Biographies of a Reformation: Religious Change and Confessional Coexistence in Upper Lusatia, c. 1520-1635



Martin Christ

Balliol College

University of Oxford

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Short abstract

This thesis investigates how religious coexistence functioned in the multiconfessional region of Upper Lusatia in Western Bohemia. Lutherans and Catholics found a feasible *modus vivendi* through written agreements and regular negotiations. This meant that the Habsburg king of Bohemia ruled over a Lutheran region. He knew of the situation in Lusatia but was not willing to intervene decisively to reintroduce Catholicism. Lutherans and Catholics in Upper Lusatia shared spaces, objects and rituals. Catholics adopted elements previously seen as a firm part of a Lutheran confessional culture. Lutherans, too, were willing to incorporate Catholic elements into their religiosity. Some of these overlaps were subconscious, while others were a conscious choice. Later generations of historians fashioned these complex processes of change into a neater Reformation narrative.

This research provides a narrative of the Reformation in Upper Lusatia and engages with three historiographical paradigms. Firstly, the results show that the concept of the 'urban Reformation', where towns are seen as centres of Lutheranism has to be reassessed, particularly in towns in former East Germany, where much work remains to be done. Secondly, it shows that in a region like Upper Lusatia which did not have a political centre, undergoing a complex Reformation, there was no clear confessionalization process. As other studies have found similar tendencies elsewhere in the Holy Roman Empire, the usefulness of the confessionalization paradigm is increasingly questionable. Thirdly, the example of dissenting religious groups cautions us that it is not helpful to push the idea of toleration in early modern Europe too far. In the case of Upper Lusatia, the coexistence of two confessions, Lutherans and Catholics, meant that others were excluded.

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Long abstract

This thesis focuses on religious pluralism in the multiconfessional region of Upper Lusatia in Western Bohemia. It considers the six towns (Bautzen, Görlitz, Zittau, Lauban, Löbau, Kamenz) that constituted the Lusatian League (1346-1815) in the period from the introduction of Lutheranism in the 1520s to the pawning of Lusatia to the dukes of Saxony in 1635. The thesis argues that Lutherans and Catholics coexisted largely peacefully, aided by written agreements and informal negotiations. Daily interactions between the two confessions were characterised by a pragmatic wish for stability and peace. The Catholic Habsburg kings never intervened decisively to reintroduce Catholicism but relied on the support of the Lusatian towns (chapter one).

Each chapter has a biographical as well as a thematic focus. This makes it possible to probe individual negotiations of religiosity and illuminate broader religious changes, but is also necessitated by the source materials as only few individuals have left enough sources to reconstruct their religiosity in sufficient detail. The men who form the focus of the chapters all came from the urban elite and were caught between an increasingly Lutheran population, and their Catholic king. Collectively they show the world of councilors and clerical officials in early modern towns during the Reformation period.

The six towns in the Lusatian League had different socio-political setups and although they were all allowed to vote in meetings of the Lusatian League, their size and economic importance varied greatly (chapter two). Bautzen was the capital of the region, Görlitz and Zittau were comparatively wealthy, the regular meetings of the towns' representatives were in Löbau, while Kamenz and Lauban were less significant.

Bautzen, Kamenz and Löbau were also ethnically diverse, as they had a Slavic minority population (the Sorbs or Wends) who had their own language and culture. These complexities make Upper Lusatia one of the most fascinating areas in the Holy Roman Empire. Regardless of strong links between the six towns, they all have to be seen in their own right. Johann Frobenius (1490-1553), through whom the second chapter approaches these asymmetries, illustrates how the dealings between Lutheran clergy and urban dignitaries could lead to prolonged conflicts. His biography shows the powers of Lutheran preachers, the influence that Wittenberg had in the region and how even men at the top of the urban hierarchy had to adhere to certain behavioural rules.

The third chapter gives an overview of the introduction of Lutheranism in Upper Lusatia. It asks when religious change turned into the process known as 'the introduction of Lutheranism' and moves away from the narrative that important urban centres dominated surrounding towns. It shows that the six towns took individualistic and, at times, unique paths towards establishing the Reformation. The chapter questions what it meant for each of the towns to introduce Lutheranism and how religious policies differed between them. Michael Arnold (dates unknown) serves as the biographical focus of this chapter. Although little is known about his life, he nonetheless shows how preachers moved between towns and that we have to be aware of ethnic variety when assessing Lutheranism in Lusatia.

In chapter four, the councilor and chronicler Johannes Hass (1476-1544) illustrates how a Catholic perceived the early Reformation changes. Hass was not, as has been argued previously, the last proponent of a traditional kind of Catholicism in Görlitz, but he rather incorporated minor elements of Lutheranism into his religiosity while, at the same time, considering himself to be a Catholic. Many of these changes were subconscious, as the Catholic Hass was increasingly isolated in a Lutheran town. This chapter therefore explores the early Reformation years as a time of confessional

uncertainties. Lutheranism had no clear shape yet and the Catholics had not formulated a unified response to the Lutheran challenges. Individuals therefore sought to position themselves in a changing world, and Hass was one of them.

The fifth chapter concentrates on the later Catholic responses to the increasingly Lutheran environment. The deans of biconfessional Bautzen were particularly important in this process. One of them, Johan Leisentrit (1527-1586), reveals why Catholics incorporated Lutheran elements into their religiosity. He compromised on communion and baptisms because he wanted to keep the peace in Bautzen. As he stressed in his works, he struggled to work with these compromises but felt that he had to make them to ensure the survival of Catholicism. Leisentrit never went against the orders of any Catholic superiors but he included songs by Luther in his hymn book and did not feature purgatory in his instructions for the dying. These changes suggest that there was also a competition for souls in which Leisentrit hoped to trump the Lutherans by incorporating some of their elements into his works. Crucial to him was the 'substance or main thing' of Catholicism. Later in his life, the attacks by other Catholics led Leisentrit to define Lutheranism, alongside other dissenting beliefs, as a heresy.

The sixth chapter centres on real and imagined spaces. The Lutheran Sigismund Suevus (1526-1596) wrote about an imagined pilgrimage, including many objects we would normally associate with Catholicism, such as pilgrimage badges. He retained some of the central ideas behind Catholic pilgrimages and the genre of a spiritual pilgrimage is a medieval, Catholic one. The imagined objects symbolized aspects of Lutheran piety and the spiritual pilgrimage itself did not contain any references to saints. The shared churches of Bautzen and Lauban show that real spaces, too, were claimed by Lutherans and Catholics. In Lauban, the nuns who owned the choir were linked to the Lutheran preachers through daily interactions. In Bautzen, where we have descriptions of objects within the space, we can see how the two confessions influenced

each other. These spatial arrangements were never stagnant and contracts were negotiated throughout the sixteenth century. A case study of the baptismal font of Saint Peter's Church in Bautzen shows just how readily Lutherans and Catholics compromised. At the same time, it illustrates how considering written sources, spaces and material culture can give us a better understanding of the past.

The seventh chapter shows that toleration in Upper Lusatia had limits. The contrasting treatment of Zwinglians and 'Calvinists' (who were probably Philippists) shows that dependent on broader political and religious circumstances, toleration could change over the course of a few decades. There is no indication that any problems existed between a group of Zwinglians in Zittau and Lutherans or Catholics in the town. Oswald Pergener (1490s-1546), who was the first Zwinglian to exchange letters with the Swiss reformers forms one biographical focus, while Martin Moller (1547-1606), accused of 'crypto-Calvinism' in the 1590s, is the other. By the late sixteenth century, when the Zwinglians had already disappeared, the toleration between Lutherans and Catholics meant that other groups could no longer be accommodated. When accusations of 'crypto-Calvinism' surfaced, therefore, the urban and clerical elites acted against them. Teachers, preachers and councilors had to defend themselves against these accusations. This enforcement of confessional boundaries is also visible in the treatment of the 'mystic' Jakob Böhme and the Schwenckfelders in Görlitz. Some religious groups, especially Anabaptists, were not tolerated even in the early sixteenth century. Peaceful coexistence between Lutherans and Catholics therefore never meant toleration of all religious groups in Upper Lusatia.

Upper Lusatia has a very rich tradition of chronicle writing. This interest in urban history was reinvigorated in the eighteenth century (chapter eight). The eighteenth century accounts frequently focus on the first Lutheran preacher, portraying him as a shining example of Lutheranism who single-handedly led Lutheranism to

victory. This is epitomized by the first Lutheran preacher of Zittau, Lorenz Heidenreich (1480-1557), who was stylized into the ideal Lutheran and who forms the biographical focal point of this chapter. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, authors were less prone to develop a shared narrative. Instead, these earlier chronicles gave a variety of Reformation narratives. The eighteenth century accounts left out many of the complexities of the Reformation in Upper Lusatia, such as the Zwinglians of Zittau or the 'crypto-Calvinists'. Complications were no longer featured in accounts of the Reformation and a more uniform Lutheran narrative emerged. In the process, Martin Luther's life and particularly the nailing of the Ninety-Five Theses became increasingly important. Linguistically, the later accounts also focused strongly on the semantic field of 'light and darkness', while other aspects mentioned in the earlier accounts were written out of history.

The conclusion focuses on the ways in which Upper Lusatia advances and challenges broader Reformation narratives, while also highlighting where Lusatia was a unique case. Religiosity meant different things to different people, and the contradictions in the characters of individuals were mirrored in the complexities of the Reformations of Upper Lusatia.

This thesis engages with three historiographical areas. Firstly, it shows that the paradigm of the 'urban Reformation', where towns are seen as centres of Lutheranism has to be reassessed, particularly in towns in the former German Democratic Republic. In rural Upper Lusatia, the Reformation was introduced more fully on noble estates, while Catholic convents opposed the spread of Lutheranism more forcefully on their lands than the Catholic cathedral chapter of Bautzen ever could. Even in towns where there was no Catholic population anymore in the later sixteenth century, the Lutherans continued to use objects associated with Catholicism in urban centres. While the

Reformation first gained a foothold in towns in Upper Lusatia, they were also more prone to have fluid confessional boundaries.

Secondly, this research shows that in a region like Upper Lusatia which did not have a political centre and experienced a varied and complex Reformation, there was no confessionalization process. In this regard, the region was more similar to Moravia and Bohemia than to Saxony. The Catholic cathedral chapter of Bautzen remained the clerical centre of Upper Lusatia and, as such, the Catholic deans there remained the undisputed authority on church matters, even for Lutherans. Marriage disputes, for example, were dealt with by the Catholics for the whole of the sixteenth century. As other studies have found similar tendencies elsewhere in the Holy Roman Empire, the usefulness of the confessionalization paradigm is increasingly questionable. In Upper Lusatia, confessional boundaries between Lutherans and Catholics remained flexible.

Thirdly, this thesis engages with ideas of early modern religious coexistence. The example of the 'Calvinists' cautions us that it is not helpful to push the idea of toleration in early modern Europe too far. Lutherans and Catholics went to great lengths to stress that they were different from Calvinists, showing that some confessional boundaries were not fluid. In the case of Upper Lusatia, the coexistence of two confessions, Lutherans and Catholics, meant that others were excluded. The fear of Calvinism spread from Saxony, so in this regard, it played a more important role than Bohemia. The successful negotiations between Lutherans and Catholics, therefore, did not make Upper Lusatia as a whole a tolerant region, it merely meant that two confessions had found a way to coexist. As other confessions threatened this peace, including them was not possible.

While Upper Lusatia was therefore exceptional in some ways, it advances our understanding of the 'urban Reformation, challenges the confessionalization paradigm and is a crucial case study for religious toleration.

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List of Abbreviations and Conventions

AB = Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu, Oddział we Bolesławcu, Bolesławiec

AW = Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu, Wrocław

BW = Bibliotheka Uniwersytecka Wrocław UL. (University Library, Wrocław)

CWBZ = Altbestand der Christian Weise Bibliothek, Zittau

DAB = Diözesanarchiv Bautzen (Domstiftsarchiv)

CDSR = Codex Diplomaticus Saxoniae Regiae

NLM = Neues Lausitzisches Magazin, Neue Folgen

St B = Staatsfilialarchiv und Stadtarchiv Bautzen

St G = Stadtarchiv Görlitz

St K = Stadtarchiv Kamenz

St Lö = Stadtarchiv Löbau

All German and Latin sources are rendered in English in the main body of the text with the original provided in the footnotes. Unless otherwise indicated, translations are my own. All spellings are retained as in the original, including varying spellings of the same word. Spellings of place names are as in the early modern sources, so Lauban is not called Lubań. Budissin, another name for Bautzen, is the one exception to this and has been normalized as Bautzen. In line with recent scholarship on the Sorbs, the terms ‘Sorb’ and ‘Wend’ (*Sorbe* and *Wende*) are used interchangeably throughout.

1. Introduction

On 25 May 1538, the King of Bohemia, Ferdinand I (1503-1564), rode from Bautzen to Görlitz to receive the town's homage.[1] The council had prepared extensively for this visit, calling all citizens to the town hall and instructing them to put up horses and the kings' entourage without complaints.[2] Much was at stake for Görlitz, one of the most prosperous towns in the region. The king of Bohemia ruled the region and only rarely visited Upper Lusatia. Ferdinand arrived with other dignitaries, including a papal nuntius, two bishops, one from Vienna and the other 'tall and beautiful', the chancellor of the Bohemian crown and the bailiff of Upper Lusatia (*Landvogt*).[3] First, 90 armed riders wearing 'liver-coloured' coats with their insignia and 'liver-coloured hats with yellow riders' caps' went to meet the king once he was nearby.[4] On his way, Ferdinand saw 30 pieces of artillery on the nearby *Landskrone* Mountain which the town council had displayed there and which were fired when he rode past.[5] Half a mile before the city, 430 foot soldiers (*Knechte*) dressed in white and red in honour of the Austrian regal colours, waited for the king and his men, forming a guard of honour to walk in front of him into the town. Near the city gate, the council, dressed all in black, one of the most expensive colours in early modern Europe, greeted the king.[6] They then handed the bailiff a small box covered in a red-white chequered fabric containing the

[1] Joachim Bahlcke (ed.), *Geschichte der Oberlausitz. Herrschaft, Gesellschaft und Kultur vom Mittelalter bis zum Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts* (2nd edition, Leipzig, 2004), p. 101; Johannes Hass, E.E. Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen: 1521-1542* (Görlitz, 1870), pp. 367-379.
[2] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Rathsannalen*, p. 375.
[3] Ibid., p. 373, 'hubsche lange'.
[4] Ibid., p. 370, 'lebirfarbe woppenrocke […] lebirfarben hueten, vnd gelben reiterkappen'. 'Liver-coloured' is a shade of dark brown.
[5] Ibid.
[6] On clothes, see Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up. Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford, 2010), especially pp. 81-125.

town seal and key to the city gate. The bailiff returned the box to the councilors with the royal order to continue well and diligently, as they had done before.[7]

Finally, the procession entered the city through an alley formed by more armed men standing on either side. Once inside the town, the group grew larger still. It was joined by clergy and school children with their teachers. Monks and priests, almost all of whom wore their 'deans' coats' and 'dressed in gold', gave the party the grandeur of a medieval church procession.[8] In front of the procession, the clerics carried chalices, crosses and flags. Then, the group entered the main church of Görlitz, that of Saints Peter and Paul, where the organ, trumpets and choir played *Te Deum Laudamus*.[9] There, the king prayed before the altar. Afterwards, the Lutheran preacher Benedict Fischer carried out the *collecten*. The monstrance with the sacrament was displayed on the altar in a Lutheran manner which the clerics travelling with the king did not approve of.[10]

Afterwards, the king went to the town hall where he lodged. For the rest of the day, he rested but he went to the church of the Franciscans the next day where he participated in a mass performed by the administrator of the Saxon province. He chose to celebrate mass in this church, rather than the church of Saints Peter and Paul, where he had been the day before. After the service, he returned to lunch where he was offered 'everything that could be acquired at that time', including game and fish and a choice of twenty-five different wines and local beers. The wines, 'red and white', were from the Lower Lusatian towns of Guben, Senftenberg and Sommerfeld, three from Bohemia and some 'spiced [with] rosemary, sage and vermouth'.[11] After the lunch, the council gave

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[7] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Rathsannalen*, pp. 367-379.
[8] Ibid., p. 372, 'diacon rockenn […] jn guldene stucke gekleidet'
[9] Ibid., p. 373. See also CWBZ, A 30, *Collectanea Lusatica Abrahami Frenzelii – tomus sextus*, fol. 949.
[10] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Rathsannalen*, p. 378.
[11] Ibid., pp. 373-374, 'zu der zeit zu bekomenn moglich […] rote und planke […] an gekrewtterten rosmarin- salben- wermutwein etc.' . For Lower Lusatia more generally, see Joachim Bahlcke, *Regionalismus und Staatsintegration im Widerstreit. Die Länder der böhmischen Krone im ersten Jahrhundert der Habsburgerherrschaft (1526–1619)* (Munich, 1994); Heinz-Dieter Heimann, Klaus Neitmann, Uwe Tresp (eds.) *Die Nieder- und Oberlausitz – Konturen einer Integrationslandschaft, Bd. II: Frühe Neuzeit* (Berlin, 2014).

the king presents and supplications for his consideration. One of the presents was truly remarkable: It was a nef, a cup in the shape of a ship, which could 'sail' across a table by clockwork, greatly pleasing the king. A small number of nefs, some of them medieval, survive but most of them have legs or pedestals, making the moveable Görlitz one a particularly valuable item.[12] It is likely that during this time, the council also showed Ferdinand a recently completed mural containing portraits of Bohemian rulers and their wives on one side of the room, and a scene of Law and Grace on the other.[13] Ferdinand rode around the town with the present and former mayor to inspect the fire protection and walls after dinner that night. Finally, at five in the morning, the king left Görlitz to ride to Buntzlau (today Bolesławiec) in Silesia.[14] The king was impressed by Görlitz, by both its cuisine and architecture. A barrel of the wine he had most enjoyed during his stay (from the Rhine region) was sent after him. Ferdinand also requested a drawing of the church, which, according to the town scribe and mayor who recorded the events, was 'illuminated in the brightest manner' by the sun when Ferdinand was in it.[15] One year later, he asked about the painting again, suggesting that this was not a request out of politeness on the part of Ferdinand but that he was genuinely interested in the drawing. It was finally sent to him long after his visit. The Bishop of Vienna was supposed to print a written account of the visit but, for unknown reasons, that never happened.[16]

[12] Charles Oman, *Medieval Silver Nefs* (London, 1963).
[13] Because the mural was only discovered and restored in 2010, there is no scholarly work on it yet. For some preliminary findings, see Kerstin Micklitzka, André Micklitzka, *Görlitz: Sehenswürdigkeiten, Kultur, Szene, Umland, Reiseinfos* (Berlin, 2016), p. 55.
[14] For a comparison of Silesia and Lusatia, see Bahlcke, *Regionalismus und Staatsintegration*.
[15] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Rathsannalen*, p. 378, 'Den tag ist die kirche durch die sonne auffs hellist durchleuchtet'.
[16] Ibid., p. 379.

Described in these terms, the visit of the king, impressive and important though it may have been for the councilors, seems unremarkable. But how remarkable it truly was becomes clearer in a retelling of the same event from the eighteenth century:

> the council of Görlitz set out to prove themselves because of the religion during the entrance and presence of the king so that they would not fall from favour. They had no married preacher, about whom the king would have been angriest, and not tolerated them so far. Some Franciscan monks were still present, in addition to whom the council assembled many more as well as the minister of the province. The Lutheran preachers had kept many popish things e.g. vestments, chasubles, the mass in Latin, lights, etc. and many things that had been put outside were dug up again […]. In this way, Lutherans and Catholics presented themselves to the royal majesty.[17]

Ferdinand I thought he was entering a Catholic church. In previous years, he and his predecessors had ordered their towns to put an end to any advance of the Reformation.[18] However, the Reformation had made serious inroads into the urban fabric of Upper Lusatia. Some of the councilors were faced with a problem: If they showed their Lutheranism too openly, Ferdinand might punish them. There was a simple solution: The Lutheran clergy simply pretended to be Catholic and religious topics were not discussed during the royal visit. The king was kept happy with this display of supposed Catholicism, even though the papal nuntius travelling with him noticed that something

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[17] BW, 1947/ 68, Christian Knauthe, *Geschichte der Evangelischen Religions und Kirchen Reformation bey der Stat Görlitz von A. 1517 bis A. 1567 aus Documenten, Actis publicis, Missivis, Annalibus und hin u hergesandenen Nachrichten zusamen getraget u mit groß fleis aufgefertiget* (1767), unpaginated, 'Der Rath in Gorlitz hatte schon anstalt gemacht, wegen der Religion sich also bey dem Einzug und Gegenwart des Königes in Görlitz, also zubeweisen, das er des wegen keine Ungnade auf sie würffe. Keine beweibte Prediger hatten sie nicht, auch bishero keine gelitten, als wieder welche der könig am hefftigsten zürnte. Franciscaner Münche waren noch einige vor handen zu denen E. Rath nach etliche, gleich wie den Ministerum Provincialem generalem, anderweit herhohlete. Die Ewangelischen Prediger hatten bishero noch viel Papistisches z.E. Mesgewandt, Caselln, die Mese in Lateinischer Sprachem Lichter u.d.g. behalten, und etliches beyseit gelegtes suchte man wieder hervor […]. Auf diese Weise stellten sich die Lutherischen und Catholischen [inter-linear: sich] Kgl. Maj: dar'. For later references to vestments, see also AB, 2884 *Glöckner und Custodien-dienst bey der Pfarr Kirche zu Lauban (1558-1809)*; St K, 5586B, *Organisation und Verwaltung der Kirchensachen und Bauten sowie Ausübung des Jus Patronatus [Patronatsrecht] (1504-1731)*.

[18] For a broader context, see Joachim Bahlcke (ed.), *Die Oberlausitz im frühneuzeitlichen Mitteleuropa. Beziehungen-Strukturen-Prozesse* (Stuttgart, 2007).

was probably not quite right when he saw the host displayed openly on the altar, and not locked away between services.[19]

The episode illustrates how the Catholic king of Bohemia influenced religious proceedings in Lutheran Upper Lusatia. However, the king, who was normally resident in Prague, did not have the power (or time) to prevent the introduction of the Reformation.[20] Both Lutheran and Catholic councilors celebrated mass with the king, presumably also partaking in a communion in one kind and any other Catholic, liturgical actions. At the same time, the Catholic monks supported the Lutheran town council by being present in the church and there is no indication that the king received any complaints of a religious nature. This kind of pragmatism and religious flexibility was typical of Upper Lusatia, where a Lutheran majority coexisted with a royally protected Catholic minority as well as various other religious groups.

As a region on the western border of Bohemia, a side land (*Nebenland*) of the Bohemian crown, Upper Lusatia was ruled by the king of Bohemia and his representatives.[21] These were the bailiff (*Landvogt*) and his deputy, the *Amtshauptmann*.[22] Both of them were usually drawn from the nobility and resided in Bautzen. In Upper Lusatia, Saxon and North German influences combined with Bohemian and Slavonic elements to create a unique region that contained an idiosyncratic mix of identities. The towns within the region had a considerable degree of power which was frequently challenged by the rural nobility.[23] Upper Lusatia was a

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[19] Alexander Koller, 'Die Sorge um die "vigna inculta et abbandonata". Die römische Kurie und die Lausitzen im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert' in Joachim Bahlcke (ed.), *Oberlausitz im frühneuzeitlichen Mitteleuropa*, pp. 152-173.

[20] For a broader analysis of the side lands (*Nebenländer*) and their integration into Bohemia as a whole, see Bahlcke, *Regionalismus und Staatsintegration.*

[21] There are various Czech studies which focus on the relationship between Bohemia and Upper Lusatia, for an overview of some recent scholarship, see Jan Zdichynec, Petr Hrachovec, 'Bericht zur tschechischen Forschung über die Ober- (und Nieder-)Lausitz zwischen 2000 und 2007' in *NLM*, 11, 2008, pp. 121-137.

[22] For instructions to the bailiff, see St B, 50009-164, *Aufzeichnungen und Abschriften Oberlausitzer und Niederlausitzer Landessachen*, fol. 355B.

[23] AW, 196053, *Verschiedene Differenzien des Landes mit den Sechsstädten betr. 1522-1715.*

margraviate (*Markgraftum*) ruled by an ever-changing array of territorial overlords without ever having a ruling dynasty solely responsible for the region. From 1158 to 1635, the region belonged to the sovereign of Bohemia and therefore to a number of different rulers. When Bohemia became a Habsburg territory in 1526 it was ruled by the South-German royal house until 1635, when it came into the possession of Electoral Saxony (See table 1).[24] The competing interests and jurisdictions of these royal actors, rural nobility, powerful clergy and urban oligarchy resulted in a patchwork of power, where different individuals tried to continuously expand their privileges.[25] Due to the ever-changing dynasties, the region oscillated between being perceived as part of the Holy Roman Empire, the kingdom of Bohemia, and something altogether different.[26]

Within the Habsburg monarchy, the multi-confessional nature of Upper Lusatia was not unique.[27] The Habsburgs ruled over other territories with similarly complex religious and political structures, both in the Holy Roman Empire and Bohemia. The Bohemian lands have long been seen as regions, where religious coexistence was usually peaceful. Historians have cited the toleration of the Hussites in the Bohemian lands, but also the accommodation of Anabaptists in regions like Moravia.[28]

Upper Lusatia fits this pattern of religious pluralism and peaceful coexistence. The generally peaceful coexistence of Catholics and Lutherans in the sixteenth century

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[24] Daniel Fickenscher, 'Die Oberlausitzer Stände und ihre politischen Beziehungen zu Böhmen während der Habsburgherrschaft (1526-1618)' in Lars-Arne Dannenberg, Matthias Herrmann, Arnold Klaffenböck (eds.), *Böhmen-Oberlausitz-Tschechien. Aspekte einer Nachbarschaft* (Görlitz and Zittau, 2006), pp. 81-108, p. 89.

[25] AW, 196053, *Verschiedene Differenzien des Landes mit den Sechsstädten betr. 1522-1715*. For attempts to expand the power of convents, see, for example AW, 2193, *Akten die wahl des Klostervoigts zu Marienthal und Streitigkeiten zwischen demselben und der Abtissin des Kloster Marienthal, 1621-1751*.

[26] Joachim Bahlcke, Volker Dudeck (eds.), *Welt – Macht – Geist. Das Haus Habsburg und die Oberlausitz 1526–1635* (Görlitz, 2002).

[27] Bahlcke, *Regionalismus und Staatsintegration*. For a recent overview of the Holy Roman Empire, including the Habsburg monarchy, see Peter H. Wilson, *The Holy Roman Empire: A Thousand Years of Europe's History* (London, 2016).

[28] For a general overview, see Philip Haberkern, 'The Lands of the Bohemian Crown: Conflict, Coexistence, and the Quest for the True Church', in Howard Louthan, Graeme Murdock, *A Companion to the Reformation in Central Europe* (Leiden and Boston, 2015), pp. 11-40.

was similar to that in other parts of Bohemia. Although Upper Lusatia never received a letter of majesty officially recognizing confessional parity, the two parties negotiated their own contracts, for example when it came to the use of their shared churches. As has been observed for other regions of the Habsburg monarchy, most notably Tyrol, the Habsburgs could not only turn a blind eye to Lutheranism, but actively protect non-Catholic beliefs and encourage peaceful coexistence.[29] After initially condemning the spread of Lutheranism in Upper Lusatia, the Habsburg kings of Bohemia legitimsied coexistence later in the sixteenth century by appearing as cosignatories of the contracts allowing Lutherans and Catholics to share churches. Upper Lusatia is therefore another example of the lenient religious policies of many Habsburg kings, necessitated by external pressures and their reliance on taxes and soldiers from these territories.

But Upper Lusatia also has some distinguishing features which were unlike elsewhere in Bohemia. The Hussites were never tolerated in Lusatia because they attacked and lay siege to a number of Lusatian towns, including Bautzen and Kamenz. There is no indication that significant Hussite communities existed in Lusatia. And, unlike in Moravia, Anabaptists were not tolerated in Lusatia and they were one of the few groups which were actively challenged and exiled in Upper Lusatia. Moreover, the connections to Saxony resulted in no serious re-Catholicisation efforts taking place in Upper Lusatia, as it became a Saxon territory after 1635. Finally, although the Habsburg ruled over lands with Zwinglian tendencies, within a Bohemian context the presence of this particular group in Upper Lusatia was special.

[29] M. A. Chisholm, 'The Religionspolitik of Emperor Ferdinand I, (1521–1564): Tyrol and the Holy Roman Empire', in *European History Quarterly*, 38, 4, pp. 551–577.

Table One: Kings of Bohemia and rulers of Lusatia (1526–1635)

Kings of Bohemia (1526-1635)	**Ruled over Lusatia**
Ferdinand I of Austria, Holy Roman Emperor from 1558	1526–1562
Maximilian II, Holy Roman Emperor from 1564	1562–1576
Rudolf II, Holy Roman Emperor from 1576	1576–1611
Matthias, Holy Roman Emperor from 1612	1611–1617
Frederick of the Palatinate (the "Winter King")	1619/20
Ferdinand II, Holy Roman Emperor from 1619	1617–1635

The lack of a ruling dynasty solely responsible for Lusatia has led historians to call the region a 'republic of estates' (*Ständerepublik*), where the three estates (rural nobility, convents and towns) decided what policies were enacted on their lands.[30] This view has rightly been criticized in recent works on the Upper Lusatian constitutional setup.[31] The urban elites did not act independently of other important actors and did not manage to concentrate all political power in their hands, as the republic of estates thesis would suggest. The king of Bohemia functioned as a distant but powerful justification for the urban elite's actions. They derived legitimacy from the privileges that generations of kings of Bohemia had given to them.[32] Paying homage to a new king of Bohemia, who would come to Bautzen and other towns and received the tributes of the town elites, strengthened this sense of a powerful royal presence in distant Prague, as was also the case with Ferdinand's visit.[33] Johannes Hass, mayor and town scribe of

[30] This term was coined by Karlheinz Blaschke. See, Karlheinz Blaschke, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Oberlausitz* (Görlitz and Zittau, 2000), pp. 66-87.
[31] Lars Behrisch, *Städtische Obrigkeit und Soziale Kontrolle. Görlitz 1450-1600* (Epfendorf, 2005), p. 41.
[32] For some privileges, see AW, 196000, *Volumen documentorum varii generis privilegiorum et concessionum, 1544-1679*; St B, 50009-164, *Aufzeichnungen und Abschriften Oberlausitzer und Niederlausitzer Landessachen*, for example fols. 55B, 59B, 144B; St B, I S 3.1 – 6200, *Der Stadt Budissin Statuta in Succession und Erbtheilung (1569).*
[33] On the confirmation of privileges during royal visits, see also, AW, 195950, *Sammlung einiger Nachrichten von Observantien Gebräuchen, Privilegien und dsgl. welche den Görlitzer Kreis und dessen Gerechtsame betr... 1602-1773*, p. 55A.

Görlitz, stressed for example, how important Emperor Sigismund (1368-1437) was for his town.[34] Sigismund had given the town additional privileges which significantly increased its power. So important were these privileges that the council commissioned a portrait of him which they placed in the town hall, right in the centre of political power.[35] Later, the town council also commissioned a depiction of King Rudolf II which survives on a central tower in Bautzen.[36] The role of the King of Bohemia was therefore a variable one. In most instances, he was a distant power cited to legitimize the councils and their actions, but in some cases he could also directly impact on the policies of the towns.

[34] On Hass see also Martin Christ, 'The Town Chronicle of Johannes Hass: History Writing and Divine Intervention in the Early Sixteenth Century' in *German History*, 35/1, 2017, pp. 1-20.
[35] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Rathsannalen*, pp. 410-458.
[36] Kai Wenzel, 'Rex sedet in medio. Das Reliefbild König Rudolfs II. am Bautzener Reichturm' in *NLM*, 11, 2008, pp. 27-57.

Illustration One: Portrait of Emperor Sigismund (Upper Lusatian artist, 1450, oil and gold on wood) which was hung in the town hall of Görlitz until 1908.



Illustration Two: Relief with King Rudolf II. on the Bautzen Reichenturm.



Central to the political structure of Upper Lusatia was the Lusatian League (*Sechsstädtebund*), consisting of six towns which came together in the alliance in 1346. It was initially formed as a protection against robber knights, and subsequently developed a considerable degree of freedom.[37] Although such town coalitions were far from exceptional in the medieval period, this particular alliance is remarkable for its long-lived nature (1346-1815) and the considerable power which the towns managed to carve out through prolonged negotiations and collective policies. This thesis focuses on these six small and middle-sized towns (Bautzen, Görlitz, Zittau, Löbau, Lauban,

[37] Thomas Binder (ed.), *666 Jahre Sechsstädtebund* (Görlitz and Zittau, 2012).

Kamenz) which are situated in the very East of today's federal state of Saxony, with one town (Lauban/ Lubań) located in Poland. They varied considerably in size and economic importance.

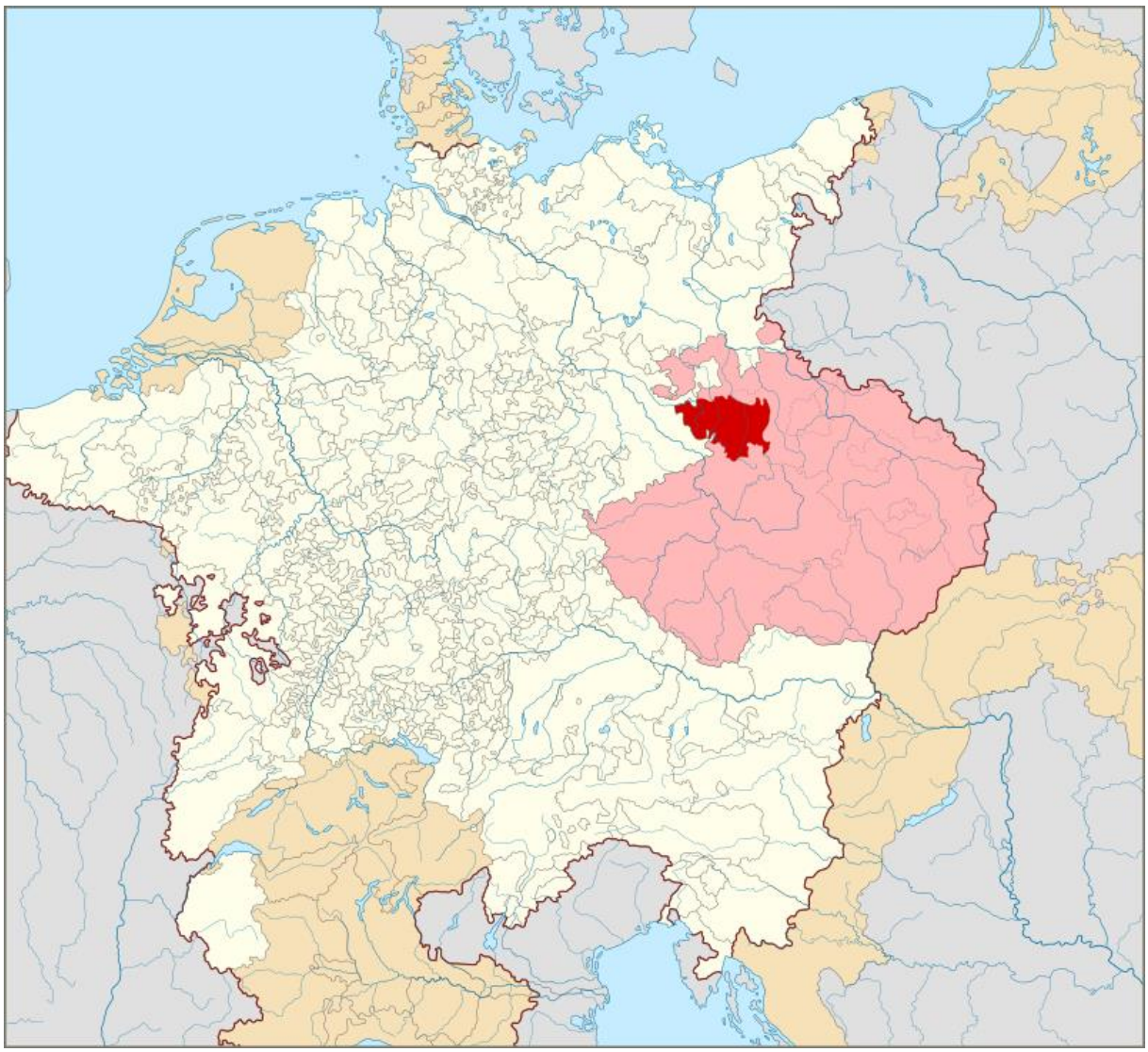
While Upper Lusatia was exceptional in its constitutional setup, it can illuminate broader developments in the early modern world, particularly regarding religious coexistence. This thesis adds to previous studies by focusing on small and middle-sized towns in the former German Democratic Republic. These are particularly valuable when considering religious negotiations because they remind us that large, South German free imperial cities were not the norm and that smaller towns had to negotiate with their territorial overlords, more so than imperial free cities. [38] A. G. Dickens' dictum that 'the Reformation was an urban event' still resonates with historians.[39] But usually what they mean when thinking about the Reformation and its negotiation and imposition, are large towns in certain parts of the Holy Roman Empire. This trend started with the first studies of the urban Reformation by Bernd Möller who largely focused on urban centres in southern Germany and Switzerland.[40] While scholars have worked on religious coexistence in larger towns, smaller towns have not received the same attention. Yet small and middle-sized towns were far more common than the large imperial free cities and they can offer telling comparisons with the better-researched examples in the South.

[38] Some recent work on South German territories include Daniela Hacke, 'Kommunikation über Räume. Religiöse Koexistenz und Konflikt in Dorfkirchen der Eidgenossenschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit' in Susanne Rau, Gerd Schwerhoff (eds.), *Topographien des Sakralen. Religion und Raumordnung in der Vormoderne* (Munich and Hamburg, 2008), pp. 280-305; Christopher W. Close, *The Negotiated Reformation. Imperial Cities and the Politics of Urban Reform, 1525–1550* (Cambridge, 2009); Emily Fisher Gray, 'Lutheran Churches and Confessional Competition in Augsburg' in Andrew Spicer (ed.), *Lutheran Churches in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham, 2012), pp. 39-63; Daniela Hacke, *Konfession und Kommunikation. Religiöse Koexistenz und Politik in der Alten Eidgenossenschaft (Die Grafschaft Baden, 1531-1712)* (Cologne, 2016).

[39] A. G. Dickens, *The German Nation and Martin Luther* (London, 1976), p. 161.

[40] Bernd Möller, *Reichsstadt und Reformation* (Berlin, 1987). See also Lorna Jane Abray, *The People's Reformation Magistrates, Clergy, and Commons in Strasbourg, 1500-1598* (New York, 1985).

Illustration Three: Position of Upper Lusatia within Bohemia (light red) and the Holy Roman Empire in 1618



There have been some significant advances in the study of religious coexistence.[41] More recently, territorial towns have also received some attention, most notably in David Luebke's analysis of 'liturgies of accommodation' in Westphalia.[42] Luebke shows that many liturgical elements were shared between confessions and that pluriconfessional towns were common in Westphalia. Earlier work, for example, by Jesse Spohnholz, has shown that religious negotiations could prevent conflict and that violence was not the most common way of dealing with daily quarrels.[43] A study of Upper Lusatia furthers our understanding of religious coexistence by focusing on a region that was ruled by a Catholic territorial lord and, as such, had to negotiate its religious policies particularly strongly. Unlike in Westphalia, where a Catholic bishop and Lutheran town councils competed for power, in Upper Lusatia the balance of power, in theory, was clear: the Catholic king of Bohemia ruled the region. The religious negotiations on the part of the councils was therefore all the more remarkable because later in the sixteenth century they openly disobeyed their king. The case of Upper Lusatia shows that recent studies on toleration and religious pluralism are right in emphasizing that religious conflict was 'neither inevitable nor universal'.[44]

Upper Lusatia also shows us the benefits of not solely focusing on the Lutheran Reformation. By considering Catholic, Zwinglian and other responses to the religious

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[41] See Ole Peter Grell, Bob Scribner (eds.), *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation* (Cambridge, 2002); Joachim Bahlcke, Karen Lambrecht, Hans-Christian Maner (eds.), *Konfessionelle Pluralität als Herausforderung. Koexistenz und Konflikt in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit. Winfried Eberhard zum 65. Geburtstag* (Leipzig, 2006); Benjamin Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge and London, 2009); Howard Louthan, Gary Cohen, Franz Szabo (eds.), *Diversity and Dissent: Negotiating Religious Difference in Central Europe, 1500-1800* (New York, 2011); Andreas Pietsch, Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger (eds.), *Konfessionelle Ambiguität. Uneindeutigkeit und Verstellung als religiöse Praxis in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen, 2013).

[42] David M. Luebke, *Hometown Religion. Regimes of Coexistence in Early Modern Westphalia* (Charlottesville, 2016), especially pp. 49-74. See also David M. Luebke, 'Passageriten und Identität. Taufe und Eheschließung in westfälischen Kleinstädten (1550-1650)' in Jan Brademann, Kristina Thies (eds.), *Liturgisches Handeln als Soziale Praxis. Kirchliche Rituale in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Münster, 2014), pp. 237-252.

[43] Jesse Spohnholz, *The Tactics of Toleration: A Refugee Community in the Age of Religious Wars* (Newark, 2011).

[44] Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, p. 98.

change, it is possible to see how Lutheranism impacted a great range of religious groups. Zwinglians, Philippists accused of 'crypto-Calvinism' and 'mystics' also played an important role in the religious history of Upper Lusatia. In a region defined by complexities, we can gain a better understanding of the early modern world with all its blurred boundaries and contradictory policies. Upper Lusatia is particularly rich in religious groups and while, like in the case of Wesel or Westphalia, the Calvinist influences on border towns in West Germany have been analysed, the pattern in Lusatia, where supposed Calvinists were excluded, is different from these towns, where Lutherans, Catholic and Calvinists coexisted peacefully. This situation is further complicated by the presence of a Slav minority population, the Sorbs or Wends (*Sorben* or *Wenden*).[45]

More broadly, historians have become increasingly reluctant to chart a rise of toleration from the Middle Ages, a 'persecuting society', to modern times.[46] Instead, they now emphasise the complex and varied nature of tolerance and intolerance, stressing that there was significant toleration in the Middle Ages and, on the other side of the chronological spectrum, intolerance persisted well into the Enlightenment. General works of synthesis as well as detailed case studies have largely debunked the idea of the rise of toleration.

Indeed, as Alexandra Walsham has pointed out, the very meanings of tolerance and intolerance were different in the early modern period. Convincing someone of the erroneous nature of their beliefs, including forcefully, was a kind of 'charitable hatred' which ultimately benefitted the community at large. Walsham argues convincingly that

[45] On the Sorbs, see Friedrich Pollack, '"In allen Merkwürdigkeiten der Wenden-Nation". Zur Konstruktion von ethnischer Alterität in der frühmodernen Sorbenkunde' in *Lětopis*, 59/1, 2012, pp. 3-21; Friedrich Pollack, '"Vohr das arme wendische PawersVolck gut rein Evangelisch predigen". Geistlichkeit und ländliche Gesellschaft in der frühneuzeitlichen Oberlausitz' in *Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte und Agrarsoziologie*, 63/1, 2015, pp. 12–33; Gerald Stone, *Slav Outposts in Central European History. The Wends, Sorbs and Kashubs* (London, 2016).
[46] See Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, pp. 1-38.

'it was widely believed that persecution of a false religion and its adherents was not merely permissible but, moreover, a laudable and virtuous act of devotion and piety'.[47] This kind of persecution never occurred in Upper Lusatia and both Lutherans and Catholics displayed a significant degree of leniency towards the other group. Instead the kind of 'tolerance of practical rationality' which Bob Scribner has described was the norm.[48] Individuals did not openly attack each other because they knew that, ultimately, it would be detrimental to the whole community and their own interests.

This thesis advances our understanding of toleration in three ways. Firstly it considers a region that, much like other Bohemian side lands, has received little scholarly attention. Although it is commonly assumed that these side lands were, broadly speaking, tolerant regions, few detailed case studies exist which investigate these claims in sufficient detail. Although Lusatia contained important trade routes and regionally significant towns, as a comparatively insignificant Bohemian land, it avoided the closer scrutiny of more important regions, where religious policies were closely regulated. The region can teach us a lot about early modern state building and the Habsburg composite monarchy as well as religious toleration.

Secondly, this thesis investigates tolerance and intolerance over a period of more than one hundred years. In other regions, a plurality of beliefs was tolerated initially but peace eventually broke down and the various groups engaged in verbal and physical attacks in the early and mid-seventeenth century. Westphalia, where the tacit toleration of religious plurality broke down before the Thirty Years' War, is a case in point.[49] In Upper Lusatia, however, peaceful coexistence between Lutherans and Catholics

[47] Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, p. 39.
[48] Bob Scribner, 'Preconditions of tolerance and intolerance in early modern Europe', in Grell, Scribner (eds.), *Tolerance and Intolerance*, pp. 32-47.
[49] See Luebke, *Hometwon Religion*.

continued into the seventeenth century and well beyond. In fact, Lutherans and Catholics still share a church in Bautzen today.

This illustrates that confessional coexistence has to be approached as a temporarily contingent phenomenon. This thesis therefore records the religious history of Upper Lusatia from the first Lutheran stirrings in the early 1520s to the change in rulership from the Bohemian crown to the Saxon dukes in 1635, tracing religious conflict and co-operation over a long period of time. Although orthodoxies could be defined by external actors, for example the Vatican or the University of Wittenberg, this did not mean that individuals always followed these instructions. Amongst evangelicals, although a clearer idea of a Lutheran theology emerged in the sixteenth century, Calvinist advances, for instance, could lead to renewed communications between Lutherans and Catholics. Far from a strict imposition of religious orthodoxies, religious settlements continued to be negotiated, challenged and broken in a dynamic process of constant change.

Finally, Upper Lusatia advances our understanding of toleration because of the range of religious groups present there. These included Lutherans, Catholics, Zwinglians, supposed Calvinists, 'mystics', Schwenckfelders and, to a lesser extent, Anabaptists. This variety in religious beliefs is a valuable testing ground for toleration as it shows that accommodation of some religious group did not mean toleration was extended to everyone. Upper Lusatia illustrates that toleration was always dependent on broader political developments, in the case of Lusatia especially those in Saxony and Bohemia.

The coexistence of so many religious groups in a confined area also poses conceptual questions. While Lutherans tolerated certain Catholic practices, they did not extend the same policies to supposed 'Calvinists' in the late sixteenth century. The region, or the councils, were therefore not 'tolerant' as such. Any toleration depended

on the time and circumstances. In the middle and late sixteenth century, Catholics in particular, were willing to incorporate Lutheran elements creating a differnet kind of religosity.

This trend was particularly visible in Upper Lusatia because there was no institutional centre in the region itself, and Prague, Wittenberg and Rome were far removed. Here, attempts to unify or institutionalize religiosity were not as successful as elsewhere in the Holy Roman Empire. Power was dispersed, and at times disproportionately, between many different actors without any one of them having the opportunity to enforce their own religious convictions entirely. Officially, of course, the king of Bohemia was this centre of power. But his residency in Prague and Lusatia's status as a comparatively unimportant part of the Bohemian crown meant that the king did not always impose religious settlements and in many cases remained a distant figure, though not entirely without power.[50] From the Middle Ages until 1559, Upper Lusatia was subject to the bishopric of Meißen. Zittau formed an exception in that it belonged to the archbishopric of Prague.[51] In the following decades, the Catholic centre moved from Meißen to Bautzen, the cathedral chapter in that town providing the focal point for the Lusatian Catholics.

While the Catholics could rely on the Bautzen Cathedral Chapter to support them, the Lutherans lacked an institutional centre entirely. On paper, they were subjects of the kings of Bohemia politically and subjects to the Catholic cathedral chapter religiously. Although in some cases, they would look to Lutheran rulers to the West or exchange letters with reformers in Wittenberg or Zürich, no regional synod (*Landeskirche*) was ever established in Upper Lusatia and no visitations, which were so crucial in enforcing Lutheran orthodoxies, were ever carried out in the region. If

[50] Peter Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy. A New History oft he Thirty Years War* (London, 2009), pp. 50-52.
[51] See Petr Hrachovec, *Die Zittauer und ihre Kirchen (ca. 1300–1600)* (Phd Thesis, Charles University, Prague, 2014).

anything, the Catholic deans of Bautzen visited the regions to oversee religious proceedings. The towns of Upper Lusatia also published church ordinances exceptionally late.[52] The earliest one of the towns under consideration here is Zittau in 1595, followed by Görlitz in 1617.[53] As Christian Speer has pointed out, this is not a problem of the sources that survive but can be explained by the jurisdiction under which the towns were, because they did not want to proclaim their Lutheranism openly but preferred to wait with the publication of any such public documents.[54] This meant that the Lutherans had to negotiate religious settlements, although they vastly outnumbered the Catholics.[55]

The absence of a central consistory meant that individual preachers could make changes - and that these changes were made more slowly. In 1553 in Görlitz, for example, Othmar Epplinus from Swabia introduced singing the *sanctus* in German (‘*heilig, heilig, heilig’*) rather than Latin of his own accord.[56] In some cases, the service even became bilingual, the chaplain reading the epistles in front of the altar in Latin while another cleric sang them in German in the middle of the church.[57] Another novel feature introduced by an individual preacher was on 8 September 1557 when Samuel Jauch declared from the chancel that people could receive the communion on Fridays in addition to the communion on Sundays.[58] He also decreed that the town gates had to be

[52] For a broader discussion, Sabine Arend, Gerald Dörner (eds.), *Ordnungen für die Kirche – Wirkungen auf die Welt: Evangelische Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 2015); Emil Sehlig (ed.), *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Die Mark Brandenburg. Die Markgrafentümer Oberlauistz und Niederlausitz. Schlesien* (Aalen, 1970), pp. 373-380. On Görlitz, see St B, 50009-166, *Aufzeichnungen und Abschriften in Oberlausitzer und Niederlausitzer Landessachen (1601-1800)*, fols. 126A-129B.
[53] Christian Speer, *Frömmigkeit und Politik. Städtische Eliten in Görlitz zwischen 1300 und 1550* (Berlin, 2011), p. 381
[54] Ibid.
[55] DAB, Loc. 7107, *Acta allerlei protestantische Pfarrer und Pfarreien betrf: 1547-1902 I. Konvolut 1547-1593.*
[56] Christian Knauthe, *Derer Oberlausitzer Sorberwenden umständliche Kirchengeschichte* (Görlitz, 1767), p. 85.
[57] Ibid., p. 86.
[58] Ibid., p. 88.

closed during sermons and the bells rung during funerals.[59] In 1567, people were banned from inns and taverns during church times.[60] These decisions were not ordered by a central consistory, as was the case in other towns, or even the town council, but on an individual basis by the Lutheran preacher.[61]

This political and religious structure resulted in, what I call, a syncretistic Reformation. In an early modern context the concept of syncretism has largely been applied in a colonial setting, where Catholic missionaries combined their own practices with native ones. Nancy Marguerite Farriss, for example, has applied the idea to Mayan societies and their interaction with European missionaries.[62] In colonial Mexico the Virgin of Guadalupe, placed at a spot associated with the native earth mother, has been used as a prime example of syncretism.[63]

Syncretism in this sense was not merely the combination of two belief systems, but rather a varied and ambiguous process which relied on the selection of certain elements of a belief system, which were then reconciled with another. This process was therefore always dependent on both local contexts and broader political developments. In the words of Nicholas Griffiths, it is 'the reconciliation of [different] elements in a meaningful relationship between the two, to produce something different from the original components'.[64] While not creating an altogether new religion, the syncretistic religious practices and theologies that developed both in the New World and regions like Upper Lusatia were more than the sum of their parts.

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[59] On bell-ringing in Kamenz, largely during a later period, see St K, 5586A, *Verwaltung des Kirchturms und der Glocken (1576-1739).*
[60] Knauthe, *Sorberwenden umständliche Kirchengeschichte,* p. 110.
[61] On social disciplining, see Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe, 1550-1750* (New York, 1990).
[62] Nancy Marguerite Farriss, *Maya Society Under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival* (Princeton, 1992), pp. 338-342. See also Arthur G. Miller, Nancy M. Farriss, 'Religious Syncretism in Colonial Yucatan: The Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Evidence from Tancah, Quintana Roo', in Norman Hammond, Gordon R. Willey (eds.), *Maya Archaeology and Ethnohistory* (Austin, 1979), pp. 223-240.
[63] Nicholas Griffiths, *Sacred Dialogues: Christianity and Native Religions in the Colonial Americas 1492-1700* (London, 2017, 2nd ed.), p. 247.
[64] Ibid.

This kind of hybrid religiosity which resulted in idiosyncratic rituals and practices can be found in other regions of the Bohemian lands and the Holy Roman Empire but was particularly pronounced in Upper Lusatia. Until 1585, to name just one example, Catholic priests gave baptisms to Lutherans according to a Lutheran rite which also contained Catholic sacramentals. The Catholics chose certain Lutheran elements to include in their liturgies and reconciled them with their own beliefs creating a new kind of religiosity.

These syncretistic belief systems question the very nature of belonging to a confession, as they delineate our understanding of confessional markers. Many rituals, behaviours and practices previously associated with only one confession could be adapted in a syncretistic manner, complicating concepts such as confessionalisation, confessional cultures and confessional repertoires.[65] Can a Catholic dean who was willing to perform baptisms in the vernacular, abandoned large parts of the last rites and, in certain cases, was willing to accept communion in both kinds, still be considered a 'Catholic'? And is a Lutheran who does not explicitly reject pilgrimages, but merely prefers 'spiritual pilgrimages' rightly labelled 'Lutheran'?

This thesis addresses these complexities and moves away from previous paradigms such as the confessionalization thesis, for on an individual level, such frameworks do not provide useful tools for understanding early modern mentalities.[66] The story of the Reformation in Upper Lusatia is therefore told through individuals. Each chapter is framed by at least one individual, who fits into the larger context of

[65] Thomas Kaufmann, *Konfession und Kultur. Lutherischer Protestantismus in der zweiten Hälfte des Reformationsjahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 2006); Kat Hill (ed.), *Cultures of Lutheranism: Reformation Repertoires in the Early Modern World* (Oxford, 2017).
[66] Harm Klueting, '"Zweite Reformation" – Konfessionsbildung – Konfessionalisierung. Zwanzig Jahre Kontroversen und Ergebnisse nach zwanzig Jahren' in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 277, 2003, pp. 309–341; Helga Schnabel-Schüle, 'Vierzig Jahre Konfessionalisierungsforschung – eine Standortbestimmung' in Peter Frieß, Rolf Kießling (eds.), *Konfessionalisierung und Region* (Constance, 1999), pp. 23–40; Joachim Bahlcke, Arno Strohmeyer (eds.), *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa. Wirkungen des religiösen Wandels im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert in Staat, Gesellschaft und Kultur* (Stuttgart, 1999).

Upper Lusatian religiosity. In some instances, the individuals stand in contrast to broader developments, in others they are symptomatic of those broader changes, but in all cases, they show that individual interpretations of the Reformation were negotiated on a personal level, far more so than on an institutional one.

The sources for the six towns vary significantly in nature and scope. There is a wealth of Lusatian town chronicles, with the six towns possessing a total of 430 manuscript chronicles written before 1700.[67] Although 78 of them are now considered lost and many of them copied earlier works, their number is nonetheless remarkable. A recent interest in these chronicles has led to the publication of some of them as well as a catalogue of urban historiography for the whole region.[68] Görlitz has the richest archival material with many wills, letters and chronicles. Bautzen has a town archive as well as an archive of the Catholic cathedral chapter, both of which have letters, contracts and chronicles. Complaints about the use of the shared church are particularly valuable. Sources from Zittau are by contrast patchy. Serious town fires 1608 and 1757 destroyed important documents and many sources only survive as transcripts from the nineteenth century.[69] The situation in Kamenz and Löbau is somewhat better because important sources such as town books, council protocols and guild orders survive. In the case of these two towns, the *Codex Diplomaticus Saxoniae Regiae,* a transcription project

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[67] Lars-Arne Dannenberg, Mario Müller (eds.) *Studien zur neuzeitlichen Geschichtsschreibung in den böhmischen Kronländern Schlesien, Oberlausitz und Niederlausitz* (Görlitz and Zittau, 2013), p. 157. Görlitz has 127 chronicles, Bautzen 123, Zittau 71; Lauban 57; Löbau 30 and Kamenz 22.

[68] Tino Fröde, *Privilegien und Statuten der Oberlausitzer Sechsstädte – Ein Streifzug durch die Organisation des städtischen Lebens in Zittau, Bautzen, Görlitz, Löbau, Kamenz und Lauban in der frühen Neuzeit,* (Spitzkunnersdorf, 2008); Helmut Bräuer, *Stadtchronistik und städtische Gesellschaft Über die Wiederspiegelung sozialer Strukturen in der obersächsisch-lausitzischen Stadtchronistik der frühen Neuzeit* (Leipzig, 2009); Caspar Haberkorn, Lars-Arne Dannenberg (ed.), *Annalen der Stadt Kamenz* (Görlitz, 2012).

[69] See, Hrachovec, *Zittauer und ihre Kirchen*, pp. 19-21 and pp. 342-345. This is particularly the case for the transcriptions by Moritz Oskar Sauppe, CWBZ, A 242 / 1 – A 242 / 15. See also Tino Fröde, *Regestenwerk zur Urkundensammlung von Moritz Oskar Sauppe: zur Geschichte der Oberlausitz, des Klosters Oybin sowie der Städte Görlitz und Zittau mit Personen-, Sach-, Orts- und Datierungsregister* (Olbersdorf, 2000).

published in 1864 (now digitized), also makes a number of sources readily accessible.[70] However, because these two towns were very small, the source material is not as detailed as is the case with the larger towns. Lauban (now Lubań in Poland) is particularly rich in chronicles and letters. The differing survival rates make the assessment and comparison of the introduction of the Reformation a challenge. Nonetheless, through focusing on serial sources (letter books, town books, and council minutes) and enriching them with other sources (individual letters, chronicles, contracts) as well as visual and spatial sources, it is possible to sketch out the complex and troubled introduction of Lutheranism in the Upper Lusatian urban centres.

These varying survival rates are particularly visible when comparing sources written by Catholics and Lutherans. While it is possible to reconstruct broader trends and to trace where most of the Lutheran clergy came from and were educated, it is much harder to do the same for Catholics. Two remarkable Catholics have left sufficient source materials, however, to analyse their religiosity in depth. The councilor and mayor Johannes Hass of Görlitz and the dean of Saint Peter's Church in Bautzen, Johann Leisentrit were exceptional in this regard. Although these two men are remarkable both in the sources they have left and in their interpretation of Catholicism, they also highlight broader trends of confessional negotiation. By seeing the introduction of the Reformation through Catholic eyes, it is possible to gain new insights into which elements of Lutheranism were deemed problematic by Catholics and, therefore, which elements of their Catholicism they thought essential for their own belief. Sources about the Wends are even fewer and it is rare to find them in sixteenth century sources.

[70] Instiut für Sächsische Geschichte und Volkskunde e.V., *Codex Diplomaticus Saxoniae Regiae*, http://codex.isgv.de/, accessed 25/07/2017.

The six towns in the Lusatian League had different socio-political setups and although they were all allowed to vote in meetings of the Lusatian League, their size and economic importance varied greatly (chapter two). Yet precisely because the region was so dynamic, it is one of the most fascinating areas in the empire. Regardless of strong links between the six towns, they all have to be seen in their own right. Johann Frobenius (1490-1553), through whom the chapter approaches these asymmetries, illustrates how the dealings between Lutheran clergy and urban dignitaries could lead to drawn-out conflicts. His biography shows the powers of Lutheran preachers.

The third chapter considers the spread of Lutheranism in Upper Lusatia, with a particular focus on the early Reformation. All of the towns introduced Lutheranism comparatively early but they took individualistic and, at times, unique paths towards changing clerical structures. The chapter questions what it meant for each of the towns to introduce Lutheranism and how religious policies differed between the towns. Michael Arnold (dates unknown) serves as the biographical focus of this chapter because his biography shows how the six towns of the Lusatian League each had their own emphasis when introducing Lutheranism.

Through the council annals of Johannes Hass (1476-1544) we can see how a Catholic perceived the Reformation changes (chapter four). While Hass has been portrayed as one of the last proponents of a traditional Catholicism, the chapter argues that many changes, frequently subconscious, are visible in Hass's history writing throughout this period. By the time he died in 1544, Hass had incorporated minor elements of Lutheranism into his religiosity while, at the same time, considering himself to be a Catholic. This chapter therefore explores the early Reformation years as a time of confessional uncertainties. While Lutheranism was still being defined, and Catholics finding their voice, the early Reformation years were crucial on a local level and for individuals who sought to position themselves within the confession fault lines. But the

lack of clear definitions of Lutheranism and a lack of Catholic response meant that it was far from clear where these fault lines ran.

The fifth chapter concentrates on the Catholics in a later period and how the deans of Lusatia hoped to preserve 'peace and unity'. Biconfessional Bautzen takes centre stage. The dean of Saint Peter's Church in Bautzen, Johan Leisentrit (1527-1586), illustrates these changes. He incorporated Lutheran elements into many parts of his Catholic belief system, including liturgical actions like baptisms or communion. In his works, it becomes clear that he struggled to work with the compromises but felt that he had to make them to ensure the survival of Catholicism. Whenever he could, Leisentrit granted the Lutherans some of their wishes but he never went against the orders of any Catholic superiors. He justified this approach by arguing that he always kept the 'substance or main thing' of Catholicism. The other Catholics in Bautzen did not always agree with his accommodating policies and Leisentrit had to defend himself against accusations that he was a follower of the Augsburg Confession. Not least because of these accusations, Leisentrit defined Lutheranism as a heresy. But he hoped to show the Lutherans the error of their ways and convince them to return to Catholicism.

The changing meaning of space is discussed in the sixth chapter. In the Middle Ages, the church of Görlitz was a Catholic place of worship, then, once the Reformation had been firmly established, it was Lutheran. In 1536, however, it reverted back to a Catholic place of worship for a few hours when Ferdinand I visited the town. The changing nature of this church shows how space was not only contested but could also be constantly reinterpreted. These spatial negotiations are explored through the Lutheran preacher Sigismund Suevus (1526-1596). He wrote a fascinating account of spiritual pilgrimages, yet rather than dismissing pilgrimages outright, he retained some of the central ideas behind pilgrimages. In his work, he used objects as symbols for

aspects of Lutheran piety, but described Lutheranism by referring to the Catholic practice of pilgrimage. More generally, space was not divided symmetrically. Within the towns, the Catholics claimed less space than the Lutherans. The main church of Bautzen which was shared between Lutherans and Catholics was divided one third to two thirds in favour of the Lutherans. But these spatial arrangements were never stagnant. In Bautzen, contracts between Lutherans and Catholics gradually granted the Lutherans more space and privileges. In Lauban, a second Upper Lusatian town with a shared church space, the arrangement was different, providing a valuable point of comparison to the more researched *Simultaneum* of Bautzen.

This thesis does not argue that confessional conflicts did not exist, and here Upper Lusatia is no exception. These boundaries of toleration are the focus of chapter seven. It contrasts the differing treatments of Zwinglians and 'Calvinists' (who were probably Philippists). The letters of Zittau to Zürich of town councilors like Oswald Pergener (14902-1546) show that there was a substantial number of Zwinglians amongst the urban elites of Zittau. There is no indication that any tensions existed between these Zwinglians and the Lutherans of Zittau. Things were entirely different by the late sixteenth century when, in Görlitz and Bautzen, teachers, preachers and councilors had to defend themselves against accusations of Calvinism. This enforcement of confessional boundaries is also visible in the treatment of the 'mystic' Jakob Böhme. He was inspired by the Lutheran preacher Martin Moller (1547-1606) who was accused of Calvinism himself. In this engagement with Böhme, we can see how deeply individualistic religiosity was.

Later accounts of the Reformation sought to tell a more symmetrical, neater story (chapter eight). Chronicles from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries give a variety of Reformation narratives, but starting in the eighteenth century, many complications were no longer featured in accounts of the Reformation and a more

uniform Lutheran narrative emerged. One of the central tenets of the creation of 'Memory' was the cult of the first Lutheran preacher. This is epitomized by the first Lutheran preacher of Zittau, Lorenz Heidenreich (1480-1557), who was stylized into the ideal Lutheran and who forms the biographical focal point of this chapter. The Zwinglians of Zittau, for example, were removed from retellings of the introduction of the Reformation. There are also significant linguistic points of comparison between early modern Reformation histories. While early chronicles were happy to include scatological details in their accounts, later histories did not pick those up. Other elements, however, such as a focus on the 'light' of the Gospel and 'popish darkness' were copied.

In the conclusion these threads are brought together, focusing on the ways in which Upper Lusatia advances and challenges broader Reformation narratives, while also highlighting where Lusatia was a unique case. Negotiated on an individual basis, religiosity could take different shapes depending on circumstances and personalities. Like the individuals touched by them, the Reformations of Upper Lusatia were full of contradictions.

2. Johann Frobenius (1490-1553) and the ethno-political structure of Upper Lusatia

On 30 October 1553, the *Pastor Primarius* of Lauban was dying. Johann Frobenius had been reluctant at first to come to a town with a functioning convent of the Order of Mary Magdalene (*Magdalenerinnen*), but after accepting the appointment, and arriving in Lauban exactly fifteen years before, his life had become deeply intertwined with the fortunes of Lauban. Frobenius' willingness to stay in the town during the outbreak of plague earlier in 1553 was his undoing, as, after the worst of the epidemic had passed, he contracted the disease himself. Before his illness, Frobenius had held sermons every week, telling the people how to behave when dying; when they wanted to receive communion, he would perform the ritual during the week.[71] The author of a later chronicle wrote that his time of death was a good one because by then, the worst of the plague was over and Frobenius was therefore able to 'provide unwavering support for the sick with prayer and encouragement'.[72] Miraculously, no sign of the plague was found on the body of 'the blessed man'.[73] The council assigned Frobenius a burial space by the altar of Lauban's main church, a testament to how highly they regarded him.[74] Yet this close connection between the councilors of Lauban and their preacher was a recent development. Frobenius had attacked the former mayor vehemently, leading to the mayor's dismissal.

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[71] For a Catholic comparison, see Johann Leisentrit, *Catholisch Pfarbuch oder Form und Weise, wie die catholischen Seelsorger in Ober und Niderlausitz ... ihre Krancken ... besüchen*... (Cologne, 1578). See chapter five.

[72] Karl Gottlob Dietmann, *Die gesamte der ungeänderten Augsb. Confesion zugethane Priesterschaft in dem Marggrafthum Oberlausitz* (Lauban and Leipzig, 1777), p. 489, 'stand […] den Kranken mit Bethen und Zusprechen unerschrocken bey'.

[73] Ibid., 'doch soll man an dem Körper des sel. Mannes kein Merkmal der Pest gefunden haben'. For an overview of religion and the plague, see, Franco Mormando, Thomas Worcester (eds.), *Piety and Plague. From Byzantium to the Baroque* (Kirksville, 2007).

[74] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 489. On burials after the Reformation, see Craig M. Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead: Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany* (London, 2000), pp. 40-79.

In order to understand the role Lutheran preachers played in Upper Lusatian towns like Lauban, it is necessary to take a step back and consider the broader political structure of the towns in the Lusatian League. The way in which the councils functioned was similar in the six towns. How they were governed also draws our attention to the geographical position of Upper Lusatia, between more powerful actors like the king of Bohemia and the dukes of Saxony, while at the same time illustrating that the towns were in constant negotiations with the rural nobility and Catholic convents.[75] Though the towns shared many features, there were also some significant differences. Only Bautzen, Löbau and Kamenz had a Sorb population, for example, and the artisans of Görlitz tended to be particularly rebellious, which meant that the town saw many uprisings. After exploring these structures, we will return to Frobenius and see how a Lutheran preacher could complicate these urban hierarchies.

2.1 The ethno-political setup of the Lusatian League

When Frobenius came to Lauban he would have entered one of the smaller towns in the Lusatian League. Nonetheless, even these less significant towns had to contribute towards the taxes that each town had to pay to the king of Bohemia.[76] They reveal the wealth of the six towns. Görlitz had to contribute 33.3%, Zittau 25%, Bautzen had to pay 22.2% and the smaller towns, Lauban, Löbau and Kamenz, shared the remaining 19.4% to varying degrees over the decades.[77] This system was not fixed and

[75] AW, 196053, *Verschiedene Differenzien des Landes mit den Sechsstädten betr. 1522-1715*; St B, 50009-166, *Aufzeichnungen und Abschriften in Oberlausitzer und Niederlausitzer Landessachen (1601-1800)*, fols. 487A-523B.
[76] Increases in taxes are recorded in the *Landtsgsakten* and *Landtagsprotokolle*. For example in 1551, the king requested additional funds to fight the Turks. See AW, 2249 *Landtags-Akten 1551*, especially fols. 16B-18A. See also AW, 2246, *Landtags Protokolle, 1509-1594*, for example 188A on taxes to fight the Turks and on additional funds for a royal marriage.
[77] Blaschke, *Geschichte der Oberlausitz*.

the smaller towns in particular were frequently allowed to pay however much they could afford. It shows clearly how economically insignificant the three smaller towns were compared to the bigger ones, making up less of the contribution collectively than any one of the other towns on its own.

Through the voice the smaller towns had within the coalition, they did not feel disenfranchised and were less likely to act against decisions by the larger towns. The representatives of the Lusatian League met weekly in Löbau due to its favourable geographical position.[78] The smaller towns would sometimes request one of the larger towns to represent them at the meetings. Owing to their geographic position, Kamenz would usually appoint Bautzen to be their representative and side with them during votes, while Lauban allied itself with Görlitz.[79] The existence of an external threat, usually the nobility in the surrounding countryside, helped to bond the towns together and they frequently petitioned the king of Bohemia or other dignitaries collectively, and not as individual towns.[80]

All of the towns had a similar political structure, only that the smaller towns had smaller councils. Those of Kamenz, Lauban and Löbau consisted of twelve men, a mayor and judges (*Schöppen*).[81] There was a varying number of *Schöppen*, usually seven, responsible for urban jurisdiction. They held a particularly important role on the councils, being more powerful than ordinary council members. From at least the beginning of the sixteenth century, the councilors in Kamenz, and probably in the other towns, were assigned additional roles: two were responsible for the collection of water and beer taxes, two were brick masters and two fulfilled the role of church father.[82]

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[78] Behrisch, *Städtische Obrigkeit*, p. 38.
[79] Inge and Lothar Küken, *Der Oberlausitzer Sechsstädtebund* (Görlitz, 2009).
[80] For examples of these interactions between the towns and nobility, see CWBZ, A 242 / 4, *Urkundenbuch Moritz Oskar Sauppe*, for example fols. 63B, 86A, 96A.
[81] See, for example AB, 2447-2565, *Ratsprotokolle (1564-1841).*
[82] *CDSR*, pp. I-XX. On the beer taxes, see also AW, 195854, *Faskicul von allerhand auswärtigen Miscellaneen als: alter Summarischer Auszug des bewilligten von Jahr zu Jahr eingenommenen Biergeldes in den Städten und in Kreisen Böhmens 1546-1572*.

Usually, current councilors would appoint new ones, with guilds also having a limited say. In Kamenz, a council degree stipulated that the 'whole of the citizenry' was allowed to elect new council members.[83] Whether this was an exaggeration is unclear, but no similar orders are known from other towns making this voting procedure exceptional.

The power artisans had varied slightly in the three smaller towns of the Lusatian League. In Lauban they managed to carve out a limited political say in the middle of the fifteenth century, allowing them to check the council accounts.[84] Guildsmen's ability to impact on political decisions was more pronounced in Kamenz and Löbau.[85] From 1318 until 1547, the artisans of both towns had their own representation in the form of a pre-council (*Vorrath*). The *Vorrath* of Kamenz was consulted about any major decisions taken by the town council. It consisted of twelve men, four elders who had been on the council before and two from each of the major trades: cloth makers, shoe makers, butchers and bakers.[86] From 1412, however, the guild elders had been chosen by the councilors and not the guild members. The council therefore also extended its jurisdiction to the *Vorrath*. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the smaller trades also sent their representatives to the *Vorrath*. They were the smiths, tailors, needle-makers, coopers, furriers, linen weavers and wagon builders.[87] Whether these smaller trades had a say in the *Vorrath's* decisions, and whether the *Vorrath* had the power to veto council decisions or was merely consulted is not visible from the sources.

How much the artisans valued their political power is illustrated by tensions which arose in Kamenz between 1506 and 1508 because of a perceived lack of

[83] *CDSR*, pp. I-XX, 'Gesamtheit der Bürger'.
[84] J. G. Gründer, *Chronik der Stadt Lauban* (Lauban, 1846), pp. 82-97.
[85] On Löbau, see Ernst Alwin Seeliger, 'Urkunden zur Geschichte der Reformation in Löbau' in Curt Müller (ed.), *Gedenkbuch zum Löbauer Stadtjubiläum* (Löbau, 1921), pp. 92-104.
[86] St K, A 4, *Memorial oder Stadtbuch der Stadt Camentzs (1514-1538*).
[87] Ibid.; *CDSR*, pp. I-XX.

involvement of the *Vorrath* in council decisions. Members of the *Vorrath* wrote to the royal bailiff (*Landvogt*) and successfully elected one of their own as mayor. From 1507 to 1512, the mayors changed from individuals who had previously held the post to new men (see Appendix A). Normally, mayors kept rotating between the same individuals and those who were not currently in charge became ordinary council members.[88] Considering the rotation period of four years and the likely deaths of mayors before it was their turn again, the closed nature of the mayoral office becomes visible. In this formal way, therefore, power was preserved in the town councils between elites and a select number of individuals. It is all the more remarkable therefore that the artisans managed to undermine this system for a short period of time. Their status could also be helped by the relative wealth they acquired, as is visible in their wills.[89]

The political setup of Zittau was similar to that of the smaller towns, though the absence of a *Vorrath* is the most striking difference. In the sixteenth century, the population of Zittau was around 6500, less than Görlitz and Bautzen but more than the other three towns which only had a few thousand inhabitants each. Until 1360 the council consisted of twelve men, and from then on at least eighteen including a cloth maker, butcher, shoe maker and baker. Unlike the *Vorrath* in some of the other towns, these artisans were integrated into the council itself. The council contained fifteen *Schöppen,* one town scribe, a head judge and the mayor. In 1556 two further councilors were added to the *Rat*.[90] The old councilors appointed the new members.[91] From the fourteenth century onwards, the council had the right to appoint guild elders. The elders and guild representatives on the council were therefore frequently those who were most likely to

[88] St K, A 3, *Stadtbuch 1483-1513.* See also AB, 2447-2565, *Ratsprotokolle (1564-1841)* for the political structure of Lauban, where power was also concentrated in the hands of some powerful families.
[89] St B, 62000-85, *Das Testament des Schuhmachermeister Peter Reng.*
[90] Fröde, *Privilegien und Statuten*, p. 34.
[91] Ibid.

agree with the council policies.[92] Three or four individuals usually concentrated political power in their hands and the position of mayor and judge rotated annually between them, similar to the other Upper Lusatian towns. The urban elites could also hold economic privileges. In Zittau, the sale of cloth was restricted to urban dignitaries in the early seventeenth century.[93]

In Görlitz, the council also consisted of eighteen men who met at least once a week, sometimes even daily.[94] It comprised seven *Schöppen* and twelve council members with the council members selecting the more powerful *Schöppen* and those, in turn, selecting a mayor.[95] Görlitz had some clearly discernible oligarchic families, like the Emerichs and Gehlers who frequently appear as councilors or mayors.[96] As such, the council was not open to artisans or many guild members, some of whom were on the council but usually selected because they would abide by the orders of the other council members and not for reasons of representation. Görlitz had acquired a particularly large area over which it exercised its jurisdiction (*Landfriede*) before 1547. 10.000 km² large, it was almost as vast as that of Nuremberg.[97]

The main industry in Görlitz, as was the case for most of the Upper Lusatian towns, was cloth making and woad colouring.[98] Cloth from Görlitz can be traced throughout the whole of the Holy Roman Empire, Poland and Russia.[99] Görlitz was particularly prosperous in the late medieval period because merchants lived and worked

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[92] Hrachovec, *Zittauer und ihre Kirchen*, pp. 17-19.
[93] Ibid.
[94] St G, no signature, *Ratsprotokolle 1563-1571*.
[95] See Speer, *Frömmigkeit und Politik*; Katja Lindenau, *Brauen und Herrschen. Die Görlitzer Braubürger als städtische Eliten in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit* (Leipzig, 2007), pp. 79-80. See also, AW, 195950, *Sammlung einiger Nachrichten von Observantien Gebräuchen, Privilegien und dsgl. welche den Görlitzer Kreis und dessen Gerechtsame betr... 1602-1773*, especially pp. 1A-10B.
[96] Kai Wenzel, 'Görlitz' in Wolfgang Adam, Siegrid Westphal (eds.), *Handbuch kultureller Zentren der Frühen Neuzeit. Städte und Residenzen im alten deutschen Sprachraum* (3 vols., Berlin and Boston, 2012), vol. 1, pp. 595-641, p. 603.
[97] Speer, *Frömmigkeit und Politik*.
[98] Wenzel, 'Görlitz' in Adam, Westphal, *Handbuch kultureller Zentren*, pp. 595-641, p. 608.
[99] See, Küken, *Oberlausitzer Sechsstädtebund*; Norbert Kersken, 'Die Oberlausitz von der Gründung des Sechsstädtebundes bis zum Übergang an das Kurfürstentum Sachsen (1346-1635)' in Bahlcke (ed.), *Geschichte der Oberlausitz*, pp. 99-142.

there, attracting traders who could be taxed.[100] The economic importance of cloth also meant that the cloth makers were the biggest guild and frequently demanded greater political representation. They were particularly susceptible to Lutheran ideas about the preaching of the pure Gospel. In both Görlitz and Zittau, rebellions by the cloth makers occurred in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In this regard they were similar to other poor, large guilds, like the winegrowers around Freiburg. But unlike the partly rural winegrowers in Freiburg, the cloth makers lived in the towns and formed a crucial part of the urban economy.[101] In 1487 the artisans of Zittau requested more political power and in the ensuing arguments, managed to increase their political capital by appointing a number of new councilors. These councilors eventually ordered the beheading of mayor Hans Pabst on the central market square in 1495.[102] In Görlitz, the cloth makers attempted a rebellion in 1525 which was stalled by a large town fire. In 1527 they tried again and the conspiracy was uncovered in the nick of time.[103]

Beer production for a local market provided further revenue.[104] All six towns had a rotating brewing right (*Reihebrauchrecht*), where the privilege to produce beer rotated between a select number of individuals depending on the time of year.[105] In order to become a councilor, an individual had to be part of this brewing elite.[106] A family's ability to brew beer was therefore an indication of their social status as well as a source of income. Other locally important trades included butchery, bakery and the

[100] Wenzel, 'Görlitz' in Adam, Westphal (eds.), *Handbuch kultureller Zentren*, p. 608.
[101] See Tom Scott, *Freiburg and the Breisgau: Town-Country Relations in the Age of Reformation and Peasants' War* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 234-235.
[102] Fröde, *Privilegien und Statuten*, p. 34.
[103] See Peter Wenzel, 'Der Aufstandsversuch der Görlitzer Tuchmacher 1527' in *Görlitzer Magazin*, 13, 1999, pp. 16-25; Peter Wenzel, 'Der Aufstandsversuch der Görlitzer Tuchmacher 1527 (Teil 2)' *Görlitzer Magazin* 17 (2003), pp. 43-51.
[104] Lindenau, *Brauen und Herrschen*. See also AW, 195854, *Faskicul von allerhand auswärtigen Miscellaneen als: alter Summarischer Auszug des bewilligten von Jahr zu Jahr eingenommenen Biergeldes in den Städten und in Kreisen Böhmens 1546-1572*.
[105] AB, 2688, *Biersteuer und andere Bier-Geschäfte betr. (1533 - 1724)*; on preachers brewing rights, see St G, no signature, Bernhard Meltzer, *Diarium Consulare Meltzer*, fol. 31B.
[106] Lindenau, *Brauen und Herrschen*, pp. 32-68.

manufacture of leather products.[107] Iron mining in the surrounding area and production of iron-related goods also contributed to the urban economy.[108] As in other towns, the privilege to hold markets, for example for salt or butchered goods, provided another form of income, as traders were taxed for the goods they sold and brought into the town. Such privileges had to be requested from the king of Bohemia.[109] Görlitz with its many merchant families was allowed to hold most of these regionally important markets.

The town council of Bautzen also consisted of twelve councilors, six of whom were supposed to be artisans and the other six recruited from the urban elites.[110] Additionally there were the other members: *Schöppen*, the judge and scribe, totaling seven more. The mayor was supposed to be elected alternately from the artisans and the elites.[111] Bautzen, considered the 'capital' of the Lusatian League, held the privilege of opening letters addressed to the alliance and sealing in the name of the *Sechsstädtebund*. Like in Görlitz, some families dominated the council of Bautzen (see Appendix B), for example the Rosenhains. Many of these families also inter-married, leading to an even more restricted urban oligarchy.

As we have already seen with the *Vorrath* and the cloth makers, guilds (*Innungen* or *Zünfte*) were crucial to the organization of civic life. Their guild statutes tell us that they consisted of multiple masters and their apprentices.[112] Guild

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[107] For the leather production in Lauban, see AB, 3165, *Gerber Artikel (1562-1844*).
[108] Steffen Menzel, *Das Eisengewerbe der Oberlausitz vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, PhD thesis, University of Leipzig, http://d-nb.info/991772393/34, accessed 31-07-2017.
[109] For privileges given by the king, see AW, 196000, *Volumen documentorum varii generis privilegiorum et concessionum, 1544-1679*; CWBZ, A 244 / 1 *Urkunden zur Lausitzer Geschichte 1516-1860*; CWBZ, A 27, *Collectanea Lusatica Abrahami Frenzelii – tomus tertius*, fols. 452B-458B; St B, I S 3.1 – 6200, *Der Stadt Budissin Statuta in Succession und Erbtheilung (1569).*
[110] Friedrich Hermann Baumgärtel, *Rathsverfassung und Rathslinie der Stadt Bautzen* (Bautzen, 1901).
[111] Fröde, *Privilegien und Statuten*, p. 34.
[112] For example, St K, 6105, *Der Fleischhauerinnung de Anno 1587*; St K, 6146, *Organisation des Handwerks der Seiler*; AB, 3171, *Handwerk der Töpfer (1508-1786)*; BW, 1948/112, *Register und Ordnung der löblichen bruderschaft der leinweber am 1609 Jahr*. The guilds also feature in judicial documents for example St L, Rep 41 24, *Rügenbuch / Statdbuch 1543-1607*; AB, 2430-2432, *Martin Zeidlers privat Protocoll, 3 vols. (1615-1634).*

membership was also a prerequisite for citizenship in most cases.[113] The apprentices who were not full members of the guilds had to fulfill certain criteria to become masters. The butchers' statutes of Kamenz stipulate that a 'foreign apprentice' had to buy a bench (*bank*), had to have moved around for three years and had to pay a total of six *Mark* in order to become a master.[114] The linen weavers in Lauban were not allowed to celebrate without cause or 'spill beer on the table'.[115] The masters also had to abide by the rules set out in the guild statutes and, for example, refrain from insults against each other.[116] Widows were allowed to do most of the activities related to the butchers' trade in Kamenz, but 'no widow [was] allowed to butcher'.[117] The statutes of the Lauban furriers mention 'male or female masters', suggesting that it was possible there too for widows to work in their deceased husband's trade.[118] Other documents from the guilds concern social events and their finances. During carnival 1624, for example, Martin Harttmann drank with the 'fraternity of the cloth maker apprentices' and owed a *thaler* of the local currency (*ortsthaler*).[119] As in other early modern towns, the Lusatian guilds therefore regulated their trade, helped to record debts and disputes, and fulfilled important social functions.

The pre-Reformation church was, as in most other parts of the Holy Roman Empire, flawed but also held the loyalty of its lay members. Johannes Tetzel preached in Görlitz and other Lusatian towns and even Catholic contemporaries were critical of his preaching.[120] Tetzel was in Lusatia by permission of the bishop of Meißen, to whose

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[113] On full citizenship through marriage, see also Archiv der Evangelisch-lutherischen Kirchengemeinde Kamenz, *Kirchbuch 1: Taufbuch 1585-1616, Traubuch 1585-1646, Todtenbuch 1602-1646*.
[114] St K, 6105, *Der Fleischhauerinnung de Anno 1587*, p. 1A, 'frembder gesell'.
[115] BW, 1948/112, *Register und Ordnung der löblichen bruderschaft der leinweber am 1609 jahr*, fols. 4B-5B, 'das biehr vergiest aufm tisch'.
[116] St K, 6105, *Der Fleischhauerinnung de Anno 1587*, p. 2A.
[117] Ibid., p. 1B, 'kheiner Wittibs soll verstattet sein zu schlachten'.
[118] AB, 3163, *Kirschner-Artikel (1507-1846)*, unpaginated, 'Meister oder Meisterin'.
[119] St K, 6777, *Ordnung bei der Brüderschaft der Tuchknappen* (1593-1744), unpgainated, 'brüderschaft der Tuchknappen'.
[120] Johannes Hass, Theodor Neumann (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen* (Görlitz, 1852), pp. 6-8. On Tetzel, see Enno Bünz, Hartmut Kühne, Peter Wiegand (eds.), *Johann Tetzel und der Ablass. Begleitband zur Ausstellung „Tetzel – Ablass – Fegefeuer" in Mönchenkloster und Nikolaikirche Jüteborg* (Berlin, 2017).

bishopric most of Lusatia belonged. Zittau is the notable exception, as it belonged to the archbishopric of Prague. There is evidence of lively lay piety as well: fraternities existed in all six of the towns and played a central part in medieval devotion endowing masses, donating altars and holding processions in all six towns.[121] Processions, for example to the Holy Grave in Görlitz, a reproduction of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, were very popular.[122] A late sixteenth century chronicle from Kamenz comments extensively on processions for rain ordered by the town council after a prolonged drought in 1520.[123] Caspar Haberkorn, Lutheran councilor and chronicler of Kamenz, wrote that the procession went with crosses and candles to Saint Jost's Chapel, and the next Tuesday, to the local monastery. The procession included 315 barefooted virgins, wearing white capes, 'crowns of wormwood' and holding rosaries in their hands.[124] Catholic songs were sung and over the following days and weeks their processions continued to all the churches of the town. When rain set in three days after the last procession, the people of Kamenz, according to Haberkorn, felt strengthened in their 'superstitious beliefs'.[125] The clerical situation in the towns on the eve of the Reformation was therefore a solid one and all the towns had multiple churches, and, in the case of Görlitz, even a pilgrimage site. People supported the Catholic Church, but were also aware of its problems.

Other features of urban life are harder to trace. In Bautzen, the cathedral chapter ran a school and after 1526 the council employed a Lutheran teacher but, especially in

[121] CWBZ, A 30, *Collectanea Lusatica Abrahami Frenzelii – tomus sextus*, fols. 851A-853B; St Lö, Rep 34 31, *Rügenbuch / Löbauer Gerichtsbuch 1520-1573*, fol. 60A.
[122] St Lö, Mscr. 119, *Bischof Johann von Meißen erneurt die schon früher von Kardinal Raymund erteilte und von dem damaligen meißnischen Bischof bestätigte Erlaubnis, an gewissen Tagen in der außerhalb der Pfarrkirche von Löbau friedliche Prozessionen abzuhalten und gewährt allen Teilnehmern 40 Tage ablass.*
[123] Haberkorn, Dannenberg (ed.), *Annalen der Stadt Kamenz*, pp. 50-52.
[124] Ibid., p. 51, 'grüne Wermut Krenzlein'.
[125] Ibid., 'aberglauben'.

the smaller towns, there were few educational establishments before the Reformation.[126] There are no indications of a brothel in any of the towns of the Lusatian League: considering their size it is likely that they existed but do not feature in any of the sources. In Lauban and Görlitz we know of public bath houses, so similar establishments probably existed in the other towns of the Lusatian League. In Görlitz, the bath was by the river Neiße on the outskirts of the town.[127] The two most important towns of the coalition, Görlitz and Bautzen, also had printing presses. The one in Bautzen opened in 1552 and was run by Nikolaus Wolrab. It was particularly important and helped the printing dynasty of the Wolrabs to fame and wealth.[128] The press in Görlitz was owned by Ambrosius Fritsch and operated for thirty years from 1565.[129]

Although the six towns of the Lusatian League had considerable power, they were still part of the kingdom of Bohemia, so the councils had to negotiate constantly and use their power wisely so as to preserve it. The three Upper Lusatian estates, the Lusatian League, the rural nobility and the convents, met regularly for diets which the royal bailiff or his deputy, the *Amtshauptmann*, presided over. As side land of the Bohemian crown, Upper Lusatia was represented at the Bohemian diets (*Landtage*), usually by the bailiff. In some cases, especially when the king was likely to punish them, the towns sent their own representatives, such as mayors or respected councilors. These structures were altered in 1547 when the king punished the towns and again at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, when the frequency and makeup of the diets

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[126] CWBZ, A 25 *Collectanea Lusatica Abrahami Frenzelii – tomus primus*, fols. 325A-419A; CWBZ, A 30, *Collectanea Lusatica Abrahami Frenzelii – tomus sextus*, fol. 666A.
[127] BW, 1947/ 68, Knauthe, *Religions und Kirchen Reformation bey der Stat Görlitz*, p. 66.
[128] See, Hagen Schulz, "'Gedruckt zu Budissin sonst Bautzen genannt / in der Hauptstadt des Marggrafthums Ober Laußnitz" – Leben und Werk des Buchdruckers Michael Wolrab' in *Museum Bautzen. Jahresschrift*, 7, 2010, pp. 115-185. See also, Andrew Pettegree, *Brand Luther. How an Unheralded Monk Turned His Small Town into a Center of Publishing, Made Himself the Most Famous Man in Europe - and Started the Protestant Reformation* (New York, 2015), p. 277.
[129] Gustav Köhler, *Zur Geschichte der Buchdruckerei in Görlitz: eine Festschrift von Gustav Köhler* (Görlitz, 1840), p. 13; Wenzel, 'Görlitz' in Adam, Westphal (eds.), *Handbuch kultureller Zentren der Frühen Neuzeit* , pp. 595-641, p. 600.

changed due to the ongoing war. Ferdinand II pawned Lusatia to Electoral Saxony in 1620, agreeing for Saxony to retain the territories unless he could refund Saxony.[130] This never happened and so Lusatia became a Saxon territory in 1635. The arrangement also stipulated no changes to the religious setup of Lusatia including 'minority rights for Catholics', meaning that relatively little changed in terms of the pluriconfessional makeup of Upper Lusatia.[131]

One instance where the power of the king becomes visible is his support for Catholic clergy. In a letter from March 1537 King Ferdinand I attempted to force the town council of Löbau to respect their Catholic priest. The man had been appointed by royal decree only a year before and Ferdinand ordered the council to pay the priest all due respect which they had not been doing for the past year.[132] In June 1537 another letter from the king admonished the council to pay the tithe (*Decem*) to him and, again, give him the respect he was due. As a consequence of the prolonged refusal of the council to pay the Catholic cleric, the king ordered two of the councilors to appear before him in Prague. However, in August 1537 Ferdinand climbed down, writing that if the council and priest were able to negotiate a solution it was not necessary for the two councilors to come to Prague. This case illustrates how much even the king of Bohemia was willing to negotiate with the council in order to preserve peace in the region. Like the rest of Bohemia, and the Holy Roman Empire, the ruler wanted his domains to prosper so that he could collect taxes and receive military assistance.[133]

But the tables could quickly be turned. The 'Sequestration' (*Pönfall*) of 1547 is the one notable exception to peaceful negotiations between the councils and their king. At the Battle of Mühlberg, King Ferdinand I requested all towns and regions under his

[130] Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy,* p. 298.
[131] Ibid, p. 568 and p. 721.
[132] *CDSR*, p. 312; CWBZ, A 242 / 4, *Urkundenbuch Moritz Oskar Sauppe*, fols. 118A-118B.
[133] For example in 1551, when the king requested further funds to fight the Turks (AW, 2249, *Landtags-Akten 1551*). See also AW, 2246, *Landtags Protokolle, 1509-1594*.

jurisdiction supply armed forces, including Upper Lusatia. Lusatia obliged after a period of waiting, after all the councils were largely Lutheran by this point. But on the evening before the battle, the soldiers of the Lusatian League, many of whom were mercenaries, ran out of pay and left the battlefield. The letter by the king requesting them to stay for longer did not reach the towns in time.[134] Ferdinand saw this as a betrayal of his cause. When his Catholic army beat the Protestant forces decisively he probably welcomed the ensuing punishment of the six towns, both for monetary reasons and because it gave him the chance to strengthen the rural nobility of the region, whom he favoured over the towns.[135] He punished the towns in the *Pönfall* by imposing heavy fines and stripping them of many of the privileges which they had acquired over the past decades, including urban jurisdiction and guilds' assembly rights.[136] Gradually the king restored the privileges, starting later in 1547, but it would take until the end of the century before the towns had recovered all their lost powers.[137]

A notable absence from the punishment was the towns' Lutheran religion, which the king left entirely untouched. There is no clear explanation for this, but it is possible that the king preferred to punish the towns in monetary terms in order to increase his wealth. In fact the nineteenth century historian Christian Knauthe argued that the *Pönfall* was bad for the Catholics as it led to a further decline of the Franciscans: because of additional taxes imposed by the king, no one could spare any money for the monks and so they died out in by the 1560s.[138] This seems to be a highly unlikely explanation, as the Lutheran councils refused to support the monks on religious grounds

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[134] CWBZ, A 242 / 5, *Urkunden der Oberlausitz und der Stadt Zittau 1546-1548*, fol. 152A, 'König Ferdinand an die Sechsstädte, Aufforderung ihr Fähnlein Knechte noch 2 Monate im Felde zu lassen (Feldlager bei Ragwitz, 23.04.1547)'.
[135] CWBZ, A 27, *Collectanea Lusatica Abrahami Frenzelii – tomus tertius*, fols. 435B-444A. See also Behrisch, *Städtische Obrigkeit*
[136] CWBZ, A 242 / 6, *Urkundenbuch Moritz Oskar Sauppe*, fols. 12A-39B.
[137] *CDSR*, pp. 207-210 and pp. 316-320; AW, 196000, *Volumen documentorum varii generis privilegiorum et concessionum, 1544-1679*, fol. 49A.; CWBZ, A 242 / 6, *Urkundenbuch Moritz Oskar Sauppe*, fols. 68A-72B.
[138] Knauthe, *Religions und Kirchen Reformation bey der Stat Görlitz*, p. 83.

and not for monetary reasons. It seems that Knauthe came to this conclusion because he wanted to blame the king, rather than the town councils, for the decline of the monasteries. In this way, the Lutheran Knauthe was able to portray the Lutheran councils as victims of an overly harsh king.

The constitutional setup of all six towns was altered in 1547.[139] After the loss of their appointment privileges (*freie Ratskür*), the king of Bohemia and the bailiff were made responsible for appointing councilors and mayors between 1547 and 1559. As the list of mayors from Bautzen (see Appendix B) shows, the most decisive change in the constitutional setup of the town was not the introduction of the Reformation in the mid- to late-1520s, but rather the *Pönfall* of 1547.[140] Now mayors would keep their position two years in a row and a number of individuals who had not previously held the post were able to gain access to this highest urban office. It was only in the later parts of the century that continuity was restored. Individual families, however, were able to withstand royal pressure. A Rosenhain was elected mayor in 1500 and 1530 and Antonius Rosenhain was mayor a total of nine times between 1549 and 1570. Although Rosenhain's first appointments would have been ordered by the king of Bohemia, it seems that he was able to convince his fellow councilors of his suitability for the position as he was elected mayor again after the councilors had regained the right to elect mayors freely.

Usually the towns cooperated and supported each other financially and politically, but even within the coalition itself, tensions could erupt on rare occasions and result in feuds between the six towns.[141] The beer feud (*Bierfehde* or *Bierkrieg*) between Zittau and Görlitz is a late fifteenth-century example where the unity between the towns was threatened, whilst its resolution shows how much importance the towns

[139] See Matthias Herrmann (ed.), *Pönfall der Oberlausitzer Sechsstädte. 1547 – 1997* (Kamenz, 1999).
[140] CWBZ, A 242 / 5, *Urkunden der Oberlausitz und der Stadt Zittau 1546-1548*, fols. 297A-297B.
[141] Löbau financially supported Zittau after a town fire, for example. St Lö, Mscr. 37B, *Rats-Rechnungen, 1562-1564*, fol. 10A.

ascribed to the alliance. In 1490 Görlitz thought that Zittau had illegally provided beer to villages which were within the beer mile (*Biermeile*) of Görlitz, in which only beer from Görlitz was supposed to be sold. Representatives of the town council went so far as to encourage the destruction of beer convoys to Zittau. In retaliation, Zittau stole cattle from Görlitz. In this matter, the towns turned to Saxony, not Bohemia, for legal advice and the central court of Meißen intervened. It decided in favour of Görlitz and when Zittau refused to (or could not) pay the fines, the other four towns paid parts of the penalty.[142] The peace within the coalition was so important to the towns that they were willing to pay on behalf of another town.[143] A small proportion of the fine was also paid by the rural nobility, a rare example of a fruitful cooperation between the towns and the nobility for the sake of peace.

Unlike towns in the South of the Holy Roman Empire, Upper Lusatian urban polities were not ethnically uniform, but had substantial Sorb minorities.[144] Bautzen, Kamenz and Löbau were the towns within the *Sechsstädtebund* which had a Sorb minority.[145] In Bautzen, around a third of the population were Sorbs. Policies towards the Sorb minority population fluctuated between exclusion and inclusion and show a considerable degree of flexibility on the councils' part. The Sorbs possessed a different language and culture to the majority of town dwellers and interpreters were needed to aid communications between ethnic Germans and Sorbs. The town book from Kamenz covering the years 1483 to 1513 mentions a total of six Sorbs receiving citizen rights,

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[142] Lindenau, *Brauen und Herrschen*, pp. 52-56.
[143] Struve (ed.), Hass, *Rathsannalen*, pp. 32-46.
[144] On the use of the terms Sorb and Wend, see Friedrich Pollack, *Die Entdeckung des Fremden Wahrnehmung und Darstellung der Lausitzer Sorben im gelehrten Schrifttum des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Bautzen, 2012), p. 15; Lubina Mahling, *Sorbisches kirchliches Leben in Löbau von der Reformation bis zum Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Görlitz and Zittau, 2011), p. 13.
[145] See, for example, St Lö, Mscr. 42B, *Schuldbekentnisse des Rats zu Löbau und Quittungen über Zahlungen des selben 1548-1627*, fol. 19A on the payment of a Sorbian chaplain in 1570 ('wendischer Kaplan vollständig bezahlt'). On problems between Sorbs and Germans in Bautzen in the thirteenth century, see Baumgärtel, *Rathsverfassung*, p. 3.

usually demarcated as a Wend (*ein wendt*).[146] But the register was not systematic, as most individuals who acquired citizens' rights are not demarcated as German or Sorb. The ethnic labeling was also not restricted to Sorbs, as many Germans were also demarcated as such (*dewtzscher arth*). It is striking, however, that, as far as we know, none of the Sorbs ever became councilors, let alone mayor. In 1518 a decree from the Kamenz town council made the distinction explicit by demanding Sorbs pay 24 *Gulden* more than Germans to become citizens. In 1530 this was raised to as much as 100 *Gulden*.[147] By 'othering' the Sorbian minority population in this way, the council demonstrated its power and authority which it had previously not done to the same extent. The only reason given for this increase in 1518 was that 'the Sorbs had lived here [causing] great damage to the common citizens for some time'.[148]

However, power could also be displayed by reminding the Sorbs that they were, in fact, under council jurisdiction and therefore part of the urban community.[149] One of the earliest documents in Sorbian is a citizen's oath from Bautzen (*Burger Eydt Wendisch*) from the early 1530s which shows that it was possible for Sorbs who did not speak German to receive the citizens' rights.[150] The town council also explicitly included the Wends in a decree against blasphemy from 1567, where they wrote that men and women, Sorbs and non-Sorbs are supposed to obey the rulings of the council

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[146] See, St K, A 3, *Stadtbuch 1483-1513*; St K, A 4, *Memorial oder Stadtbuch der Stadt Camentzs (1514-1538)*; *Kamenzer Neubürgerverzeichnis 1483–1539* (Leipzig, 1934) ed. Friedrich Kahle; *Kamenzer Bürgerbuch 1570–1744* (Leipzig, 1929) ed. Gerhard Stephan. For a broader discussion of such town books, see Christian Speer, 'Mitteldeutsche Stadtbücher als Quellen der Frömmigkeitsgeschichte um 1500' in Enno Bünz, Hartmut Kühne (eds.), *Alltag und Frömmigkeit am Vorabend der Reformation in Mitteldeutschland* (Leipzig, 2015), pp. 191–200.
[147] *CDSR*, p. 193.
[148] Ibid., 'der Windische nicht an grossen schaden gemeyner burger eyn czeyt lang hie gewonet'. See Friedrich Pollack, 'Bürgereid und Wendenpassus – Sorben in der Stadt des Mittelalters und der Frühneuzeit. Neue Perspektiven zu einem alten Forschungsproblem (mit Edition zweier Kamenzer Bürgereide des 18. Jahrhunderts)' in *Lětopis*, 62/2, 2015, pp. 133–151, p. 142. See also Dora Grete Hopp, *Die Zunft und die Nichtdeutschen im Osten, insbesondere in der Mark Brandenburg* (Marburg, 1954), p. 65.
[149] On urban communities, see Beat Kümin, *The Communal Age in Western Europe c. 1100-1800: Towns, Villages and Parishes in Pre-Modern Society* (Basingstoke, 2013).
[150] See, *Pollack*, 'Bürgereid und Wendenpassus', pp. 139-141.

and God and not commit blasphemy.[151] The printed nature of the decree might suggest that it was displayed publicly. Far from merely imposing orthodoxy on the population and excluding Sorbs to create more homogenous surroundings, the councils responded flexibly.

While in Kamenz the town council initially tried to take advantage of their otherness, in Bautzen the councilors reminded the Sorbs of their allegiance to the town and council regardless of their ethnic difference. The different treatment illustrates how the Sorbian minority was used by the town council to pursue different politics. When it suited the council of poorer Kamenz to extract heavier fines from Sorbs they would do so. It is likely that there had been a significant increase in the number of Sorb inhabitants because of an increasing rural flight towards Kamenz from the surrounding countryside, making it likely that Germans felt threatened by the greater number of Sorbs and that the council responded with the increased fees.[152] By contrast, when the Bautzen town council needed all citizens to obey them, they would portray the Sorbs as part of the community.

While Sorbs are mentioned in some sources, there are very few indications of the existence of an early modern Jewish community. In the Middle Ages, things seem to have been different, at least in Görlitz, as is indicated by the discovery of a Jewish ritual bath there in the 1980s.[153] The bath (*Mikveh*) is believed to have been built in the fourteenth century and when Jews were chased out of the town, it was abandoned. When exactly the last Jews left and whether it was before the sixteenth century is currently impossible to trace. Expulsions in other Bohemian towns occurred when Jews were accused of aiding Hussites in the fifteenth century and Jews were expelled from

[151] St B, I. R. – 1, *Acta publica Raths Decreta und Anordnungen betzg. de Anno 1567, 1596, 1643, 1664, 1665, 1667, 1670, 1671, 1672, 1674, 1679, 1684*.
[152] Pollack, 'Bürgereid und Wendenpassus'.
[153] See, Speer, *Frömmigkeit und Politik*.

the Bohemian crown lands in 1541. Hardly any written sources survive for Jewish life in Upper Lusatia. As Bautzen, Görlitz and Zittau were sizeable towns, it is possible that Jews lived there too.[154] A contract from 1512 shows that although Jews did not live in Görlitz, merchants took up loans from them. In the town book, where contracts and business transactions were recorded, Hans Beutler and Hans Schwartz confirm that they had borrowed 100 *gulden* and thirty-two *groschen* from two Jews, Samuel and Jakob, who lived in Brieska.[155] Jews also travelled through Görlitz, coming from Bohemia or Poland on their way to the Leipzig book fair. In 1533, the council stipulated that any Jews travelling through Görlitz had to stay with the furrier master Hans and pay two *groschen* for a room.[156] But the restrictions on Jews did not stop there; Meister Hans also had to stay with the Jews at all times and they were only allowed to stay from Wednesday to Thursday night. A notable exception was the visit of the famous Prague scholar Rabbi Löw, who came to Görlitz in 1585 and stayed in the inn 'Blue Lion' (*Gasthof zum Blauen Löwen*), where he disputed with the mayor and cartographer Bartholomäus Scultetus about the Jewish calendar.[157]

[154] See Markus Bauer, Siegfried Hoche, *Die Juden von Görlitz. Beiträge zur jüdischen Geschichte der Stadt Görlitz* (Görlitz, 2014); Erhardt Hartstock, *Juden in der Oberlausitz* (Bautzen, 2008).
[155] Bauer, Hoche, *Juden von Görlitz*, p. 33.
[156] Ibid.
[157] Ibid.

Illustration Four: Mikveh (*Jewish ritual bath) in Görlitz, completed in the fourteenth century*.



Some baptisms of Jews are also recorded in the towns of the Lusatian League. In a Löbau chronicle, there is a reference to one such baptism in 1531. A nineteenth-century history records three baptisms of Jews in Görlitz in 1534 and we know of two in 1510.[158] The Zittau councilor Oswald Pergener wrote in 1538 that he wanted a teacher to instruct pupils in Hebrew in Zittau and had recruited a Jewish convert from Jerusalem

[158] Knauthe, *Religions und Kirchen Reformation bey der Stat Görlitz*, p. 103.

as teacher. He also requested Hebrew writings from Switzerland.[159] As far as we know, in the end, Pergener failed to establish these Hebrew lessons in Zittau.

One intriguing reference to a Jew is in connection with magical practices. In 1564 the house of the Lutheran preacher of Kamenz, Wolfgang Lindner, was on fire and a Jew who was staying in one of the town inns stood in front of the burning house and wrote Hebrew signs onto a bread (*Brod*) with which he hoped to put out the fire. Lindner admonished the Jew and through prayers and 'divine help' the fire was put out without any great damage.[160] Although Lindner was only town preacher from 1562 to 1566, he is remembered for this episode.[161] As there is no record of any Jews in Kamenz around this time, it is impossible to find out what exactly happened during the night of the fire. Another reference to Jewish scheming comes from Zittau, where in 1519 a Jew who possessed forged silver coins was burnt at the stake, 'dying as a Jew'.[162] Although we know little more about such stories, at the very least, they show that even in the smaller Lusatian towns, people interacted with Jews. Lutheran preachers, too, could complicate the urban structures. Confident from recent studies in Wittenberg, they set about changing the towns they worked in. One of them was Johann Frobenius, to whom we now return.

2.2 Johann Frobenius (1490-1553) and the Immoral Mayor Jakob Wagner (?-1552)

Within the urban framework, Lutheran clerics played an important role and, as the life of Johann Frobenius shows, their preaching and political influence could have a

[159] Hrachovec, *Zittauer und Ihre Kirchen*, p. 370.
[160] Johann Gottfried Lessing, *Zweyhundert-jährige Gedächtnis-Schrift derer ersten Evangelischen Predigten, welche in der Sechs-Stadt Camentz, 1527, an Ostern gehalten* (Leipzig, 1727), p. 71.
[161] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft,* p. 661.
[162] CWBZ, A 125, Annonymous, *Chronicon Zittaviense*, p. 137, 'vor einenn judenn gestorben'.

tangible impact on other urban dignitaries.[163] Frobenius' connection to Upper Lusatia started in 1538 when his predecessor Nicol Greinewitz, who had set up the Lutheran town school, had to leave Lauban because he married. The Lauban town scribe Johannes Hosmann (also called Cnemiander) went to Wittenberg to ask Frobenius to return with him to Lauban as *Pastor Primarius*.[164] For the council, Frobenius was a particularly appealing choice because he was not married. Indeed, he remained a bachelor all his life, yet preached in a Lutheran manner.[165]

Frobenius was not only connected to Wittenberg, but, according to contemporary accounts, even knew Luther, Melanchthon and Bugenhagen.[166] Enticing Frobenius to come to the relatively insignificant town of Lauban was therefore high on the council's agenda, and Hosmann took some beer with him to ensure the goodwill of the Wittenberg reformers. But Frobenius initially did not want to come to a town with a functioning convent. A later account of the episode attests that he wanted to avoid the 'quarrels and persecutions' he expected from the nuns and surviving Catholics.[167] However, Melanchthon, Luther and Bugenhagen told him that it was his duty and calling to go with the scribe and preach the Gospel and so, eventually, he left Wittenberg for Lauban.[168]

But one man wished that Frobenius had never come to Lauban. That man was Jakob Wagner, the mayor of Lauban who was known to have constant fights with his

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[163] The main source for Frobenius' life is a church chronicle of Lauban (*Laubansiche Kirchen- u Stadt Chronica*), written at the end of the sixteenth century, by Martin Bohemus. The chronicle details the town's history from its foundation to the end of the sixteenth century with a particular focus on the churches and clergy. A number of copies survive, some of them containing lists of mayors which continue into the eighteenth century, suggesting that they were continued by later authors. St Bo, 2271/2272 *Laubanische Kirchen u Stadt Chronica [durch H. Bohemus]*. See also Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, pp. 481-490.

[164] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 482. On Cnemiander, see also St Lö, Rep 41 11, *Acta die vermittelst dedicirter Schriften und eingereichten Supplicate gesuchte und erhaltene Subsidice auch dahinngen eingesendte danksagungsschreiben*.

[165] For a broader context, see, Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer, *From Priest's Whore to Pastor's Wife: Clerical Marriage and the Process of Reform in the Early German Reformation* (Burlington, 2012).

[166] St Bo, 2271/2272, *Laubanische Kirchen u Stadt Chronica [durch H. Bohemus]*, p. 150.

[167] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 482, 'Streitigkeiten und Nachstellungen'.

[168] Ibid., p. 484.

wife and had 'even exiled her from the marital bed'.[169] Instead he 'kept' other women and behaved badly to the great annoyance of the other councilors.[170] Frobenius continuously admonished his congregation to avoid a sinful lifestyle and Wagner thought that this was also directed at him. Frobenius particularly recommended staying clear of carnival as it encouraged sinful behaviour.[171] He implored the council to help him stop the celebrations, so that God would not punish them. Some saw such a punishment for the sins of the people of Lauban in the economically devastating *Pönfall* of 1547 or the plague which came into the town in 1553, killing between 1832 and 2200 people.[172] Frobenius' final warning was perhaps the most daunting: 'no one knows the day and hour when God calls you from this earth, so everyone will be judged how they were found during their end'.[173] He further called on the 'house fathers' in his congregation to ensure that their children and their wife would not celebrate carnival.[174] The emphasis on the *Pater Familias* as a support for the preacher and his religiosity was, of course, particularly important in Lutheranism.[175]

This kind of 'social disciplining' in the wake of the Reformation has generated a large body of scholarship.[176] It shows that even in a confessionally tolerant region like Upper Lusatia, certain elements of confessionalization could occur and throughout the sixteenth century, Lutheranism and Catholicism were defined more clearly. Unlike what

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[169] St Bo, 2271/2272, *Laubanische Kirchen u Stadt Chronica [durch H. Bohemus]*, p. 175, 'in groser uneinigkeit lebete und sie gar vom Ehebette verstosen hatte'.
[170] Ibid., 'zugehalten'. Also mentioned in Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 487.
[171] There is a significant scholarship on Carnival and 'the world turned upside down'. See, for example, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Carnival in Romans: Mayhem and Massacre in a French City* (Basildon, 2003); R.W. Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London and Ronceverte, 1987), pp. 71-103; Susan Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany* (London and New York, 1997), pp. 5-10.
[172] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 489.
[173] St Bo, 2271/2272, *Laubanische Kirchen u Stadt Chronica [durch H. Bohemus]*, p. 177, 'dem es wüste keiner den Tag und Stunde, wen ihn Gott von hinnen fordern würde, so würde ein jeder also gerichtet werden, wie er in seinen letzten Ende gefunden'.
[174] Ibid., 'Gott zu schrecklicher Straff ursach', 'Haus Vaeter'.
[175] See, Lyndal Roper, *The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg* (Oxford, 1989).
[176] For example, Hsia, *Social Disiplining*; Karant-Nunn, *Reformation of Ritual*.

the confessionalization thesis might lead one to expect, however, in Upper Lusatia these processes did not occur at a centralized, state level, but were initiated by a single individual and enforced by the local political body, in the form of the town council.

Unsurprisingly, the congregation, Wagner among them, did not heed Frobenius' warnings. Wagner was with various women and the following Sunday, Frobenius gave a fiery sermon in which he condemned those people who should be an example to the community for failing to live a moral life, clearly referring to Wagner and his shortcomings. Frobenius continued that 'some can not suffer their wife around them but can be happy and merry' with other women.[177] Wagner complained to Frobenius that he, Wagner, was 'sitting there with all [his] enemies laughing at [him]'.[178] He then attempted to mount a counter-attack by going to his fellow councilors to ask them to speak with the preacher and tell him not to repeat any such sermons. The other councilors declined outright. In fact, the town judge Martin Kirchhoff added to the mayor's woes by telling him that the council and other people had told him on numerous occasions that he should stop his 'whoring'.[179] Although there were clear rules as to the power of the council, with the mayor being in charge, on the ground these power structures could be challenged.

But Wagner still had some power, and Frobenius had to invoke his identity as a Lutheran preacher responsible for the whole town to justify himself to Wagner. When Wagner came to Frobenius' house to talk to him, the preacher showed him the cold shoulder and did not even let him enter his house. Instead, he sent him a note (*Zettel*) stating that he 'could not and would not speak to him alone, what he admonished in the sermon, [he] did not speak as Fruben [German for Frobenius] from Hirschberg, but as

[177] St Bo, 2271/2272, *Laubanische Kirchen u Stadt Chronica [durch H. Bohemus]*, p. 178, 'mancher könte sein Ehelich Weib nicht um sich leiden, aber mit fremden weibern könt er sich frölich und lustig machen'.
[178] Ibid., 'sedeo rident omnes inimici'; Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 487.
[179] St Bo, 2271/2272, *Laubanische Kirchen u Stadt Chronica [durch H. Bohemus]*, p. 178, 'huren wesen'.

orderly preacher of the town of Lauban, appointed by the council'.[180] If Wagner had any complaints, he should address them to the council and Frobenius would answer to them. Wagner was afraid that Frobenius would continue his preaching and sent another councilor to tell the preacher that he would stop his behaviour if only the *Pastor Primarius* would not preach about him again. The promise was an empty one, however, and Wagner continued his 'secret walks'.[181] So he was suspended as mayor in 1546 and lost his position on the town council. The council threatened further repercussions if Wagner would not cease his adultery but, as a contemporary chronicle relates in a wonderful turn of phrase, 'the jug continues going to the water until the handle breaks off'.[182]

And, indeed, Wagner continued in his ways. In 1548, he impregnated a servant girl and was incarcerated in the 'Görlitz Tower' (*Görlitzer Turm*). The council took 560 florins as punishment. Perhaps even more damning for Wagner was that he 'came into great contempt' amongst the inhabitants of Lauban. He was afflicted with 'bad nasty germs which is widely the adulterer's tip'.[183] This is probably a reference to syphilis or another sexually transmitted disease. In 1551 he was called in front of three elders once again because he was seen with two suspicious women in his home.[184] He denied the charge and the council deliberated on their next steps. While Wagner was supposed to await the verdict, he went back to his house, took his money and ran away to the nearby

[180] St Bo, 2271/2272, *Laubanische Kirchen u Stadt Chronica [durch H. Bohemus]*, p. 179, 'Er könte und wolte mit ihm allein nicht reden, was er in der Predigt gerüget, das hätte er geredt nicht als fruben von hirschberg sondern als ein ordentlicher Prediger der Stadt Lauban von einen Ehrbahren Rath und allen geschwornen beruffen, hätte er sich geegn ihm was zu beschwehren, so solte ers thun fürs Rath und geschworenn, Er wolte zur antwort gestehen'.
[181] St Bo, 2271/2272, *Laubanische Kirchen u Stadt Chronica [durch H. Bohemus]*, 'Aber er lies gleichwohl seine heimliche gänge nicht anstehen'.
[182] Ibid, p. 180, 'der Krug geheet so lange zum Waser bis ihm der henkel abbricht'.
[183] Ibid, pp. 180-181, 'kam also Jakob Wagner in grose Verachtung, ward mit einem bösen gräulichen keimmen heimgesucht, welchs gemeiniglich der unzüchitgen Leut Trinkgeld ist, das auch die bürgerschafft einen abscheu hatten mit ihm öffentlich zu baaden, und ist ihm also die baadstube verbothen worden'.
p. 181 verbothen worden
[184] This is one of the few references to what could be prostitutes in the six towns.

village of Bertelsdorf. From there he went to Bautzen, where he petitioned the bailiff for lenient treatment and the bailiff, in turn, told the Lauban town council about the former mayor's 'weak body' which led them to spare him imprisonment, and he was readmitted to the town.[185] Once he was home, he lay down and sent for Frobenius. In a remarkable, final twist of the tale, Frobenius forgave Wagner, absolved him of his sins and gave him the 'highly dignified sacrament'. Wagner gave 100 Hungarian florints to the poor chest and 'died miserably' in 1552.[186]

2.3 Conclusion

The conflict between Frobenius and Wagner shows that a preacher, in conjunction with a town council, could wield considerable power, even to the extent that he was able to criticize a mayor's moral shortcomings. This was, of course, only possible because the other councilors were also trying to change Wagner's behaviour. But Frobenius' power is illustrated by the trouble he caused Wagner when he preached against him. Preachers and their sermons could break a person's reputation and, as such, they could pose serious problems even for men of a high social standing. Wagner's final regrets also suggest that the preacher's references to the afterlife struck a chord: even if Wagner was only penitent at the very end of his life, he nonetheless did not want to risk eternal damnation and needed Frobenius to provide him with absolution.

The councilors and their preacher could negotiate such personal and local arrangements because the king of Bohemia was far removed from Upper Lusatia. The local bailiff was the representative of the king in the region and would act as a judicial authority between town council and clerical or noble actors. He resided in Bautzen in

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[185] St Bo, 2271/2272, *Laubanische Kirchen u Stadt Chronica [durch H. Bohemus]*, p. 181, 'weil er schwaches leibes wäre, mit gefängnis zu verschonen'.
[186] Ibid., 'würdige sacrament gereichte, hat in den gemeinen kasten 100 ung[arische] F[lorentiner] testiret, und also 1552 sein Leben elendiglich beschlosen'.

the centre of town near the town hall and main church; it was to him that Wagner turned in his hour of need.

Upper Lusatia was characterised by different political and religious actors exercising their power without any one of them being in a position to impose change outright.[187] Imperial representatives like the bailiff strengthened the position of the Catholics in the region which, in turn, exercised their jurisdiction over villages and small towns within their possession. Due to the absence of a prince (*Landesfürst*) who had the opportunity to enforce or prevent confessional change, many different parties could claim authority. Aside from minor feuds, however, this resulted not in armed strife but led rather to negotiations over jurisdictions and privileges.[188]

As in other parts of the Holy Roman Empire, the town councils had their own ideas as to what a Lutheran Reformation should look like and could consequently come into conflict with preachers who were too radical or otherwise upset the urban order. They also had to try and keep on good terms with the king of Bohemia. In some cases, the Lutheran preachers worked with the council to create a kind of Lutheranism that was approved by both parties. In other cases, however, this was not possible and the Lutheran clergy had to leave or adjust their views in order to be allowed to stay. After the first evangelical stirrings, policies between urban and clerical powers had to be readjusted and boundaries were fluid. The minute a doctrine or a cleric's preaching threatened to upset the urban order, the councilors became extremely weary and likely to act against the preacher. The fluidity of boundaries did not mean that the council was willing to accept a change in the urban power structures. How these processes of religious change played out, is the focus of the next chapter.

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[187] On the lack of a clear state formation in East-Central Europe more broadly, see Bahlcke, Strohmeyer (eds.), *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa.*.
[188] See, Bahlcke, *Oberlausitz im frühneuzeitlichen Mitteleuropa*.

3. The Reformations of Upper Lusatia and Michael Arnold (dates unknown)

What do we mean when referring to 'the introduction of the Reformation'? There are numerous signals for the acceptance of Lutheranism: a public communion in both kinds, open references to Martin Luther or the acceptance of married clergy can all serve as indicators for an increasingly evangelical outlook of a region. The towns of the Lusatian League can help us problematise this question because these kinds of Lutheran markers did not always align neatly. There were significant differences between the six towns and while they were in close contact and had similar clerical structures, they all negotiated their own Reformations.

This chapter first gives an outline of the clerical hierarchy in Upper Lusatia, including the position of Sorb preachers. Secondly, it provides an overview of the introduction of Lutheranism in the Lusatian League, focusing particularly on the early Reformation years and how the towns' Reformations differed. Finally, the Catholic convents and monasteries are discussed. Although many Lutheran elements had been introduced in the towns by the middle of the sixteenth century, the Franciscan monasteries were only dissolved in the 1560s, and the Catholic king of Bohemia remained the undisputed ruler.

3.1 The Clerical Hierarchy of Upper Lusatia

Michael Arnold, the first Lutheran preacher of Bautzen, seems like an unlikely case study when thinking about the introduction of the Reformation. So little do we know about his biography, that it can be told in a few sentences. He came to Görlitz in 1515 and became *Diakon*, the lowest position in the clerical hierarchy. He started

preaching in a Lutheran manner at some point in the 1520s which led to his dismissal. In 1523 he moved to Bautzen, where he 'preached to the Germans [as opposed to the Wends]' at Saint Peter's Church from 1525. The cathedral chapter managed to ban him from preaching from the chancel so he was only able to do short readings in front of the altar, and he was dismissed the next year.[189] Nothing more is known of Arnold. But what little we do know is indicative of broader trends in Bautzen and Upper Lusatia. The limited available information also reminds us of the frequently patchy survival rates of archival materials in Lusatia.

Arnold's dismissal illustrates that in Bautzen the introduction of the Reformation was hindered from the outset by the politically powerful cathedral chapter (*Domstift*). The most senior Catholic cleric was the dean (*Dekan*) who oversaw the chapter and any clergy attached to it, including chaplains.[190] The chapter was part of the bishopric of Meißen and the provost (*Probst*) acted as intermediary between dean and chapter. The deans felt the repercussions of the Reformation as early as 1520, when church donations declined. In 1522 a papal effigy and papal bulls were burnt.[191]

But the changes for the cathedral chapter were even more wide-ranging. In 1527, it almost converted to Lutheranism. The dean Paul Küchler was known to sympathise with the Lutheran teachings and carried out baptisms in a Lutheran manner and accepted communion in both kinds. In 1527, Ferdinand I became aware of the situation and first admonished the town in written form before sending commissaries to push back the advances of the Reformation. Küchler then returned to more orthodox Catholic rituals. In 1529, the Lutheran preacher Benedikt Fischer was appointed and the Catholic

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[189] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 23, 'der hierauf schon 1523 den Deutschen zu Budisin das Evangelium gepredigt hat'. CWBZ, A 30, *Collectanea Lusatica Abrahami Frenzelii – tomus sextus*, fols. 868A-870B.
[190] For the medieval origins, see Hermann Kinne, *Die Bistümer der Kirchenprovinz Magdeburg. Das (exemte) Bistum Meißen 1. Das Kollegiatstift St. Petri zu Bautzen von der Gründung bis 1569* (Berlin and Boston, 2014).
[191] CWBZ, A 30, *Collectanea Lusatica Abrahami Frenzelii – tomus sextus*, fols. 639A-833A. On such rituals, see Scribner, *Popular Culture*, especially pp. 103-123.

Domstift agreed to contribute 60 marks to his salary. The Catholics permitted the Lutherans to use the nave and altars in the space but kept the choir, making Saint Peter's Church one of the oldest and largest shared churches (*Simultankirche*) in the Holy Roman Empire.[192] Paul Küchler continued to negotiate settlements broadly favourable for the Lutherans but his successor, Hieronymus Rupert (or Ruperti), requested help from the king and his representatives, leading to renewed tensions. Of the sixteenth-century deans, Rupert was the most confrontational, denying a Lutheran cleric a burial in the main church, for example.[193] Johan Leisentrit, who succeeded Rupert, followed a more conciliatory line.[194] Part of the exchanges between Lutherans and Catholics were complaints by the Catholics that the Lutherans did not meet their obligations. The following years were marked by continuing negotiations in which the Lutherans gradually improved their position, until they were able finally to carry out their own rites after 1599. In 1609, August Wiederinus von Otterbach complained about the Lutherans performing their own burials, singing prohibited songs and not celebrating feast days, suggesting that all these were supposed to be undertaken by Catholics – testimony to how powerful the cathedral chapter still was in Bautzen.[195]

But Upper Lusatia was never isolated from broader political developments. So when in 1619 the king of Bohemia was challenged by Fredrick V of the Palatinate, the Lutherans in Bautzen became more confident. That year, they stormed into Saint Peter's Church and forced the Catholic minority to hand over the keys so that they would have the whole space to themselves.[196] However, when the king of Bohemia had recovered

[192] See chapter 6.2 below.
[193] CWBZ, A 30, *Collectanea Lusatica Abrahami Frenzelii – tomus sextus*, fol. 1151A. On confessional coexistence and burials in Ireland, see Matthias Bähr, 'Vorbeugung durch Vertrag. Konfessionelle Koexistenz in der irischen Bestattungskultur (1580–1640)', in: *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 97, 2015, pp. 129–151.
[194] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, pp. 24-25. On Leisentrit see chapter five below.
[195] On Lutheran funeral rites, see Koslofsky, *Reformation of the Dead*, pp. 79-115.
[196] Kai Wenzel, Birgit Mitzscherlich, Nicole Wohlfart, *Der Dom St. Petri zu Bautzen* (Bautzen, 2016), p. 101.

from the first onslaughts of the Bohemian nobility, he restored the *Simultaneum* in 1622. So from 1622 onwards, the church was once again used jointly by Lutherans and Catholics. The two parties had to agree on a church settlement. Rather than negotiating a new contract, however, they returned to the most recent one from 1599 and the Catholics were given the choir once more. But even in the period 1619 to 1622 the Catholics were not exiled from the town altogether but were just given another church space for their masses.[197]

Michael Arnold's steady move through the clerical hierarchy, from the low position of *Diakon* in Görlitz to that of main preacher at Saint Peter's Church, illustrates the way in which the church hierarchy functioned on a local level. The clerical structure of the six towns varied, depending on size, political and ethnic set-up (See Appendix C).[198] At the top of the clerical hierarchy was the *Pastor Primarius*. Bautzen was the only town with a *Pastor Secundarius*. In the other towns, the second in command was the *Archidiakon*, sometimes called *Mittagsprediger* .[199] Then came the *Diakonus* who assisted the other clerics and preached during less popular times, particularly the afternoon sermons. Assistant preachers (*Hilfsprediger*) or plague preachers (*Pastor Pestilentarius*), who sometimes only stayed in towns during times of plague, had varying responsibilities.

The clerical hierarchy was not completely fixed and so the number of preachers could change in the course of the sixteenth century. In Zittau, for example, Caspar Häublein was forced to leave after he attempted to reintroduce private mass.[200] From this point on, Zittau employed an additional *Archidiakon*. If a *Pastor Primarius* was physically unable to continue in his position he could also be supported by a younger

[197] Wenzel, *Dom St. Petri*, p. 101.
[198] See, Dietmann, *Priesterschaft.*
[199] As *Archidiakon* is most frequently used in the sources, I will use this term.
[200] Johann Benedict Carpzov, *Neueröffneter Ehren-Tempel merckwürdiger Antiquitaeten des Marggraffthums Ober-Lausitz* (Leipzig and Bautzen, 1719), p. 38.

preacher. Depending on the town, the clergy could also have different names. In Görlitz, there was one *Concionator Primarius* for the official sermons (*amts-predigt*), one *Concionator Secundarius* for the afternoon sermon and two chaplains for any other services.[201] These correspond to the *Pastor Primarius, Pastor Secundarius, Archidiakon* and *Diakon* in Bautzen.

A particularly fascinating group of individuals are the *Pastores Pestilentarius* who show the changing religious dynamics during times of crisis.[202] Lutheran preachers who remained in town when the plague struck were later portrayed as steadfast in the face of death. For those preachers who did not stay in town, *Pastores Pestilentarius* were found as replacements, many of whom died quickly due to their exposure to the plague. Martin Schwarzbach, for example, was *Pastor Pestilentarius* for only one year (1608), before he 'went mad' and had to be locked up, probably because he contracted the plague. Others were luckier. Adam Rodiger was *Pastor Pestilentarius* in Bautzen in 1612 and 1617 and his 'trial sermon' (*Probepredigt*) was simultaneously his 'farewell sermon' (*Valepredigt*), as people expected him to die. He survived, however, and became *Archidiakon* from 1617 to 1621. We know that in 1521, when Lorenz Heidenreich had already started preaching in a Lutheran manner in Zittau, the town council held a procession against the plague suggesting that pre-Reformation practices could be invoked during such times of crisis.[203] In Zittau, the plague also led to a change in rituals. The *Pastor Primarius* of Zittau from 1581 to 1599, Johann Vogel, stopped hearing confessions when the plague entered the city around 1599.[204] Lutheran preachers staying in the towns echoed Luther's decision to remain in Wittenberg when

[201] Knauthe, *Religions und Kirchen Reformation bey der Stat Görlitz*, p. 88.
[202] See, Mormando, Worcester, *Piety and Plague*.
[203] Hrachovec, *Zittauer und Ihre Kirchen*, pp. 392-393.
[204] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, pp. 340-342.

plague struck there in 1527. Although none of them explicitly referred to Luther's decision, it might have served as an inspiration for these plague preachers.

Arnold's preaching to the Germans, not the Sorbs, illustrates that in the towns with a Sorb population (Bautzen, Kamenz, Löbau) the *Diakonus* was also responsible for the Sorbs and as such was also called Sorb preacher (*wendischer Prediger*). Lutheran, Sorb preachers are traceable from around twenty years after the introduction of the Reformation. In Kamenz, Simon Lehmann was *Diakon* and Sorb preacher from 1543 to 1566, his successor Joachim Jehser stayed in this position for a remarkable 37 years. In Löbau, the first known Sorb preacher was Wolfgang Steinkirchner who was in the town for one year from 1554.[205] It is likely that there was Sorb preaching earlier but as the *Diakonus* is the lowest clerical position, these men are hardest to trace.

Once again, Bautzen was a special case because of the presence of the Catholic cathedral chapter.[206] There, even in the Middle Ages Sorb preachers worked in the *Domstift*. After the Reformation the chapter only allowed preaching in a Lutheran manner and in Sorbian in 1619 when the Catholics were forced to make far-reaching concessions to the Lutherans.[207] The Sorb preachers were normally of Sorb origin themselves, suggesting that the Sorbs were relatively well integrated into the Lusatian towns. Although they had their own quarter in Bautzen, there is no indication that there was any systematic marginalization of them. Indeed, in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, some Sorbs even became deans of Saint Peter's in Bautzen, the highest clerical position in Upper Lusatia.[208] Even in Kamenz, where they had to pay higher fees to become citizens, it is likely that the Sorb preachers were ethnically

[205] For details on Löbau, see, Mahling, *Sorbisches Kirchliches Leben.*
[206] See, Friedrich Hermann Baumgärtel, *Die kirchlichen Zustände Bautzens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Bautzen, 1889); Richard Vötig, *Die simultankirchlichen Beziehungen zwischen Katholiken und Protestanten zu St. Peter in Bautzen* (Leipzig, 1911).
[207] Wenzel, *Dom St. Petri*, p. 101.
[208] Knauthe, *Sorberwenden umständliche Kirchengeschichte*, p. 351.

Sorbian, showing that they could hold respected positions in the towns with a Sorb population.

The ability to speak Sorbian took on a key role in the spread of Lutheranism. The 'land and police order' (*Landes- und Policeyordnung*) from 1538 encouraged any Sorb who had a 'son or friend' to encourage them to go to school because there was a great shortage of preachers and clerics in the countryside. This order was repeated in 1555 suggesting that the rural nobility in particular wanted their Sorb subjects to be instructed in a Lutheran manner in their own language.[209] Some underqualified young men who had not been to university and knew little theology were employed as preachers, solely on account of their linguistic abilities.[210] One Sorb, for example, is described by his clerical superiors as young and badly taught, which was why he should only teach in Sorbian. [211] To help with this lack of preachers, there were plans to open a Sorbian town school in Löbau in 1570 which was supposed to prepare the Sorbs to become preachers.[212] In the same year, however, Löbau suffered a big town fire, permanently stifling any plans for a Sorb school there. From 1575 onwards, two spaces were reserved for Sorbs in the ducal school (*Fürstenschule*) of Meißen.[213] Another possibility to combat the lack of Sorb preachers was to change the boundaries of the parishes. So in 1555, Senftenberg which had three preachers, all of whom could speak German and Sorbian, were ordered to cater for the parish of Grosenhayn as well, whose superintendent could not speak Sorbian.[214] After the Reformation, the ability to speak Sorbian was a great advantage and enabled men to become preachers regardless of their

[209] Knauthe, *Sorberwenden umständliche Kirchengeschichte*, p. 235, 'sohn oder freund'.
[210] Stone, *Slav Outposts*, p. 85.
[211] Ibid., p. 87, 'ut tantum vandalice doceat – Vandalus iuvenis et male informatus'.
[212] Mahling, *Sorbisches Kirchliches Leben*, pp. 95-96.
[213] Knauthe, *Sorberwenden umständliche Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 235-238.
[214] Ibid., p. 239.

social background. Religious works, such as catechisms and bible extracts, were also the first to be translated into Sorbian in the late sixteenth century.

3.2 The Reformation in the Towns of the Lusatian League

Michael Arnold can illustrate one final aspect of the Reformation in Upper Lusatia. His dismissal from Görlitz and subsequent employment in Bautzen shows that the towns of the Lusatian League all experienced their own Reformations, in some cases with significant differences.[215] In Görlitz, Franz Rotbart (also called Rupertus) was the first to preach in a Lutheran manner in the summer of 1521, after he had helped to nail the papal bull against Luther to the door of the main town church in the same year.[216] Rotbart first showed Lutheran inclinations during a plague epidemic which had resulted in the councilors leaving town. The council acted against Rotbart and also continued to endow masses in the nearby monastery on Mount Oybin. Rotbart left Görlitz in 1523. But the artisans demanded he be reinstated and continued to hold assemblies, writing a letter to the council stating that they would no longer disobey if Rotbart were reappointed.[217]

Although there was disagreement amongst the councilors, they requested that the Catholic dean of Bautzen ask Rotbart back and he returned in 1525. Even before

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[215] For the move of another Lutheran cleric, Samuel Jauch, between the towns of the Lusatian League, see AB, 2853, *Pastorat bey der Haupt u Pfarrkirche zu Lauban dessen Besetzung (1558-1678)*, unpaginated.
[216] Christian Speer, 'Die Reformation in der Oberlausitz. Ein Überblick' in Christian Speer, Thomas Napp (eds.), *Musik und Konfessionskulturen in der Oberlausitz der Frühen Neuzeit* (Görlitz and Zittau, 2013), pp. 7-13; Blaschke, *Geschichte der Oberlausitz*, pp. 66-87. The bull survives in St G, no signature, Lose Urkunden, *Päpstliche Bulla gegen Martin Luther mit dem Mandat des Bischofs Johannes von Meisen, 23 Feb.1521*.
[217] Alfred Zobel, 'Untersuchungen über die Anfänge der Reformation in Görlitz und der Preußischen Oberlausitz. 1.Theil', *NLM*, 101, 1925, pp. 133-218; Alfred Zobel, 'Untersuchungen über die Anfänge der Reformation in Görlitz und der Preußischen Oberlausitz. 2.Theil', *NLM*, 102, 1926, pp. 126-251; St G, no signature, Christoph Besius, *Görlitzische Chronik (1125-1599)*, pp. 28-32. On the early Reformation years, see also St G, no signature, *Acta Consignation, Versicherungen vom Lande zu denen Altären u geistl. Gestifften in Görlitz 1527.*

Rotbart's return, the congregation had already broken the rules of Lent eating 'cheese, butter, eggs […] and meat' which had become widespread, 'whether the council liked it or not'.[218] The preachers no longer wore their 'big caps which they used to wear during Lent and walked around in their other priest's clothes'.[219] Endowed masses, vigils and anniversaries were no longer performed and the money was given to the council instead.[220] On Rotbart's return, he declared from the pulpit that if anyone wished for communion in both kinds, it would be given to them once they had confessed their sins. Around the same time, he introduced baptisms in German. On 25 April, the cloth maker Paul Güttler demanded a German baptism. Rotbart obliged, using Luther's small baptismal book but continued to use chrism, later abandoned.[221]

Although baptisms and communion in both kinds were performed, not everyone could openly support Lutheranism. For all the advances the Reformation made, Andreas Büttner, formerly rector at the town school, was excluded from the council in 1525 because he confessed his evangelical beliefs, making him the first Lutheran councilor.[222] Indeed, Rotbart himself had to leave because he married, by this point already an important aspect of Lutheran culture in other regions.[223] So he was exiled again in 1530. After Rotbart, two more preachers had to leave Görlitz because they married. Only in 1545 was the council confident enough to call back their married preacher, Wolfgang Sustelius.[224]

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[218] Knauthe, *Religions und Kirchen Reformation bey der Stat Görlitz*, p. 25, 'hat d[er] mehrer theil käse, butter, eier, etc. auch fleisch gegesen […]es machte dem Rathe gefallen oder nicht'.
[219] Knauthe, *Religions und Kirchen Reformation bey der Stat Görlitz*, p. 27, 'Die Priester legten die Glorien und großen Kappen ab, welche sie die fasten über trugen, u[nd] gingen in ihren andertlichen Priester Kleidungen'.See also, Speer, *Frömigkeit und Politik*, pp. 363-399.
[220] Speer, *Frömmigkeit und Politik*, pp. 207-297; Knauthe, *Religions und Kirchen Reformation bey der Stat Görlitz*, p. 57.
[221] Knauthe, *Religions und Kirchen Reformation bey der Stat Görlitz*, p. 42.
[222] Ibid., p. 48.
[223] See Plummer, *Clerical Marriage and the Process of Reform*.
[224] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, pp. 150-154. On married clergy, see also CWBZ, A 242 / 4, *Urkundenbuch Moritz Oskar Sauppe*, fols. 96A-97B; fols. 138A-147B; In Kamenz married clergy are recorded around the same time, St K, 7023, *Acta Publica. Die von E.E. Rathe in Camentz vom Jahre 1543 bis 1763 ergangenen Geistlichen- und Ehe-Sache betreffend*, fols. 1A-5B.

One of the more debated episodes of the introduction of Lutheranism in Görlitz is the priest's convent of 1525, the so called *Priesterkonvent.* The priests of the consistories of Görlitz, Seidenberg and Reichenbach decided collectively on 27 April 1525 to refuse to pay any more taxes and no longer abide by the jurisdiction of their superior, the bishop of Meißen.[225] They also ceased to perform vigils and masses for the dead (*Seelmessen*) and gave communion in both kinds. It is not clear what role exactly this decision played. Earlier historians have argued that the priests' relatively public decision to distance themselves from the bishop was a clear confession of Lutheran faith. More recently, it has been argued that the bond between the bishop and his clergy had been watered down for decades and that the priests' decision was largely motivated by monetary considerations.[226] Even such a public rejection of a Catholic authority did therefore not necessarily mean that all aspects of Lutheranism were accepted.

A similar public rejection of Catholicism occurred in Bautzen in 1527, when two Lutheran clerics held a disputation with two Franciscan monks. The topic of the disputation was 'whether the mass is a sacrifice and other similar things'.[227] The council attended the disputation and was of the opinion that the Lutherans had won. Consequently, the two Franciscan monks left the town as they thought the Reformation changes to be irreversible. And they were right. In 1528, a Catholic preacher sent to Bautzen by the Archbishop of Prague was interrupted by loud singing until he finally vacated the chancel and left the town soon after.[228] Although Reformation changes were slow, they nonetheless gave congregants the confidence to openly defy Catholic clerics.

[225] Knauthe, *Religions und Kirchen Reformation bey der Stat Görlitz*, p. 42.
[226] Speer, *Frömmigkeit und Politik,* pp. 182-183.
[227] CWBZ, A 30, *Collectanea Lusatica Abrahami Frenzelii – tomus sextus,* fols. 899A-900A, 'ob die Mese ein Opffer sey, und dergleichen mehr'.
[228] Ibid., fols. 900B-901B.

But the Lutherans retained many elements of Catholic devotion. In 1532, some people did not celebrate the Annunciation of Mary which angered the council.[229] According to later accounts, Lutherans still venerated the Virgin Mary so her feast days were still celebrated but doubts about these festivities grew.[230] However, someone, it is not clear who, explained to the people that all Marian feast days were also a celebration of God so all Marian feast days should be continued. This reverence for the Virgin is one of the instances where the Lutherans continued a Catholic practice. In 1565 a town statute still contained a long list of saints' days on which trade was prohibited.[231]

The celebration of feast days and processions continued long after the introduction of Lutheranism. In Zittau, most processions ceased in 1525/26 but the last payments for a Eucharistic procession were in 1532.[232] As late as 1564, Corpus Christi was still celebrated as a feast day in Zittau, almost 10 years after the Reformation had been formally introduced.[233] Yet the butcher's guild statutes of Kamenz suggest that the practice continued there until at least 1587. For this year, the statutes record that 'henceforth no Corpus Christi gatherings shall be held anymore'.[234] The dean of Saint Peter's Church Bautzen complained in 1613 that many feast days were not celebrated in Bautzen, although they were still celebrated elaborately in Görlitz.[235]

Many such 'popish' things, particularly rituals in Latin, were kept for a long time after the first Lutheran preachers had set foot into Görlitz.[236] When Andrea Schöpf died in 1557, *Frühmetten* with sermons and singing in Latin were still held, a practice

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[229] Knauthe, *Religions und Kirchen Reformation bey der Stat Görlitz*, p. 65.
[230] For the influence of the Reformation on Marian devotion, see Bridget Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500-1648* (Cambridge, 2007).
[231] Sehlig (ed.), *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, p. 376.
[232] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, pp. 313-314.
[233] CWBZ, A 240, Christian Döring, *Geschichte der Kirche zu St. Johannes*, fol. 34B.
[234] St K, 6105, *Der Fleischhauerinnung de Anno 1587*, fol. 2B, 'Die Mannschaft Corporis Christi heiland gehaltten, soll hinfiro abgeschafft und keine Jahr mehr [gehalten] auch keine zusammen kunfft undter samlung des handtwercks vorgenomen werde'.
[235] St B, 62004-1295, *Streitigkeiten wegen Anlegung eines Ganges unterhalb der Kirche St. Petri (1610-1619)*, not paginated.
[236] Knauthe, *Religions und Kirchen Reformation bey der Stat Görlitz*, p. 95.

that continued until at least 1560.[237] At times, the same song was sung in Latin and German, the choir singing *Christus redemit* and the bell-ringer *Christ ist erstanden*.[238] The populace, sometimes portrayed as the driving force behind wide-ranging change in religious rituals, could even serve as a break on reforms in towns like Görlitz. In 1566, the council ordered the litany to be sung in German, but this was reversed the following year, probably because of popular pressure.[239] In this way, the Reformation changed rituals slowly in towns like Görlitz and it frequently combined Lutheran and Catholic elements, creating syncretistic worship.

In Zittau, the first Lutheran preacher was Lorenz Heidenreich. A significant Zwinglian minority existed amongst the councilors, but there is no indication that there was a Reformed cleric in the town.[240] Until 1540 the Zittau preachers were appointed by the commander (*Commendator*) of the order of Saint John (*Johanniterkommende*) who naturally tried to halt the progress of the Reformation.[241] But their attempts were last ditch efforts, because many fraternities had already ceased to exist and masses for the dead were no longer being said. In 1542, the new preacher Kaspar Heublin wanted to reintroduce private masses, but soon found himself demoted as afternoon preacher: the now-married Heidenreich was reinstated in his place. The first communion in the vernacular is recorded for 1545. The town council published the earliest church ordinance of the Lusatian League, in 1595. Even this ordinance does not contain any clearly Lutheran points, however, and is rather a more general admonition to live faithfully and piously.[242]

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[237] Knauthe, *Religions und Kirchen Reformation bey der Stat Görlitz*, p. 89.
[238] Ibid., p. 98.
[239] Sehlig (ed.), *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, p. 374.
[240] See chapter seven below.
[241] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 314.
[242] Speer, *Frömmigkeit und Politik*, p. 381; Sehlig (ed.), *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, pp. 378-379.

In Lauban, all churches had Lutheran preachers by 1525 except the town church (*Stadtpfarrkirche*) which was shared with the Magdalen nunnery, making it another shared church space. Georg Heu from Görlitz was the first Lutheran preacher and his preaching supposedly led to twelve nuns leaving the convent. As a seventeenth-century chronicle described it: 'concerning the women's monastery or virgins' convent, many left when the evangelical teachings entered the town'.[243] The same chronicle describes the problems the Lutherans saw with the nuns and also mentions contracts which assured the peaceful coexistence between both parties.

> their previous vows were against God and at times dirtied with transgressions […] many [followed it] because of wrong eagerness and idolatry, some also for the bellies, laziness or poverty's sake because they have good lazy days in it, did not learn to run a home and work reluctantly […] [The convent] is still upheld by such women to this day [and] contracts have been erected between them and us […] in which ways one should behave towards the other, so that one does not err and otherwise live with each other in quiet and peace.[244]

In the mid-1520s the council decided that Heu's preaching was too radical and he was replaced by Ambrosius Kreusing. Just like Michael Arnold, Heu was a Lutheran preacher who seemed too extreme to the councilors, who likely worried that such preachers might upset the urban order. In these cases, it was the council which hindered a quicker progression of Reformation changes.

While we can reconstruct the early Reformation years for most of the towns, much less is known about the introduction of Lutheranism in Kamenz and Löbau, the

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[243] BW, Mscr. D 37, Martin Zeidler, *Annales Laubanenses*, not paginated, 'Waz aber daz NonnenCloster oder Jungfrawen Stifft alhier anlanget, sind anfangs da die Evangelishe lehr von der Stad ist angenommen, etliche ihres mittels herausgelauffen'.

[244] BW, Mscr. D 37, Martin Zeidler, *Annales Laubanenses*, not paginated, 'ihr Vorige Closter gelübde aber vnd sheinbar abgöttishe, auch zu Zeitten mit VNzücht befleckete heiligkheit nur von den menshen ertichtet vnd wieder Gottes Wortt ist, etliche aber sind aus vnverstande vnd Vnrechten eÿffer über der abgöttereÿ, theils auch vmb des bauches, müssigganges oder armutswillen weil sie gutte faule tage darinnen haben, keine Haushalttung gelernet vnd vngern arbeitten,oder ihren Vnterhaltt sonst nicht haben, oder aber, daz keine hoffnung beÿ ihren männern zuerlangen, beÿ der Bästishe Religion vnd ihrem Orden verbliebn, welcher auchbiß auff heute von dergleichen Jungfrawen nach erhaltten wird, die daz Chor inn Vnser Kirchen bißhero innengehabt,vnd sich ihres Gottesdinstes darauff gebrauchet doch also daz verträge zwischen ihnen vnd vns auffgerichtet, welcher massen man sich gegen einander Verhalten sollen, damit man einander nicht irren vnd sonsten inn ruhe vnd frieden, beÿsammen leben mögen'. For the shared church of Lauban, see also chapter six below.

two smallest towns in the Lusatian League. In Kamenz, the Reformation began with lay preaching in 1524.[245] This is exceptional and Kamenz is the only town in the region where this happened. In 1527 Johann Ludwig was appointed as Lutheran preacher, although Georg Spalatin called him 'popisch' ('babstisch') showing how difficult it could be to discern clear boundaries between Lutheranism and Catholicism in the early Reformation years.[246] In Löbau, the first Lutheran preacher was Nikolaus von Glaubitz who came to the town in 1526. A decree from 1537 by Ferdinand I ordering the council to respect the priests suggests that at that point priests still lived and preached in the town.[247] There is no indication that the towns of the Lusatian League discussed Lutheran changes during their meetings in Löbau, as the surviving protocols make no references to the Reformation. The towns therefore cover a broad spectrum of initial Lutheran preaching: from a lay preacher, to the slow introduction of Lutheranism in Görlitz and the Catholic resistance in many of the towns.

Interestingly, however, the Lutheran clergy collectively share several features (see also Appendix C). One of the most notable similarities are their geographical origins and education. They usually came from Saxony, Bohemia or other regions close to Upper Lusatia. Preachers from further away were very rare. It is likely that this was mainly for practical reasons, but considering that many of the preachers were recommended by Melanchthon or Bugenhagen, it is also possible that they felt that men from near Upper Lusatia had particular appeal there.[248] In the case of the Sorb preachers, there were also linguistic considerations. Some preachers came from Upper Lusatia itself and it was particularly noteworthy if a local returned to their home town as

[245] Blaschke, *Geschichte der Oberlausitz*, p. 73.
[246] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, pp. 656-657.
[247] Blaschke, *Geschichte der Oberlausitz*, p. 84.
[248] On Wittenberg and Melanchthon, see Matthias Asche, Heiner Lück, Manfred Rudersdorf, Markus Wriedt (eds.), *Die Leucorea zur Zeit des späten Melanchthon. Institutionen und Formen gelehrter Bildugn um 1550* (Leipzig, 2015).

a preacher.[249] It was very common for the preachers to move from one Upper Lusatian town to another, as Michael Arnold did. But it was also possible for them to climb up the ranks in one town, starting off as an *Archidiakon*, for example, and later becoming *Pastor Primarius*. The local connections of many preachers also meant that dynasties of Lutheran preachers could flourish. Some of the preachers in Upper Lusatia started a family tradition that continued over generations. The two Bautzen *Pastores Primarii* Friedrich Fischer and Martin Tectander can serve as examples. Friedrich Fischer's son Johann Mauritius Fischer became *Pastor Primarius* in Löbau, a position he held from 1617 to 1648. In the case of Tectander, the family trade was spread over three generations, Tectander's father was *Diakon* in Zittau and Martin's two sons became preachers in Upper Lusatia as well.

Most of the clergy were educated at Wittenberg and some of them knew Philipp Melanchthon, Martin Luther or Johannes Bugenhagen personally.[250] After the University of Frankfurt/ Oder turned Lutheran in 1539/40, it also attracted numerous students who were educated there and then went to Upper Lusatia.[251] The close geographical proximity certainly played an important role. Later in the sixteenth century there is also a rise in enrollments at Leipzig.[252] Martin Tectander and Friedrich Fischer, for example, went to Leipzig. Preachers who went to universities other than these three are exceptionally rare and their studying at other universities usually has to do with other, external circumstances. The Lauban *Pastor Primarius* Martin Bohemus went to school in Vienna and the University of Strasbourg because his father was a captain

[249] See Dietmann, *Priesterschaft* who pays particular attention to such preachers.
[250] For an attempt by Melanchthon to find a new Lutheran teacher for Zittau, see CWBZ, A 242 / 4, *Urkundenbuch Moritz Oskar Sauppe*, fol. 77A. See also letters to Wittenberg in St G, no signature, *Liber Missivarum, 1569-1571*, fols. 94A and 287B.
[251] Michael Höhle, *Universität und Reformation. Die Universität Frankfurt (Oder) von 1506 bis 1550* (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 2002).
[252] See Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*. See also, Hyojoung Kim, Steven Pfaff, 'Structure and Dynamics of Religious Insurgency: Students and the Spread of the Reformation' in *American Sociological Review*, 77/188, 2012, pp. 1-23.

(*Hauptmann)* in the military and so moved around Germany.[253] After the death of his father, Bohemus returned to Lauban, where he became teacher at the town school and *Pastor Primarius* in 1586. Bohemus published a great variety of works, including theological plays, hymns and printed volumes of his sermons.[254] He was also interested in calendars, one of which he compiled 'for all preacher, teachers and fathers', explaining the twelve months and their biblical and liturgical significance.[255]

Wittenberg's importance for the education of Lutheran clerics resulted in further connections to the reformers. Two letters by Martin Luther to town councils in Upper Lusatia survive: one to the mayor and council of Görlitz (1541) requesting financial help for a 'fine, skilled and hard-working' student from Görlitz and the other to the council of Kamenz (1532) regarding their request for a new preacher. [256] Simon Haferitz who was asked to take up the post of *Pastor Primarius* in Kamenz would not agree without first consulting Luther on the matter and, indeed, Luther did not want Haferitz to leave his current post at Großsalza so Luther offered further help if the council could not find a preacher instead. Luther also knew men from Upper Lusatia, whom he mentioned in passing. He suggested Johannes Cellarius from Bautzen for a position in Frankfurt in a letter to Nikolaus von Amsdorf from 1532. Cellarius was *Pastor Secundarius* in Bautzen from 1532 to 1538.[257] Nikolaus Specht, who had studied in Wittenberg, and was preacher and school master in Bautzen, received a letter from Luther congratulating him on his marriage with a picture of Jan Hus as a keepsake.[258]

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[253] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*.
[254] For example, Martin Bohemus, *Die drey grossen Landtplagen/ Krieg/ Tewrung/ Pestilentz/ welche jetzundt vor der Welt Ende* (Wittenberg, 1601).
[255] Martin Behm, *Kirchen Calender Das ist/ Christliche Erklerung/ Des Jahres und der zwölff Monaten* (Wittemberg, 1608).
[256] Martin Luther, *Luthers Werke (Weimarer Ausgabe), Briefwechsel, 9. Band, Briefe 1540 –1542*, Nr. 3639, 'feiner, geschickter vnd vleissiger'; Luther, *Luthers Werke (Weimarer Ausgabe)*, Briefwechsel, 6. Band, Briefe 1531 –1533, Nr. 1956.
[257] Luther, *Luthers Werke (Weimarer Ausgabe)*, Briefwechsel, 8. Band, Briefe 1537 –1539, Nr. 3334B.
[258] Ibid., Nr. 3281.

Philipp Melanchthon, too, had connections to Upper Lusatia. His son-in-law, Caspar Peucer, came from Bautzen and Melanchthon visited the town in 1559.[259] Like Luther, Melanchthon also recommended former students and acquaintances, for example Konrad Nesen, whom he helped to a position as councilor in Zittau. Nesen became mayor of Zittau in 1541 and Melanchthon exchanged letters with the Nesen family throughout his life.[260] The reformers' connections to Upper Lusatia illustrate how the region was a Bohemian territory, but that the influence of Saxony, and especially Wittenberg, was also felt there.

Although the Lutheran clerics had a shared educational background, interactions between the urban clerics was not always smooth. Wolfgang Sustelius ran into trouble with the *Pastor Secundarius,* Petztstein, about the treatment of churching. Sustelius hoped to continue what he had done at his previous post in Hirschberg and wanted the women to come to church after the six weeks of lying-in together with their baby, when he would hold his sermon and pray. Petzstein disagreed with this practice because he wanted the women to leave their babies at home. According to later sources, Petzstein was also bitter that Sustelius had been appointed as *Pastor Primarius* rather than him.[261] While the other preachers encouraged their flock to pray for a royal victory in 1547, Petztstein preached against the emperor. The exact wording of his sermons is not known but it likely that Petzstein was opposed to the Augsburg Interim.[262] He was removed after he continued to preach against the emperor and council. As was usually the case, a Lutheran preacher challenging the council ended in his dismissal.

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[259] Martin Roebel, *Humanistische Medizin und Kryptocalvinismus. Leben und medizinisches Werk des Wittenberger Medizinprofessors Caspar Peucer (1525 – 1602)* (Freiburg, 2012), pp. 54-55. See also Hans-Peter Hasse, Günther Wartenberg (eds.), *Caspar Peucer (1525–1602). Wissenschaft, Glaube und Politik im konfessionellen Zeitalter* (Leipzig, 2004).
[260] Hrachovec, *Zittauer und Ihre Kirchen*, pp. 396-398.
[261] Knauthe, *Religions und Kirchen Reformation bey der Stat Görlitz*, p. 82.
[262] Ibid.

3.3 Monasteries and Convents: Catholic reactions to the Reformation

In most parts of the Empire, former monks were prominent among the first generations of Lutherans preachers. Not in Upper Lusatia. There are only four former monks who, so far as we know, turned Lutheran and preached in Lusatian towns between 1520 and 1635. Nicol Behem, who was recommended as preacher by Moritz of Saxony and never married was *Pastor Primarius* in Bautzen from 1545 to 1579 and had the longest period as Lutheran preacher out of the four former monks. In Görlitz, Johan Kittel who had been a monk in Pirna 'took off his habit' on the way to Lusatia.[263] But he was exiled after being *Pastor Primarius* for only one year in 1539 because he preached that the council was 'not his bishop, not his preacher, not his mayor' and that he had a different judge, that is God.[264] After this 'rebellious sermon', the council decided to dismiss him and have him removed from his house.[265] Almost nothing is known about the two *Diakoni* and former Franciscans Jakob Fürer, who was preaching in Zittau in the 1540s, and Nikol Lybeck, who was born in Zittau and probably preached there from 1550 to 1552.

In some ways, this lack of involvement of former monks in spreading the Reformation in Upper Lusatia is remarkable because each of the six towns contained a Franciscan monastery which was secularized in the 1560s.[266] But compared with neighbouring Saxony and Bohemia, there were few monastic institutions in Upper Lusatia. No Augustinian or Dominican friaries were founded in the whole of Upper

[263] Knauthe, *Religions und Kirchen Reformation bey der Stat Görlitz*, p. 74, 'Johan Kitteln von Pirna […] welcher unterwegens zu Reichenbach die kutte auszog'.
[264] Knauthe, *Religions und Kirchen Reformation bey der Stat Görlitz,* p. 74, 'E. Rath wäre sein bischoff nicht, sein Pfarr nicht, sein burgermeister nicht'.
[265] Ibid., 'aufrührische Predigt'.
[266] Annegret Gehrmann, Dirk Schumann, Marius Winzeler (eds.), *Die Bettelorden in den beiden Lausitzen: Geschichte – Architektur – Kunst* (Berlin, 2017). For Lower Lusatia, see also W. Patrunky, *Beytrag zu einer Kirchengeschichte der Nieder-Lausitz* (Lübben, 1833). See, for example, St K, 6009, *Errichtung des Klosters und der Klosterbau zu Kamenz ((1492) 1518-1576).*

Lusatia, and there are hardly any references to female convents. In Zittau, female Franciscans are referred to in passing until the 1550s, but unlike the male Franciscan orders who negotiated with the Lutheran councils before their dissolution, nothing similar is recorded for their female equivalents. Overall, therefore, Upper Lusatia was something of a backwater in terms of its monastic infrastructure. This could be because Bohemia and Saxony had so many monastic institutions that it overshadowed Lusatia or because the Franciscans successfully lobbied for prohibitions for other orders to settle there. But it also meant that a key group of supporters of the early Reformation, former monks, played a comparatively insignificant role in the introduction of Lutheranism in Lusatia.

Nonetheless, the Lutherans had to engage with the Franciscans in their towns.[267] A letter from 1528 from the Franciscans of Löbau illustrates how they negotiated with the council in the late 1520s, when the importance of the monasteries was already declining. Martin Fabri, *guardian* of the Franciscans in Löbau, publicly declared that the disagreement between the council and the monks regarding the great monastery garden had been settled.[268] The two parties agreed upon the production of 68 thin wooden planks (*schindel*), presumably from the monastery garden. Sixty-six *schock* were to be paid by the monastery and sixty-two *schock* by the council. The letter ends with the guardian's assurance that future generations would not argue with the council about the garden. The matter was not settled with this one exchange, however, as another letter from 1553 attests. In this second letter the new *guardian* Löwe writes of another agreement between council and monastery regarding payments for the garden. There is no indication that the dispute continued beyond 1553. The monasteries and the

[267] St B, 50009-183, *Aufzeichnungen und Abschriften in Oberlausitzer Landessachen,* fols. 852A-858B.
[268] St L, Mscr. 23, *Klostergarten u.a., Convolut alter Schriften, die Abtretung des hiesigen Klostergartens, auch andre Religion und Kirche betr. Gegenstände 1538-1726*, loose pages.

councils were engaged in constant negotiation, although they usually resulted in settlements more favourable for the councils.

The dynamics of such a power struggle can be seen in a total of twelve letters exchanged between the Bautzen town council and the Franciscans, covering the years 1549 to 1552. The council had agreed to pay two *schock groschen* to the monastery for a barrel of herrings that had been confiscated and 'many further' *groschen* for confiscated church treasures.[269] When the council did not pay the money in 1549, a friar of the monastery asked the council to pay them, as donations to the monks had decreased. When this letter went unanswered, the *guardian* to the council wrote on behalf of the whole monastery. Finally, as the monastery did not receive the money, the monks complained to the king of Bohemia as their ruler. In a letter from 2 December 1551, King Ferdinand I ordered the council pay the monks the money that was their due. The exchange of letters continued until early 1552 when the monastery was still requesting the money with the support of the king's representatives. Only later in 1552 did the Bautzen town council ask that it may be heard in front of a royal representative. Finally, the council argued that the confiscation of the church treasures was with the consent of the monks as it was used to pay for additional taxes, the *Türkensteuer*. As this is the end of the exchange, it is likely that the bailiff was content with this argument. The gradual move from one monk to the whole monastery and finally the king illustrates that when Catholics were under attack, they could call on royal support.[270] Although it is not clear if this support helped in the case of the church treasures, the very possibility of calling on a powerful, external entity meant that the

[269] St B, 68001-675, *Auseinandersetzungen zwischen dem Rat und dem Franziskanerkloster wegen Einziehung der Kleinodien des Klosters (1549-1552)*, not paginated, 'etliche weitere'; St B, 68002-27, *Korrespondenz zu den Kleinodien des Mönchsklosters (1530-1550).* On the Görlitz church treasures, see St G, no signature, Bernhard Meltzer, *Diarium Consulare Meltzer*, fol. 26B.
[270] See CWBZ, A 30, *Collectanea Lusatica Abrahami Frenzelii – tomus sextus*, fols. 854A-857B for a similar negotiation in Zittau.

Catholics had a stronger standing in Upper Lusatia than elsewhere in the Empire.[271] It is also because of this royal protection that the convent of the order of Saint Magdalen (*Magdalenerinnen*) in Lauban survived the Reformation, making it the only urban, monastic foundation of Lusatia to exist into the seventeenth century.[272]

Once the monasteries died out, the transition of the monastic buildings from clerical into urban hands was a gradual and largely peaceful process.[273] There are also hardly any references to iconoclasm when it comes to the monasteries.[274] The rural monastery of Saint Celestine on Mount Oybin near Zittau was abandoned after a futile attempt by Jesuits to use it as a base for recatholisation in the 1560s. The monasteries were not forcibly confiscated by the town councils but simply changed hands when there were no new novices. Most buildings were given to the town councils and turned into schools.[275] This was also in line with the requests of some of the last inhabitants who wanted the buildings to be used for educating the youth. In a school ordinance from Bautzen, probably from 1592, the council instructed the rectors of its school to teach in an evangelical manner.[276] The *Gymnasium* in Görlitz, where boys were educated in a Melanchthonian fashion, developed into a particularly noteworthy school with an excellent reputation in the region.[277] Numerous Silesian, Bohemian and Lusatian nobles sent their sons to the school which prospered up until the beginning of the Thirty Years' War.

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[271] St B, 68001-675, *Auseinandersetzungen zwischen dem Rat und dem Franziskanerkloster wegen Einziehung der Kleinodien des Klosters (1549-1552)*; St B, 68002-27, *Korrespondenz zu den Kleinodien des Mönchsklosters (1530-1550).*
[272] See chapter six for the church they shared with the Lutherans.
[273] CWBZ, A 242 / 4, *Urkundenbuch Moritz Oskar Sauppe*, fols. 223A-223B.
[274] On iconoclasm more generally, see Lee Palmer Wandel, *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands: Iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg, and Basel* (New York, 1995).
[275] CWBZ, A 30, *Collectanea Lusatica Abrahami Frenzelii – tomus sextus*, fols. 957A-960B.
[276] St B, 62004-606, *Vokation und Instruktion der Rektoren der evangelischen Schulen (1592-1709).*
[277] Christian Knauthe, *Das Gymnasium Augustum zu Görlitz* (Görlitz, 1765); Alexander Schunka, 'Die Oberlausitz zwischen Prager Frieden und Wiener Kongress (1635-1815)' in Bahlcke (ed.), *Geschichte der Oberlausitz*, pp. 159-164.

The most notable exception of Franciscan churches being converted into schools, is Saint Anne's Church in Kamenz.[278] This last Franciscan foundation in Bohemia (1493) was dissolved in 1564, when the Catholic dean confirmed the town's ownership of the building; against the express will of the Franciscan father monastery. The church was mainly used for Lutheran services for the Sorbs after 1564.[279] One of the stipulations for the change in ownership was that altars and church treasures were kept intact by the council.

The Franciscan monasteries were not powerful enough to seriously challenge the town councils and therefore could neither stop the spread of the Reformation nor their own decline. But in rural Lusatia, convents were undisputed rulers over their lands and so the Cistercian convents Marienstern and Marienthal survived the Reformation.[280] As members of the Upper Lusatian estates assembly, powerful landowners and wealthy economic players, the convents had a considerable standing in the region.[281] Unlike the Catholic *Domstift* in Bautzen which was based in a Lutheran town, the rural monasteries had their own lands which they tried to keep Catholic. In some cases, the forceful attempts of the abbess and her nuns were successful and some Catholic village churches survived. The Catholic deans of Bautzen did what they could to support them. More commonly, the result of the religious struggles was a back-and-forth between the Lutheran populace and the Catholic landlords.

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[278] See, Kersken, 'Die Oberlausitz von der Gründung des Sechsstädtebundes bis zum Übergang an das Kurfürstentum Sachsen' in Bahlcke (ed.), *Geschichte der Oberlausitz*, pp. 99-142.
[279] Mahling, *Sorbisches Kirchliches Leben*, p. 14.
[280] See Jan Zdichynec, *Les abbayes féminines de la Haute-Lusace aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles: les religieuses entre pouvoir temporel et spirituel au temps des réformes* (Paris, 2014). See also AW, 2193, *Akten die wahl des Klostervoigts zu Marienthal und Streitigkeiten zwischen demselben und der Abtissin des Kloster Marienthal, 1621-1751*; St Lö, Mscr. 24B, *Akten der Besetzung des Primariats und Erwerbung des Patronatsrechtes durch den Rat 1568-1702*.
[281] The Lusatian League had one half of the vote, while the convents shared theirs with the rural nobility. So the convents and nobility combined had the same say as the six towns.

The interactions between the Cistercian monastery of Marienstern and the largely Sorbian village Wittichenau can serve as an example.[282] Wittichenau had no Lutheran preacher although the majority of the population was Lutheran. In 1619, when the Lutherans were in a stronger position owing to the Thirty Years' War, they wrote a letter to Duke Georg of Saxony describing that forty or fifty years ago they had been able to receive communion in both kinds, Lutheran catechisms and other Lutheran rites but when their preacher died, the new Catholic preacher rescinded all Lutheran measures. They were told that anyone who was not a Catholic should leave the village. Now the Catholics refused to give communion in both kinds, did not bury Lutherans properly and did not want to marry or baptize Lutherans. After some additional negotiations, the abbess handed over the church keys. In 1620, however, the abbess demanded them back. Four village councilors were summoned to appear before her and return the keys. When they did not bring them with them, they were imprisoned. The Lutheran congregation pleaded with the abbess, even offering to pay for the upkeep of the church and a Lutheran preacher themselves. The abbess did not give in and the Catholics did not want to wait any longer to receive the keys: they broke down the church door.

The controversies continued and Georg of Saxony ordered that the Lutherans should be allowed to have a preacher at hand when dying, which was, in turn, reversed when Catholic forces travelled through Upper Lusatia in 1631 and ordered the Lutherans to either convert or leave. Eventually, the Saxon dukes managed to protect the Lutherans who retained limited rights to carry out their religion.[283] In 1664, the new

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[282] Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10024 Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), 08954/26, *Erstes Buch über die beiden Klöster Marienstern [ö. Elstra] und Marienthal [s. Ostritz] im Markgraftum Oberlausitz*, especially fols. 14A-15B. Knauthe, *Sorberwenden umständliche Kirchengeschichte*, p. 228. A similar dispute after the appointment of a Catholic cleric is recorded for Hennersdorf in 1618: AB, 2852, *Statum Religionis, über ertheilete assecuration und ander in kirchen- und schulen sachen ergangene landfürstl. Anordnungenim Marggrafthumb Oberlausitz* (1619-1734), fols. 1A-3B.

[283] Knauthe, *Sorberwenden umständliche Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 254-263.

Catholic chaplain Johann Ferdinand Serbin told the villagers that they must convert or leave the town. He even posted guards on the city gate to prevent Lutheran preachers from entering and the Catholics attempted to convert the dying Lutherans, making them take communion in one kind.[284] The same chaplain boasted that he had converted forty Lutherans and refused to give baptism, burial and perform weddings to Lutherans.[285] Similarly, the village of Radibor was owned by a Lutheran noble, but the convent had the appointment right and so employed a Catholic cleric for an otherwise Lutheran congregation.[286] In these instances, the convents managed to halt the spread of the Reformation and, as the king was a Catholic himself, the Lutherans' options were limited.

But the Catholics' power was not always sufficient to force villages to stay Catholic. The populace of villages on Mount Eigen managed to chase a Catholic preacher out of the town, and employed a new Lutheran one. Unsurprisingly, this did not meet with the approval of the abbess of Marienstern, and she employed a new Catholic one.[287] The Lutheran population would have none of this, however, and locked the door of the village church and only allowed Lutherans to preach. The Catholic abbess, in turn, responded by placing a second lock on the same door therefore barring the Lutherans from the church as well. For some years the church remained unused until the Catholic convent finally gave way to the popular pressure and allowed Lutheran preaching, after a decade-long struggle. These kinds of conflicts were frequent in rural settings. The convents could call on the help of the dean in Bautzen, while the Lutherans relied on their greater numbers.[288] As Jan Zdichynec has pointed out, in the course of the sixteenth century, the increasing isolation of the convents, both in terms of

[284] Knauthe, *Sorberwenden umständliche Kirchengeschichte*, p.333.
[285] Ibid., p.334.
[286] Ibid., p. 335.
[287] Josef Gülden, *Johann Leisentrits Pastoralliturgische Schriften* (Leipzig, 1963), pp. 110-117.
[288] Ibid., pp. 110-117.

Lutheran towns and rebellious villages they owned, led to a closer alignment with Catholic Bohemia. This trend continued even after Lusatia became part of Saxony in 1635.[289]

But the convents never tried to influence the religious policies in the towns and so their dealings with the six towns remained on largely friendly terms. Kamenz, for example, kept on exchanging presents with the abbesses of Marienstern and continued to do so well into the seventeenth century. The abbess thanked the town council for providing the convent with three pairs of gloves and gave the councilors five cakes in return. In 1591 the nuns also received a walking stick.[290] Throughout the sixteenth century economic dealings between the Lutherans and Catholics continued. [291] In 1598, for example, the Marienstern pawned three villages to Kamenz.[292] The convent of Marienthal near Görlitz remained an important trade partner for the town.[293] The councilors and abbesses exchanged numerous letters and usually negotiated economic settlements or disciplined citizens. In a letter from 12 March 1571, the abbess requested that the council hold off punishing a widow until the bailiff has been informed, for example.[294]

Just like convents and councils could work with each other, none of the Lutheran changes led to an open break with the Habsburg rulers of Upper Lusatia. The town dignitaries continued to swear their allegiance to the Catholic Habsburgs. This

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[289] Zdichynec, *Les abbayes féminines*. On religion in Lusatia after 1635, see Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10024 Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), 09506/05, *Exclesiastica Lusatiae Superioris [Kichensachen der Oberlausitz] (1429 – 1710*).
[290] St K, 5275, *Überreichung der Neujahrspräsente an das Kloster St. Marienstern (1581-1689).*
[291] St K, 5613, *Wahrnehmung des Patronatsrechtes durch die Äbtissin des Klosters St. Marienstern (1533-1687*).
[292] St K, 5494, *Anlegung eines Registers bzw. Urbars über die pfandweise Übergabe von Untertanen aus den Dörfern Jesau, Bernbruch und Wiesa durch das Kloster St. Marienstern an die Stadt Kamenz (1598).* See also St K, 5586B, *Organisation und Verwaltung der Kirchensachen und Bauten sowie Ausübung des Jus Patronatus [Patronatsrecht] (1504-1731).*
[293] AW, 2193, *Akten die wahl des Klostervoigts zu Marienthal und Streitigkeiten zwischen demselben und der Abtissin des Kloster Marienthal, 1621-1751*.
[294] St G, no signature, *Liber Missivarum, 1569-1571*, p. 289 B. Another example of these interactions, is St G, no signature, *Liber Missivarum, 1572-1574,* fol. 224A on the imrpovement of roads.

continued allegiance also found its expression in a pulpit in Kamenz which contained a Luther rose but also the coat of arms of the Habsburgs, as well as that of Kamenz.[295] Similarly, the mural which was probably shown to Ferdinand I during his visit of Görlitz depicts the Habsburg king of Bohemia and his wife, while on the opposing side a depiction of Law and Gospel can be found. For Upper Lusatians, the king was primarily understood as their ruler and only secondarily as a Catholic. As such, Upper Lusatians continued to look towards Prague, and not Lutheran Saxony, for political guidance.

Illustrations Five and Six: Law and Gospel in the Görlitz Schwippbogenhaus*, unknown artist completed in the 1530s, discovered 2010, Scene of Law and Grace in the top panel and five heathen women (Admete, Arthimesia, Lucretia, Thisbes and Yppo) in the bottom part.*



[295] Kai Wenzel, 'Transformationen Sakraler Räume im Zeitalter der Reformation. Programmatische Ausstattungsstücke in den Stadtkirchen der Oberlausitz' in Lenka Bobková, Jana Konvičná (eds.), *Náboženský život a církevní poměry v zemích Koruny české ve 14. - 17. Století* (Prague, 2008), pp. 323-354.

Scenes of the story of Abraham (top) and (from left to right) Fredrick the Wise of Saxony, Charles V and his wife Isabella of Portugal, and Ferdinand I and his wife Anna.



3.4 Conclusion

There were many similarities in the religious structure of the six towns of the Lusatian League. They all had the same basic clerical hierarchies and most of their preachers came from the surrounding area and went to Wittenberg to study. But there were also significant differences. Only Bautzen, Löbau and Kamenz had Sorb preachers, which enabled Sorbs to hold respected positions there, even if they came from a lower social background. The presence of Catholics, particularly in Bautzen, Zittau and Lauban, hindered the spread of the Reformation, as did the king of Bohemia's orders. But this did not only result in a slower spread of Lutheranism, but also in syncretistic rituals.

Previous historians have recognized that this was a Reformation unlike elsewhere. Jens Bulisch has called it 'stalled' (*gebremst*). But this term fails to capture the fact that this was not only a slower introduction of Lutheranism, but also one that was deeply influenced by Catholicism. The continued use of Latin in Görlitz, or the survival of the nuns in Lauban are only two examples of the syncretism in Upper Lusatia. [296] Other historians have proposed calling the Upper Lusatian Reformation 'from below' or 'a citizens' Reformation' (*bürgerliche Reformation*).[297] These terms, one suggesting the populace carried the Reformation, the other that the urban elites enforced Lutheranism put undue emphasis on either the artisans or the councilors. In fact, Lutheranism was neither forced onto the town by a rebellious peasantry, nor enforced by the councils. Instead, this was a Reformation that revolved around negotiations between Lutheran and Catholic; clerical, urban and artisanal actors. In Görlitz, for example, the cloth makers demanded Lutheran preaching in 1525, but in the same year the first councilors also displayed his Lutheran beliefs. This was a kind of Lutheranism that included Catholic elements and, as the following chapters will show, also a king of Catholicism which contained Lutheran elements. The Reformation of Upper Lusatia was a syncretisic Reformation.

[296] On the overlap between Lutheranism and Catholicism, see also chapters five and six below.
[297] Jens Bulisch, 'Die gebremste Reformation' in Dannenberg, Scholze (eds.), *Stätten und Stationen religiösen Wirkens*, pp. 253-267; Blaschke, *Geschichte der Oberlausitz*, pp. 66-87; Speer, *Frömmigkeit und Politik*, p. 409.

4. History Writing and Divine Intervention: Johannes Hass's (c. 1476-1544) Chronicle of Görlitz

On 26 June 1519, Johannes Hass, town scribe of Görlitz, was inspecting the erection of a wall between two pillars of Saint Nicolas' Church. Foremen were shouting instructions to stone-masons who were balancing precariously on unstable scaffolding, council members were observing the progress on the building site, while all around the bustle of town life continued.[298] When it came to putting in the new window, Hass himself climbed onto the scaffolding to oversee the task. Worried that the scaffolding was overburdened with equipment and stones, he climbed down onto the newly-built wall. But no sooner had he reached the top of the wall than the scaffolding collapsed behind him. He continued his descent 'with great fear' and reached the ground uninjured. As he later wrote in his annals, God stopped him from looking backward and made him go down immediately instead. Had Hass stayed a moment longer on the wall, he would have shared the fate of two stonemasons who had not felt the 'divine warning' and who fell to their deaths. Hass's decision to descend without delay saved his life.[299]

Hass's council annals (*Rathsannalen*), written between 1509 and 1542, chart one man's engagement with religious change as he struggled to comprehend his town's history.[300] He was a civic scribe and a Catholic, who lived in a town which was becoming increasingly Lutheran. The account of his miraculous survival, which he wrote in 1520, before the Reformation had gained hold in the town, stands in marked contrast to how he describes other disasters in the final volume of his annals.[301] Here,

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[298] For aspects of the early modern urban life in Görlitz, see Behrisch, *Städtische Obrigkeit;* Lindenau, *Brauen und Herrschen;* Speer, *Frömmigkeit und Politik.*

[299] Hass, Neumann (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, pp. 574-576,'mit grosser forchte', 'gotliche vorwahrung'.

[300] Due to the mixed nature of Hass's account, I will use the terms chronicle and annals interchangeably to describe his *Rathsannalen.*

[301] On the Reformation in Görlitz, see also Samuel Großer, *Lausitzische Merckwürdigkeiten darinnen von beyden Marggraffthuemern* (Leipzig and Bautzen, 1714), pp. 14-95; Carpzov, *Neueröffneter Ehren-*

the town scribe wrote that fires and floods were not visitations of divine wrath and had no direct connection to Görlitz. Thunderstorms, floods and fires, he pointed out, occurred throughout the entire region, not just in Görlitz. By this point in the narrative, God's protective hand has disappeared from Hass's account to be replaced by 'divine fate'.[302] No longer an active player, God has become a passive observer. As Hass now states: 'God […] does not want to […] protect us, if we do not want to ourselves', a view that accorded agency and responsibility to human rather than divine actors.[303] Hass returned to the built environment, albeit metaphorically, to expand on this point: 'if someone sets his own house on fire, God is hardly going to put it out'.[304] How can we explain this change from a God who actively and consciously saved Hass's life to one who does not intervene in human affairs; who neither extinguishes the fire in a burning house nor punishes the supporters of the Reformation?

Descriptions of divine and satanic interventions were common in early modern writings, where they were often juxtaposed as two sides of the same coin. The gradual emergence of the Devil and decreasing references to divine intervention in Hass's account, however, show that, initially, God had been much more powerful and influential in Hass's world. After the Reformation had been introduced and God did not answer, Hass wrote less frequently of God's active engagement in the world and by the end of his narrative, Hass excluded God almost entirely. This gradual change combined with the explicit mention of Luther's writings, as well as implicit use of some minor elements of Luther's theology, suggest that Hass was no longer operating within a traditional Catholic mental framework. The subtle changes visible in the town chronicle, a genre of writing which often contains little explicitly religious information, show that

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Tempel, pp. 239-351; Johann Gottlieb Müller, *Versuch einer Oberlausitzischen Reformazionsgeschichte* (Görlitz, 1801).

[302] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, pp. 334, 'vorsehung gottis'.

[303] Ibid., pp. 333-334, 'Den will uns gote […] nicht […] bewarenn, den so ferne wir selbst wollten'.

[304] Ibid., p. 334 'So auch einer sein hause selbst ansteckenn mechte, gote wurde jms kaum leschen'.

a close analysis of such seemingly non-religious documents can reveal much about perceptions of the divine.[305] The sources suggest that the gradual inclusion of Lutheran elements was largely unconscious. In the early Reformation decades, confessional boundaries were fluid. Johannes Hass is a fascinating case study because his re-interpretation of Catholicism shows how even those Catholics who were explicitly critical of the Wittenberg Reformation were influenced by it, and adopted some of its elements into their religiosity.

4.1 Johannes Hass and his World

The religious idiosyncrasies of Upper Lusatia are echoed in Hass's piety. Born into an artisan family in Greiz in the *Vogtland* region of Thuringia around 1476, Johannes Hass went to school in Görlitz 'as a young boy aged 15 or 16', as he relates in one of the few autobiographical passages in his work.[306] He went on to attend the university of Leipzig.[307] After some years as a teacher at schools in Zittau in Upper Lusatia and Zwickau in nearby Saxony, he moved back to Görlitz and became the lower town scribe (*Subnotarius*) in 1509, town scribe (*Protonarius*) in 1514, and town judge in 1519 (*Scabinus*). He capped this career by becoming mayor of Görlitz (*magister civum regens*) no fewer than three times (in 1536/37, 1539/40 and 1543/44), and died in 1544.[308] In 1521 it was with his permission that a papal bull against Martin Luther was nailed to the main church of Görlitz.[309] Rapid as this advancement was, it was not

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[305] For the value of chronicles as sources for religious conflicts, see Susanne Rau, *Geschichte und Konfession. Städtische Geschichtsschreibung und Erinnerungskultur im Zeitalter von Reformation und Konfessionalisierung in Bremen, Breslau, Hamburg und Köln* (Hamburg and Munich, 2002).
[306] Hass, Neumann (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, p. 240, 'ein jungir auffschusling von XV. adir XVj jaren'. See also, Karl Czok, 'Chronistik und innerstädtischen Bewegungen im 16. Jahrhundert: zu den Görlitzer Ratsannalen des Johannes Hass' in Peter Johanek (ed.), *Städtische Geschichtsschreibung im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne, 2000), pp. 291-300.
[307] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen,* p. viii.
[308] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, pp. vii-ix.
[309] St. G, Lose Urkunden, *Päpstliche Bulla gegen Martin Luther mit dem Mandat des Bischofs Johannes von Meisen, 23 Feb.1521*.

unusual in Görlitz, which had a remarkably open elite: up to 50% of council members had only recently moved to the town.[310] It was not uncommon for towns of the early modern era to appoint outsiders to urban offices in order to avoid inner-urban disputes.[311]

Hass's annals are of exceptional value because they reveal, within a single source, how one man's religious outlook changed during the introduction of new religious teachings. Where the first two volumes of the *Rathsannalen*, composed contemporaneously with events between 1509 and 1520, were written primarily for future council members, the intended audience for the third volume was ambiguous, for any council in the years to come would be largely Lutheran, not Catholic.[312] Hass wrote the third volume in two phases. He reported on the years 1521 to 1534 retrospectively in 1534 and then, between 1535 and 1542, resumed writing contemporaneously.[313] Hass justified picking up his pen again in the foreword to the third volume (a feature which the first two volumes lack). He did not want the many calamities which had befallen the town in previous years to be forgotten. He was referring to the attempted infringement of urban liberties by the rural nobility, the continuing problem of forged coins and an attempted rebellion of cloth makers in 1527, which in Hass's mind was closely linked to the greatest rupture of them all: the introduction of the Reformation.[314]

Hass wanted to provide 'experience [and] solace' for his 'successors' who might benefit from the 'eternal memory' he had created.[315] The preface states that the third

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[310] Lindenau, *Brauen und Herrschen*, pp. 92-93.
[311] Martin Hille, *Providentia Dei, Reich und Kirche. Weltbild und Stimmungsprofil altgläubiger Chronisten 1517-1618* (Göttingen, 2010), p. 70. For the strong attachment Hass felt to Görlitz, see Hille, *Providentia*, p. 228.
[312] For a comparison of the intended audience of Frankfurt chronicles, see Stephanie Dzeja, *Die Geschichte der eigenen Stadt. Städtische Chronistik in Frankfurt am Main vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt/Main, 2003), pp. 50-52. For an overview of largely later chronicles, see Rau, *Geschichte und Konfession*, especially, pp. 425-429.
[313] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, p. 1.
[314] Ibid., pp. 1-21.
[315] Ibid., p. 2, 'erfarung, troste', 'meine nachkomelinge', ‚ewigem gedencktnus'.

volume was to serve as a reminder that, regardless of all the calamities, the town had survived thanks to 'God, the most merciful'.[316] The annals survive in the University of Wroclaw's manuscript collection.[317] Like many sources from Görlitz they were deposited there during the Second World War. The first two volumes are in folio and the final one in the larger royal folio format.[318] Hass's hand-writing, which can also be seen in letter books in Görlitz, is neat and steady throughout the three volumes. In the nineteenth century the Upper Lusatian scholarly society (*Oberlausitzische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*) compiled a reliable edition of the three volumes. Minor differences, particularly the underlining of words, aside the edition corresponds exactly with the original.

4.2 The Council in Charge: Civic Confidence and God's Helping Hand

Before the Reformation, Johannes Hass's world was a relatively stable one, where he only had to explain those events which went beyond the realm of urban jurisdiction by referring to more distant powers. In his first two volumes, Hass invoked 'God, the Almighty' in formulaic expressions and as protector of the town's fortunes.[319] The first of the areas beyond Hass's grasp was history itself, which required God's involvement as an explanation for past events. In one of his earliest accounts of divine intervention, written around 1513, Hass explained that throughout Görlitz's long history, God never wanted the town to be destroyed by fire.[320] Here, Hass was placing the responsibility for the success and prosperity of the urban community firmly in God's

[316] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, p. 2, 'gote der allirbarmhertzigiste'.
[317] BW, 6313 Mil II / 178-180, Johannes Hass, *Libri Annalium Gorlicensis*.
[318] The latter half of the second volume consists of blank pages suggesting that when Hass started writing again in 1534 he did not want to continue in the previous volume.
[319] Hass, Neumann (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, p. 114, 'got der almechtige'.
[320] On the fear of fire, see Robert W. Scribner, 'The 'Mordbrenner' fear in sixteenth century Germany: Political Paranoia or the Revenge of the Outcast?' in Richard J. Evans, *The German Underworld. Deviants and Outcasts in German History* (London, 1988), pp. 29-56.

hands. Yet he also noted that if the town were to burn down, trees located on nearby meadows, given to the town by imperial decree, could be used to rebuild it. It was through the combination of two distant yet powerful forces, the emperor and God, that Görlitz had not only survived fire-free, but could also be rebuilt. [321] The past was a realm in which God had been generous towards the inhabitants of Görlitz and Hass wanted to commemorate how mercifully God had treated his town.[322]

The power of God extended further than this world: God ruled supreme over life and death. The most frequent mention of God is in formulae in which a certain person 'fell asleep in the Lord' or was saved from death by divine mercy: Hass's own miraculous survival is the most detailed of such accounts. In the original manuscript someone, probably Hass himself, has drawn a pointing hand in the margins of this passage, illustrating its importance.[323] The episode is at the very end of the second volume and can help us explain Hass's staunch Catholicism as well as shedding light on his perception of the divine.[324]

The injuries and deaths are revealing in the highly symbolic retelling of God's protection of Hass. The least careful actors, the two stone-masons, lost their lives, as Hass described in graphic terms: 'they died immediately, with their intestines oozing out'.[325] The two foremen, who warned the stone-masons but were not overly proactive, were severely injured. One of them 'grabbed a plank, with which he spared his life whilst falling, however, many teeth fell out of his neck'.[326] Hass later returned to the teeth stating that 'the foreman was led into the church and, because of the pain, the front teeth, one after the other, were torn out of the mouth and thrown into the church',

[321] Hass, Neumann (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, p. 246.
[322] See Hille, *Providentia*, pp. 399-429 for chroniclers and their relationship to the Empire.
[323] BW, 6313 Mil II / 179, Johannes Hass, *Libri Annalium Gorlicensis*, pp. 118b-119b. For formulaic expressions, see, for example, Hass, Neumann (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, p. 261.
[324] Hass, Neumann (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, pp. 574-576.
[325] Ibid., 'bleiben auff der stat todt das jnen auch die gederme ausgynge'.
[326] Ibid., 'der hat begrieffen ein rustbret, domit sich also jm fal gefriestet des todis, doch etzliche zcehn aussm hals gefallen'. The word 'neck' (*Hals*) in early-modern German could also include the mouth.

as if in a kind of religious offering.[327] The council members, to Hass's mind the most honourable and God-fearing individuals on the building site, survived unharmed. Although Hass did not explicitly mention a biblical reference, his own survival was reminiscent of that of Lot who was saved by a divine impulse not to look behind him.

It was not accidental that Hass also referred to the cap stone, which was needed for the completion of the window and is mentioned twice in the book of Zachariah (4:7 and 4:10). The stone masons who thought they knew better than the foremen and put too much weight on the scaffolding were guilty of arrogance, like Korah, Dathan and Abiram who attempted to challenge Moses and so died. The collapse of the scaffolding and wall is reminiscent of the crumbling walls of Jericho. A final indication of the religious nature of the account is Hass's measurement of time in terms of a prayer: 'one would not have been able to speak an *Ave Maria* so quickly did the scaffolding collapse'.[328] Just as he mentioned 'divine intervention' at the outset, so he made his gratitude explicit again at the very end of this episode: 'and the two men [he and the other council member] without harm to their lives were saved certainly by divine mercy and the intervention of St. Nicholas'.[329] This was one of the few times that Hass credited a saint with intercession alongside God. It is with this kind of pre-Reformation God in mind, a God who can be supplicated when human powers fail, that we have to assess the changing nature of divine intervention in the years after the Reformation.[330]

In 1534, when Hass began writing his annals again, he perceived an increase in divine intervention, the kind he expected from a Catholic God who punished any

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[327] Hass, Neumann (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, p. 575-576, 'der parlirer in die kirche gefurt vnd vor wegtragen die forderen tzehn, einem noch dem andern aus dem mundt geryssen vnd jn die kirche geworfen'. For a discussion of the early modern importance of teeth in nearby Silesia, see Robert Jütte, *Ein Wunder wie der Goldene Zahn. Eine unerhörte Begebenheit aus dem Jahre 1593 macht Geschichte(n)* (Ostfildern, 2004).

[328] Hass, Neumann (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, p. 575, 'nicht so lange als einer mochte sprechen ein ave maria'.

[329] Ibid., p. 576, 'vnd die tzwene hern ane schaden ihres lebens gewis aus sundirlichen gotlichen gnaden vnd vorbit des heiligen Nicolaj […] beuaret wurden'.

[330] For the rupture the Reformation was perceived as, see Hille, *Providentia*, pp. 252-254.

rebellious Lutherans. Although allusions to God are sparse throughout, the third volume shows a more than 50% increase. References to the saints cease entirely. Although such references were already rare in volumes one and two, when Hass did mention saints he portrayed them as powerful. Saint Anne, for example, gave an heir to a rich merchant. A closer analysis of the volumes by years shows that references to God peak in the period 1521 to 1534 before they drop in the passages dealing with 1534 to 1542. This division is significant because in 1534 Hass started writing his annals again retrospectively, covering the years 1521 to 1534 and then continued to write contemporaneously until 1542. Hass perceived strong divine intervention between 1521 and 1534. This, however, also made Hass hopeful of a clear divine intervention, or at least a sign, in favour of the Catholics. As this sign never came, his references to God and divine intervention declined.

The increase in references to God in volume three is partly explained by Hass's account of a fire which prevented a planned cloth makers' rebellion in 1525, written retrospectively in 1534. The cloth makers and some Lutheran clergy had been criticizing the council for many weeks and Hass related how they had already fixed a date for their rebellion. The fire, however, destroyed large parts of the town and the cloth makers had to 'take care of their own business' for two years causing them to be relatively obedient towards the council.[331] Hass wrote that out of 180 destroyed houses, seventy belonged to the rebellious cloth makers. He explained the fire entirely through divine intervention: 'believe me that the whole town was in great danger of complete destruction [through the fire] that night, the almighty, merciful God […] threw in a heavy and saddening remedy, to prevent the cloth makers' plan'.[332] Although the fire

[331] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, p. 24, 'mit jnen selbst zuthun gehabt'.
[332] Ibid., 'gleube mir, das die gantze stadt, jn grossir gefhare jres vorderbens diese nacht gestanden, vnd das der almechtige barmhertzig gote […] schwer vnd betrubtis mittel eingeworffen, der tuchmecher furhhaben zuuhindern'.

had damaged Hass's house and the town as a whole, it had enabled the council to stay in control and this to Hass's mind showed a clear disapproval of the rebellious cloth makers and their newly-found evangelism. Shortly after the fire, Hass also wondered whether a great thunderstorm which set five people on fire was sent by God.[333]

It took the cloth makers two years to recover, and in 1527 it seemed likely once more that a rebellion would occur.[334] When discontented artisans and guild members gathered, Hass wrote that the council members comforted each other and hoped that God would intervene in their favour.[335] The rebels objected to the bad economic conditions, their limited political agency and demanded the pure preaching of the Gospel. It is no coincidence that these demands were very similar to those formulated by 'peasants' throughout Germany in the latter half of the 1520s. Due to the proximity to Bohemia, the communal nature of Taborite theology might also have had an impact.[336] Hass, the main source for the attempted rebellion, also mentioned twice within the space of ten pages that the rebels called each other 'brother', a terminology employed by radical reformers and signatories of the 1525 *Twelve Articles* who spoke of 'brotherly love' in the fourth of their articles.[337] But Hass did not connect the cloth makers' conspiracy to broader developments of the German Peasants' War and only briefly references Thomas Müntzer.[338] Instead, he chose local reference points to put the rising into context and commented that the cloth makers of Görlitz had always been rebellious and unfaithful. Lutheran and Catholic councilors alike hoped that God would once more intervene to save the town from what Hass perceived to be certain ruin.

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[333] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, p. 27.
[334] Wenzel, 'Aufstandsversuch der Görlitzer Tuchmacher 1527'; Wenzel, 'Aufstandsversuch der Görlitzer Tuchmacher 1527 (Teil 2)'.
[335] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, p. 34.
[336] Hass also specifically mentions the 'Taborite heretics' in his third volume (Hass, Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, p. 130).
[337] Ibid., pp. 40-41, 'guten brudern', and p. 51, 'lieber bruder; Christoph Engelhard, Peter Blickle (eds.), *Traktate aus dem Bauernkrieg von 1525* (Memmingen, 2000), pp. 20-23, 'brüderlicher lieb'.
[338] Ibid., p. 12.

Hass identified precisely such a divine intervention when he recorded the events of 1527 in 1534. The day before the revolt, one of the conspirators told Hass's servant about the plans, and the council was able to intervene. According to Hass, the council had not intervened earlier because the cloth makers would have claimed that they acted against the Gospel.[339] In this instance, Hass directly juxtaposed his Catholic God with the evangelical notion of preaching the pure Gospel. But doubts crept into Hass's account. At the outset of the narrative on the cloth makers, Hass wrote that 'God, however, is curious in his holy workings' because from the early 1520s onwards, cloth makers wanted to 'assail, kill and throw [the council] from the town hall'.[340]

Hass saw God as clearly on the side of the urban elites at this stage, illustrating the intersection of class and religiosity. Although Hass came from a humble background, in Görlitz he belonged to the ruling elite. As during the 1525 Peasants' War, the reasons for the cloth makers' rebellion were socio-economic, political and religious. Long-held grudges regarding a lack of political representation and economic problems certainly played an important role in the rising. In Hass's mind therefore the Reformation was closely connected to uprisings and challenges to the urban order. According to the annals, all councilors, whether Lutheran or Catholic, formed a united front against the rebellious artisans. In the early Reformation years, when confessional boundaries remained particularly flexible, class allegiances could trump religious connections, especially if individuals feared losing their power.

Although Hass's account is coloured by Lutheran teachings, as soon as the new doctrine threatened to upset the balance of power within the town, he opposed it vehemently. The Lutheran preacher Franz Rotbart's requests are an example of what

[339] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*., pp. 30-31.
[340] Ibid., p. 18, 'Gote abir ist jn seinem heiligen heiligen vnd werken wunderlich, vnd von dem tage an, haben sie gedocht den rathe zuubirfallen, zutoten vnd vom rothause zuwerffen'. The reference to throwing people from the town hall is an interesting parallel to the defenestration particularly popular in nearby Bohemia.

Hass perceived to be the combination of demands for religious and political reform.[341] Rotbart claimed that if a person was acting in accord with the Gospel and thought it necessary to disobey council orders, this should not be punished.[342] For Hass this was civic disorder. It meant violence, 'creating widows and orphans'.[343] Hence, the display of divine intervention when the cloth makers' rebellion was discovered in the nick of time was a clear sign that his religion but also the council's policies met with divine favour. Hass justified the harsh measures taken by the town council in a manner which is rare in the whole annals, he addresses the reader directly: 'Now be reminded, dear reader, if you are […] a pious, loyal person in what worry and hardship the council and especially the elders [found themselves]'.[344] For Hass, any pious individual would understand the measures the town council took. However, he evidently felt the need to justify the council's actions; something he had never done in the first two volumes. Yet by 1534 he needed a definitive sign of divine favour. Doubts about religious doctrine and practices were spreading in Görlitz and God was not intervening. As the years wore on, this wish for a clear sign grew stronger as Hass looked to any event that might indicate divine intervention.

Hass's understanding of Luther and the urban community explains why his Catholic God was capable of saving the town council, which in 1525 and 1527 would have contained non-Catholics. He compared the Lutherans to the Eastern Orthodox Church, or, as he called it, 'the occidental churches of Constantinople, Alexandria and Antioch'.[345] He (rightly) thought that Luther was not going to recant his views, and believed that the German nation would be divided, just as the eastern and western

[341] For a medieval comparison of religion in Upper Lusatia, see Enno Bünz, '"Neun Teufel, die den Pfarrer quälen". Zum Alltag in den mittelalterlichen Pfarreien der Oberlausitz' in Dannenberg, Scholze (eds.), *Stätten und Stationen religiösen Wirkens*, pp. 19-54.
[342] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, p. 16.
[343] Ibid., p. 48, 'withwen und weisen gemacht werden'.
[344] Ibid., p.38, 'Nhu bedencke du leser, bist du anders ein fromer […], jn welcher sorge […] und not, der rathe forderlich die eldistin, gestanden'.
[345] Ibid., p. 296, 'die occidentische kirche […] als Constantinopelis, Alexandrien vnd Anteiochien'.

churches were. Hass falls into the category of authors who tried to assure themselves of their faith by referring back to previous divisions and heresies which the Catholic Church had survived.[346] He did not go as far as to describe the Lutherans in the town as heretics, and never criticized any councilors who had changed their faith.[347] His most vocal criticism was levelled at Luther himself. He portrayed the Wittenberg reformer as a cunning, and ultimately smart, tempter of stupid priests and simple-minded artisans. For example, Hass remarked about Franz Rotbart that '[he] was a good simple man and at that time not learned, the former was the reason he became pastor, the latter was the reason he adhered to the Lutherans' faith, to please the people because previously no-one wanted to listen to his sermons'.[348]

In this way, it was possible for Hass to maintain the urban fabric which, to his mind, was built on the continuing power of the town council, even if it contained Lutherans. We have no reliable records on the precise religious positions of the councilors (if, indeed, they knew themselves) but it is highly likely that by the 1530s, the council was confessionally mixed.[349] God punished the Lutheran cloth makers but never any non-Catholic councilors. In contrast, Lutheran chronicles of the later sixteenth century from the region portray God's wrath as punishment for Lutheran rulers.[350] The confusing situation, where class and religion collided with one another, led Hass to question his ideas about urban and conciliar unity, which gradually began to disintegrate. Even before the Reformation, Hass wanted to avoid the impression that the

[346] Hille, *Providentia*, p. 285; Rau, *Geschichte und Konfession*, pp. 522-523.
[347] For a discussion of the labeling of heretics in a largely Lutheran context, see Alexander Kästner, Gerd Schwerhoff (eds.), *Göttlicher Zorn und menschliches Maß: religiöse Abweichung in frühneuzeitlichen Stadtgemeinschaften* (Constance, 2013).
[348] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, p. 5, 'Jst gewest ein gut simpel man vnd zu der zeit vngelert, das erste ist gewest ein vrsach zur pfhar, das ander das er sich vff die lutterische lehr gefleissiget dem volke zugefallen, den zuuor hat jnen nyemand jn seiner prediget horen wollen'.
[349] Speer, *Frömmigkeit*, pp. 372-397.
[350] Petr Hrachovec, 'Böhmische Themen in der Zittauer Stadtchronistik des frühen 17. Jahrhunderts' in Dannenberg, Müller (eds.), *Studien zur neuzeitlichen Geschichtsschreibung in den böhmischen Kronländern*, pp. 251-318.

council was not unified. But disagreement soon spread amongst the councilors. As early as the second page of the third volume Hass reports 'danger amongst the councilors'.[351]

Hass was more concerned to support the concentration of power in the hands of the councilors, even if this meant that his Catholic God did not punish Lutheran council members. Later in the annals, Hass even openly commended some of the more practical Lutheran changes. After a long passage criticizing the moral shortcomings of the Lutherans, Hass continued that 'the school is in a better order to teach the boys now'.[352] These conscious changes in Hass's position might have been intended to keep his annals relevant for future, Lutheran councilors. He also put the town's well-being above religious conflicts when he participated in Lutheran embassies of the Lusatian League to the king of Bohemia. It is possible that the Görlitz town council hoped to retain the king's favour by sending a genuinely Catholic councilor to Prague, rather than Lutherans who had to pretend to be Catholic.[353] At the same time, the Lutheran councilors were also willing to tolerate the Catholic Hass, as is shown by his re-election as mayor as late as 1543. This was a remarkable decision, as the salvation of the whole town was at stake.[354]

Hass's description of the attempted rebellion of 1527 contains another novel feature: a more Christocentric theology.[355] Writing about the punishment of the cloth makers and other guild members, Hass remarked that 'the eternal merciful God this time has, through his begotten son Jesus Christ, our saviour and the mercy and foresight of the Holy Spirit not put this [the usurpation of the council] upon our town'.[356] While

[351] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, p. 2. 'periculum inter fratres senatus'.
[352] Ibid., p. 306, 'Die schule abir stehet heute jn besser ordnung die knaben zulernenn, den vormals'.
[353] See, Speer, *Frömmigkeit*, pp. 376-381.
[354] On the *Corpus Christianorum*, see, Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, pp. 48-72.
[355] See, Marc Lienhard, *Martin Luthers christologisches Zeugnis. Entwicklung und Grundzüge seiner Christologie* (Göttingen, 1980).
[356] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, p. 91, 'Aber der ewig barmhertzig got hast dismal, durch JeSvm Christum seinen gelibten son, vnsern erlosir, jn der gnade vnd fursichtikeit des heiligen geists, ubir gemein stadt nicht vorhengen wollen'.

he drew attention to the Trinity and its importance in protecting Görlitz, there was no mention of saints. The greater emphasis on Christ suggests that Hass has adopted some minor elements of Luther's theology. Hass specifically mentioned that Luther taught that man should not recognise anyone but Christ as their Lord. It is likely that Hass highlighted Christ's importance accordingly. Luther's influence on some parts of Hass's thinking is explicitly documented when he acknowledges that he has seen *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church*.[357] Hass also mentioned that Luther wrote about the 'worthlessness' of saintly intercession.[358] But in the first two volumes there were two cases in which saintly intercession actively benefited inhabitants of Görlitz: The first is the birth of an heir for Johann Frentzel, who had previously provided the funds to build a chapel. According to Hass, Saint Anne intervened to give a son to the previously childless Frentzel and his wife. The second instance is when Hass's life was saved in the episode quoted at the outset, through the intercession of the 'Holy Nicolaus patron[u]s'.[359] Starting with the third volume, around 1534, when the Reformation had been relatively firmly established, such accounts of saintly intercession cease entirely.

Between the first two volumes and the retrospectively written parts of the third volume, we can see a distinctive shift in Hass's language and reasoning. Because the rebellious cloth makers were punished by God's hand, Hass hoped that other Lutherans would be too. Yet he never wished the fate of the Lutheran artisans on the Lutheran councilors. The council annals suggest that Hass valued his position as councilor above his religious identity at this point. It was confusing for Hass to see the Lutherans prosper in the whole of Upper Lusatia, regardless of royal, clerical and his own admonitions against them. Whilst in the earlier parts of his annals Hass had restricted

[357] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, p. 9, 'buchlein wiedir das babistumb das er gnant captiuitas babilonica'.
[358] Ibid., p. 7, 'gulde nichts'.
[359] Hass, Neumann (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, p. 576 'heiligen Nicolaj patrons'.

himself to recording factually what God had done, now he began to employ more tentative and hopeful formulations such as 'may God increase the divine honour and commonweal of the town'. [360] Johannes Hass was hoping and praying for divine intervention, but his prayers remained unanswered.

4.3 When God is Absent, the Devil Appears

As Johannes Hass did not receive an unambiguous sign from God, he had to look further afield. It is likely that by this stage Hass himself did not know what exactly divine intervention would look like in Görlitz. By the 1530s, he no longer expected God to visit full-scale divine retribution on the Lutherans, not least because many of them were fellow councilors. He could therefore no longer fit a pre-Reformation God into his world view and relied on distant events to keep his Catholic faith intact. As time wore on, he had to remove God completely from his account. By the end of the council annals, God did not even feature in formulaic expressions. Hass struggled to make sense of the world around him and came to express his own beliefs differently. He was cut off from traditional religious points of reference due to the increasing isolation of Catholics in Görlitz, and as a result one can see further traces of Luther's theology in his religiosity.

In other regions of the Empire, chroniclers, both Catholic and Lutheran, saw the divine interventions for which Hass had hoped. When the Catholic council of Hanover fled the city, other Hanoverians interpreted this as a sign of divine disapproval of the old religion, and not as the result of the increasingly untenable political situation of the

[360] Hass, Neumann (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, p. 131, 'Gote gebe furder zu gotlicher ehre vnd zu nutz gmeiner stadt'.

Catholic minority.[361] But Hass's tendency to become disheartened at the lack of such a divine sign was also evident amongst some Lutherans. As Scott Dixon has suggested, the Lutheran Johannes Letzner never finished his monumental *Chronicle of Braunschweig-Lüneburg-Göttingen* because he was discouraged by the slow progress of Lutheranism.[362] The Catholic chronicler Antoni Kreuzer from Nuremberg struggled similarly to explain the good quality of the wine in 1540, when he had expected divine punishment for the community at large. He did not believe that God would leave Nuremberg unpunished and thought divine retribution would occur at an unspecified, later point.[363] It seems likely that Hass had to adjust his interpretation of God in the same manner. As the Lutherans received only limited divine punishment, Hass had to turn God into a less involved, more watchful deity. The influence of God in day-to-day human affairs decreased steadily. However, Hass was not unique in this: on both sides of the confessional divide, the image of God began to shift as those who expected him to show his approval of one religion and punish the other were disappointed.

God became increasingly removed from Görlitz and from Johannes Hass himself. Later in 1534, after he had reported on events such as the cloth makers' conspiracy, Hass wrote about the 'chimera and heresy' of Huldrych Zwingli's theology which had also grown out of Luther's teaching.[364] He then described how the 'old regions' stayed with the Catholic religion, 'called popery by Lutherans and

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[361] Karljosef Kreter, *Städtische Geschichtskultur und Historiographie. Das Bild der Stadt Hannover im Spiegel ihrer Geschichtsdarstellung von den Anfängen bis zum Verlust der städtischen Autonomie* (Hanover, 1996), pp. 95-96.
[362] C. Scott Dixon, 'The Sense of the Past in Reformation Germany: Part 1' in *German History*, 30/1, 2012, pp. 1-21; C. Scott Dixon, 'The Sense of the Past in Reformation Germany: Part 2' in *German History*, 30/2, 2012, pp. 1-23.
[363] Hille, *Providentia*, p. 331.
[364] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Rathsannalen*, p. 294, 'Chimera, vnd ketzerey'. For a comparison with Zittau chroniclers, some of whom also engage with Zwinglianism and Calvinism, see Hrachovec, 'Böhmische Themen' in Dannenberg, Müller (eds.), *Studien zur neuzeitlichen Geschichtsschreibung in den böhmischen Kronländern*, pp. 308-318; Petr Hrachovec, 'Die Religion und die Konfession in der Zittauer Historiographie des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts' in Jan Zdichynec, Lenka Bobkova (eds.), *Terra - ducatus - marchionatus - regio: die Bildung und Entwicklung der Regionen im Rahmen der Krone des Königsreichs Böhmen* (Prague, 2013), pp. 171-188.

Zwinglians'.[365] He chronicled the Second War of Kappel (1531), describing it in terms of divine intervention. Due to the refusal of the inner Swiss towns to conform to the new religion,

> Zwingli stormed into war, and with all his fellows, sixteen or seventeen preachers, against the old town, […] and fought them. God, however, gave the small group of the old town strength and mercy [so] that they killed, with great damage, Zwingli and his fellows' bigger army [and] chased them away. Zwingli and all his […] preachers, therefore, were beaten to death in battle so that the fighting hand of God was seen with the old town mightily and visibly. The old town therefore stays with its old religion, not fearing the Zwinglians until this day.[366]

Here God once again features as a powerful actor who saves the righteous, and he is qualified as 'fighting'. God, therefore, still intervened in human affairs, but the intervention occurs far away, in Switzerland. God gave power to the powerless and to those who would normally not stand a chance against their mightier opponents, but only because they retained their Catholic faith. The idea that God punished Zwingli was also shared by non-Catholics. Martin Luther, for one, saw Zwingli's defeat and death as a divine judgment on a preacher who took up arms and who preached false doctrine.[367] Interestingly, however, for Hass this was one of the last instances where he perceived a clear divine intervention. As time passed he waited to see this kind of decisive intervention for the Catholic minority of Görlitz, who found themselves trying to fend off the Lutheran advance, just as the inner Swiss cantons had to fend off Zwinglian advances.

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[365] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, p. 294, 'stete die man nenet der alde ort […] bei aldir religion christlicher kirchenn, das die Lutterischen vnd Zwinglischen die papistrey nennenn'.
[366] Ibid., pp. 294-295, 'Dorumb Zwinglius zum krieg gesturmet, vnd ist mit alleim seinem anhang mit sechzehn adir siebenzehn predicanten, wiedir den alden ort, vnd dieselbigen stete jns felt zur schlacht getzogenn. Gote abir hat dem kleinen hauffen des alden orts, stercke vnd gnade vorlihen, das sie den grossen hauffen Zwinglij vnd seines anhangs […] mit jrem grossen schaden erleget, aussm felde gejaget, Zwinglium vnd alle seine […] prediger, aldo jn der schlacht zu tode geschlagen haben, also das die streitende hant gotis beim dem alden ort, mechtiglich und scheinbar erkant ist wurdenn. Bleibet also der alde ort in seiner regilion (sic), der Zwinglianer ungeforcht, bisz auff heute'.
[367] Thomas Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation* (Frankfurt/Main, 2009), pp. 152-161; Thomas Kaufmann, 'Luther und Zwingli' in Albrecht Beutel (ed.) *Luther Handbuch* (Tübingen, 2010, 2nd ed.), pp. 159-161.

Equally striking in Hass's account of Kappel is his distortion of numbers, for in reality, the Catholic forces outnumbered the Zwinglian troops significantly. Here, Hass magnified the effect of divine intervention. Judging by his detailed and usually correct knowledge of events as diverse as the Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster and the Ottoman Wars, it is most likely that he deliberately misrepresented events, so as to strengthen the power of his Catholic God. Oswald Myconius, the first biographer of Zwingli and a close friend of the Swiss reformer, wrote the Zwinglians were far outnumbered and the Catholic forces better equipped.[368] The absence of any of the miraculous elements surrounding Zwingli's death, such as the intact survival of his heart after his body had been burned, is also striking in an account as detailed as Hass's.[369] The mention of Zwingli taking preachers with him into battle further showed a clear sign of divine disapproval of Zwinglian clergy and thus of the religion as a whole.

Hass slowly changed his outlook, giving up his hope for powerful divine intervention in Görlitz and becoming more uncertain. Gradually, God began to disappear from his account and in his stead came the Devil. Hass never suggested that the Devil was more powerful than God which would have been heretical, of course. It is more likely that Hass thought the Devil could only act by divine permission. Although Hass mentioned God more frequently in the third volume, which is roughly as long as the first two volumes combined, a closer analysis is telling. Out of the forty-seven references to God contained in the third volume, twenty-one occur in the first quarter, corresponding with Hass's perception of divine intervention against the cloth makers in the portion of the third volume that he wrote retrospectively in 1534. In the second and third quarter, the references drop to eleven and twelve respectively, whilst the final fourth contains merely three with the final fifty pages containing not a single mention of

[368] Oswald Myconius, Ernst Gerhard Rüsch (ed.), *Vom Leben und Sterben Huldrych Zwinglis* (St. Gallen, 1979), p. 71.
[369] Ibid., pp. 70-73.

God. Hass removed God from his narrative. By contrast, the Devil became an increasingly important figure, to the point that, by the end of the annals, he was referred to more often than God. Although the Devil never intervened as potently as God did in the first two volumes and is mainly recorded by Hass in formulaic expressions, by the end of the third volume, God has disappeared even from such figures of speech.

The first time Hass uses the adjective 'devilish' (*tewfflisch*) is when referring to Luther's ability to lead priests astray by tempting them with 'carnal or devilish freedom'.[370] This reference to the Devil is surprising if we consider that in the whole 576 pages of the first two volumes neither the Devil nor any variations (*tewfflisch, teufflisch, diabolisch, Satan,* etc.) are mentioned. Starting from the beginning of the third volume, Hass used the Devil as an active counter-part to God. His understanding of the Devil as deceiving tempter of stupid artisans and priests is very close to that of Luther, who also believed the Devil to be scheming.[371] Hass was aware of Luther's emphasis on the Devil's cunning, describing how Luther accused Catholic canons of being persuaded to mischief by the Devil.[372] The absence of the Devil, except for a passage which details an anecdote, from Görlitz council annals of the late fifteenth century, further underscores that a change in the author's outlook is the most likely cause for the rise of references to the Devil.[373]

A retrospective report on town privileges through the centuries, which is a unique part of the third volume of Hass's council annals, also featured the Devil.[374] When nobles tried to infringe upon urban privileges in the late 1530s, Johannes Hass and fellow council members drew up a list of privileges and jurisdictions they had won

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[370] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, p. 9, 'fleischliche adir tewfflische freiheit'.
[371] See Philip M. Soergel, *Wondrous in his Saints. Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* (Berkeley, 1993), pp. 60-72 for a discussion of Luther's view that the Devil tempted pilgrims to worship false idols at pilgrimage sites.
[372] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, p. 305, 'diabolo'.
[373] Leopold Haupt (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen: aus den Jahren 1487 bis 1496* (Görlitz, 1841).
[374] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Rathsannalen*, pp. 122-273. Particularly analysed in Czok, 'Chronistik und Innerstädtische Bewegungen' in Johanek (ed.) *Städtische Geschichtsschreibung*, pp. 291-300.

throughout the centuries to prove their continuity and legitimacy to anyone who questioned their rights. In this account, Hass related how a wool market was run badly by cloth makers who, because they were 'rebellious, wanton and foolish […] wanted to hack off merchants' and citizens' hands' if anyone disobeyed. The Devil, he commented, 'became their abbot and patron'.[375] The Devil had now entered into a realm previously reserved for God. Whilst before, God was made responsible for saving the city from fires and protected it throughout history, now the Devil is used as an explanation for a past event. As a co-conspirator of the cruel cloth makers he is also a very real, almost humanlike presence, unlike God who always retained an air of other-worldliness. Luther, of course, particularly emphasized the Devil's active presence.[376] Hass also referred to the Devil more frequently in formulaic expressions. In one instance, when the council was borrowing money from another town, they affirmed their credibility by asserting that the Devil shall take them if what they said was not true, therefore replacing an oath to God with an oath to the Devil.[377] By contrast, the first two volumes use formulae such as 'praise God' or 'may God comfort his soul'.[378] Now, it was the Devil who might take them if they were lying. God was portrayed differently than he was before the Reformation. In Hass's mind, because there was no divine punishment for the sins of the Lutherans, the only possibility left was the Devil as a counter-part to God.

Hass explicitly linked the Devil to Martin Luther and the Reformation. When in 1536 Hass wrote with biting sarcasm that 'the lovely Martin Luther made the priests run

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[375] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Rathsannalen*, p. 265, 'auffrurischer, mutwillischer vnd throticht wurden, do sie den kauffleuten vnd burgern haben die hende […] abehauen wollen, do ist der teuffel jr abt und patron wurden'.
[376] Still central on this topic, Heiko Oberman, *Luther. Mensch zwischen Gott und Teufel* (Berlin, 1982). See also, Lyndal Roper, 'Martin Luther's Body: The "Stout Doctor" and his biographers' in *American Historical Review*, 115/2, 2010, pp. 350-84.
[377] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, pp. 260-270.
[378] For example, Hass, Neumann (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannlen*, p. 405, 'got lobe'; p. 403 'Got […] troste seine […] sele'.

[…], like in summer the flies make the pissing cow run towards the bush, so that one [priest] went here, the other [priest] there, stung by the Devil and the flesh more than before', it was the Devil who stung the priests and replaced God as an active participant in everyday life.[379] Rather than God intervening to protect and save, the Devil now seduced the fools. Earlier, Hass directly juxtaposed Luther and the Devil. When describing the Reformer's theology, Hass wrote that Luther gave 'carnal or devilish freedom' to the priests who wanted to take wives.[380] The above epitomizes a kind of graphic language ('pissing cows') which Hass only used towards the end of the third volume. [381] It is likely that Hass's deployment of graphic language - at another point he writes that preachers followed Luther like 'pigs going to the trough' - was also a response to the explicit language of Lutheran pamphlet literature.[382]

A comparison between a letter sent to Hass whilst in Prague and the corresponding entry in his annals constitutes one of the most striking examples of his willingness to change the nature of divine intervention.[383] The letter from June 1537, which was copied into the Görlitz letter book (*Liber Missivarum*), is addressed to Hass and two of his fellow councilors.[384] After the usual salutation, the unknown author of the letter wrote that 'through the fate of the Almighty, awful things have happened'.[385]

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[379] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, p. 300, 'Als der liebe Martinus Luter die pfaffen lauffende gemacht […] wie jm sommer die fliegen die kuhe piesende alle dem pusch zu, das einer hie der ander dortnaws, gelauffen vom teuftel vnd dem fleisch mehr den zuuor gestochen'. Interestingly, the irony used by Hass in describing Luther as 'lovely' ('der liebe') is usually a stylistic trope associated with the Devil himself (see: Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 81-100.)

[380] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, p. 9, 'fleischliche adir tewfflische freiheit'.

[381] The editor of the chronicle thought that Hass had been influenced to use more dramatic and colourful language through the changes introduced by Luther into the German language (Hass, Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*,p. vii).

[382] Ibid., p. 305, 'wie die sawe zum troge'.

[383] St G, no signature, *Liber Missivarum, 1534-1539*, folio 414A and 414B. For the use of letters in early-modern Germany, see Lyndal Roper, '"To his Most Learned and Dearest Friend": Reading Luther's Letters' in *German History*, 28/3, 2010, pp. 283-295.

[384] Judging from the hand, it is possible that Hass himself copied the letter into the *Liber Missivarum* after he had received that same letter whilst in Prague.

[385] St G, no signature, *Liber Missivarum, 1534-1539*, folio 414A-B, 'aus vorhengung des almechtigen haben sich itzund bey uns erschrekliche felle begeben'.

The letter details how an apprentice tanner shot another citizen and how a ferocious storm knocked down the tip of the church tower. The bad weather also resulted in a fire, destroyed houses and killed a four-year-old, but another child in his crib, 'praise God', was left unharmed by the fire. The storm, reported the unknown author, is 'nothing other than the punishment and wrath of God, for our sins'. The author hoped that God might 'create and order all this according to his divine will' and eventually lift the punishment from the town.[386] The letter follows a clear pattern of cause and effect. The town had been sinful (though what sins were committed is not specified), God punished the town and only God can lift the punishment again. In stark contrast to Hass's accounts, the spatial and temporal imminence of the events is described: they happened 'now and among us'.[387]

The terrible storm also found its way into Hass's council annals, though he portrayed it rather differently. Hass illustrated human agency in conjunction with divine benevolence. As the account was composed in 1537, it falls into the phase of writing when Hass once again recorded events as they unfolded. Unlike in the letter, Hass recounted the survival of the child and the lightning that struck the church without any references to God. Instead, after relating details about the fire in Görlitz, Hass addressed the reader once again directly: 'You shall not think nor believe that only the people of Görlitz had angered the merciful God'.[388] In comparison, the letter clearly references divine anger at the Görlitzers' sins. Hass continued 'I do not believe that all the punishments related here occurred only to Görlitz, because the dying, price increases,

[386] St G, no signature, *Liber Missivarum, 1534-1539,* folio 414A-B, 'got lob […] nichts anders denn als eine straffe und zorn gothis, von wegen unser sunden […] wolle solches alles schaffen / und ordnen nach seinem gotlichen gefallen'.
[387] Ibid., 'sich itzund bey uns'.
[388] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Rathsannalen*, p. 333, 'Du solst abir nicht gleuben, noch dofur halden, das die von Gorlitz, den barmhertzigen gote, so ungnedig gehabt'.

floods, big thunderstorms, etc. happened in all lands, damaging many people'.[389] Hass filled in more details to prove that it was not Görlitz that was singled out for divine wrath, describing how Heidelberg castle was destroyed and a nun's barn in Naumburg set ablaze during a thunderstorm.[390] This passage, which generalizes the bad weather, stands in marked contrast to the letter which centres on a specific time and place.

Hass also described how a cleric in Kuhnewalde - at one point Hass calls him a pastor (*Pfarher*) at another a priest (*Priester*) - was struck by thunder. This episode is particularly telling, as the *Annales Budissinensis* give further details of this event. [391] The cleric, Urban Nicolai, was vicar of Saint Peter's Church and converted to Lutheranism. By the time he became preacher in the village of Kuhnewalde in 1536 he had reverted to his Catholic beliefs. At one point he stated publicly that if Luther was right, lightning should strike him down. When a thunderstorm hit Kuhnewalde, he fled into the village church hoping to escape the terrible weather. However, the chronicle records, lightning struck next to Nicolai while he was praying in the church, rendering him unconscious. When some farmers rushed to his aid, a second bolt of lightning struck the group of men. However, it only killed Nicolai and not the farmers. In Hass's account, no reference is made to the cleric's Catholic beliefs or his explicit challenge to God to punish him if Luther was right.[392]

In Hass's view, God was now working in conjunction with human actors and was punishing the whole of Germany, not just Görlitz. He struggled to believe that individuals as pious as a priest who recently re-converted to Catholicism and nuns could be punished by God, and so he removed God from realms which had previously been

[389] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Rathsannalen*, p. 333, 'Dofur ichs […] nicht halde, das alle erzalte straffe, alleien vber die von Gorlitz ergangenn, den das sterben, tewrung, wassirfluet, grosvngewitter etc., sein durch alle lande gemein gewest zu schaden vieler leute'.
[390] Ibid.
[391] Großer, *Lausitzische Merckwürdigkeiten*, p. 20, quoting from the *Annales Budissienses*.
[392] Hass, Sturve (ed.), *Rathsannalen*, p. 333.

firmly ruled by the divine. While in his first volume he attributed the protection of Görlitz from fire solely to divine mercy and also credits God with the fire that prevented the cloth makers from conspiring in 1525, now he specifically stated that God's protection needed to be supported by an individual's actions. At the end of this account on the calamities that befell Görlitz, Hass provided perhaps the most telling account of how he came to see divine intervention:

> Rebellions through the whole of the German nation, through the Lutheran preachers, and other evil sects, Zwinglians, Anabaptists, etc., which came from it [that is, Lutheranism], brought turmoil, as has happened here. And it may be the punishment and fate of God, I certainly believe so. It hurts the council nonetheless that the people are so careless, regardless of so much admonition. Then God out of compassion and mercy, no longer wants to renew and protect us, unless we want to ourselves. Similarly, if someone sets his own house on fire, God is hardly going to put it out. Another might say, when the old religion was left, and the Lutheran [religion] broke through and was accepted, the German nation was assaulted by many problems. [393]

In the marginalia, Hass summarized his view with the words '[o]ur diligence and work has to occur besides divine intervention'.[394] While this kind of God is not mutually exclusive of the God who had previously saved and protected the town, there has been a change in emphasis. While God was still capable of intervening, if humans allowed him to, he had turned away from Görlitz as the people had forsaken him.[395] Interestingly, Hass wrote that the new religions were a divine retribution, showing a punishing side of a previously largely merciful God. This was the only way how Hass could comprehend that nuns suffered because of bad weather and the whole of Germany was 'assaulted by many problems'. If only people had chosen to follow the Catholic

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[393] Ibid., pp. 333-334, 'auffruhr durch gantze dewtsche nation, durch die Lutterischen pfaffen, vnd andere bose secten, Zwinglianer, widerteuffer, etc., die doraus kommen sein, zugericht, wie den alhie auch geschehn. Vnd mag die straffe vnd das vorhengnus gotis sein, dofur ichs auch gewislich gleube, so tut doch dem rathe wehe, das die leute, auff so viel vormanung so vnachtsam sein. Den will vns gote aus gnaden vnd barmhertzikeit, yhe nicht weiter erneren vnd bewarenn den so ferne wir selbst wollen. So auch einer sein hause ansteckenn mechte, gote wure jms kaum leschen. Ein ander mochte sagen, von der zeit so die alde religion vorlassen, und die Lutterische eingeriessen vnd angenommen, ist dewtsche nation mit vielen beschuerungen, ubirfallen'.

[394] Ibid., 'Vnser fleis vnd thun musz sein neben der vorsehung gottis'.

[395] See also Hille, *Providentia*, p. 331, who also argues that Hass now thought 'human will' was needed besides divine protection.

religion, instead of the Lutheran one, Hass implied, they would have kept God on their side. In Hass's mind, the solution to the many problems of the German nation was simple: a return to Catholicism which would ensure that God would once again benefit the people. It must have been deeply worrying and disturbing to Hass and other Catholics to see their fellow *Görlitzers* and the urban community move towards certain destruction by turning away from God and his divine powers.[396] Contrary to the undisrupted nature of the first two volumes, agency is now placed with the people who have chosen not to turn to the true God. This was the only way Hass could retain most of his Catholic beliefs intact and explains why he now saw the Devil as a more active player in the town's affairs. God is only mentioned one final time after Hass described in this passage how the people chose to forsake him.[397] This final passage is geographically on the fringes of Hass's world: the victory of emperor and Pope over the advances of the Ottoman Empire in 1537. Hass reported that 'the merciful God had clemently ensured that the movement of the Turks was stopped on water through the Emperor, Pope and Venetians'.[398] Perceiving the Ottoman Empire as a common enemy, Hass envisaged a Christian world unified by its animosity toward the enemy of the 'Christian name and blood'.[399]

4.4 Conclusion

After the Reformation had been established in Görlitz, Johannes Hass perceived demonic rather than divine intervention. An analysis of Hass's account shows us how

[396] The Görlitz councillor Paul Schneider who was also a Catholic and lived contemporaneously with Hass, must have been one last confessional ally (see Hille, *Providentia*, pp. 72-73; Speer, *Frömmigkeit*, pp. 46-47).
[397] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Rathsannalen*, p. 354.
[398] Ibid, 'der barmhertzige gote, hats gnediglich vorkomenn, das der Turkenzug, durch den keiser, babist, vnd Venediger, auff wasir gehindert'.
[399] Ibid, 'feindt christlichs namens vnd bluts'. For a broader discussion of the perceptions of Turks and their religion, see Thomas Kaufmann, *Türckenbüchlein. Zur christlichen Wahrnehmung "türkischer Religion" in Spätmittelalter und Reformation* (Göttingen, 2008).

deeply unsettling, confusing and terrifying the prospect of having multiple competing belief systems must have seemed to inhabitants of the early modern world. The novel situation lead to a variety of individual responses. For Johannes Hass it meant changing the very nature of God. An analysis of urban historiography from Upper Lusatia and elsewhere in the Empire for similar trends could point to telling similarities: Lutheran chronicles from Zittau dating from around 1600, also feature the Devil.[400] Perhaps the despair Hass felt as a result of the rise of the Devil and decline of Catholicism even explains why he ended his annals abruptly in the middle of a sentence. Was he questioning the rationale behind his undertaking in such a corrupt world?

The flexibility displayed by Hass is not unique in an Upper Lusatian context but is symptomatic of broader religious developments which were shaped by shared confessional practices later in the sixteenth century. Part of the reason why Upper Lusatia is one of the most fascinating regions of the Empire is that due to the king of Bohemia's frequent absence, the towns of the Lusatian League could carve out a considerable degree of religious and political freedom. Whilst the politics of the largely Lutheran town councils ensured that the followers of the Reformation were not persecuted, they could never act decisively against Catholics for fear of royal repercussions. The mixed confessional milieu, resulting in grudging acceptance of other creeds and inter-confessional negotiation, led to a syncretistic Reformation and, as Hass shows, an equally distinctive form of Catholicism. Such religious negotiations also occurred in other parts of the Holy Roman Empire, where the territorial overlord was comparatively weak or open to religious accommodation, for example Silesia or

[400] CWBZ, A 122b, Albert Arnsdorf, *Chronicon Zittaviense (Arnsdorff) Annales Zittavienes Oder Jharbuch der Stadt Zittau geschrieben Anno 1611 aufhin Comterhoffe bey vnßer Lieben Frawen Kirchen furne Frawen Thage*; CWBZ A 123, Annonymous, *Chronicon Zittaviense (Krodel*); CWBZ A 90b, Annonymous, Chronicon Zittaviense (Werner), *ANALECTA ZITTAVIENSIS oder Jahrbuch der Stadt Zittau in DER OBER-LAU SITZ.*

Westphalia.[401] Although Hass heavily criticized novelties brought about by the Reformation, he nonetheless incorporated minor elements of the new religion: a slightly stronger emphasis on Jesus Christ, an active and scheming Devil, the absence of saintly intercession and crude language. It is likely that these changes in belief and language occurred subconsciously as Hass attempted to make sense of the success of the Reformation. In other instances Hass was also willing to accommodate novel elements in the urban fabric consciously and openly, for instance by commending improvements in schooling. However, he only approved such developments if they did not threaten to upset the urban order, which he valued above all else.

It is possible that Johannes Hass had not given up hope that Catholicism with all its theologies and practices would triumph, whether through divine or demonic intervention; that the Lutheran creed would be brought to destruction and the old faith resurrected in its former glory. It is this ray of hope that might explain the choice of epitaph on his now lost tomb stone: The resurrection of Lazarus.[402] Even here, however, it is possible to see a connection to Luther's teachings: the Wittenberg Reformer recommended the Raising of Lazarus (John, 11:25) as an epitaph motif in 1542, two years before Hass's death.[403] The renowned epitaph for Michael Meyenburg, a Lutheran and mayor of Nordhausen, by Lucas Cranach the Younger displays the story. So even in his posthumous commemoration, Johannes Hass, a Catholic and mayor of Görlitz, exhibits a confusing mixture of identities, a piety poised somewhere in between Catholicism and Lutheranism.

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[401] Luebke, 'Passageriten und Identität' in Brademann, Thies (eds.), *Liturgisches Handeln*, pp. 237-253; Luebke, *Hometown Religion*.
[402] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Rathsannalen*, p. viii; information sign in St. Peter's Church, Görlitz.
[403] Oliver Meys, *Memoria und Bekenntnis. Die Grabdenkmäler evangelischer Landesherren im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation im Zeitalter der Konfessionalisierung* (Regensburg, 2009), p. 877.

5. Johann Leisentrit (1527-1586): Redefining Catholicism in a Lutheran Region

Johann Leisentrit, dean of the collegiate church of Saint Peter's in Bautzen, epitomizes the contradictions of religious change in Upper Lusatia. On the one hand, he followed papal instructions, reintroduced medieval Catholic elements into the liturgy and protected Catholics in an otherwise Lutheran region. On the other, he tolerated communion in both kinds, settled marriage disputes for Lutherans and performed baptisms in the vernacular. How can we reconcile these policies? Because Leisentrit has left a wealth of sources, it is possible to trace why a Catholic incorporated Lutheran elements into their religiosity.

The first part of this chapter considers those actions which follow previous historians' emphasis on a kind of toleration which was meant to keep order and peace in the urban community.[404] While this kind of grudging toleration born out of necessity played a part in Leisentrit's dealings with the Lutherans, the second part of this chapter shows that he went beyond what was necessary to keep peace between Lutherans and Catholics. By incorporating some Lutheran elements into his religiosity and 'de-Lutheranising' others, he hoped to forge a kind of Catholicism that could prevent further conversions. In this way, he hoped to keep the Catholic faith relevant and portray it as a viable alternative to Lutheranism. But the syncretism of Leisentrit also had its limits, as the final part of this chapter shows.

Leisentrit's upbringing in tolerant regions of Europe may go some way towards explaining the flexibility he showed in his theology. He was born in 1527 in the Moravian town of Olmütz into an artisan's family. His education in Olmütz, regarded as a stronghold of humanism, enabled him to study at the University of Krakow.[405] In

[404] See, for example, Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*.
[405] Gülden, *Leisentrits Pastoralliturgische Schriften*, p. 9.

March 1549, Leisentrit was ordained as a priest, then becoming tutor at the court of arch-duke Ferdinand in Prague. His time there explains his extensive personal connections to the Bohemian capital which he maintained throughout his life. In 1551 he was appointed canon (*Kanonikus*) of the collegiate church of Saint Peter's in Bautzen and in 1559, dean (*Dekan*) and general commissioner (*Generalkommisar*) for Upper and Lower Lusatia. This newly created position replaced the bishop of Meißen who had turned Lutheran in 1559. In 1567 he was appointed as apostolic administrator (*apostolischer Administrator*) by papal decree. Although papal representatives offered Leisentrit more lucrative and comfortable positions, including one in Vienna, he remained in Upper Lusatia, where he administered a largely Lutheran region.[406] He died in Bautzen in 1586 and was succeeded as apostolic administrator by his nephew Gregor Leisentrit.[407]

Leisentrit needed to promote a kind of Catholicism which could survive in a largely Lutheran region, and this led him to adopt a syncretistic approach. He published more than ten works, most of which addressed questions relevant to the specific context in which he found himself. Many of the works went through multiple editions, suggesting that they were popular at the time. His hymn book *Spiritual Songs and Psalms* (*Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen*) and his *Catholic Parish Book* (*Catholisch Pfarbuch*), which contains instructions on comforting the sick and dying, both had multiple editions, for example. Many of the works are richly illustrated, including woodcuts of Leisentrit himself (illustration seven) making it likely that they were specifically made for his works. The intended audience for the works seem to have been primarily Catholic clergy, but he also translated numerous tracts into German,

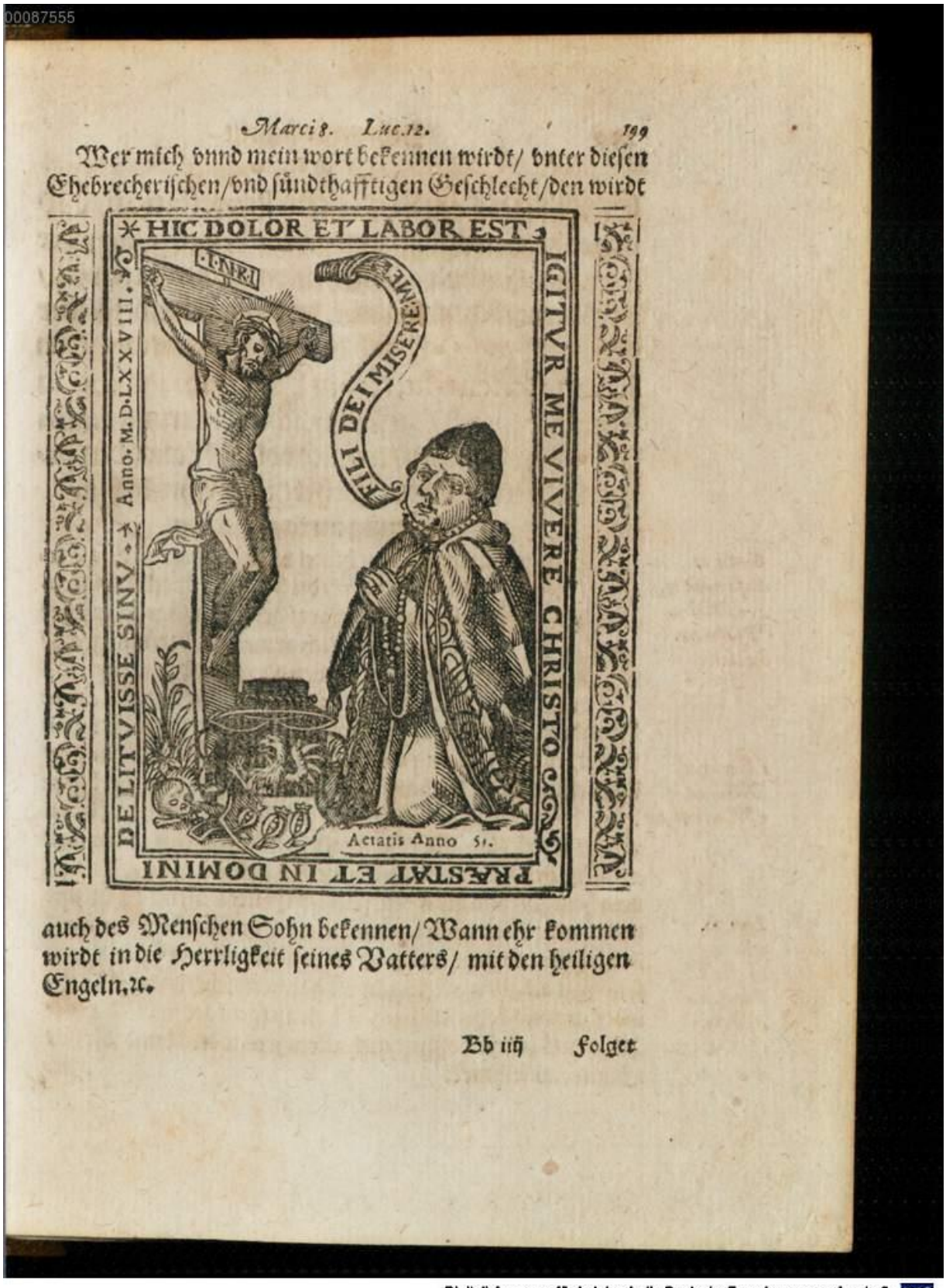
[406] On Leisentrit's influence on Lutheran clergy, see, for example, St Lö, Mscr. 25, *Acta die Besetzung des Primariats betr. 1568-1648.*
[407] Walter Gerblich, *Johann Leisentrit und die Administratur des Bistums Meißen in den Lausitzen* (Görlitz, 1931).

suggesting that he also hoped for a broader reception of his works.[408] We know of one reader, a certain Martin Schönberg who, in 1601, added some pious turns of phrase in Latin onto the inside of the cover of Leisentrit's *cursus piarum*.[409] Like many early modern readers, Schönberg personalized the book so must have valued it.[410]

In his capacity as apostolic administrator, the Catholic Leisentrit was responsible for the clerical policies of a Lutheran region.[411] So he was not only in charge of the Catholic minority population of the region but also of the Lutherans, for the ethnically German majority as well as for the Wends.[412] Although Lower Lusatia, the neighboring region of Upper Lusatia, never recognised Leisentrit's authority, Upper Lusatia did.[413] The already fragmented political situation of Upper Lusatia was further complicated through this constellation, as Leisentrit and his successors were the first point of contact regarding any religious matter. This meant, for example, that complaints about Lutheran preachers were addressed to Leisentrit and that questions about marital disputes were primarily put to him.[414] By focusing on Leisentrit's life and works, this chapter seeks to approach the Reformation through an unlikely protagonist: a Catholic.

[408] See also, Gülden, *Leisentrits Pastoralliturgische Schriften*.
[409] Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, 697.28 Theol, Johann Leisentrit, *Cursus Piarum Quarundam, vereque Evangelicarum Precum, quibus per totius* (Bautzen, 1571).
[410] On reader reception, see, for example R.C. Holub, *Reception Theory: A Critical Introduction* (London, 2003); R. Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe* (Cambridge, 1994).
[411] St Lö, Mscr. 25, *Acta die Besetzung des Primariats betr. 1568-1648.*
[412] For the Sobs, see Dannenberg, Scholze (eds.), *Stätten und Stationen religiösen Wirkens.*
[413] See Siegfried Seifert, *Johann Leisentrit, 1527 - 1586. Zum vierhundertsten Todestag* (Leipzig, 1987).
[414] For example St G, no signature, *Liber Missivarum, 1547-1567*; DAB, Loc. 0213, *Briefwechsel Johann Leisentritts, 1553-1584*.

Illustration Seven: Leisentrit, Catholisch Pfarbuch, *depiction of Leisentrit aged 51.*



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5.1 Syncretism as Compromise

Leisentrit had to tread quietly so as not to offend any of the powerful Lutheran town councils. Although he could complain to the king of Bohemia, he knew that the Catholics were in a precarious position. The Lutheran town councils' willingness to ask Leisentrit for advice, especially regarding marital disputes, shows that he was successful in keeping the two confessions in conversation. In some cases, these exchanges were highly pragmatic in nature. In a letter from the later sixteenth century, Leisentrit asked the town council of Lauban for game meat as he had run out and needed it for an upcoming wedding.[415] But in other instances, Leisentrit took on more surprising roles. The Görlitz town council exchanged more than thirty letters with Leisentrit, many of which concerned marriages.[416] Just as Martin Luther provided marital advice for many of his followers, Leisentrit was the primary provider of marital advice in Upper Lusatia.[417] In a letter from the late 1560s, for instance, the Görlitz town council wrote to him that Bernt Merten and Barbara Merten, probably Lutherans, had promised to marry each other with the blessing of their family and friends. They requested permission to 'celebrate the marriage' from the council, but since their grand-parents had been siblings, the council first wanted to ensure that the marriage was permissible. The council explained that they were aware of cases where such a marriage had already taken place, but that they wanted to make sure Bernt and Barbara could 'have each each other with a clear conscience'.[418] Similarly, in a letter from 30 July 1566, the council requested permission for a man to remarry after his wife had committed adultery and

[415] AB, 50/2914, *gerichtliche Sachen zwischen Rat und Kloster (1508-1785)*, not paginated.
[416] None of the letters refer to cross-confessional marriages. Records of marriages do not record the faith of the newly-weds and are mostly from a later period (Archiv der Evangelisch-lutherischen Kirchengemeinde Kamenz, *Kirchbuch 1: Taufbuch 1585-1616, Traubuch 1585-1646, Todtenbuch 1602-1646*; St B, 68001-664, *Tauf- und Heiratsurkunden (1607-1839)*.
[417] Lyndal Roper, *Martin Luther. Renegade and Prophet* (London, 2016), pp. 273-307.
[418] St G, no signature, *Liber Missivarum, 1547-1567*, pp. 417A-417B, 'hochzeitliche wirtschafft', 'mit gutem gewissen einander haben mögen'.

'60 men had come into her yard'.[419] She was subsequently chased out of town and the husband was allowed to marry again. Leisentrit was therefore not only an authority on marital issues, but also one on moral behaviour.

The kind of power Leisentrit held questions the paradigm that 'social disciplining' helped to harden confessional boundaries.[420] While there are indications that elements of public life like dancing and drinking were more closely regulated by the town councils after the Reformation, marriage disputes remained a cross-confessional matter, where the Catholic dean advised Lutherans and Catholics alike.[421] Although the letters seem to have had an advisory rather than a binding function for the council, they are nonetheless telling. As a Catholic, Leisentrit would have followed Catholic teachings on marriage, not Lutheran ones. It would have been just as easy for the Görlitz town council to write to the University of Wittenberg or Lutheran theologians when requiring information on marriage. The practice of asking the Catholic dean for advice on marriage continued beyond Leisentrit's death and into the seventeenth century.[422] The deans remained the primary point of contact for questions of church doctrine, regardless of the power the Lutherans possessed within the town. The kind of peaceful coexistence that Leisentrit was so keen on preserving was therefore a mutual affair: Lutherans, too, were willing to listen to Catholics. This was only possible, of course, because of the Upper Lusatian political context, where no Lutheran consistory or other evangelical body enforced religious orthodoxy.[423]

Leisentrit established the communication channels which enabled Catholics later in the sixteenth century to keep a foothold in an otherwise Lutheran region. One

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[419] St G, no signature, *Liber Missivarum, 1547-1567*, pp. 564A-564B, 'bei jr kommen 60 mann jn hoffe'.
[420] See Hsia, *Social Discipline*; Karant-Nunn, *Reformation of Ritual* who argues that church and state wanted to create a moral earthly community.
[421] Fröde, *Privilegien und Statuten.* On marriage, see also Plummer, *Clerical Marriage and the Process of Reform*. St G, no signature, *Liber Missivarum, 1547-1567*.
[422] St G, no signature, *Liber Missivarum, 1603-1605*, p. 108.
[423] See chapter two above.

example of his negotiation skills is an agreement between the nuns of Lauban, whom he visited regularly, and the Lutheran town council, dating from the 1560s. The convent's right to appoint the town preacher had become a problem for the Lutherans once the Reformation had been introduced. Leisentrit negotiated a compromise which resulted in the peaceful transition of that right from the convent to the town council.[424] The town council was allowed to appoint their own preacher, but in turn had to pay for his subsistence, lodging and all other expenses. In order to cover that cost, the convent gave their tenth (*decem*) to the town council. The council agreed, in turn, to protect the convent from any insults or violence.[425] Overall, this settlement was more favourable to the town councilors who managed to gain the right to appoint their own preachers and also received funds to pay for them. Nonetheless, the convent received some concessions which was already an achievement, as the Catholics were in a weak position and far outnumbered and, after all, the convent of Lauban survived the Reformation.

Leisentrit was not only willing to work with the Lutherans in political matters, he also incorporated Lutheran elements into his liturgy. Baptisms in Bautzen show how carefully the Catholics had to negotiate their position to ensure that they did not challenge the Lutherans too much.[426] Catholics were the only ones allowed to administer baptisms in Bautzen so Lutherans received baptisms from Catholic clergy. But, according to Johann Leisentrit's 1585 preface to his *Forma Germanico idiomate baptisandi infants*, for many decades, baptisms by Catholics were given according to

[424] DAB, Loc. 7107, *Acta allerlei protestantische Pfarrer und Pfarreien betrf: 1547-1902 I. Konvolut 1547-1593.* See also St B, 50009-183, *Aufzeichnungen und Abschriften in Oberlausitzer Landessachen*, fol. 869A.
[425] Carpzov, *Neueröffneter Ehren-Tempel*, pp. 299-300. In Kamenz, negotiations surrounding the tenth were similarly drawn-out (St K, 5587B, *Forderung nach Dekem- und Spendenkorn seitens des Kirchenpatronats (1572-1738)*
[426] DAB, Loc. 0028, *Acta, Verhandlungen, Gravamina und Compactata den Rat und die Domkirche betrf. II. Konvolut, 1599-1600.*

'Martin Luther's German rite'.[427] When he asked his Catholic clergy why they had done so, they replied that they had never seen any Catholic instructions on baptisms and therefore had to resort to Luther's instructions.[428]

But Leisentrit had to prioritise which changes he wanted to make. So he reintroduced the use of salt, holy oils, spittle to open the ears of the child and multiple exorcism in his rite. But the baptisms were still in German, so he did not reverse all Lutheran elements in the baptism ritual. To Leisentrit, the use of the vernacular was acceptable and he justified it by citing Catholics who argued that baptisms could be performed in the vernacular, for example the Dominican monk Bartholomeo Fumo.[429] Though Leisentrit complained in a letter to Rome about Lutherans claiming to be Catholic so as to have their children baptized, there is no indication that the Catholics made any serious effort to stop the Lutherans receiving baptisms throughout the sixteenth century.[430] Leisentrit was forced to compromise: Latin baptisms would have been one step too far and might have angered the Lutheran town council, so he focused on what he deemed to be more essential parts of the baptismal rite instead.[431]

Leisentrit knew that his willingness to perform baptisms in the vernacular was not in line with Catholic doctrine. This is indicated by a draft letter to Pope Pius V. from 1567, where he asked if he could perform baptisms in the vernacular. The request only featured in the draft and not in the final letter.[432] It is likely that Leisentrit knew the Pope would not have allowed him to compromise with the Lutherans in this manner and so decided to quietly carry on with his idiosyncratic baptisms without papal permission. Remarkably, Leisentrit openly displayed these liturgical compromises in his *Forma*

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[427] Johann Leisentrit, *Forma germanico idiomate baptisandi infantes, secundum catholicaeveraeque apostolicae ecclesiae ritum […]: nebst einer Kirchenordnung* (Cologne, 1585); Gülden, *Leisentrits Pastoralliturgische Schriften*, p. 188, 'Teutsche Forma Martini Lutheri'.
[428] Gülden *Leisentrits Pastoralliturgische Schriften*, pp. 188-190.
[429] Ibid., p. 190.
[430] Ibid., pp. 159-203.
[431] See also, Luebke, *Hometown Religion*, pp. 49-74.
[432] Gülden, *Leisentrits Pastoralliturgische Schriften*, pp. 114-117.

Germanico but there is no evidence that he was ever admonished by papal representatives to stop these German baptisms. In order to keep the fragile peace in Bautzen, Leisentrit had to act pragmatically and concede some ground to the Lutherans, even if this meant bending Catholic doctrine. The syncretistic Reformation of Upper Lusatia also has a Catholic counter-part, as they incorporated Lutheran elements into their liturgies.

The second sacrament shared by Lutherans and Catholics, communion, underwent a similar redefinition by Leisentrit who emphasized that people should have the possibility to receive communion in one kind, but also mentioned communion in both kinds.[433] Tellingly, he did not attack the Lutherans and their communion but rather explained why a communion in one kind was just as valid. In a section of his *Catholic Parish Book* entitled 'Another short and Christian account of the consecration and order of the highly dignified sacrament of the altar in one and both kinds', Leisentrit starts by writing that 'it is, furthermore, highly necessary for any Christian person to know, especially in the current times, that the highly dignified sacrament of the altar may be given not only in both kinds but may also be given in one kind to those who desire so in a Christian manner'.[434] The main argument for communion in one kind in this tract is their long Catholic tradition.[435]

Radmila Prchal Pavlíčková has argued that the *Catholic Parish Book* is an example of Leisentrit's anti-Lutheran polemic and that he opposed communion in both kinds.[436] But, as the quotes above show, Leisentrit merely sees communion in one kind

[433] Leisentrit, *Catholisch Pfarbuch*, pp. 60-70.
[434] Ibid., p. 65, 'Ein ander kürtzer und Christlicher Bericht / von einsetzung und anordnung des Hochwirdigen Sacraments des altars in einer und beider gestaldt. Es ist weitter einem jeden Christen menschen hoch von nöthen zu wissen / vornelich jtziger zeit daß das Hochwirdige Sacrament des Altars nicht allein in beider / sonder auch / die es christlich begere[n] / in einer gestaldt / mag gereichet und gegeben werden'.
[435] For the Eucharist in a biconfessional region, see also Luebke, *Hometown Religion*, pp. 74-104.
[436] Radmila Prchal Pavlíčková, '"Unter den Ketzern zu leben und zu sterben ist gar schwerlich und geferlich." Das Sterbebuch des Johann Leisentritt im Kontext der katholischen Sterbebücher des 16.

as an alternative to communion in both kinds. In fact, as communion in both kinds features so heavily in multiple tracts and Leisentrit's primary audience were Catholic priests, it is likely that they performed communion in both kinds in Upper Lusatia.

The frequent references to communion in Leisentrit's works suggest that this liturgical element was of great importance to him. In another short tract, he approached the issue through a dialogue between a sick man and a priest. The purpose of this tract is two-fold. First, the fictitious priest explains to the sick man why a communion in one kind is just as valid as a communion in both kinds. The priest uses biblical explanations, historical precedents and practical considerations, such as the difficulties of transporting wine to remote countries.[437] After the sick man is convinced that a communion in one kind has the same powers as that in both kinds, the tract turns to Calvinist challenges to the Eucharist and argues that Christ is truly present in the host.[438] Although theologically, communion in one kind was preferable, Leisentrit was willing to tolerate the Lutheran stance on the matter because he considered it to be the lesser of two evils.[439] Much more problematic was the Calvinists' denial of the real presence in communion.[440] For Leisentrit, the preservation of Catholicism demanded a pragmatic approach to choosing potential allies: while he cooperated frequently with Lutheran town councils, he wrote more strongly against Calvinism.[441]

A woodcut of a communion in both kinds in Leisentrit hymn book of 1567 raises the question whether these references were meant to enable Lutheran clergy in Lusatia

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Jahrhunderts' in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte - Archive for Reformation History* 107 (2016), pp. 193-216.

[437] Leisentrit, *Catholisch Pfarbuch*, pp. 63-71.

[438] Ibid., p. 77.

[439] Leisentrit, *Geistliche Lieder*.

[440] For a Lutheran perspective on this dynamic, see Bridget Heal, '"Better Papist than Calvinist": Art and Identity in Later Lutheran Germany' in *German History*, 29/4, 2011, pp. 584-609.

[441] Leisentrit, *Catholisch Pfarbuch*, pp. 7-12; Johann Leisentrit, *Kurtze Fragstücke Von dem Hochwirdigen Sacrament des Altars vnter gestalt Brodts vnd Weins vnd darauff volgende antwort vnd vnterweisungen* (Cologne, 1578).

to use Leisentrit's works.[442] The woodcut, which is based on a similar one in the Lutheran hymn book of Valentin Babst, displays two lay recipients of bread and chalice without criticizing this practice in the surrounding texts (illustration eight) and is clearly modelled on the Lutheran version but had a different block. This suggests that the Catholic version was made specifically to imitate the Lutheran woodcut. Several of Leisentrit's works contain the description 'Catholic' in the title. This, however, could also mean universal, rather than being a confessional description. As discussed above, officially Leisentrit was responsible for Lutheran clergy as well. There is no evidence that any Lutherans used Leisentrit's works and determining conclusively if Leisentrit wanted to appeal to Lutheran clerics is impossible but the nature of Leisentrit's position within Lusatia and the Lutheran features of his works make it possible that Lutherans could have used his works.

[442] Leisentrit, *Geistliche Lieder vnd Psalmen*, p. CCXVIII. See also, Walther Lipphardt, *Leisentrits Gesangbuch von 1567* (Leipzig, 1964), pp. 8-11.

Illustration Eight: Illustrations from the Lutheran hymn book by Valentin Pabst (left) and the illustration of communion in both kinds in Leisentrit's hymn book (right).





In contrast to Catholicism in other regions of the empire, Leisentrit's interpretation of his religion was open to Lutheran elements, more than ten years after the Peace of Augsburg which supposedly led to a hardening of confessional boundaries. In Westphalia, for example, communion was a confessional marker later in the sixteenth century, while other elements of Lutheranism could be shared with Catholics.[443] The political background of Upper Lusatia and its proximity to Bohemia might have played a role in Leisentrit's approach. The Pope had granted bishops the right to perform communion in both kinds as a sign of appreciation for Ferdinand I.'s and Albrecht V. of Bavaria's willingness to agree to the Tridentine reforms. Although Leisentrit hoped to

[443] Luebke, *Hometown Religion*, 74-104.

turn Lusatia into a bishopric, he never managed to convince the pope and as such he never had that right.[444] The archbishop of Prague, with whom Leisentrit was in regular contact, was also known to be lenient towards Lutherans.[445] It is also from Bohemia that the practice of using a non-consecrated chalice (*scyphus*) originates. What looks like a communion in both kinds in depictions may therefore in fact represent a local variation of the Catholic communion, in which lay members of the congregation received wine from the *scyphus*. Leisentrit's connections to Bohemia and his awareness of broader theological developments make it likely that he knew at least some of these practices.[446]

The examples discussed so far show how important it was for Leisentrit to keep the peace in Bautzen, and Upper Lusatia more broadly. As he knew from Lower Lusatia, it was by no means a given that his powers were acknowledged by Lutheran actors. Leisentrit was a valued advisor for Lutherans, with whom he exchanged letters but he, in turn, was willing to incorporate Lutheran elements into his services to ensure that the two confession could find a middle way and the peace in the town was kept. But, as the next part will argue, Leisentrit also sought to manipulate Lutheran confessional elements, incorporating some of them into his belief system in an adapted form.

5.2 Competing for Souls

Leisentrit had to face the possibility that the last Catholics of Lusatia might be converted to Lutheranism. He perceived how powerful Lutheranism could be and how quickly it had spread in a region ruled by a Catholic king. So besides compromising with

[444] See, Gerblich, *Leisentrit und die Administratur des Bistums Meißen*.
[445] See, Seifert, *Johann Leisentrit*.
[446] For an overview of these developments in Bohemia, see Zdenek V. David, *Finding the Middle Way: The Utraquists' Liberal Challenge to Rome and Luther* (Washington, 2003), especially pp. 143-278.

the Lutherans to keep the peace in Bautzen, he also had to see which elements could be incorporated into Catholicism and in this way establish Catholicism as a viable alternative to Lutheranism. Regarding songs, for example, he stated that:

> Daily all kinds of defiant, rebellious blasphemous and disgraceful songs are composed, sung and used to the contempt of the proper authorities and destruction of the old Christian faith, not only in front of and in the houses, but also publicly in the house of God. [447]

To counteract this spread of heretical songs, Leisentrit chose a seemingly contradictory approach: He included more than sixty non-Catholic songs in his hymn book.[448] These were from sources as varied as Martin Luther, Jan Hus, the Bohemian Brethren and Thomas Müntzer. Some of the songs were adapted in order to make them more Catholic.[449] However, other hymns were kept unchanged and the majority of the songs were in the German vernacular. Leisentrit also borrowed numerous melodies from non-Catholic sources. Clearly, Leisentrit thought that only *some* non-Catholic songs were problematic, while others could easily be incorporated into Catholic worship. As Lutheran songs have a long tradition of being interpreted as potent parts of Lutheran culture, this flexibility on Leisentrit's part shows how broadly he defined his Catholic beliefs.[450] He knew how popular Lutheran songs were and so rather than fighting them, he wanted to ensure that people only sang those which were in line with Catholic doctrine.

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[447] Leisentrit, *Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen*, p. 9, 'teglich allerley trötzige auffrürische lester und schandlieder so wol zuverachtung ordentlicher obrigkeit als zuvertilgung des alden christlichen glaubens gemacht gesungen und gebraucht nit allein vor und in den heusern sondern auch offentlich indem hauss Gottes'.

[448] See Irmgard Scheitler, 'Kirchengesang und Konfession. Die konfessionssymbolische Bedeutung des Kirchenlieds von der Reformation bis zur Aufklärung', in Brademann, Thies (eds.), *Liturgisches Handeln,* pp. 335-364, especially p. 340.

[449] For mocking adaptations, see Judith Pollman, '"Hey ho, let the cup go round!" Singing for Reformation in the sixteenth century' in Heinz Schilling, Istvan Gyorgy Toth (eds.), *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe* (4vols., Cambridge, 2006), vol. 1, pp. 294–316.

[450] See also Erika Heitmeyer, Richard Wetzel*, Johann Leisentrit's Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen, 1567. Hymnody of the Counter-Reformation in Germany* (Plymouth, 2014).

The hymn *Keep us by your Word, Lord* (*Bey deinem Wort Erhalt uns Herr*) by Martin Luther provides an example of the adaptations Leisentrit made.[451] In his hymn book, the song appears under the title *Keep us by your church, Lord* (*Bey Deiner Kirch erhalt uns, Herr*). This slight change moves the focus away from Luther's *sola scriptura*, and emphasizes the institution of the church instead. Since the contents of the original song were polemical and directed against the 'Pope and Turks', one might expect that Leisentrit could have turned the polemic on its head and directed it against Luther. Interestingly, however, Leisentrit did not go as far as Luther in the polemical dimension of this hymn.[452] Instead, Leisentrit chose to direct his song against 'heretics and Turks' ('Ketzer und Türken'). Throughout the adapted hymn, Leisentrit kept on referring to heretics and sects whom he hopes will be punished by God alongside the Turks. While it is likely that Leisentrit did not want to offend any Lutherans whom he relied on in daily interactions, he also could have omitted the song altogether. Instead, he hoped to 'de-Lutheranise' a popular hymn and bring it in line with Catholic teaching.

Leisentrit's adaptations also extended to other songs from non-Catholic sources. In fact, the very first song in his hymn book is a German translation of the Latin hymn *Conditor alme siderum* by Thomas Müntzer, leader of the Peasants' War, with the title *God, Holy Creator of All the Stars* (*Gott, heilger Schöpfer aller Stern*).[453] What is missing from Leisentrit's version, however, is the fifth verse. It contained allusions to Müntzer's own theology, centering on divine order and the visibility of God's will to a true believer.[454] Other minor changes in the wording also make the hymn more orthodoxly Catholic. The adaptation of Müntzer's translation shows that Leisentrit's

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[451] Heitmeyer, Wetzel, *Johann Leisentrit's Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen*, pp. 47-51.
[452] For early anti-Lutheran polemics in Poland, see Natalia Nowakowska, 'High clergy and printers: anti-Reformation polemic in the kingdom of Poland, 1520-36', in *Historical Research*, 87/235, 2014, pp. 43-64.
[453] Leisentrit, *Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen*, p. III.
[454] Siegfried Bräuer, 'Gott, heilger Schöpfer aller Stern' in Gerhard Hahn, Jürgen Henkys (eds.), *Liederkunde zum Evangelischen Gesangbuch. Nr. 5* (Göttingen, 2002), pp. 5-8.

hymn book was carefully composed and that he was aware which elements of songs were not compatible with Catholic theology.

But some texts were also included without any changes. The Christmas hymn *We should praise Christ beautifully* (*Christum wir sollen loben schon*), written by Martin Luther, is an example of a hymn that was included by Leisentrit unaltered. The emphasis on Mary and the birth of Jesus were elements that Catholics and Lutherans shared and it is therefore not surprising that Leisentrit did not see the need to change the text. Luther's authorship, however, makes the inclusion remarkable nonetheless. Leisentrit intended to increase the appeal of his hymn book by selecting popular songs which emphasized the common ground between Lutherans and Catholics, hoping that in this way he would be able to replace heretical songs with ones that followed Catholic doctrine. The key factor for inclusion of the songs was thus not their author, but rather their content.

Although Leisentrit was exceptional in how far he was willing to go in his syncretism, the reception of his works shows that other Catholics, too, participated in the same kind of flexible religiosity. A re-print of a selection of songs from Leisentrit's hymn book, printed in Dillingen in 1576 and ordered by Veit II von Würzburg, bishop of Bamberg, suggests that it was widely known.[455] The selection printed in 1576 remained the benchmark for permissible songs in the diocese of Bamberg and a mandate from 1603 reminded the congregation to only sing songs contained in the section on Christmas during that time.[456] The list includes the Lutheran classic *From*

[455] On Veit II., see Wilhelm Hotzelt, *Veit II. von Würzburg. Fürstbischof von Bamberg 1561-1577* (Freiburg, 1919); on the bishopric of Bamberg, Dieter J. Weiss, *Das exemte Bistum Bamberg 3. Die Bischofsreihe von 1522 bis 1693* (Berlin and New York, 2000), especially pp. 167-337.
[456] Archiv des Erzbistums Bamberg, *Bamberger Verordnungen*, B 26 c 1V, pp. 120B-122B. The Christmas songs are: *Gelobt seist du Jesu Christ, Der Tag ist so freudenreich, In dulci jubilo, Ein Kind geboren zu Bethlehem, Christum wir sollen loben, Dies est laetitiae, puer natus in Bethlehem, Resonet in laudibus, Preis sei Gott im höchsten Thron, Es ist ein Kindlein uns geboren, In natali domini, Nobis est natus hodie, nun freyet euch alle Christen, vom Himmel hoch*. See also Archiv des Erzbistums Bamberg, Geistliche Regierung 114, *Vorgang zu Gesangbuch/ Breviar*; Archiv des Erzbistums Bamberg, B 86 11, *Domkapitelsche Rezessbücher*, p. 269.

Heaven Above to Earth I Come (*Vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her*) though it is not directly linked to Luther.[457] Just like Leisentrit, the mandate shows particular concern for the 'worldly and despicable songs' sung by the common people.[458] The recurring use of Lutheran songs by Catholics suggests that hymns, even those by Luther, were not a fixed confessional marker.[459]

People from further afield did not only copy Leisentrit's hymn book, he and his cathedral chapter also provided a point of contact for other Catholics. In 1570 the council of the imperial free city of Schwäbisch Gmünd in Swabia, one of the few imperial free cities that remained Catholic, wrote to the chapter asking for advice on a man who claimed to be from Bautzen and now misbehaved.[460] They also commented on a recent comet they had seen and the sorry state of the world, now that Lutheranism was advancing ever further. Alongside the letter they sent some wine which they hoped would please the members of the chapter.[461] No reply from Bautzen survives. For the Catholic council of Schwäbisch Gmünd, the natural point of contact were the fellow Catholics of the cathedral chapter and not Bautzen's Lutheran town council.

Just as Leisentrit went beyond what was necessary in his hymn book, his instructions for the sick and dying contained Lutheran elements aimed at ensuring the continued relevance of Catholicism. In order to understand Leisentrit's instructions for the sick and dying, it is necessary to first discuss what an ideal Catholic or Lutheran deathbed looked like.[462] Medieval Catholic *ars moriendi* instructed congregants on how

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[457] Archiv des Erzbistums Bamberg, *Bamberger Verordnungen*, B 26 c 1V, pp. 120B-122B.
[458] Ibid., 'weltliche und schendliche lieder'.
[459] There is no indication that Leisentrit had a connection to Bamberg, and no letters between Bautzen and Bamberg survive (St Bam, B 23 80, *Bamberger Korrespondenzen, Correspondenz Bischof Veit II 1561-1577*).
[460] DAB, Loc. 7107, *Acta allerlei protestantische Pfarrer und Pfarreien betrf: 1547-1902 I. Konvolut 1547-1593*, letter 8.
[461] The list of wine used as a present are contained in Stadtarchiv Schwäbisch Gmünd, XIV/i, 86, *Stadtrechnung 1570*. Though the wine sent to Bautzen is not explicitly mentioned there, it shows that the council of Schwäbisch Gmünd frequently made such presents.
[462] For an Anglican deathbed, see Danae Tankard, 'The Reformation of the Deathbed in mid-sixteenth-century England' in *Mortality*, 8/3, 2003, pp. 251-267.

to die a proper death, and their priests on the appropriate behaviour.[463] This tradition started with works such as Anselm of Canterbury's *Admonitio Morienti* or Johannes Gersons *De artes Moriendi* (1400/1401). One type of *ars moriendi* also contained images depicting a pious death.[464] These medieval illustrations show a dying person surrounded by saints and Jesus on one side and demons on the other, symbolizing a struggle for the soul of the dying person.[465] Together with the accompanying texts, the illustrations propagate the idea that a dying person has to die a proper death to reduce the time spent in purgatory.

What did this proper death look like? Once someone was bedridden, the family or friends of the sick person called upon the priest, who held a procession with the host to the house of the sick person. Once the Catholic preacher had reached the house, his work consisted of three essential parts. First, he listened to the dying person's confession and granted them absolution from their sins, second, he held a communion with the consecrated host and, finally, he anointed the sick with blessed oil. Other sacramentals included the sprinkling of holy water onto the sick people, and they, in turn, could display their religiosity by kissing a crucifix or holding a candle.[466]

After the Reformation, changes to these deathbed rituals were initially limited. In 1519, Martin Luther still retained penance, absolution and communion for the dying.[467] Extreme unction became an *adiaphora*, while the apotropaic functions of holy water and the blessed candles were challenged. Later, Luther removed extreme unction

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[463] Hansjakob Becker, Dominik Fugger, Joachim Pritzkat, Katja Süß (eds.*), Liturgie im Angesicht des Todes. Reformatorische und Katholische Traditionen der Neuzeit II: Katholische Traditionen* (Tübingen and Basel, 2004); Mary Catharine O'Connor, *The Art of dying well; the development of the Ars moriendi* (Columbia, 1942).
[464] See Claudia Resch, *Im Angesicht des Todes. Frühe reformatorische Anleitungen zur Seelsorge an Kranken und Sterbenden* (Tübingen and Basel, 2006), pp. 36-39; Lionel Crust, *The Master E.S. and the 'Ars Moriendi'. A Chapter in the History of Engraving during the XVth Century* (Oxford, 1898).
[465] Crust, *Master E.S. and 'Ars Moriendi',* pp. 25-35.
[466] Pavlickova, 'Sterbebuch des Johann Leisentrit', pp. 197-198.
[467] Ottfried Jordahn, 'Sterbebegleitung und Begräbnis bei Martin Luther' in Becker, et. al., *Liturgie im Angesicht des Todes*, pp. 1-23.

from the last rites completely.[468] But there were also significant local variations. In the church ordinance of electoral Brandenburg from 1540, the procession to the dying person's house was retained.[469] By the middle of the sixteenth century, when Lutheran orthodoxies had been more clearly defined, last rites were significantly simplified. Now, a Lutheran cleric would only provide confession and absolution and then give the dying person communion in both kinds. No part of this process was considered to be a sacrament, unlike the Catholic last rites. Extreme unction, references to purgatory and the procession of the host were abandoned. Lutheran clerics developed their own version of *ars moriendi*. Their deathbed manuals focused more heavily on Christ than their Catholic counter-parts. The emphasis on solace ('Trost') was so pronounced that many of the Lutheran *ars moriendi* were called *Trostbüchlein* (solace booklets).[470]

The presence of multiple confessions in Upper Lusatia meant that Leisentrit had to clarify which of these two competing rites should be employed. Rather than strictly enforcing Catholic orthodoxies, and much like with his hymn books, he compromised to ensure Catholic clergy could compete with their Lutheran counterparts. The instructions come from Leisentrit's *Catholisch Pfarbuch* printed in Cologne in 1578. Most of the tracts were written as dialogues between the priest and the sick or dying person. The instructions retain central elements of Catholicism. In line with Catholic doctrine, Leisentrit stressed the importance of extreme unction, a recommendation he also repeated in other works.[471] The priest was instructed to tell the sick person that it was a 'holy remedy', instituted by Jesus, and to assure people of its salvific powers.[472] Extreme unction is also depicted in a woodcut that is used in both Leisentrit's hymn

[468] Ibid.
[469] Ottfried Jordahn, 'Sterbebegleitung und Begräbnis in reformatorischen Kirchenordnungen', in Becker, et. al., *Liturgie im Angesicht des Todes*, p. 38.
[470] For example, Johann Spangenberg, *Ein new TrostBuechlin fur die Krancken Vnd Vom Christlichen Ritter* (Wittenberg, 1548).
[471] Johann Leisentrit, *Forma germanico idiomate baptisandi infantes, secundum catholicaeveraeque apostolicae ecclesiae ritum* […]*: nebst einer Kirchenordnung* (Cologne, 1585), p. 38.
[472] Ibid., 'heiliges mittel'.

book from 1567 and the *Catholic Parish Book* (illustration nine). In this woodcut, a priest is administering the sacrament with a man and a woman in attendance. The illustration forms part of a depiction of the Seven Sacraments, placing this woodcut firmly in a Catholic tradition. Leisentrit also recommended that the dying person should hold a candle and that priests should sprinkle holy water onto the sick person.

Another woodcut from Leisentrit's Catholic hymn book illustrates both the Catholic rituals he wrote about and the centrality of domestic devotion for a dying person.[473] Illustration ten shows a priest and a boy administering the last rites to a bed-ridden man.[474] The scene is distinctly Catholic in nature, as the boy is dispensing holy water with an *aspergilus* and the priest is holding up a crucifix which, according to Leisentrit, allowed the sick and dying to contemplate Christ's sacrifice for them.[475] The sick man is holding up a candle in line with Catholic rituals, a common trope which can also be found in scenes of Mary's deathbed.[476] According to Leisentrit, the candle served as a reminder of the light of Jesus who led everyone out of eternal darkness, providing a Christocentric explanation that also would have been acceptable to Lutherans.[477] What makes this woodcut particularly interesting is that it is poised between domestic and exterior ritual: the wall of the bed chamber stops short of the priest, above whose head clouds suggest that he is outside and not quite part of the domestic scene. The cloud above his head might suggest an earthly and heavenly

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[473] Leisentrit, *Geistliche Lieder vnd Psalmen*. See also Erika Heitmeyer, *Das Gesangbuch von Johann Leisentrit 1567. Adaption als Merkmal von Struktur und Genese früher deutscher Gesangbuchlieder* (St. Ottilien, 1988).
[474] On the woodcuts in the hymn book, see Jan Harasimowicz, 'Zur Ikonographie der Bautzener und Görlitzer Drucke im 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert' in Bahlcke, Dudeck (eds.), *Welt-Macht-Geist*, pp. 163–176; Erin Lambert, 'Singing Together and Seeing Differently: Confessional Boundaries in the Illustrated Hymnal' in Feike Dietz, Adam Morton, Lien Roggen, Els Stronks, Marc van Vaeck (eds.), *Illustrated Religious Texts in the North of Europe, 1500-1800* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 257-274. For a list of the woodcuts in the three editions, see Lipphardt, *Johann Leisentrits Gesangbuch*, pp. 8-11.
[475] Gülden, *Leisentrits Pastoralliturgische Schriften*, pp. 151-154.
[476] For the candle as a symbol of faith, see also Alexandra Walsham, "Domesticating the Reformation: Material Culture, Memory, and Confessional Identity in Early Modern England" in *Renaissance Quarterly*, 69, 2016, pp. 566-616, p. 594.
[477] Leisentrit, *Catholisch Pfarbuch*, p. 148.

division. The priest is thus located at the intersection of two spaces, illustrating the liminality of the space in which the rituals of dying were performed: between public and domestic, sacred and profane, inside and outside, life and death. Leisentrit wanted to regulate this liminal space, which he knew was much harder to control than church spaces.

Illustration Nine: Woodcut of the seven Catholic sacraments.

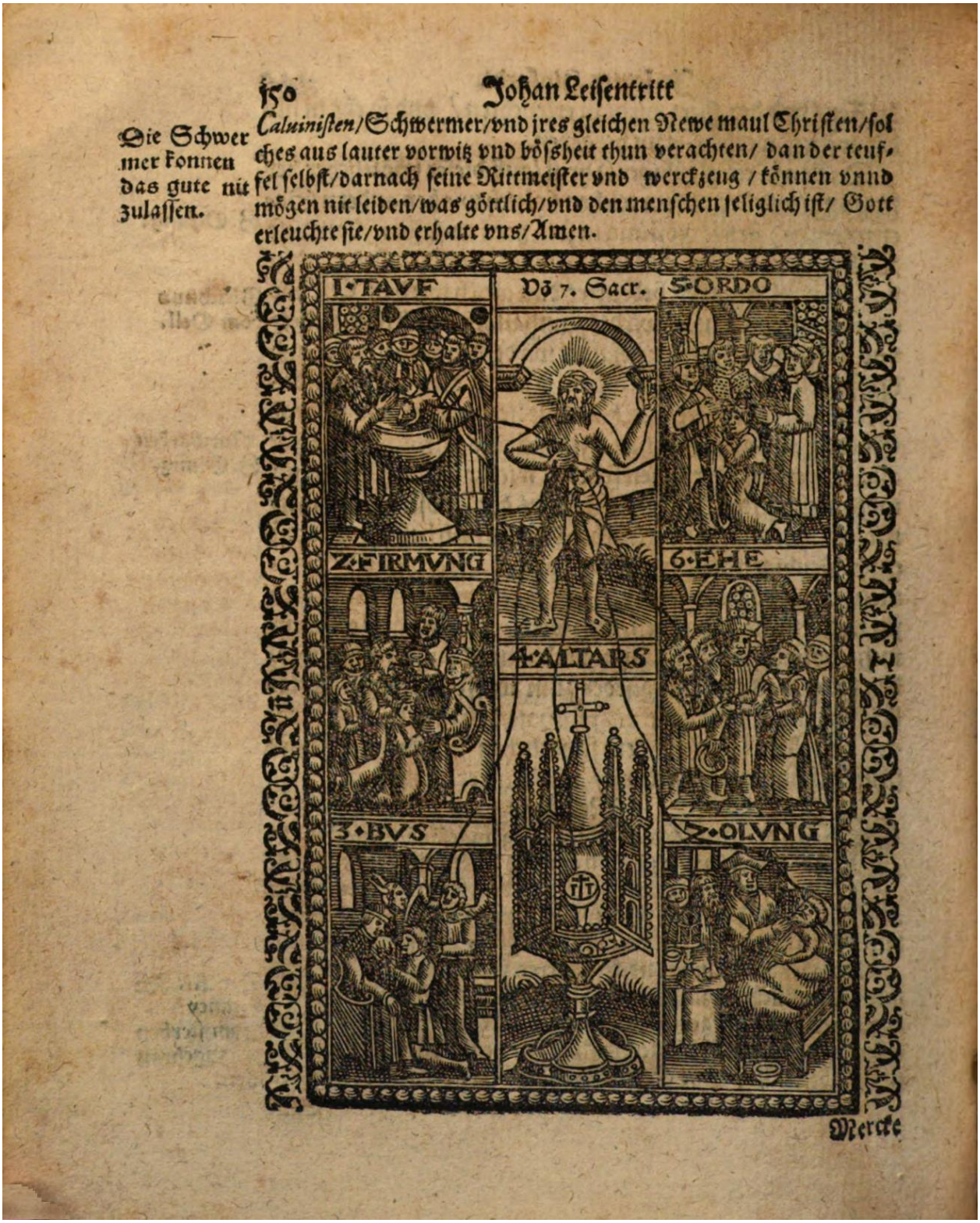
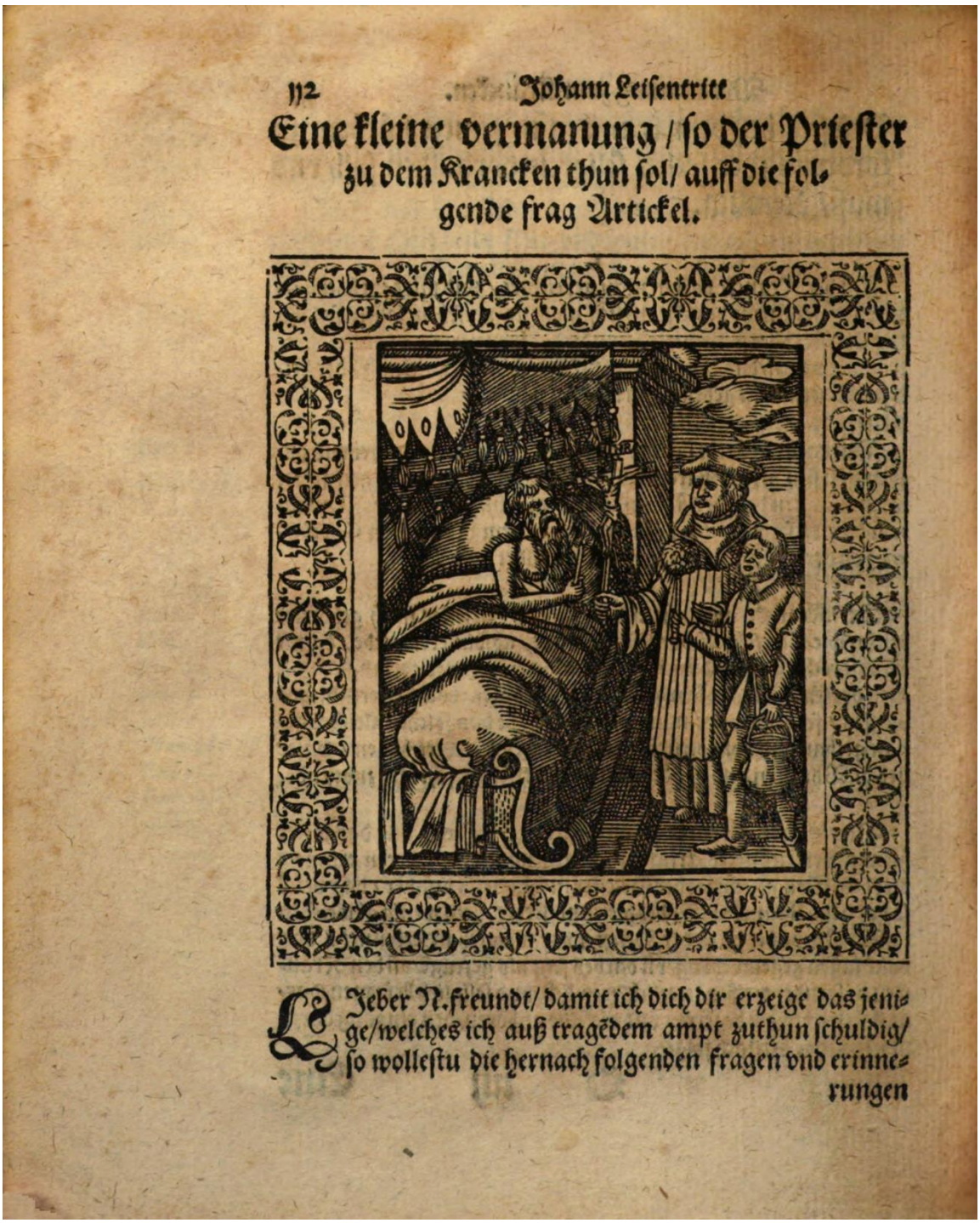


Illustration Ten: Woodcut depicting the administration of last rites by a Catholic priest, including a candle for the dying, holy water, and a crucifix.



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Eine kleine vermanung / so der Priester zu dem Krancken thun sol / auff die folgende frag Artickel.

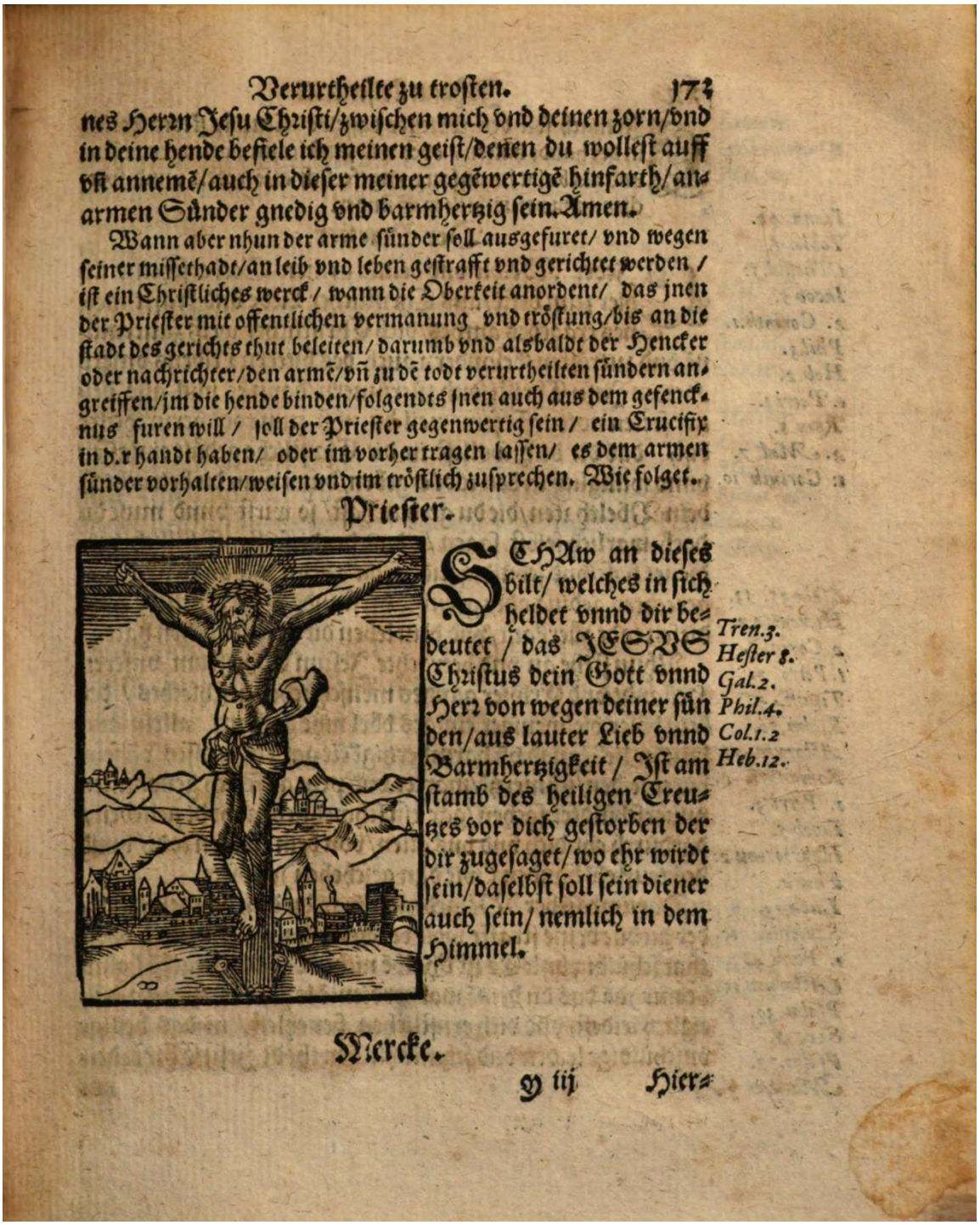
LIeber N. freundt / damit ich dich dir erzeige das jenige / welches ich auß tragēdem ampt zuthun schuldig / so wollestu die hernach folgenden fragen vnd erinnerungen

Leisentrit abandoned a number of important Catholic elements in his instructions, suggesting that he was willing to compromise with the Lutherans on anything he did not deem to be an essential part of the last rites. There is no reference to the procession of the consecrated host and although he stressed the importance of saints in other works, saintly intercession is absent from the last dying words of the repentant sinner. Instead, they consist of a prayer to Jesus. Indeed, Leisentrit only devoted a single page in his *Catholic Parish Book* to saintly intervention in relation to death and sickness.[478] This stands in stark contrast to other contemporary Catholic *ars moriendi,* which contain frequent references to saints. In Adam Walasser's *Art of Dying Well* (*Kunst wohl zusterben*) from 1569, a whole chapter is dedicated to saints and their deaths.[479] The focus on Jesus rather than saintly intercession also finds its visual equivalent in a woodcut in Leisentrit's *Catholisch Pfarbuch,* which depicts Jesus on the cross without Mary or any other saints surrounding him (illustration eleven).[480] This was one of the rare occasions where the priest was instructed on how to use an image. The priest was supposed to say: 'Look at this image which contains in itself and signifies to you that Jesus Christ […] died for you'.[481] The absence of saints and angels from most of the woodcuts is another notable difference to the illustrations in medieval Catholic *ars moriendi*.[482] There is also no reference to the Catholic practice of kissing the crucifix or to purgatory. Adam Walasser's instructions, in contrast, contain both an explanation of purgatory and a woodcut showing angels pulling souls out of

[478] Leisentrit, *Catholisch Pfarbuch,* p. 55.
[479] Adam Walasser, *Kunst wol zusterben: Ein gar nutzliches Hochnothwendiges Büchlein auß heyliger Schrifft vnnd alten bewehrten Lehrern, mit sonderm fleiß gezogen, vnd mit schönen Exempeln vnd Figurn gezieret* (Dillingen, 1597), pp. 255-270. For an Italian comparison, see Donal Cooper, 'Devotion' in Marta Ajmar-Wollheim, Floria Dennnis (eds.), *At Home in Renaissance Italy* (London, 2006), pp. 190-205.
[480] Leisentrit, *Catholisch Pfarbuch*, p. 172.
[481] Ibid. 'Schaw an dises bilt welches in sich heldet und dir bedeutet das Jesus Christus […] vor dich gestorben'.
[482] For the reinterpretation of angels in Reformation England, see Peter Marshall, "Angels around the Deathbed: variations on a theme in the English art of dying" in Peter Marshall, Alexandra Walsham (eds.), *Angels in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 83-104.

purgatory.[483] Once again, Leisentrit published a work containing Lutheran and Catholic elements that was distinctly different from contemporary Catholic works.

Illustration Eleven: Christ on the Cross in Leisentrit's Catholic Parish Book.



Verurtheilte zu troſten. 173

nes Herrn Jeſu Chriſti/zwiſchen mich vnd deinen zorn/vnd in deine hende befiele ich meinen geiſt/denen du wolleſt auff vñ annemē/auch in dieſer meiner gegēwertigē hinfarth/an armen Sünder gnedig vnd barmhertzig ſein. Amen.

Wann aber nhun der arme ſünder ſoll ausgefuret/ vnd wegen ſeiner miſſethadt/an leib vnd leben geſtrafft vnd gerichtet werden / iſt ein Chriſtliches werck / wann die Oberkeit anordent/ das jnen der Prieſter mit offentlichen vermanung vnd tröſtung/bis an die ſtadt des gerichts thut beleiten/ darumb vnd alsbaldt der Hencker oder nachrichter/den armē/vñ zu dē todt verurtheilten ſündern angreiffen/jm die hende binden/folgendts jnen auch aus dem gefenckenus furen will / ſoll der Prieſter gegenwertig ſein / ein Crucifix in d.r handt haben/ oder im vorher tragen laſſen/ es dem armen ſünder vorhalten/weiſen vnd im tröſtlich zuſprechen. Wie folget.

Prieſter.

SChaw an dieſes bilt/ welches in ſich heldet vnnd dir bedeutet / das IESVS Chriſtus dein Gott vnnd Herr von wegen deiner ſünden/aus lauter Lieb vnnd Barmhertzigkeit / Iſt am ſtamb des heiligen Creutzes vor dich geſtorben der dir zugeſaget/ wo ehr wirdt ſein/daſelbſt ſoll ſein diener auch ſein/ nemlich in dem Himmel.

Tren.3. Heſter 8. Gal.2. Phil.4. Col.1.2 Heb.12.

Mercke.

y iij Hier=

[483] Walasser, *Kunst wol zusterben*, p. 864.

The sense of competition for the souls of the dying was so pronounced that Leisentrit imagined threats to their salvation which seem far greater in his imagination than in reality. One particularly telling part of the *Pfarbuch* describes how a priest should behave towards 'Catholic people, men and women who have to live and remain amongst the heretics'.[484] According to Leisentrit, dying as a Catholic amongst heretics brought considerable risks.[485] He wrote that he knew many people who suffered persecution and ridicule for their faith, yet remained steadfast until death and continued in their Catholic beliefs regardless of such taunts. However, since death was often accompanied by great physical pain, the sick man did not know 'what he does and so the Devil comes […] and then his tools (I mean the rebellious heretical *Clamanten*)'.[486] Despite all his rhetoric denouncing despicable heresies, Leisentrit apparently expected confessionally mixed groups to assemble around the deathbed. Within this heterogeneous setting, one might expect that Leisentrit also instructed his priests on how to convert Lutherans. The church ordinance of Brandenburg (1540), which specifically bans monks from attending to dying people, shows that in other regions this was a problem.[487] Leisentrit, however, did not comment on such conversions, suggesting a lack of confidence on his part. He was solely worried about conversions of Catholics to Lutheranism.

In an environment in which Catholics could convert to Lutheranism very easily, Leisentrit not only stressed the salvific powers of Catholicism but also wanted his priests to be able to comfort their flock, bringing his work closer to Lutheran solace booklets. He knew, as the images and texts demonstrate, that dying in the early modern

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[484] Leisentrit, *Catholisch Pfarbuch*, p. 139, 'Catholischen menschen mans unnd weibs personen so unter den ketzern sollen unnd müssen wonhafftig sein unnd bleiben'.
[485] For this polemical dimension of Leisentrit's work, see also Pavlickova, 'Sterbebuch des Johann Leisentrit'.
[486] Leisentrit, *Catholisch Pfarbuch*, p. 140, 'was er thut als dann kommet erst der teuffel unnd sein werckzeugk (ich meine die auffruischen ketzerischen Clamanten)'.
[487] Jordahn, 'Sterbebegleitung und Begräbnis', in Becker, et al., *Liturgie im Angesicht des Todes*, p. 26.

world was frequently associated with pain and suffering. Most of the bed-ridden men in Leisentrit's woodcuts display haggard features, and some need a pillow to prop up their heads. Due to the importance of Lutheranism in Upper Lusatia, Leisentrit had to find a balance between confirming believers' Catholicism and consoling them during their suffering. A priest (or lay person) was supposed to tell the dying person that it was God's plan to call them away from this evil world. Indeed, Leisentrit argued that the sooner someone dies, the happier they will be, because 'the longer a human lives the more and greater are his sins'.[488] In a poignant passage, he recommended that his priests say

> my dear friend […] do not be afraid of the face of death, he is not half as evil as he seems, death is […] like falling asleep, […] Christ Jesus our Lord and saviour will give you his divine hand and help you in your final misery.[489]

As Susan Karant-Nunn has pointed out, 'Trost' (solace) was particularly important amongst Lutherans.[490] Leisentrit, too, refers frequently to the importance of solace, giving some of the tracts in his work a Lutheran colouring.

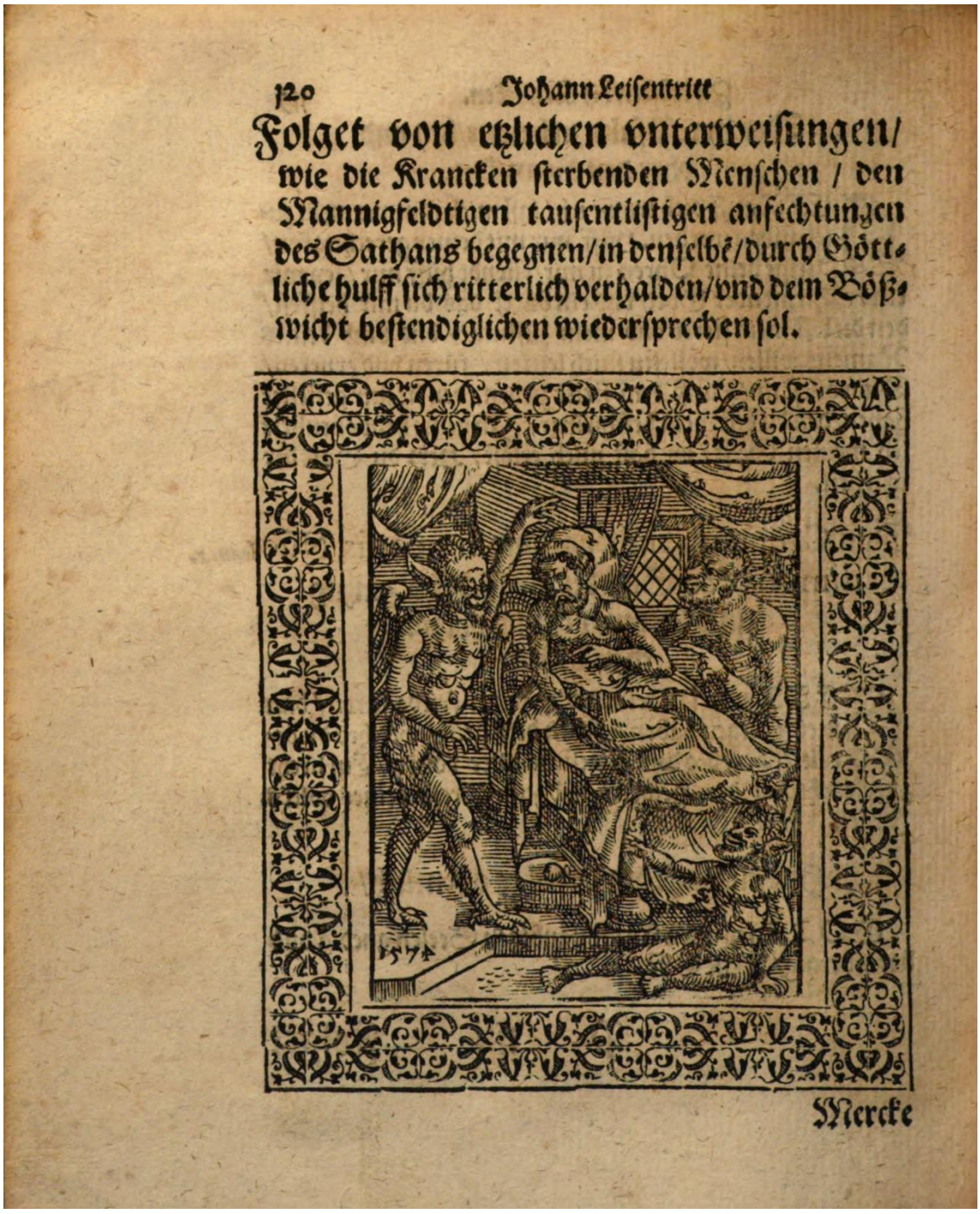
The private nature of sickness meant that Leisentrit was worried that Catholics, half delirious in their pain, might forsake their faith and risk the salvation of their soul. In Leisentrit's mind, Catholics were vulnerable and weak at the hour of their death, making them easy prey for the Devil and his minions (illustration twelve). For Leisentrit, who was willing to compromise with Lutherans but remained a staunch Catholic, the idea that the heretics might snatch away some of his flock in the deathbed was worrying. While he emphasised traditional Catholic rituals, such as the holding of a candle or the importance of extreme unction, there are also traces of Lutheranism in his

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[488] Leisentrit, *Catholisch Pfarbuch,* p. 100, 'je lenger der Mensch lebet je mehrer und sehrer sein sünde'.
[489] Ibid., p. 103, 'lieber freundt […] erschrecke nicht für des todts angesicht ehr ist nicht halb bos als ehr erscheinet das sterben [ist wie zu] entschlafen […] Christum Jesum unsern hern und Seligmacher ehr wirdt dir seine Göttliche handt reichen und auf dieser deiner letzten noth helfen'.
[490] Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 189-215.

works, most notably his emphasis on solace for the dying. A Catholic dying in Upper Lusatia therefore had a difficult choice to make; whether to listen to the consoling words of Johann Leisentrit or to follow most Upper Lusatians into the Lutheran faith.

Illustration Twelve: A dying man surrounded by three devils (woodcut illustration in the Catholisch Pfarbuch).



5.3 Limits of Syncretism

For all of Leisentrit's willingness to incorporate Lutheran elements into his works, there were boundaries he did not cross.[491] But these boundaries changed during his tenure in Bautzen, visible in Leisentrit's self-portrayal and his perception of heresies. Leisentrit's hymn book, for example, changed significantly between the first edition of 1567 and the ones from 1572 and 1584.[492] Ambiguous woodcuts such as the one depicting a communion in both kinds discussed earlier, were removed.[493] Whilst the woodcuts in the first edition usually corresponded to the accompanying text, many of them were replaced with images of saints and seem to have served a different purpose as these specific saints are not mentioned in the text at all. Even the title of the third edition was changed in order to illustrate the Catholic beliefs of its author, from *Spiritual Songs and Psalms* (*Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen*) to *Catholic Hymn Book* (*Catholisch Gesangbuch*).[494]

Why were the later editions more visibly Catholic? Although Leisentrit considered himself an opponent of Lutheranism, other members of his church, and specifically the cathedral chapter, accused him of harbouring sympathies for the Augsburg Confession.[495] Apparently, people at the time recognized just how accommodating Leisentrit was. One of the accusations was so severe that Leisentrit had to defend himself in Prague in 1567.[496] Although he was cleared of the charges, it seems that some Catholics in Bautzen kept on believing that Leisentrit was too sympathetic

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[491] Disputes between Lutherans and Catholics also continued in the eighteenth century. See AW, 195974, *Relation einer Kaiserl. Comission über die bestandenen Streitigkeiten wegen freier Ausübung der evangel. Religion betr., 1707*.
[492] Johann Leisentrit, *Catholisch Gesangbuch voller Geistlicher Lieder vnd Psalmen der alten Apostolischer recht vnd warglaubiger Christlicher Kirchen* (Bautzen, 1584).
[493] Walther Lipphardt, *Leisentrits Gesangbuch*, pp. 8-11.
[494] It is also possible that Leisentrit wanted to distance himself from the Lutheran hymn book compiled by Valentin Pabst called *Geystliche Lieder* (Leipzig, 1545).
[495] DAB, Loc. 0138, *Beschwerden der Kanoniker gegen die Dekane*.
[496] Seifert, *Johann Leisentrit*, p. 39; Gülden, *Leisentrits Pastoralliturgische Schriften*, p. 121.

towards the Lutherans. These accusations might have played a part in Leisentrit's decision to alter his publications. Woodcuts of saints were, after all, a clear indication of Catholicism.[497]

It was not only the other Catholics in Bautzen who forced Leisentrit to be more orthodoxly Catholic, but also the Pope. Leisentrit requested official permission to speak the consecration words of the Eucharist in German.[498] Since the Pope first had to request information on the man from Upper Lusatia, he did not respond immediately so that the first edition of Leisentrit's hymn book contained the words in the vernacular without papal permission. When the Pope eventually responded to Leisentrit's request, he praised him for his many efforts in helping the Catholics of Upper Lusatia, but clearly rejected his wish for a Catholic service in which the consecration words were pronounced in the vernacular. Following this papal admonition, the second edition contained a Latin papal breviary instead of the German words.[499] Both Catholics within Bautzen and the Pope therefore contributed to Leisentrit's wish to portray himself as a more orthodox Catholic. This process of defining Catholicism was a slow and incomplete process and, as the accusations of Leisentrit's employees show, not just an impulse from the top, as the confessionalization thesis in its traditional form would suggest.[500]

How Leisentrit responded to his critics becomes visible when we consider two woodcuts of heresies in his hymn book from 1567. They show an undifferentiated and largely animalised 'pile of heretics' (*Keczischerhauf*), which is not aimed at any specific heretical group.[501] The first of two heresy woodcuts employed the well-established

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[497] Leisentrit, *Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen*, preface (unpaginated).
[498] Gülden, *Leisentrits Pastoralliturgische Schriften,* pp. 116-121.
[499] Johan Leisentrit, *Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen, der alten Apostolischer recht vnd warglaubiger Christlicher Kirchen* (Bautzen, 1572, 2nd edn.). See also, Gülden, *Leisentrits Pastoralliturgische Schriften*, pp. 116-121.
[500] See also Bahlcke, Strohmeyer (eds.), *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa*.
[501] Leisentrit, *Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen*, p. 508 and p. 567 and vol. II, p. 1.

motif of sheep as the true Christians (illustration thirteen).[502] The depiction has biblical connotations. Psalm 23, The Lord is my Shepherd, for example, is just one of the many references to Christians as sheep. The wolves, as natural enemies of the sheep, are also frequently referenced, for example in Jeremiah 5:6. The Christian collective (*Christliche Sa[m]lu[n]g*) is depicted on the left-hand side, while the heap of heretics is on the opposing side. Alongside the sheep, a male figure (possibly a *Karsthans,* symbolizing the peasants) defends Holy Scripture, depicted as a rose. [503] In the upper half of the woodcut, bees and a spider feast on scripture. This depiction invokes a humanist motif which warned that Scripture could serve heretics if it was left in the wrong hands: while bees turned Scripture into sweet honey, spiders transformed it into venom.[504] This theme was deployed primarily in humanist circles, and it was popular among Lutherans, for example in an edition of Luther's works from 1548 where it was mentioned in a preface which was probably forged by Georg Rörer.[505] The upper part of the woodcut is taken up by a devil or demonic figure on the heretics' side, as well as a dove, presumably symbolizing the Holy Spirit, on the left. One of the most striking elements of the woodcut is the depiction of Holy Scripture in the form of what resembles a Lutheran rose. Equally striking is the Dove which flies away from the pious Catholics. Without any textual clues, these features are hard to explain and, presumably, also would have been ambiguous for an early modern reader.

[502] Leisentrit, *Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen*, p. 508 and p. 567 (the woodcut is used twice).
[503] Harasimowicz, 'Bautzener und Görlitzer Drucke' in Bahlcke, Dudeck (eds.) *Welt-Macht-Geist,* pp. 163-176, p. 167.
[504] Lambert,'Singing Together and Seeing Differently' in Dietz, et. al (eds.), *Illustrated Religious Texts,* pp. 257-274, p. 265.
[505] Martin Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe, 73 vols* (Weimar, 1883-2009), vol. 54, p. 474.

Illustration Thirteen: Leisentrit, Catholisch Pfarbuch, *pile of heretics with motif of bee and spider*.



A second woodcut employs a more clearly scriptural depiction of heresy but is not easy to read either (illustration fourteen).[506] Some of the images correspond directly to passages in the bible. Again, the common division into two spheres is employed. On the left side the Catholic Church is depicted underneath a tree with leaves, and contrasted with the heretics on the right assembling under a dead tree. Lucas Cranach the Elder, of course, pioneered such binary depictions. The use of the tree as division was also common in Lutheran works, such as the biblical tree of knowledge featuring on the Gotha altarpiece.[507] The Holy Spirit and the Devil fit more neatly in this woodcut, as the dove is directly above the Catholics, not turning away. The top panel shows the succession of the shepherd's post from Jesus to Peter, while on the opposite side wolves are attacking sheep. This depiction is linked to the bible passage quoted above the panel, which describes Jesus' reinstatement of Peter. But already in this first panel, the bible passages do not explain the entire depiction, as the sheep and wolves are not directly linked to the biblical references.

The middle panel probably shows John the Evangelist, as the Bible passage next to him is from his gospel. He is contrasted with men using snakes instead of arrows, surrounded by various other creatures. Unlike any of the other men shown in the woodcut, the two archers are wearing sixteenth century attire. The hats are in Italian-style with 'tall crowns and fairly narrow brims'.[508] For Leisentrit, it seems, the present-day heretics were assaulting the evangelist in his effort to write his gospel. This panel is harder to link clearly to the biblical passage of John 16. Part of it reads 'the time is coming when anyone who kills you will think they are offering a service to God.' It is therefore possible that the passage refers to a broad attack on Catholicism. Even more

[506] Leisentrit, *Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen*, vol. II, p. 1.
[507] Carl C. Christensen, *Art and the Reformation in Germany* (Athens; Ohio University Press, 1979), p. 125.
[508] Ulinka Rublack, Maria Hayward, Jenny Tiramani (eds.), *The First Book of Fashion: The Book of Clothes of Matthaeus and Veit Konrad Schwarz of Augsburg* (London and New York, 2005), p. 29.

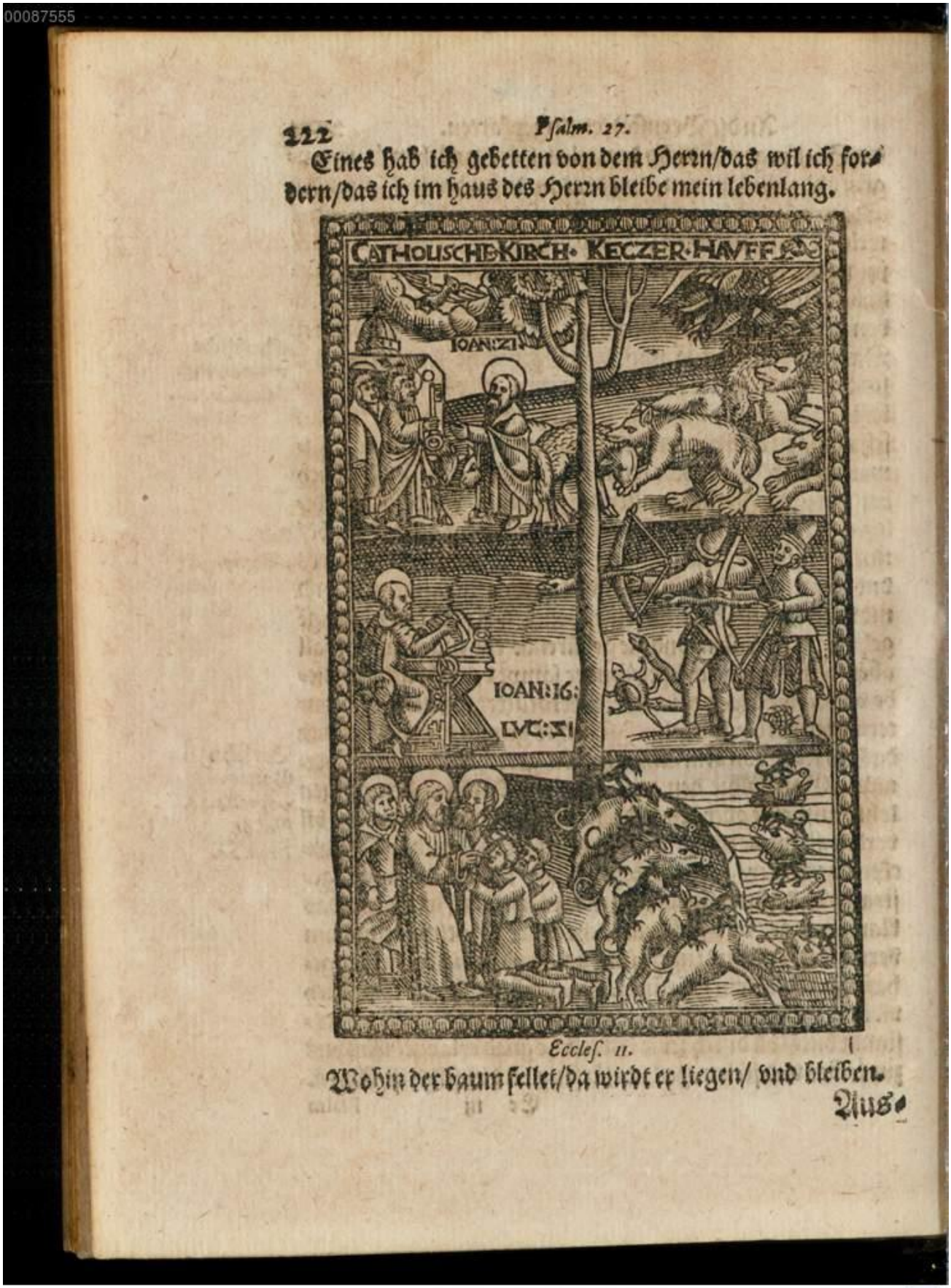
intriguing is the third biblical reference, Luke 21: The Destruction of the Temple and Signs of the End Times. This chapter with passages like 'nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. There will be great earthquakes, famines and pestilences in various places, and fearful events and great signs from heaven' has clear eschatological connotations and does not correspond to any one part of the woodcut. It could be a general warning about the end of days brought about by heresies. None of Leisentrit's other writings contain any references to the Last Days, making this reference all the more surprising. The bible passages which could have clarified the woodcut are therefore not always linked to the images and so, in fact, complicate the depiction.

Just how unsuccessfully the bible quotes and images are linked is shown by the final reference (Matthew 8) which is almost impossible to see underneath the leg of the kneeling man in the bottom panel. This time, however, there is a clear connection between bible passage and panel, which is not a vision of the Last Days, as has previously been claimed, but rather depicts a particular biblical story.[509] It describes the exorcism of two peasants who were healed by Jesus and whose demons were cast into pigs, before these drowned in a lake. The story was most frequently used in cases of exorcism.[510] All four biblical references were on the Catholic side, meaning they literally had the bible on their side. This might also explain why the final reference had to be crammed into a space where it is hardly visible. In the crowded bottom panel, there is simply no other space on the left hand-side. The biblical references, the division into a total of six parts and the relatively detailed depiction suggest that this was a woodcut to be contemplated, encouraging readers to familiarise themselves with biblical

[509] Harasimowicz, 'Ikonographie der Bautzener und Görlitzer Drucke' in Bahlcke, Dudeck (eds.) *Welt-Macht-Geist*, pp. 163-176, p. 168.
[510] See also Jennifer Spinks, *Monstrous Births and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (London, 2009), pp. 113-114. No cases of exorcism are known from Upper Lusatia. The only known conviction for witchcraft dates from late seventeenth century Zittau.

passages and engage in further reflection. Once again, Leisentrit thought he was besieged by heretics and wanted to show his reader the dangers of joining the false religion. For all the syncretism in Leisentrit's religiosity, he also warned his readers through these woodcuts not to abandon the Catholic Church (*Catholisch Kirch*).

Illustration Fourteen: Leisentrit, Catholisch Pfarbuch, *heretics with biblical references*.



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In some ways, the message Leisentrit illustrated was clear. The Catholic Church, depicted as innocent sheep and true Christians, were under attack and had to defend themselves. This sentiment was echoed in some of his writings:

> There is no-one on whom we can trust and whose help we can call upon. Many times Catholics look for solace, when I myself need solace […] The mercy of God, however, raises us up, as we experience [it] daily. Even if the temptations of the Devil and his followers are against us, we promise to be steadfast and not to relent in our prayers.[511]

But at the same time, both the iconography and the combination of text and image made the woodcuts ambiguous. Unlike other polemics of the sixteenth century, they do not feature clearly identifiable figures, such as the Pope or Luther. Instead, Leisentrit used an undifferentiated group of heretics, which was also one of Luther's favourite rhetorical strategies when he commented on 'Schwärmer'.[512] It is likely that these seemingly openly Catholic woodcuts were removed from the later editions of the hymn book because of these ambiguities. Complex and multi-layered images were replaced by woodcuts of a single saint.

Unlike the woodcuts, some written works by Leisentrit named heretics more explicitly. One shorter tract quotes Martin Luther and then contradicts him according to Catholic doctrine. Anti-Calvinist side blows are particularly frequent, and especially present in his works on the Eucharist.[513] At another point Leisentrit commented that Strasburg, Constantz, Memmingen and Lindau have their own confession of faith, Zwingli has another one, Melanchthon and Illyricus two more. With regard to the latter two, Leisentrit wrote that the theologians from Jena accuse those from Wittenberg of

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[511] Gülden, *Leisentrits Pastoralliturgische Schriften*, p. 12, 'Es gibt niemanden, auf dessen Treue wir uns verlassen und dessen Hilfe wir anrufen können. Oft suchen die katholischen Gläubigen bei mir Trost, der ich selbst den Trost anderer nötig habe. […] Die Gnade Gottes jedoch richtet unsere Gemüter auf, wie wir es täglich offensichtlich erfahren Wenn auch die Versuchungen des Teufels und seiner Anhänger gegen uns sind, so versprechen wir standhaft zu bleiben undi n unseren Gebeten nicht nachzulassen'.
[512] Leisentrit, *Catholisch Pfarbuch*, p. 216.
[513] Leisentrit, *Kurtze Fragstücke Von dem Hochwirdigen Sacrament des Altars*.

having ‘stabbed’ and mutilated the true faith with their Calvinist catechism.[514] The Wittenberg theologians, in turn, accused them of being adiaphorists.[515]

In these lists of heretics, we can also see how Leisentrit responded to the increasing pressure to position himself more clearly. In the 1567 edition of his hymn book, he wrote in a chapter on the state of the church that Calvinists, Osiandrists, Schwenckfeldians, Stankarists, Illichrists, Heshussites, Schmidlinists and others more all claimed they were teaching the true Gospel.[516] This list of heretics is interesting for several reasons. It is no coincidence that the Calvinists are mentioned first, as they were seen as the most deplorable kind of heretics, undermining the carefully balanced stalemate between Lutherans and Catholics. The list shows which groups Leisentrit perceived as threatening in an Upper Lusatian context, for example the Schwenckfelders from nearby Silesia. But he also noted reformers elsewhere, such as Andreas Osiander or the less well-known Tilemann Heshuss. He contrasted them with the, to his mind, monolithic Catholic church and showed to his readers that there was no such thing as a single ‘Protestant’ or ‘evangelical’ church. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the list of heretics is the absence of Lutherans or Philippists.

But the pressure Leisentrit found himself under, meant that this particular oversight was rectified in the second edition of the hymn book from 1572, where the Lutherans were added in the first place.[517] As there is no further context to this addition of Lutherans, several explanations are possible. The absence of the Lutherans could merely have been an oversight. However, this rather obvious omission is unlikely to have eluded Leisentrit even at a cursory reading of the text. It is more likely that he had to include the Lutherans in the second edition for political reasons. The instructions of

[514] Leisentrit, *Catholisch Pfarbuch*, p. 267, ‘zerstochen‘.
[515] Ibid.
[516] Leisentrit, *Geistliche Lieder und* Psalmen; See also Gerblich, *Leisentrit und die Administratur des Bistums Meißen*, p. 150.
[517] Gerblich, *Leisentrit und die Administratur des Bistums Meißen*, p. 150.

the council of Trent were still relatively fresh in 1567, when the first edition was printed. By 1572, when the second edition came off the printing press, Tridentine reforms were widely implemented. Leisentrit's *Catholisch Pfarbuch* contains a similar list, consisting of Calvinists, Lutherans, Osiandrists, Schwenckfelders and other groups.[518] In the decrees from Trent, the Lutherans were named as the largest opponent and heretical group. It is likely, therefore, that Leisentrit felt the need to include them in the list of heretics in order to conform to post-Tridentine Catholicism. As we have seen, his own cathedral chapter challenged him on his dealings with the Lutherans, accusing him of sympathizing with the Augsburg Confession. Although we only have incomplete evidence of how exactly the chapter attacked Leisentrit, their renewed complaints in the late 1560s suggest that the hymn book might have played a part in their challenge. In order to keep his position, Leisentrit had to convince his fellow Bautzen Catholics of his allegiance to the Catholic Church. Including the Lutherans in his list of heretical groups meant that he was able to show his orthodoxy to readers.

But was Leisentrit really a more orthodox Catholic because of the external pressure? While he openly attacked the Lutherans in his hymn book, there is no indication that he changed anything about his daily dealings with them. He still attempted to keep conflicts to a minimum and answered letters on marital issues from Görlitz. He also refrained from removing any Lutheran songs from later editions of his hymn book. Similarly, he kept on promoting preaching in the vernacular and other Lutheran liturgical elements. Leisentrit feared that the many heretical ideas would confuse the common people, but his response to these problems was an irenic one. In this context, he cited Saint Peter and his advice not to retaliate evil with evil, but rather to love your neighbor. Leisentrit suggested that if only people would have followed the four basic tenants of love, a pious life, patience and faith, many problems could have

[518] Leisentrit, *Catholisch Pfarbuch*, pp. 247-265.

been avoided and there would be no need to use the sword against any fellow Christians.[519] He elaborated this point when he referred to the heretics as brothers and expressed the hope that one would not have to raise a sword against a brother in the future.[520] Satan, Leisentrit related, would be happy if the German nation was plunged into civil war.

Leisentrit's language towards the Lutherans remained tentative and he portrayed them as a group who were lost and had been led astray. What he wrote to villagers on Mount Eigen, one of the domains of a Catholic convent, is symptomatic of his view. He pitied them for their erroneous beliefs: 'I (God knows) have and keep sincere sympathy with you. Oh God, how can humankind be punished more than with such carelessness that it does not want to recognize the truth?'[521] He criticized the Reformers, from Hesshuss to Luther, Melanchthon to Calvin, but not the 'simple artisans' who lived in Upper Lusatia and adhered to Lutheranism. For them, there was still hope.

Remarkably, therefore, Leisentrit did not only retain his syncretistic theology, to some extent he even hoped to win back Lutherans to the Catholic side. In his *Catholisch Pfarrbuch*, for instance, he described the heretics as being lost in a 'labyrinth', and stressed that it required Christian humility to convince people to follow Catholic teachings.[522] Leisentrit hoped that the Lutherans would find out of the labyrinth and see the light of Catholicism. After all, when Christ left earth, he left the people with peace.[523] Amongst the heretics, there were many good-hearted people who wanted to get to the bottom of truth in religious matters so that they could ensure the salvation of their soul. One should win them back for the Catholic faith, according to Leisentrit,

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[519] Leisentrit, *Catholisch Pfarbuch*, pp. 251-252.
[520] Ibid., p. 253.
[521] Ibid., p. 286, 'Jch mit euch (weiß Gott) ein hertzliches mitleid habe und trage. Ach Gott wie kan doch der mensch höcher / dan mit solcher unvorsichtigkeit gestraffet werden / das ehr die wahrheit nit erkennen will?'. For a royal order regarding Mount Eigen, see also DAB, Loc. 0001, *Acta 15 Kaiserl. Schreiben*, fols. 31A-32B.
[522] Leisentrit, *Catholisch Pfarbuch*, pp. 13-14, 'Labyrinthum'.
[523] Ibid., p. 298.

through daily conversations and by reminding them of the biblical foundations of the Catholic Church. He thought that people would return to the Catholic fold once they were convinced that the church fathers were in favour of the Catholic Church, not the heretical sects.[524] This is why he collated a list of church fathers in agreement with the Catholic Church which was supposed to help convince people of the truth of Catholic doctrine.[525] This wish for a return to Catholicism on the part of the Lutherans is comparatively late. More than ten years after the Peace of Augsburg, it illustrates that some Catholics still hoped for confessional unity.

Even the second heresy woodcut, discussed above, can be interpreted in this manner. Although the heretics seem to be barbaric and violent, the final resolution of the woodcut is telling as it shows the banning of demons and therefore the reversal of a heretical transgression. For all the aggression displayed by the animals in the woodcuts, therefore, it is not entirely clear if Leisentrit thought the heretics were lost to the Catholic cause forever. He was a complex individual who shows how contradictory early modern religious policies could be, but he also reminds us how close Catholicism and Lutheranism still were in the minds of some individuals.

5.4 Conclusion

Leisentrit contributed to the confessional ambiguity of a region of the Empire that underwent a steady definition of orthodoxies, but never experienced a strong confessionalization.[526] Some of his policies were borne out of necessity and he sought to keep the remaining privileges the Catholics had and ensure peace and unity within

[524] Leisentrit, *Catholisch Pfarbuch*, p. 249.
[525] Ibid., p. 250.
[526] Bahlcke, Dudeck (eds.), *Welt – Macht – Geist*; Bahlcke (ed.), *Oberlausitz im frühneuzeitlichen Mitteleuropa*; Heimann, Neitmann, Tresp (eds.), *Nieder- und Oberlausitz.*

the urban fabric of Bautzen, and Upper Lusatia. Leisentrit therefore incorporated Lutheran elements into his baptisms and communion, most notably the use of the vernacular. He included these elements because he could reconcile the use of the vernacular with his Catholic teachings and at the same time it enabled him to find some common ground between the two confessions, which stabilised the religious peace in Bautzen. He argued along similar lines when tolerating communion in both kinds because he knew there had been instances when Catholics performed these rituals before.[527] For him, they did not violate the 'substance' of Catholicism.[528]

But Leisentrit also displayed syncretism for another reason. In his hymn book and instructions for the sick and dying, he feared that the Catholics could not compete with the Lutherans because people had taken so readily to the Lutheran novelties. He did not think it possible to return to a medieval soundscape and remove all Lutheran songs from public and church life. So he hoped to beat the Lutherans with their own weapons by selecting and changing Lutheran songs which could be reconciled with Catholicism. In a similar way, he removed some traditionally Catholic elements, such as an emphasis on saints and purgatory, from the last rites and in this manner hoped to be able to keep individuals as Catholics. To Leisentrit the resulting mixed rites still retained the 'substance' of Catholicism but it also shows how deeply Lutheranism influenced early modern Catholics.

Over the course of the 1560s and 1570s Leisentrit could not maintain these policies without being challenged. Tellingly, more complaints against Leisentrit by Catholics than Lutherans survive in the archives of Upper Lusatia. It was not the Lutherans who criticized the dean, but his fellow Catholics who feared he was too willing to compromise. This pressure forced Leisentrit to become outwardly more

[527] Gülden, *Leisentrits Pastrolliturgische Schirften*, p. 190.
[528] Leisentrit, *Geistliche Lieder*, p. 19, 'Substanz '.

orthodox a Catholic, in line with the post-Tridentine trend to stamp out any unorthodox behavior.[529] Now, Leisentrit attacked the Lutherans more openly and changed the title of his hymn book to indicate his Catholic belief. But there are hints that Leisentrit retained his irenic approach and might have hoped to win over Lutherans to the Catholic side, perhaps even re-incorporate all Lutherans into the Catholic Church.

What Leisentrit did was not owed to the pre-confessional fluidity that Johannes Hass epitomized, neither is there any indication that Leisentrit was ignorant of what was Lutheran and what was Catholic. Rather, he shows that in Upper Lusatia, confessional boundaries remained fluid and porous, even towards the end of the sixteenth century. Leisentrit himself was aware of just how remarkable his policies were, but he also had no doubt that his was the right way, as is indicated by his personal motto - 'tread slowly, and do not haste, for truth always wins'.[530]

[529] Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770* (Cambridge, 1998).
[530] Gülden, *Leisentrits Pastoralliturgische Schriften*.

6. Sigismund Suevus (1526-1596): Sharing spaces and objects in Upper Lusatia

In February 1596 Christoph Blöbelius, dean of Saint Peter's in Bautzen, left his church for lunch, just as he had done for many years.[531] As soon as his back was turned, the town's master builder Wenzel Röhrscheidt the Younger and sixteen helpers appeared in the church. Within the dean's lunch hour they destroyed the altar of the Cross in the nave of the church because it 'hindered the people greatly when [they] walked by'. They had not asked the dean's permission and instead acted on the orders of the Lutheran town council. The furious dean tried in vain to have the altar restored. At least the men had kept the relics that used to be in the altar so the dean had another altar built, into which he incorporated them.[532]

The church of Bautzen was shared between Lutherans and Catholics, with the former performing services in the nave and the latter in the choir. But although this had been the case since the 1520s, the Lutherans waited until 1596 to change the nave in this manner. So until 1596 Lutheran services were performed in a space that contained a Catholic altar, including relics. Although spatially separate, the two groups influenced each other's spaces and rituals. Space and objects therefore give us another avenue to think about religious coexistence.

This chapter traces the spatial and material repercussions of toleration in three ways. First, by considering not real but imagined objects and spaces and how they functioned. Lauban's Lutheran preacher Sigismund Suevus shows how imagined objects and spaces fit into the broader narrative of continuity and change between the medieval and early modern period. The second part of this chapter combines a focus on

[531] On Blöbelius, see also St B, 50009-173, *Aufzeichnungen und Abschriften in Oberlausitzer und Niederlausitzer Landessachen, ev. Stellung betr. (1601-1801)*, fols. 147A-154B.
[532] St B, 68002-200/8, *Chronik Platz*, volume 8, p. 166A; p. 219B, 'das Volck im Vorübergehen sehr hinderte'. See also Wenzel, *Dom St. Petri*, pp. 95-96.

materiality with one on space. It asks how objects changed spaces and how shared churches were defined by the objects which were contained within them. Finally, the last part of the chapter provides a case study of the Bautzen baptismal font, which shows how written, spatial and material sources can be used to provide a more complete picture of religiosity. The chapter shows that not only did Lutheranism 'preserve' Catholic objects, as was the case elsewhere, but that in Upper Lusatia Catholic objects and spaces, whether real or imagined, were incorporated into Lutheran worship.[533]

6.1 Sigismund Suevus: Imagined Objects and Spaces

The preacher Sigismuns Suevus (latinised from Schwabe) is a powerful example of a Lutheran who reinterpreted Catholic spaces and objects, illuminating how there was no clear break between the medieval and early modern periods.[534] Born in Freystadt in Silesia on 26 June 1526, he enjoyed an extensive humanist education before the council of Freystadt provided him with a stipend to attend the University of Frankfurt/ Oder, where he studied for four years.[535] After posts in Reval (Tallinn) and Lübeck, he went to Wittenberg where he learned how to preach under Melanchthon's guidance. Although there is no indication that Suevus ever met Luther, he was deeply influenced by him, as is shown by the fact that he compiled a register of all of Luther's German and Latin works.[536]

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[533] See, Johann Michael Fritz (ed.), *Die bewahrende Kraft des Luthertums: mittelalterliche Kunstwerke in evangelischen Kirchen* (Regensburg, 1997); Heal, 'Art and Identity in Later Lutheran Germany'.
[534] On this topic, see Caroline Bynum, 'Are Things "Indifferent"? How Objects Change Our Understanding of Religious History', *German History*, 34/ 1, 2016, pp. 88–112.
[535] Christian Friedrich Erdmann, 'Suevus, Siegmund', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie 37* (Munich and Leipzig, 1894), pp. 129-135; Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, pp. 494-496.
[536] Sigismund Suevus, *Register, Deudsch vnd Latinisch aller B[ue]cher vnd Schrifften Herrn D. Martini Lutheri* (Wittenberg, 1564).

Suevus' life was an itinerant one. He had to leave Wittenberg when conflict broke out between Moritz of Saxony and Charles V and so he returned to Frankfurt / Oder, where he was also ordained. After preaching at the former monastery in Frankfurt, he moved through Silesia and Lusatia becoming preacher first in Sorau and then in Breslau, Freystadt and Forst. Finally, in 1566 he came to Lauban.[537] Perhaps these frequent moves explain why Suevus was so prone to writing about moving through spaces.

In Lauban it was because of a quarrel over what constitutes sacred space that Suevus had to leave his position. In April 1573, a young man drank so much fortified wine ('Branntwein') that he 'had to die there and then'.[538] Suevus refused to give a Christian burial to the drunkard and instead buried him without any procession or bells being rung, and put the grave in front of the city gate. To Suevus, the drunkard was not fit to be buried in the graveyard, suggesting that he had a very clear idea of who was allowed in sacred spaces. The corpse was therefore interred in unconsecrated ground, where criminals would have been buried. This enraged the townspeople and after continuous problems which lasted for two years, Suevus left the town in 1575. He took up his next post in Thorn, in Poland. In 1578 the council recalled him to Lauban, where he stayed for another seven years, returning to Breslau in 1584 until his death. Supposedly, Suevus, a prolific hymn writer, dictated his final song 'O Jesus, my dear Lord' (*O Jesu, lieber Herr mein*), as he was dying, and it was sung at his funeral.[539]

The example of Suevus' refusal to bury the drunkard in sacred ground raises the question of what sacred space was.[540] Depending on what functions were performed

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[537] Erdmann, 'Suevus'.
[538] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 495, 'auf der Stelle sterben müssen'.
[539] The first verse is *O Jesu, lieber Herre mein, Ich bitt' von Herzensgrunde, Du wollst ja selber bei mir sein. In meiner letzten Stunde Mit deinem Geiste steh mir bei, Dein heilsam Wort mein Labsal sei. Bis an mein letztes Ende.*
[540] On this question, see also Renate Dürr, Gerd Schwerhoff (eds.), *Kirchen, Märkte und Tavernen. Erfahrungs- und Handlungsräume in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt am Main, 2005).

within a space it could lose its sacral meaning; no space was in a constant state of sacrality. A church in which artisans assembled to hold a political meeting for instance became a political space, as when the cloth makers in Görlitz assembled in Saint Nicolas' church before their attempted rebellion in 1527. Although political and religious grievances were connected, the primary function of the church in that case was not religious. Similarly, alleys could become a sacred space for a short period of time when a procession walked through them, such as the procession that Suevus denied the drunkard. He feared that allowing the customary burial procession for a drunkard to the graveyard would undermine its sacrality.

Throughout his works, Suevus engaged with imagined objects. In his *Mons Myrrhae*, he focused on a mountain of incense, which only those who follow Christ will be able to scale. [541] He compared the faith of individuals to sticks of incense:

> the first stick of incense against the bitter thought of the Last Judgment is the bond of mercy which God in word and sacrament has erected with us and through the death of his begotten son confirmed, that is that out of mercy and through Jesus Christ's merit, [God is] willing to forgive us our sin, [and] wants to give us the Holy Spirit and eternal life[542]

Although Suevus refers to Lutheran theology and the image of the mountain of incense is biblical (Song of Songs 4:6), it is interesting that he chose this particular passage considering how closely Catholicism was associated with incense, which, moreover, in Suevus' description has positive connotations.

But the kind of religiosity that Suevus described was more inward looking than most of his contemporaries'. Unlike a real stick of incense, this was only imagined,

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[541] Sigismund Suevus, *Mons Myrrhae. Der Myrrhen-Berg. Uber welchen alle sterbende Menschen / mit Mühe und Arbeit steigen […]* (Görlitz, 1580).

[542] Ibid., p. 103, 'Das erste Weyrauch streuchlin / wider die herben bittern Gedancken / vom Jüngsten Gerichte / tröstlich zu gebrauchen / Jst der GnadenBundt / welche[n] Gote im Wort und Sacrament / mit uns auffgerichtet / und durch den Todt seines lieben Sohns / bestetigt hat. Darinn uns Gott verheissen und zugesaget hat / Das er unß aus Gnaden / umb des thewre[n] Verdiensts Jesu Christi willen / will alle unsere Sünde verzeihen […] / den heiligen Geist schenken / und ewiges Leben geben'.

metaphorical incense which Suevus therefore had to describe as 'sweet smelling'.[543] There is no indication that Suevus ever advocated the use of incense in services but he does not 'desacralise' smell, as has been argued regarding incense after the Reformation.[544] He merely turned it into a different kind of sensuality, a sense of smell that did not need the nose, but just the imagination. Unlike with real incense, this imagined incense was not supposed to distract from worship but encourage a believer to reflect. But as Edmund Wareham and others have shown, this was a Catholic, medieval way of conceptualizing the senses. Suevus was tapping into a medieval tradition of imagining sensual stimuli. This tendency is even more pronounced in Suevus' most fascinating work, his *Spiritual journey or pilgrimage to the Holy Grave* (*Geistliche Walfahrt oder Pilgerschaft zum heiligen Grabe*), published in Görlitz in 1573.

At the centre of this tract is the model of the Holy Sepulchre in Görlitz. It had been used for decades by Catholics as a pilgrimage site and was part of the Easter procession that led through the town, where different buildings represented stations on Christ's way. The impressive chapel ensemble looks out over meadows representing the garden of Gethsemane. Such reproductions of the Holy Grave were not uncommon, though the one in Görlitz is particularly large and remarkable because it is free standing, and not part of a church or monastery. A 'Holy Grave' in Biberach, for example, was just a small sculptural group by the main door of the town church, unlike in Görlitz where the reproduction was separate from other clerical spaces.[545] In Biberach, the priest of Saint Martin led a group of people from the choir to this smaller representation by the door where candles in front of the sculptures were lit making the procession

[543] Ibid., p. 104, 'wohl riechend'.
[544] Jacob M. Baum, 'From Incense to Idolatry: The Reformation of Olfaction in Late Medieval German Ritual' in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 44/2, 2013, pp. 323-344.
[545] Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *German Sculpture of the Later Renaissance, c. 1520-1580: Art in an Age of Uncertainty* (Princeton, 1994), p. 28.

much smaller than the one in Görlitz which crossed through most of the town.[546] In Görlitz, at least once a year sacred space was extended to include the church, the processional way and the Holy Sepulchre.

Illustrations Fifteen to Seventeen: Holy Sepulchre in Görlitz, completed ca. 1490-1510, a reproduction of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem



[546] Chipps Smith, *German Sculpture of the Later Renaissance*, p. 28.





Suevus reinterpreted parts of the Holy Sepulchre in Reformation terms.[547] His work on a spiritual pilgrimage, in which he described the path to an imaginary Holy Sepulchre was certainly not intended to reintroduce pilgrimages and processions. Yet he did not openly discourage Catholic pilgrimages, and by using the metaphor of a spiritual pilgrimage, he remained within a Catholic context and spiritual pilgrimages, as we know from the work of Kathryne Beebe, were an important part of late medieval piety.[548] Nor was Suevus the first to recuperate this tradition: in Görlitz, Lutheran authors had already written about the Holy Sepulchre and in 1569, for example, the Lutheran Bartholomäus Andreades had published a Latin poem on the Holy Grave.[549] Suevus shows that the idea of a spiritual pilgrimage, previously primarily associated with medieval Catholic religiosity was longer lasting than has previously been argued. Nor was he an isolated instance. The Lutheran Johann Michael Dilherr, for instance, published a sermon on a *Spiritual Pilgrimage to Bethlehem*.[550]

Suevus continued to use the idea of pilgrimages and his tract indicates that this was linked to civic pride. He dedicated his work to Georg Emerich, grandson of Georg Emerich the Elder, who donated money to build the Holy Grave after his pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[551] The local connections are reinforced when Suevus expressed his hope that many foreigners and locals will make use of the Holy Grave and look at the 'famous

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[547] Kai Wenzel, 'Die Bautzner Taucherkirche und das Görlitzer Heilige Grab' in Evelin Wetter (ed.), *Die Formierung des konfessionellen Raumes in Osmitteleuropa* (Stuttgart, 2008), pp. 167-192. For a broader overview of Lutheran visual culture and the engagement of Lutherans with Catholic images, see Bridget Heal, *A Magnificent Faith: Art and Identity in Lutheran Germany* (Oxford, 2017).

[548] For example, Johannes Geiler von Kaysersberg, *Der bilger mit seinen eygenschafften, auch figuren* (Augsburg, [14]94). See Kathryne Beebe, 'The Jerusalem of the Mind's Eye: Imagined Pilgrimage in the Late Fifteenth Century' in Bianca Kühnel, Galit Noga-Banai, Hanna Vorholt (eds.), *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem* (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 409-420.

[549] Jörg Jungmayr, 'Bartholomäus Andreades und seine Beschreibung des Heiligen Grabes in Görlitz' in Andreas Keller, Elke Lösel, Ulrike Wels, Volkhard Wels (eds.), *Theorie und Praxis der Kasualdichtung in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Amsterdam and New York, 2010), pp. 173-184.

[550] Johann Michael Dilherr, *Geistliche Christwallfahrt, gen Bethlehem: und Heiliger Jesus-Kusz: In einer Predigt fürgestellt* (Nuremberg, 1664).

[551] Sigismund Suevus, *Geistliche Wallfahrt oder Pilgerschafft zum heiligen Grabe. Nemblich der Christen Glauben Lehr und Leben. Mit schönen Spürchen / Gleichnissen / Historien und Exemplen liecht und leicht erkleret* (Görlitz, 1573), p.1.

town of Görlitz'.[552] It seems that his wish was granted, as even after his death the Görlitz town council continued to promote the Holy Sepulchre and woodcuts of it circulated widely.[553]

Suevus used the idea of the Holy Sepulchre to aid devotion, but some of his fellow Lutherans continued to use the actual model in Görlitz. There was an attempt to make the pilgrimage more Lutheran. Well into the seventeenth century, the route leading up to the Holy Grave was altered, for example by moving images of saints out of the way or adding images of Christ along the way (*Bildstöcke*).[554] The appearance of Saint Veronica to one of the pilgrims was omitted from later accounts of the Grave and the emphasis on Christ's Passion was strengthened.

By invoking direct connections to Christ, the authors re-interpreting the Grave delved into the long tradition of mysticism and recuperated aspects of Catholic readings of the Holy Sepulchre. So, instead of worshipping saints placed on the way or hoping for salvation through the pilgrimage, from the later sixteenth century, pious individuals were supposed to remember Christ and his sufferings before reaching the chapel in the Holy Sepulchre. After an initial decline in visits following the Reformation, the Holy Sepulchre continued to be a popular and important urban site for Lutherans.[555] In Upper Lusatia, former pilgrimage sites were not destroyed or abandoned but instead remained important focal point of clerical life. The meaning of space was never fixed and so a Catholic space could be integrated into Lutheran theology.

Suevus can help explain how Lutheran and Catholic elements were combined in early modern religiosity. He emphasized that 'pilgrimages, like many other things have

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[552] Suevus, *Geistliche Wallfahrt*, p.13, 'berühmte Stadt Görlitz'.
[553] Ines Anders, Marius Winzeler (eds.), *Lausitzer Jerusalem: 500 Jahre Heiliges Grab zu Görlitz* (Görlitz and Zittau, 2005), pp. 57-65.
[554] Wenzel, 'Taucherkirche und Heiliges Grab' in Wetter (ed.), *Formierung des konfessionellen Raumes*, pp. 167-192.
[555] Ibid.

fallen into superstitious misuse'.[556] Many, he continued, sought their salvation through pilgrimages and went through great hardship. But Suevus did not reject pilgrimages as such; rather, he argued that it is best to 'get rid of the abuses and keep the substance'.[557] Although he did not spell this out at this stage, he probably meant that while salvation could not be gained from pilgrimages, they could nonetheless be useful.

But, remarkably, people who could, should still go on pilgrimages, wrote Suevus.

> So today, those who have the sustenance and strength and who do not have anything to miss in their profession can, with God and honour, travel to and look at the Holy Grave the place where Christ lay and other places where Christ lived, taught and performed miracles. But because not all of us can reach it in this way so we should (if we love Christ and his salvation) not refrain from the spiritual pilgrimage in word and faith.[558]

Later, Suevus pointed out that there was no loss in performing a spiritual pilgrimage only, not a physical one. Astonishingly, therefore, the spiritual pilgrimage was merely an alternative to a traditional pilgrimage, a distinctly Catholic ritual.[559] This treatment of pilgrimages stands in marked contrast to the recommendations of the Wittenberg reformers and shows that, on the ground, change was slow and incomplete, unlike what theological treatises would have us believe. Just as with real objects and spaces, there were significant continuities between the medieval Catholic and post-Reformation churches. It seems that the medieval Catholic practice of a spiritual pilgrimage was so deeply engrained in people's minds that Lutheran authors worked

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[556] Suevus, *Geistliche Wallfahrt*, p.23, 'bis das solche Wallfarten wie sonsten viel andere dinge in abergleubieg misbreuche geraten'. See also, Speer, *Frömmigkeit und Politik*, pp. 363-392.
[557] Suevus, *Geistliche Wallfahrt*, p. 23, 'Tollatur abusus, & maneat substantia'.
[558] Suevus, *Geistliche Wallfahrt*, p. 23, 'So können noch heut die es an zehrung und krefften vermögen und in irem beruff nichts zu verseumen habe[n] mit Gott und ehren zum heiligen Grabe reisen den Ort da Christus gelegen und andere Örter da Christus gewohnet gelehret und wunder gethan mit lust und liebe besuchen und beschawen. Weil wir es aber nicht alle in solcher gestalt erreichen können so sollen wir doch (so fern uns Christus und sein heil liebet) die Geistliche Wallfahrt so im Wort und Glauben stehet nicht unterlassen'.
[559] For example, Martin Luther, *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation* (Wittenberg, 1520).

within this genre to appeal to people and slowly change their understanding of pilgrimages to rid them of 'superstitions'.

Görlitz was not alone in having a pilgrimage site supported by Lutherans. In the village of Drusendorf near Zittau, a miraculous oak with an image of Mary was restored in 1625.[560] Although, as Bridget Heal has shown, Lutherans still honoured Mary, this kind of restoration of a miraculous pilgrimage site went a step further, for instead of leaving the site to die out, the council encouraged pilgrimages by restoring it.[561] The shrine and the Marian images were destroyed in 1630 when lightning struck the 'Holy oak' (*Heilige Eiche*). Clearly, unlike some images of Martin Luther, these Marian images proved to be rather combustible.[562]

The same thing happened with the *Taucherkirche* near Bautzen, a former Marian pilgrimage site.[563] When the Bautzen town council bought the village of Uhyst in 1484, it also acquired its Marian pilgrimage site in the forest. Its miracle-working image was moved several times, however, finally disappearing in 1570. But the wooden chapel was re-located in its entirety to the outskirts of Bautzen. Without the Marian icon and deprived of its former locale, the chapel was now used as a burial chapel, and in the 1590s, its altars were replaced by pews. In 1599 the old wooden structure was replaced by stone, and the *Pastor Primarius* Friedrich Fischer claimed that the chapel had originally been moved because the local population was calling for the idolatry to be ended. What he did not mention, however, was that the pilgrimages into the Uhyst forest continued even when there was no longer a chapel. These only ceased in the early seventeenth century. Both the council's willingness to use a former Marian pilgrimage

[560] CWBZ, A 90, Andreas Kießling, *Chronicon Zittaviense (Kießling), ANNALES ZITTAUienses Oder Jharbuch der Stadt Zittaw*, p. 904.
[561] Heal, *Cult of the Virgin Mary*.
[562] See, R. W. Scribner, 'Incombustible Luther: The Image of the Reformer in Early Modern Germany' in *Past and Present*, 110/1, 1986, pp. 38-68.
[563] See, Wenzel, 'Taucherkirche und Heiliges Grab'.

site and the continuation of pilgrimages attests to the slow progress of the Reformation in Upper Lusatia. Although there are no descriptions of the interior of the chapel, the fact that it continued to be used also suggests that Lutherans had no problem in performing their services in a Catholic space: what made the space confessionally coded were the actions performed within it.

The spiritual and real pilgrimages advocated by Lutherans show the complex nature of religious change. Suevus and others wanted to rid pilgrimages of Catholic 'superstitions' but to do so they chose a genre of writing steeped in Catholic tradition. As the main cleric of Lauban, a regionally significant town, Suevus was supposed to ensure the spread of orthodox beliefs. Similarly, the Lutheran town councils who encouraged pilgrimages into the seventeenth century were supposed to promote Lutheranism in their towns. But one should not forget that this was a region nominally ruled by a Catholic and, following *cuius region, eius religio,* a nominally Catholic region; yet this was not so in reality. The heterodox beliefs of councils and preachers, supposedly enforcers of Lutheranism, show just how problematic it is to apply a Lutheran or Catholic confessionalization paradigm to a region like Upper Lusatia.

6.2 Spaces and Objects

In the wake of the Reformation, changes to clerical objects meant that a Lutheran church interior looked significantly different from a Catholic one. Generally speaking sixteenth-century Lutheran churches lost many of the elaborate ornaments of medieval churches. In an 'ideal' Lutheran church, there were no more side altars, but just one central altar. The altar *mensa* no longer contained relics, in fact, it could deliberately have an empty space were the relics would have been. The altar retable in Lutheran churches depicted biblical stories and no longer any saints. In some cases, most

famously in Wittenberg, the retables also featured the reformers amongst Jesus's disciples. More subtle changes in the choice of motif included the depictions of the Last Supper featured somewhere on the piece or illustrations of 'Law and Grace' or 'let the children come unto me'. Pulpits were moved to more prominent positions and became more decorated. Finally, pews and galleries, a poor chest and a more prominent organ were added to many Lutheran churches. In some cases, Lutheran churches came close to this ideal, for example in Wittenberg or Torgau.

Shared churches, however, were nothing like these 'ideal Lutheran churches', and yet they were still a Lutheran space. There were two such shared churches (*Simultankirche* or *Simultaneum*) in Upper Lusatia, one in Lauban, shared by Lutherans and nuns of the Order of Saint Magdalen (*Magdalenerinnen*), the other in Bautzen, where the Catholic cathedral chapter and Lutheran populace worshipped. The very objects that molded a confessional identity in other Lutheran churches were either not used or even shared between Lutherans and Catholics. Just as with imagined spaces, blurred confessional boundaries in a pluriconfessional region like Upper Lusatia meant that no clear definition of a confessional culture took place in Upper Lusatia.

The shared nature of the Church of the Trinity (*Dreifaltigkeitskirche*) in Lauban forced the Lutherans to engage with the nuns during their services.[564] Later accounts mention *Compactata* which codified the arrangements but, unlike in Bautzen, these do not survive; so how exactly the church was divided between the Catholic nuns and the Lutherans is not entirely clear.[565] The church was destroyed in the nineteenth century and only its replacement survives. The sources refer to a nun's choir (*Nonnenchor*) which suggests that the nuns, like the Catholics of Bautzen, were located in the choir of the church and the Lutherans were seated in the nave. A chronicle records that during a

[564] In general, the sources for this shared church are comparatively few and we have to rely largely on nineteenth-century accounts so it is not entirely clear when the *Simultaneum* ceased to exist.
[565] Carpzov, *Ehrentempel*, p. 300.

Lutheran service the nuns 'mumbled something under their breath and frowned'.[566] So in Lauban the nuns had to listen to Lutheran sermons condemning their lifestyle and religion. In Bautzen, the two confessions had fixed times during which they were allowed into their parts of the church but the one in Lauban, the account suggests, was truly a simultaneous church, where Lutherans and Catholic shared a church space at the same time.

The nuns not only listened to Lutheran services, they also taught Lutheran school boys. When the Lutheran preacher Johann Frobenius, whom we have already met in chapter one, took up his position in 1541, it was customary for the nuns to sing Latin songs with the Lutheran *cantor* and his school children. A nineteenth century source suggests - though there are no documents which specifically state this - that the Lutheran clergy accepted this arrangement because they hoped that they might be able to convert some of the nuns through singing. But the opposite happened and in 1541, a new nun joined the order.[567] Consequently, Frobenius publicly demanded that no church or school official interact with the nuns, and specifically instructed that they should no longer sing with the Catholics. The council was worried that the nuns might complain about them to the bishop of Meißen or other dignitaries and so sent a small delegation to the bishop to request the choirs be divided. But their reason for demanding that the nuns' and the boys' choir should be separated was not theological. They found a rather creative excuse, claiming that the nuns sang so badly that they corrupted the boys' voices.[568] The delegation was successful and the bishop granted their request. But even now the nuns still performed their *Horas* in the shared church, permeating the Lutheran space.

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[566] St Bo, 2271/2272, *Laubanische Kirchen u Stadt Chronica [durch H. Bohemus]*, pp. 165-168, 'murmeln und machte ein gerünzel'.
[567] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 484.
[568] St Bo, 2271/2272, *Laubanische Kirchen u Stadt Chronica [durch H. Bohemus]*, p. 166.

Even after this comparatively late division of musical education, the nuns continued to perform key functions we might otherwise associate with Lutheranism. In the Lutheran 'parish house' (*Pfarrhaus*), for example, the Lutheran preacher's wife was responsible for household tasks such as cooking. This was also modelled on the marriage of Martin Luther and Katharina von Bora. In Lauban, by contrast, until 1542 the Lutheran preacher continued to receive board from the nuns. [569] Frobenius was the first preacher to refuse the food, on the grounds that the nuns would not hear his sermons. Other sources report that he did not think the nuns' food was good for his health.[570] The town council paid for someone to cook for Frobenius instead and also provided him with 12 *groschen* for drinks. The Lutheran director of the school and the Lutheran chaplains, however, continued to eat the nuns' food until 1584, provided they did 'not dispute or quarrel while at the table'.[571] The daily life of Lutheran clerics was therefore closely connected to the Catholic nuns.

While in Lauban the nuns changed the ways in which Lutheranism operated, in Bautzen the same process is visible in the material culture of Saint Peter's. Although *Simultankirchen* are known from other parts of the Empire, the gradual negotiations and church contracts between the Catholic cathedral chapter and Lutheran town council mark this *Simultaneum* as one with a particularly rich history.[572] Two of these survive, one from 1583 and one from 1599, as well as a draft contract from 1556. In them, the Lutherans gradually strengthened their position as the Catholics became increasingly isolated in the Lutheran town.

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[569] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 484.
[570] Ibid., p. 485.
[571] AB, *2924 Kloster (Einkleidung and jus patronatus) (1605- 1748/ 1813)*, 7A, 21A, 'uber tisch kein disputation oder gezenk erheben'. See also ibid., 29A. Although the document is dated '1605-1748/1813', it also contains earlier sources.
[572] For other examples, see Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*. On contracts for burials, see Bähr, 'Konfesionelle Koexistenz in der irischen Bestattungskultur', pp. 129-151. On the negotiations, see also DAB, Loc. 3525, *Differenzen zwischen VCB und EE Rat 1388-1597*. The contracts were also copied in other Lusatian towns, for example St G, no signature, *Budissinische Kirchenveträge*.

Altars illustrate how confessional coexistence influenced the material culture of a church. The Bautzen town church is one of the biggest and oldest *Simultankirchen* and has been shared from the 1520s to the present, with only a short break from 1619 to 1622.[573] Until 1596 the Lutherans did not have an altar that was specifically built for them; instead, they used the altar of the fraternity of our Lady (*Liebfrauenbruderschaft*), which was not centrally located but stood in the very south of the nave. The fraternity and its income were closely connected with the town council who usually administered their funds – a fact which might explain the altar's location. In 1596, the council decided to replace it, together with its Marian retable. The retable was offered to the Catholic dean who accepted it on the condition that they provide a new altar table, including an endowment for a preacher. The Lutheran council obliged and therefore not only gave the Catholics their retable but also a new altar table, including the salary of 100 *Mark* that came with it. Effectively, the Lutheran council paid for a Catholic cleric by providing the endowment for the altar.[574] What happened to the relics that would have been associated with the altar and whether the altar used by the Lutherans until 1596 contained relics we do not know. The new Lutheran altar was not placed centrally in the Lutheran space but rather retained its unusual position in the southern part of the nave.[575]

Instead of a Lutheran altar at the centre of a church space, as was common in so many Lutheran churches, in Bautzen the Catholic altar was in the centre of the church and the Lutherans' altar far enough to the south that they would not have seen each other. It is possible that tradition played a part in the Lutherans' retention of that particular spot but it is equally likely that the Lutherans wanted to reinforce a spatial

[573] See chapter three for the 1619-1622 break. For the present-day arrangements, see: http://www.st-petri-bautzen.de/ (accessed 03/08/2017).
[574] Wenzel, *Dom St. Petri*, pp. 92-93.
[575] See also, Vötig, *Simultankirchliche Beziehungen*.

division with the Catholics by not having their altar on the same axis as the Catholic's high altar. The depiction of the *Simultaneum* by Matthäus Crocinus (see below) which shows the church interior after a town fire in 1634 reveals that the altar, just visible on the right of the painting, was one of the first liturgical objects to be restored. A description of the church from the eighteenth century reports that the Catholic section contained altars, an organ and a pulpit and that the Lutherans have 'their own altar', an organ and a chancel.[576] In Lauban, the council opted for another strategy for gaining a Lutheran altar. In 1537, they moved an altar from the church of our Lady into the main church, where it was 'next to the baptismal font'.[577]

Ritual purity apparently was no concern for the Lutherans as they continued to use Catholic altars.[578] The town council of Görlitz paid for them to be restored and they also moved a crucifix and pre-Reformation altar retable (depicting Saint Anne and the Holy Kinship) from a smaller chapel to the main church where they were displayed more prominently. The council justified this on the grounds that potential visitors would be impressed by this display of artistry and wealth. It is also likely that descendants of donors still sat on the town council and that they did not want their donations forgotten. The fact that the objects had been used by Catholics and, in some cases, still had retables that featured saints had no significance. In 1562 the main church of Görlitz still contained Catholic altars, as the preachers complained about the lack of space in the church. [579] Until at least 1567, the main church of Kamenz also contained side altars dedicated to Saints Walpurga and Michael, and in 1585 there are still references to an

[576] Wenzel, *Dom St. Petri*, pp. 94-97. For other shared churches, see Heinz Henke, *Wohngemeinschaften unter deutschen Kirchendächern. Die simultanen Kirchenverhältnisse in Deutschland – eine Bestandsaufnahme* (Leipzig, 2008).
[577] Both the font and the altar were destroyed in a fire in 1760 and it is not clear if the altar still contained any relics.
[578] On ideas of purity, see Peter Burschel, *Die Erfindung der Reinheit. Eine andere Geschichte der frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen, 2014).
[579] Knauthe, *Religions und Kirchen Reformation bey der Stat Görlitz*, p. 90.

altar dedicated to the Three Kings.[580] In Zittau between 1541 and 1551, the Lutherans paid to restore an image of the conception of the Virgin and other altars.[581] The restored altars and their retables were occasionally remodeled along more Lutheran lines. In Zittau, an altar that dates from around 1510 was embellished with the inscription *Maria honoranda, non adoranda* when it was restored in 1619.[582] In Bautzen, as the opening episode of this chapter has illustrated, the Lutherans were also surrounded by Catholic altars for much of the sixteenth century.

Although the Lutherans continued to use Catholic altars, they also demolished some side altars, especially to make room for pews.[583] In 1624 and 1630, two Bautzen councilors asked to extend their choir stall to where an altar had previously stood (now removed by the Lutherans). In both cases the dean answered that the change was acceptable but reserved the right to remove the stalls again if ever one of the altars were rebuilt. Here, both parties negotiated pragmatically and came to a workable compromise. It is hard to say when Saint Peter's Church was first fitted with pews. The 1583 contract contains the concession that the Lutherans were allowed to use the organ gallery (*Orgelempore*) for their choir and in 1595 the carpenter Zacharias Neumann replaced older galleries.[584] The new galleries retained the social divisions represented by the previous ones: the bailiff sat separately from the councilors, who did not sit with the common people. In 1596 a further gallery was added for the Lutheran youth. In the course of these works, some altar retables had to be lowered so as not to obstruct the

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[580] St K, 7045, *Zahlung der Zinsen der Gestifter und Altarien zu Walpurgis und Michaelis (1567);* St K, 10018, *Aufstellung eines Registers über die Zinsleute des Altars der Heiligen Drei Könige. Registrum [censuum] ad Altare Trium Regum in praetorio Camentzensis (1520-1540, 1583-1585)*; St K, 10017, *Aufstellung eines Register über die Zinsleute der Altäre des Heiligen Laurentius und der Heiligen Barbara sowie des Heiligen Wolgang (1520-1540)*.
[581] Hrachovec, *Zittauer und Ihre Kirchen*, p. 637.
[582] See, Bridget Heal, ‚"Zum Andenken und zur Ehre Gottes": Kunst und Frömmigkeit im frühneuzeitlichen Luthertum' in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 104, 2013, pp. 185-210; Heal, *Virgin Mary*, p. 96; Hrachovec, *Zittauer und ihre Kirchen*, pp. 68-74.
[583] Wenzel, *Dom St. Petri*, pp. 94-96.
[584] On the use of organs in Görlitz, see St G, no signature, *Diarium consulare Sebastian Hoffmann (1595/96)*, fol. 223B. For Kamenz, St K, 5586A, *Verwaltung des Kirchturms und der Glocken (1576-1739).*

view from the galleries, a provision which suggests that there were still multiple altars with retables in the Lutheran part of the church. In 1616, the Catholics added galleries to their section.[585] Pews are therefore an example of an object common to both confessions. Only when the Lutherans wanted to destroy altars to make room for them did problems arise.

Just how remarkable the Lutherans' ongoing use of Catholic altars and their willingness to compromise was, becomes apparent when we consider rural Upper Lusatia. Here, we have a direct comparison from a similar time period but with a more uniformly Lutheran population, where altar retables were more openly Lutheran than in any of the Lusatian towns. The most decidedly Lutheran retable comes from the rural nobility of Rengersdorf. It shows communion in both kinds administered to the deceased donor and his family. The epitaph formed part of the altar retable and was displayed in the village church.[586] A similarly Lutheran epitaph is that of the noble Caspar von Nostitz auf Klitten which depicts the Last Supper and includes Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchthon among the disciples in the centre, while the deceased and his wife are on the wings.[587] The epitaph is in a Cranach style, and heavily influenced by his iconography. As Joseph Leo Koerner has pointed out, such altars served a crucial function in the formation and memorialization of Lutheranism.[588] Yet despite their existence in Upper Lusatian rural areas, no such objects or images of Luther and Melanchthon are known from towns. Two tomb slabs from the seventeenth century in Ostritz, where the Cistercian monastery of Marienthal is located, display the

[585] Wenzel, *Dom St. Petri*, pp. 99-100.
[586] Two epitaphs are recorded in an inventory of Saint Peter's Church from 1747, but the images on them are not mentioned. St B, 68002-64, *Inventarium bei der Kirche zu St. Petri (1586-1747*), fol. 11A.
[587] Lars-Arne Dannenberg, 'Die Reformation auf dem Land. Der Oberlausitzer Adel und die lutherische Lehre' in Heimann, Neitmann, Tresp (eds.), *Ober- und Niederlausitz*, pp. 55-91, p. 81.
[588] Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago, 2004), especially pp. 52-83.

deceased with rosaries showing that the depiction of a confessional identity was also visible among rural Catholics.

Contrary to the idea of the Reformation as an 'urban event', in Lusatia it was the rural hinterland and not the urban centres where a more orthodox religiosity developed. Unlike the urban Lutherans who had to negotiate their way around Catholic actors under royal protection, the two other estates (monasteries and nobles) were less reliant on royal approval and could enforce a more complete Reformation (in the case of Rengersdorf) or openly encourage subjects to stay Catholic (in the case of Marienthal and Ostritz).[589] The Lutherans of Löbau had to be more subtle about their dislike of the last Catholic priest. They portrayed him with red soles on his shoes on his tomb slab. This, folklore asserts, was a symbol of his cowardice as he was not brave enough to accept the Reformation.

[589] On Marienthal, see also AW, 2193 *Akten die wahl des Klostervoigts zu Marienthal und Streitigkeiten zwischen demselben und der Abtissin des Kloster Marienthal, 1621-1751*; Zdichynec, *Les abbayes féminines*; DAB, Loc. 7107, *Acta allerlei protestantische Pfarrer und Pfarreien betrf: 1547-1902 I. Konvolut 1547-1593*; St B, 50009-173, *Aufzeichnungen und Abschriften in Oberlausitzer und Niederlausitzer Landessachen, ev. Stellung betr. (1601-1801)*, fols. 147A-154B.

Illustration Eighteen: Altar retable of Abraham von Nostitz auf Rengersdorf with communion in both kinds (middle of sixteenth century).



Illustration Nineteen: Altar retable of Caspar von Nostitz auf Klitten with Luther and Melanchthon flanking Jesus (middle of sixteenth century).[590]



[590] For these kinds of altars, see also Koerner, *Reformation of the Image*, pp. 69-83.

Illustration Twenty: Epitaph of last Catholic preacher of Löbau.



The nature of the *Simultankirche* meant not only that objects were shared, but also that they were more closely regulated. The 1583 contract regulated the use of the organ. Lutherans were only allowed to use theirs on certain days of the year (hence the name of the contract, *Orgelrezess*) and choir boys could sing on specified days. Lutherans could play a hymn before and after the sermon on Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, every other Sunday, an additional sixteen feast days and at the election of a new town council. How frequently the Lutherans were allowed to play their organ before the contract is not mentioned; it is possible they had been banned. The Catholics had their own organ which was located next to the sacristy, in the same position where it is today.[591] Objects like the organ, which before the Reformation had merely been used by a fraternity in the side chapel which was now the Lutherans', could therefore become more important when the space around it changed. Space could shape objects, just as objects could shape spaces.

How important such regulation could be, is revealed in disputes from the late sixteenth century about another object usually associated with Lutheranism, the poor chest.[592] As far as we know, the poor chest was placed in the Lutheran part of the church, yet the Catholic deans argued that they should administer its incomes, thus ironically claiming charge of a distinctly Lutheran object. This conflict is all the more important because one of the primary aims of Martin Luther and the early reformers was to transform how poor relief functioned.[593] Even after decades of negotiation and multiple contracts, the confessions therefore still claimed objects in each other's spaces, suggesting that the two groups were never fully separated.

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[591] Wenzel, *Dom St. Petri*, pp. 86-87.
[592] On the Görlitz poor chest, see St G, no signature, *Ratsprotokolle 1563-1571*, fol. 397A, 'Rat gehalten: 8 Dec: Betlen Ist daraufgeschlossen das die beratschlagte Betlerordnung jns werg gestalt sol werde. Als das dj Ehremosarmn den jm gemmein kasten gegebn gar des betelns mussig gehen sollen. Dj schuller aber und andere arme leute den das betlen zugelassen Sollen zaichen trag[en] als dj schuller ein S und der ander mit B'; on the Löbau poor chest, see St Lö, Mscr. 35, *Gottes Kasten-Gestift Acta enthaltend alte Urkunden des Gottes Kasten-Gestift allhier betr. 1572-1761.*
[593] Robert Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 105-109.

How much the Lutherans valued their poor chest becomes visible in the only early modern depiction of the Bautzen *Simultaneum*, a painting by the Silesian artist Matthäus Crocinus (1580-1654) from after 1644. [594] It shows a church space shared by Catholics, who are barely discernible in the background, and Lutherans, in the foreground. Though he accurately portrayed the two confessions as divided spatially by a screen, he cannot represent the temporal division which existed between the two confessions.[595] Crocinus was a religious refugee (*Exulant*) from Bohemia, where Lutherans were increasingly under attack as recatholisation was in full swing.[596] He resettled in Bautzen in 1637 where he lived and worked for the rest of his life. Given his personal background, it is not surprising that he depicted the *Simultaneum* in biased terms: in the front of the image, one can see Jesus amongst the Lutherans; and their part of the church also houses a poor chest (*Armenkasten)*. The image can therefore be read as a comment on divine approval of the poor chest, and the Lutherans more broadly. On the front of the poor chest is the biblical reference Luke 21 which recounts the story of the Widow's offering:

> As Jesus looked up, he saw the rich putting their gifts into the temple treasury. He also saw a poor widow put in two very small copper coins. "Truly I tell you," he said, "this poor widow has put in more than all the others. All these people gave their gifts out of their wealth; but she out of her poverty put in all she had to live on.

Fittingly, Jesus points at a widow in Crocinus' image who is putting money into the poor chest, thereby relating the story to the people gathered behind him.[597] In nearby Görlitz, an alms bag (*Klingelbeutel*) was introduced in 1573, but the practice only continued for 10 years and was abandoned again in 1583.[598] We do not know whether

[594] This is, in fact, the only known early modern illustration of any *Simultaneum.*
[595] See, Wenzel *Dom St. Petri,* pp. 91-102.
[596] See, Howard Louthan, *Converting Bohemia. Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation* (Cambridge, 2009); Nicholas Terpstra, *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World. An Alternative History of the Reformation* (Cambridge, 2015).
[597] Wenzel, *Dom St. Petri*, p. 117.
[598] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 127.

such bags were used in Bautzen in addition to the fixed poor chests. A similar depiction showing Jesus was hung above the poor chest in Ulm. Crocinus shows the Lutherans as more numerous and they are more fully characterised, while the Catholics, a shapeless crowd, are hardly visible at the far end of the church suggesting that they are less important, an effect magnified by the picture's small format (58x51,5 cm). It is likely that Crocinus' painting was hung above the common chest to encourage parishioners to give generously, as it was in Ulm. Although not as prominent as in the case of Crocinus' painting, the image in Ulm carried a similar message of the divine approval of charity.

Illustration Twenty-One: Matthäus Crocinus, interior of Dom St. Petri, Bautzen (1641)



Illustration Twenty-Two: Picture hung above poor chest of Ulm with Jesus on the left.



Some key Lutheran objects are, surprisingly, not mentioned in the contracts.[599] Lutheran pulpits hardly feature in any of the written records. In other territories, princes and pious layfolk spent small fortunes on elaborating and building pulpits in line with the Lutheran emphasis on preaching. In Bautzen, much about the Lutheran pulpit remains unclear. The 1556 draft contract stated that the town's (Lutheran) *Diakon* should be allowed to preach from the pulpit once a week, and not in front of the altar. This suggests that up until then, the Lutherans were not permitted to preach from a pulpit. As the 1556 contract remained in draft form, it is possible that even after 1556 the Lutherans had to preach in front of the altar and not from a pulpit. This altar probably would have been the one in the Lutheran southern transept, not the one in the Catholic choir. In 1582, the Lutherans received a new pulpit donated by Juliana Krottenschmidt who also left money in her will to pay for its upkeep. This resulted in the 1583 church contract – which, interestingly, does not include any details about this object.[600]

There are a number of possible explanations for the absence of conflicts over Lutheran pulpits. Either the Catholics conceded a pulpit to the Lutherans and so no negotiations were necessary, or the Lutherans were content to preach without a pulpit, at least before 1582. For whatever reason, it is an example that runs contrary to much of what we know about Lutheranism's focus on preaching. The recurring arguments surrounding baptisms, visible in the material culture of St. Peter's church, suggests that baptisms and other rituals were more contentious than preaching. This might mean that the Catholics of Bautzen were in agreement about the importance of preaching, even if they argued for many years about other liturgical objects.

[599] For the negotiations, see also DAB, Loc. 3525, *Differenzen zwischen VCB und EE Rat 1388-1597*.
[600] Wenzel, *Dom St. Petri*, pp. 93-94. The pulpit was destroyed in the town fire of 1634.

This is not all. The Catholic altar and their elaborate tabernacle is not mentioned.[601] Absent are also any references to doors, both used for clerical purposes like marriage but also for practical purposes like entering the church. The layout of the church suggests that the Lutherans and Catholics had separate points of entry to the same church space. The Lutherans' door would have led them directly to the southern transept without having to pass, or even see, the Catholic nave. Here, avoiding a space might have been an important consideration. The choir gate and later the fence between Lutherans and Catholics was the physical division between the two parties, it is also remarkable that this is not mentioned in any of the contracts. It seems that both parties were content with this kind of spatial division and did not see a need to comment on it.

The Catholic willingness to accept preaching as integral to services might be illustrated in a woodcut from the hymn book of Johann Leisentrit (illustration twenty-three).[602] The woodcut has been interpreted as a depiction of the Bautzen *Simultaneum*.[603] It has been argued that the bearded man in the back is Lucas Cranach and the preacher none other than Martin Luther himself.[604] The main reasons for this include the painting of *Jesus at the Last Judgment* (*Jesus als Weltenrichter*) in the background, similar to one of those by Cranach the Elder, the bulky body of the possible Luther and the forked beard of Cranach.[605] However, the evidence for this interpretation is weak. Luther never visited Upper Lusatia, and there is no reason to put him into this woodcut. Moritz of Saxony also had a forked beard as did the Leipzig superintendent Nikolaus Selnecker, so the beard is no clear identifier.[606] The image of

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[601] For the tabernacle, see also Wenzel, *Dom St. Petri*, p. 89.
[602] On Leisentrit, see chapter five.
[603] Johann Leisentrit, *Geistliche Lieder vnd Psalmen.*
[604] For recent interpretations, see Scheitler, 'Kirchengesang und Konfession' in Brademann, Thies (eds.), *Liturgisches Handeln*, pp. 335-364*;* Lambert, 'Singing Together and Seeing Differently' in Dietz, et. al. (eds.), *Illustrated Religious Texts,* pp. 257-274; Harasimowicz, 'Bautzener und Görlitzer Drucke' in Bahlcke, Dudeck (eds.) *Welt-Macht-Geist*, pp. 163-176, p. 167.
[605] For Luther's Body, see Roper, 'Martin Luther's Body', pp. 350-84.
[606] Helmar Junghans (ed.), *Das Jahrhundert der Reformation in Sachsen. Festgabe zum 450jährigen Bestehen der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Landeskirche Sachsens* (Berlin, 1989), Tafel 31.

the Last Judgment at the back of the church was also a common motif. Indeed the image as a whole is similar to one by Hans der Maler in a cycle of paintings depicting the Ten Commandments painted in 1528/29 - from Catholic Dresden. The similarities between the woodcut and the painting suggest that the motif was more widely known and might not have had distinctly local connotations. Architecturally, the depiction certainly does not show Saint Peter′s realistically, but rather an idealised church space. Indications that the preacher might be a Lutheran also include the clothing, especially the hat which the preacher is wearing. However, as Ulinka Rublack has pointed out, there was no single, Lutheran style of clothing.[607] It is equally possible that Leisentrit intended to depict a Catholic service including a Eucharist, while simultaneously showing another Catholic service focused on the preaching of the word. This would be a kind of Catholicism influenced by Lutheranism's emphasis on the preaching of the Gospel but nonetheless retaining Catholic practices regarding the Eucharist.

[607] Rublack, *Dressing Up*, pp. 81-125.

Illustration Twenty-Three: Johann Leisentrit, Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen, *woodcut of communion and preaching.*



Illustration Twenty- Four: Hans der Maler, communion and preaching (1528/1529), Dresden (now in Stadtmuseum Dresden). Part of a cycle of the Ten Commandments.



6.3 Written, spatial and material sources: The case of the Bautzen baptismal font

By considering space and material culture alongside written sources, we can gain a more complete understanding of processes of change. A case in point is the Bautzen baptismal font which is one of the few sixteenth-century objects from Bautzen that survived the major town fires in 1620 and 1634 (Illustration Twenty-Five).[608] As it forms the basis of the contract between Lutherans and Catholics from 1599 we can also determine where the font would have been located.

The baptismal font of Bautzen seems to tell a story of increasing confessional orthodoxy. But this was not the kind of top-down definition of boundaries that can be seen in territories like Ernestine Saxony. In Bautzen, it was the populace that requested a greater confessional division. Lutherans and Catholics shared a baptismal font and liturgy in Bautzen for most of the sixteenth century. In 1596, the Lutherans demanded for the first time that baptisms be performed in their own font and according to Lutheran liturgy, supposedly because a drunk priest almost let a child fall into the font.[609] They secretly had a new baptismal font made and brought it into the church without the Catholics' permission in 1597. A supplication from 1597 was signed not only by town councilors but also by artisans, such as bakers, butchers, rope makers and a hat maker.[610] The first argument it made for Lutheran baptisms concerned practice elsewhere: other towns in the region already had Lutheran baptisms and, the document pointed out, even when churches were shared like in Glogau in Silesia, the Lutherans still had their own font and liturgies. The contracts of Passau (1552) and Augsburg (1555), it continued, gave Lutherans permission to carry out their own baptisms. In the

[608] Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy,* p. 301.
[609] Müller, *Versuch einer Reformazionsgeschichte*, pp. 291-292.
[610] DAB, Loc. 0027, *Verhandlungen, Gravamina und Compactata den Rat und die Domkirche betr. 1544-1598*, Bl. 52r-60r. See also DAB, Loc. 0028, *Acta, Verhandlungen, Gravamina und Compactata den Rat und die Domkirche betrf. II. Konvolut, 1599-1600*.

past, the supplication continued, the two parties could reach agreements on other matters, for 'one hand should readily wash the other'.[611]

But this wish for a greater confessional division and a more visible presence of a Lutheran baptismal font in the shared church space was only partially successful. The Catholics did not want a permanent, Lutheran font in the church and so the eventual settlement from 1599 stipulated that the Lutherans were only allowed to have a portable one. The 1597 font was moved to the less-important Saint Michael's Church (*Michaeliskirche),* where it is still used today. Every time the Lutherans used the portable font, they had to store it away again while the fixed, Catholic one remained in place.[612] The portable font does not survive but similar objects in other churches were made of wood, as they were lighter and easier to transport. The Catholics therefore might have forced the Lutherans to use a wooden font, less durable than the stone font would have been, perhaps in the hope that one day the change might be reversed. In other churches, Lutheran baptismal fonts were placed next to the altar, where everyone could see them. A key aspect of a Lutheran church, the baptismal font, was therefore reduced to a moveable object because of the nature of the Bautzen *Simultaneum.*

But the religious culture of Bautzen was not confessionally exclusive and nothing prevented the Catholics from engaging with the cultural repertoires of the Lutherans. And here, the object itself can supplement the written sources. Because what is not mentioned in the contract with the artist, the Saxon stone mason Michael Schwencke, is the decoration of the font. It shows the Holy Innocents with grapes and cornucopias on the foot of the font, and angels alternate with empty spaces on the baptistery, which might have been intended for biblical verses.[613] The font resembles

[611] DAB, Loc. 0027, *Verhandlungen, Gravamina und Compactata den Rat und die Domkirche betr. 1544-1598*, Bl. 52r-60r, 'eine hand die ander billich waschen soll'.
[612] See, Wenzel, *Dom St. Petri*, pp. 96-97.
[613] Ibid., p. 97.

ones in Pirna and Torgau, suggesting that Schwenke followed a conventional Lutheran iconography that put the children at the centre of the baptism.

The Catholics responded to the Lutherans by repairing and elaborating their font, only four years after the Lutherans had received their own. Its new cover depicted God and below it, Christ's baptism and the twelve apostles. Additional ornaments included children in baptismal shirts and the verse from Matthew: 'Let the children come to me'. Children and angels were also added to the stone font and the wooden parts were coloured. The font was finished on Easter 1604 and the artist received 150 *taler*.[614] Surprisingly, the decoration is similar to the Lutheran font. It is possible that the new Catholic inscription was meant as a subtle suggestion to the Lutherans to continue to have their children baptized by the Catholics. Certainly the Catholics' decision to renew their font so soon after the Lutherans had gained the right to carry out their own baptisms suggests that there was a sense of competition. The two parties could still see objects in each other's parts of the church, leading to a blurring of boundaries as the Catholics ended up decorating their font with a motif associated with Lutheranism.

But the shared use of the iconography of the Holy Innocents also suggests that something else was going on. The Lutherans and Catholics of Bautzen had worked out a *modus vivendi* that enabled them to coexist peacefully, sharing many elements with each other and working with compromises. In the case of the font the Lutherans requested their own font, and the Catholics compromised by allowing them to use a portable one. But the iconography of the Holy Innocents, now on two fonts in Bautzen, has also been interpreted as a symbol for infant baptism, through which Lutherans and Catholics positioned themselves against Anabaptists. [615] This tendency can also be seen

[614] Wenzel, *Dom St. Petri*, p. 100.
[615] On the development of such iconographies, see Kat Hill, *Baptism, brotherhood and belief: the meaning and development of identity in central German Anabaptism 1525-1585* (DPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, 2011), pp. 193-198.

elsewhere. The contract stipulated, for instance, that only Luther's small baptism booklet (*Kleines Taufbüchlein*) was to be used, thereby explicitly excluding the baptismal rites of Calvinists or Sacramentarians. This mode of coexistence in Bautzen, and Upper Lusatia more broadly, was therefore predicated on Lutherans and Catholics compromising with each other but defining themselves strongly against other religious groups.

Illustration Twenty-Five: Baptismal font (1597) by Michael Schwenke, in Saint Peter's Church 1597-1599, later removed to the Michaeliskirche.



Illustration Twenty-Six: Michael Schwenke, baptismal font, Lauenstein (sandstone, probably 1594).



6.4 Conclusion

The biconfessional nature of Upper Lusatia, and especially Bautzen, meant that Lutherans and Catholics influenced each other. In the case of Sigismund Suevus, Lutheranism could encompass a subtle redefinition of the medieval Catholic genre of the spiritual pilgrimage. The example of Suevus therefore calls into question the idea that that mysticism had died out by the mid-sixteenth century and provides a link to the Pietism that would become important in Lusatia in the seventeenth century. It also illustrates the flexible chronological boundary between the early modern and medieval periods.

Catholic objects in Upper Lusatian churches could also be used by Lutherans. Altars, in particular, were not only in continual use but were even restored. This was even the case in Lutheran towns like Görlitz and Kamenz, where, as far as we know, there simply were no Catholics by the late sixteenth century. The continuities should, of course, not be overstated. In the shared church of Bautzen, the demolition of many side altars shows that significant changes were made to Lusatian churches. In biconfessional towns, the Catholics could also still perform everyday tasks, so the nuns of Lauban cooked for Lutherans and sang with Lutheran choir boys.

As the example of the Bautzen baptismal font shows, investigating objects and spaces can give new insights, especially if they are combined with written sources. The written sources do not tell us about the decoration of the Lutheran baptismal font which the Catholics almost certainly copied. Lutherans and Catholics continuously influenced one another and although there were attempts at a more clearly Lutheran confessional culture in Bautzen, this was only partly successful. Space, objects and rituals were shared between Lutherans and Catholics. But this also meant that other groups were excluded in the later sixteenth century, a process which the next chapter investigates.

7. The Limits of Toleration: Oswald Pergener (1490s–1546) and Martin Moller (1547-1606)

Even in a region as tolerant as Upper Lusatia, there were religious groups which could not be accommodated. As has been argued in previous chapters, Lutherans and Catholics managed to maintain a relatively stable peace which functioned because each side was willing to compromise and abide by written agreements. This chapter traces how other religious groups tested these arrangements to breaking point.

Early in the sixteenth century differing belief systems could still be accommodated. As letters, mostly written by the town scribe Oswald Pergener, attest, there was space for a Zwinglian community in Zittau between c. 1530 and 1560. But the codification of a *modus vivendi* through the Peace of Augsburg on a national level and in local contracts meant that in the later sixteenth century, only Lutherans and Catholics could be accommodated. Both confessions feared that Calvinism might spread in Lusatia and endanger the fragile peace. The conversion of princes from surrounding areas to Calvinism heightened these anxieties leading to accusations of 'crypto-Calvinism' against preachers like Martin Moller. The exclusion of other religious groups also extended to 'mystics' and Schwenckfelders. Finally, the exiling of Anabaptists shows that even early in the sixteenth century not all transgressions could be incorporated into the Upper Lusatian religious framework. Toleration in Upper Lusatia was never about accepting all religious groups, but was rather a closely regulated system that, in the long term, enabled the peaceful coexistence of only Lutherans and Catholics.

7.1 The Zittau Zwinglians (c. 1533-1560)

The period before the Peace of Augsburg is often described as 'pre-confessional', but this did not mean that religious groups had no discernible religious identity. A case in point are letters from Zittau to Switzerland, written as early as the 1530s. There were two main correspondents: the town scribe Oswald Pergener (1490s-1546) and, after Pergener's death, the doctor (*Wundarzt*) Hans Bechrer (dates not known). They wrote to Leo Jud, Konrad Pellikan, Heinrich Bullinger and the printer Christoph Froschauer between 1533 and 1560.[616] After 1560 no further letters are known and only the letters to Zürich survive. On 12 March 1538, Oswald Pergener wrote to the Swiss reformer Konrad Pellikan (1478-1556): 'Regarding the Eucharist, we have taught for a long time dutifully and religiously [according] to the two luminaries, the teachers Johannes Oecolampadius and Huldrich Zwingli, whose works will last forever'.[617] Pergener continued: 'you convinced the majority of pious and learned individuals here to stand by your view. All admire your kindness in writing, your dedication and diligence'.[618] Later, Bechrer explicitly mentioned that he only accepted the Zwinglian understanding of the Eucharist.

But for the Zwinglians, the interpretation of the Eucharist was not only about theology, it was also about the way in which it was performed. They criticized the Lutherans for their continual use of 'popish vestments and golden chalices' and their frequent communion.[619] Instead, they commended the Bohemian Brethren for their

[616] See, Hrachovec, *Zittauer und Ihre Kirchen*, pp. 365-376.
[617] Ibid., pp. 372-376, 'Quantum ad rem eucharistię attinet, iam pridem nos pię [et] sancte docuerunt duo lumina, d[omini] Iohanni Oecolamp[adi] [et] Hul[drici] Tzving[lii], quorum monumenta in æternum durabunt'.
[618] Ibid., 'Hoc vobis persuadete maiorem partem piorum [et] eruditorum a vestra stare sententia. Mirantur omnes vestram in scribendo humanitatem, sedulitatem ac diligentiam'.
[619] Ibid., p. 375, 'vestibus papisticis et aureis poculis'. In Lauban, inventories show that traditional vestments were in use well into the seventeenth century. See AB, 2884, *Glöckner und Custodien-dienst bey der Pfarr Kirche zu Lauban (1558*-1809). In Görlitz, medieval Catholic vestments were restored in 1717 (Speer, *Frömmigkeit und Politik* , p. 377). In Kamenz, Catholic vestments seem to have been in

simple services and the fact that they performed communion 'three or four times a year'.[620] Clearly, Pergener and Bechrer perceived significant differences, even within the evangelical creeds so the peaceful coexistence of Lutherans and Zwinglians in Zittau was not a result of a complete lack of religious boundaries.

While confessional boundaries were, of course, more fluid in the years the letters were written, the Zwinglians in Zittau had a surprisingly clear sense of their theological predecessors. Unlike elsewhere in the Holy Roman Empire, the memory of Jan Hus was not revered in Lutheran circles in Upper Lusatia but rather held up as an example of a destructive heresy. Upper Lusatian Lutheran chroniclers did not claim the Hussites as their predecessors.[621] The memory of Hussitism was so negative that Catholics portrayed them as predecessors of the Lutherans whom they criticized, Johannes Hass writing for example that the Lutherans (and Zwinglians) were influenced by Hussitism.[622] This was not an attempt to create a longer history of Lutheranism but rather an implicit criticism and reminder of the destructive nature of religious divisions.

While the Lutherans did not want to be associated with the Hussites, the Zwinglians in Zittau did. Pergener commended Huss for his righteous teachings and even dated some of his letters according to the death of Jan Huss: 'Friday after the martyrdom of Johannes Huss, anno etc. 1541', an interesting alternative to dating by Catholic saints' days.[623] It is all the more remarkable because Pergener employed it in an official letter sent on behalf of the whole town to the Bautzen town council. Both in

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continual use as well. The convent of Marienstern gave the Lutheran council vestments in 1572 (St K, 5586B, *Organisation und Verwaltung der Kirchensachen und Bauten sowie Ausübung des Jus Patronatus [Patronatsrecht] (1504-1731*), unpaginated). In 1661, an inventory also records pre-Reformation chalices, St K, 5608, *Revision des Kircheninventariums und des Kirchenornats (1582-1720).*

[620] Hrachovec, *Zittauer und Ihre Kirchen*, p. 375, 'Communicant ter aut adsum[m]um quater in anno'.

[621] See Scribner, 'Incombustible Luther'.

[622] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, pp. 293-297.

[623] Hrachovec, *Zittauer und Ihre Kirchen*, p. 373, 'freytags nach Johannes Hussii, martiris, a[nno] etc. 1541'.

terms of ritual differences, and a historical identity, therefore, the Zwinglians saw themselves as a distinctive confessional group.

The Zwinglians' sense of identity raises the question of how visible they were in Zittau. Many of the letters had multiple signatories who held high positions in the urban hierarchy, including the town scribe Pergener, the councilor Konrad Nesen, Cölestin Hennig, who became mayor later in the sixteenth century, or the doctor Bechrer. They accumulated more than thirty works by the Swiss reformers which are heavily underlined and annotated. In addition, Pergener mentioned that the letters were read to many interested individuals, increasing the reach of the Zwinglians further and suggesting that they might have been read in public spaces, like inns. It is therefore likely that the Zwinglians were a discernible community in Zittau and that people knew that they disagreed with some of the Lutheran teachings which were spreading in the town.

Given their sense of belonging and their status as a discernible group in the community, their peaceful coexistence with the Lutherans is all the more remarkable. Pergener and Bechrer did not mention a specifically Zwinglian space or a Zwinglian cleric. The circle of Zwinglians who signed the letters to Zürich did not include any preachers. If we trust their insistence that they followed only Zwinglian teachings on the Eucharist (and we have no reason not to), someone in sixteenth-century Zittau must have administered the Eucharist to them. It is possible that a Lutheran cleric performed the Eucharist according to a Zwinglian rite. This is made more likely by the willingness of Lutherans and Zwinglians to interact with each other on a daily basis.

Although Pergener complained about the vestments and chalices the Lutherans used, he kept up cross-confessional connections. He worked and socialized with Lorenz Heidenreich, the first Lutheran preacher of Zittau, to whom he was also related by marriage: Pegener's wife Anna was the sister of Heidenreich's wife. In another

instance, Pergener stated explicitly that a Lutheran preacher enjoyed reading the works of the Swiss reformers.[624] Pergener even acted as church organist in Lutheran services, although the Zwinglians had a fraught relationship with music.[625] He also recommended the University of Wittenberg, centre of Lutheranism, to his brother-in-law and exchanged letters with the Lutheran Johannes Hess and the Wittenberg professor Matthäus Aurogallus.

No mention is made by Pergener of any sanctions against the Zwinglians and there is no indication that they were in hiding or persecuted.[626] The correspondents from Zittau whom we can identify held important positions in the council and could keep their posts regardless of their religious outlook. Pergener complained about the Lutheran and Catholic services but the Zwinglians coexisted openly with Lutherans and Catholics, so openly that even inhabitants of other towns in the Lusatian League knew about them. Johannes Hass pejoratively described Pergener, whom he mentioned in his council annals, as a 'half-Picard'.[627] It seems that the Zittau town council openly fluctuated between Lutheranism and Zwinglianism in the sixteenth century.

This kind of flexibility was possible because there were no written agreements on confessional coexistence in place, providing a degree of flexibility which all religious parties accepted to keep peace and order in the town. The absence of a fully fledged 'confessional culture' made it easier for individuals to transgress religious boundaries. But this did not mean that the Zwinglians did not have a sense of identity. They defined themselves in opposition to Lutherans and Catholics and saw themselves in a clear Hussite tradition. At the same time, they interacted with Lutherans and Catholics in a peaceful manner.

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[624] Hrachovec, *Zittauer und Ihre Kirchen*, p. 375.
[625] Ibid., p. 367.
[626] It is only in the late seventeenth century, that there is a persecution on religious grounds in Zittau. The Quaker Mark Schwaner was exiled from Zittau and Saxony in 1675 and fled to London.
[627] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, pp. 192-193, 'halben Picarden'.

7.2 'Crypto-Calvinists' (1590-1610)

The accusations against supposed 'crypto-Calvinists' indicate just how much the political climate had changed by the end of the sixteenth century. In fact, the only time the letters to the Swiss reformers mention Calvin is in the last letter penned by Johannes Bechrer. But even then – as late as 1560 – Bechrer did not see Calvinism as a novel threat to Lutheranism, but rather categorized it as only a continuation of Zwinglianism. He openly commended Calvin and the *Institutes*, writing that he prayed for Calvin as well as Bullinger.[628]

From around 1590, accusations against supposed Calvinists surfaced in Lusatia. They were linked to larger political developments; in the case of the 'Calvinists', a Saxon influence can be seen. Much of the fear around Calvinism resulted from the fragmentation of Lutheranism after Luther's death in 1546. Philipp Melanchthon and his allies, the Philippists, were more conciliatory than the followers of Matthias Flacius Illyricus who called themselves Gnesio-Lutherans. Because Melanchthon was willing to negotiate with Calvinists, many of his supporters were accused of 'crypto-Calvinism'. The inner-Lutheran differences also influenced princely policies. After attempts to negotiate a stable middle way between different evangelical factions, August of Saxony eventually followed a more openly anti-Calvinist line. This was partly due to the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre (1572) and continuing conflicts between Calvinists and Lutherans. As the electoral power was still a comparatively recent acquisition of the rulers of Albertine Saxony, August was particularly determined to create confessional uniformity so he exiled many Philippists in 1592.

[628] Hrachovec, *Zittauer und Ihre Kirchen*, p. 802. On Calvinism more broadly, see Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History Calvinism* (New Haven and London, 2002); on 'the Second Reformation', Harm Klueting, '"Zweite Reformation" – Konfessionsbildung – Konfessionalisierung', pp. 309-321.

Some of those exiled fled to Lusatia, where they were accused of Calvinism. The anonymous *Chronicon Zittaviense* described the 'Calvinist teachings' but did not refer explicitly to the supposed 'Calvinists' in Upper Lusatia.[629] The account focuses on Calvinism in other regions, where 'all preachers who did not want to sign [the Calvinist teachings] were chased away, and […] exorcisms were prohibited in the holy baptism'.[630] All this, the chronicle continues, undermined Luther's catechism. But God punished the Calvinist Duke Christian I, otherwise 'all altars would have been removed from the churches and replaced by tables and instead of hosts they would have baked cakes and each communicant should have taken them himself'.[631] Christian I died aged 31 on 25 September 1591 and at once, 'the leaders (*redel fuhrer*) and Calvinist preachers were put into prison'.[632] Although the author of the chronicle did not use any local reference points, his text reveals that many people in Zittau objected to the Calvinism of neighbouring Saxony. Some Silesian nobles also started to follow Calvinist teachings around 1600, but these conversions do not feature prominently in Lusatian sources.[633]

The fear of the spread of Calvinism resulted in frequent problems with clerics in Upper Lusatia. In 1591 the *Archidiakon* Just Gebhardt left his position in Kamenz after only four years because he was opposed to the Philippist Lutheran preachers in the town.[634] The councils never opposed the teachings of Philipp Melanchthon, as he was regarded as one of the founding fathers of the Reformation, but what made Philippism dangerous was a supposed proximity to Calvinism. Also in Kamenz, the Lutheran

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[629] Tino Fröde (ed.), *Chronik der Stadt Zittau 1255-1623* (Görlitz, 2013), 'Calvinische lehre'.
[630] Ibid., 'sint alle prediger vorjagtt wordenn die sich nicht haben wollenn unterschreibenn, unndt ist in dem gantzenn churfurstenn lande der exorcismus in der heiligen tauffe verboten'.
[631] Ibid., 'alle altar auß seinen kirchenn inn gantzenn seinem lande abgeschafft wordenn undt ann die stellen tische gesaetztt unndt an stadt der hostien kuchen gebacken unndt solt ihnn einn jeder communicant selber nehmen'.
[632] Ibid., 'sindt die redel fuhrer unndt calvinischen pfaffenn gefenglich ein gezogenn wordenn'.
[633] Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, p. 60.
[634] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 691.

preacher Paul Franze was accused of harbouring Calvinist sympathies.[635] It did not help that he was known to be one of the favourites of Caspar Peucer, Philip Melanchthon's son-in-law.[636] According to various chronicles, he stocked the town library with Philippist works. He stayed for only one year (1588). But it was not only his Calvinism that led to him having to leave his position. He was also very unpopular among the urban dignitaries of Kamenz, according to the chronicles, because he was 'quarrelsome and disgusting'.[637]

Serious as the threat of Calvinism spreading from nearby regions was, the fevered atmosphere also allowed accusations of Calvinism to be used to dismiss unpopular preachers. Andreas Sünder, *Pastor Primarius* in Zittau from 1579, left after a year because he had an argument with his *Archidiakon*, Bruno Quinos, over the correct way of carrying out their office. Sünder accused Quinos of arrogance and other sins, while Quinos challenged Sünder and the town council.[638] Sünder also preached against the mayor, the Jesuits and the bishop of Prague.[639] He was relieved of his post on 20 March 1580. While his preaching was not the only reason he was dismissed, it contributed to his reputation as hard to control. An unspecified church book (*Kirchenagende*) has the entry on Sünder starting with a reference to his name, which means sinner: 'he had the name and sign [and] lost the way of piety and is part of the Calvinist sect'.[640] Although Quinos was lower in the clerical hierarchy of the town, he still managed to have Sünder dismissed and took over his position as *Pastor Primarius*. Usually, it was a combination of 'crypto-Calvinism' and bad behaviour that resulted in

[635] Lessing, *Gedächtnis-Schrift derer ersten Evangelischen Predigten*, pp. 82- 83.
[636] Ibid., p. 82.
[637] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, pp. 664-665.
[638] Ibid., p. 336.
[639] Ibid.
[640] Quoted in Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 336, 'M Andr. Sünder, nomen & omen habet, nam a tramite pietatis aberauit & Calvinismus sectatus est'.

preachers losing their positions. In this manner, pressure could be put on preachers and the likelihood of their dismissal increased.

However, there could also be more theological reasons for accusations of Calvinism. A case in point is the Lutheran preacher Martin Moller, accused of crypto-Calvinism in Görlitz. Although Moller is today regarded as an early Pietist inspired by medieval mysticism, in the 1600s he had to defend himself against accusations of Calvinism.[641] His most vocal opponent was the Wittenberg theologian Salomon Gesner. Born near Wittenberg in 1547, Moller attended the town school of Wittenberg from 1560 to 1566 before going to the newly founded *Gymnasium* in Görlitz in 1566, where he received an education in line with humanist, Melanchthonian ideals. He was ordained in Wittenberg in 1572 and became *Pastor Primarius* in Görlitz in 1600, where he died in 1606.[642] Although Moller published a variety of theological works, he never went to a university and did not have a formal theological qualification.[643]

Gesner mainly turned his fire on Moller's *Praxis Evangeliorum*. In the 1601 *Warning to the estates, towns and communities in Silesia* (*Warnung an die Stände, Stedte und Gemeinen in Schlesien*), he challenged Moller on the real presence of Christ in heaven, a doctrinal point intricately linked to the Eucharist.[644] In his 1602 *Apologia*, a direct response to Gesner's *Warnung*, Moller sought to prove his piety by pointing out mistakes in Gesner's tract and reaffirming his own Lutheran orthodoxy.[645] Moller

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[641] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, pp. 167-174.
[642] Ibid.
[643] For example, Martin Moller, *Manuale De Praeparatione Ad Mortem = Heylsame und sehr nützliche Betrachtung/ wie ein Mensch Christlich leben/ und Seliglich sterben sol / Gestellet durch Martinum Mollerum ...* (Görlitz, 1593).
[644] Martin Moller, *Praxis Evangeliorum. Einfeltige erklerung und nützliche betrachtung der Evangelien, so auff alle Sontage und vornemesten Fest Jährlich zu predigen verordnet sind* (Görlitz, 1601); Salomon Gesner, *Treuhertzige Christliche Warnung für die Stände, Stedte und Gemeinen in Schlesien, das sie sich für Calvinischem und Sacramentirischen Irthumben hütten und vorsehen wollen* (Wittenberg, 1601). See also Elke Axmacher, *Theologie und Frömmigkeit bei Martin Moller (1547-1606)* (Göttingen, 1989), pp. 60-61.
[645] Martin Moller, *Kurtze Apologia und Verantwortung etlicher wenig Lehr und Troststücke, so von Doctore Salomone Gesnero, Professore zu Wittenberg, in dem new außgangen Buche, Praxis Evangeliorum genandt, angefeindet und verdächtig gehalten werden* (Görlitz, 1602).

started off by pointing out that Gesner had wrongly claimed the *Praxis Evangeliorum* had spread the 'Calvinist poison' in Görlitz, but it was intended for his congregation in Sprottau and not the people of Görlitz.[646] After this very defensive start, Moller moved on to discuss finer theological points which Gesner had picked up on.[647]

But Moller's defence shows that his theology really had a Calvinist colouring. This is most obvious when it comes to the presence of Christ. As the Calvinists thought Christ had ascended to Heaven, they thought it impossible that he was also physically present in the Eucharist. Lutherans believed that Christ was omnipresent, and could therefore be both in the Eucharistic bread and wine as well as heaven. Moller's theology was somewhere between these two interpretations. In a more Calvinist manner, he argued that the ascension of Christ was not a mere 'token' (*Schein*) and that Jesus' place really was in heaven, next to his father. Moller firmly located Christ in Heaven, where he dwelt in his place (*Wohnung*).[648] But, on the other hand, he hoped to prove his orthodoxy by referring to tracts by Luther, the church fathers and scriptural passages. And in a more Lutheran manner, he added that Jesus also lived in the hearts of all believers.[649] While many of the accusations of Calvinism seem to have been unfounded, the one against Moller therefore had some theological substance.

Moller also defended himself on the rituals surrounding the Eucharist. He wrote that he agreed with Luther and the church fathers on the Eucharist and accordingly maintained Christ's presence during the sacrament. In his defence, Moller referenced the eating and drinking of the Eucharist as an exterior symbol, before going on to discuss the interiority of the faith, in line with Lutheran doctrine. But, again, there was an ambiguity in Moller's work because he left out the word '*fregit*' (he broke), like

[646] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, pp. 167-174.
[647] Moller, *Apologia*, p.3.
[648] Ibid., p.7.
[649] Ibid., p. 15.

Calvinists and Silesian Anabaptists did.[650] He defended himself by arguing that he had always performed the Eucharist in a Lutheran manner. Finally, Moller addressed the accusation that he performed the Eucharist in a Zwinglian manner by pointing out that none of the seven mistakes in Zwingli's Eucharistic understanding identified by Gesner were to be found in his own interpretation of the Eucharist.[651]

Gesner was also suspicious of Moller because he did not attack the Calvinists openly. Moller explained that his *Praxis Evangeliorum* was not supposed to point out the mistakes of any one confession but was supposed to aid the devotion of individuals and help them as a guide through their faith. Religious conflict between the confessions, he argued, was not intended by God. This kind of irenicism is also visible in other works from Upper Lusatia, for example in the writings of Johann Leisentrit.[652] Like Leisentrit, Moller had to defend himself for a list of heretics which, in Moller's case, did not include Calvinists and Sacramentarians. But, he stressed, his book was not supposed to lead to arguments but to help people to find their way to Christ. [653] Here, the more mystical aspects of Moller's work can be seen, as he advocated a direct path to God. Moller would never dare, he continued, to follow a religion named after a single man, as was the case with the Calvinists. He argued that no man, including himself, a 'poor stinking sack of maggots' was worthy of having a religion named after them.[654] Instead, he pointed out that Christian is the best term for the faithful. After the *Apologia*, Moller did not engage in further exchanges with Gesner and although accusations of Calvinism continued to circulate, Moller seems to have convinced the Görlitz town council of his piety. The council valued him so much that even when he

[650] Moller, *Apologia*, p. 41.
[651] See Gesner, *Warnung;* Moller, *Apologia*, pp. 46-47.
[652] See Leisentrit, *Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen*; Leisentrit, *Catholisch Pfarbuch*; chapter five above.
[653] Moller, *Apologia*, p. 43.
[654] Ibid., 'armer stinkender Madensack'.

lost his eyesight soon after starting his new position in Görlitz, they kept him as *Pastor Primarius* and employed a 'support preacher' (*Hilfsprediger*) for him.[655]

The 'Calvinists' were not only attacked by Lutherans, but also by Catholics. The dean Gregorius Leisentrit reminded the Görlitz town council that they should only employ an 'honest, learned man who is properly [taught] in the Augsburg Confession'.[656] He was willing to tolerate a Lutheran – but nothing else. The councilors and the dean agreed a compromise: The council listened to advice given by a Catholic; in turn, Gregorius Leisentrit was willing to tolerate a preacher who taught the Augsburg Confession. The letter from 1596 shows that even in the confessional period when, in a town like Görlitz, the Reformation was firmly established, the councils still interacted with Catholics and there is no indication that the Görlitz council ever challenged the jurisdiction of the dean in clerical matters. Although Lutherans and Catholics could not agree on much, they both preferred the other to the Calvinists. As Bridget Heal has argued regarding visual sources, this combining of forces by Lutherans and Catholics against Calvinists was a common feature across the empire in the seventeenth century.[657]

Royal pressure from Prague also played a part in the continuing persecution of 'crypto-Calvinists'. Rightly or wrongly, King Rudolph II was informed in the 1590s that many towns in Upper Lusatia harboured Calvinists. He therefore ordered the bailiff to oversee an enquiry, in which any Calvinists who had come from 'Meißen and Saxony' and spread their 'tempting, damaging sect' should be removed. [658] The commission comprised the bailiff, the Catholic dean and royal commissaries and

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[655] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 169.
[656] DAB, Loc. 7108, *Acta allerlei protestantische Pfarrer und Pfarreien betrf: 1547-1902, II. Konvolut 1594-1599*, 'Ehrlichen, belehrten Mahn […] welcher in der Religion der auspurgischen Confesion richtig'.
[657] Heal, 'Art and Identity in Later Lutheran Germany', pp. 584-609.
[658] AB, 2308, *geistliche Güter – Kirchen, Schulen und andere (1565-1700*), 7A, 'Meisen und Sachsen', 'verführische schädliche Secte'.

summoned dignitaries from Görlitz to Bautzen to question them in 1592, including the mayors Bartholomäus Scultetus and Johann Wels, the preachers Elias Dietrich and Gregorius Richter and, because the rector of the school was too sick to travel, his deputy Martin Mylius. All of them replied that the accusations were false and that there had been no changes in church ceremonies; lessons, they insisted, were carried out in line with the Augsburg Confession and the teachings of Luther and Melanchthon. To prove their point, they handed over their school ordinance (which is not known to have survived).[659] Accusations against Mylius resurfaced in 1602, Salomon Gesner accusing him, along with Moller and the preachers Caspar Dornau and Laurentius Ludovicus, of Calvinism.[660] Though the accusations had no further repercussion for the men, they did lead to the employment of more orthodoxly Lutheran preachers.

By the 1610s there seem to have been no further controversies regarding supposed Calvinism. Interestingly, this decrease in tensions between Lutherans and supposed Calvinists was out of line with broader developments in the Holy Roman Empire. Even Duke Johann Sigismund's public conversion to Calvinism in 1613 in nearby Brandenburg did not spark any further decrees or actions against supposed Calvinists in Upper Lusatia. There are several explanations for this. Although Brandenburg was close to Upper Lusatia, they did not share a border, as Lusatia and Saxony did. Brandenburg was always more closely connected to Lower Lusatia.[661] The heightened tensions prefiguring the Thirty Years' War might also have resulted in the king of Bohemia being preoccupied with more pressing issues, rather than the confessional orthodoxy in his kingdom. In addition, the town councils guarded themselves against any further accusations by employing orthodoxly Lutheran

[659] Knauthe, *Gymnasium Augustum*, pp. 70-73.
[660] See also Robert Seidel, *Späthumanismus in Schlesien: Caspar Dornau (1577-1631). Leben und Werk* (Tübingen, 1994).
[661] On Lower Lusatia, see Heimann, Neitmann, Tresp (eds.), *Nieder- und Oberlausitz.*

preachers. Most probably, though, the death of Salomon Gesner in 1605, who accused Moller, Mylius and other Lusatians of Calvinism, meant that one particularly vocal Gnesio-Lutheran was silenced.

Although the persecution of crypto-Calvinists was only a twenty-year affair, it highlights how differently the urban elites and the royal bailiff interpreted royal decrees. Throughout the sixteenth century, the kings of Bohemia had admonished the towns to stop the spread of the Lutheran Reformation. They had also written to the deans of Bautzen warning them not to compromise with the Lutherans. In 1566, King Maximilian I sent a letter to Johan Leisentrit instructing the dean of Bautzen not to act on his own accord regarding villages on Mount Eigen and not to introduce any Lutheran elements into the villages.[662] Another letter by Rudolph II from 1581 calls on the Catholics to prohibit any 'novelties'.[663] Although the royal decrees played a part in the slow and incomplete spread of the Reformation, there is no indication that the Lutheran councilors or the Catholic deans ever fully followed the royal instructions to limit the spread of the Reformation.[664] Communion in both kinds was celebrated in Upper Lusatia in the 1520s and it took until the 1540s for the towns to accept married preachers, but by the mid-sixteenth century many Lutheran elements had been established – all against the will of the kings of Bohemian.[665] Although the councils hoped to keep up Catholic appearances during royal visits were careful not to distribute church ordinances, they knew they were acting against their superior. The Catholics in turn did not heed the royal calls to prevent Lutheran innovation.

Though Lutherans and Catholics never used royal decrees against each other, they did use them against Calvinists. In this case, Lutheran councils referenced the royal

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[662] DAB, Loc. 0001, *Acta. 15 Kaiserl. Schreiben 1435-1717*, letter 3.
[663] Ibid., letter 5, 'Neuerungen'.
[664] For Zittau, see CWBZ, A 242 / 4, *Urkundenbuch Moritz Oskar Sauppe*, fol. 147A.
[665] St K, 7023, *Acta Publica. Die von E.E. Rathe in Camentz vom Jahre 1543 bis 1763 ergangenen Geistlichen- und Ehe-Sache betreffend.*

decrees and used them to legitimize their actions. In 1603 a letter by Rudolf II similar to that of 1581 which admonished Catholics not to allow those of the Augsburg Confession any novelties, banned the publication of Calvinist works.[666] While the letter against the Lutherans was largely ignored, that instructing the Catholic dean to act against Calvinists was not. Supposed Calvinists were condemned and could lose their posts, especially if additional accusations against them surfaced. It is likely that the Lutherans were willing to shift any blame on individuals accused of 'crypto-Calvinism' to strengthen their own position and to hide the fact that, not too long ago, they were heretics in the eyes of the king themselves. Although the Peace of Augsburg is not specifically referenced in any letters, it played an important part in the actions against the Calvinists. In the 1530s, Lutherans and Zwinglians had shared a precarious position and it would have been counter-productive for the Lutherans to draw royal attention to religious transgression by the Zwinglians.[667]

Later in the sixteenth century, the opposite was the case. The Lutherans could now affirm their rule over the towns and heed the royal calls against the Calvinists at the same time. The persecution of 'Calvinists' through printed orders and tribunals led by the bailiff is all the more remarkable because there is no indication that there ever were genuine Calvinists present in Upper Lusatia. Instability was created by a largely unknown entity that threatened to undermine a carefully balanced system of religious coexistence. This is yet another instance, where towns in the East of the Holy Roman Empire differ from the better researched towns in the West. In Westphalia, for example, town councils also tolerated Calvinists who came from the Low Countries.[668] Upper Lusatia's 'toleration' was different.

[666] DAB, Loc. 0001, *Acta. 15 Kaiserl. Schreiben 1435-1717*, letter 5.
[667] See Hrachovec, *Zittauer und Ihre Kirchen*, pp. 367-376.
[668] Luebke, *Hometown Religion*.

The Upper Lusatian religious negotiations of the later sixteenth century were capable of incorporating only two factions, Lutherans and Catholics. If a third entered the fray, the balance was under threat. At the same time, the focus on 'Calvinists' gave the Lutherans and Catholics a common enemy, an 'other' that probably only ever existed in their imaginations.

7.3 Positioning Lutheranism between Calvinists and Catholics (1590s-1630s)

The new religious atmosphere in Lusatia, with rumours of Calvinism circulating, meant that the town councils and Lutheran preachers had to reposition themselves. The preachers in Bautzen, for example, had specific passages in their employment contracts instructing them only to work within a Lutheran framework. Friedrich Fischer can serve as an example. He came to Bautzen in 1594 and was *Pastor Primarius* for the next 29 years.[669] He was *Pastor Primarius* in 1599, when the baptism contract (*Taufsteinrezess*) was signed.[670] In his funerary eulogy from 1623 Fischer was hailed as someone who 'earnestly opposed all heretics and sects'.[671] This is probably a reference to the 'crypto-Calvinist' stirrings in Upper Lusatia. Even more tellingly, the instructions for Fischer show that Lutherans now had to prove their orthodoxy. His employment contract (*Bestellbrief*) stated that he must preach according to the 'right, holy prophetic and apostolic writings, the […] main symbols, the Augsburg Confession [and] the armour and weapons of Luther's writing'. In doing so, the preacher should act against any

[669] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft,* p. 35.
[670] St B, 62004-1293, *Compactata zwischen E. E. Capitulo und E. E. Rathe zu Budisin*. See also Wenzel, *Dom St. Petri*, p. 97; Jens Bulisch, '"Fried, Ruh und Einigkeit". Die Beilegung des Konfessionsstreites 1599' in Gerd Schwerhoff, Marion Völker, Stadt Bautzen (eds.), *Eide, Statuten und Prozesse. Ein Quellen- und Lesebuch zur Stadtgeschichte von Bautzen (14.-19. Jahrhundert)* (Bautzen, 2002), pp. 83-89; St B, VIII. VII. A. d. 1 2 *Vocation, Instruktion derer Herrn Pastoren bei allhiesiger Budissnischen Kirche St. Petri* (1595-1715), not paginated. See also chapter six above.
[671] Quoted in Dietmann, *Priesterschaft,* p. 35, 'widersetzte sich allen Rotten uns Secten ernstlich'.

'corrupt, dangerous' sects.[672] As early as 1592, teachers in Bautzen were ordered to spread 'pure evangelical teachings'.[673] From Zittau, a similar instruction from around 1600 survives, in which the preacher is explicitly instructed not to introduce any 'Calvinist sacrament heresy'.[674]

Judging by Fischer's works, he adhered to the stipulations in his contract.[675] He positioned himself clearly against Calvinists, particularly criticizing their understanding of the Eucharist. In his *Mysteriodidascalia*, a set of 22 sermons, he commented on the Eucharist and baptism, as well as confession and ordination.[676] According to Fischer, 'there is no article of religion over which has been argued longer and more intensely', and people were 'made mad and led into temptation' through the wrong teachings.[677] But luckily, God had sent Luther, like 'Moses amongst the children of Israel' who had shown the errors of his enemies.[678] Regarding the Calvinists' interpretation of the Eucharist, he wrote that 'Christ could have wanted to say this is signifies my body or this is a sign of my body. What, would have? What, could have? One must not look at what Christ could have said or wanted to say but what he said'.[679] Like Luther himself,

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[672] St B, 68001-77, *Bestallungsurkunde für Friedrich Fischer zum Seelsorger Augsburgischer Confession vom 27. April 1595*,'der […] haubtsymbolen, der augspurgischen Confession, sowol des Erwirdigen auserlesenen Rustzeugs Gottes Lutheri schrifften', 'corrupteten, gefahrlichen'. See also St B, VIII. VII. A. d. 1 2 *Vocation, Instruktion derer Herrn Pastoren bei allhiesiger Budissnischen Kirche St. Petri* (1595 -1715), not paginated.

[673] St B, 62004-606, *Vokation und Instruktion der Rektoren der evangelischen Schulen (1592-1709)*, fols. 1A-2B.

[674] Hrachovec, *Zittauer und Ihre Kirchen*, p. 355, 'calvinischen sacrament schwermerey'.

[675] For example, Friedrich Fischer, *Paedagogia Christiana: die christliche Haußtafel, in kurze Regeln verfasset und nach denen in des Herren D. Lutheri p. m. Catechismo angezogene Sprüchen und andern Zeugnissen* […] (Wittenberg, 1617).

[676] For the divisions the Eucharist caused, see Roper, *Luther*, p. 257.

[677] Friedrich Fischer, *Mysteriodidascalia Das ist, Die Lehre von Sacramenten, beydes in genere und specie, Von der Tauffe und Hochwürdigem Abendmahl* (Wittenberg, 1611), p. iiv, 'uber keinen Religionsartickel lenger unnd hefftiger gestritten worden als uber den Artickel von Sacramenten und insonderheit von dem hochwirdigen Abendmal […] irre gemacht unnd verführet worden sind'.

[678] Ibid., 'den thewren Mann D Luthern nicht weniger als Mosen bey den Kindern Israel forne an die Spitze gestellet'.

[679] Ibid., p. 140, 'Christus hette doch auch wohl können sagen wöllen das bedeutet meinen Leib oder das ist ein zeichen meines leibes. Was wollen? Was können? Man muss nicht darauff sehen was Christus hette sagen können oder wollen sondern was er gesagt hat'.

Fischer was not willing to make any compromises on this point and openly attacked Calvinist theology.

Not only did Fischer attack Calvinism, he also wrote against Catholics. Fischer's contract also contained an article which ordered him to defend Lutheranism in disputations against the 'old Christian church'.[680] In Fischer's comments on baptism, we can see how carefully he positioned his theology between Calvinism and Catholicism. He placed the Lutheran interpretation of the sacraments between Calvinists, who thought of it only as a symbol, and Catholics, who require a 'servant', i.e. a priest, for their sacraments. He commented that 'what they [i.e. Calvinists] do too little in one place, in another place they [i.e. Catholics] do too much'.[681]

But Fischer went further and his works could take on a polemical tone. He likened the Catholic sacraments to the seven-headed beast and commented that Catholic priests preferred a 'whoring life'.[682] In a funeral sermon for Hans von Seidlitz, a noble living in Silesia, he compared the biblical *Trostsprüchlein* with pearls, going on to add the 'Roman Pope Paulus the second collected all the pearls he could buy and […] hung himself so full of them that he had a heart attack'.[683] For Upper Lusatian standards, and considering that the Lutherans shared a church with the Catholics, these were remarkably open attacks.[684]

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[680] St B, 68001-77, *Bestallungsurkunde für Friedrich Fischer zum Seelsorger Augsburgischer Confession vom 27. April 1595*, 'alten Christlichen kirchen'.
[681] Fischer, *Mysteriodidascalia*, pp. 7-8, 'Diener', 'Was sie aber an einem orte zu wenig thun das thun sie an einem andern orte zuviel'.
[682] Fischer, *Mysteriodidascalia*, p. 12 and p. 17, 'freyen huren leben'.
[683] Friedrich Fischer, *Christliche Leichpredigt. Bey dem Begrebnüs des weiland Edlen Hansen von Seidlitz* (Bautzen, 1596), p. 3r-3v, 'wie der Römische Babst Paulus Secundus gethan der zu seiner zeit alle Perlen die er nur bekommen können auffgekauft und dieselbe zu seiner pracht und wollust gebraucht sich auch mit Perlen dermassen behangen das […] er derwegen mit dem schlage gerüret worden'.
[684] For conflicts between the Lutheran council of Bautzen and the Catholic cathedral chapter, see also DAB, Loc. 3525, *Differenzen zwischen VCB und EE Rat 1388-1597*.

Fischer is symptomatic of a town where Lutherans had to clarify their position vis-à-vis the Catholics as well as supposed Calvinists. Although there is no indication that religious violence increased in these years, the Lutherans stepped up their polemic, and the Catholics complained more frequently about them to the king of Bohemia. Paradoxically, the persecutions of 'crypto-Calvinists' also led to a strengthening of confessional boundaries between Lutherans and Catholics.

7.4 'Mysticism' (1600s-1620s)

The more clearly defined confessional boundaries also resulted in the persecution of Jakob Böhme, whose theology is another example of religious variety that was not tolerated. Böhme (1575-1624) was a cobbler who lived and worked in Görlitz and published theological works claiming divine inspiration. His parents were relatively wealthy peasants and Böhme's first visions are recorded between 1600 and 1606. It was not until 1612 that he wrote his first work, *Aurora*, in manuscript form, which was printed without his knowledge and resulted in accusations of heresy against him. He stopped writing until 1618, but then continued to publish until his death.[685] His theology was based on a personal connection to God, in which nature played a particularly important role. He was likely influenced by Martin Moller's preaching, which he would have heard in Görlitz. In *Aurora* Böhme declared that the whole of nature was his true teacher, as it was made by God and contained both good and evil, therefore representing divine power.[686] Böhme also emphasized the importance of the soul and heart, as well as reason, for understanding the divine. These were problematic

[685] Jakob Böhme, Ferdinand von Ingen (ed.), *Werke. Morgenröte, De Signatura Rerum. Text und Kommentar* (Frankfurt/Main, 2009), pp. 795-803.
[686] See Böhme, von Ingen (ed.), *Morgenröte, De Signatura Rerum*, pp. 9-507.

interpretations for Lutheran orthodoxy because they meant nature, not a preacher, was Böhme's primary teacher.

These transgressions were not tolerated by the Lutheran clergy, who had just positioned themselves so strongly against supposed 'Calvinists' and now wanted to show their orthodoxy once again by doing the same with Böhme. The driving force behind attacks on Böhme was the preacher Gregorius Richter, who was from Görlitz. In his youth, he had to suspend his studies at the university of Frankfurt/Oder for some years because he did not have sufficient funds. After holding positions as teacher and preacher in smaller towns, he returned to Görlitz as *Diakon*, the lowest cleric in the town. In 1595 he was promoted to *Archidiakonus*. On Martin Moller's death in 1606, he finally became *Pastor Primarius* on 29 June.[687] In the wake of the accusations against Moller's supposed crypto-Calvinism, the appointment of Richter was also meant to ensure that the council could not be accused of fostering Calvinism amongst their clerics. Richter was known as a staunchly orthodox proponent of the Augsburg Confession and the council thought that he would not stray from accepted religious doctrine.

While Moller explicitly encouraged personal worship and emphasized common Christian virtues, Richter displayed a very different religiosity. In drastic language, Richter accused Böhme of heretical ideas, particularly in his *Judicum Gregorii Richteri* from March 1624 in which he termed Böhme a 'plague' of the fatherland, which should be destroyed.[688] Richter magnified the danger of Böhme's influence by arguing that the cobbler had found followers in Görlitz.[689] While this was in part a rhetorical strategy, Böhme did find a small number of sympathetic supporters, some of whom were Silesian

[687] See also, Axmacher, *Theologie und Frömmigkeit*, p. 15 on Moller and Richter.
[688] Gregorius Richter, *Judicium Gregorii Richteri ... Fanaticis Sutoris Enthusiastici Libris* (Görlitz, 1624), pp.1-7, 'pestem'.
[689] Richter, *Judicium Gregorii Richteri*, pp.1-7.

noblemen who printed and circulated his works. It was also Richter who convinced the town council of Görlitz in 1613, to prohibit Böhme publishing any more books, and to confiscate his works and incarcerate him for a few days.[690] In the same year, Böhme was forced to recant all of his works because of the growing pressure. Richter believed the town council was too lenient and demanded that the councilors take more serious measures against Böhme; but they never did.

Not only did Böhme transgress religious boundaries with his theology based on natural observations and personal reflections, he also challenged class boundaries.[691] Richter, who had experienced the difficulties of gaining a theological education first hand and had steadily moved up the clerical hierarchy of Görlitz, found it unacceptable for a simple cobbler to write about the appropriate way to reach divine enlightenment. Richter called Böhme 'the Antichrist' and never used his name, instead referring to him as 'the cobbler', emphasizing his low social status.[692] The accusations against Böhme are made all the more remarkable because he was probably in the congregation listening to Richter's sermons, as his parish church would have been that of Saints Peter and Paul, where Richter was *Pastor Primarius*.

Böhme could do little to defend himself, not least because Richter moved the debate into a territory inaccessible to Böhme. Richter's *Judicium Gregorii Richteri* consisted of Latin pasquills, poems in which a more intellectual line of attack against Böhme could supplement his frequent complaints directly to the council. Böhme could not read Latin, a fact which suggests that Richter deliberately wrote the poems to discredit his opponent in learned circles and strengthen his own position, not to engage in debate with him.[693] Böhme could only muster basic defences against his more

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[690] Böhme, von Ingen (ed.), *Morgenröte, De Signatura Rerum*, pp. 800-802.
[691] Ibid.
[692] Richter, *Judicum Gregorii Richteri,* p.2, 'Sutor Antichristus'.
[693] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 181.

educated opponent, arguing that he had received his gifts from God, which he 'preferred to the whole world'.[694]

After Richter's death, his successors continued what he had started. Nikolaus Thomas, *Pastor Primarius* from 1624 to 1637, and Elias Dietrich, who held the post from 1637 to 1642 carried on publishing against Böhme, though none of their works attacked Böhme directly.[695] Dietrich refused to hear confession, give communion and deliver a funerary sermon for Böhme. The bailiff and councilors ordered that even a heretic should have a Christian burial and so Dietrich eventually gave way. Once again the councilors were more lenient than their Lutheran preachers when it came to Böhme.[696] Moller had attracted accusations of crypto-Calvinism, but the preachers who followed him remained firmly Lutheran, displaying their orthodoxy by opposing Jakob Böhme.

Although Böhme was by far the most influential thinker who sought to find a direct connection to God, there had been others. In Zittau, Michael Niedermeyer, a Bavarian farm hand (*Bauernknecht*), wanted to preach from the chancel but was not allowed to, and so had to preach in the open air and on properties of the nobility. According to a later account, he was visited by the Holy Ghost who had told him to preach penitence. From Zittau he moved to Görlitz in 1578 where the noble Ullrich Gotschen von Greiffensteyn took him in. He knew Greek and Latin, and when he was questioned by other learned men, he could converse with them on the bible and other subjects. This led some people to think that he was a Jesuit. He preached for nobles and at weddings.[697] Eventually he moved on to Meißen, where he was imprisoned.[698] No

[694] Böhme, von Ingen (ed.), *Morgenröte, De Signatura Rerum*, pp. 796-831, 'der gantzen Welt vorziehe'.
[695] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft,* pp. 185-191.
[696] Ibid.
[697] Knauthe, *Religions und Kirchen Reformation bey der Stat Görlitz,* p. 114.
[698] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft,* p. 335.

further details of the case are known and the brevity of his stay in Lusatia make it impossible to detect a reaction on the part of the urban elites.

A similar case is reported from Görlitz. In 1617, a penitential preacher called Joachim Everhard from Liebnitz arrived in town. He sang a song calling on the people to repent, for plague and economic hardship showed they were being punished by God. When asked why he preached, he replied that God had ordered him to do so.[699] In 1623, he returned to Görlitz with the same message of penitence, this time bringing pamphlets (*zettel*) with him. From there he went to Zittau and on to Prague, where he was imprisoned. A later account commented that he could converse with the preachers in Latin, was neatly dressed and did not accept money from the council or anyone else, as he said that God had given him enough food. His fellow travelers warned him that it would be dangerous to travel to Prague but he replied that he had to do what God had told him.[700]

Unlike Böhme, these other independent thinkers were fluent in Latin. They operated independently of any institutions and deliberately declined any payment so as not to be connected with clerical or urban structures. Their itinerant nature increased this sense of independence. Böhme was always closely tied to Görlitz. Because of this independence, the other preachers were also problematic for the elites but their independence also made them harder to punish.

[699] Knauthe, *Religions und Kirchen Reformation bey der Stat Görlitz*, p. 113.
[700] Ibid., p. 114.

7.5 Schwenckfeldianism (1550s-1580s)

Böhme was of low social status, but the high social status of other dissenting believers could be an advantage. A group of Schwenckfelders could express their religion because they were wealthy nobles who lived relatively independently of Lutheran, urban centres. The founder of the religion, the Silesian theologian Caspar Schwenckfeld (1490-1561), proposed a radical kind of religiosity considered heretical by Lutherans and Catholics alike. One of the most prominent backers of Schwenckfeldianism in Lusatia was the Hofmann family who lived on their estate near Görlitz. There are two further noble families, the Enders and Schützs, who followed Schwenckfeldianism for at least part of the sixteenth century.[701] Although, as far as we know, these families had no personal contact with Schwenckfeld, they adhered to his teachings.[702]

The Hofmann family could follow Schwenckfeldian teachings on their estate, but also had interactions with urban dignitaries which resulted in arguments. Görlitz had the largest number of Schwenckfeldian sympathisers. According to an account from the nineteenth century, the daughter of Hans Hofmann was not allowed to be god-mother to a child in the 1560s because of her beliefs. The *Pastor Primarius* banned her from approaching the baptismal font, treatment which stands in marked contrast to the shared use of the baptismal font by Catholics and Lutherans in Bautzen.[703] Hans Hofmann complained to the council that he was not a Schwenckfelder but rather a Catholic. It is telling that he chose this option; in the 1560s Lutherans and Catholics tolerated each other openly. When Hofmann died in 1566 his three surviving sons had to enter lengthy

[701] Max Kwiecinski, *Das Wichtigste aus der Geschichte von Görlitz* (Görlitz, 1902), p. 131.
[702] No letters by Schwenckfeld to Lusatia survive in the edition of his letters, the *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum* (Caspar Schwenckfeld, *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum*, ed. Chester David Hartranft (Leipzig / Pennsburg, Pennsylvania, 1907-1961).
[703] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 163.

negotiations about the burial of their father and finally the council agreed to bury the body with all usual honours and the sons, in turn, paid 100 Hungarian *gulden* to the hospital (*Siechenhaus*).[704] The Hofmann family was able to pay the town a larger sum for a burial than would have been customary and in this way mitigated the effect of their religious views. Someone like Böhme would never have been able to do the same.

Disputes revolving around burials were a common feature of the interactions between Lutherans and Schwenckfelders. The *Pastor Primarius* Balthasar Dietrich could not be convinced to give a funeral sermon for a member of the Hofmann family and instead his two deputies led the burial and held the sermon.[705] Later in the sixteenth century, the noble Michael Hermann was instructed to stop spreading Schwenckfeldianism and to explain himself within two months or to leave Görlitz.[706] A further episode (mentioned only in one later source), involved another descendant, Johannes Hofmann: when Hofmann died, the preacher refused to ring any bells. A complaint to Maximilian II led to the eventual agreement that the bells belonged to the town, not the clergy, and as such had to be rung.[707]

A previously unedited letter from Görlitz in 1565 reveals that the urban actors went further than admonitions when they wanted to curb Schwenckfeldianism's advance.[708] Urban and clerical actors could work together against heretics, just as they did with 'Calvinists'. The Görlitz town council wrote to the dean in Bautzen that in accordance with a royal order, they had questioned all suspicious citizens, 'regarding their religion and teaching', collected 'Schwenckfeldian and other tempting books' and had admonished the people to be obedient and to end their 'erroneous beliefs for their

[704] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 163.
[705] Kwiecinski, *Geschichte von Görlitz*, p. 132.
[706] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 164. For Schwenckfelders in Strasbourg, see Abray, *People's Reformation*, pp. 153-158.
[707] Information sheet in church.
[708] St G, no signature, *Liber Missivarum, 1547-1567*, fols. 521A-521B.

wives' and children's sake'.[709] The interrogation and the presence of Schwenckfeldian books suggests that there was a visible minority who adhered to Schwenckfeldian teachings. The letter indicates that the Schwenckfelders were pushed back to the rural countryside with relative success.

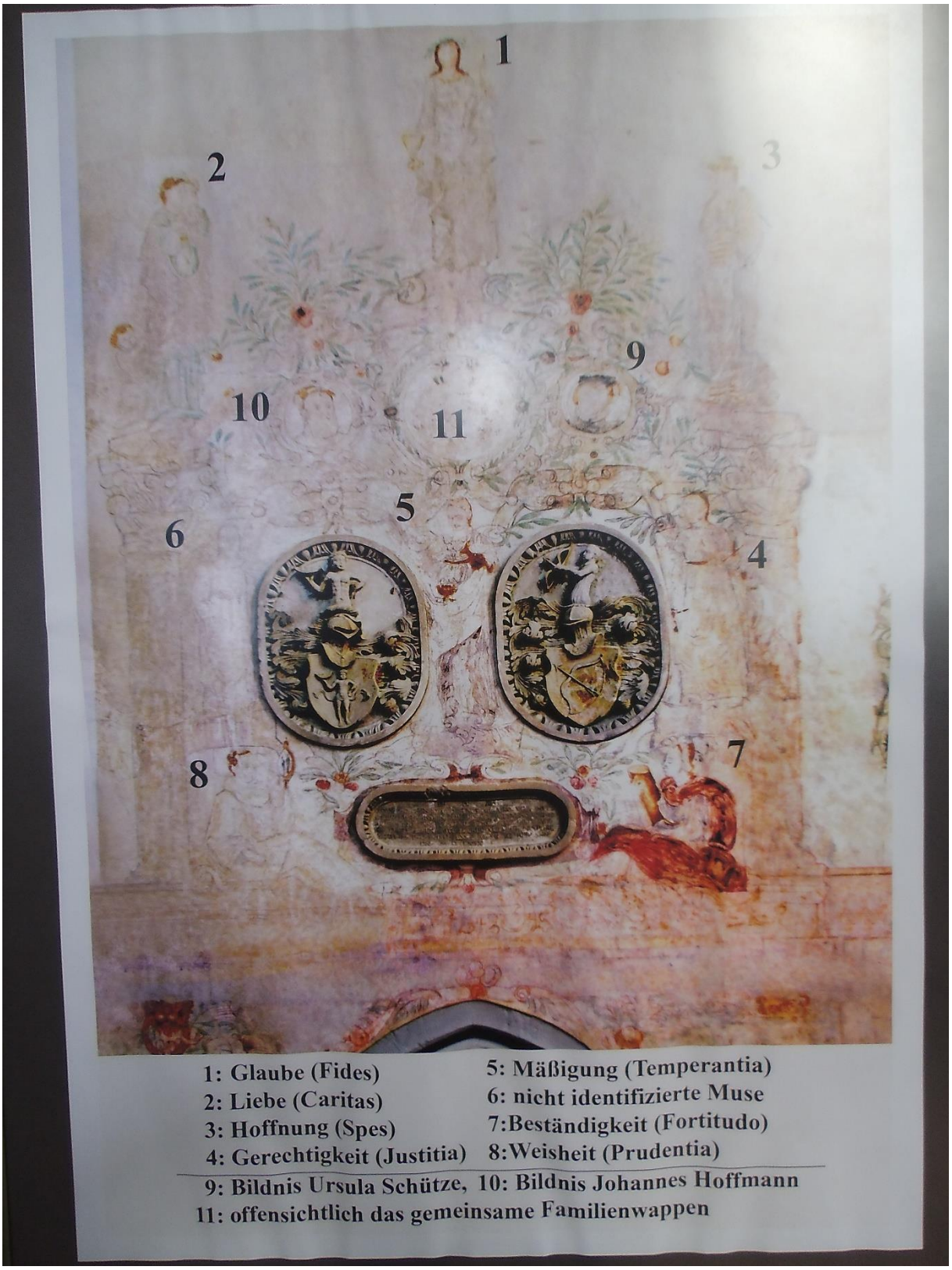
The few sources that tell us about the Schwenckfelders indicate that this was a religious grouping that fell outside any acceptable transgression of religious boundaries, at least in an urban setting. The Lutherans were willing to interrogate suspicious individuals and confiscate books because they wanted to stay on the good side of the king and the dean in Bautzen. It was easy for them to appear to be obedient councilors if they proved to the king and dean that they heeded the calls against the Schwenckfelders, which, at the same time, did not undermine their position as Lutherans in a domain ruled by a Catholic king.

Although the wealth and status of the nobles could counteract some of the effects of their faith, the disputes show that the Lutheran town council opposed them regardless. It suited the council to challenge the Schwenckfeldian nobles because the towns of the Lusatian League continuously sought to affirm their power against the rural nobility.[710] The Schwenckfelder's ambiguous position also found material expression. Although Hofmann and his wife's epitaphs are in Görlitz, they are not in the main church of Görlitz but rather in a smaller, less important one.

[709] Ibid., 'der Religion unnd Lehr halben vordechtig für unns vorbescheiden unnd nicht alleine alle […] Schwenckfeldische und ander verfhürische bücher [inter-linear: von jnen] abgefodden und jnn unser berwarsamb bracht, sondern auch mit den Personen selbst alles möglichen vleisses unnd ernster verwarnung gehandelt und unterredung gehalten von solchem jrem Jrthumb neben Jren Weib unnd kindern, abzusehen'.
[710] AW, 196053, *Verschiedene Differenzien des Landes mit den Sechsstädten betr. 1522-1715.*

Illustrations Twenty-Seven and Twenty-Eight: Epitaph of the Schwenckfelders Johannes Hofmann and Ursula Schütz.





1: Glaube (Fides)
2: Liebe (Caritas)
3: Hoffnung (Spes)
4: Gerechtigkeit (Justitia)
5: Mäßigung (Temperantia)
6: nicht identifizierte Muse
7:Beständigkeit (Fortitudo)
8:Weisheit (Prudentia)

9: Bildnis Ursula Schütze, 10: Bildnis Johannes Hoffmann
11: offensichtlich das gemeinsame Familienwappen

7.6 Anabaptism (1530s-1540s)

Space for toleration diminished as the sixteenth century progressed. Nevertheless, there was one group, the Anabaptists, which shows that certain beliefs were always unacceptable in Lusatia, even in the more tolerant earlier period. No sources by Upper Lusatian Anabaptists survive and the only indication of their story comes from documents written in an urban context.[711] Johannes Hass described the banishment of Anabaptists from a meadow (*Görlitzer Heide*) which was part of the extensive rural area belonging to Görlitz. Hass wrote that the Anabaptists, including one named Ender Steinich, were banished from there in 1539/40 and that two Anabaptists were chased away from Zittau around 1534.[712] The banishment of the two Anabaptists from Zittau in 1534 was connected to the visit of the Bishop of Vienna, Johann Fabri, who was reporting to Ferdinand I on Upper Lusatia's religious setup, and this external pressure most likely led to the banishment of the Anabaptists at a time when most confessions were tolerated in the region.[713] There are also brief references to Anabaptists around Löbau in Hass's chronicle.[714] As the Catholic Hass is our main source for the existence of Anabaptists and he mentioned them only briefly, we know no further details. One later account of the Reformation in Upper Lusatia mentions a *Magister* David, a cloth maker and supposed Anabaptist who lived in Görlitz and had to leave the town.[715] He married a cloth maker's daughter and joined the Anabaptists,

[711] For the problems with Anabaptist sources, see Kat Hill, *Baptism, Brotherhood, and Belief in Reformation Germany: Anabaptism and Lutheranism, 1525-1585* (Oxford, 2015), especially pp. 1-33.
[712] See CWBZ, A 242 /4, *Urkundenbuch Moritz Oskar Sauppe*, fols. 168A-168B.
[713] Hrachovec, *Zittauer und Ihre Kirchen*, p. 376-377. For a letter to the Swiss reformers which mentions books by Bullinger against Anabaptists, see ibid. p. 790.
[714] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, p. 8.
[715] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 164.

saying 'many godless words against our [that is, the Lutheran] sacrament'.[716] When he attacked his mother-in-law as well, he was forced to leave the town in daylight.[717]

It was important for urban dignitaries to guard themselves against any accusation of heresy, especially involvement with such 'radical' theology. This pattern had been set in the Peasants' War. George of Saxony wrote to the council of Bautzen in September 1525, responding to concerns the councilors' had voiced in a previous letter, now lost. They feared George might hear rumours that they criticized his harsh treatment of the radical reformers. George assured them that he had not heard any such rumours. The councilors were alarmed in addition because their mayor was 'also called Müntzer with his surname'.[718] They felt the need to write to George pre-emptively, even before any rumours of links to radical reformers had reached him. George's letter ended assuring them that he did not doubt the council's righteous beliefs. It illustrates how, in an atmosphere of confusion and fear of heresy, even a shared surname could prompt a council to send a letter to the authorities assuring them of their piety. Zwinglians could be accepted in Zittau in the early sixteenth century, but there were still limits to toleration, even in this early phase of religious coexistence.

7.7 Conclusion

Collectively, the variety of religious groups show how religious dissent could flourish in a domain that was politically fragmented. As the king of Bohemia never focused on recatholising Lusatia and the Lutherans did not have a consistory, it was possible for a variety of faiths to coexist in the towns of the Lusatian League. By understanding the

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[716] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 164, 'viel […] gottlosen worte von unserm hochwürdigen Sacrament'.
[717] Ibid.
[718] Felician Gess (ed.), *Akten und Briefe zur Kirchenpolitik Herzog Georgs von Sachsen. Zweiter Band 1525-1527* (re-print, Cologne and Vienna, 1985), pp. 394-395, 'euer bürgermayster eyner des zunamens auch Muntzer heyßet'.

complex confessional structure of Lusatia, we see just how many competing belief systems existed in early modern Europe. Nevertheless there were limits to toleration. In some cases, these belief systems competed, in others they could coexist. A history of the Reformation which merely focuses on Lutheranism, therefore, fails to present the complexity with which inhabitants of early modern Europe were confronted. After all, we should not forget that the eventual success of Lutheranism in the Holy Roman Empire would not have been obvious to people living in the sixteenth century. As such these other theological ideas were just as important.

Each of the groups which transgressed and challenged religious boundaries illustrates different reasons for toleration, or the lack of it. In the early Reformation years, the Zwinglians were not persecuted or even challenged and could maintain their position on the town council. They coexisted with Lutherans and Catholics without any recorded problems for three decades. But by the end of the sixteenth century, Upper Lusatia was only meant to accommodate two confessions: Lutherans and Catholics. When accusations of Calvinism surfaced, therefore, it was a serious problem. These accusations were not only problematic theologically, but politically too, because the king prohibited any Calvinism in his domains. At the same time, the Lutherans had to reassert themselves and define their orthodoxies more clearly. While Martin Moller probably inspired Jakob Böhme and therefore had to defend himself against accusations of unorthodox behaviour, his successor Gregorius Richter was Böhme's most vocal critic. Richter shows that by the early seventeenth century, attempts were being made to stamp out unorthodox behavior altogether. Through the Schwenckfelders we can see the intersection of status and religion, as it was possible for them to retreat to their rural possessions. They never, however, gained a serious foothold in the towns. The Anabaptists show that certain groups were never tolerated in Upper Lusatia, but also reveal how difficult it is to trace individuals living on the fringes of society, a fact which

scholars such as Kat Hill have also pointed out in more recent work on Anabaptism.[719] This multi-faceted religious culture is one of the most fascinating aspects of Upper Lusatian history, yet later histories frequently ignored it. The next chapter traces this construction of a more orthodoxly Lutheran history.

[719] Hill, *Baptism, Brotherhood, and Belief*, pp. 1-33.

8. Remembering the Reformation in Upper Lusatia: Lorenz Heidenreich (1480-1557) as the ideal Lutheran preacher

As the analysis of 'memory' as a historical category has shown, remembering the Reformation was never a straightforward process.[720] Upper Lusatia is a case in point. This chapter traces how the complex Reformation of Upper Lusatia was memorialized by contemporaries and authors in the eighteenth century. It takes as its starting point how these eighteenth century writers represented the first Lutheran preachers. It argues that they portrayed the Reformation in more simple terms and as more orthodoxly Lutheran than it was in reality. But things were not so clear in the sixteenth and seventeenth century when no shared Reformation narrative had been established. The chapter then argues that the portrayal of key Reformation events created a narrative of Lutheran orthodoxy in which the Sorbs had a role and where a 'Reformation language' became increasingly important. Eighteenth century authors wrote many complexities of the Reformation out of history, but scholars in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries still rely heavily on their accounts. Critically questioning these earlier accounts therefore is a crucial step to interrogate the ways in which the story of the Reformation in Upper Lusatia has been constructed.

8.1 The example of the first Lutheran preacher: Lorenz Heidenreich

In eighteenth-century accounts, the life of Lorenz Heidenreich, first Lutheran preacher of Zittau, reads like that of a perfect Lutheran. The scholar and mayor of

[720] Erika Kuijpers, Judith Pollmann, Johannes Müller, Jasper van der Stehen (eds.), *Memory before Modernity. Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden and Boston, 2013); for a French comparison see Tom Hamilton, *Pierre de L'Estoile and his World in the Wars of Religion* (Oxford, 2017).

Zittau, Johann Benedict Carpzov (1675-1739), who came from a distinguished line of Lutheran theologians, wrote an account of Heidenreich's life called *Memoria Heidenreichiana*. In it, he celebrated Heidenreich, labeling him as equipped with 'God's armour' and commenting that his introduction of the true religion should give Upper Lusatians cause to celebrate.[721] Zittau was upheld as a centre of Lutheranism because the town was the first in the Lusatian League where Lutheran preaching was recorded, in 1521. In this Reformation narrative, Heidenreich was remembered, in the words of Petr Hrachovec, 'as if a cult figure'.[722]

Heidenreich was particularly suitable for this kind of memorialization. He was born in Zittau (in 1480) and was educated at the town's school.[723] From birth, he therefore had a clear link to Zittau. He also had a connection to Luther himself. In 1518, Heidenreich studied in Leipzig, where he supposedly saw Luther dispute with Eck in 1519 and was won over to the Reformer's cause. His strong opposition to the Catholics added a further attractive layer for later biographers. Once he started working in Zittau in 1521, he preached particularly fiercely against the nuns living in the nearby convent and the monks of the Franciscan monastery.[724] He also prohibited processions with the crucifix and Host. Unlike some of the other first Lutheran preachers, Heidenreich also had a tangible impact on urban life. In 1527 he changed the poor relief (*Almosenversorgung*) and set up a common chest in the church as well as smaller donation boxes next to the doors. The new provision for the poor was announced from the pulpit and distributed to individuals underneath the organ after every service.[725]

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[721] Johann Benedict Carpzov, *Memoria Heidenreichiana, oder Historischer Bericht von dem Leben, Lehre ... Reformation und Aembtern M. Laurentii Heidenreichs* (Leipzig, 1717), p. 3, 'der teure Rüstzeug Gottes'.
[722] Hrachovec, *Zittauer und Ihre Kirchen*, p. 349, 'fast kultisch verehrt'.
[723] Annonymous, *M. Lorenz Heidenreich, erster evangelischer Prediger in Zittau* (Zittau, c. 1800), p. 3.
[724] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, pp. 331-333; Carpzov, *Memoria Heidenreichiana,* p. 7, pp. 9-63.
[725] Carpzov, *Memoria Heidenreichiana*, p. 29.

Heidenreich could be endowed with key Lutheran characteristics. For example, he administered the collections to the poor on a weekly basis, showing his charitable side. As a 'good Lutheran', he married in 1530, a decision that led to his dismissal. But even this could be interpreted in a positive way as it evoked biblical stories of exile and persecution. After he had left, he had to go to Löwenberg, where he had to become a cloth maker in order to make a living. Unwavering in his faith, he worked in a profession that was below his status but suffered the exile patiently.[726] In 1545, the council asked Heidenreich to be their preacher once more.[727] Like the Israelites, Heidenreich could return to his home town of Zittau and was able to continue spreading the word of God.[728] Sometimes Heidenreich's biography could even be connected to that of Luther. On his return, Heidenreich continued with his reformed system of poor relief in line with Luther's emphasis on the common chest. He implemented a rule by which only people with a small lead token fixed to their clothes were allowed to receive money from the poor chest.[729]

At the same time, Heidenreich was stylized as a symbol of stability. During his exile between 1530 and 1545, the council employed a total of four different *Pastores Primarii*, all of whom lost their position, some because they preached against council policies, others because they married or attempted to reverse Lutheran changes.[730] Caspar Häublein, for example, attempted to re-introduce private mass in 1542. Heidenreich's career was successful and by the time he died in 1557, he owned a large garden, two houses with the brewing rights that came with them and a smaller house.[731] This wealth was not interpreted as avarice, however, but later biographers found yet

[726] Carpzov, *Memoria Heidenreichiana*, pp. 32-36.
[727] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 332.
[728] Hrachovec, *Zittauer und Ihre Kirchen*, pp. 392-393.
[729] Carpzov, *Memoria Heidenreichiana*, p. 39.
[730] Ibid., pp. 38-40
[731] Ibid., p. 41.

another way in which they could use this wealth as a proof of Heidenreich's piety. They argued that Heidenreich, from his humble beginnings as the son of a cloth maker, managed to become a respected and wealthy citizen of Zittau through hard work, humility and, of course, true religion.

In the creation of an Upper Lusatian Reformation narrative, Lorenz Heidenreich fulfilled a key role. Although at first sight his story is relatively conventional and we do not know of any works he authored, his life was used by subsequent historians and biographers to illustrate the importance of a pious life. Not only did this demonstrate the importance of living in a proper, Lutheran manner but also that it was worth remaining steadfastly Lutheran, even in the face of adversities. Heidenreich's reward came in this world through a respected and well-paid position. In other cases the underlying assumption is that honour could come in the next world, when God would reward the righteous Lutherans.[732]

There were common themes in the portrayal of the first Lutheran preachers. Authors stressed the learnedness and tenacity of an individual who single-handedly challenged the powerful Catholic Church. The description by Karl Gottlob Dietmann (1721-1804) of the first Lutheran preacher in Bautzen, Michael Arnold, can serve as an example:

> M[agister] Mich[ael] Arnold, from 1515 was preacher and *altarist* in Görlitz and witness of the truth, which is why he had to leave from there. Thereupon he started preaching the Gospel in Bautzen from 1523 to the Germans [as opposed to the Wends] and was called as preacher to St. Peter's [church] in 1525. With these teachings and sermons he changed the life of the honourable council and the whole parish who were happy with him. […] The chapter and all those who adhered to Roman Catholicism brought it about that he was forbidden the chancel [and they] did not cease until he had left the town at the end of the year 1526.[733]

[732] On honour, see also Joel F. Harrington, *The Faithful Executioner: Life and Death, Honor and Shame in the Turbulent Sixteenth Century* (New York, 2013), pp. 3-45.

[733] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, pp. 23-24, 'M[agister] Mich[ael] Arnold, war erst von 1515. als prediger und altarist in Görlitz, und ein zeuge der wahrheit; weswegen er dort fort mußte; der hieraus schon 1532. den Deutschen zu Budißin das Evangelium gepredigt hat, und ao. 1525. als Prediger zu St. Petri berufen worden ist mit dessen Lehren und Predigen […] Leben und Wandel E[in] Hochw[ürdiger] Rath und ganze Gemeine sehr wohl zufrieden gewesen. Dem Kapitul, und allen die es mit der römischkatholischen

In this common description, the roles are clearly divided. The first Lutheran preacher spreads the Gospel and consequently the populace at large follow his teachings. It is only because of obstinate Catholics that so many of them had to leave. Ambiguities, for example the fact that the councils were confessionally mixed, are usually passed over in silence.[734]

But these portrayals also meant ignoring elements that did not fit into a Lutheran narrative, most importantly the existence of Zwinglianism in Zittau. The Zwinglians do not feature in any of the accounts of the introduction of the Reformation and it is not until the late twentieth century that the letters to Zürich were written about in any detail.[735] References to Jakob Böhme were much more common because he could be portrayed as an isolated instance of a transgression which was dealt with by orthodoxly Lutheran magistrates.[736] Few accounts refer to the accusations of 'crypto-Calvinism' which were so important for a strengthening of Lutheran orthodoxies. The accusations of Calvinism, however, were directed at Lutheran preachers and councilors which made them much harder to explain. Consequently, the authors of the chronicles decided to focus on a more straightforward portrayal of the Reformation.

A similar trend can be seen in other towns, where the first preacher was a more problematic figure and so ignored. Johannes Hass and his council annals are the main source for the introduction of the Reformation in Görlitz.[737] He portrayed the first Lutheran preacher, Franz Rotbart, in negative terms and so subsequent authors found it difficult to present Rotbart as a good example of a Lutheran preacher. [738] Although

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Religionsweise noch hielten [brachten es dahin] daß dem Arnold die Kantzel verboten wurde […] sie ruheten nicht eher, als bis er zu ende des 1526sten Jahres gar aus der stadt weichen mußte'.
[734] See Knauthe, *Religions und Kirchen Reformation bey der Stat Görlitz.*
[735] See Hrachovec, *Zittauer und Ihre Kirchen*, pp. 364-366.
[736] For example Großer, *Lausitzische Merkwürdigkeiten*, pp. 29-35.
[737] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, pp. 15-17.
[738] Ibid., p. 16.

Rotbart was the first to preach in the manner of Luther, he was also associated with the attempted cloth makers' rebellion of 1527 and as such showed a potential link between Lutheranism and rebellion. Rotbart could not be upheld as an example of orderly piety. Things were equally unclear in Kamenz, where the first Lutheran preacher was an unknown lay man. This is why the introduction of the Reformation there is dated to 1527, probably much later than when the first Lutheran changes actually occurred.[739]

Another approach to creating a more stream-lined narrative of Lutheranism entailed distorting historical sources. Samuel Großer (1664-1736) wrote that the first Lutheran preacher of Görlitz, Franz Rotbart, was innocent of anything to do with the calamitous town fire of 1525 but that the Lutheran cleric Hase, about whom we know very little, was responsible.[740] Johannes Hass mentioned Hase alongside Rotbart in his *Rathsannalen* and assigned the same amount of blame to both Lutheran clerics. [741] Großer saw the need to portray Rotbart as a paragon and so omitted details of Johannes Hass's account which state specifically that Rotbart was involved in the fire.[742] Another feature of Rotbart's biography missing from later accounts of the Reformation is his nailing of the papal bull against Luther to the door of the town church in 1521, before he converted to Lutheranism.[743] Dietmann only relates that 'soon after' his arrival he declared himself to be a follower of Luther, deliberately ignoring Rotbart's Catholicism to portray him as a Lutheran at an earlier stage.[744] By emphasizing some events and ignoring others, these eighteenth-century authors memorialized a Lutheran Reformation that was different to what contemporary sources suggest happened.

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[739] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, pp. 656-657 and Lessing, *Gedächtnis-Schrift derer ersten Evangelischen Predigten.*
[740] Großer, *Lausitzische Merckwürdigkeiten*, pp. 169-202.
[741] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, pp.1-21.
[742] Großer, *Lausitzische Merckwüridgkeiten,* p. 29.
[743] Hass, Struve (ed.), *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*, pp.1-21.
[744] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 145, 'bald nach dem Antritt seines Amts'.

8.2 Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Chronicles without a shared narrative

What were the sources for these eighteenth-century accounts? Strikingly, they were not merely copies of earlier histories, suggesting that the later authors made a conscious decision to include certain events and ignore others. Chronicles from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reflect the fluid confessional boundaries through their absence of a shared Reformation narrative. Their authors took different approaches, depending on their personal preferences. Some chroniclers reported *en detail* on the life of Martin Luther, while others have a distinctly local focus; in other chronicles still, the Reformation hardly features at all. In Upper Lusatia, no Lutheran orthodoxy had been defined by the beginning of the Thirty Years' War and as such each author recorded idiosyncratically what he deemed to be central to his town's history.[745] The only unifying factor was a negative portrayal of the Catholics.

The richness of early modern urban historiography from Upper Lusatia, with 430 pre-1700 manuscripts on the towns of the Lusatian League, is astonishing.[746] Many members of the urban elites wrote chronicles, annals or histories of their respective towns, usually starting with the foundation of the town. I will consider three chronicles which are all local in nature and have one town (Kamenz, Zittau or Lauban) at the centre of their story. Although the focus is broadened occasionally and events elsewhere, especially in other Lusatian towns, are taken into consideration, the chronicles remain largely centred on one particular town. Like all chronicles of the period, the entries include accounts of natural disasters, the punishment of criminals, the

[745] For an overview, of chroncile writing, see Rau, *Geschichte und Konfession*.
[746] Lars-Arne Dannenberg, Mario Müller (eds.) *Studien zur neuzeitlichen Geschichtsschreibung in den böhmischen Kronländern*, p. 157. Görlitz has 127 chronicles; Bautzen 123; Zittau 71; Lauban 57; Löbau 30 and Kamenz 22.

birth of 'abnormal' babies or the election of new councils.[747] The later the account progresses, the more detailed the entries. This can be explained by the greater availability of sources and eye witnesses closer to the authors' own life times. As far as we can tell, all authors were members of the urban elites and all were Lutherans [748]

The chronicle of the councilor Caspar Haberkorn of Kamenz is remarkable for how few references it makes to the Reformation. Haberkorn started writing in 1589 beginning with the earliest events of Kamenz's history. He ended the chronicle in 1593 and referred openly to 'the highly learned and divinely enlightened man, Philippus Melanchthon'.[749] He pointed out that Melanchthon had stressed the importance of reliable histories and that he wanted to contribute to this endeavor by writing a history of Kamenz. From the very first page, therefore, a reader knew of Haberkorn's confessional allegiance. Luther was not explicitly mentioned in the preface but featured later in the chronicle. For the year 1517, Haberkorn recorded that 'Pope Leo X's insolent indulgence peddler Johannes Tetzel' preached that 'when the money in the coffin rings, a soul from purgatory springs'; and that because of such 'blasphemous teachings, Doctor Luther was given a cause to teach and write against Popery'.[750] For Haberkorn, writing in the late sixteenth century, 1517 was important as a starting point of the Reformation; yet the memorialization of Lutheranism had not reached the stage of explicitly mentioning the Ninety-Five Theses. Haberkorn also showed his confessional allegiance by criticizing Catholic practices, for example processions.[751]

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[747] See Dannenberg, Müller (eds.), *Studien zur neuzeitlichen Geschichtsschreibung in den böhmischen Kronländern*. On 'monstrous births', see, Spinks, *Monstrous Births*.
[748] See also Rau, *Geschichte und Konfession*.
[749] Haberkorn, Dannenberg (ed.), *Annalen der Stadt Kamenz*, p. 1, 'Hochgelehrte unndt von Gott erleuchtete Man, Herr Philippus Melanchon [sic!]'.
[750] Ibid, p. 46, 'Bapsts Leonis X unverschembter ablaß Kremer […] So balde als der Eingelegte groschen im Kasten klünge, führen die Seelen im Fegefeuer gen himmel etc. Durch welche lesterliche lehre er D.[octor] Luthern ursach gegeben, sich mitt lehren undt schreiben wieder das Bapsthumb Eintzulassen'.
[751] Ibid, p. 49.

Why did Haberkorn choose to exclude the Reformation from the history of his town? The modern editor of the chronicle expressed his surprise at the lack of information on the introduction of the Reformation, for example on communion in both kinds and Lutheran preaching in Kamenz. He suggested that this was because the nearby Cistercian convent of *Marienstern* was still too influential.[752] While it is true that *Marienstern* remained important, Haberkorn's openly anti-Catholic comments make it unlikely that he was hoping not to offend any Catholics. Compared with other chronicles of the time, the paucity of information is not uncommon. Instead of emphasizing the introduction of the Reformation, Haberkorn pointed to events like the last big, Catholic procession in 1520. Unlike the relatively orderly introduction of the Reformation, such anecdotes seemed worthy of mention because they were part of the local folklore. The introduction of the Reformation did not have any particularly noteworthy features and by not specifically referencing the Reformation, Haberkorn made its introduction seem like a natural progression from the pre-Reformation Church. The attacks on processions, at the same time, made clear that the Reformation was to be preferred to Catholicism. Other chronicles of the region showed a similar tendency not to give details on the Reformation but rather discredit Catholicism.[753]

The anonymous *Chronicle of the Town of Zittau 1255-1635 (Chronik der Stadt Zittau)* took a different approach and focused more strongly on Luther's life, rather than any local events.[754] The author started writing the chronicle in 1591, so, just like Haberkorn, experienced events of the later sixteenth century himself. He stopped writing in 1623. The chronicle did not make any references to the introduction of

[752] Haberkorn, Dannenberg (ed.), *Annalen der Stadt Kamenz*, p. XXIII.
[753] For example, Lars-Arne Dannenberg, Mario Müller, *Chronicon Silesiae – Chronik Schlesiens* (Görlitz and Zittau, 2013).
[754] CWBZ, A 125, Annonymous, *Chronicon Zittaviense.*

Lutheran liturgical elements or any changes to the churches but instead has many references to Martin Luther's life.[755] The longest entry regards his birth in 1483:

> In this year, on the eve of St. Martin's day on 10 November, the highly enlightened man Doctor Martinus Luther was born in Eisleben in den Hartz Mountains and on the same day baptised by the name of Martin in St. Peter's Church. His father was called Hans Luder and his mother Margaretha.[756]

The next reference is for 1508 when Luther 'first came to Wittenberg and started preaching the Gospel there'.[757] 1517 is not mentioned, showing once again that in the sixteenth century, the posting of the Ninety-Five Theses was not considered to be the starting point of the Reformation. Next came Augsburg in 1518, when for the first time there were 'dealings about Luther's teaching'.[758] For 1521, the anonymous author recorded, that 'Carolus V. called the first Diet in Worms whereto Doctor Luther was also lead in company, where he [refused to] recant until he was convinced'.[759] Perhaps the most intriguing reference was to a student who 'was relieved of the oath he had sworn to Satan and for which he had signed with his body and blood' in 1538.[760] This reference to the student Valerius Glockner whom Luther convinced to foreswear the Devil is interesting because it was mentioned in other Lusatian chronicles of the seventeenth century and therefore seems to have been a particularly important aspect of Luther's biography.[761] For 1540, the author recorded that Luther had translated the

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[755] For the Reformation in Zittau, see Hrachovec, *Zittauer und Ihre Kirchen*, pp. 340-359.
[756] CWBZ, A 125, Annonymous, *Chronicon Zittaviense*, p. 87, 'Hoc anno auff s[anct] martinus abendt welchs war der 10 novembris ist der hocherleuchtete mann doct[or] Martinus Luther zu Eyslebenn am hartz gebohren unndt den selbenn tag in s[anct] peters kirchen getaufft unndt Martinus genennet. Seinn vater hatt geheissenn Hanß Luder seine mutter Margretha'.
[757] Ibid., p. 112, 'Hoc anno ist doctor Martin Lutherus erstlich gegenn Wittenberg kommen daselbst daß evangelium zu predigenn angefangen'.
[758] Ibid., p. 136, 'gehandelt vonn lutheri lehre halbenn'.
[759] Ibid., p. 14.2, 'Dieseß jahr hatt kay[ser] Carolus V. denn erstenn reichstag zu Worms gehaltenn da hinn doct[or] Luther auch in geleit gefördert wordenn da er nichts hatt widerruffenn wollen biß er uberzeugett were'.
[760] Ibid., p. 160, 'Eodem anno den 13 februari hatt doctor Martinus Luther zu Wittenberg einenn studentenn absolviret unndt erledigt vonn eyde denn er denn satan gethann unndt sich gegen ihm mit leib unndt blut unterschriebenn'.
[761] See Roper, *Luther*, pp. 415-416.

Bible and brought all the churches in the land of the electoral Duke in order.[762] Which bible exactly was meant here, since the complete Luther bible was published in 1534, not in 1540, is not clear. Finally, the author mentioned Luther's death on 18 February 1546.[763] The last reference to Luther came when Eisleben, 'in which Doctor Martin Luther was born, burnt down in 1601'.[764] The author always used Luther's title, *Doctor*, when referring to the reformer, showing that Luther, who always used the title himself, successfully shaped his own memorialization.

These references to Luther are both more numerous and detailed than the ones in Haberkorn's or indeed any other chronicle. This can partly be explained by the larger size of the Zittau chronicle. But it clearly has a very different focus to Haberkorn's account with its sole reference to Luther. It is hard to deduce anything from the absence of references to a local Reformation, not least because the author is unknown. It is possible that by referring to Luther so frequently and openly, the anonymous author wanted to display his town's orthodox Lutheran beliefs and his great knowledge of Luther, when in fact he came from a town that had had serious Zwinglian leanings in the earlier sixteenth century. As Susanne Rau has argued, these kinds of narratives could be crucial in the formation of a confessional identity.[765] While it is possible that the author did not know about these Zwinglian leanings, it seems unlikely that less than fifty years after the last letter to Zürich, they had been completely forgotten. The strong emphasis on Luther made it much harder for later authors to find references to the Zittau Zwinglians, which in turn meant that no account of the eighteenth century featured this

[762] CWBZ, A 125, Annonymous, *Chronicon Zittaviense*, p. 162.
[763] Ibid., p. 167. Luther's death is also mentioned in the late seventeenth-century *Chronicon Budissiensis*. See the transcription in CWBZ, A 30, *Collectanea Lusatica Abrahami Frenzelii – tomus sextus*, fol. 980A, 'den 18 Febr. 1546 starb D. Martin Luther zu Eisleben, und war mit 46 Pferden schwartz bekleidet nach Wittenberg begleidet'.
[764] CWBZ, A 125, Annonymous, *Chronicon Zittaviense*, p. 253, 'die alte stadt Eyslebenn auß gebrandt darinn doc[tor] Martinus Luther geborenn wordenn'.
[765] Rau, *Geschichte und Konfession*, p. 522.

part of Zittau's history. Instead the author constructed a more linear Lutheran Reformation that did not include any Zwinglianism.

How quickly the chronicles could be taken up and shape the local historiography is indicated by another Zittau chronicle, the *Chronik Jentsch*, which refers to the student's pact with the Devil in 1538 in exactly the same words as the anonymous Zittau chronicle.[766] Far from being written in an intellectual vacuum, therefore, the accounts influenced each other making Jentsch's decision to only include this one event about Luther all the more significant, as he could have chosen any of the seven events related in the anonymous chronicle. It was not for a lack of sources that chroniclers portrayed the Reformation in a certain way but rather an active choice on their part. In the Chronik Schnyrer, also from Zittau and written in 1614, yet another selection of events from Luther's life is made: His move to Erfurt, and return to Wittenberg to combat Karlstadt are the only events Schnyrer references.[767] These are not mentioned in any of the other chronicles and in this chronicle, once again, no explicit reference is made to the local or regional introduction of the Reformation, or the Ninety-Five Theses.

Another chronicle, this one from Lauban, has a different take on the Reformation. It was written by the mayor Martin Zeidler and begun in 1628, so about three decades later than the anonymous Zittau chronicle.[768] The section on religion and church matters starts with the Christianization of Bohemia, touched on the Hussites and then moved on to Luther and the introduction of the Reformation. After the Hussite Wars, 'the merciful God did no longer want to let his church die in the thick darkness of

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[766] CWBZ, A 126, Peter Jentsch, *Chronicon Zittaviense (Jentsch) Chronik der Stadt Zittau von 1426 bis 1627*, p. 78.
[767] CWBZ, A 129, Tobias Schnürer, *Chronicon Zittaviense (Schnyrer), Chronica Das ist Von anfang und Erbawung der Stadt Zittaw auch Was sonsten zur Zittaw vndt andern Örtern denckwirdigeß geschehen* […] *Gesehen und anfangen. Diesa den 8. Sept. 1614.*, fol. 33B and fol. 38B.
[768] BW, Mscr. D 37, Martin Zeidler, *Annales Laubanenses*

Popery and awakened the precious man Mr. Doctor Martinus Lutherus'.[769] The description that follows is long and detailed:

> with the help of the Holy Ghost he [Luther] discovered many horrible errors, and with his faithful helpers he brought the Holy Scripture into the light; the longer [he worked on it], the clearer [it became], and he purified the same from papal idolatry and humans' sentences.[770]

Unlike the other chronicles which we have considered, Zeidler goes into some detail on local affairs. 'In the year of Christ 1525, we accepted the first evangelical preacher', and further, 'from this time onwards our town stayed with the unaltered Augsburg Confession, as was presented by the protesting princes in 1530 to the almighty Emperor Charles V, and this stays so until this day'.[771] The rest of the entry is devoted to details about the local convent and how the council reached an agreement with the nuns. The Zeidler chronicle is therefore a combination of references to Luther and local events. In many ways, it is what one might expect of a Lutheran chronicle of the early seventeenth century: first, a clear indication of the piety and learnedness of Luther and then an explanation of the local relevance and importance of the Reformation. Zeidler is the only author who linked the broader Reformation movement clearly to a local context.[772]

What does this great variety in the perception of Martin Luther and the Reformation tell us? Some chronicles did not consider either in any detail (Haberkorn with only one reference to Luther), some included only references to Luther (the

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[769] BW, Mscr. D 37, Martin Zeidler, *Annales Laubanenses*, not paginated, 'Demnach aber der barmhertzige Gott seine liebe kirche inn den dicken finsternüssen des Babstthumbs nicht länger wollen sterben lassen, vnd den thewren Man H. D. Martinum Lutherum erwecket'. For a later perception of tthe Hussites, see also Adolph Bachmann, *Die Wiederverienigung der Lausitz und Böhmen* (Vienna, 1882), pp. 1-3.

[770] BW, Mscr. D 37, Martin Zeidler, *Annales Laubanenses*, not paginated, 'daz er mit beÿstand des H. Geistes viel greuliche Irthumb entdecket, vnd nebens den trewen gehelfffen so ihme Gott zugegeben daz H. Evangelium ie länger ie klärer an den tag gebracht, vnd dasselbe von der Bäbstishen Abgötterey vnd menschen satzungen fein gereiniget'.

[771] Ibid., fol 15A-15B, 'im Jahr Christi 1525 getretten, da sie den ersten Evangelishen Prediger wie künfftig bey gemeltten Jahren, wird berichtet werden, haben angenommen. Von dieser Zeit an ist diese Stad beÿ der Vngeändertten Augspurgishen Confession, so Ao 1530 von den Protestirenden Fürsten vnd Ständen dem großmechtigsten Kaÿser Carolo V. übergeben, iederzeit biß auff heutigen tag bestendig verblieben'.

[772] For a Catholic comparison, Hille, *Providentia*; for Lutherans, Rau, *Geschichte und Konfession*.

anonymous Zittau chronicle) while few contained both (the Wiesner chronicle from Lauban). Others varied greatly in their content hovering somewhere between all these versions.[773] Unlike other regions of the empire, Lutheranism in Upper Lusatia had no institutional centre, nothing like a consistory or *Landeskirche* which could have shaped a Reformation memory. The religious centre of Upper Lusatia remained the Catholic cathedral chapter. While all of the chronicles are highly idiosyncratic, none of them show any sympathies towards the Catholics, making this their unifying factor. But in the case of the anonymous Zittau chronicle, for example, there were few negative remarks about Catholics, while in the Haberkorn chronicle conflicts between Franciscans and the council were more openly commented on.[774] Perhaps the complex political situation of Upper Lusatia even explains the great number of chronicles. Without a regional narrative, confessional or otherwise, did the authors try to assert their towns' identity by producing so many chronicles?

8.3 Creating a Unified Reformation Narrative: The Eighteenth-Century Chronicles

In the eighteenth century, local historians and Lutheran pastors re-discovered the Reformation as a suitable topic of research. This renewed interest was connected to Lutheran clerics' perception as belonging to a long line of evangelical preachers, constructing a Lutheran identity which was not evident in earlier accounts of the Reformation. Now, a variety of authors from different towns and backgrounds found a common language to describe the Reformation. This common language was expressed by recording similar events, now deemed to be the ones that certified Lutheran

[773] The *Annalium Gorlicensium*, for instance, only mentions Luther's bible translation: CWBZ, A 28, *Collectanea Lusatica Abrahami Frenzelii – tomus quartus*, fol. 96A, 'dieses jahr ist die bibel durch Mart. Lutherum in deutscher sprache zu wittenberg zudrucken angefangen worden'.
[774] Haberkorn, Dannenberg (ed.), *Annalen der Stadt Kamenz*, p. 49.

orthodoxies. One example of this were the first Lutheran preachers discussed above, another was to create a linear Lutheran narrative through lists of Lutheran preachers leading up to the present.

In this way, Lutherans could create continuity which was helped by the fact that Lusatia belonged to Lutheran Saxony after 1635. The most complete line of Lutherans is Johann Gottlieb Dietmann's *The Complete Priesthood who turned to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession in the Margraviate of Upper Lusatia* (*Die gesamte der ungeänderten Augsb. Confesion zugethane Priesterschaft in dem Marggrafthum Oberlausitz)*. It contains a list of all Lutheran preachers from the first ones in the 1520s up until the 1770s, when the work was completed. On over 900 pages, Dietmann wrote short portraits of preachers, churches and the religious life of the six towns of the Lusatian League. He wanted to rectify errors that he had found in other publications of the eighteenth century, taking particular pleasure in pointing out small mistakes such as incorrect spellings of names.[775] He wrote similar works on Saxony and other parts of the empire and intended his work on Upper Lusatia to be the first in a series of volumes on all Lusatian towns, but never managed to complete his ambitious endeavor.[776] Dietmann drew on a number of other eighteenth century publications. Lists of preachers were not uncommon for the time: Johann Paul Oettel compiled a similar book for Plauen in the Vogtland region in 1747.[777] Like the focus on the first Lutheran preacher which developed in the same century, the lineages of Lutheran pastors enabled authors to overlook any unorthodox aspects of the Lusatian Reformation.

By focusing so strongly on the early Reformation, the eighteenth-century authors reversed the approach taken by the earlier chroniclers who largely obscured the

[775] For example, Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 879.
[776] Karl Gottlob Dietmann, *Die gesamte der ungeänderten Augsp. Confeßion zugethane Priesterschaft in dem Churfürstenthum Sachsen* (Dresden and Leipzig, 1752-1763).
[777] Johann Paul Oettel, *Zuverlässige Historie aller Herren Pastoren und Superintendenten der ... Kreyss-Stadt Plauen, im Voigtlande* (Schneeberg, 1747).

beginnings of the Reformation, either not referring to them at all or instead writing about Luther and his life. Gottfried Hoffmann (1658-1712) published a description of the preachers of Lauban in 1707 which was to create an 'uplifting memory' for future generations.[778] In a remarkably open comment, Hoffmann showed his approach to remembering Lutheran pastors. He pointed out that even if a pastor was sinful during his life time, only positive attributes should be remembered as long as he died a godly death. So important was the emphasis on the Lutherans' piety that Hoffmann was willing to ignore any character flaws: the youth should be encouraged in their studies and piety by the *exempla* of these righteous men. The less fortunate, too, would be encouraged if they read how even a humble man could be turned into a learned and respected preacher through God's grace.[779] Hoffmann even justified his use of German, he had written in a 'bad and clear' way so that even the most ignorant could read his work.[780] The construction of a Lutheran lineage and identity therefore not only served to strengthen the position of the preachers themselves, but also fulfilled didactic purposes.

Alongside Dietmann and Hoffmann, others wrote their accounts, all operating with similar narratives and copying liberally from each other. The sheer number and size of these accounts is astonishing. Johann Gottfried Lessing (1693-1770), father of the famous German Enlightenment poet Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, wrote a history of the Reformation in Kamenz, Johann Gottlieb Müller (dates unknown) wrote an 'attempt' (*Versuch*) at an Upper Lusatian Reformation history published in 1801 and Johann Benedict Carpzov (1675-1739) wrote a history of Zittau, including large sections on the Reformation, along with his biography of Heidenreich.[781] Additionally,

[778] Gottfried Hoffmann, *Lebens-Geschichte aller Evangelischen Pastorum Primariorum. Die von 1525 und also von der Reformation an bis auf diese Zeit Jn der Chur-S. Sechs-Stadt Lauban gelehret und gelebet haben* (Lauban, 1707), p. 7, 'erbaulichen Erinnerung'.
[779] Ibid., p. 10.
[780] Ibid., p. 11, 'schlechten und deutlichen Schreib-Art'.
[781] Müller, *Versuch einer Reformazionsgeschichte*; Lessing, *Gedächtnis-Schrift derer ersten Evangelischen Predigten*; Carpzov, *Memoria Heidenreichiana*; Johann Benedict Carpzov, *Analecta fastorum Zittaviensium oder historischer Schauplatz der löblichen alten Sechs-Stadt des Marggraffthums*

the two most extensive works were Johann Benedict Carpzov's *Newly Opened Honourable Temple of the Memorable Antiquities of the Margraviate Upper Lusatia* (*Neueröffneter Ehren-Tempel merckwürdiger Antiquitaeten des Marggraffthums Ober-Lausitz)* from 1719 and Großer's *Memorable Events of Lusatia* (*Lasuitzische Merkwürigkeiten*) from 1714.[782] These works also included accounts of the Reformation. The rationale, just like with Dietmann's work, was the authors' wish to honour Upper Lusatia (hence the term *Ehren-Tempel* in Carpzov's case) and rectify any mistakes they had seen in print. Both works contained transcripts of Upper Lusatian sources, Carpzov's *Ehren-Tempel*, for example, of the church contracts of 1583 and 1599 between the Catholic cathedral chapter and the Lutheran council.[783] In this way, they were very different from the earlier chronicles and they contained a great number of local reference points, detailing the introduction of the Reformation both on a local level and with regard to other German towns. These accounts, much more than earlier ones, celebrated a regional and local identity.

In some cases, these later authors were willing to be more positive about Catholics than their sixteenth-century counter-parts. Samuel Großer called the Catholic Hass 'highly meritous', for example.[784] While they all describe Catholicism in general as superstitious and idolatrous they all found positive words for Johann Leisentrit and his administration, describing him as mild and reasonable.[785] This was in marked difference from earlier chronicles which did not feature the dean of Bautzen in the same manner. It seems that with the benefit of hindsight, the authors realized just how irenic Leisentrit was. They wrote about his willingness to give up monastery buildings to be

Ober-Lausitz Zittau : auf welchem nicht nur von der Stadt Lager, Nahmen, Uhrsprung, Erbauung ... vom Anfang der Stadt biß auf gegewärtigen Zeiten schrifftwürdiges zugetragen hat (Zittau, 1716).
[782] Carpzov, *Neueröffneter Ehren-Tempel*; Großer, *Lausitzische Merckwüridgkeiten*.
[783] Ibid., pp. 245-249.
[784] Großer, *Lausitzische Merckwürdigkeiten*, pp. 169-172, 'hochverdient'.
[785] For example, Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 710.

turned into schools and his attempts to negotiate peaceful settlements.[786] So for these Lutheran authors, not all Catholics were dismissed out of hand, illustrating how a scholarly ideal of mutual toleration was starting to develop in the eighteenth century. Perhaps this slowly developing ecumenical consensus in Upper Lusatia also explains why Johann Gottfried Lessing's son, Gottholt Ephraim, was such a champion of religious toleration.

The later accounts also reinterpreted key Reformation moments. The most telling example of this are anniversaries of the Ninety-Five Theses. None of the chronicles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries referred to the Ninety-Five Theses specifically. Upper Lusatia was slower than other regions of the Holy Roman Empire to develop celebrations around this event, already important in 1617.[787] The Reformation anniversaries of 1617 and 1667 were only celebrated sporadically in Upper Lusatia, partly because of the continuous ties to the increasingly recatholised Bohemia and partly due to efforts to rebuild after the Thirty Years' War.

Unlike the earlier chronicles, by the eighteenth century, 31 October 1517 was seen as the starting point of the Reformation. Carpzov called it 'no small fortune' that his contemporaries had the chance to celebrate the Reformation anniversary in 1717.[788] While the previous chronicles varied widely in their starting dates of the Reformation, mentioning Luther's birth, Luther's move to Wittenberg or the local introduction of the Reformation, now the common factor was much clearer. In 1776, a local historian detailed the Reformation anniversary of 1767. The author wrote that the Lusatian Lochmann family had endowed a sermon to be preached on 31 October every year and

[786] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 710.
[787] See Harm Cordes, *Hilaria evangelica academica. Das Reformationsjubiläum von 1717 an den deutschen lutherischen Unversitäten* (Göttingen, 2006). On the public memory of historical events, see Aleida Assmann, *Geschichte im Gedächtnis. Von der individuellen Erfahrung zur öffentlichen Inszenierung* (Munich, 2007).
[788] Carpzov, *Neueröffneter Ehren-Tempel*, pp. 1-12, 'kein kleines Glück'.

that the donor's son had increased the money, adding a local reference point to the nailing of the Theses. He then commented on the Reformation anniversary elsewhere in Saxony, starting with Dresden.[789] Multiple shifts in memory were occurring: Firstly, from the individualistic narratives of the sixteenth century to a shared focus on key Reformation movements, and secondly, towards a stronger sense of local pride, in this case in the Lochmann's generous donation. Thirdly, Prague and Silesia were being replaced as reference points by Saxony and Dresden.

Although there was a greater interest in local history in the eighteenth century, this did not mean that all works were printed. Town chronicles by Christian Schäffer and Christian Funke survive in manuscript form in Görlitz.[790] Both of them focus on Görlitz and combine key elements of Luther's life with the local Reformation. For 1521, Schäffer recorded, for example, that Luther gave his 'confession' to King Charles V.[791] Schäffer dedicated the most space to Luther's burial (around two pages), including an image of the Reformer. He recounted how Luther died in Eisleben, how his corpse was taken in procession to Wittenberg, but he also praised the emperor for not digging up Luther when he conquered Wittenberg one year after.[792] Noticeably, however, and uncommonly for eighteenth century works, he did not mention the posting of the Ninety-Five Theses. Funke, similarly, pasted an image of Luther into his entry on the Reformer's death.[793] Both authors linked these stories of Luther's life with local events, especially the cloth makers' rebellion of 1527. Funke included hand-painted depictions of the execution of some of the cloth makers in his chronicle.[794] The visual nature of these manuscript chronicles contrasts notably to the printed works which had less

[789] Gottlob Traugott Geberecht Kirche (ed.), *NLM*, 38, 1861.
[790] St G, no signature, Christian Funke, *Kurtzes Historien oder Geschichtsbuch*; Christian Schäffer, *Annalen von Anno 1124 bis 1700 und folgende Jahre*.
[791] St G, no signature, Schäffer, *Annalen*, p. 237, 'bekendnüs'.
[792] Ibid., pp. 261-263.
[793] St G, no signature, Funke, *Kurtzes Historien oder Geschichtsbuch*, p. 284.
[794] Ibid., p. 208.

elaborate visual features. The pasted images and neat handwriting suggest that these authors did not intend their works to be printed but rather wanted to keep them in manuscript form. It is possible that they intended their chronicles to serve as a family heirloom rather than appeal to a broader audience.[795] Most events recounted in these two histories were the same as those in the printed chronicles, showing that a consensus on a Reformation narrative had been reached by the eighteenth century.

[795] On personal accounts as family heirlooms, see also Matthew Lundin, *Paper Memory: A Sixteenth-Century Townsman Writes His World* (Harvard, 2012).

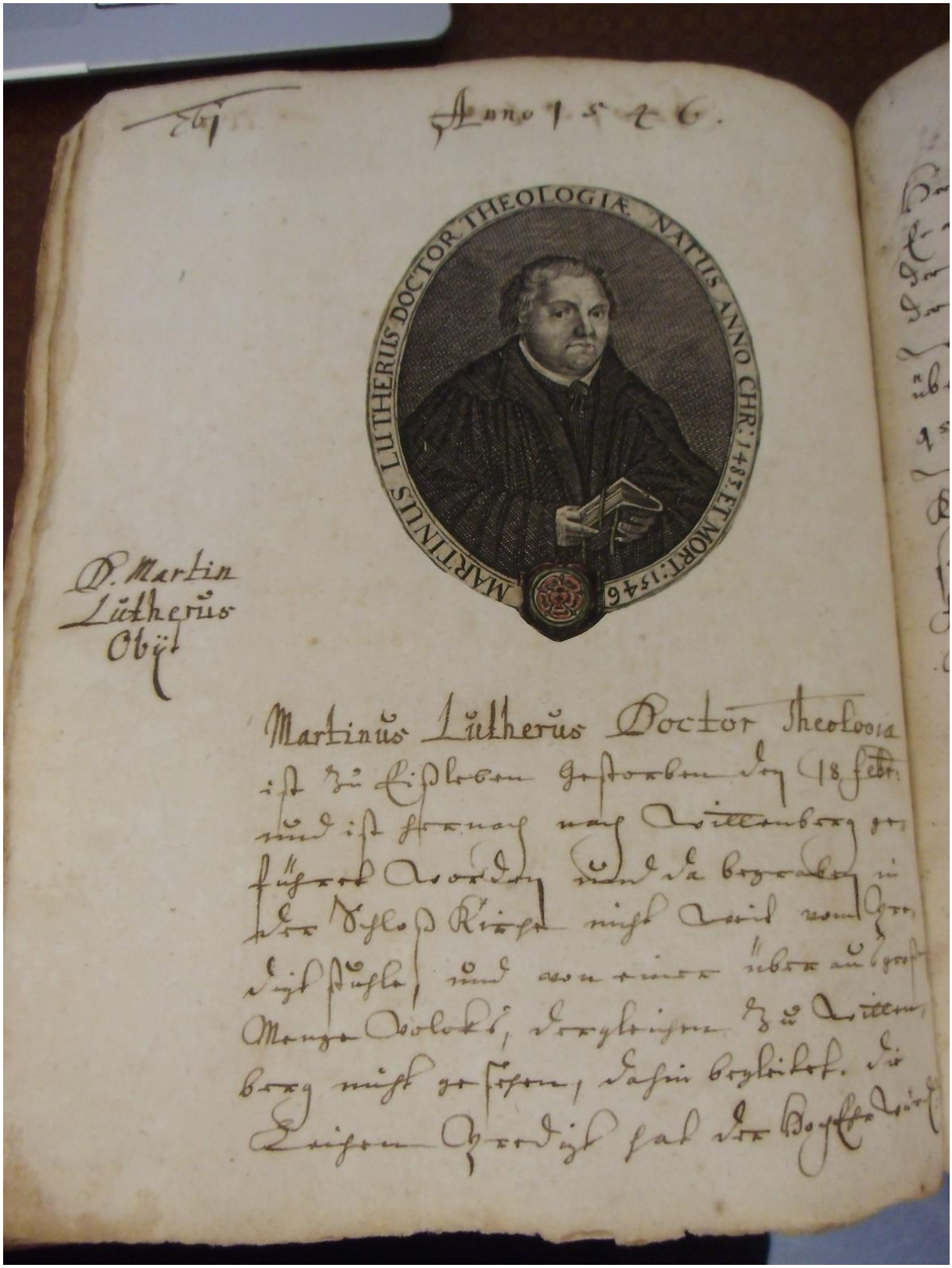
Illustration Twenty-Nine: Funke, Kurtzes Historien oder Geschichtsbuch, *entry on Luther's death, with the reformer's symbol, the swan.*



Illustration Thirty: Funke, Kurtzes Historien oder Geschichtsbuch, *entry on cloth makers' rebellion (1527*).



Illustration Thirty-One: Schäffer, Annalen*, entry on Luther's death.*



The wish to celebrate a Reformation anniversary could be so strong that it resulted in a distortion of historical events. The Lutheran preacher Christian Knauthe's (1706-1784) account of the Reformation in Görlitz is, in many ways, typical of the kinds of histories discussed above with an emphasis on the first Lutheran preacher, Franz Rotbart, and Luther but also the occasional admission that Catholic practices were tolerated.[796] As he stated in the preface, the introduction of the Reformation was 'one of the most important pieces' of history.[797] But the time frame for Knauthe's account is remarkable. He started with the corruptions of the medieval church and ended with the year 1567, which saw the 'erection of the evangelical teachings and services in Görlitz'.[798] There is no discernible reason why the Reformation changes should be considered to have been completed in 1567. Yet if we consider the fact that Knauthe finished his manuscript in 1767, 250 years after the nailing of the Ninety-Five Theses, the reason becomes obvious. By arguing that the Reformation in Görlitz was completed in 1567, he hoped for a broader reception; indeed, unlike some of the other chroniclers, he planned to publish his work. But the attempt was in vain, for the 'learned and unlearned world prefers funny and light works, rather than useful things' and so his work was never printed and remains in manuscript form in the University library of Wrocław.[799]

[796] Knauthe, *Religions und Kirchen Reformation bey der Stat Görlitz.* See also, Speer, *Frömmigkeit und Politik*, pp. 363-392.
[797] Knauthe, *Religions und Kirchen Reformation bey der Stat Görlitz*, p. 1, 'eines von denen wichtigsten [insertion: Stücken]'.
[798] Ibid., p. 4, 'Da als dan die Errichtung der Evangelischen Lehre u Gottesdienstes in Görlitz zu Stande komen'.
[799] Ibid., p. 4-5, 'itzigen gelehrten u[nd] ungelehrten welt lieber lustige und leichtfertige Werk, als nützliche Sachen liest'.

8.4 The Development of a Sorb Historiography

However, Knauthe is not remembered for this failed attempt to write a Reformation history of Görlitz, but as one of the most important authors writing on the Sorbs. He was born in Görlitz and pastor and historian in Friedersdorf for most of his life. Knauthe attended the *Gymnasium* in Görlitz and then went to the University of Leipzig from 1728. It was here that he learned Sorbian from other students who spoke the language. From 1732 he worked as a teacher in Friedersdorf, and after an interlude as preacher in Görlitz, he returned to Friedersdorf as preacher. He was one of the most prolific local historians, with works on Friedersdorf, Upper Lusatia and Sorb history. He published more than 65 works, and another eight volumes of manuscripts survive in the University library of Wrocław.[800]

Knauthe illustrates the way in which eighteenth-century scholars perceived the Sorbs and how they fit into the newly emerging Reformation narrative. His *Complete Church History of the Sorb-Wends* (*Derer Oberlausitzer Sorberwenden umständliche Kirchengeschichte*) is remarkable for its size (450 pages) and the details it provides. Throughout the book, Knauthe, who was not of Sorbian origin himself, and who was a preacher in a village without a Sorb population, took a comparatively sympathetic approach towards the Sorbs. In his time, he pointed out, Sorbs have a very bad reputation as lazy, obstinate and stupid. But Knauthe commented, even when they were heathens, they still had Gods who they prayed to. He suggested that the Sorbs did not know better and were in darkness about the true knowledge of Christianity.[801] He also took a linguistic interest in the Sorbs. The second part of his work contains grammatical and syntactic suggestions for writing and learning Sorbian, as well as a list of all books

[800] BW, 1947, *Knauthe Manuskripte*.
[801] Knauthe, *Sorberwenden umständliche Kirchengeschichte*, p. 10.

printed in the Sorbian language, including dictionaries and grammars.[802] This interest in Sorb history was unprecedented and marked the starting point of more substantial works on the Sorbs.[803]

In order to understand Knauthe's portrayal of the Sorbs in the sixteenth century, it is necessary to consider how he conceived of their earlier history, because, to Knauthe, their whole religious history was one of fluctuating piety. He started with the biblical origins of all peoples, therefore also the Sorbs. Citing Luther, Knauthe wrote that the Slavonic peoples were derived from Japhet, the third son of Noah.[804] However, with time, they turned to idolatrous practices. Like many authors before him, Knauthe explained that the Sorbs had their own idols and gods who they prayed to. Samuel Großer even included images of these idols in his *Lausitzische Merkwürdigkeiten* (illustrations thirty-two).[805] As questionable as Knauthe found these idols, he pointed out that they were right to pray to a highest God whom they called *Boh*, but wrong to think there were lesser gods.[806] Knauthe also commended the Sorbs for honouring their leaders, fathers and priests.[807] He even defended the Sorbs for their 'sins', pointing out that any people has the 'seeds of all sins' in them and that the Sorbs did not know about Christ. Even among Christians, he wrote, one could find sinners.[808] Even in this earliest phase of Sorb history, normally understood to have been full of idolatry, Knauthe found positive aspects.

In the second stage of the Sorbs' history, Knauthe picked up on the anti-Catholic elements of eighteenth century chronicles, showing the Sorbs as helpless victims. The

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[802] Knauthe, *Sorberwenden umständliche Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 368-426.
[803] Pollack, 'Konstruktion von ethnischer Alterität in der frühmodernen Sorbenkunde', pp. 3-21; Friedrich Pollack, *Die Entdeckung des Fremden Wahrnehmung und Darstellung der Lausitzer Sorben im gelehrten Schrifttum des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Bautzen, 2012). Earlier account are much short, for example CWBZ, A 30, *Collectanea Lusatica Abrahami Frenzelii – tomus sextus*, fols. 190A-197B.
[804] Knauthe, *Sorberwenden umständliche Kirchengeschichte*, p. 6.
[805] Großer, *Lausitzische Merkwürdigkeiten*, pp. 4-7.
[806] For these constructions of a Sorb identity by non-Sorbs, see Pollack, *Entdeckung des Fremden*.
[807] Knauthe, *Sorberwenden umständliche Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 46-55.
[808] Ibid., p. 60, 'Sünden', 'Saamen zu allen Sünden'.

Sorbs, according to Knauthe, remained reluctant to accept Christianity in the early Middle Ages because they could not understand German and were treated cruelly by their new Christian lords.[809] In these early Christian days, the teachings were uncorrupted and the Sorbs eventually saw the light of the Gospel. But soon after, the Catholic Church corrupted the Christian teachings with their ceremonies and superstitions and the Sorbs followed those teachings blindly.[810] This corruption also resulted in a lack of sermons in Sorbian so that the congregation barely understood a word of what the priest said during most sermons.[811] The Sorbs, like most others, were corrupted by the Catholics, making the church the chief culprit and not the Sorbs. The heathen stage, followed by the Catholic one, set the tone for the next one, when the Sorbs could be rescued from their errors.

[809] Knauthe, *Sorberwenden umständliche Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 120-126.
[810] See also, Großer, *Lausitzische Merkwürdigkeiten*, p. 6.
[811] Knauthe, *Sorberwenden umständliche Kirchengeschichte*, p. 157.

Illustration Thirty-Two: Samuel Großer, Lausitzische Merkwürdigkeiten, *unpaginated insert between pp. 5-6, images of Sorb idols.*





Once the Reformation was introduced, Knauthe's history of the Sorbs followed that of works on the Reformation amongst Germans closely. For Knauthe, the Reformation began in 1517 and his account focuses on the early years of the Reformation, including Luther's writing against indulgences in 1517, against images in

1518 and his move towards favouring communion in both kinds in 1519.[812] He did not detail any further parts of Luther's life and neglects to mention, of course, that the reformer was very derogatory about the Sorbs, and Slavonic peoples more broadly. Knauthe dates the first Lutheran converts among Sorbs as remarkably early.[813] In 1520, he wrote, the first Sorbs saw the light of the Gospel and changes were made. He connected this particularly to Paul Bosack from Postwitz whom he recorded as the first Lutheran preacher.[814] By 1523, all pilgrimages had been abandoned and communion in both kinds were administered widely.[815] Even amongst the Sorbs, the first generation of Lutheran preachers was particularly important. The shortage of Lutheran, Sorb preachers led to artisans and teachers being ordained as preachers.[816] But Knauthe did not see this as a problem, rather he described this first generation of Sorb, Lutheran preachers as truly pious and diligent. Many of those first preachers were ordained in Wittenberg by Johannes Bugenhagen or Martin Luther himself.

The first Lutheran preachers, however, were not followed by a similarly conscientious second generation, rather some returned to their heathen practices according to Knauthe. They misunderstood the central tenets of Lutheranism and saw it as a religion of freedom, as opposed to Catholicism with its many pilgrimages and rituals.[817] So between the first generations of Lutherans, and the eighteenth century, Knauthe argued, many heathen practices were resurrected and the Sorbs were once again in darkness which had to be lifted from them. On Christmas Eve, he detailed, Sorbs still threw a pea into each corner of their room to guarantee that they had no shortages in the coming year and to chase away bad spirits. According to Knauthe, the

[812] Knauthe, *Sorberwenden umständliche Kirchengeschichte*, p. 189.
[813] For a more recent analysis, see Stone, *Slav Outposts*, p. 83-91.
[814] Knauthe, *Sorberwenden umständliche Kirchengeschichte*, p. 191.
[815] Ibid., p. 190.
[816] Stone, *Slav Outposts*, p. 85.
[817] Knauthe, *Sorberwenden umständliche Kirchengeschichte*, p. 244.

Sorbs also did this at funeral meals for the same reason.[818] Another practice that continued was to tie straw onto fruit trees on Christmas Eve which was supposed to make those trees carry more fruit in the coming year.[819] Other rituals included taking twigs after they had been blessed on Pentecost, wearing wreaths on John the Baptist's to avoid headache and for the young to jump over wooden gallows to guarantee good luck.[820]

Such heathen practices meant that Knauthe and his colleagues found themselves at a point where the Sorbs needed their attention once more. In the ebb and flow of Sorb history, they had reached another low and Knauthe argued that great attention should be paid to educating the Sorbs. Knauthe wanted his fellow clergy to combat the spread of heathen or Catholic practices among them. This was, of course, convenient for an author who was a cleric himself as it gave renewed importance to the role clerics had to play in Lusatia. There is no reference to the Sorbs' own role in the Reformation, for example in translating Lutheran works into Sorbian in the late sixteenth century; and no mention of the Catholic deans of Sorb origin who lived in Bautzen in the seventeenth century. So although the Sorbs were portrayed largely in positive terms by Knauthe and his history shares features with other account of the Reformation, the Sorbs remain passive recipients to be saved once more by the Lutherans.

8.5 Finding a Reformation Language

The focus on the first Lutheran preacher, local events and stories from Luther's life, particularly the nailing of the Ninety Five Theses, were not the only way in which the recording of the Reformation changed. The emerging consensus of a Reformation

[818] On Sorb rituals, see Franc Šěn, Dietrich Scholze (eds.), *Sorbisches Kulturlexikon* (Bautzen, 2014).
[819] Knauthe, *Sorberwenden umständliche Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 186-187.
[820] Ibid. p. 187.

narrative can also be seen in metaphors and figures of speech used to describe the introduction of Lutheranism in Upper Lusatia. Some of the language was lifted from the earlier chronicles, but in other instances it was contextualized in an eighteenth century manner if the authors deemed it to be problematic.

The most common metaphor used for the introduction of the Reformation was that of light and darkness. References to the light that came out of Wittenberg are in all accounts of the Reformation in Upper Lusatia, starting from the sixteenth century.[821] As has been pointed out for Reformation anniversaries celebrated at Lutheran universities in 1717, light was a metaphor Lutherans often used, most frequently in conjunction with truth and the Gospel.[822] Dietmann, for instance, wrote that the Lutheran preachers were 'enlightened by the light and moved by the truth'.[823] Some adjectives strengthened the light metaphor, such as a 'bright light of the saving religion'.[824] Knauthe in his history of the Sorbs also employed metaphors of light. Through the Reformation, he wrote, 'the Empire of darkness was destroyed, but the Empire of the light of our savior, which is the true light, that enlightens all humans, who have come into this world [shone]'.[825] In other cases, the verbs attached to the light gave the sense that after a long struggle, the light finally 'broke through'.[826]

A variation of this metaphor of light are words reminiscent of a sun rise, so the light of the Gospel 'rose', for example.[827] In relation to these sun metaphors, Wittenberg was frequently the centre of the light that was spreading through the whole of

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[821] Großer, *Lausitzische Merckwüridgkeiten*, p. 28; BW, Mscr. D 37, Martin Zeidler, *Annales Laubanenses*.
[822] Cordes, *Hilaria evangelica academica*.
[823] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 815, 'durch das sel[ige] Licht erleuchtet und von der Wahrheit ergriffen worden'.
[824] Carpzov, *Memoria Heidenreichiana*, p. 4, 'helle Licht der wahren seligmachenden Religion'.
[825] Knauthe, *Sorberwenden umständliche Kirchengeschichte*, p. i, 'das Reich der Finsternis zerstöhret, hingegen das Reich des Lichtes unseres Heylandes, welcher ist das wahrhaftige Licht, welches erleuchtet alle Menschen, die in diese Welt kommen'.
[826] Carpzov, *Neueröffneter Ehren-Tempel*, p. 325, 'hervor zu brechen begunte'.
[827] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 47, 'aufgehen'.

Germany.[828] These metaphors of a light radiating outwards from Wittenberg were more common in accounts from the sixteenth century as authors still hoped that all of Germany would be touched by the light and then convert to Lutheranism, a hope that, by the eighteenth century, was unrealistic.

There was usually a binary division, where the Lutherans represented light and the Catholics darkness. The darkness, too, could be combined with further derogatory descriptors about the Catholic Church, for example the 'darkness and idolatry' of the pre-Reformation Church. The most detailed account of the opposition of light and darkness can be found in a later account of the Reformation, written by J. Berg in 1857.[829] He wrote that 'never would the warrior for the kingdom of light use lies, forgery, betrayal, because these are weapons of the serfs of the kingdom of darkness'.[830] This highly imaginative description of the darkness and light epitomises the differences seen by all the authors between the Lutherans and Catholics. Berg went furthest and described a battle between light and darkness, which was also connected to biblical struggle between good and evil. This binary division was so pronounced that nothing negative could be associated with Lutheranism, and so any questionable actions by Lutheran preachers were explained as a Catholic hangover.

These references to light and darkness were not uncommon in connection with the Lutheran Reformation. But in the early modern world, in towns where dark alleys could be a serious threat to life and property such phrases had other connotations.[831] Undoubtedly, the references were also connected to biblical references, most notably in Genesis: 'God said "let there be light!" and there was light', other passages include John

[828] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft,* p. 736.
[829] J. Berg, *Die Geschichte der schwersten Prüfungszeit der evangelischen Kirche Schlesiens und der Oberlausitz* (Jauer, 1857).
[830] Berg, *Geschichte der schwersten Prüfungszeit,* p. iii, 'Nimmer aber wird der Kämpfer für das Reich des Lichtes sich der Lüge, des Betruges, des Verrathes bedienen, weil das Waffen sind, die allein den Dienern des Reiches der Finsternis dienen'.
[831] Craig Koslofsky, *Evening's Empire: A History of the Night in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2011).

8:12, 'Jesus is the Light of the World'. The author who used the metaphor most extensively was Karl Gottlob Dietmann who wrote that not only Upper Lusatia was covered in darkness before the Reformation, but the whole world and all peoples.[832] The clear biblical connection and continued relevance of the theme of light and darkness – after all, this was the era of the Enlightenment - made it acceptable for authors in the eighteenth century to use the same figures of speech as their sixteenth-century counterparts. Although the semantic field around light was a popular one even before the Reformation, for these Lusatian authors it was a particularly fitting metaphor that gave a common language to a range of authors.

But there were also themes that authors in the eighteenth century were not willing to copy from earlier chroniclers. As they associated the Reformation with a purification process, any instances that ran counter to ideas of cleanliness were not taken up. One of the most frequently used adjectives is *rein*. In German, this word has multiple connotations: the Brothers Grimm define it as something that is 'free of foreign things, which is either sticking to the surface or added to something, tarnishing the characteristics'.[833] In this definition, therefore, *rein* means both something that is clean and something that is pure.[834] A person can be *rein* of sins but also *rein* of dirt. In the Swabian dictionary which also contains historic meanings of words, the word is described as 'fine, delicate' but as a secondary meaning also 'free of dirt or distortion, physically and mentally, especially morally'.[835] Reformation historians of the eighteenth century found these multiple meanings particularly appealing to describe Lutheranism.

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[832] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 12-20.
[833] Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Der Digitale Grimm* ed. Kompetenzzentrum für elektronische Erschließungs- und Publikationsverfahren in den Geisteswissenschaften an der Universität Trier in Verbindung and the Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Berlin and the Hirzel Verlag Stuttgart. http://dwb.uni-trier.de/de/, accessed 04/08/2017., 'frei von fremdartigem, das entweder auf der oberfläche haftet oder dem stoffe beigemischt ist, die eigenart trübend'.
[834] On early-modern concepts of purity, see also Burschel, *Erfindung der Reinheit*.
[835] Hermann Fischer, Hermann Taigel (eds.), *Schwäbisches Handwörterbuch, auf der Grundlage des „Schwäbischen Wörterbuches" von Hermann Fischer und Wilhelm Pfleiderer* (Tübingen, 2012), p. 345, 'fein, zart […] frei von Schmutz oder Verfälschung; phys. u. geistig, bes. moralisch'.

In Gottfried Hoffmann's history of Lauban preachers from 1707, the preaching is described as 'clean and correct'.[836] For Hoffmann, church history was divided into three ages, the first was heathen, the second was that of the church fathers which had subsequently been 'distorted [and] corrupted' by Catholic teaching. The third started with the 'purification' by Luther.[837] Purification also had connotations of order, expressed by the description of 'free of foreign things', i.e. things that do not belong there, in the Grimms' definition. This order was made explicit by a number of authors who wrote, for example, how the Reformation created a 'good order'.[838]

The purification and order, in turn, led to growth, lending itself to metaphors of a human body. Lessing, for example, described that the people of Kamenz had a 'hunger' for evangelical teachings.[839] Dietmann used another body part, the eyes, to describe the first Lutheran preacher of Bautzen, Michael Arnold, who 'opened the eyes' of the council and people.[840] By emphasising the natural growth of Lutheranism, these authors stressed how the Reformation did not lead to disorder, an accusation that had first surfaced as early as the Peasants' War, more than two centuries before. Hoffmann described the whole urban community of Lauban as a sleeping person, just like someone 'waking from a slumber' lacks orientation at first so the people of Lauban took some time to come to accept the Reformation fully and not all errors could be rectified at once.[841] It is because of these long superstitions, he argued, that the first two Lutheran preachers were too excessive in their teachings and that those men were only a first dawn of what was to come.[842]

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[836] Hoffmann, *Lebens-Geschichte aller Evangelischen Pastorum Primariorum*, p. 32, 'rein und lauter'.
[837] Ibid., pp. 15-16, 'verfälschet und verderbet', 'gereinigt'.
[838] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 759, 'gute ordnung'.
[839] Lessing, *Gedächtnis-Schrift derer ersten Evangelischen Predigten*, p. 70, 'Hunger'.
[840] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft,* p. 23.
[841] Hoffmann, *Lebens-Geschichte aller Evangelischen Pastorum Primariorum*, p. 30, 'wenn man einen Menschen aus sehr tiefen Schlaffe erwecket'.
[842] Ibid., p. 31.

Hoffmann combined bodily metaphors and the theme of light and darkness, and comments that:

> when the sun of the evangelical church which was covered by dark clouds for hundreds of years of erroneous human teachings […] broke through such darkness [and awoke] the town of Lauban from the deep sleep of great superstition.[843]

Just like the papal darkness formed a natural opposition to the light of the Gospel, the Catholic Church and its doctrine were described as a dysfunctional body. One of the most common attributes for the Catholic's Holy Communion was as a 'mutilated' Eucharist.[844] In the eyes of the Lutherans, the Catholics hacked off the lay chalice (*Laienkelch*), an essential part of the communion. Knauthe called the Catholic doctrine 'rotten'.[845] These metaphors of a destroyed body explain why the authors described the Reformation as 'healing', linking the bodily metaphors with a version of Lutheran history, where the first centuries of Christianity were pure and then became corrupted by the Catholic Church.[846]

Berg combined these metaphors, describing the Lutheran church as one made up of 'limbs'.[847] He then described that 'in this process of a pure development, necessarily everything had to be excreted what was sickly within the Catholic Church'. Inevitably, according to Berg, the excrements of the Lutheran teachings contained many Catholic practices and 'anything that was against the teachings of God'.[848] Berg's description of the Catholic teachings as excrements of Lutheranism seemed a fitting depiction of the

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[843] Hoffmann, *Lebens-Geschichte aller Evangelischen Pastorum Primariorum*, pp. 29-30, 'als die Sonne der evangelischen Wahrheit die bisher viel hundert Jahr mit den finsern Wolcken irriger Menschen-Lehre war bedeckt gewesen und hiermit unter andern auch die Stadt LAUBAN aus dem tieffen Schlaffe des grossen Aberglaubens […] erweckte'.
[844] Lessing, *Gedächtnis-Schrift derer ersten Evangelischen Predigten*, p. 48, 'verstümmelt'.
[845] Knauthe, *Religions und Kirchen Reformation bey der Stat Görlitz,* p. 34, 'verdorben'
[846] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, p. 21, 'heilsam'.
[847] Berg, *Geschichte der schwersten Prüfungszeit,* p. 38, 'Glieder'.
[848] Ibid., p. ix, 'nothwendig Alles ausgeschieden werden müssen, was in der römisch-kathol[ischen] Kirche sich Krankhaftes, von der göttlichen Lehre Abweichendes […] findet'.

Reformation process. Things became more difficult, however, when it was the Lutherans who were involved in dirty business.

Lutheran authors attempted to make sense of their predecessors who had participated in unseemly activities by portraying the crudities as a papal hangover. One of the most telling accounts of the importance of cleanliness and its contextualisation is the attempted re-introduction of Catholicism by a monk in Kamenz in 1541. In the sixteenth century, Caspar Haberkorn, matter-of-factedly reported that

> In 1541, the abbess of Marienstern gave us in Kamenz, through the power of the *jus patronatus*, a monk who had been chased away, who was in Old Dresden previously, to become preacher in the parish church. He attempted to tempt and force the populace to the old hypocrisy and abhorrence of Popery. Because the people noticed this, they persecuted him heavily, and fooled him, until he finally moved away. On that occasion, the boys threw him out of the town with stones and excrement.[849]

Haberkorn's account is clearly anti-Catholic but he reserves any judgement about the boys' actions.

Things were rather different in the eighteenth century. Gottlob Dietmann gave an account similar to Haberkorn's, relating the story and copying parts of Haberkorn's description, specifically that the former monk 'attempted to tempt and force the populace to the old hypocrisy and abhorrence of Popery'.[850] After this re-telling of the story closely based on the contemporary accounts, he strayed from his source:

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[849] Haberkorn, Dannenberg (ed.), *Annalen der Stadt Kamenz*, pp. 58-59, 'Anno 1541 Hatt die Eptischin zu Marienstern uns zu Camentz, Krafft ihres Juris patronatus, Einen Veriagten Münch, welcher zuvor Prior zu Alten Dreßden gewesen, herein gesetzt, das Predigtampt In der Pfarrkirchen alhie zuuersorgen. Der hat sich unterstanden, das Volck wieder zu der alten heuchelei undt Grewels des Bapsthumbs zuuerführen undt zuzwingen. Da die Leute diß vermerckt, haben sie Ihn auffs höchste verfolgt, und viel schalckheitt angelegt, biß er Endlich dauon gezogen. Da haben Ihn die Buben mitt steinen undt Koth zur Stadt hinaus geworffen'.

[850] Dietmann, *Priesterschaft*, pp. 658-659, 'wiederum zu der alten Häuchelei und zu den Greueln des Papstthums zu verführen und zu zwingen'.

> So people chased him away [after discovering his attempts to convert people to Catholicism]. But the ill-mannered mob […] followed him out of the town with excrement and stones, which, of course, could not be approved by the reasonable and understanding.[851]

Dietmann clearly saw the need to distance himself from the actions of the Lutherans and portrayed the stone-throwers as an uncontrollable mob which was in no way associated with the 'reasonable' Lutheran town councillors. Dietmann was not entirely opposed to describing the bodily realities of early-modern life. His source, however, had not mentioned any such disapproval, suggesting that this was Dietmann's later fabrication.

Johann Gottfried Lessing struggled similarly to explain why the Lutheran youths had thrown stone and excrements at the Catholic preacher. The only explanation he could muster was that such behaviour was possible only because the old, Catholic 'foolery' was still engrained in the youths. According to Lessing, they were forced by a still-present Catholic 'conscience' to carry out the act of throwing faeces, making it sound as if this was a common practice amongst Catholics: Lutherans, by contrast, were 'clean'.[852] The council, he wrote later in the same passage, were completely opposed to any such excesses and they consequently appointed the Lutheran preacher Johann Kittel who preached the Gospel 'cleanly and purely'.[853]

For his part, Christian Knauthe blamed such rowdy behaviour on class. He explained that pots with 'human excrement' were put on the chancel in Görlitz's Franciscan monastery in 1527 when the monk N. Messerschmid preached. 'The people', he explained, disliked him, but only 'the mob' put the pots of excrement onto the chancel. All righteous evangelicals, he continued, were saddened by this deed and

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[851] Ibid., 'so hat man ihn wieder fortgejagt; wobey sich der ungezogene Pöbel muthwillig gnug bezeiget ihn mit Koth und Steinen zur Stadt hinaus verfolget hat, welches freylich die Einsichtigen und Verständigen nicht haben billigen können'.
[852] Lessing, *Gedächtnis-Schrift derer ersten Evangelischen Predigten*, p. 73, 'Gaucekeleien', 'Gewissenszwang', 'Jugendliche'.
[853] Ibid., 'sauber und rein'.

detested it.[854] In this way, later historians of the Upper Lusatian Reformation attempted to distance themselves from what to their mind were the crude actions of the early Lutherans. Interestingly too, human excrement was mentioned in their sources in another incident, when the Catholic dean of Bautzen complained about Lutherans 'doing their business' in the pews while they preached.[855] This is not picked up at all in the eighteenth century accounts of the Reformation.

The two themes of light and darkness, and body metaphors and cleanliness show how some elements of chronicles were picked up by later historians, while others were ignored. The theme of light and darkness remained popular amongst historians of the Reformation in the eighteenth century. Indeed, even today Wittenberg is frequently described as a centre of Lutheranism which 'radiated' (*strahlen*) outwards, showing the long-lasting impact of the metaphor of sun and light for the Reformation.[856] Early modern sensitivities regarding excrement were more problematic, and eighteenth century accounts tended to airbrush such incidents out. Consequently, modern interpretations of the Reformation rarely contain references to such stories which sit uneasily with a story of the Reformation that was supposed to have led to a cleansing of the early modern world. Perhaps, though this is never explicitly stated, the eighteenth century authors also wanted to distance themselves from the use of faeces for comic purposes because it would not have fitted with their Enlightenment worldview of Lutheranism as a harbinger of a rational Europe.

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[854] Knauthe, *Religions und Kirchen Reformation bey der Stat Görlitz*, p. 55, 'Menschen koth', 'Volck', 'Pöbel'.
[855] St B, 62004-1295, *Streitigkeiten wegen Anlegung eines Ganges unterhalb der Kirche St. Petri (1610-1619)*.
[856] Asche et. al. (eds.), *Leucorea zur Zeit des späten Melanchthon*, p. i, 'Strahlkraft'.

8.6 Conclusion

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries each author wrote a Reformation history according to their personal preferences. It was only in the eighteenth century that a shared Reformation narrative emerged. This newly-developed narrative impacted all aspects of Lusatian historiography: the perception of the Sorbs, the language used by the authors and the clerics' own self-understanding. The first Lutheran preacher as well as Martin Luther himself took on a greater importance than they had in earlier periods. Now, writers even pasted images of the reformer into their accounts, anchoring them firmly in a Lutheran orthodoxy that ignored the heterodoxy that defined Upper Lusatia in the sixteenth century.

Eighteenth-century regional historians continue to influence writings on the Upper Lusatian Reformation to this day, along with their sometimes problematic portrayal of the Reformation. Unlike in Poland, where a process of forgetting certain aspects of the Reformation only started in the 1960s, in Lusatia some features of the Reformation were already excluded in the eighteenth century.[857] It is only in recent decades that any attention has been paid to the Zwinglians in Zittau and the discovery of some of the letters in the 2000s shows that this particular aspect of the Zittau Reformation has only recently been added to the scholarly agenda. Similarly, there are hardly any studies on the 'Crypto-Calvinists' in Görlitz and Bautzen which were so crucial for a repositioning of Lutheranism in the whole region. In Upper Lusatian historiography, the Reformation has so far not been understood as a long-lasting process and instead the few histories of the Reformation that exist usually end in the 1550s. Perhaps this is an echo of the focus on the first Lutheran preacher which skewed later

[857] Natalia Nowakowska, 'Forgetting Lutheranism: Historians and the Early Reformation in Poland (1517-1548)' in *Church History and Religious Culture*, 92/2-3, 2012, pp. 281-303.

historiography towards the beginning of the sixteenth century. In a sense, many modern historians continue the trajectory which the eighteenth century scholars started.

This is also visible in the most recent commemorations of the Reformation: the anniversary of Martin Luther's nailing of the Ninety-Five Theses in 2017. Although there has been a change in perception in some respects, for example the greater importance of Jakob Böhme, some elements of the eighteenth century accounts are still visible in the current celebrations. A strong focus on certain Lutheran preachers remains, like Lorenz Heidenreich, but not more problematic ones, like Franz Rotbart. And, as the seventeenth century chronicles show, the nailing of the Ninety-Five Theses as a key moment in Reformation history was a much later construct.

By problematizing the memorialisation of the Reformation, both in the early modern period and the eighteenth century, this chapter has shown how authors created their own Reformation narratives heavily influenced by their own circumstances. The reliance of modern historians on such flawed histories from the eighteenth century makes an account which is based on archival research and the application of more recent historiographical paradigms all the more important.

9. Conclusion: A Syncretistic Reformation

As we started with a royal visit to Upper Lusatia, it seems fitting to end with another such visit. Emperor Rudolf II. came to Bautzen in the mid-1570s when, as we have seen, the main church of Saint Peter's was shared by Lutherans and Catholics. Owing to this arrangement, the king initially refused to enter the church. Eventually he was convinced to walk through it, as this was expected of him. But he still chose to show his confessional allegiance. He quickly marched through the Lutheran nave and only took off his hat when he entered the Catholic choir. He probably attended the mass in the Catholic choir, surrounded by an otherwise Lutheran clerical space. When the papal nuntius Delfino, who travelled with him, demanded to see the papal dispensation allowing the Catholics to uphold the *Simultaneum*, the dean, Johann Leisentrit, answered that the only person in the whole of Bautzen who had a key to the archive cupboard containing the dispensation was (conveniently) out of town.[858] Shortly afterwards, Rudolf II. admonished the towns to stop the spread of Calvinism. Clearly, he was willing to tolerate Lutherans in his domain, but no other religious groups.

This visit shows how Upper Lusatia furthers our understanding of religious pluralism in the early modern world. The king was willing to engage with a Lutheran town and compromised with the Lutherans by entering their space, showing how it was possible for a Lutheran territory to be ruled by a Catholic king. The king's representatives and the Lutheran town councils had to negotiate constantly, and both of them also had to bear in mind the Sorb population which made up as much as a third of the population in towns like Bautzen. Peace was guaranteed through verbal and written

[858] Koller, 'römische Kurie und die Lausitzen' in Bahlcke, *Oberlausitz im frühneuzeitlichen Mitteleuropa*, pp. 152-173.

agreements. But living together also involved a process of confessional cross-fertilization.

In some ways, the Reformation in Upper Lusatia was similar to other regions, where religious change was more thorough. The University of Wittenberg, for example, played a crucial role for the education of Lutheran clerics. Martin Luther, and especially Philipp Melanchthon, had connections to Lusatia and helped to place a number of clerics in the towns of the Lusatian League. The town councils and clerics introduced key Lutheran elements such as communion in both kinds and baptisms in the vernacular by 1530. There was also an increasing tendency to regulate the behaviour of citizens and clerics became more educated.

But in other ways, the towns of the Lusatian League displayed a number of unique traits. Former monks, for instance, played a comparatively insignificant role in the spread of Lutheranism. Similarly, married clergy were only tolerated in the 1540s, long after other changes had been made. Because of the decentralized political structure of Lusatia and the Bohemian kings' Catholicism, it was possible for three convents and the Bautzen cathedral chapter to survive. Additionally, many villages under the jurisdiction of the convents stayed Catholic. Religious change in Upper Lusatia was slow and incomplete.

Another unique feature of the Lusatian Reformation were the Sorbs. Before the Reformation, their language could be a disadvantage, as in some cases they had to pay higher fees due to their linguistic 'otherness'. After the Reformation, the Wittenberg reformers also hoped to evangelize the Sorbs and so they required Sorb-speaking preachers. As most ethnically German men did not know Sorbian, this enabled a number of farmers and artisans to rise to a higher social status solely based on their linguistic abilities, even if they only had a limited education. The Reformation also resulted in the first printed works in Sorbian: catechisms and bible translations. The

example of the Sorbs draws our attention to an underexplored ethnic dimension to the Reformation that could be explored further by assessing the impact of Lutheranism on other non-dominant ethnic groups within the Holy Roman Empire, for example Frisians and Danes.

A comparison of the six towns reveals how even towns which were economically and politically allied could develop their own paths to reform. The most notable example of this is Zittau which had a significant Zwinglian community between 1530 and 1560, while Kamenz was the only town where the first Lutheran preacher was a lay man. Bautzen and Lauban were different yet again because of a strong Catholic presence in the towns. Görlitz had an influential group of 'mystics' and the Holy Sepulchre as a kind of Lutheran pilgrimage site. In Löbau, the town council had particularly many negotiations with the Franciscan convent in the town. And only Löbau, Bautzen and Kamenz contained a Sorb population. Although the towns were in constant contact, their great independence meant that each of them followed their own path to reform. The councils had the opportunity to explore idiosyncratic ways to introduce religious change, while also being aware of their Catholic ruler.

Catholics, too, had to compromise and included Lutheran elements into their religiosity for a variety of overlapping reasons. In some instances, particularly in the early sixteenth century, Catholics incorporated Lutheranism into their belief system unconsciously. This was the case with Johannes Hass, mayor and councilor of Görlitz, who included minor elements of Lutheranism in his religiosity. Lacking clear Catholic points of reference, he made some subconscious changes which resulted in a faith poised between Lutheranism and Catholicism. Hass considered himself to be a Catholic but he perceived the Reformation changes as so drastic that he changed the way in which God and the Devil operated. While prior to the Reformation, God ruled supreme and protected Görlitz, after the Reformation had been introduced, the Devil took on a

more prominent role. Hass was even willing to comment positively on minor Lutheran changes, for example regarding schooling.

Later in the sixteenth century, when it became clear that Lutheranism would not disappear, the Catholic minority was forced to incorporate some Lutheran elements in order to maintain the urban peace, but also to keep their religion relevant to believers. Even the deans of Bautzen, who were supposed to protect Catholicism in a Lutheran region, had to compromise in this manner to ensure that they would not lose their foothold in Lusatia. The most telling example of this kind of syncretistic Catholicism is Johann Leisentrit, who compromised on communion and baptisms, but also songs and rites of death. These rituals have previously been interpreted as confessional markers, but the example of Leisentrit shows just how malleable religiosity was on the ground. While he reintroduced some medieval, Catholic elements into his masses, Leisentrit tolerated communion in both kinds, baptisms in the vernacular, Lutheran songs and a theology without purgatory.

The compromises the Catholics had to make show that this was not like in other regions of the Holy Roman Empire, where only a ruler and his court followed a certain religion and the populace another. The best example for this kind of biconfessionality is seventeenth-century Brandenburg with its Calvinist king and Lutheran population. In Upper Lusatia, the two confessional groups mixed with each other and borrowed from each other's theologies. In Bautzen, the Catholic bailiff and deans, both of whom lived in the centre of town, would have met Lutherans on a daily basis and frequently negotiated with them.

The existence of Lutherans and Catholics in large parts of Lusatia also meant that Lutheranism took on a different shape from neighbouring Saxony. For this reason, it was possible for a Lutheran preacher to advocate a spiritual pilgrimage to a site that had been associated with Catholicism for decades. To him, pilgrimages, if performed

properly, were still part of Lutheranism and should not be dismissed out of hand - a marked contrast to the Wittenberg reformers.

Spaces could also be shared by Lutherans and Catholics. In the two *Simultankirchen* of Bautzen and Lauban, the two groups had to constantly engage with each other and the contracts in Bautzen between Lutherans and Catholics show how the two confessions negotiated with each other. In Lauban, the church was shared with Catholic nuns who taught Lutheran boys and for most of the sixteenth century provided board for Lutheran clergy. Conflicts occurred regarding these shared spaces, but there is little evidence of violence. It seems that both parties preferred peaceful resolutions, whenever possible. These churches challenge our definition of what a Lutheran church space was, as many elements associated with Lutheranism were missing from them.

This syncretistic Reformation was characterised not only by shared spaces, but also by shared rituals and objects. Medieval objects and sacramentals like the use of holy oil were retained and change was much slower than elsewhere in the Holy Roman Empire. Side altars, in particular, were in continuous use throughout the sixteenth century, giving Upper Lusatian churches a very different look to Lutheran churches elsewhere in the Holy Roman Empire. Lutheran clergy continued to use medieval vestments and chalices, as well as performing rituals at altars which might still have contained saints' relics. The Lutherans accepted rituals performed by Catholics, for example baptisms in Saint Peter's Church of Bautzen. It is likely that during royal visits, the councilors also participated in communion in one kind.

Villages experienced more wide-ranging reforms than the urban centres in Upper Lusatia, questioning the 'Reformation as an urban event' thesis. This is explained by the constitutional setup of Upper Lusatia, where the rural actors had more autonomy than the towns which had to bear in mind their Catholic king who could act against them, as he did in the Sequestration of 1547. Unlike the South German urban centres on

which so much research has focused, the Reformation in the towns of Upper Lusatia retained many Catholic elements.

The way that coexistence functioned in Upper Lusatia meant that it included only Lutherans and Catholics by the end of the sixteenth century. But this was not always the case. Between 1530 and 1560, Zwinglians coexisted peacefully with Lutherans and Catholics in Zittau. Prior to the Peace of Augsburg, confessional boundaries were particularly fluid and it was possible for the Zwinglians to live in Zittau without any major problems. They exchanged books and letters with reformers from Zürich but there is no indication that conflicts arose because of this. It was also in the Lutherans' interest not to draw attention to this religious setup as it also would have alerted the king of Bohemia to their own transgressions.

The same was not the case with supposed Calvinists later in the century. They were ordered in front of a tribunal consisting of clerical and royal representatives and had to defend themselves. This treatment of Calvinism shows that Lusatia differed not only from South German towns, but also from those in the West, where Calvinists could be accommodated after they had fled from the Low Countries. By the later sixteenth century, and fueled by the Peace of Augsburg, Lutherans and Catholics had found a *modus vivendi* which enabled them to live peacefully side by side. Written contracts, usually brokered by representatives of the king, codified this coexistence, but it is likely that informal, oral arrangements also existed.

An additional confession threatened this fragile coexistence, so other groups like Anabaptists, Schwenckfelders and 'mystics' were never ever accepted in the urban fabric of Lusatia. But these groups were not all treated the same either. The 'mystic' Jakob Böhme was attacked and had to recant his works, a fate which the Schwenckfelders could avoid because they were wealthy enough to mitigate some of the effects of their religious transgressions. Anabaptists, for whom sources are

particularly scarce, were never tolerated in Upper Lusatia. The stalemate between Lutherans and Catholics therefore simultaneously meant the exclusion of other religious groups. At the same time, the Lutheran councils and preachers opposed the Catholics more openly by the later sixteenth century because they had to demarcate confessional boundaries more clearly after the rise of Calvinism in other regions of the Holy Roman Empire. By this time, biconfessionality was possible in Upper Lusatia, but not multiconfessionality. Lutherans and Catholics entered a kind of marriage of convenience that worked to exclude Calvinists and other groups.

But the steady definition of orthodoxies was not a top-down effort by precursors of states, as the confessionalization thesis in its original form would have us believe. Although there were some elements of social disciplining and a hardening of boundaries, this was a complex and multifaceted process that was the result of a variety of factors, like the spread of Calvinism in Saxony, and an increasing Lutheran confidence. In Upper Lusatia, a Reformation led by stately actors, as was the case in Saxony, would not have been possible because of the division of power and the Catholic ruler. The introduction of Lutheranism was driven by 'the common people' as much as the elites. But in some cases, councils or common people hindered the spread of the Reformation by retaining Catholic elements. And even with the clearer confessional boundaries later in the sixteenth century, there was still a great degree of toleration. The churches of Lauban and Bautzen, for example, continued to be shared.

Later generations of historians simplified the complex Reformations of the region. The visit of Rudolf II, for example, does not feature in any of the eighteenth century accounts as it did not fit with historians' claim that Catholics were obstinate in the face of the 'rise of the light of Lutheranism'. Authors increasingly shared a language and emphasized how the Reformation had cleansed and purified the corruptions of the

pre-Reformation Church. This particular focus also resulted in authors' distancing themselves from anything to do with bodily practices.

Similarly, the Zwinglians and 'Calvinists' were simply left out of accounts of the Reformation, an omission which started in the sixteenth century and continues to this day. Instead, early historians of the Upper Lusatian Reformation focused on the first Lutheran preacher as the man who brought about Lutheran changes and consequently, problematic figures were no longer featured in narratives of the Lutheran Reformation. Sorbs, it was claimed, had been led astray by Catholics and their own heathen beliefs and needed to be saved by the righteous Lutherans. The eighteenth-century discovery of the nailing of the Ninety-Five Theses as a key Reformation event, and a stronger focus on Martin Luther, further contributed to this portrayal of an orthodox, Lutheran Reformation in Upper Lusatia. This tendency is even visible in the current Reformation celebrations.

The focus on individuals has shown that, in reality, religiosity was much more complex than the eighteenth-century accounts would have us believe. Catholics who shared Luther's crude language or accepted communion in both kinds, Zwinglians who played the organ during Lutheran services, and Lutherans who advocated pilgrimages all lived in Lusatia in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. They show that living in multiconfessional areas deeply affected an individual's religiosity, changing the way they conceived of devotion. It also changed the material culture and spatial arrangements. By focusing on individuals who were part of the urban elites, we can see the multiple pressures these individuals were under. Between an increasingly Lutheran population and a Catholic king, these people, whether Lutheran or Catholic, had to tread quietly to ensure that they did not offend anyone.

These patterns of toleration can in part be explained by the idiosyncrasies of Upper Lusatia. A Lutheran region ruled by a Catholic king naturally had to define itself

differently than regions like Ernestine Saxony. And, at times, the king contributed significantly to the survival of both confessions, for example when he restored the Bautzen *Simultaneum* in 1622. The diffused political organization of power, where the towns competed for influence with nobles and convents, meant that Lutheranism was introduced differently in each of the towns of the Lusatian League, but also that the king of Bohemia did not intervene decisively in the region as a whole because he relied on the money and forces from Lusatia and frequently had more pressing issues at hand. This setup enabled the development of different modes of religious coexistence.

The way in which Lusatia operated stands in marked contrast to both the imperial free cities in the South and the large territorial states like Bavaria or Saxony. Although the towns were structured in a similar way to imperial free cities, they had to be much more careful not to offend the king and other Catholic actors. At the same time, the king's power was not as wide-ranging as that of the dukes of Bavaria or electors of Saxony. The example of Upper Lusatia shows how focusing on urban Reformations further away from the South German towns can broaden our understanding of early modern Germany, and at the same time shows a fascinating dynamic between a ruler and his subjects.

Much work still remains to be done on the small and middle-sized towns of the Holy Roman Empire, particularly in the former German Democratic Republic, and Upper Lusatia is just one example of the many under-explored towns there. To name just one example, Lower Lusatia was similar to Upper Lusatia in some ways, for instance being a Bohemian territory and containing a Sorb population. But, strikingly, Lutheranism was introduced much more thoroughly there and although nominally, the deans of Bautzen were responsible for Lower Lusatia, their power was never recognized. Lower Lusatia could also provide a fascinating case study, as the only Lutheran consistory in the Habsburg lands was established there. A study of a town like

Cottbus could be a telling comparison to Upper Lusatian towns. In fact, as recent studies of Wittenberg have shown, there is still much to discover even about this centre of Lutheranism.[859]

The peaceful coexistence of Lutherans and Catholics points to broader historiographical shifts. From Westphalia to Lusatia, and East Frisia to Augsburg, there are now studies covering the whole of the Holy Roman Empire which stress that the Reformation, even in the later sixteenth century, was not only characterised by hardening confessional boundaries, but just as much by concepts such as 'good neighbourliness', or, as one of the Bautzen contracts put it, the wish for 'peace, quiet and unity'.[860] Undoubtedly, conflicts did occur and even in a region as tolerant as Upper Lusatia, as the persecution of 'crypto-Calvinists' or the storming of the shared church of Bautzen in 1619 show, tensions could boil over. But forceful imposition of religious orthodoxy was never the preferred choice to settle religious disputes but rather a last resort. Areas like Ernestine Saxony, where such a strong confessionalization was visible, were therefore perhaps the exception, rather than the rule. By the same token, Upper Lusatia's syncretistic Reformation was not an exceptional case of religious toleration but one of many areas in the Holy Roman Empire, where confessional boundaries remained flexible.

[859] Natalie Krentz, *Ritualwandel und Deutungshoheit. Die frühe Reformation in der Residenzstadt Wittenberg (1500-1533)* (Tübingen, 2014).
[860] Luebke, *Hometown Religion*; Fisher Grey, 'Lutheran Churches'.

Appendix A: Mayors of Kamenz 1500-1513

Year	**Mayor**
1500	Jeronig Faust
1501	Pawel Dittrich
1502	Jocoff Lache
1503	Hans Gosener
1504	Jeronig Faust (not mentioned as council member after 1505)
1505	Pawel Dittrich (dies in 1505)
1506	Jocoff Lache (not mentioned as councilor after 1506)
1507	Valentinus Kemner
1508	Symon Schindler (not mentioned after 1511)
1509	Hans Gosener
1510	Ambrosius Noldener
1511	Hans Geylnaw
1512	Hans Henigk
1513	Hans Gosener

Appendix B: Mayors of Bautzen, 1500-1620

1500	Matthes Rosenhain
1501	Andreas Procksch
1502	Hieronymus Ruprecht
1503	Balthasar Lausnitz
1504	Andreas Procksch
1505	Hieronymus Ruprecht
1506	Balthasar Lausnitz
1507	Andreas Procksch
1508	Hieronymus Ruprecht
1509	Hieronymus Schink
1510	Balzer Lausnitz
1511	Hieronymus Ruprecht
1512	Michael Münzer
1513	Balzer Lausnitz
1514	Hieronymus Ruprecht
1515	Michael Münzer
1516	Balthasar Lausnitz
1517	Hieronymus Ruprecht
1518	Michael Münzer
1519	Balzer Lausnitz
1520	Hieronymus Ruprecht
1521	No council elections because of the plague (‘Wurde zu Bautzen die Ratskür eingestellt wegen eingerissener Sterbensgefahr und dass solcher Unsicherheit halben das meiste Teil des Rats an andere Örter gewichen’)
1522	Balthasar Lausnitz
1523	Hieronymus Ruprecht
1524	Michael Münzer
1525	Balthasar Lausnitz
1526	Hieronymus Ruprecht
1527	Michael Münzer

1528	Balthasar Lausnitz
1529	Hieronymus Hübner
1530	Johann Rosenhain
1531	Michael Münzer
1532	Mag. Hieronymus Hübner
1533	Christoph Pfeil
1534	Michael Münzer
1535	Hieronymus Hübner
1536	Christoph Pfeil
1537	Michael Münzer (+ 1538)
1538	Hieronymus Hübner
1539	Antonius Röhrscheid
1540	Christoph Pfeil
1541	M. Hieronymus Hübner
1542	Antonius Röhrscheid (+ 1542)
1543	Christoph Pfeil
1544	Dr. Franz Göritz
1545	Hieronymus Hübner
1546	Christoph Pfeil
1547	No election because of the Sequestration (*Pönfall*)
1548	Hans Meissner
1549	Antonius Rosenhain
1550	Antonius Rosenhain
1551	Cölestin Tollhopf
1552	Cölestin Tollhopf
1553	Antonius Rosenhain
1554	Wolff Mühlwolff
1555	Wolff Mühlwolff
1556	Valentin Locke
1557	Anton Rosenhain
1558	Cölestin Tollhopf
1559	Valentin Locke

1560	Antonius Rosenhain
1561	Cölestin Tollhopf
1562	Valentin Locke
1563	Antonius Rosenhain
1564	Cölestin Tollhopf (+ 1566)
1565	Melchior Winkler
1566	Antonius Rosenhain
1567	Georg Welsch
1568	Antonius Rosenhain
1569	Melchior Winkler
1570	Antonius Rosenhain (+ 1572)
1571	Hieronymus Bergmann
1572	Melchior Winkler
1573	Johann Starke
1574	Hieronymus Bergmann
1575	Melchior Winkler
1576	Johannes Starke (+ 1578)
1577	Hieronymus Bergmann
1578	Melchior Winkler (+ 1581)
1579	Johann Kretschmar
1580	Hieronymus Bergmann
1581	Andreas Hentsch
1582	Johann Kretschmar
1583	Hieronymus Bergmann
1584	Andreas Hentsch
1585	Johannes Kretschmar
1586	Johann Gerhold (+ 1590)
1587	Andreas Hentsch
1588	Johann Kretschmar (+ 1590)
1589	Johann Gerhold’s election challenged; Kretschmar remains mayor
1590	Andreas Hentsch
1591	Moritz Mosshauer

1592	Johann Schönborn
1593	Andreas Hentsch
1594	Moritz Mosshauer
1595	Johann Schönborn
1596	Melchior Picke
1597	Moritz Mosshauer
1598	Johann Schönborn
1599	Melchior Picke
1600	Peter Heinrich
1601	Johann Schönborn
1602	Melchior Picke
1603	Peter Heinrich
1604	Johann Schönborn
1605	Melchior Picke
1606	Peter Heinrich
1607	Johann Röhrscheid
1608	Melchior Pick
1609	Peter Heinrich
1610	Johann Röhrscheid
1611	Melchior Pick (+ 1613)
1612	Peter Heinrich
1613	Johann Röhrscheid
1614	Antonius Böhmer (+ 1614)
1615	Peter Heinrich
1616	Johann Röhrscheid
1617	Dr. Johann Faber
1618	Peter Heinrich
1619	Johann Röhrscheid
1620	Dr. Johann Faber (+1623)

Appendix C: Clerics in the Towns of the Lusatian League, c. 1520-1630

Bautzen

Pastor Primarius

Name	**Dates**	**Preacher in Upper Lusatia**	**Education / other stations**	**Other**
Michael Arnold		1515 (altarist, Görlitz), 1523 (preacher), 1525-1526 (preacher, *St. Petri*)		
Benedict Fischer (Piscator)		First Lutheran preacher in Schönberg near Görlitz, 1530-1533 (preacher), then Görlitz	Sagan	
Johann Cellarius (Kellner)	1496-?	1532-1538 (preacher)	Wittenberg, exiled but returns 1538, Dresden	From Dresden, marries Peter Happen's daughter in Bautzen
Gregorius Roschitz		1538-1540	Preacher in Wurzen	From Pirna, married daughter of knife-maker Georg Falke
Nikol Ottmansdorf		1540-1542	Hirschberg, Annaberg, Weißenfels	'quarrelsome man' ('unbverträglicher Mann') according to later accounts
Anton N. [surname not known]		1542 [leaves because of royal order]	Oppach	
Nicol Behem (Bohemus)	1505-1579	1545-1579 [blind by end]		Former monk, recommended by Moritz of Saxony, continued receiving money from Moritz, never married, buried in St. Petri
Lorenz Dreser	1526-1595	1576 (*Hilfsprediger*), 1579-1595	Kemnitz (1553)	First to preach from new chancel in 1582, attempted suicide in 1595 (*Seelein-Anfechtung*)
Friedrich Fischer	1558-1623	1594/94-1623	Leipzig, Rector in Grimma	Father rector and councilor, married in Leipzig, son becomes preacher in Löbau, consecrated *Taucherkirche* 1599, first to use new baptismal font in 1599, buried in *Taucherkirche*

Martin Tectander (Zimmermann, Dachmann)	1553 (Zittau)-1631	1600 (Probepredigt), 1601 (Pastor secundarius), 1623-1627 (Pastor Primarius)	Leipzig, Gabel	Father preacher in Zittau, had to publicly confess Lutheranism (vs. Calvinists) (1601), both sons preachers
Johann Zeidler	1593-1640	1623 (*Gastpredigt*), 1624 (Pastor Secundarius), 1631-1640 (Pastor Primarius)	Leipzig	Ordained in Leipzig 1624, first to use new Taucherkirche chancel (sponsored by Peucer family), led prayers during Thirty Years' War, buried in *Taucherkirche*

Bautzen (Pastor Secundarius and Mittagsprediger*)*

Name	**Dates**	**Preacher in Upper Lusatia**	**Education / other stations**	**Other**
Johannes Agricola	?-1590	1577-1590 (alternates with Dreser, special focus on Sorbs)	Wittenberg (called the German poet there), Calau, Lübben, Spremberg, Hoyerswerda	From Spremberg, spoke and preached in Lower Sorbian, close connections to bailiff
Johann Nahrhammer	1549-1593	1591-1593	Wachau, Altenberg	Publicly denounces Calvinists, buried in St. Petri
Christoph Martini	?-1620	1594-1600 (Pastor Secundarius), 1600-1620 (Löbau, Pastor Primarius)	Priesen, Finsterwalde	From Dresden
Martin Tectander		1600-1623		See above
Johan Zeidler		1624-1631		See above
Caspar Schlenfrich	1600 (Bautzen)	1627 (Hilfsprediger); 1631-1665 (Pastor Secundarius)		Divided work with Zeidler and others due to their age

Archidiakoni

Name	**Dates**	**Preacher in Upper Lusatia**	**Education / other stations**	**Other**
Paul Cosel	?-1551	1526-1551		Portrayed as 'fully Lutheran' in Dietmann, buried in Frauenkirche
Peter Petagk	?-1563	1551-1563		
David Perlin	?-1584	1563-1584		Son of preacher in Purschwitz
Sebastian Weiß		1584-1589		
Gabriel Polichius	1543-1617	1589-1617		First to preach in front of new altar (1596)
Adam Rodiger (Radiger)		1612 (preacher for victims of plague), 1617-1621 (Archidiakon)		*Probepredigt* = *Valepredigt* because of plague
Anton Sommer	1582-?	1607 (Sorb preacher, Löbau), 1614 – 1621 Diakon zu St. Petri, 1621-1631 Archidiakon		Gives Sorb sermons, First to hold sorb sermon in Michaeliskirche (1619). Buried in *Taucherkirche*
Elias Mirus		1621-1631 Diakon, 1631-1632 Archidiakon	Bischofswerda	From Wilthen
Johann Martini	1598 – 1668	1631 Diakon, 1632-1668 Archidiakon, incl. Catechisms	Bautzen, Grimma, Leipzig, Gausig, See	From Göda, father dean, ordained in Dresden

Diakoni

Name	**Dates**	**Preacher in Upper Lusatia**	**Education / other stations**	**Other**
Gregorius Schramm		1543-1555		
Urban Schmolcke		1555-1562 [had to leave because did not follow summons of Leisentrit]	Sorau	Sorb preacher
Joachim Belten	?-1612	1563-1609	Reschwitz	Visited plague victims in 1568
Joachim Stumpf		1609-1611	Uhyst	*Pastor Pestilentarius* in 1611, dies of plague
Andreas Garzer		1612-1614	Uhyst, Klix	
Anton Sommer		1614-1621		See above
Elias Mirus		1621-1631		See above

Johann Martini		1631		See above
Esaias Weiß	1605 - 1657	1633 (*Gastpredigt*), 1633-1657	School: Meißen, Universities: Leipzig, Wittenberg, Ruhland	Father rector, ordained in Dresden, married daughter of Löbau Dekan

Sorb Preachers (Wendische Pastores zu St. Michael)

Name	**Dates**	**Preacher in Upper Lusatia**	**Education / other stations**	**Other**
Peter Bräuer		1605-1607 (Löbau), 1619-1628		5 year-old son dies during siege in 1619
Salemo Möller		1628-1635	Hoykirche (?)	Son of Löbau Sorb preacher David Möller
Johann Zschunke		1641		
Caspar Bierling	1625 – 1662	1648-1662		

From 1690, 'wendischer diakon' was used instead of 'wendischer pastor'

The first catechist was employed in the early eighteenth century

Görlitz

Pastor Primarius

Name	**Dates**	**Preacher in Upper Lusatia**	**Education / other stations**	**Other**
Franz Rotbart (Rupertus)	1479/80 (Görlitz)-1570	1520-1523; [dean asks him to return] 1525-1530 [had to leave because of marriage]	Sprottau, Breslau, Wittenberg, Bunzlau, Freystadt	After he leaves 1530: Flat near church dismantled, no more 'Pfarherr', only Pastor Primarius; father: tanner
Wolfgang Sustelius (Schoftel)		1530-1535, 1545-1553	Wittenberg, Schweidnitz, Meywalde, Hirschberg	From Passau, recommended by Melanchthon, *Mittagsprediger* Epplin delivers his funeral sermon
Benedict Fischer		1516 (*Prädicator*, Görlitz), 1530 (Bautzen), 1535-1538 (Görlitz)	Schönberg (first Lutheran preacher, 1516), Sagan	From Rochlitz, rang bells during storm (possibly because child died)
Johann Kittel		1538-1539	Rothenburg	Former monk in Pirna, dismissed because preached against council

Leonhard Steinberg		1539 (Archidiakon, soon after Pastor Primarius) - 1545		
Ottomar Epplin	1525-?	1553-1554 [marriage]	Frankfurt/Oder, Königsberg (Prussia)	council writes to him in Frankfurt asking if he found preacher for them; first paid in beer then requests money
Caspar Wirthwein		1538-1541 (Zittau), 1555-1561	Sagan, Guben, Frankfurt/Oder	
Samuel Jauch (Jubilaeum)	1526-?	1558-1561 (Lauban), 1561-1566, 1566 (Lauban)	Frankfurt/Oder, Wittenberg	From Freystadt (Silesia), recommended by Melanchthon, writes first Lauban school ordinance, introduced morning prayers in Görlitz (possibly also in Lauban), introduced communion on Fridays in addition to Saturdays, rang bells during funerals, closed gates during service, turned monastery buildings into school
Balthasar Dietrich	1525/27-1595	1561 (Diakon), 1567 - 1595	Wittenberg, Tauchritz, Leutholshayn, Königshayn	From Görlitz, ordained by Bugenhagen in Wittenberg, married three times, 29 children
Elias Dietrich	1556	1583 (Archidiakon), 1595-1600 (Pastor Primarius)	School: Görlitz, university: Wittenberg, Penzig	Son of Balthasar Dietrich, buried in St. Nicolai, image in SS. Peter and Paul
Martin Moller	1547-1606	1600-1605/06 [blind by end]	Wittenberg, Löwenberg, Kesseldorf, Sprottau	Parents farmers, ordained in Wittenberg by Wiedebrain
Gregorius Richter (der Ältere)	1560 - 1624	1590 (Diakon), 1595 (Archidiakon), 1606-1624 (Pastor Primarius)	Breslau, Frankfurt, [runs out of money for studies], private tutor in Görlitz to Emerich sons, Rausche	Short fling as smith (like father), ordered in 1606 by council to preach shorter, pray less and articulate himself better, funeral sermon praises his work against errors (i.e. Böhme), adversary of Böhme
Nikolaus Thomas	?-1637	1611 (Archidiakon), 1624-1637 (Pastor Primarius)	School: Schweidnitz, university: Wittenberg Glatz, Langenau	From Schweidnitz (Schlesien), Bohemian heresies (‘böhmische Schwärmereien‘) during his tenure

Elias Dietrich	1581-1642	1618 (Diakon), 1624 (Archidiakon), 1637 – 1642 (Pastor Primarius)	School: Görlitz, university: Wittenberg Wartha	Third Dietrich to be Pastor Primarius, refused but had to hear confession, give communion and give funerary sermon for Böhme
Andreas Hellwig	1566-1644	1619 (Diakon), 1637 (Archidiakon), 1643-1644 (Pastor Primarius)	Reichenbach, Haugsdorf, Schönbronn	From Görlitz, parents cloth makers
Christoph Lichtner	1592-1653	1627-1629 (Zittau), 1633 (Diakon), 1643 (Archidiakon), 1644-1653 (Pastor Primarius)	Friedland, Freiberg, Leipzig, Kratza (Bohemia), Zobel	From Kratza (Bohemia)

Archidiakoni

Name	**Dates**	**Preacher in Upper Lusatia**	**Education / other stations**	**Other**
Nikolaus Zeidler		1523-around 1525	Breslau	From Hof, employed as Catholic, turns Lutheran 1523 after trip home when he hears Lutheran singing in the fields
Johann Preß		1523 (*Praedicator*),		Probably Catholic, probably leaves because of Rotbart
Andreas Eberhardt		1538 (possibly 1541)	Grünberg	From Frankfurt /O
Johann Steuermann		1538 (possibly wrong)	Rothenburg	
Leonhard Steinberg		1538 (possibly 1539)		See above
Ottomar Epplin		c. 1553		See above
Johann Birkenhayn		?		
Elias Dietrich		1583-1595		See above
Caspar Maske		1561-?		From Löwenberg
Andreas Mysenus		1551 (possibly 1549)-1590		From Cottbus
Gregorius Richter		1595-1606		See above

Johan Hacelberg	1555 (Görlitz) - 1613	1591 (Diakon), 1606-1613	Deutschossig	Sexton's son
Peter Schön	1564 (Görlitz)	1614-1618	Ullersdorf	
Nikolaus Thomas		1611-1624		See above
Elias Dietrich		1624-1637		See above
Andreas Hellwig		1637-1643		See above
Christoph Lichtner		1643-1644		See above

Diakoni

Name	**Dates**	**Preacher in Upper Lusatia**	**Education / other stations**	**Other**
Sebastian Hammer		c. 1525		
Johann (or Johannes) Mariena			Rennersdorf (first Lutheran Preacher)	Could not walk, had to leave because married
Andreas Schöps	?-1557	?-1557		Administered sacraments in St. Peter's and *horas*
Valentin Eckart	?-1557	?-1557		
Hieronymus N.		?		
Johann Praefectus (Herzog)		1541	Hennersdorf	
Johann Petzstein		1544-1547 [leaves because preached against council]		From Nuremberg, quarrel how much water to use in baptisms
Donat Pfeifer	?-1562	1534 Kamenz [marriage], 1549-1555	Pribus, Ebersbach, Leschwitz	
Caspar Maske		Second half of 16th c.		See above
Andreas Mysenus		Second half of 16th c.		See above
Balthasar Dietrich		1561-1567		See above
Johann Birkenhayn	?-1584	1568-1583	Breslau	From Breslau; agreement with council that: afternoon sermon on his own, visit sick only by request, only some funerals, no singing, only preaching in monastery church (holds first Lutheran sermon there)

Blasius Zender		1562-1565 (Lauban), 1573 (1574)-1591	Kreybau	From Görlitz
Gregor Richter		1590-1595		See above
Johann Hachelberg		1591-1606		See above
Gregorius Eichler	1562 (Görlitz) - 1611	1595-1611	Görlitz (teacher), Leuba (appointed as preacher by abbess)	Father tailor
Michael Ficemus	?-1619	1606-1619	Langenau	From Guben , father cloth maker
Nikolaus Thomas		1611-1618 (?)		See above
Elias Dietrich		1618-1624		See above
Andreas Hellwig		1619-1637		See above
Gregorius Richter (the younger)	1598 (Görlitz)	1624-1633		Son of the Elder
Christoph Lichtner		1633-1643		See above

Zittau

Pastor Primarius

Name	**Dates**	**Preacher in Upper Lusatia**	**Education / other stations**	**Other**
Lorenz Heidenreich	1480 (Zittau)-1557	1509 (altarist), 1521-1530; 1545-1557	School: Zwickau, univ: Leipzig Löwenberg, Greifenberg	Father cloth maker elder, attended Leipzig disputation (1519), supplemented preacher income with cloth making in Löwenberg, buried in main church of Zittau
Martin Tectander (Dachmann, Zimmermann)	1506-1579	1550-1558 (Archidiakon), 1558-1579 (Pastor Primarius)	School: Freyberg, university: Wittenberg, Lauenstein, Dresden, Meißen	Born in Meißen, requested to come to Oettingen, receives recommendation letter from Melanchthon for Brenz (Schwäbisch Hall), recommended by Melanchthon for Zittau, consecrated new chancel 1558, buried in main church
Andreas Sünder		1579-1580	Quedlinburg, Wittenberg, Triebel (Lower Lusatia)	Born in Freyburg, father preacher, suspected of Calvinism, quarreled with Archidiakon Bruno Quinos and had him dismissed in 1579

Bruno Quinos		1575-1579 (Archidiakon); 1580-1584 (Pastor Primarius)	Wittenberg, Rosenburg, Quedlinburg, Gabel	From Querfurt, to Hungary as military preacher (1566), conflicts with Sünder, accuses citizen's of revolts (like Müntzer) and supporting Sünder, accused of adultery and other sins, dies in snow on way to Austria
Johann Vogel	1536-1599	1574-1579 (Pastor Primarius in Kamenz); 1581-1599	School: Schulpforta, university: Wittenberg, Leipzig, Grimma, Rothenburg	From Dresden, introduced Gregorian Calendar, employed Pastor Pestilentarius, donation of sermon by widow, dies of plague, no more *Ohrenbeichte* and funeral sermons due to plague around 1599, buried in *Kreuzkirche*, friends with Görlitz printer Ambrosius Fritsch
Joachim Pascha	1563-1618	1600-1618	School: Berlin, Ruppin, Magedburg, universities: Wittenberg, Leipzig, Frankfurt /Oder Berlin	From Berlin, son of Berlin *Probst*
Caspar Tralles	1580-1624	1619-1624	University: Wittenberg Giehren	From Friedberg (Silesia), consecrated new chancel and repaired Church of Our Lady, celebrated Reformation anniversary, buried in main church
Clemens Lehmann	1566 (Bautzen)-1629	1612-1615 (Diakon), 1615-1624 (Archidiakon), 1624-1629 (Pastor Primarius)	School: Bautzen, Burkersdorf, Gerzdorf	Epitaph in Holy Trinity Church
Abraham Menzel		1629-1634 (Pastor Primarius), 1634 (?)-1637 (Görlitz)	Sprottau	From Fraustadt
Erasmus Willich	1584-1651	In Zittau as part of ducal Saxon army, stays Pastor Primarius 1634-1643	School: Magedburg, Frankfurt, universities Tübingen, Frankfurt	From Frankfurt, father doctor, has to flee from Catholics from various places (e.g. Großglogau 1632), military preacher (*Feldprediger*), moves around a lot (Giesen, Strasburg, etc.)

Archidiaconi

Name	**Dates**	**Preacher in Upper Lusatia**	**Education / other stations**	**Other**
Caspar Heubel (Heublein)		1541-1549		stops being Pastor Primarius in 1542 because he re-introduces Catholic mass
Martin Tectander		1550-1558		See above
Lorenz Neumann		1558-1559	Seifhennersdorf	From Zittau, became Lutheran and married 1542
Hieronymus Sieghardt (Nicosthenes)	?-1601	1553-1558 (Lauban), 1558-1564	Wittenberg, Rector in Lauban 1544-1551, Friedberg,	From Hirschberg, taught by Luther
Martin Hofmann	?-1575	1564-1575	Dresden	From Radeberg
Bruno Quinos		1575-1579		See above
Bartholomeus Gebhard	1521 (Zittau) – 1584	1553-1559 (Diakon); 1579-1584	School: Zittau, univ: Wittenberg	Father black dyer, married to Heidenreich's daughter, worked under 5 (?) *Pastores Primarii*, buried in Johanniskirche
Valentin Bögler	1532 (Zittau)	1584-1597	Frankfurt/Oder, Reichenbach, Striegau	Father tanner, buried in *Johanniskirche*
Zacharias Posselt		1597-1608	Preacher in Leipzig, Hirschfelde	From Zittau
Christian Wagner		1604 (Diakon)-1608, 1608-1615	Rumburg, Oppach, Dresden	From Dresden, father preacher, wrote *How to behave when dying* (*wie man sich in Sterbensläuften verhalten soll*)
Clemens Lehmann		1615-1624		See above
Andreas Winziger	1595 (Zittau)-?	1619-1624 (Diakon), 1624-1631	Herwigsdorf	Epitaph in Church of Our Lady
Christoph Ziegler	1586-1632	1631-1632	Pforta, Wittenberg, Oschitz, Heynewalde	From Bischofswerda, epitaph in Church of Our Lady
August Posselt	1597-1634	1633-1634	Seifhennersdorf, Herwigsdorf	Son of Zacharias Posselt
Nicol[ai] Procop. Pascha	1605	1633-1634 (Diakon), 1634-1652		Son of Pastor Primarius
Sigismund Jancke	1609 (Bautzen)	1634 (Diakon)-1652, 1653-1663	Jena	Temporarily suspended for insulting Pastor Primarius Willich (1640)

Diakoni

Name	**Dates**	**Preacher in Upper Lusatia**	**Education / other stations**	**Other**
Jakob Fürer		1540s		Former Franciscan
Johan Gebler		Around 1549	Seifhennersdorf	
Nikola Lybeck		1550-1552	Oberullersdorf	From Zittau, former Franciscan
Barhtol[omeus] Gebhard		1553-1559		See above
Wolfgang Schwarschmidt	?-1603	1589-1603		From Weyda
Christ[ian] Wagner		1604-1608		See above
Jak[ob] Effenberger	1557 (Zittau)-1610	1608-1610	Spitzcunnersdorf, Waltersdorf	Son of smith
Johann Moshauer	1584 - 1611	1610-1611	Schools: Bautzen, Zittau, univ. Wittenberg	From Eisleben, at university with council stipend
Clemens Lehmann		1612-1615		See above
Jeremias Schindler		1615-1619		From Kamenz, see below
Andreas Winziger		1619-1624		See above
David Sutorius	1560-1640	1598-1601 (Pastor Pestilentarius), 1613-1624 (Pastor Pestilentarius again), 1624-1636 (Diakon)	Buchau, Friedersdorf, Gabel	From Bohemia
Nicolai Procop. Pascha		1633-1634		See above
Sigismund Jancke		1634-1652		See above

Pastor Pestilentiarius

Name	**Dates**	**Preacher in Upper Lusatia**	**Education / other stations**	**Other**
Caspar Stöcker		1585-1586	Rotenburg	From Zittau
David Sutorius		1598-1601; 1613-1624		See above
Martin Schwarzbach		1607-1608		From Lauban, locked up due to ‚madness', died captive
Sebastian Stieglitz		1611	Türchau	From Zittau
Mart[in] Felmer		1625	Hennersdorf	

Lauban

Pastor Primarius

Name	**Dates**	**Preacher in Upper Lusatia**	**Education / other stations**	**Other**
Georg Heu (Hew)		1525-1527		From Görlitz, exiled because too radical
Ambrosius [surname unknown]		1527-1528	Bunzlau	From Freystadt, becomes soap maker then goes to Breslau
Nikol. Greinewitz		1528-1538	Steinkirche	From Sagan, works with first Lutheran rector, leaves because of marriage but council finds him new position in Steinkirche
Johann Frobelius	1490-1553	1538-1553	Wittenberg, Falkenhayn (first ev. Preacher)	From Hirschberg, in Wittenberg when request form Lauban arrives, remained in church during plague (1553) and preached about right way of dying, long quarrel with mayor Wagner, buried under high altar of church
Valentin Pauscopius		1551-1553 (Archidiakon), 1553-1558	Sagan	From Bunzlau, ordained 1551 by Bugenhagen
Samuel Jauch		1558-1561 (then to Görlitz)		From Freystadt, see above, taught by Luther and Melanchthon
Michael Neander	?-1564	1562-1564	Frankfurt/Oder	From Schneeberg
Jakob Colerus	1535-1612	1564-1565	Zwickau, Freiberg, Frankfurt/Oder Neukirchen, Adeldorf, Berlin, Güstrau	From Greiz, father former monk knew Luther, does not allow *Klostervogt* to be god-father
Sigismund Suevus (Schwabe)	1527-1596	1566-1575; 1578-1584	Frankfurt/Oder, Liefland, Lübeck, Sorau, Breslau	from Freystadt, author of defamatory pamphlet against Suevus has to leave town, refused Christian burial to drunkard
Veit Nuber		1575-1576	Ruschitz	Big and tall, refuses to go onto wooden chancel, replaced with stone chancel
Johann Pitiscus	?-1598	1565-1566 (Diakon), 1566 (Archidakon), 1576-1577	Wittenberg, Görlitz, Gurau	From Schwiebus, receives food from convent, populace do not go to his sermons, want Suevus back, Pitiscus rather dismissed than work under Suevus
		Unsuccessful Negotiations with 4 preachers for 1.5 years		

Martin Bohemus (Behemb)	1557-1622	1581-1586 (Archidiakon), 1586-1621(Pastor Primarius)	School: Lauban, Universities: Vienna, Strasbourg	From Lauban, father Hauptmann, buried in vault in front of altar, epitaph and picture in church
David Wiesener	1568-1645	1622-1642	Lauban, Breslau, Frankfurt, Teacher Greifenberg, Warthau	From Lauban, father councilor, in charge when company of Croats besiege town in 1634 (30 Years' War), gave 6274 sermons, image and epitaph in main church
Johann Heer	1605-1662	1631-1634 (Diakon), 1634-1645 (Archidiakon) 1645-1661/62	School: Lauban, Löwenberg, Universities: Wittenberg, Leipzig, Lauban town school (1629-1631)	From Seifersdorf, father preacher, orphan: raised by noble lady
Salomon Hausdorf	1604-1684	1635-1653 (Diakon), 1653-1662 (Archidiakon), 1662-1684 (Pastor Primarius)	School: Lauban, Löwenberg, Universities: Magedburg, Leipzig Lauban town school (1630-1634)	From Lauban, father mayor, during plague (1633) remains in town and leads choir with 4 boys, 1645-1653 is simultaneously Diakon and Archidiakon, loses library and wife, has stroke and is paralysed on left side, buried in front of altar including image

Archidiakon

Name	**Dates**	**Preacher in Upper Lusatia**	**Education / other stations**	**Other**
Franz Seidel		1530s	Messerdorf, Zodel	
Hieron[imus] Geisler				From Hirschberg
Hieron[imus] Füger				From Zittau
Stephan Büchner				
Ambrosius Misenus				From Cotbus
Martin Gerlach				From Bunzlau
Valent[in] Poscop		1551-1553		See above
Hieron[imus] Sieghardt		1557-1559 (leaves for Zittau)	Teacher in Lauban, Friedberg	Ordained in Wittenberg
Johann Mylius		1558-1560		From Vogtland
Josef Ethner		1559 (Diakon), 1560-1561	Königshayn	

Wenzel Grittner		1561-1563	Lorenzdorf, Schreibersdorf	From Löwenberg
Johann Thymus		1563-1565		From Zwickau
Kilian Albinus (Weise)		1566-1567		From Breslau
Johann Pitiscus		1567		See above
Jak[ob] Scultetus	?-1572	1567 (Diakon), 1567-1572		Married to V. Heer's daughter
Martin Triesner		1567-1572 (Cantor), 1572-1574	Thorn (Poland)	From Bautzen
Gideon Adolf		1576, from 1577-1581 also Diacon	Wünschendorf	From Lauban, dismissed because preaching against nuns and quarrels with Pastor Primarius
Martin Bohemus		1581-1586		See above
Tobias Hosekunz		1586-1591		
Paul Friese	?-1614	1586-1587 (Diakon), 1592-1612 (Diakon again)	Zelle, rector in Lauban 1587-1592	From Lauban, father linen weaver
Christoph Holstein		1612-1615	1608 Lauban school, Geibsdorf	From Lauban
Paul Hausdorf		1615-1618	Strasburg, Hirschfeld	From Lauban
Balthasar Bohemus		1615– 1618 (Diakon), 1618-1624		Son of M. Bohemus
Peter Wiedemann		1620 (Diakon), 1624-1634		From Lauban
Johann Heer		1634-1645 (Archidiakon)		See above

Diakon

Name	**Dates**	**Preacher in Upper Lusatia**	**Education / other stations**	**Other**
Blasius Rühben				
Ge[rhard] Weidner		1532-1558		
Joseph Ethner		1559		See above
Blasius Zender		1562-1565		Board provided by nuns
Johan Pitiscus		1565-1566		See above
Jakob Scultetus		1567		See above
Johan Krieg		1567-1570s		From Lauban
Franz Tymner		1576-1577	Teacher in Lauban, Weikersdorf, Buchwalde	From Halle

Tobias Hosekunz		1578-1586		See above
Paul Friese		1586-1587		See above
Martin Seidemann		1587-1592	Lauban teacher	From Lauban
Balthasar Bohemus		1615-1618		See above
Peter Hennig		1618-1620	Schreibersdorf	From Lauban
Peter Wiedemann		1620		See above
Georg Schwarzbach		1624-1626	Teacher in Hagenau	From Lauban, son of councilor
Johan Heer		1626-1634		See above
Salomon Hausdorf		1635-1653		See above

There are no references to a 'Pastor Pestilenatrius' in Lauban from the early sixteenth century to 1681

Kamenz
Evangelical Preacher

Name	**Dates**	**Preacher in Upper Lusatia**	**Education / other stations**	**Other**
Johann Ludwig		1527-around 1530		has to leave after a few years, populace petitions successfully for other Lutheran preacher
Donat Pfeifer		1530-1534		See above (Görlitz), Has to leave due to marriage and resistance of convent Marienstern
Heinrich von Bünau	?-1536 (likely)	1535 (-1536)	Hanau	Has to leave due to marriage and resistance of Marienstern
Ambrosius Neumann		1536	Colditz	Has to leave due to marriage and resistance of Marienstern
Johan Färber (or other former monk)		1536		Catholic, employed by abbess of Marienstern, chased out with faeces and stones
Johann Kittel	?-1583	1536-1544	Wittenberg, Rostock, Lübben, Danzig	From Holstein
Franz Minervum (Mühmer)		1544-1552	Dohna	From Löwenberg
Bartholomäus Rumbaum		1552-1556	Delitsch	From Jauer
vacant ?		1556-1562		
Johan Mathesius		1556-1561 (?)		

Pastor Primarius

Name	**Dates**	**Preacher in Upper Lusatia**	**Education / other stations**	**Other**
Wolfgang Lindner	?-1566	1562-1566	Wittenberg	From Frankfurt/Oder, admonishes Jew trying to put out fire with Hebrew signs in 1564, first to preach Sorb in monastery church in 1565, turned into Sorb church
Hieronymus Opitz (the Younger)		1566-1574	Roswein, Jena (Professor of Hebrew)	Father teacher and first Lutheran preacher in Bischofswerda
Joh[ann] Vogel		1574-1579	Rothenburg	From Dresden, see above (Zittau)
Paul Franze		1581-1588	Torgau	From Silesia, acczsed of Calvinism, Liebenwerda
Joh[ann] Beger	?-1606	1581-1587 (Archidiakon), 1588-1599	Reichenbach (pastor 1587)	From Dresden, dies in poverty because of enmity with town scribe Egidius
Gregorius Berger	?-1619	1591-1599 (Archidiakon), 1599-1619		Also has problems with Egidius
Jeremias Schindler	1579-1631	1604-1613 (Archidiakon), 1615-1619 (Diakon, Zittau), 1619-1631	Teacher in Kamenz (1602), Hennersdorf	From Kamenz (first *Kamenzer* to be Pastor Primarius), father and grandfather mayors in Kamenz, ordained Lübben, dies of plague
Egidius Rothe	1586-1654	1613-1632 (Archidiakon), 1632-1654	Sachersan	From Kamenz, married townscribe Haberkorn's daughter

In Kamenz, the main preacher was only called Pastor Primarius *from the mid-1560s onwards*

Archidiakon

Name	**Dates**	**Preacher in Upper Lusatia**	**Education / other stations**	**Other**
Greg[or] Brix (Briccius)	?-1566	1543-1566		From village Wiesa near Kamenz,
Marx Hennigke	?-1581	1567-1581		Son of Kamenz councilor
Johann Beger		1581-1587		See above
Just Gebhard	?-1609	1586-1591	Königsbrück	From Kamenz, anti-Philipism leads to quarrels with Beger and Franze
Gregorius Berger		1591-1599		See above

Caspar Schulze		1599-1604		Leaves due to continuing differences with other clergy
Jerem[ias] Schindler		1604-1613		See above
Egidius Rothe		1613-1632		See above
Andreas Schlegel		1632-1640	Teacher at town school (1624)	From Kamenz
Jakob Spadelholz	1604-1654	1632-1640 (Sorb preacher), 1640-1654	Hohenbucka	From Kamenz

Sorb Preacher (Diakon / wendischer Prediger)

Name	**Dates**	**Preacher in Upper Lusatia**	**Education / other stations**	**Other**
Simon Lehmann		1543-1566		
Joachim Jehser	-1603	1566-1603		Legend of wife kidnapped by black spirit and three dead children
Caspar Arndt (Arentinus)		1603-1618		From Spremberg, has to leave because advised convict to deny crimes
Johann Nicolai		1618-1623		
Abraham Vitosius		1624-1632	Kleinbautzen	
Jakob Spadelholz		1632-1640		

Löbau

Pastor Primarius

Name	**Dates**	**Preacher in Upper Lusatia**	**Education / other stations**	**Other**
Nik[olas] von Glaubitz	?-1551	1526 [probably earlier but still Catholic]-1551		First Lutheran, first married preacher, widow chased away in 1551
Caspar Beatus (Seliger)		1551-1568		From Bautzen, died of plague
Jak[ob] Tilischer		1568-1570		From Breslau, has to leave because continuous quarrels
Lazarus Scherdinger	?-1584	1570-1584	Wittenberg, Teacher in Friedberg, rector in Lauban 1562-1567, rector in Löbau 1567-1570	From Deckendorf
Hieronymus am Ende	?-1600	1585-1600	Reichenbach	From Löbau

Christoph Maritni	?-1620	1600-1620	Bautzen [see above]	From Dresden, daughter marries mayor Günther in 1611, tongue paralysed last years
Joh[ann] Mauritius Fischer	1588-1648	1617-1648	School: Bautzen, university: Wittenberg Steinigwolmsdorf	Son of Bautzen Pastor Primarius F. Fischer, first whose image was put into church

Archidakon

Name	**Dates**	**Preacher in Upper Lusatia**	**Education / other stations**	**Other**
Casp[ar] N (Jakob Finkler)		1550s		
Wolfgang Engelmann		Around 1556-1559		Ordained by Bugenhagen
Elias Scheffer		1559-1560s		
Barthol[omeus] Seliger		Around 1563		From Zittau
Maritn Risus (Riese)	?-1568	1563-1568	Dippoldiswalde	Died of plague
Ge[org] Fiebiger		1569-1597		
Johann Lancisius (Lankisch)		1597-1599		From Zittau
Elias Teuchler		1599-1608		From Bunzlau
Augustin Liebald		1608-1615		From Lauban
Gottfried Flämmiger		1615-1627	Bayersdorf, Herwigsdorf	Replaced by *Pastor Pestilentarius*
Ge[org] Laurentius		1627-1632	Leipa	
Abr[aham] Sturz	1597-1665	1633-1665	Königsbrück	From Oschatz

Sorb Preacher (Diakon / wendischer Prediger)

Name	**Dates**	**Preacher in Upper Lusatia**	**Education / other stations**	**Other**
Wolfgang Steinkirchner		1554/55		Ordained in Wittenberg
Jakob Runge		1569/70		
Mart[in] Plunzkau		1574		
Peter Stüler and/or Ambrosius Schwarz		Late 1570s	Bischdorf, Göda	
Johann Lubatsch		Around 1581		
Donat Möller	?-1595	1592-1595	Kittlitz, Hochkirch	
Salomo Möller		1595-1605	Hofkirche	Son of Donat Möller
Pet[er] Breyer		1605-1607	Bautzen	

Anton Sommer		1607-1608	Bautzen	
Christoph Lehmann		1608-1617		
Matthäus Lehmann	?-1640	1617-1627; 1633-1640	Könisgberg	
Adam Marci	?-1633	1627-1633		

Deans of the Bautzen Cathedral Chapter (Domdekan)

Name	**Years in Office**	**Other**
Paul Küchler	1525-1546	Initially supported Lutheran elements (communion in both kinds)
Hieronymus Ruperti	1546-1559	
Johann Leisentrit (von Juliusberg)	1559-1586	First ‘apostolic administrator‘ (*apostolischer Administrator*)
Gregor Leisentrit	1586-1594	Nephew of Johann Leisentrit
Christoph Blöbelius	1594-1609	
Augustin Widerin von Ottersbach	1609-1620	
Gregor Kattmann von Maurugk	1620-1644	

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