and citizen of Rottweil, wished to contribute to the foundation of the Cistercian convent at Rottenmünster to the south of Rottweil. Although interested in making a pious contribution, Brün was careful not to disadvantage his heirs in the contract. The contract specifically noted that his heirs would not be required to pay the annual sum during times of war, theft, plunder, or acts of nature.[100] The convent, for its part, was just as careful in negotiating the gift. Rottenmünster was due to receive two pounds money and three heller grain annually at *Martini*.[101] Both convent and pious benefactor had learned the lessons of benefice disputes of the past half century. Recognizing that the Rottweil Church was now more effective in its collection practices, contributors exercised more caution in drawing up agreements. The Church was also more careful in its negotiations in an effort to maintain effective financial management.

Collection was not the only concern for the efficient management of Church finances. The introduction in the sixteenth century of the Turkish Tax and the school contribution created extra burdens on benefices. Another target of financial reform was the elimination of unnecessary drains on Church funds. The most common

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[99]HSTAS, B203, Ur. 564.

[100]Ibid.

[101]Ibid.

objective for possible waste reduction was the burden of priests who were supporting family members or even concubines and children from their benefices. Indeed, every visitation of Rottweil from 1550 to 1608 was concerned with this matter.[102] As was observed above, visitations served to keep the dean informed of the behavior of his priests and the state of his parishes. If the dean was made aware of problems with concubines, they could be addressed accordingly.

Beginning at least by 1574, the Rottweil Church sought to control the problem of concubinage and its drain on parish resources. The visitation of 1574 notes which priests had concubines and if action had been taken against their behavior.[103] Ten out of thirteen priests visited kept concubines, and most priests with concubines were noted in the records only for their impropriety. Paul Kercker, however, a 30 year old priest in the village parish of Dietingen, received different treatment.[104] Unlike the other priests visited, most of whom also had concubines, Kercker was required to stop providing for his concubine and to cease relations with her. Each of the other priests that were found to have concubines were also noted as having children, while Kercker was not.[105] He was also younger than his colleagues, who were aged between 35 and 45.[106] Older priests were probably allowed to continue for the sake of the families they had accumulated. Perhaps the greatest

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[102]GLAK, 82a/B4, fo. 105; GLAK, 61/7321, fos. 45r-49v, 151r-153r; EBAF, HA61, fos. 40r, 97r-98r, 182v-183r, 359v-360v, 454r-458v, 610r-613r; EBAF, HA62, fos. 232r-257r.

[103]GLAK, 61/7321, fos. 45r-49v.

[104]Ibid, fo. 46r.

[105]Ibid, fos. 45r-49v.

[106]Ibid.

error made by Kercker in the eyes of the Church was that he had taken on a second

benefice in Neckarburg, albeit a parish which no longer had a church or parishioners,

in order to help pay for his concubine.[107] This is most evident in the sequence in

which the dean ordered his discipline. Kercker was forced to give up his second

benefice immediately in April 1574. He was to stop providing for his concubine by

February 1575 and to break off his relationship with her by May 1575.[108] This case

outlines the priorities in the deanery of Rottweil in 1574: first, to eliminate

unnecessary drains on Church and parish finances, and, secondly, to discipline priests

for improper behavior. The widespread efforts against inappropriate clerical behavior

would begin after a better trained and disciplined clergy was in place. In 1574,

emphasis was first placed on providing better benefices which would attract the

reform-minded and educated clergy being trained in the Latin School.

By the 1590s, concubinage was mostly under control in Rottweil and its

territory, but priests supporting blood relations were still a problem. Investigations

first hoped to discover priests who provided for relatives that were also capable of

supporting themselves.[109] In March 1599, for example, the Rat discovered that the

priest in Balgheim, Marx Wurern, was providing food and shelter for his sister and

brother-in-law.[110] The Rat saw this as an unnecessary and inappropriate use of

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[107]The patron of the parish of Neckarburg was the family Spreter, so the Rat would not have necessarily known that Kercker was holding two benefices when it gave him Dietingen. Ibid, fo. 46r.

[108]Ibid.

[109]It is impossible to know how many priests were providing for family since it only appears in isolated case documents rather than in a survey of the clergy such as a visitation.

[110]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1599-1608, p. 12.

benefice income and decided to terminate this abuse. The Rat was not without compassion, however, and Wurern was given six months to dismiss his sister and brother-in-law from his household.[111]

The Rat was practical and sometimes sympathetic when dealing with priests living with relations. In August 1595, Johann Christian Rennold, the priest in Dietingen, requested a raise in his benefice so that he could support his mother.[112] The Rat, as collator, granted him a raise of 4 malter grain annually as long as his mother was alive.[113] Rennold was educated to the degree of Magister,[114] and was a good enough priest for the Rat to desire to keep him in Dietingen, so a small increase in his income was seen as worthwhile. If he became unhappy with the situation, Rennold could resign from Dietingen and seek a parish elsewhere. The question of priests supporting family members, however, was not a clear-cut issue for the Rat. Allowing priests to support relations who were capable of running their own household was not a prudent use of funds. In any case, the situation would always be carefully assessed, and priests who assisted their relatives might even receive an increase in their benefice to accommodate them, especially if they were respected clergy or, as in the case of Rennold, they did so openly and asked for the privilege.

Churches in many areas of Catholic Germany were less fortunate than Rottweil and were without the assistance of a local secular authority in enforcing benefice collection. One such example is the Diocese of Speyer. Speyer also

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[111]Ibid.

[112]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1593-1598, p. 229.

[113]Ibid.

[114]Ibid, and EBAF, HA61, fo. 457r.

experienced a severe fragmentation of benefices which resulted in low parish incomes with which it was difficult to attract good priests.[115] The diocese responded with attempts to discover lost or neglected portions of benefices. Efforts were partially successful, and, by the 1620s, dividends within the clergy were evident;[116] priests in the Diocese of Speyer were better educated, better disciplined, and were more likely to remain in their benefices rather than search for a more lucrative placement.[117] Rottweil was able to achieve similar success with clerical discipline and education by the 1590s.

One difference between Rottweil and Speyer was that Speyer lacked the participation of a supportive Catholic secular authority. The Diocese of Speyer was confessionally fragmented, and the largest secular authority, the Rhine Palatinate, was Protestant and unwilling to support the Catholic cause. In 1572, Speyer had also wanted to erect a training facility for priests that centered on humanist education.[118] But it was unable to fulfill its program for school reform due to lack of funding.[119] In the case of Rottweil, the funding was available because of the intense efforts of the Rat, coupled with the initiatives of the local Church led by Johannes Uhl. Reform of Church finances was an important step in the movement towards transmission of reformed worship practices to the parishes. Financial reforms provided for the costs of the Latin School which, in turn, provided an educated local clergy. Increasing the

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[115]Marc Forster, The Counter-Reformation in the Villages, p. 88.

[116]Ibid, p. 89.

[117]Ibid, pp. 89-92.

[118]Ibid, p. 65.

[119]Ibid.

collated amounts of benefices ensured that priests educated in the Latin School would be attracted to Rottweiler benefices. Once active and educated priests were in place, they could be molded and disciplined into an effective body to lead the reform of Rottweil Catholicism and shape the community of Rottweil into an ordered, loyal, and consciously Catholic society.

Chapter Five

Reforming the Clergy and the Policing of Catholicism, 1559-1618

Introduction

Once the structure of the Rottweil Church was better prepared to support the work of clergy in the parishes, the next priority of reform for Johannes Uhl's clergy was clerical behavior. He began to monitor the progress of the clergy in adopting reforms and behavioral modifications which made them better role models for the laity to follow. Poor clerical behavior was one of the causes for many of the Protestant Reformations across Germany.[1] Uhl wished to eliminate the possibility of an anti-clerical backlash in Rottweil's future. The eventual goal of Uhl's overall program was to reform lay practice of the Catholic faith in Rottweil. Only after such an achievement could he be assured that the Rottweil flock would remain loyal to the faith. This goal was unobtainable without first providing good example from the spiritual leadership; the clergy in the deanery of Rottweil.

Firstly, this chapter will review the institutional reform of clerical behavior. Once

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[1]Heinrich Schmidt, Reichsstädte, Reich und Reformation: Korporativen Religionspolitik, 1521-1529/30, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz 122 (Stuttgart, 1986), pp. 119-121; Robert Scribner, "Anticlericalism and the Reformation in Germany;" idem, "Pastoral Care and the Reformation in Germany."

educated and reform-minded priests were in the parishes, they could be counted on to be more responsive to changes in their expected behavior as role models for the laity. Reforms were monitored by the instrument of the visitation. The visitation served as the vehicle with which the Church leader could monitor the progress of reform in the parishes, as well as affording an opportunity to teach new practices. Secondly, this chapter will investigate the role the Rottweil Rat assumed in supporting the Church's enforcement of Catholic belief and practice within its own territory. The influence of Protestant ideas was carefully monitored, as well as the interaction of Rottweil citizens and villagers with neighboring Protestant regions. The Rat engaged in a program of discipline to augment the decisions of the dean of Rottweil. It could utilize its powers to fine and imprison, providing the dean with punishments that the diocese was not yet prepared to offer. The Rat could also exercise its rights as collator and patron for parishes in its territory to dismiss priests from office if they proved resistant to reform efforts. This was not a reign of terror, however, and such punishments were rarely invoked. Uhl's expectations for reform were realistic, based on his knowledge of local conditions and sentiment. He was aware of what the people would endure as well as what the Rat would support. Uhl was above all a pastor for his people, and resistance to reform was usually first met with compassion and reason, while harsh punishments were reserved only as a last resort.

Reforming the Clergy

Johannes Uhl was eager for both clergy and civic magistracy alike to provide

good examples for the rest of the population in Rottweil. For Uhl, being an exemplar

meant leading a pious and righteous life, as well as strictly fulfilling the duties of one's

office. He believed the model of the community's leaders and clergy would precipitate

similar behavior among the populace. From the pulpit, Uhl admonished the civil

magistracy to lead by example.[2] The Rat was pinpointed by Uhl as being the preserver

of God's order, entrusted by Him to secure His law in Rottweil by promoting unity and

the common good, while forbidding sins and other scandals through the law.[3] The

people, for their part, were expected to meet the demands for obedience.[4] This principle

was not unlike that found in many Protestant areas of Germany.

Disciplining the laity was the Rat's duty; Uhl and the Rottweil Church could only

advise the secular magistrates about their actions. The agenda for clerical discipline,

however, had fallen under the direct jurisdiction of the Church after Uhl's arrival. Priests

were disciplined by the Rottweil Church for improper behavior so that they would serve

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[2]In 1589, Uhl urged both the civic magistracy and other elites to lead exemplary lives. Uhl preached a series of sermons in the *Heilig Kreuz Kirche* which singled out merchants, lawyers, procurators, magistrates, and politicians. Uhl's sermon notes are in the Pfarreiarchiv Heilig Kreuz in Rottweil. See: 1589, Book I.1.

[3]Wolfgang Zimmermann, "Kirche, Obrigkeit und Bevölkerung in der frühen Neuzeit," in Pfarrei Heilig Kreuz Rottweil: Aspekte und Stationen ihrer Geschichte (Rottenburg am Neckar, 1991), pp. 18-19.

[4]Ibid.

as an example for the laity to follow. Priests resisting conformity were referred to the Rat, which buttressed the decisions of the Church with its enforcement of the communal will. Discipline was a large part of reform in the second half of the sixteenth century. The reforms changed expectations of clerical behavior. During this time of change in the Church, punishment for impropriety was rarely invoked. Reform was gradual and priests were given time to adjust to the changes. Penalties were usually levied only if priests were habitually resistant to alterations of practice.

The personal behavior of a priest was not only important as an example of a pious life for the laity to emulate, but also as a measure of the priest's credibility. A priest who was unable to lead a pious life himself was less likely to be respected by his parishioners as a competent spiritual guide.[5] Matters such as drunkenness, wearing improper clothing, extremes of age, and concubinage might lessen the standing of a priest in the parish as an agent of God, and undermine his position in the community. These were serious problems, and both the Rottweil Church and the Council of Trent had recognized the need to reform clerical lifestyles, and thus the person of the priest, before clergy could move on to reforming the laity.[6] Late medieval reform legislation in

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[5]Carlo Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan from 1560-1584 and a noted Catholic reformer, believed that there was a direct correlation between the moral life of priests and the lay reception of their message. Adriano Prosperi, "Clerics and Laymen in the Work of Carlo Borromeo," in John Headley and John Tamaro, eds., San Carlo Borromeo: Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century (London, 1988), pp. 123-130.

[6]Trent stated that "There is nothing that continually instructs others unto piety, and the service of God more than the life and example of those who have dedicated themselves to the divine ministry. For as they are seen to be raised to a higher position, above the things of this world, others fix their eyes upon them as upon a mirror, and

the diocese of Constance also recognized the importance of exemplary priestly behavior.[7]

The first targets for such reform were drunkenness and the wearing of improper

clothing. The regulation of this type of behavior was meant to serve both as an example

for the laity to follow, and to establish the priest as a worthy and respectable leader of

worship in his parish. In 1550, visitors from Constance noted about the deanery of

Rottweil that *der groß mangel ist In disem capittel trunck und uberrmas frequentieren.*[8]

The visitor also noted drunkenness as one of the urgent needs for reform in the deanery,

but until 1559 Rottweil lacked a leader for reform of its Church.[9] Up to 1559, the

control of clerical drunkenness would have to be initiated by the Rat, because it does not

appear to have been an issue for the people. In the diocese of Speyer, it has been found

that the laity was not concerned with priests who drank; rather they enjoyed priests that

would have a drink as if they were one of the people.[10] A similar situation existed in the

city of Constance up to the 1570s, where priests often met laypersons in the city's

taverns for a drink.[11] It has also been noted that, according to the visitation of Münster

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derive from them what they are to imitate." J. Waterworth, trans., <u>Canons and Decrees</u>, p. 162.

[7]Konstantin Maier, "Die Konstanzer Diözesansynoden im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit," pp. 58-60.

[8]GLAK, 82a/B4, fo. 105.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Marc Forster, <u>The Counter-Reformation in the Villages</u>, p. 242.

[11]Wolfgang Zimmermann, <u>Rekatholisierung, Konfessionalisierung und Ratsregiment</u>, p. 114.

in 1571, a large section of the clergy there "drank to excess."[12] In the Lutheran state of

Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach, ministers were not often targeted solely for excessive

drinking, but were charged with the offense only in addition to greater complaints in

order to make a stronger case against an undisciplined minister.[13] The Rottweil Rat may

have also felt the same way about drinking. The members of the Rat had created a

Herrentrinkstube in 1442.[14] This was an exclusive gentleman's club where the élite of

Rottweil would meet and discuss business over drinks.[15] Because the Rat endorsed

public drinking for itself, it did not necessarily follow that it was also acceptable in the

eyes of the Rat for priests to drink. However, the unresponsiveness of the Rat towards

clerical drunkenness suggests that it was not at the top of their agenda.

This is further illustrated by the case of Werner Weyga. When visitors came

from Constance in 1550, they recognized Weyga, the city priest for Rottweil, as the

greatest offender amongst a group of drunken clerics.[16] Weyga was reported as being

taglich voltrunck.[17] The Rat held the full rights of patronage with the city priest and

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[12]R. Po-chia Hsia, Society and Religion in Münster, pp. 42-43.

[13]Scott Dixon, The Reformation and Rural Society, pp. 78-82. In many of these cases, drinking was a cause for the other more serious infractions. This is also supported by research on Lutheran Württemberg: Bruce Tolley, Pastors and Parishioners in Württemberg During the Late Reformation, 1581-1621 (Stanford, 1995), pp. 102-106.

[14]Ruth Elben, Das Patriziat der Reichsstadt Rottweil: von den Anfängen bis zum Jahre 1550, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, Reihe B, 30 (Stuttgart, 1964), p. 51.

[15]Ibid, pp. 51-54.

[16]GLAK, 82a/B4, fo. 105.

[17]Ibid.

could have dismissed Weyga from office had they wished. Weyga, however, had been in office since 1545,[18] and remained in office until 1559.[19] One can not rule out the possibility that the Rat may have quietly urged Weyga to change his ways, but no records survive for disciplinary action against him. The lack of a stiff response would suggest that neither the Rat nor the people of Rottweil felt that the level of clerical drinking required modification.

The Church would have to initiate discipline against clergy that were excessively drunk or wearing inappropriate clothing. The Council of Trent also promoted the control of drunkenness and other vices. The decrees stated the reasons for regulating the problem of immoral priests:

> "for if they (the laity) suffer them (the priests) to be of evil and corrupt conversation, how shall they reprove the laity for their vices, when they themselves can be by one word silenced by them, for that they suffer clerics to be worse than they?"[20]

Drunkenness among priests was usually considered a minor offense and the Church's penalties for this infraction tended to be light.[21] The only times it was mentioned during the sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries was when the vicar of Constance performed visitations of Rottweil in 1550 and 1608.[22] It is unlikely that excessive

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[18]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade VI, Fasz 2, Nr. 5.

[19]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade VI, Fasz 2, Nr. 7.

[20]J. Waterworth, trans., Canons and Decrees, pp. 111-112.

[21]For the example of Speyer between 1560 and 1583: Marc Forster, The Counter-Reformation in the Villages, p. 46.

[22]GLAK, 82a/B4, fo. 105, EBAF, HA62, fos. 232r-257r.

drinking among priests vanished between these years; the most logical explanation is that discipline was imposed quietly or that priests were increasingly convinced to drink in moderation.[23]

It is difficult to ascertain what happened to Werner Weyga after his reprieve for drunkenness in 1550, due to the absence of further records. The visitation report from 1608, however, shows that two priests were reprimanded for drunkenness.[24] Admonishment appears to have been the only punishment they received, and one of them, Magister Joannes Schmid from *Heilig Kreuz*, corrected his behavior as a result of his warning.[25] Presumably, warnings were also the preferred punishment for clerical drunkenness between 1550 and 1608. If this is the case, it would appear to have been an effective method for controlling this type of misbehavior. The vicar of Constance noted in his visitation report of 1550 that most of the priests in the rural district of Rottweil were drunk, and frequently drunk in church.[26] By 1608, the number of clergy considered to drink in excess was only two of the twenty seven visited.[27]

Age of priests was also a concern, both young and old. Young priests might have difficulty controlling older parishioners; their older parishioners might resent someone they felt was too young to oversee their spiritual well-being. Old priests ran

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[23]As was the case with ministers in Protestant Zurich. Bruce Gordon, Clerical Discipline and the Rural Reformation, pp. 75-76.

[24]EBAF, HA62, fos. 232r-257r.

[25]Ibid, fo. 235v.

[26]GLAK, 82a/B4, fo. 105.

[27]EBAF, HA62, fos. 232r-257r.

the risk of becoming senile or oblivious to the needs of the parish and were also more susceptible to medical conditions that might preclude the execution of their duties. These were all situations that Uhl endeavored to monitor.

In 1574, the first signs of concern about the age of priests appeared in Rottweil. The Council of Trent identified the need to set minimum ages for priests to ensure that they were "worthy" of office, and decided that the age limit should be set at twenty five years.[28] One would need more documentation to determine if the Rottweil Church upheld the age limits set by Trent. What is clear, however, is that the Rottweil Church was concerned with the problems associated with extremes of age in the priesthood.

Visitation reports began noting the ages of priests in 1574, and in that year the ages of all priests visited were recorded.[29] Visitation records for later years recorded only the ages of priests whose old age was causing a problem. In 1608, Michael Heim, the priest in Bösingen, was reported to be more than sixty years of age.[30] He had become blind, and was no longer able to administer the sacraments to his parishioners without assistance.[31] He was paying for an assistant, Vencraid Habler of Rottweil, to help him with the sacraments.[32] Heim furthermore had a concubine, who was also old, and it was noted that their advanced age prohibited sexual relations.[33] Heim had been

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[28]J. Waterworth, trans., Canons and Decrees, pp. 183-184.

[29]GLAK, 61/7321, fos. 45r-49v.

[30]EBAF, HA62, fo. 242v.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Ibid.

the parish priest in Bösingen for at least twenty seven years, and his parishioners had probably come to respect him as their priest and neighbor.[34] The parishioners were content for him to remain in his benefice, despite his concubinage and need for an assistant.[35] The dean of Rottweil was also satisfied to allow Heim to stay in his benefice, as long as he provided for the parish's sacramental requirements with the aid of his assistant. There was also no recommendation for discipline against him for his concubinage. Younger priests would surely have been punished and forced to leave their concubines, but Heim's age and apparent popularity in the village of Bösingen earned him the right to continue. It was more prudent for the Rottweil Church to wait and replace him with a younger, more reformed priest after he died or left his benefice. In the meantime, Heim's age and corresponding lack of ability to run his parish without assistance warranted the Church's monitoring of the situation.

Concubinage was the gravest clerical misbehavior. The practice of priests living with women was widespread, however, and generally tolerated in the middle ages.[36] Concubinage had been a topic of much debate and legislation in the Diocese of

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[34]Heim is listed as the priest for Bösingen in the visitation report of 1581. GLAK, 61/7321, fo. 151v.

[35]EBAF, HA62, fo. 242v.

[36]James Brundage, Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe (Chicago, 1990), pp. 98-103, 297-300, 369, 444-447. Additionally, The diocese of Constance had established a system whereby priests with concubines were levied a special tax to the diocese. Concubinage was so widely accepted that no appearance before the diocese or a magistrate was required as long as the tax was paid. Oskar Vasella, Reform und Reformation in der Schweiz (Münster, 1958), pp. 26-32.

Constance from the fifteenth century onwards.[37] The diocesan synod of 1435 was the

first to incorporate the ideas of the Council of Basel against clerical concubinage.[38] The

statutes were continually reaffirmed up to 1567, when the diocesan synod of that year

expanded the statute in an effort to take a harder stance on this misbehavior.[39] The

Council of Trent further expanded on the question:

> "How shameful a thing, and how unworthy it is of the name of clerics
> who have devoted themselves to the service of God, to live in the filth of
> impurity, and unclean bondage, the thing itself doth testify, in the common
> scandal of all the faithful, and the extreme disgrace entailed on the clerical
> order. To the end, therefore, that the ministers of the Church may be
> recalled to that continency and integrity of life which becomes them; and
> that the people may hence learn to reverence them the more, that they
> know them to be more pure of life."[40]

Church leaders at all levels, including Johannes Uhl in Rottweil, valued clerical celibacy

greatly. Celibate priests created a sharp distinction between clergy and laity, which

could be advantageous in creating reverence for both priests and their clerical duties. It

was believed that a priest who remained celibate in honor of his duties to God was more

likely to be perceived by the laity as a pious and worthy spiritual leader.

The problem of clerical concubinage received attention throughout the sixteenth

century in Rottweil. Every visitation between 1550 and 1608 was concerned with

monitoring its practice. The Rat and *Hofgericht* assisted Uhl in his efforts to stamp out

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[37]Konstantin Maier, "Die Konstanzer Diözesansynoden im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit," pp. 58-60.

[38]Ibid, p. 59.

[39]Ibid, p. 66.

[40]J. Waterworth, trans., Canons and Decrees, p. 270.

concubinage in the ranks of Rottweil priests. If the admonitions and warnings of the

Church went unheeded by the offending priest, he was referred to the Rat or *Hofgericht*

for further proceedings. The Rat and *Hofgericht* were prepared to impose fines or more

serious punishments if priests resisted conformity. In some cases, the Rat imposed a

most severe penalty: removal from office. The union of Church and Rat was effective in

transforming the Rottweiler clergy into a celibate body. The visitation report of the vicar

of Constance shows that ten out of thirteen priests examined in Rottweil parishes kept

concubines in 1574.[41] By 1608, the frequency of concubinage was at a level of two out

of twenty eight priests examined.[42]

Concubinage in Rottweil occurred exclusively in the rural parishes. There is no

record of a priest in the city of Rottweil keeping a concubine during the sixteenth and

early seventeenth centuries. Although he noted that the Rottweil city clergy were not

without serious faults, the vicar of Constance wrote his praises of their personal behavior

in his visitation report of 1550:

> *mein herr vicarius mit disser herren von Rotwyl wie ain ander weltlichen*
> *oberkeit geredt, die clagen anders nichts dann was yez der gmein lauff*
> *sey under der priestershafft, sy seyen die erste und die letste bin wie und*
> *beispil personnen Ire Kirchen, die Sampt seind sy ganz unclagbar, under*

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[41]GLAK, 61/7321, fos. 45r-49v. These figures represent an extraordinarily high frequency of concubinage in the district of Rottweil. All 12 of the priests in rural parishes visited in 1574 were found to have concubines. In comparison, just over half of the rural priests in the Diocese of Speyer had concubines in the 1580s. Marc Forster, The Counter Reformation in the Villages, p. 23. In 1570, in the Archdiocese of Trier, about one third of the rural priests were living with concubines. Hansgeorg Molitor, Kirchliche Reformversuche der Kurfürsten und Erzbischöfe von Trier im Zeitalter der Gegenreformation (Wiesbaden, 1967) Chap. 4. (cited in Forster, p. 23)

[42]EBAF, HA62, fos. 232r-257r.

Inen ist kein ärgerlicher concubinarius, wir haben auch an keinen ort
noch minder clag und mangel dis orts erfund dann zu Rotwyl.[43]

Überlingen and Cologne also experienced low levels of clerical concubinage in the city,

while rural priests frequently lived with concubines during their early years of Catholic

reform.[44]

Tighter control mechanisms existed in the cities, and these account for the

differences between the city and the villages. In Rottweil, both the Rat and the dean

were in constant contact with the city clergy, making them keenly aware of clerical

activities in addition to giving them frequent opportunity to enforce proper behavior.

The sentiments of the laity also needed consideration from both Rat and dean. The ideas

of the urban laity coincided with reform throughout the sixteenth century, while the

villagers needed a more gradual change. Already by the late middle ages, the urban laity

had been critical of clerical abuses such as concubinage. Urban lay support for discipline

against clerical concubinage was well-established by the sixteenth century. [45] Villagers,

on the other hand, often expected their priests to assume similar lifestyles to their own.[46]

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[43]GLAK, 82a/B4, fo. 105.

[44]The Rat in Überlingen completely suppressed concubinage in the city by 1580. Wilfried Enderle, Konfessionsbildung und Ratsregiment in der katholischen Reichsstadt Überlingen, pp. 233-244. Cologne also wholly suppressed concubinage within the city, although it continued in the rural areas until the end of the seventeenth century. R. Po-chia Hsia, The World of Catholic Renewal, p. 118.

[45]Joel Harrington, Reordering Marriage and Society in Reformation Germany (Cambridge, 1995) p. 243; Steven Ozment, The Reformation in the Cities, (New Haven, 1975) pp. 34-35; and R. Po-chia Hsia, The World of Catholic Renewal, p. 118.

[46]Marc Forster gives detailed discussion to these rural tendencies in Speyer in The Counter-Reformation in the Villages. Henry Kamen has also discovered that the laity in Catalonia expected their clergy to pursue sexual liasions. Bishops' visitations echoed the shame for this activity when they failed to list concubinage offenses. Henry

Until the seventeenth century, villagers in the diocese of Speyer often felt more

comfortable with priests who had concubines and children, which gave them ties to the

community and perceived stability because of their family lives.[47] Another reason for the

villagers' concern came from the method with which most rural benefices were paid.

Rural benefices were paid largely in grain, and, at the same time, many priests also

farmed their own land.[48] Due to the extra work involved in a priest's household, with

the management of grain stocks and/or fields, the efforts of a second person in running

the household were required, much the same as in the households of village farmers.[49] In

these cases, villagers saw a concubine as a stabilizing member of a priest's household.

In order to turn the sentiments of the villagers away from accepting concubinage,

discipline against the offense was implemented gradually. The 1567 synodal statutes of

the diocese of Constance required all priests under the age of forty to give up their

concubines.[50] This statute suited Uhl well initially, and he hoped that the age limitation

would provide a transition period leading to a wholly celibate clergy. By 1567, the Latin

School was beginning to produce a young clergy that was well-educated and well-

disciplined. These new priests would eventually replace the older clergy, yet, until

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Kamen, The Phoenix and the Flame, pp. 325-326.

[47]Marc Forster, The Counter-Reformation in the Villages, pp. 22-25.

[48]Ibid, pp. 26-27; and R. Po-chia Hsia, The World of Catholic Renewal, pp. 118-119.

[49]Marc Forster, The Counter-Reformation in the Villages, pp. 26-27; and Hsia, The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770, pp. 118-119.

[50]Konstantin Maier, "Die Konstanzer Diözesansynoden im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit," p. 66.

sufficient numbers of the new clergy were educated, the unreformed clergy were needed

to run the parishes. This group inevitably included a number of the older clergy with

concubines.

Some time before 1574, Uhl began focusing on eliminating concubinage within

the ranks of the younger clergy. For example, the visitation of 1574 stated that Georg

Thomae, the priest in Dauchingen, was guilty of living with a concubine and of having

children with her. He was ordered to appear before the *Hofgericht* to ensure his

compliance with the statutes.[51] Illustrating the Rottweiler Church's willingness to refer

priests with concubines to the *Hofgericht*, the report sentenced him: *wie auch andere*

prestiern ein concubine und kindern vor hofgericht und anderschwa an alle sheuch.[52]

The report pointed out that other priests had been ordered to appear before the

Hofgericht in order to ensure compliance with the statutes.[53] The statute which probably

applied to Thomae was the age limitation for keeping concubines. Thomae was listed as

an assistant priest in the city of Rottweil in 1550, and it is likely that he was over the age

of forty by 1574.[54]

With the 1567 synodal statutes allowing priests over the age of forty to persist in

concubinage, it also provided the local deans with the opportunity for a transition period

to bring in younger, better disciplined clergy. However, it would be the Latin School

and the education of new priests, as well as changes in villagers' acceptance of

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[51]GLAK, 61/7321, fo. 47v.

[52]Ibid.

[53]Ibid.

[54]GLAK, 82a/B4, fo. 105.

concubinage, that would eventually eliminate clerical concubinage.[55] Uhl took advantage of this chance to reform clerical concubinage gradually in the rural parishes. The 1574 visitation of the deanery illustrated his intentions well. Each of the priests visited was examined both for concubinage and for his age.[56] One priest, Paul Kercker from Dietingen, was thirty and living with a concubine.[57] All of the eleven other rural priests visited were also living in family relationships; some as single parents. Kercker, however, was the only priest forced to abandon his concubine, because he was both the youngest and he had also not fathered a child.[58] The priests in Stetten, Dunningen, and Waldmössingen were also reported as having concubines and being under forty years of age.[59] These three priests, however, were not forced to give up their concubines.[60] The difference between Kercker and the three other priests was simply that Kercker had no children while the others did.[61] These three young priests were allowed to remain with their families for the sake of the children. It was hoped that future priests would avoid starting families completely, by adhering to the principles they had received during their

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[55]The Tridentine seminary system has been identified as the reason why clerical concubinage was successfully controlled where previous efforts had failed. The Rottweiler Latin School provided the same type of moral education for priests. John Lynch, "Marriage and Celibacy of the Clergy: The Discipline of the Western Church; an Historico-Canonical Synopsis," The Jurist 32 (1972), pp. 209-210.

[56]GLAK, 61/7321, fos. 45r-49v.

[57]Ibid, fo. 46r.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Ibid, fos. 47r, 47v.

[60]Ibid.

[61]Ibid, fos. 46r, 47r, 47v.

education at the Latin School and from the reinforcing interaction with Uhl during visitations and other meetings.

Up to 1590, many priests with families were still allowed to continue living with them, but they were expected to receive absolution for their concubinage. In fact, one of the main goals of the visitation of 1581 was to ensure that priests with concubines had received absolution.[62] Only one priest was listed as being absolved from his concubinage, Joannes Dieburger in Waldmössingen, while three others were noted as having the opportunity to receive absolution, but had not yet asked for it.[63] Absolution would have been given after an act of contrition for past sexual relations and if the priest expressed a desire to avoid repeating this offense. Dieburger's case suggests that priests with absolution were still allowed to cohabitate with their families. The report indicates that he was in good standing because of his absolution, but was also continuing to live with his family.[64] Dieburger appears otherwise to have been a competent and diligent priest, and was kept on as a useful parish priest. Absolution was the key, and if priests with concubines requested it, they were openly admitting that their sexual activities were wrong. Priests who were contrite for their past concubinage could also be useful in spreading the teaching of the Church by serving as examples of piety for both the laity in their parishes and for younger priests. Priests receiving forgiveness and absolution through confession also helped to display the forgiving nature of the sacramental system,

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[62]Ibid, fos. 151r-153r; STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1580-1582, p. 132.

[63]GLAK, 61/7321, fos. 151r-153r.

[64]Ibid, fo. 151v.

thereby encouraging greater participation by the laity in the sacraments.

Unlike Dieburger, most other priests with concubines also had other faults which were detrimental to parish leadership. As we have seen in the case of Dieburger, past concubinage could be forgiven if the priest was penitent and otherwise worthy of his office. Other priests with concubines who were not as competent in leading their flocks were less likely to be forgiven. These priests were singled out by the early 1580s. If Uhl found them unresponsive to his warnings, they were referred to the Rat. If they remained disobedient after threats of punishment from the Rat, they could be relieved of their benefices; a punishment which was used infrequently and only after repeated attempts to bring changes in lifestyle.

The efforts of Uhl and the Rat to discipline Lorenz Sichler, the priest in Balgheim from 1584 to 1590, has already been identified by historians.[65] Sichler was appointed priest in Balgheim in January 1584, when he was between twenty nine and thirty four years old.[66] By November of the same year, Sichler had already taken up a concubine, and was given a date to appear for punishment in May 1585.[67] He appeared before the Rat in November 1586 and was told to give up *seine Pfaffen Metzen* and to lead *ein ehrliche, erbarliche Haushaltung.*[68] These threats were renewed in August 1587, when the Rat told him to look for another parish *da er sein Metzen füeglich bei sich haben*

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[65]Winfried Hecht, "Rottweils Magistrat kündigt den Pfarrer von Balgheim (1589)," Rottweiler Heimatblätter 52/3 (1991), n.p.

[66]Ibid.

[67]EBAF, HA61, fo. 182v.

[68]Winfried Hecht, "Rottweils Magistrat kündigt den Pfarrer von Balgheim (1589)," n.p.

khünde.[69] Sichler remained in Balgheim with his concubine and the Rat gave him an

ultimatum in July 1589: *seine Huoren oder magdt bis khünftig Martini endlich*

abzuschaffen.[70] When he failed to follow the Rat's orders, it decided to punish him

formally for his disobedience in December 1589.[71] The Rat's formal letter removing

Sichler from office in December 1589 gives further insight into his disobedience and the

reasons for his dismissal.[72] It had admonished Sichler *vatterlich* to correct his behavior,

and had given him a number of opportunities to respond.[73] Instead, he had continued his

disobedience and had spoken out against the Rat's authority.[74] The Rat was removing

him from office because it, as patron and collator for the parish, was obligated to ensure

that the priest in the parish was disciplined and learned in the ways of leading the laity.[75]

Sichler's case from the 1580s was unusual. Uhl and the Rat generally favored a

softer approach to eliminating priestly concubinage in Rottweil. Sichler, however, had

crossed the boundaries of acceptable behavior by speaking out against the Rat's

authority. During the 1590s, the expectation persisted that priests with families would

absolve themselves from their concubinage, thereby pronouncing it sinful as an example

to all. If absolution was gained, priests could continue to provide for their families. In

[69]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1587-1592, p. 44.

[70]Ibid, p. 174.

[71]Ibid, p. 210.

[72]STAR, "Missivbuch der kaiserlichen Reichsstadt Rottweil von 1585-1607," fos. 199v-200r.

[73]Ibid.

[74]Ibid.

[75]Ibid.

the visitations of 1590 and 1597, priests living in concubinage who had not been absolved for their sin were acknowledged in the reports as such and were admonished to seek absolution.[76] Other priests with concubines were only noted for their situation; presumably they were already absolved.

In 1574, Uhl and the Rat were aggressive in their efforts to curb clerical concubinage. Celibacy among the urban clergy was secure, and younger urban clergy without children were being forced to live alone. Emphasis shifted during the last half of the 1570s, and, by the early 1580s, it was acceptable for priests to seek absolution for their sexual behavior and remain in their benefices. Priests were expected to provide an example of piety for their parishioners by remaining celibate in the 1570s. In the 1580s, the pious example of priests could be achieved through repenting their previous sexual improprieties. The change in emphasis is more difficult to pinpoint. The one young priest who was told to give up his concubine in 1574, Paul Kercker in Dietingen, was still with his concubine in 1581, with seven children.[77] He was also reported to have absolved himself from concubinage. The process of ridding the clergy of concubinage took time to complete. Uhl was anxious to enforce clerical celibacy, only to realize quickly, as his actions suggest, that a slower, more realistic approach was called for.

The compromise he reached led him to require absolution of those priests who were with concubines. New members of the clergy were taught the virtues of celibacy in the Latin School from 1563 onwards. When they reached the rural parishes, however,

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[76]EBAF, HA61, fos. 454r-458v; 610r-613r.
[77]GLAK, 61/7321, fo. 151v.

they were often confronted with different ideals which found clerical concubinage acceptable. The tolerance of clerical concubinage in rural parishes also required reform, and, once these ideas changed, practice was likely to follow suit. By requiring absolution of priests for their relationships with women, priests would begin to view this behavior as sinful, and, over time, become less likely to adopt a concubine. More importantly perhaps, villagers' opinions would also change over time; as they witnessed the contrition felt by their priests, they would also come to recognize concubinage as unacceptable, and, consequently, expect their priests to remain celibate. It is possible that many contrite priests would return to sexual relations with their women, but the fact that they were contrite was acknowledgment that the act was sinful, and served as an example for others.

Allowing priests to remain with families following absolution was a key element in smoothing over the initial adoption of ideas against clerical concubinage. Priests with emotional ties to women (who were effectively common law wives) and their children would be reluctant to leave these relationships. In addition, prior to the reforms of the sixteenth century, many German villagers expected their priest to live in a family setting with his woman and their children. Villagers wanted their priests to conform to the same social standards to which they themselves were subjected.[78] Villagers would not have approved of a priest leaving his family in order to enforce the will of Uhl and the Church.

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[78]Marc Forster, The Counter-Reformation in the Villages, pp. 23-28. Lutheran villagers in Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach expected their pastors to conform to local standards in the 1570s. Scott Dixon, The Reformation and Rural Society: The Parishes of Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach, 1528-1603 (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 76-83.

A period of transition was required so that villagers' expectations would change, and, after time, would not accept their priests entering into these relationships at all.

The process of reforming the clergy took time. Instructions for the laity in the catechisms of Peter Canisius illustrate the Church's realization of how long the process of reform would take. In 1556, Canisius's catechism did not instruct the laity to overlook the faults of their priests.[79] After 1564, by which time Trent had adopted a Church-wide ideal for reform based largely on reforming the clergy, Canisius assumed a defensive stance when describing lay obligations towards the clergy.[80] He used the advice of 1 *Timothy* 5:17, which required the laity to obey priests *nach irem befelch thün und nit nach iren wercken.*[81] The Council of Trent stressed the value of a moral clergy, and Canisius, understanding the extended time required to reform clerical morals in Germany, sought to instruct the laity to be patient enough to allow reform to take its course. Canisius's catechisms are known to have been selected by Uhl for use in the Rottweil Latin School.[82] The amount of emphasis Uhl placed on this part of Canisius's catechism is unknown. Instructing the laity that the clergy should also work on their morals in the 1560s, however, could have helped enable the Rottweil Church to take the

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[79]Robert Bast, Honor Your Fathers: Catechisms and the Emergence of a Patriarchal Ideology in Germany, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 63 (Leiden, 1997), p. 143.

[80]Ibid, pp. 143-144.

[81]S. Petri Canisii Catechismi Latini et Germanici, Friedrich Streicher, ed., 2 Vols. (Rome-Bavaria: 1935-1937), Vol. II, 50 Col. 2, 15-32. Quoted in Robert Bast, Honor Your Fathers, p. 144.

[82]Johannes Greiner, Geschichte der Schule in Rottweil am Neckar, p. 39.

time it needed to reform priestly behavior.

Opinions on clerical concubinage appear to have changed by the early seventeenth century. The vicar of Constance's visitation of 1608 shows that only two out of fourteen rural priests kept concubines.[83] One of those priests, Michael Heim in Bösingen, was more than sixty years of age, and, therefore, a carryover from a time when clerical concubinage in the villages was widely accepted.[84] If one sets Heim aside, only one from fourteen rural priests had a concubine in 1608.[85] Compared with 1574, when ten out of thirteen rural priests kept concubines, the report of 1608 can be seen as an effective reform of clerical concubinage for Rottweil.[86] The Latin School and the education of clergy with a new moral code of conduct certainly made an impact on the behavior of parish priests by the end of the sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century. Another important reason for the changes was the modification of lay attitudes towards clerical immorality. Both the diocesan synods of the fifteenth century and Trent recognized the need for reform of clerical misbehavior. They proposed a top-down approach, with bishops or deans disciplining the clergy. This system was well-suited for cities, where many of the laity were traditionally opposed to clerical immorality.[87] Villagers, however, applied a different standard to the lives of their priests and, as we

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[83]EBAF, HA62, fos. 232r-257r.

[84]Ibid, fo. 242v.

[85]Ibid, fos. 232r-257r.

[86]GLAK, 61/7321, fos. 45r-49v.

[87]Steven Ozment, The Reformation in the Cities, pp. 34-35; Hsia, The World of Catholic Renewal, p. 118.

said earlier, often expected them to assume similar lifestyles as themselves.[88]

Changing rural parishioners' views on clerical concubinage was very much facilitated by the local leadership's support of Catholic reform. Johannes Uhl, as dean of Rottweil, was more aware of the situation in the villages before reform was initiated and was able to monitor the progress of reform in rural parishes. The synodal statutes of 1567 realized a need for a transitional phase in reforming clerical morality, but do not appear to have taken account of the ideals of the villagers.[89] Only someone at the level of a dean, with intimate knowledge of the people in the locality, such as Uhl, could recognize the need for a transition period not only for the clergy, but also for the villagers. Uhl, as the local dean and conductor of visitations, required absolution of priests for their concubinage, so that villagers would begin to perceive sexual activity of priests as being sinful. The large reduction of incidence of clerical concubinage by the beginning of the seventeenth century is due largely to his insight and efforts on this point. The Diocese at Constance lacked a reform direction. Had the geographically large Diocese been interested in reform, it would still have been out of touch with the Rottweiler villagers. Local initiative supervised by Uhl and reinforced by the Rat probably had the best chance of success in reforming clerical behavior in Rottweil.

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[88]See: Marc Forster, The Counter-Reformation in the Villages.

[89]Konstantin Maier, "Die Konstanzer Diözesansynoden im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit," p. 66.

Policing Catholicism in Rottweil, 1529-1618

The Reformed and Lutheran churches in the Empire each possessed local bodies

with which to govern the behavior of their members. The Reformed churches had

consistories, presbyteries, and synods, while the Lutherans had consistories, marriage

courts, and parish visitations.[90] Catholicism used clerical councils and visitations to the

same effect.[91] The goal of all confessions was to create societies which were well

disciplined in the practice and belief of their respective churches. Many reformers

believed that the organized discipline of morals and religious activities was the best

course for reforming the laity. Discipline might also have another motivating factor;

competition among neighboring regions with different confessions. This was especially

common in the Empire where many small states existed and the potential for neighboring

states which adhered to a separate confession was increased.

Social discipline was most effective in areas where the Church received strongest

support from the state.[92] Working in tandem, Church and state could mandate proper

behavior and then use strong secular pecuniary powers to enforce it. This process could

be especially effective in forming confessional identity and practice in large and powerful

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[90]R. Po-Chia Hsia, Social Discipline in the Reformation, p. 123.

[91]Ibid.

[92]For an overview, see: Chapter one in Heinz Schilling, Konfessionskonflikt und Staatsbildung (Gütersloh, 1981).

states where rulers were committed to strengthening the local Church.[93] Historians point to Bavaria as a rare example of almost complete cooperation between state and Church which resulted in the near homogeneity of Catholic form and practice in the duchy.[94] Close collaboration between the dukes and the bishops in the duchy was ensured by an official agreement.[95] Through the institution of a program of social discipline, spearheaded by the centralized and state-run *Geistliche Rat* and an active propaganda campaign encouraging pilgrimages, the Bavarian dukes effectively created a confessionalized state.[96]

The situation which confronted religious and secular leaders in Rottweil, however, was very different than that in Bavaria. The duchy of Bavaria was a large and powerful state, controlling large sections of territory in multiple dioceses. Due to its size, it was able to negotiate with bishops for the supervision of the religious lives of its subjects. By contrast, Rottweil's territory was only one small constituent part of the diocese of Constance and, for lack of political power, it was unable to arbitrate a similar settlement. Juridical decisions over religious matters remained officially in the hands of the diocese of Constance. Throughout the sixteenth century, however, the diocese was incapable of monitoring religious infractions. Although the number of legal counselors

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[93]Walter Ziegler, "Typen der Konfessionalisierung in katholischen Territorien Deutschlands," p. 406.

[94]Marc Forster, "With and Without Confessionalization," pp. 326-327; and Philip Soergel, Wondrous in His Saints (Berkeley, 1993).

[95]Ibid.

[96]Ibid.

was increasing in the diocese throughout the sixteenth century, they were not properly

equipped until the end of the century to make large numbers of penitential judgements.

The Religious Council, or *Geistliche Rat*, was created in 1594 to fill this vacuum.

Though this institution was given the jurisdiction to deal with widespread disciplinary

problems, it was not until the early seventeenth century that it was able to handle the

caseload.[97]

Throughout the sixteenth century, Rottweil sought to supersede the diocese in

judging religious behavior in its territory. In the absence of diocesan disciplinary action,

the Rat guarded jealously its supervision of morals and worship practices. As early as

1537, the Rat was forced to defend its punitive judgements to Constance.[98] Struggles

with the diocese over judicial control continued into the seventeenth century, with

Rottweil left largely to police on its own while the diocese was disorganized and unable

to offer an alternative. Acting in tandem with the Church, the Rat was the sole enforcer

of morality and worship practices in sixteenth century Rottweil. Among its aims were to

protect its territory from an exchange of ideas with neighboring Protestant areas, to

promote the education of its subject populace in correct worship practice and morality,

and then punish both clergy and laity who failed to conform to the mandates presented to

them. In ideal confessionalized Catholic societies, Church and state worked together to

build up an organized clergy, reform educational institutions, censor religious

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[97]Georg Wieland, "Die geistliche Zentralverwaltung des Bistums," in Elmar L. Kuhn, Eva Moser, Rudolf Reinhardt, and Petra Sachs, eds., Die Bischöfe von Konstanz, Volume 1: Geschichte (Friedrichshafen, 1988), pp. 64-75.

[98]GLAK, 82a/261.

information, discipline popular behavior, and control access to the sacraments.[99] From

1530 to 1618, Rottweil addressed all of these areas with some degree of success. What

was lacking was a direct supervisory role from the diocese of Constance.[100] Visitations

lay at the heart of this formula. Organized by the bishop, they brought the state of

worship practice in a diocese to light and served as a reference point from which to

initiate necessary correction at institutions such as the *Geistliche Rat*. Neither visitations

nor discipline, however, were effectively implemented by the diocese of Constance until

the early seventeenth century.[101] Discipline for infractions discovered in the visitations

was forced to rely on local initiative to see it through.

Staking a claim to punitive jurisdiction was necessary for Rottweil's plan to seize

the initiative for local Church discipline. Rottweil was forced to use existing institutions

in order to enforce religious conformity and hope that the bishop would not protest too

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[99]Wolfgang Reinhard, "Was ist katholische Konfessionalisierung?" in Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling, eds., Die katholische Konfessionalisierung, Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 198 (Heidelberg, 1995), pp. 426-427.

[100]Most sixteenth century German bishops had neither the resources nor the motivation to engage in an energetic program of reform, including the bishop of Constance. Marc Forster, "The Elite and Popular Foundations of German Catholicism in the Age of Confessionalism: The Reichskirche," Central European History 26/3 (1993), pp. 311-325.

[101]Although visitations were ordered by the bishops of Constance in the sixteenth century, they were performed by the rural deans and Imperial Abbeys for their own jurisdictions, and the Geistliche Rat was unprepared to enact discipline until the early seventeenth century. Ernst Walter Zeeden and Peter Thaddäus Lang, eds., Repertorium der Kirchenvisitationsakten des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts aus Archiven der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bd. 2: Der katholische Südwesten (Stuttgart, 1984); Wieland, Georg, "Die geistliche Zentralverwaltung des Bistums," in Elmar L. Kuhn, Eva Moser, Rudolf Reinhardt, and Petra Sachs, eds., Die Bischöfe von Konstanz, Volume 1: Geschichte (Friedrichshafen, 1988), pp. 64-75.

stringently against its infringement on his jurisdiction. Religious discipline was

administered by the Rat in Rottweil, usually summoning the accused to appear before its

assembled members for questioning followed by decision and sentencing. By 1532, three

years after the expulsion of Evangelicals from the city, Rottweil began its program of

discipline.[102] In a letter to the bishop, the Rat announced that it was dismissing half of

the priests in the city outright, and handing down monetary fines to the others following

the recent Evangelical scare.[103] This first act of discipline by the Rat foreshadowed the

type of discipline to come, as Rottweil, along with other Catholic areas of the Empire,

focused its program of discipline upon the clergy.[104]

The first test of Rottweil's newly adopted authority came from the bishop of

Constance in 1537.[105] The Rat had imprisoned and fined Paul Ruberlin, the village priest

in Epfendorf, for hiring an assistant and for neglecting the administration of the

sacraments.[106] Ruberlin complained that the Rat had not made its complaint to

Constance and allowed the bishop to adjudicate according to his jurisdiction over the

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[102]HSTAS, B466a, Bü 332.

[103]Ibid.

[104]Marc Forster discovered that visitations in the diocese of Speyer in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries concerned themselves almost solely with the activities of the clergy and that the bishop's court overwhelmingly focused its discipline on the clergy as well. The Counter-Reformation in the Villages. By contrast, although largely centered on the clergy, visitations and discipline in the Lutheran parishes of Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach in the sixteenth century also concerned the affairs of the laity. Scott Dixon, The Reformation and Rural Society, especially pp. 60-65.

[105]GLAK, 82a/261.

[106]Ibid.

matter.[107] The Rat responded with its apologies, and affirmed its devotion to the *treu*

religion and the laws of the Church and the Empire. It promised that in the future, all

complaints concerning clergy would be forwarded to the dean of Rottweil.[108] This

arrangement appears to have been satisfactory until 1590, when the bishops next

complained of Rottweil's punishment of priests.[109]

Rottweil's Rat gained unmolested control over the religious life of the city and its

territory from 1537 to 1590. This was especially important due to the lack of diocesan

ability or initiative to enforce social discipline. Rottweil needed to initiate its own

programs if there were to be any regulation of religious behavior during these years.

Even after 1590, it was reluctant to give up control to the diocese over religious matters.

The statement from 1537 only reaffirmed the shift of power in the diocese experienced in

the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, when the bishops were forced to delegate

most of their power to the rural deans.[110] The Rat held the rights of patronage for a

majority of the parishes in the deanery of Rottweil and, after 1534 when the duchy of

Württemberg embraced Protestantism and removed many parishes from the Catholic

faith, the majority of the remainder was unanimous.[111] The Rat could influence elections

because the dean was elected by a vote of all priests in the deanery and the majority were

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[107]Ibid.

[108]Ibid.

[109]GLAK, 82a/260.

[110]Joseph Ahlhaus, Die Landdekante des Bistums Konstanz im Mittelalter.

[111]James Estes, "Württemberg," in Hans Hillerbrand, ed., The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation (Oxford, 1996) Volume 4, p. 303.

appointed and employed by Rottweil.[112] It was thus ensured that the office of dean of

Rottweil would be held by a priest of its own choosing and the power to discipline clergy

and laity held by that office would fall under some of the Rat's control.

In 1589, Andreas von Österreich was elected bishop of Constance.[113] He

replaced Mark Sittich von Hohenems (who had resigned), and became the first bishop of

Constance who actively promoted Tridentine style reforms.[114] It was Andreas who

spurred the formation of the *Geistliche Rat*, and early in his tenure, he attempted to

reconsolidate jurisdiction previous bishops had lost.[115] Rottweil's claims to discipline

both clergy and laity in religious matters were put to the test again in 1590. The dispute

centered on the imprisonment of three priests. The diocese wrote to the Rat:

> *so seindt daselbsten zu Rotweyl etliche Priester als Symon Khon, N. Rot,*
> *Hainricus Vögelin, von wegen Iren 'Excessen' nit alher gehn Constantz*
> *von Ime Pfarrherren bericht, sonders für rath und gericht gezogen, mit*
> *den Statt khnechten spötlich gefangen, und letstlichen von dem Pfarrer*
> *und Rath zum thail priviert und vertriben worden.*[116]

Although the diocese had been content to allow Rottweil to discipline in this manner up

to this point, Andreas wanted to bring jurisdiction back to the diocese and wished for all

future infractions to be forwarded to the decisions of diocesan officials.

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[112]Joseph Ahlhaus, <u>Die Landdekanate des Bistums Konstanz im Mittelater</u>, pp. 122-123.

[113]Rudolf Reinhardt, <u>Die Beziehungen von Hochstift und Diözese Konstanz zu Habsburg-Österreich</u>, p. 37.

[114]Ibid, pp. 37-41.

[115]Wieland, Georg, "Die geistliche Zentralverwaltung des Bistums," pp. 64-75.

[116]HSTAS, B466a, Bü 332.

Rottweil resisted the diocesan efforts in its reply. With its members mostly expert jurists by profession, the Rat reminded the diocese that the privileges it exercised had been granted by earlier bishops.[117] The response cited legal precedents from 1387, 1410, and 1455 when bishops of Constance had granted the city the right to discipline clergy.[118] Not content only to cite precedent, the response expressed the Rat's ability to discipline and dismiss from office priests who held benefices provided for and controlled by it.[119] The Rat pointed out that the punished clergy were fined and imprisoned because they lacked diligence in the execution of their office and showed indifference when asked to perform the sacraments.[120] The priests' behavior had constituted a public scandal, and the Rat as collator for the benefices was obliged to impose correction.[121] This line of argument, however, was not reserved solely for jurisdictional disputes with the diocese. One year earlier in 1589, Rottweil had dismissed the priest in the village of Balgheim for similar reasons, failing to provide the sacraments and for general unpriestly behavior.[122] The same justification applied when a priest was not diligent in his duties and ignored warnings to correct himself. The Rat, as collator and patron of the parish, was obliged to dismiss him from office.[123] The argument appears also to have been accepted by

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[117]GLAK, 82a/260.

[118]Ibid.

[119]Ibid.

[120]Ibid.

[121]Ibid.

[122]STAR, "Missivbuch der kaiserlichen Reichsstadt Rottweil von 1585-1607," fos. 199v-200r.

[123]Ibid.

Constance. No other known case of the diocese seeking to revive its jurisdiction over discipline in Rottweil appears before 1618. The only other exchange on the topic came in 1615, when the Rat seemingly attempted to stall the diocese from taking a larger role in Rottweil.[124] The reason it gave was that the diocese was slow in the promulgation of information, making it difficult for the priests to comply.[125] Apparently, the Rat felt it was doing a better job with Church discipline than the diocese could at that time.

But Rottweil's protectionist religious policy was not solely directed against the diocese. Efforts were also made in order to negate any influence neighboring Protestant territories and Protestant ideas might have on Rottweil's populace. The first example came only days after the expulsion of Evangelicals from the city in 1529. On 25 August 1529, the Rat forced Michael Furtenbach to make a statement and an oath against *Lutterisch* opinions and to swear his allegiance to the Rat and Bürgermeister, and also to city, Papal, and Imperial laws.[126] It is not known whether Furtenbach was suspected of sympathizing with Lutheran ideas or whether he had assisted the Evangelicals during the struggle before their expulsion. Another man was similarly accused in 1531.[127] Ludwig Guttgesell was ordered to appear before the Rat to answer charges of holding *Lutterisch* opinions and for possessing *Lutterisch* books.[128] In his written response, Guttgesell neither defended his innocence nor admitted guilt. Guttgesell had apparently seen the

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[124]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1609-1616, p. 558.

[125]Ibid.

[126]HSTAS, B203, Ur 785.

[127]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade IV, Fasz 6, Nr. 1.

[128]Ibid.

suspicions and wrath of the Rat beforehand and had already moved to Rosenfeld, a town under Württemberg control.[129] Whatever the case, the conduct of both men was considered to be suspect and the Rat wished to make a clear statement that any Lutheran or Evangelical ideas would not be tolerated in the city.

Other defensive moves against Lutheran ideas came later in the sixteenth century. In August 1595, suspecting that Lutheran books were entering Rottweil's territory, the Rat issued a plea for all persons to report to the *Schultherrn* whenever they discovered Lutheran books for sale at market.[130] No other record exists to suggest that Lutheran literature was filtering into Rottweil's markets, but the Rat felt the need to reiterate its pledge to prevent these ideas from spreading. Another cause for alarm came in 1614, when the Rat felt compelled to threaten with a 15 lb heller fines anyone who was caught going to *Fastnacht* in neighboring Württemberg lands.[131] The problem was not only the exposure to Lutheran ideas, but that participation in Württemberg *Fastnacht* activities would have constituted a serious breach of Catholic worship practice. Rottweil had adopted the Gregorian calendar, while Württemberg remained on the Julian calendar.[132] Due to this difference, the Württemberg *Fastnacht* fell during Holy Week in Rottweil, causing any Rottweiler who attended it to be in serious breach of their Lenten obligations.[133] This action by the Rat served both to protect the city from further

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[129]Ibid.

[130]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1593-1598, p. 230.

[131]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1609-1616, p. 410.

[132]Ibid.

[133]Ibid.

exposure to Lutheran ideas and to enforce Catholic worship practices during the high point of the liturgical year, Holy Week.

Other than anti-Lutheran activity, Rottweil's program of discipline was first targeted at the clergy. Concomitant with the jurisdictional disputes with the diocese, discipline of clergy almost always stemmed from a lack of diligence in performance of their duties. This was also an important step in reforming the clergy. Due to the inability of the diocese to monitor priestly behavior closely, it was the Rat to whom the dean of Rottweil would look for assistance in enforcing necessary corrections. The Rat used its status as patron and collator for most parishes to impose sanctions on priests who resisted the orders of the dean. The Rat utilized this status to impose the punishments of fines, imprisonment, and dismissal of undisciplined priests.

No punishment was administered without the offender first receiving at least one warning, and in practice he usually received multiple warnings. Although the dean could also levy fines on priests, imprisonment and removal from office were not at his disposal. The accused were always given warnings to correct their behavior, before they were formally punished. One priest who had taken up a concubine was given five warnings in as many years before he was finally removed from office.[134] These types of punishments for the clergy had begun by 1537, the same time as the first protest from the diocese about infringement upon the bishop's jurisdiction.[135] Warnings were usually all that was

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[134]EBAF, HA61, fo. 182v; STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1587-1592, pp. 44, 174, 210; STAR, "Missivbuch der kaiserlichen Reichsstadt Rottweil von 1585-1607," fos. 199v-200r.

[135]GLAK, 82a/261.

required. Many warnings were given to priests between 1537 and 1618, but extant

records suggest that few required actual punishment in order to correct their misdeeds.

Fines were the first option chosen by the Rat if punitive action was required.

Between 1537 and 1590, there are four accounts of priests being fined; three for failure

to perform their duties and another which was unspecified.[136] From 1590 to 1618,

documents do not reveal fines used to discipline clergy. Imprisonment was another

option, and proved to be most unpopular with the priests that received such sentences.

The only two times when priests are recorded to have been jailed were also the same two

occasions when the Rat received complaints from the diocese about punishing priests.[137]

These two known incarcerations of priests occurred in 1537 and 1590, and both events

were reported to coincide with fines.[138]

The final measure at the Rat's disposal was to remove the offending priest from

office. Dismissal was a rare event and followed only on a series of warnings to correct

behavior. Release of a priest from his benefice was introduced much later than other

types of discipline. The first recorded case of dismissal came in 1590, when the Rat

removed from office the same priest who is mentioned above as having received five

warnings to reform his conduct.[139] The only other instance came in 1598 when a village

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[136]GLAK, 82a/261; STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1580-1582, p. 167; Book 1587-1592, p. 227; HSTAS, B466a, Bü 332.

[137]GLAK, 82a/261; HSTAS, B466a, Bü 332.

[138]Ibid.

[139]STAR, "Missivbuch der kaiserlichen Reichsstadt Rottweil von 1585-1607," fos. 199v-200r.

priest was admonished to seek a benefice elsewhere due to his *unpriesterlich wesen*.[140]

He had also received multiple warnings before the Rat resorted to this severe correction

of abuse.[141] Not only clergy, but other persons employed by the city who were also

directly involved in religious life could be dismissed from their offices. In 1614, the Rat

fired both the organist at the *Heilig Kreuz Kirche* and the Latin Schoolmaster.[142]

Rottweil was very proud of its religious music and felt that the organist, Marx Pollio,

was not doing all he could to promote this tradition.[143] Pollio was let go on 31

November 1614 for his *unfleißigkeit und vil ander mängel*.[144] Less than three weeks

later on 18 December 1614, the Rat turned its attention to the Latin Schoolmaster,

Magister Wilhelm Danckwart.[145] He also had been guilty of less than honorable personal

behavior. The Rat noted its reasons: *unfleiß beÿ der Schul und sonsten hin und wider

verübenden hochen essen unndt trinckhen ein besonders ungnädigst gefallen tragen*.[146]

Danckwardt asked the Rat to reconsider on 11 August 1615, but his appeal was

denied.[147] Both were influential in the city's religious life; Pollio provided the music for

the choir which sang the Mass and Danckwart supervised the education of Rottweil's

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[140]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1593-1598, p. 481.

[141]Ibid.

[142]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1609-1616, pp. 479-481, 487.

[143]Winfried Hecht, <u>Musik in der Reichsstadt Rottweil</u>.

[144]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1609-1616, pp. 479-481.

[145]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1609-1616, p. 487.

[146]Ibid.

[147]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1609-1616, p. 537.

youth. They were expected to provide examples of proper moral and Catholic behavior and failed, leaving the Rat no other choice but to remove them from positions of responsibility.

Discipline against the rest of the populace appears to have been rarely needed or exercised. Although provisions for punishment of the laity were frequently made alongside public warnings to comply with statutes, extant documents provide evidence of only one event which enlisted a punitive reaction from the Rat. On 28 June 1585, the Rat proclaimed that all persons who failed to appear for Easter Mass were to be punished.[148] Men were to be imprisoned until the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (August 15), the next eucharistic celebration.[149] Punishment was more lenient for women, who were required to go without wine until August 15.[150] All offenders were required to receive communion at the Mass for the Assumption.[151] Other warnings of punishments have not left records to suggest discipline was required in their enforcement.

Since both are forms of social discipline, there is a fine line to be drawn between disciplining improper behavior and instructing people to change their religious practice, either through simple instruction or warnings of punishment for noncompliance. I have decided to include actual punitive action against laypersons under the category of

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[148]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1583-1586, p. 209.

[149]Ibid.

[150]Ibid.

[151]Ibid.

'policing Catholicism' in this chapter. Impetus for change, which may have met some resistance from the laity, but did not require punitive action, is included in the following chapter on religion and the laity, which concentrates on the formation of Catholic loyalty and a distinctive Catholic identity in Rottweil. The institution of discipline shown in this chapter, was the first step towards the achievement of Catholic consciousness and belief. Even though few priests or laypersons were actually punished, the threat of social discipline was reinforced by the few that were penalized. The possibility of discipline then served to create a greater awareness of the responsibilities and desires of the community of Rottweil as a whole with regard to religious activity. The contributions of social discipline, therefore, were to bring questions concerning acceptable religious behavior to the fore and, in turn, create a more attentive audience for the priests who attempted to educate the laity about proper Catholic belief and practices.

Chapter Six

Religion and the Laity: Creating a Catholic Consciousness, 1560-1618

Introduction

Recent scholarship on religious reforms in the sixteenth century has stressed attempts to evangelize or Christianize populations.[1] Protestant and Catholic Churches alike sought to deepen religious belief amongst their members. The programs to increase knowledge and practice of their respective confessions were vigorously promoted at the highest levels of Church administration. Often the local layers of Church administration were a weak link in bringing these plans to fruition with the laity, and sometimes new initiatives were promoted with such local fervor that they served as a model for others to strive for, going beyond the expectations of reformers at the highest levels of the confessional Churches. More often than not, however, these programs were met with a mixture of enthusiasm and resistance, depending largely upon the degree of change from previous local customs.

The thesis of confessionalization attributes the combination of Church

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[1]Wolfgang Reinhard, "Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State;" Joel Harrington and Helmut Smith, "Confessionalization, Community and State Building in Germany;" and Marc Forster, "With and Without Confessionalization." For a survey of this line of research for Catholic Europe, see the essays in: Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling, eds., Die katholische Konfessionalisierung, Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 198 (Heidelberg, 1995).

attempts to rejuvenate and define religious practices with secular enforcement as an important function in the emergence of the modern state.[2] The Rottweil Church received strong support from the Rat in an attempt to preserve the stability of the state, rather than a consolidation of secular power. The goals of the Church and Rat were unified, but for different reasons. Rottweil's Church leadership perceived a potential threat from the influences of neighboring Protestant areas and wished to strengthen Catholic identity and religious belief in order to check an influx of Protestant ideas and practices. The Rat continued to protect its status as a Catholic state, a measure which standardized the religious belief of the community. The Rat also felt that universal Catholicism ensured much of the city's status and economic well-being by maintaining favorable relations with the Habsburgs and thus securing the future of the *Hofgericht*. The Rat did not take the lead nor did it interfere with local Church initiatives to strengthen Catholic belief and practice among the populace. From the 1560s, the structure and implementation of the program to forge a greater Catholic identity in Rottweil was initiated and carried out by Rottweil's Church leadership, which received support from the Rat when required.

Beginning in the 1560s, Rottweil's Church leaders chose a program of reform starting with Church institutions. Lay participation in religious feasts and festivals was increasingly encouraged by the *Bruderschaft* and the Rat from the failed Reformation in 1529 to 1563, but the content of daily religious life for the laity went

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[2]Heinz Schilling, "Nationale Identität und Konfession in der europäischen Neuzeit," in B. Giesen, ed., <u>Nationale und kulturelle Identität. Studien zur Entwicklung des kollektiven Bewußtseins in der Neuzeit</u> (Frankfurt, 1991), pp. 192-252; idem, "Die Konfessionalisierung von Kirche, Staat, und Gesellschaft," in Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling, eds., <u>Die Katholische Konfessionalisierung</u>, Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 198 (Gütersloh, 1995), pp. 10-12.

largely unchanged up to this point. Greater emphasis was placed on lay participation

in religious activities by the 1560s, especially catechetical instruction and the

reception of sacraments. Expectations of lay religious participation increased and

was more widely enforced along with expansion in spiritual education and the

availability of activities. Rejuvenation of lay spirituality was central to the program

of forging a unified Catholic identity among the populace. The laity appears to have

joined willingly in a resurgence of piety. Threats of the Rat's enforcement appeared

only once improved religious educational structures were implemented, but

punishments were rarely invoked. These endeavors resulted in a marked difference in

lay behavior and expectations between the early sixteenth and seventeenth centuries;

the laity became more aware of its obligations, popular religious activities were more

readily available, and people came to expect better performance from their priests in

providing them with spiritual leadership.

Sermons and Catechization

The Council of Trent placed new emphasis on catechesis in an attempt to

promulgate Catholic teaching and to illuminate differences between Protestant and

Catholic doctrines for the Catholic populace.[3] New catechisms were prepared and

presented to the laity through the freshly emphasized mediums of preaching and

scholastic instruction.[4] Trent hoped that this strategy would result in the creation of

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[3]J. Waterworth, trans., Canons and Decrees, pp. 213-214, 279.

[4]Wolfgang Reinhard, "Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State," pp. 391-2.

a distinct Catholic consciousness for the population and ward off the influence of Protestantism.[5] Competent preaching, catechisms, and schoolteachers were key elements to the success of this program.

Trent underscored the importance of episcopal visitation for the supervision of preaching, catechesis, and scholastic instruction.[6] Visitations concentrated largely on the clergy and, when diligently maintained, could serve as an effective means to monitor the proficiency of religious instruction of the laity. The bishops of Constance did not directly administer visitations until the early seventeenth century, drawing on rural deans instead to perform visitations on their behalf. Tridentine style legislation concerning preaching, catechesis, and religious instruction in schools was echoed in the diocese of Constance's synodal statutes of 1567, which provided a base for the deans to work from.[7] The diocese, however, provided little regulation until the early seventeenth century. Thus, the onus for governing lay religious instruction in Rottweil fell on the dean.

Johannes Uhl paid considerable attention to preaching and catechesis in the deanery of Rottweil during his tenure. Himself a prolific preacher, he took steps to guarantee that other priests under his guidance were at least competent preachers, and demanded that his priests took the opportunity to catechize also from the pulpit. Supervision of catechetical instruction in the Latin School was aided by the revised school ordinance of 1567. Orchestrated by Uhl, the ordinance shifted the supervision

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[5]Heinz Schilling, "Nationale Identität und Konfession in der europäischen Neuzeit," pp. 192-252.

[6]J. Waterworth, trans., Canons and Decrees, pp. 208-210.

[7]*Constitutiones et decreta synodalia civitatis et dioecesis Constantiensis* . . .

of the school from a panel of three *Ratsherren* to a panel consisting of a guild master,

a member of the *Hofgericht*, and the city priest, so giving the local Church direct

involvement in supervising curriculum at the school.[8] All these measures made it

certain that the laity would have much exposure to Catholic doctrine during the later

sixteenth century.

Johannes Uhl placed a strong emphasis on the role of preaching because he

believed that this was the main function of priests when caring for souls in their

parishes, and that sermons were the most effective medium for promulgating doctrine

to the people.[9] In 1588 he wrote a preaching manual for priests in the deanery to

use, which outlined basic teachings that should be communicated in every sermon and

points of emphasis to be made on certain festivals.[10] Uhl also tried to ensure that

priests in the deanery were giving frequent and competent sermons through his active

use of visitations. Priests with difficulties were given instruction on how to improve

their abilities, and were re-evaluated soon thereafter.[11]

Johannes Uhl established himself as a capable and prolific preacher. He

prepared sermons for every Sunday and feast day; if he was not preaching in the city

of Rottweil, he was delivering a sermon in one of the other parishes in the deanery.

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[8]Johannes Greiner, <u>Geschichte der Schule in Rottweil am Neckar</u>, p. 22.

[9]This idea is present in his visitation reports where he continually emphasized the importance of strong preaching ability. GLAK, 61/7321, fos. 45r-49v; and fos. 151r-153r; EBAF, HA61, fos. 97r-98r; 454r-458v; and 610r-613r.

[10]He called these '*Formula.*' It is unknown if Uhl intended these to be published or not. There are no known printings, and only one manuscript copy exists. DAR, Pfarreiarchiv Heilig Kreuz Rottweil, Band 161, pp. 131-154.

[11]GLAK, 61/7321, fos. 45r-49v; and fos. 151r-153r; EBAF, HA61, fos. 97r-98r; 454r-458v; and 610r-613r.

A large collection of his sermons (thirty volumes) remains behind as testimony to his

diligence in preaching. Each volume covers one year between 1569 and 1605, and

contains notes for over 100 sermons.[12] Unfortunately, this series of notes was

written by Uhl for his own use only, and his tiny, scrawling hand prohibits access to

these rich sources. He did, however, leave behind a further two volumes which are

more accessible.[13] They consist of a selection of handwritten exhortations dating

from between 1579 and 1602, all of which were attempts to help people deal with

crop failures and epidemics in the period. Chosen by Uhl as his best examples of

exhortation from the pulpit, they were intended for use as reference by other priests

in the deanery.[14]

Catechesis was an integral part of preaching according to Uhl. The

importance he attached to catechesis is apparent in his 1588 preaching manual and its

section on basic instruction which should be presented to parishes with each

sermon.[15] According to Uhl, sermons ought to be followed by a prayer for those

who died in sin:

> *Jetzt bitten für dise seelen der wo sie in unvolkommenhait und nit gar ohne*
> *Sünd auß diser zeit geshaiden weren, darum stenden in der straf Gottes, der*
> *Gott wöll guedig ansehen, der fürbitt der jetzo für sie geschicht und wolle sie*
> *weren auß zeitlicher straaf und setzen zur ewigen rüw. Bey denen gedenckh*
> *auch jedes mensh seines vatters seiner Mütter und aller seiner und meiner*

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[12]The volumes are today housed in the parish library of the *Heilig Kreuz Kirche* in Rottweil (PBHKR).

[13]PBHKR, XXI 135-136.

[14]A detailed examination of these sermons and events surrounding them can be found in: Jason Nye, "Johannes Uhl on Penitence: Sermons of the Dean of Rottweil, 1579-1602," in Katharine Jackson Lualdi and Anne T. Thayer, eds., Penitence in the Age of Reformations (Aldershot, Forthcoming 2000).

[15]DAR, Pfarreiarchiv Heilig Kreuz Rottweil, Band 161, pp. 139-142.

lieben sonderen seelen, denen und allen Christglaubigen seelen zu trost, und anders mehr zu erwerben.[16]

This was Uhl's way of catechizing the doctrine of Purgatory to the parish. Purgatory was the destination of the soul which died in sin, where it would remain for a period of purification before entering heaven. It explained how sinners could atone for their sins before advancing to the last judgement. The process could be accelerated with the help of the living who prayed, and commissioned Masses to be said on behalf of the deceased, an option which was particularly popular in Spain.[17] Emphasizing purgatory was also an opportunity to underscore differences between Catholic and Protestant belief, Protestants having eliminated purgatory altogether.[18] Throughout the Empire, stressing points of doctrine which contrasted with Protestants was seen as an effective method for creating a uniquely Catholic consciousness amongst the populace.[19]

Uhl took advantage of the opportunity to inject as much confessional contrast as he could into sermons. Prayers for the dead were followed by a *Vatter Unser* and an *Ave Maria*, the latter being a prayer unique to Catholicism amongst German Christians.[20] He then qualified that God would hear the prayers of true Christians

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[16]Ibid, p. 139.

[17]Carlos Eire, From Madrid to Purgatory: The Art and Craft of Dying in Sixteenth-Century Spain (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 168-231. The Council of Trent also reinforced the doctrine that Masses were beneficial to the living and the dead. J. Waterworth, trans., Canons and Decrees, pp. 232-233.

[18]Robert Birely, The Refashioning of Catholicism, p. 114.

[19]Wolfgang Reinhard, "Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State," p. 393.

[20]DAR, Pfarreiarchiv Heilig Kreuz Rottweil, Band 161, pp. 139-140.

only and asked them to recite the Creed:

> *Als dan das gebett nit krefftig ist, der nit in Rechtem glauben beschicht, dan ohn glauben kan man Gott nit gefallen: So sprechen auch die zwolf stuck unsers Christenlich Catholishen Glaubens.*[21]

Although Protestants also maintained the creed, Uhl called it a statement of Catholic belief, thereby implying that Protestants did not adhere to it. His reference to the validity of prayer being dependent on the person being in '*Rechtem glauben*' makes the assertion even more significant. In essence, Uhl declared Protestants outside the protection of God, who accordingly turned a deaf ear to their requests. By contrast, his parishioners were told they were God's children and that their prayers would be heard if they remained in '*Rechtem glauben.*' This liturgical exercise also taught the Creed, providing a greater impetus to learn and follow it, so that parishioners would continue in God's favor. Parishioners were then told that reciting the Creed alone was not enough:

> *Das ist der Christenlich Catholish Glaub, seitten mahl aber nit gnüg, so man spricht hier herr, es seÿ dan der man auch den willen Gottes thut, so hören und thüet auch die hailigen Zehen Gebott.*[22]

Hearing the Ten Commandments was one of the central points of catechesis, and Uhl believed it should be part of each and every sermon.[23] A final opportunity to teach catechism to the parish came at the end of the service at the reading of marriage banns, as well as the marriage statutes.[24]

Teaching catechism during Sunday worship was an effective way of reaching

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[21]Ibid, p. 140.

[22]Ibid, p. 141.

[23]The Ten Commandments became increasingly important in the catechesis of the late medieval Church. Robert Bast, Honor Your Fathers, pp. 6-38.

[24]DAR, Pfarreiarchiv Heilig Kreuz Rottweil, Band 161, p. 142.

the entire population. By the sixteenth century, Catholics began teaching catechism in formalized classes on Sundays and feast days.[25] Classes were directed at the youth, but parents and householders were expected to accompany their children and servants.[26] Parents and householders, however, were reluctant to attend because they felt that it was too embarrassing.[27] Records do not indicate if a 'Sunday School' existed, but all citizens of Rottweil would have been exposed to the catechism when taught from the pulpit on Sundays. Uhl was not the first to come up with the idea; the Mainz Agenda from 1551 had previously encouraged priests to teach the catechism in their sermons.[28] It is not known if Uhl was familiar with the Mainz Agenda. Regardless of his inspiration, what was important for Uhl was that Rottweil parishioners be taught at least once each week the creed, the ten commandments, the prayers *Vatter Unser* and *Ave Maria*, as well as the doctrine of purgatory and the statutes against clandestine marriage. Johannes Uhl's plan, as witnessed in his preaching '*Formula*,' wished to extend this practice to all parishes in the deanery as well. The subtle nature in which he underscored differences between Protestant and Catholic belief were designed to create a distinctly Catholic consciousness among the laity in Rottweil, and this would have been relayed to each parish in the deanery once his sermon formula was adopted.

Rottweil's Latin School also provided catechetical instruction to the city's youth. The catechism of Peter Canisius was used from 1554, and provided the basis

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[25]Robert Bireley, The Refashioning of Catholicism, pp. 102-103.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Ibid.

[28]Marc Forster, The Counter-Reformation in the Villages, p. 30.

for religious instruction at the school.[29] Clergy in the deanery changed to the

Catechismus Romanus in 1567, but it is likely that the Latin School continued to use

Canisius's work.[30] The *Catechismus Romanus* was not intended for the laity but for

use by priests as guidance for preaching and the administration of sacraments.[31]

Canisius's catechism, however, remained the most popular for lay instruction such as

that found in Rottweil's Latin School.[32] Canisius's catechism was used on a daily

basis to instruct students in the Catholic faith. Only students with the goal of joining

the priesthood were instructed in more specific theology, when they would have been

exposed to the *Catechismus Romanus*.[33] Further spiritual training occurred on

Saturday mornings when the Gospels and Epistles were explained to them.[34]

Learning the catechism normally placed heavy emphasis on memorization but,

unfortunately, the examination process in Rottweil's Latin School is unknown.[35]

Catechism instruction extended beyond the prayers and doctrines emphasized

by Uhl in his '*Formula*' for each Sunday. He also stressed the need to explain two

other occasions in the liturgical year; the beginning of Lent and Good Friday.[36] Uhl

felt it necessary for all priests in the deanery to underscore the importance and

content of the forty days of fasting during Lent. *Fastnacht* (or *Fasnet* as it was

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[29]Johannes Greiner, Geschichte der Schule in Rottweil am Neckar, p. 39.

[30]GLAK, 82a/50.

[31]Robert Bireley, The Refashioning of Catholicism, p. 59.

[32]Ibid.

[33]DAR, AI2a, Nr. 382.

[34]Johannes Greiner, Geschichte der Schule in Rottweil am Neckar, p. 39.

[35]Robert Bireley, The Refashioning of Catholicism, p. 103.

[36]DAR, Pfarreiarchiv Heilig Kreuz Rottweil, Bd. 161, pp. 143-145.

known locally) was more than a religious occasion in Rottweil, it was the city's

largest social event of the year and drew people from all over the region to its

festivities.[37] Uhl did not discourage the entertainment, but wanted to stress the duty

to fast for Lent immediately following the festival:

> *So sollen Ihr ernaret sein, und auß Authoritet der H. Kirchen Gottes gewalt und gebot ersucht sein, der hieher von jetzigem Mittwoch ahn, da die Fasten Ihren anfang nemen soll: Folgents die 40. tag nach ein anderen bith auf Ostern, nach aller Flaishlichen Speiß gehorsamlich . . . Christus selber 40. tag lang nach seinen Tauf gefastet, wir aber alle glider CHRISTI seindt sollen wir billich CHRISTO als unseren haupt in disem Exempel folgen und mit CHRISTO fasten und leiden, damit wür hernach den frucht seines leiden (welches zu endt der fasten betrachtett würdt) auch desto gleichsamer thailhafftig werden.[38]*

With this sermon, Uhl was interested in more than just teaching the laity about the

merits of Lenten fasting, although this was a very important part of the Catholic

liturgical cycle.[39] Another reason he concerned himself with its emphasis was the

need to underscore the parity between the Catholic practice of Lenten fasting and the

Protestant rejection of the custom.[40] German Protestants had dismissed the efficacy

of Lenten fasting, instead calling it the invention of "greedy clergy" and a "false way

to heaven."[41] Once again, Uhl fostered a Catholic consciousness by pointing out

differences with other confessions.

This creation of Catholic identity may have been even more important to Uhl

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[37]Karl Lambrecht, Rottweiler Narren-Fibel (Rottweil, 1988).

[38]DAR, Pfarreiarchiv Heilig Kreuz Rottweil, Bd. 161, p. 143.

[39]J. Waterworth, trans., Canons and Decrees, p. 279.

[40]Robert Scribner, "Reformation, Carnival and the World Turned Upside-Down," chapter 4 in Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany (London, 1987), pp. 71-102.

[41]Steven Ozment, The Reformation in the Cities (New Haven, 1975), p. 83.

than the regulation of Lenten fasting, an argument supported by the reports of

visitors from Constance in 1608, who noted:

> *Magna sanctus querela et de esa carnium diebus prohibitis, de causa multi*
> *scandali, et praesertim rustige facilem oppida nona pravos mores et exempla,*
> *vel ex consulo simile perversitate, vel ex simplicitate imitantur.*[42]

This evidence comes two years after Uhl's death and suggests that he did not enforce

Lenten fasting vigorously and that it was not the main point of his message. The Rat

lent support for the enforcement of Lent only once between 1525 and 1618, and that

occasion came after Uhl's death. In 1614, Rottweilers were prohibited from

attending *Fastnacht* in Württemberg.[43] The reason given was that due to the

different calendars used in Lutheran Württemberg and Catholic Rottweil, *Fastnacht*

in Württemberg fell during Holy Week that year.[44] Although there was no apparent

attempt to enforce Lenten fasting during Uhl's tenure, his preaching directives were

not misguided. Uhl believed that an understanding of Catholic belief and its variation

from Protestant belief was sometimes more important than the enforcement of its

practice.

Visitations performed on the deanery concern themselves solely with clerical

performance and neglected the role of the laity in religious instruction until 1608, two

years after Uhl's death. The visitations concerned themselves greatly with the

preaching ability of priests.[45] Building upon the premise stated in Uhl's 1588

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[42]EBAF, HA62, fo. 233v.

[43]STAR, Ratsprotkolle, Book 1609-1616, p. 410.

[44]Ibid.

[45]GLAK 61/7321, fos. 45r-49v; and fos. 151r-153r; EBAF, HA61, fo. 40r;
fos. 97r-98r; fos.182v-183r; fos. 359v-360v; fos. 454r-458v; and fos. 610r-613r.

'*Formula*' that priests ought to take the opportunity to teach the catechism with each

Sunday sermon, one can assume that proper catechetical instruction was gauged

along with preaching aptitude. Beginning in 1574 and ending in 1597, Uhl made

numerous observations about priests' preaching abilities, admonishing those who

needed to improve as well as praising those who excelled.[46] Priests with difficulties

were given the opportunity to increase their effectiveness, presumably with Uhl's

advice and any assistance they might find in literature such as his preaching

'*Formula.*' If priests followed Uhl's preaching strategies, they would also have been

teaching the catechism on a regular basis.

The earliest extant and in-depth examination of the effects of catechetical

teaching and preaching was made in 1608, when the first post-Tridentine visitation

made by diocesan officials was conducted.[47] The findings of the visitors from

Constance provide testimony to the effectiveness of Uhl's approach.[48] They

remarked on most priests' diligence in catechetical instruction.[49] Only the priest in

Dauchingen was noted as needing improvement with teaching the catechism: *in*

doctrina Catechistica praesentaliter iuriores causae tardienses et negligentiores

provide admonit Praefectus et superiores ultro huic malo occurrent.[50] The new

dean, Joannes Brenneissen, admonished him to improve on his catechesis; the same

method employed by his predecessor Uhl, who had warned his priests to ameliorate

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[46]GLAK, 61/7321, fos. 45r-49v; EBAF, HA61, fos. 454r-458v.

[47]EBAF, HA62, fos. 232r-257r.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Ibid.

[50]Ibid, fo. 240v.

their preaching. There was little difference between these two warnings because Uhl

instructed his priests always to include the catechism in their sermons.

Unfortunately little is known about lay knowledge of the catechism prior to

Uhl's efforts to include its teaching in sermons throughout the deanery. Work on the

diocese of Cuenca in Spain provides us with a useful example of familiarity with the

catechism in the years before and after the conclusion of the Council of Trent.[51] The

Inquisition in Cuenca kept records on the ability of people questioned to recite four

basic prayers they would have learned from catechization; the Our Father, the *Ave

Maria*, the *Salve Regina*, and the Creed.[52] New and vigorous catechism instruction

was implemented in the diocese of Cuenca in the 1540s.[53] Between 1544 and 1567,

only one third of those questioned could recite the prayers correctly, but by the 1570s

the expected recitals expanded to include the Ten Commandments, the Fourteen

Articles of Faith, and the *Confiteor*.[54] From 1568 to 1579, this number doubled to

two thirds, and by 1580 to 1589, figures increased to eighty percent.[55] The effects of

catechetical instruction in Cuenca were not felt until a generation after they had

begun in earnest.[56] The situation in Rottweil was probably similar, meaning that far

fewer than half of the population had command of the catechism before the

introduction of widespread indoctrination in the 1560s.

In contrast with the diocese of Cuenca, the laity in Rottweil were not

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[51]Sara Nalle, God in La Mancha, pp. 107-123.

[52]Ibid, p. 121.

[53]Ibid, p. 107.

[54]Ibid, pp. 121, 123.

[55]Ibid, p. 123.

[56]Ibid.

questioned by the Inquisition about their knowledge of prayers. The accounts of the visitors from 1608 is the first external report of catechesis in Rottweil after Johannes Uhl began efforts to improve indoctrination in the 1560s. The visitors discovered that most priests were teaching the catechism diligently, including those in the rural parishes.[57] They also remarked that the decrees on clandestine marriage were pronounced in all parishes in the deanery and were properly enforced.[58] Specific mention was not made concerning the impact of catechesis and the knowledge of the laity, however, only that it was being taught. From the example of the diocese of Cuenca, it can be assumed that a significant increase in lay catechetical proficiency was the result of the successful implementation of Uhl's program to institute catechization through preaching. By 1608, Rottweil was into its second generation of teaching the catechism, the same period when Cuenca saw its catechism knowledge results more than double. Results in Rottweil are likely to have been similar.

Sacraments and the Mass

The Council of Trent placed renewed emphasis on the sacraments.[59] Protestants had rejected five of the seven sacraments of the pre-Reformation Church

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[57]EBAF, HA62, fos. 232r-257r. · By contrast, Marc Forster has discovered that in the diocese of Speyer only a handful of priests were teaching the catechism in the rural parishes in the late 1580s, The Counter-Reformation in the Villages, pp. 30-31.

[58]Ibid, fo. 232v.

[59]J. Waterworth, trans., Canons and Decrees, pp. 54-56.

and altered the nature of the rites which they kept. Trent's reaction strongly

reaffirmed all seven sacraments and stressed the desirability of more frequent

confession and reception of communion by the laity. The Church sought to create a

distinct Catholic lay consciousness through all the sacraments, centering on the

Eucharist and its adoration of the body of Christ as the sacrament which best

illustrated differences with Protestant doctrines.[60] Both these sacraments illustrated

the contrasts between Catholic and Protestant worship practices and served to create

a more unique Catholic consciousness in those who actively engaged in them.

Consistent with the ideas of Trent, Rottweil's Church took steps to monitor

and ensure regular reception of the sacraments, and the Rat supported the cause by

supplying statutes which threatened punishment for non-fulfillment of sacramental

and other religious obligations. Punishments were rarely invoked, and the efforts of

the Church were relied upon to ensure compliance. Rottweil's Church began keeping

a register of baptisms in the city from 1564, and lists of people receiving other

sacraments soon followed.[61] Repression was not an effective method of creating a

group consciousness and Churches preferred to stress regular participation in group

rituals.[62] This was the main reason Catholics established careful record-keeping on

the sacraments, especially baptism, marriage, confession, communion, and burial.[63]

Lack of evidence where punishments were invoked suggests that Rottweil was aware

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[60]Wolfgang Reinhard, "Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State," p. 394.

[61]DAR, Pfarreiarchiv Heilig Kreuz Rottweil, Bd. 1.

[62]Wolfgang Reinhard, "Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State," p. 393.

[63]Ibid.

of the potential for failure when using a strategy of repression. The Rat's statutes

which required participation in the city's religious life were apparently meant solely

as threats, and sentences were not meant to be pronounced on a regular basis.

Instead, such statutes were intended to work in tandem with the Church's

registration of sacramental participation and provide added impetus for compliance

through the threat of sanction.

All sacraments were stressed in reformed Catholicism of the later sixteenth

century, but three which appear to have received little attention for reform (or at least

leave little evidence in the archives of Rottweil during the period of this study) were

confirmation, marriage, and extreme unction. This chapter will concentrate on those

sacraments upon which the energy of reform was directed: baptism, confession, and

communion. The first action taken by Rottweil's Church to monitor lay reception of

the sacraments came in 1564 with the creation of the baptismal register.[64] The

practice of keeping registers of sacrament reception was required in the 1567 synodal

statutes for the diocese of Constance.[65] Rottweil was one of only two areas in the

diocese which began the practice before the decree of the diocesan synod.[66]

Johannes Uhl started it and named the Council of Trent as his inspiration for the

register's creation:

> *LIBER PRIMUS DE HIS, QUI PER LAVACRUM AQUA IN VERBO VITAE*
> *a pristinorum sordibus peccatorum repurgati, CHRISTO nomina dederunt:*
> *auspicatus iuxta Concilii Tridentini decreta, sub M. Joanne Ullano Parocho*

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[64]DAR, Pfarreiarchiv Heilig Kreuz Rottweil, Bd. 1.

[65]Hermann Tüchle, "Das Bistum Konstanz und das Konzil von Trient," p. 191.

[66]Ibid.

Rotuvilano, die 8 Aprilis, anno Salvatoris 1564.[67]

Before the diocesan synod of 1567, Uhl stated here his interest in and knowledge of

the Council of Trent. Trent upheld the seven sacraments and declared that

participation in them differentiated Catholics from heretics.[68] Trent also mandated

the keeping of registers for the recipients of sacraments.[69] This statement had an

effect on Uhl and other Catholic reformers who were attempting to stop the spread

of Protestantism in their respective regions.[70] Lay knowledge of practices unique to

Catholicism through catechization was not enough for the creation of a Catholic

consciousness. In addition, Uhl understood that societies needed to participate

frequently in characteristically Catholic rituals in order to achieve full Catholic

consciousness and achieve the best possible defense against the influence of

Protestantism.

Recording baptisms was given first priority by Uhl who, it appears, was

concerned greatly with the introduction of the newborn into the Catholic community.

Tridentine Catholicism had two premises for the reform of baptismal practices. First,

the Council wished to reduce the number of godparents from the late medieval

practice of naming multiple godparents to a maximum of two.[71] Second, the Roman

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[67]DAR, Pfarreiarchiv Heilig Kreuz Rottweil, Bd. 1, p. 1.

[68]J. Waterworth, trans., Canons and Decrees, pp. 54-56.

[69]Ibid, pp. 198-199.

[70]Wolfgang Reinhard, "Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early-Modern State," p. 393.

[71]John Bossy, "The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe," in David M. Luebke, ed., The Counter-Reformation (Oxford, 1999), pp. 92-93.

Missal directed priests to require saints' names for newly baptized children in the hope that as adults they would maintain a close relationship with that saint, especially those which had strong local cults.[72] The Missal even instructed priests to write a saint's name in the register on behalf of the child if the parents refused one.[73] The aim of both changes was to provide a greater link to God and the sanctified rather than the advancement of extra kinship ties found in late medieval baptismal practice.

Even though Uhl named Trent as the inspiration for his new baptismal register in 1564, his expectations of the benefits for keeping the register were different from those of the Council.[74] Visitors from Constance noted in their reports from 1608 that the practice of multiple godfathers and one godmother was still allowed in Rottweil and that nothing had been done to correct it.[75] At that time, Uhl had been city priest for forty two of the forty four years since the creation of the baptismal register. Any reform of godparent customs would have been initiated by him, but the evidence suggests that he did not devote much attention to them, nor did he concern himself greatly with the assignment of saints' names for the newly baptized. Examination of the three baptismal registers from 1564 to 1601 displays no particular naming patterns for infants.[76] Infant boys often received the common German name of Johannes, but there are very few instances of infant boys being named after the local

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[72]John Bossy, Christianity in the West, 1400-1700 (Oxford, 1985), p. 17.

[73]Ibid.

[74]DAR, Pfarreiarchiv Heilig Kreuz Rottweil, Bd. 1, p. 1.

[75]*Hactenus admissi sunt patrini duo contra Concili Tridentum et una Matrina, et adhuc admittunt.* EBAF, HA62, fo. 234v.

[76]DAR, Pfarreiarchiv Heilig Kreuz Rottweil, Bde. 1, 3, 4.

male patron, St. Pelagius.[77]

Rather than stemming from these two Tridentine aims, Uhl's interest in recording baptisms seems to have come from a desire to tie an infant's welcome into the Christian world to one particular Church; his Church, the Catholic Church in Rottweil. Uhl noticed additional advantages to keeping a register of baptisms. He wished to ensure that families and godparents would be reinforced as Catholics and would educate the infant as a Catholic. Baptism in the church served this purpose by bringing all parties involved into contact with Catholic clergy and their churches rather than neighboring Protestant communities which also offered baptism. The effects of this gathering for the infant's baptism in a Catholic church emphasized that this child was Catholic and that it was the duty of the child's parents and godparents to rear them in the Catholic faith. Once the inscription in the register made the event official, there could be no doubt that this child was Catholic, since its baptism was recorded by a Catholic priest and the register was to be for ever held in the Catholic church where the sacrament took place. The low level of literacy in Germany at this time (between 5 and 10 percent) also aided the priest in reinforcing the ceremony and the roles of all persons involved as Catholic.[78] For some, this may have been the only recording of their name in their lifetime. Modern people append their name to official documents on an almost daily occurrence which can limit the responsibility that is felt towards each separate commitment. Many people in 1560s and 1570s Rottweil, however, may have seen their name recorded only once, in the baptismal register, and

[77]Ibid.

[78]David Bagchi, Luther's Earliest Opponents, p.184.

their identification with and responsibility to the Catholic Church would have been far greater.

Uhl's dedication to a Catholic consciousness is further attested by his willingness to re-baptize in the church infants which had been baptized at their birth by midwives.[79] The midwives were responding to public needs for quick baptism in a world in which nearly half the babies born did not live to see their first birthday.[80] People were also anxious to have infants baptized quickly in order to rid them of original sin which was perceived as something akin to demonic possession.[81] Failure to baptize before death was serious, and it could require a costly contribution to the church in order to have the child buried in the church cemetery.[82] These were integral parts of popular religious culture and Uhl did not see an immediate danger resulting from them. He was, however, quick to give church baptisms in addition to midwives' baptisms. Although this was against Church doctrine, further baptism in church was a tool so valued by Uhl in his attempt to create a Catholic consciousness that he saw it as an acceptable breach of practice. Another reason for giving a second baptism was to reinforce the significance of the sacrament by associating it

[79]Visitors from the diocese reported the practice of rebaptism in the Rottweil churches in 1608, and noted its sacrilegious nature. EBAF, HA62, fo. 234v.

[80]I rely here on the evidence gathered by Christopher Friedrichs for the German city of Nördlingen between 1621-1720, where was discovered that 46.5% of infants died before their first birthday. Christopher Friedrichs, Urban Society in an Age of War: Nördlingen, 1580-1720 (Princeton, 1979), pp. 306-308.

[81]John Bossy, Christianity in the West, p. 14.

[82]For example, in 1603 the Hettinger family paid 100 gulden in order to have their unbaptized child buried. STAR, Archivalien II, Abteilung I, Lade V, Fasz 16, Nr. 6.

with a fixed location, a Catholic church.[83] The role of pre-Reformation baptism was defined more as a rite of entrance into the citizenry rather than into the community of Christians and often took place somewhere other than a church.[84] New emphasis on the church as the proper setting for baptism attempted to restore perception of the sacrament as a religious rather than a secular function, which tied individuals to a group of Christian believers rather than to a defined citizenry. Uhl also placed the creation of a Catholic consciousness above reforms of godparentage or local saints' devotions. For him, the identification of the individual as a member of the Catholic community of believers was paramount. No doubt he recognized the Tridentine aims as valuable tenets of reform, but saw them as less urgent and gave them a lower priority.

Baptism was not the only sacrament which received Trent's attention. Confession and communion were also given greater emphasis by the Council. In the later middle ages there was a movement towards limiting the reception of the Eucharist to those who had prepared themselves extensively through confession. This position was promoted by theologians such as Jean Gerson (1363-1429), who deplored the unworthiness of humanity for eucharistic reception, and what he perceived as popular irreverence for the host which stemmed from the proliferation of feasts and processions.[85] Gerson advocated more frequent confession as the

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[83]Henry Kamen, The Phoenix and the Flame, pp. 116-117.

[84]John Bossy, Christianity in the West, pp. 14-19.

[85]Miri Rubin, Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture (Cambridge, 1991), p. 349.

solution, calling for quarterly or even monthly confession.[86] Many German diocesan

councils echoed the sentiments of theologians such as Gerson in the 1450s when they

limited the number of eucharistic processions and called for more frequent

confession.[87] The late medieval Church inextricably linked together the sacraments of

confession and communion, establishing confession as "essentially a form of

preparation for communion."[88] Trent upheld the medieval practice of requiring

confession and communion only once per year, while placing additional emphasis on

the cleansing of sin with the sacrament of confession as a prerequisite for reception of

the Eucharist.[89] In so doing, Trent reinforced the late medieval view that the two

sacraments were inseparable and also believed that each confession should be

followed by communion.

Trent also opened up the possibility for more frequent confession and

communion, instructing Catholics "to communicate every year, at least at Easter."[90]

The phrase 'at least' implied that a greater frequency was desirable. Already by

1500, attempts had been made in some areas of Europe to increase reception of the

two sacraments.[91] Greater efforts were made manifest in synodal statutes after the

Council of Trent. The dioceses of Augsburg and Constance confirmed their desire

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[86]Catherine Brown, Pastor and Laity in the Theology of Jean Gerson (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 57-58.

[87]Miri Rubin, Corpus Christi, p. 350; David Myers, 'Poor, Sinning Folk', p. 37.

[88]Miri Rubin, Corpus Christi, pp. 84-85.

[89]J. Waterworth, trans., Canons and Decrees, pp. 80-81, 83.

[90]Ibid, p. 83.

[91]David Myers, 'Poor, Sinning Folk', p. 146.

for frequent confession and communion at their diocesan synods in 1567, when they

called for confession at the principal feasts of the Church.[92]

> "Four or even five separate confessions, scattered regularly
> throughout the year from Passion Sunday to the Octave of Easter,
> Christmas, Pentecost, the Assumption of the Virgin (August 15), and
> the Feast of All Saints, along with 'other solemn feasts,' became the
> goal."[93]

Frequent reception of communion was implicit with exhortations to frequent penance

since the synods, like their medieval predecessors, did not separate the two

sacraments.

One reason why the late medieval church linked confession and communion

together was to "establish sacerdotal control over membership in the sacramental

community."[94] Once achieved, the resulting relationship ideally was used to

catechize the penitent with the orthodox teachings of the presiding priest, for by its

design, penance demanded conformity.[95] The Eucharist which followed it imparted

the grace of God and His intervention in the world for those individuals who had

fulfilled the prerequisite soul cleansing which was confession.[96] The two sacraments

were thus bound together with the Eucharist serving as a benefit which followed the

instruction received in confession.[97] Inseparable, the one sacrament could not

achieve its full effects without the other.

Reformed Catholicism in the later sixteenth century stressed the importance

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[92]Ibid.

[93]Ibid.

[94]Miri Rubin, Corpus Christi, p. 84.

[95]Ibid.

[96]Ibid, p. 85.

[97]Ibid, p. 84.

of the sacraments, especially confession and communion, as the vehicles of grace
which brought people closer to salvation.[98] Confession and communion were singled
out for many reasons, one of which was their regular reception throughout life.
Baptism, confirmation, marriage (usually), Holy Orders, and Extreme Unction were
meant to be received only once in a lifetime, while confession and communion were
meant to be received at least once annually and even more frequent reception became
increasingly encouraged. Catholic reformers could also utilize contrasts in penitential
and eucharistic practices with those of Protestants to define more clearly the
variations between the two confessions. By stressing these differences they hoped to
establish Catholic loyalty and identity in their communities.

Even though Johannes Uhl began reforming the Rottweil Church in the
1560s, lay reception of the sacraments of confession and communion was not
targeted for reform until the 1580s. The delay can be explained by changes in the
expectation of the clergy to administer these sacraments diligently, which also came
about in the 1580s. As explained in chapter five, Uhl allowed a generation to elapse
from the 1560s to the 1580s before discipline was exacted from clergy for improper
behavior such as concubinage. Reforms in the training of priests began in the 1560s
and were given time to germinate before total compliance with clerical behavioral
changes was expected. The same leniency was applied to changes in expected
diligence regarding the administration of confession and communion. Uhl placed the
order of these reforms below priestly training so that more well-trained priests would
be in place before the regulation of confession and communion began. By the 1580s,

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[98]Outram Evenett, The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation (South Bend, IN,
1970), pp. 37-40.

trained priests were being monitored and were more diligent in offering these sacraments and offering them even more frequently, so the laity had greater opportunity to comply with their obligations of confession and communion. As detailed later in this chapter, management of regular lay reception of confession and communion also began in the 1580s.

The Rat first punished a priest for failure to administer the sacraments in 1537.[99] The next occurrence does not appear in the records until the visitation performed by Johannes Uhl in 1581.[100] There are several explanations for this gap. In 1537, tensions were still high concerning the recent failed Reformation attempt and the Rat wished to ensure that all parishes had access to Catholic sacraments, rather than resort to Lutheran practices which it feared might still be available, especially in the rural parishes. After 1537, the bishops of Constance admonished the Rat not to punish priests since that was within the diocese's jurisdiction, advice which caused the Rat either to reduce its disciplining zeal or to administer penalties more discreetly.[101] It is also possible that greater concern for popular religious feasts from 1529 to 1563 replaced some of the emphasis on regular reception of sacraments and, therefore, the diligence of priests in offering them. The next period began with Johannes Uhl's appointment as city priest in 1560 and dean of Rottweil in 1574. As shown already, Uhl was a conscientious and energetic reformer and, at least by 1581, he was actively monitoring the frequency with which priests in his deanery were offering the sacraments of confession and communion. One should not assume,

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[99]GLAK, 82a/261.

[100]GLAK, 61/7321, fos. 151r-153r.

[101]GLAK, 82a/261.

however, that he did not devote his attention to these sacraments in the years 1560 to 1581. More frequent and universal reception of confession and communion was no doubt encouraged during these years, while education of clergy and laity precipitated changes in practice. Uhl decided to enforce regulation of these two sacraments only after he believed sufficient changes in the clergy and their effects on the laity had been achieved, so that he could expect and enforce universal compliance.

Uhl chose to enforce changes with the clergy beginning with the visitation of 1581. His report, dated 13 May 1581, covered eighteen parish priests under the jurisdiction of Rottweil and found two of them negligent in their administration of the sacraments.[102] Joannes Georgius Thomae, the priest in Rottweil-Altstadt, was one of these, and Uhl noted that he had admonished him before for his negligence.[103] The other was Thomae's brother, Georg Thomae, who was the priest in Dauchingen and also took care of the affiliate parish in Weilersbach.[104] The Rat levied unspecified fines on 12 September 1581 on both the brothers for failure to perform their duties.[105] On 30 October 1581, after they continued to be negligent, the Rat ordered both the brothers to resume their obligations under the penalty of further, more serious sanctions.[106] Further complaints were lodged with the Rat by Rottweil-Altstadt parishioners against Joannes Georgius on 25 January 1582.[107] Possibly Joannes Georgius finally took notice of the Rat's threats and changed his ways, since his name

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[102]GLAK, 61/7321, fos. 151r-153r.

[103]Ibid, fo. 151v.

[104]Ibid.

[105]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1580-1582, p. 167.

[106]Ibid, p. 192.

[107]Ibid, p. 209.

no longer appears in the *Ratsprotokolle* and no other priest was appointed to replace

him. In May 1582, however, his brother Georg was temporarily replaced as priest in

Dauchingen by Paulus Kercker, who was also the priest for the neighboring village of

Dietingen.[108] The next month, Thomas Hauthaber was named as a permanent

replacement for Georg.[109]

The example of the Thomae brothers displays the resolve of the Rat and Uhl

in their new policy to punish priests who failed to provide regular sacraments for

their parishes. During the period of this study, only one other priest after the

Thomae brothers required admonition for his diligence in administering the

sacraments. Lorenz Sichler had been appointed as priest in the village of Balgheim in

January 1584.[110] He was admonished by the Rat to improve his diligence in

administering the sacraments within a month of his appointment.[111] It is unknown

whether Sichler improved his sacramental responsibilities or not, but he was

eventually dismissed from office in 1589 for refusal to give up his concubine.[112]

Sichler's extremely rebellious nature was reported at length in his dismissal

proceedings before the Rat and other hearings between 1585 and 1589.[113] Sichler

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[108]Ibid, p. 232.

[109]Ibid, p. 234.

[110]Winfried Hecht, "Rottweils Magistrat kündigt den Pfarrer von Balgheim (1589)," n.p.

[111]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1583-1586, p. 88.

[112]STAR, "Missivbuch der kaiserlichen Reichsstadt Rottweil von 1585-1607," fos. 199v-200r. Sichler's case and his rebellious nature are treated in detail in chapter 5 and also in: Winfried Hecht, "Rottweils Magistrat kündigt den Pfarrer von Balgheim (1589)," n.p.

[113]Winfried Hecht, Ibid.

apart, who was chronically insubordinate, the other clergy seem to have heeded the warnings of the Rat and the examples made of the Thomae brothers in 1581 and 1582.

Unfortunately, extant documents do not specify what kind of frequency for offering the sacraments was expected or required of Rottweil priests in the early 1580s. In the early sixteenth century, churches across Europe offered lay eucharistic reception at least once per year at Easter, and at most five times per year.[114] By the beginning of the seventeenth century, lay communion increased across Europe to a minimum of four times per year, while more devout Catholics received the sacrament monthly.[115] The earliest extant records for lay reception of communion are for the main church in Rottweil, *Heilig Kreuz*, from 1627.[116] In that year, lay reception was offered eleven times.[117] Communion was offered to the laity five times during the Easter season at the Annunciation of the Virgin, Palm Sunday, Last Supper (the most popular), Good Friday, and at Easter.[118] The other six occasions were Pentecost, Assumption of the Virgin, Nativity of the Virgin, All Saints, Christmas, and the Circumcision.[119] As table three demonstrates, lay reception was relatively rare on three of the extra-Easter days; Nativity of the Virgin, All Saints, and the

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[114]Peter Browe, <u>Die häufige Kommunion in Mittelalter</u> (Münster, 1938), pp. 39-42, cited in David Myers, '<u>Poor, Sinning Folk</u>,' pp. 34-35.

[115]Robert Bireley, <u>The Refashioning of Catholicism</u>, p. 105.

[116]DAR, Pfarreiarchiv Heilig Kreuz Rottweil, Bd. 11, p. 314.

[117]Ibid.

[118]Ibid.

[119]Ibid.

Table Three: Extra-Easter Communicants at *Heilig Kreuz* Rottweil, 1627		
	Date	**Communicants**
Pentecost	23 May	736
Assumption of the Virgin	15 August	659
Nativity of the Virgin	8 September	16
All Saints	1 November	52
Christmas	25 December	679
Circumcision	1 January	30
Total		2172

*Data from DAR, Pfarreiarchiv Heilig Kreuz Rottweil, Bd. 11, p. 314. Dates: Adriano Capelli, Cronologia, Cronografia e Calendario Perpetuo (Milan, 1988), pp. 62-63.

Circumcision.[120] The overwhelming comparative popularity of lay reception during Easter and at Pentecost, Assumption of the Virgin, and Christmas suggest that there was a tradition of receiving communion at these feasts. Records show that in 1585 Uhl offered lay reception at least at Pentecost and the Assumption of the Virgin in addition to Easter.[121] This suggests that during Uhl's tenure, lay reception was probably expected to be offered at least four times per year; Easter time, Pentecost, Assumption of the Virgin, and at Christmas with the possibility of the Nativity of the Virgin, All Saints, and the Circumcision as well. The Nativity of the Virgin, All Saints, and the Circumcision may have been recent additions as eucharistic offerings in the liturgical year in Rottweil, and, if so, this may explain their relative lack of popularity for receiving communion.

Easter time, however, remained the focus for lay reception of communion.

[120]Ibid.

[121]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1583-1586, pp. 209, 213.

The Council of Trent and the 1567 diocesan synod of Constance required Catholics to receive the Eucharist only once annually at Easter.[122] More frequent reception was encouraged but signified devotion rather than fulfillment of sacramental obligation. Comparison between the data shown in tables three and four show that more people received communion in Rottweil during Easter time in 1627 than during the rest of the year combined. If the number of Easter time communicants represents roughly the total number of communicants in *Heilig Kreuz* parish in Rottweil, then it can be seen that only a portion of parishioners elected to receive communion at the extra-Easter offerings. Even though the totals for extra-Easter and Easter time communicants are similar, it would be wrong to assume that Rottweilers communicated on average twice per year, once at Easter time and at another feast during the year. It is highly likely that most of the people communicating outwith Easter were receiving the sacrament at one or more of the extra-Easter offerings and probably all three of the most popular; Pentecost, Assumption of the Virgin, and Christmas. A handful of people, probably from the same group who communicated regularly outwith Easter time received the sacrament on the Nativity of the Virgin, All Saints, or the Circumcision. These people displayed the highest degree of devotion and eucharistic piety and probably took advantage of every opportunity to receive communion. No layperson would have been able to communicate more than seven times per year in 1627.

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[122]J. Waterworth, trans., Canons and Decrees, p. 83; *Constitutiones et decreta synodalia civitatis et dioecesis Constantiensis . . .*

Table Four: Easter-time Communicants at *Heilig Kreuz* Rottweil, 1627		
	Date	Communicants
Annunciation of the Virgin	25 March	247
Palm Sunday	28 March	664
Last Supper	1 April	998
Good Friday	2 April	73
Easter	4 April	391
Total		2373

*Data from DAR, Pfarreiarchiv Heilig Kreuz Rottweil, Bd. 11, p. 314. Dates: Adriano Capelli, Cronologia, Cronografia e Calendario Perpetuo, pp. 62-63.

Uhl began the practice of monitoring lay reception of communion in the 1580s. By this time he was also regulating the availability of the sacrament in the parishes. Having achieved a sufficient level of clerical education in the deanery, he now expected priests to offer communion on a regular basis. The first attempt to enforce lay communion came on 5 November 1583, when Uhl ordered priests in the deanery of Rottweil to record reception and to report those who did not receive the Holy Sacraments.[123] The order appeared in the *Ratsprotokolle*, where the Rat gave its simultaneous stamp of approval, stating that the monitoring of the sacraments was necessary *zu erhaltung der Seligmachenden Catholischen alten Religion*.[124] The statement by the Rat reflects its understanding that Catholic loyalty and Catholic identity of the populace could be achieved fully only through frequent participation in characteristically Catholic rituals, and that record-keeping was the only dependable means available to ensure universal compliance.

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[123]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1583-1586, p. 68.

[124]Ibid.

Although the statute of 5 November 1583 denoted the first attempt to govern lay reception of confession and communion in Rottweil, threats of sanction for disobedience did not appear until 28 June 1585. On that date, the Rat made a decree which outlined specific punishments for those who failed to uphold their obligation to go to communion at Easter.[125] Since the decree came after Easter (April 21), it was apparently a response to the findings of the record-keeping which began in 1583, and an unspecified number of people was made an example that the populace would become more observant of Easter obligations in the future.[126] Men who failed to fulfill their Easter sacramental obligation were sentenced to be imprisoned until the next available communion at the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin (August 15).[127] By contrast, women who were found guilty were sentenced to go without wine until the Assumption of the Virgin.[128] In the same year, on 9 July 1585, the Rat decreed that a servant woman was to be exiled if she failed to take communion at the Assumption of the Virgin.[129] The outcome of the servant woman's case is unfortunately unknown. The Rat clearly stated in these instances that citizenship in Rottweil depended on each individual's satisfactory fulfillment of Catholic worship obligations. The duration of these sanctions was significant, since it ended with the next available reception of the Eucharist; the ritual which most distinguished Catholics from other German Christians. The lapsed communion recipients

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[125]Ibid, p. 209.

[126]Adriano Capelli, <u>Cronologia, Cronografia e Calendario Perpetuo</u>, pp. 96-97.

[127]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1583-1586, p. 209.

[128]Ibid.

[129]Ibid, p. 213.

reconfirmed their positions as members of a Catholic community once they fulfilled

their sacramental obligation. Afterwards, they were welcomed back into the

communities of Rottweil, both civic and religious, whose expectations were in unison

with each other on the issue of Easter communion. If people could not meet

sacramental expectations, they were no longer a viable part of a Catholic community,

and, as in the case of the servant woman, would have been excluded from civic

membership.

Sacramental expectations for the laity appear to have increased in the 1590s,

when they were also required to attend confession before each communion. On 26

May 1595, Uhl convinced the Rat to threaten punishment for all people who went to

communion without first attending confession.[130] Shortly after this pronouncement,

on 5 July 1595, the Rat reinforced Uhl's efforts to record all confessions by making it

a civil statute as well.[131] Both these statutes suggest there may have been popular

resistance to the recording of confessions. The first decree shows that Uhl felt he

needed the support of the Rat in order to bring all the laity to confession before each

communion, and that possibly the efforts of the clergy to exhort the populace to

follow this rule were not universally observed. No record exists to suggest that

further punishment or admonition for the offense was necessary, and the Rat's threat

of sanctions seems to have served as a satisfactory impetus for reluctant confessants.

The second decree may have been a response to public fears about the priests

keeping records of confessions, when, perhaps, the laity were nervous that details of

their individual confessions might also have been recorded along with their

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[130]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1593-1598, p. 208.

[131]Ibid, p. 219.

attendance. The Rat's support for the procedure may not have alleviated fears about what might have been recorded in addition to attendance, but it would have made the point that the responsibility to confess before communion was civic as well as spiritual. Hence, the issue consisted of not only the redemption of souls but also membership of Rottweil society.

Confession received additional emphasis during the period 1579 to 1611 when Rottweil was struck by a series of plagues and bad weather which destroyed the crops in their fields. Johannes Uhl saw the sins of the community as the source of the problem, believing that they had displeased God who was then punishing the people.[132] The belief that natural disasters and epidemics were God's punishments for sin was common across early modern Europe. Villagers in Württemberg, Rottweil's neighbor, attributed the horrors of the Thirty Years' War to God's retribution for their sins.[133] Additionally, sixteenth century Jesuits believed that disease was God's penalty for the sins of a community and that epidemics served as God's warning for people to change their ways.[134] The solution for both Johannes Uhl and the Jesuits was to exhort the populace to repent their sins and attend the sacrament of confession.[135]

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[132]For a full discussion of this topic, see: Jason Nye, "Johannes Uhl on Penitence."

[133]David Sabean, Power in the Blood: Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 61-93.

[134]Lynn Martin, Plague? Jesuit Accounts of Epidemic Disease in the 16th Century (Kirksville, MO, 1996), p. 89.

[135]Ibid; and Jason Nye, "Johannes Uhl on Penitence." Heinrich Bullinger made similar exhortations to the people of Zürich to combat famine in 1571. Hans Ulrich Bächtold, "Gegen den Hunger beten. Heinrich Bullinger, Zürich und die Einführung des Gemeinen Gebetes im Jahre 1571," in Hans Ulrich Bächtold, Rainer Henrich, and Kurt Jakob Rüetschi, eds., Vom Beten, vom Verketzern, vom Predigen.

Uhl relied on his own preaching ability to exhort his parishioners to repentance. He appears to have been successful in his attempts, and during his tenure in Rottweil requests were made by the laity for him to hold additional services, which were penitential in nature during these times of great stress.[136] These services consisted of examinations of conscience and a number of prayers for forgiveness.[137] When plague next struck Rottweil in 1610 and 1611, or four years after Uhl's death, his successor Jakob Khuon also performed the penitential services for the people of Rottweil.[138] Khuon believed that the populace ought not only to confess in order to reconcile the community with God, but also go to communion after their confession.[139] The Rat supported him in his endeavor. In March 1611, the Rat threatened sanctions against those failing to comply, in an effort to ensure that all persons in Rottweil fulfilled their sacramental duties in order to restore the favor of God to the commune and health to the region.[140] Civic and spiritual duties were concomitant, and once again, the renewable sacraments of confession and communion, specifically Catholic in nature, served to test Catholic loyalty and identity which in their turn conferred full membership in the Catholic society of Rottweil.

Fulfillment of sacramental duties was not only beneficial for the community as

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Beiträge zum Zeitalter Heinrich Bullingers und Rudolf Gwalthers (Zürich, 1999), pp. 9-44.

[136]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1587-1592, pp. 371-372.

[137]Jason Nye, "Johannes Uhl on Penitence."

[138]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Book 1609-1616, p. 153.

[139]Ibid, p. 192.

[140]Ibid.

a whole, however, but also for the soul of the individual. A high frequency of

sacramental reception was desirable and increased piety led to greater spiritual

benefits. Even though lay communion might occur only monthly or even less

frequently, there was still reason within eucharistic theology to call for weekly Mass

attendance. Actual lay reception was not the only means whereby the individual

might receive benefit from communion. Concentration on the Host during Its

elevation in the Mass and the future redemption which It brought was believed to be

spiritually beneficial.[141] Magical-like qualities were perceived in the Host and all

things associated with Its consecration across many areas of sixteenth century

Germany.[142] The danger in this practice was of course that the laity might believe

that gazing at the Host was equal to reception.[143] In the early years of Uhl's attempts

to reform the Church in Rottweil, this may have been regarded as acceptable to some

degree. Those devoted to adoration of the Host would also be devoted to Mass

attendance and were therefore exposed to preaching and catechization. Adoration of

the Host, even though potentially dangerous if done to excess, remained a distinctive

feature of Catholicism and its practice was an exhibition of loyalty to the faith. As

long as the laity continued to behave in Catholic fashion, they remained in the fold

and the effects of sermons and catechization would have the chance to mold them

into reformed Catholics.

Once Uhl had brought the clergy in the deanery of Rottweil to offer

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[141]Miri Rubin, Corpus Christi, pp. 63, 150.

[142]Robert Scribner, "Ritual and Popular Religion in Catholic Germany at the Time of the Reformation," Journal of Ecclesiastical History 35/1 (January 1984), pp. 47-77.

[143]Miri Rubin, Corpus Christi, p. 150.

confession and communion at his determined minimum pace, he pushed for greater

frequency of Masses in the parishes. Mass was said irregularly in late medieval

Europe, especially in rural areas.[144] Priests who were responsible for multiple

parishes were often limited by the necessity to travel great distances, which could

require one or more of their parishes to go without Mass on the obligatory Sundays

and feast days. Parishioners in rural areas especially were also discouraged by the

distances often required of them to travel in order to hear Mass.[145] Attendance

remained lax among the laity in these conditions and little effort was made by the

Church to enforce attendance at Mass until the sixteenth century.[146]

The Mass had also lost some of its theological focus for the laity in late

medieval Europe. In some areas, parishioners milled about the door of the church

until they heard the bell which signaled the elevation of the Host.[147] At this point,

known in Germany as the *Stillmesse*, they would rush into the church and then kneel

in reverence to the uplifted Host.[148] This was a supreme moment for the parishioner,

a 'transcendental experience.'[149] Afterwards, many would leave the church to go

about their daily business or began talking noisily instead of keeping their attention

focused on the priest who was about to take communion.[150] Miri Rubin declares

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[144]Henry Kamen, The Phoenix and the Flame, pp. 117-118.

[145]Ibid.

[146]Ibid, pp. 118-119.

[147]Miri Rubin, Corpus Christi, p. 152.

[148]John Bossy, Christianity in the West, p. 68.

[149]Ibid.

[150]Henry Kamen, The Phoenix and the Flame, p. 119.

Church teaching on the elevation of the Host as the source of a lack of interest in the rest of the Mass:

> "The benefits of the mass were so closely linked to the moment of the elevation, when Christ was in presence, that it is not surprising that the lengthy ritual that followed it was felt to be an anti-climax."[151]

Many Catholic reformers in the sixteenth century sought to return devotion to the Mass as a whole and not just the elevation of the Host.[152] The Council of Trent echoed their sentiment by emphasizing greater liturgical participation of the laity through their more frequent reception of communion rather than their only witnessing the solitary communion of the priest.[153]

For Uhl, multiple Masses each week meant enabling all parishioners to attend Mass at least once a week. If Mass were said only once a week, one member of each household might have been unable to attend, since one person was required to watch the house.[154] Inability to attend Mass also excluded the individual from hearing sermons and catechization which promulgated reformed Catholicism in the parishes. Parishioners in the Diocese of Speyer responded to extra availability of Masses there, and in some cases even requested more frequent Masses.[155] The offering of multiple Masses per week served as Uhl's solution to the problem in Rottweil. If the laity were universally able to attend Mass weekly, they were certain not to be excluded from any portion, however slight, of the liturgical calendar, and were privy to the

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[151]Miri Rubin, Corpus Christi, p. 153.

[152]Henry Kamen, The Phoenix and the Flame, pp. 121-123.

[153]J. Waterworth, trans., Canons and Decrees, pp. 156-157.

[154]Robert Bireley, The Refashioning of Catholicism, p. 105.

[155]Marc Forster, The Counter-Reformation in the Villages, p. 31.

benefits of spiritual and occasional real communion, as well as the full complement of weekly sermons and catechization.

Trent recognized the common unavailability of Masses as a problem in the mid-sixteenth century and decreed that all bishops ought to ensure that priests:

> "celebrate Mass at least on the Lord's Days, and on solemn festivals; but, if they have the cure of souls, so often as to satisfy their obligation."[156]

Trent also expounded on its definition of the obligation for those charged with the cure of souls:

> "Whereas it is by divine precept enjoined on all, to whom the cure of souls is committed, to know their own sheep; to offer sacrifice for them; and, by the preaching of the divine word, by the administration of the sacraments, and by the example of all good works, to feed them."[157]

The duties shown above could be administered only with regular offerings of the Mass. The offering of sacrifice (the Eucharist), preaching, and administration of the sacraments, or at least one of the two renewable sacraments in the Eucharist, all centered on the Mass. Even the words 'to feed them' were obvious allusions to the Eucharist. To charge priests 'to know their own sheep' meant that these, in addition to other pastoral duties, needed to be offered on a frequent basis. By this definition, any priest who did not offer more than one weekly Mass failed in his duties, because multiple Masses per week were essential to ensure universal attendance of his flock.

Analysis of Uhl's visitations of the deanery of Rottweil provide insight into the changes that took place in the frequency of Mass under his leadership. As previously mentioned in this chapter, Uhl began monitoring priests' preaching ability in the 1570s and then the availability of sacraments provided by priests in the 1580s

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[156]J. Waterworth, trans., <u>Canons and Decrees</u>, p. 185.

[157]Ibid, p. 175.

in the deanery of Rottweil. In the 1590s, he started to regulate the frequency which

they said Mass in their parishes as well. For the first time, the visitation of 1597

noted the frequency which Mass was being celebrated in the deanery.[158]

Corresponding information for each parish, however, was not entered into the report.

Of the fifteen parishes visited, only three received comment on this issue. Joannes

Monch in Waldmössingen and Joannes Hoch in Fischbach were both recorded as

saying the Mass weekly, while the other priest mentioned, Zacharias Glattrin in

Epfendorf, was singled out for his diligence as he said two Masses per week.[159]

Parishes in the city of Rottweil were excluded from the report on this issue, probably

because there had been daily Mass in the city from as early as 1485.[160] On the

surface, this may not seem like much of a statement regarding the frequency of

Masses in the deanery of Rottweil. As evidenced by Uhl's earlier visitation reports,

however, only a few issues which were targets for reform at the time were mentioned

in each report. Uhl was also very careful to emphasize positively the particular merits

of priests who were performing beyond their obligations. This meant that the 1597

visitation was concerned with Mass frequency and found only one priest who was

saying regularly more than one Mass per week. Those parishes in which frequency

was unspecified probably fell into two categories; either their priests were saying

Mass regularly once a week and were not mentioned, or the discrepancies were not

serious enough to warrant disciplinary action beyond Uhl's admonishment since no

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[158]EBAF, HA61, fos. 454r-458v.

[159]Ibid.

[160]DAR, AI2a, #448.

record exists for the Rat's punishment of priests for this offense in the late 1590s.[161]

Table Five: Weekly Mass Offerings Noted in Visitations of 1597 and 1608		
Weekly Masses	1597	1608
One	2	0
Two	1	1
Three	0	7
More than three	0	1
Not specified	12	6
Total	15	15

*Data from EBAF, HA61, fos. 454r-458v; HA62, fos. 232r-257r.

Uhl's attempts to increase the number of weekly Masses in the deanery are evidenced by the results of the visitation of 1608. The visitors from the diocese in Constance found in 1608 that many more parish priests were saying multiple Masses per week than had done so in 1597.[162] If one takes into account that Uhl's report in 1597 would have praised any priest who said multiple Masses, then, as shown in table three above, only one priest out of fifteen was performing at that level. By 1608, that figure jumped to at least nine out of fifteen priests. Even more significant is the fact that by 1608 at least eight out of fifteen priests were saying three or more Masses per week, compared to none who were achieving that level in 1597. So Uhl and his successor as dean from 1606 to 1608, Joannes Brenneissen, were effective at increasing the numbers of weekly Masses in the deanery's parishes between 1597 and 1608. Priests in the deanery also appear to have supported this reform since no record exists to suggest that any formal warnings or punishments were required to

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[161]STAR, Ratsprotokolle, Books 1593-1598, 1599-1608.

[162]EBAF, HA62, fos. 232r-257r.

bring about the change. The effect of this achievement was to ensure that all parishioners would be able to attend Mass in these parishes and therefore be exposed further to the Eucharist and its efficacy, as well as to the preaching and catechization which explained the Eucharist's necessity in the Catholic faith. Once able priests who could restore efficacy to the Mass and explain its teachings were in place, the next move was to provide greater access through increased opportunity to hear and witness the Mass. This, as in the case of many reforming steps taken earlier, was another effort towards building a distinct Catholic identity in Rottweil.

Popular Religious Activities

This chapter has thus far explained what and how the laity was taught and how it was expected to behave on a regular basis. The rest of the chapter will concentrate on religious activities which, although certainly promoted by clergy, stemmed mostly from lay initiative; pilgrimages, and pious bequests which commissioned Requiem Masses and prayers. Motivation for these activities would have been enhanced by increased catechetical knowledge, and greater participation in the liturgy. Many of these activities were unique to Catholicism after the Reformation. As such, participation in them confirmed some success in the Rat and Church's efforts to create a Catholic consciousness within the community.

Comparative and quantitative study of changes in the types of remembrance bequests and the religious attitudes which shaped these trends requires extensive

research into the wills and testaments of all members of the community.[163] The time

and logistics allowed for in this study of Rottweil have forced me to save such

analysis for later investigation. Therefore, I have confined myself to identifying some

types of remembrance bequests from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century,

which will serve as examples of the pious activities of the laity in Rottweil.

The pre-Reformation Church has been termed "a cult in the service of the

dead."[164] Based on the doctrine of purgatory, the living prayed for the dead in an

effort to expedite the soul's entrance into heaven. Masses, prayers, and alms-giving

were perceived to be the obligation of the living to assist the dead in their journey.[165]

These activities of the living were also beneficial to themselves, since fulfillment of

obligations to the dead also constituted a 'good work' on their part. The dead

remained part of the community, 'kith and kin.'[166] Once in heaven, the dead

reciprocated their relationship with the living by praying for them as well. The

Tridentine Church ensured that these practices survived the Reformation, when it

reaffirmed purgatory and, accordingly, the relationship of the living with the dead and

the benefits of Masses, prayers, and alms-giving in their honor.[167]

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[163]R. Po-chia Hsia, Society and Religion in Münster, pp. 177-198.

[164]A. N. Galpern, "The Legacy of Late Medieval Religion in Sixteenth-Century Champagne," in C. Trinkaus and H. O. Oberman, eds., The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion (Leiden, 1974), p. 149, quoted in Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall, eds., The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe (Cambridge, 2000), "Introduction," p. 3.

[165]Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall, The Place of the Dead, "Introduction," pp. 3-4.

[166]John Bossy, Christianity in the West, pp. 28-29.

[167]J. Waterworth, trans., Canons and Decrees, pp. 232-233.

In Rottweil, the faithful often arranged for post-mortem Masses and prayers before their death through an endowment arrangement with the local church. Not surprisingly, perpetual anniversary remembrances were more expensive and costs rose with the amount of material and effort required to carry them out. The financial standing of the individual could, therefore, limit them in their quest for remembrance Masses and prayers.

The most common form of remembrance in Rottweil was to arrange for prayers and Requiem Masses to be said on the anniversary for a specified number of years after death.[168] Available to persons with modest means, the price usually amounted to no more than one or two gulden.[169] Unfortunately, it is not clear from the records what type of prayers or Mass were commissioned. It was merely noted by the negotiating priest what was the duration of the agreement, the price, and if they were meant to be prayers or Masses, or, in some cases, both.[170]

Other, more elaborate remembrances were negotiated between the parish priest and the individual. Often perpetual, and including specific instructions regarding the way they should be observed, these were more expensive and exceeded the resources of much of the populace. The 1581 agreement between the priest in the *Heilig Kreuz Kirche*, at that time Johannes Uhl, and Johann Beck and his wife Dorothea Hettinger is a good example of such a remembrance bequest.[171] Beck was a *Hofgerichtsassessor* from 1574 to 1588, and served as *Bürgermeister* from 1591

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[168]A complete chronological listing of these exists for the *Heilig Kreuz Kirche* in 1627. DAR, Pfarreiarchiv Heilig Kreuz Rottweil, Bd. 161, pp. 1-127.

[169]Ibid.

[170]Ibid.

[171]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade X, Fasz 5, Nr. 3.

until his death in 1603.[172] The Rottweil tax list from 1584 records him as one of the wealthiest men in the city.[173] As a man of means, he chose to procure the best possible remembrance in the city and prayers for the afterlife for him and his family that he could. The service agreed upon by Uhl and Beck was perpetual, and took place annually on the Friday after the feast of *Margarethae Virginis*.[174] The first remembrance event was that the priests, two sextons, and a choir went to the grave and prayed and sang the Psalms.[175] Afterwards, they sang a *Seelvesper* in the choir of *Heilig Kreuz*, then returned to the grave, and then came back to the choir in *Heilig Kreuz* to sing a *Salve Regina*.[176] The remembrance service began again the next morning when the priests said a long *Vigili* and a *Seelamt*, while singing *de Beata Maria Virgine* at each of the Masses.[177] In addition, they went to the grave and began singing a *Seelvesper* after the elevation in each Mass, returning to finish singing the *Seelvesper* in the choir of *Heilig Kreuz*.[178] During all Masses, both night and morning, the priests burned two candles on the grave as well.[179] Uhl and Beck agreed on a sum of 100 gulden as the foundation for the services. Out of the interest from this foundation two gulden were to be given annually to the priests who said the Masses, six batzen for the Choir, two batzen for the two sextons, and a donation of

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[172]Georg Grube, <u>Die Verfassung des Rottweiler Hofgerichts</u>, p. 224.

[173]Ibid, p. 241.

[174]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade X, Fasz 5, Nr. 3.

[175]Ibid.

[176]Ibid.

[177]Ibid.

[178]Ibid.

[179]Ibid.

five batzen to the people in the poorhouse.[180] The cost of 100 gulden was almost

twice Beck's 54 gulden annual tax contribution to the city.[181] As one of the city's

wealthiest persons, he was able to afford such a bequest. Even amongst the city's

élite and wealthy, however, few approached Beck's wealth and, therefore, in all

likelihood, they were prohibited from paying such a sum for their own

remembrances.[182]

Other acts of piety were performed by the living. Chief among them was

pilgrimage. Rottweil had a number of pilgrimage sites which were visited by both

local people and travelers alike. The altar of St. Jakob in *Heilig Kreuz* was often

visited by pilgrims on their way to Santiago de Compostella in Spain.[183] *Heilig Kreuz*

also drew pilgrims to visit its relic of the cross from which the church drew its

name.[184] Pilgrims also trekked to the *Kapellenkirche* in the city to pray before the

Marian altar in the church.[185] Rottweil-Altstadt, on the site of the ancient Roman city

just beyond the walls of the medieval city, was also a popular pilgrimage site.[186] The

church in Rottweil-Altstadt housed relics from St. Pelagius, who was martyred in

Constance in 284 and became the patron of the diocese of Constance. His altar drew

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[180]Ibid.

[181]Georg Grube, Die Verfassung des Rottweiler Hofgerichts, p. 241.

[182]Ibid.

[183]Winfried Hecht, "Volksfrömmigkeit," in Heiner Maulhardt, ed., Pfarrei Heilig Kreuz Rottweil: Aspekte und Stationen ihrer Geschichte (Rottenburg am Neckar, 1991), p. 40.

[184]Ibid.

[185]Ibid.

[186]Ibid.

pilgrims from all over the diocese after 1412, when both the diocese of Constance and the Holy See in Rome confirmed the authenticity of the relics.[187] Rottweilers were also recorded as making pilgrimages to Maria Einsiedeln in the Swiss Confederation, Compostella, Rome, and to the Holy Land.[188] The number of Rottweilers visiting the local shrines is unknown, but judging from the popularity among citizens in visiting foreign sites, it was probably significant.

Rottweilers from both the city and the villages also engaged in a type of pilgrimage known as *Landeswallfahrt*, when whole villages or groups of city dwellers made common religious treks to local shrines. Similar activities in pre-Reformation Bavaria have been viewed as signs of devotion especially expressed by peasants.[189] Villagers in Rottweil's territory were also active pilgrims prior to the Reformation. The *Zimmerische Chronik* recorded the mass pilgrimage of the village of Seedorf in 1524, when villagers visited the local shrine at Heiligenbronnen.[190]

Post-Reformation collective religious rituals such as the *Landeswallfahrt* have been identified as strengthening the Catholic loyalty and consciousness of villagers, while at the same time reinforcing the concept of the commune to individuals.[191] This observation ought also to be extended to urban dwellers. Villagers and city dwellers had been taking mass pilgrimages to local sites from the late middle ages and these continued throughout the sixteenth century. Popular sites were the shrines at

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[187]STAR, Arch II, Abt I, Lade X, Fasz 9, Nr. 12.

[188]Winfried Hecht, "Volksfrömmigkeit,"p. 40.

[189]Philip Soergel, Wondrous in His Saints, pp. 27-28.

[190]Paul Hermann, ed., Zimmerische Chronik, Volume 2, p. 357.

[191]Marc Forster, The Counter-Reformation in the Villages, pp. 230-243.

Heiligenbronn, Aggenhausen, Maria Hochheim near Dietingen, Triberg, and

Dreifaltigkeitsberg near Spaichingen.[192] Popularity of the *Landeswallfahrt* to these

sites is known to have increased in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth

centuries.[193] Yet little is known about the actual activities of the pilgrim groups on

their way to the sites or at their destinations. It can be deduced, however, that the

increase in their popularity at the end of the sixteenth century was at least partly due

to the swelling of Catholic loyalty and consciousness as well as to the spirit of

communal conformity found in other aspects of worship at the time.

The program of expanded religious education through catechization and

sermons, and heightened interest in and the enforcement of universal participation in

the sacraments, were the first step towards bringing reformed Catholicism to the

laity. Reform of the clergy made it possible and, by 1600, had made the translation

of reformed Catholicism to the laity a reality. It would take time, however, for the

laity to absorb Tridentine-style Catholicism and adopt it as their own. Until the turn

of the seventeenth century at least, the laity were solidly Catholic and pious, but it

was traditional Catholic piety rather than reformed. It took its form in popular

activities such as pilgrimage, feast day celebrations, and ceremonies to aid the dead

on their journey towards salvation. The case of Rottweil is important because it

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[192]Winfried Hecht, "Zur Wallfahrt von Rottweil nach Heiligenbronn," Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt und Raumschaft Schramberg 6 (1986), pp. 29-31; idem, "Die Wallfahrt nach Aggenhausen und Rottweil," Rottweiler Heimatblätter 44/4 (1983), n.p.; idem, "Aus der Geschichte der Wallfahrtskirche Maria Hochheim," Rottweiler Heimatblätter 41/4 (1980), n.p.; idem, "Zur Triberg-Wallfahrt in und um Rottweil," Rottweiler Heimatblätter 50/6 (1989), n.p.; idem, "Die Dreifaltigkeitsberg-Wallfahrt und ihre Bezüge zum Rottweiler Raum," in Tuttlinger Heimatblätter (1988), pp. 104-112.

[193]Ibid.

remained staunchly Catholic, although reform came slowly. Paramount to understanding this situation is the condition of Catholicism in Rottweil when it was first confronted with the idea of religious reform during the failed Reformation of the late 1520s. Rottweil Catholicism was healthy in 1529, which gave a reformer such as Uhl the luxury of time in order to introduce reforms gradually and, therefore, with the least amount of disruption to the people whose lives would be affected by it. Therein lies the strength of Catholic reform in Rottweil, it was able to draw on the strengths of its past. Catholicism in Rottweil did not need to convert the people, only change the ways in which they worshipped. What made Rottweil Catholicism remarkable was how little changed in the sixteenth century. The most remarkable aspect of Catholic reform in Rottweil from 1529 to 1618 was, therefore, just how unremarkable it was.

Conclusion

Jakob Fugger, the bishop of Constance, ordered the dean of Rottweil to perform

a visitation of the deanery in 1608.[1] He provided an extensive list of questions to be

answered, which he had hoped would reveal the Rottweil Church to be healthy and

actively promoting the Tridentine style reforms which were mandated by the diocesan

synod of Constance in 1567. He would have been pleased to discover that Catholicism

was robust, but he would have been disappointed to learn that a number of reforms had

not been promoted by the deans of Rottweil. The clergy were found to be well-

educated, sound moral exemplars, attentive to the needs of their parishioners, capable

preachers who said multiple Masses each week, actively promoted the sacraments, and

were diligent in teaching Catholic doctrine, especially the catechism, to the laity. At the

same time, the clergy were allowing a number of traditional customs which had been

targeted for reform to continue. Most of these, such as the management of benefices by

the *Bruderschaft* or granting permission to name more than two godparents at an

infant's baptism, were related more to communal relationships than to the worship of

God. They were long standing traditions in the community of Rottweil, and the local

clergy had made little attempt to change them.

Historians of early modern German Catholicism have gauged its success largely

through examination of the degree to which Tridentine standards were met. The

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[1]For this and the description which follows: EBAF, HA62, fos. 232r-257v.

strength of Rottweil Catholicism, however, lay in its continuity with the late middle ages. Reforms were centered largely upon the clergy while changes in lay practices were introduced slowly and incrementally. The visitation report from 1608 summarizes the path of reforming Catholicism in sixteenth and early seventeenth century Rottweil. Education of the clergy improved, resulting in better pastoral care and instruction for the laity. The moral standards of priests also rose. Therefore, lay perceptions of priests were changed for the better. Because priests were living less like laymen and more like devout priests, they were perceptibly differentiated from the laity. Both their improved moral standards and their sense of differentiation from the laity assisted in augmenting their authority to lead parish worship. For their part, the laity continued to participate in traditional Catholic rituals such as pilgrimages, feast day celebrations, communal prayers, and the Mass. The laity was also increasingly encouraged to receive the sacraments, especially the renewable sacraments of confession and communion. Religious education for parishioners was also bettered through catechization, which took place in a traditional setting, accompanying the Mass. These improvements may not have constituted a realization of the mandates of Trent, but they are significant and represent considerable strengthening of Catholicism in Rottweil.

Johannes Uhl was the key figure for Catholic reform in Rottweil. Communal control of religion was preserved, since he was able to fill the role of reforming bishop. Attempts to impose widespread change by a bishop in Constance would have been met by strong efforts from the Rat and populace to preserve autonomy. Uhl was able to work with the Rat and was a native son. He understood what changes in religion the

populace would endure, so he selected reforms which would strengthen the Rottweil Church most without losing the support of the community. Knowing that widespread changes would be met with resistance, Uhl chose instead to promote traditional Catholic practices for the laity, continuing the program adopted by the *Bruderschaft* and the Rat from 1529 to 1559. Tridentine style reforms such as the reduction of the number of godparents he gave a low priority because they had a light impact on daily worship but were ingrained as community rituals and therefore had he tried to reform them he would have been more likely to meet with opposition. Reforms such as lay education through catechization were more important to Uhl and less likely to be resisted.

The Rat, as the governing body of the state, was active in its support. It imposed punishments for improper religious behavior or made threats to do so in an effort to buttress Uhl's efforts. There can be no doubt about the Rat's total commitment to the strengthening of Catholicism in Rottweil. This should not be seen as confessionalization, however, since Church and state were not acting together to impose discipline from above. Rottweil possessed a large territory for an Imperial City, but its government was responsible to the commune and subject to its will. As in the case of Uhl, its support for Catholic reforms also depended largely on whether or not the people would endure the changes.

Catholicism in Rottweil was healthy when Uhl began to reform it in the 1560s. No conversion was required in a population already dedicated to Catholicism, and one might, therefore, think it was an ideal location to adopt Tridentine reform. Reform of the clergy came quickly, and Rottweil enjoyed an educated and active local clergy by the

end of the sixteenth century. Even with a Church leader who was committed to the reforms of Trent and a sympathetic Rat, however, Rottweil implemented lay reforms slowly and chose to reserve many of them for a later date. Catholic reform on a popular level needed to be gradual, and Rottweil is a powerful example of this point.[2] The people of the city and its territory identified themselves as Catholic and had internalized traditional worship practices which had been built up over time and possessed a local character. Rottweilers would have resisted rapid Tridentine reform as emphatically as they opposed Evangelicalism from 1526 to 1529. Both the Rat and Johannes Uhl recognized this, and ensured that reforms incorporated traditional Catholicism as much as possible. Rottweil, then, teaches us that local reform efforts should not be measured against Tridentine ideals. Instead, we ought to think of Catholic reform after Trent as one stage in the development of local Catholicism.

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[2]Marc Forster, The Counter-Reformation in the Villages, p. 247.

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