

1. Title of workshop: Nuns on the Move: Agency of Early Modern Nuns as Migrants

2. Summary: The workshop will seek answers to the following questions: How did early modern nuns find strength, power, and agency through their positions as migrants from one community to another, from one place to another, and from one social level to another? As scholars and teachers who focus attention on the lives and cultural production of early modern women, do we position ourselves as natives, migrants or colonizers?

3. Organizers

K. Bevin Butler, Arizona State University, Ph. D. candidate, art historian, kbevinb@gmail.com
Elizabeth Goodwin, University of Sheffield, U.K., historian, elizabeth.goodwin@shef.ac.uk
Volker Schier, Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium, musicologist, volker.schier@fen-net.de
Corine Schleif, Arizona State University, art historian, corine.schleif@asu.edu

4. Contact Person

Corine Schleif
School of Art
Arizona State University
Tempe, AZ, 85287-1505
480 965-3223
corine.schleif@asu.edu

902 W. Moreland
Phoenix AZ, 85007
602 254-2836

5. Description

The title for this workshop, “Nuns on the Move,” comes from the recent work of one of our workshop leaders: Elizabeth Goodwin. To a greater or lesser extent, all nuns were migrants. No one was born a nun. Each migrated into a new community, which became her new family. Often communities migrated from an existing monastery in order to establish a new one. This meant transplanting one’s self, bringing material and immaterial necessities along – including of course dowries, household items, clothing and books (liturgical and devotional), but also training and experience. Frequently it meant moving from one region to another. Occasionally, as was the case with the early modern Birgittines, it meant translocation from one country to another, which demanded the learning of a new vernacular language. As always, migration meant new opportunities, new necessities, new challenges and new agency.

We are pleased that this conference is focusing on agency and action. Of course the debate on whether to foreground the triumphs of women’s activism or to call attention to the limitations of women’s disenfranchisement, was, is, and will continue to be a primary debate within women’s studies. We should certainly not deny either of these factors at any time in history. Migration provides a site at which we can explore both of these impulses. It is however the action, activism, and agency side of migration that at our own moment in history is getting short shrift.

We wish to demonstrate the emotional power of nuns’ writing. Elizabeth Goodwin will discuss the emotional impact of nuns’ letters, which bridged the distances between their worlds.

We likewise wish to examine the concept of so-called *Nonnenarbeit* or “nuns’ work.” Bevin Butler will touch on the historical evidence and historiography of *Nonnenarbeit* to answer the question whether this style should be viewed as evidence of naive isolation or as conscious resistance to hegemonic reform. Men, who enjoyed more freedom of movement, could more easily navigate in and out of their associations with women’s monasteries. Volker Schier will relate the stories of Wolfgang von Sandizell and Johannes Oekolampadius in Altomünster, particularly with respect to the ways in which their reputations were tarnished by these affiliations. We will likewise relate the historical accounts of nuns as migrants with contemporary experiences of migration and particularly with the ways in which the panelists have experienced their own lives and lives of those around them as migrants. Corine Schleif will address issues of migrants and colonizers with respect to the unwritten agenda of those who study early modern nuns.

We represent three disciplines and include scholars at varying career stages. Our work concerns early modern nuns of various orders who lived in monasteries in Germany, England, and Sweden. Although our study of early modern nuns will provide us with a common basis, we will use this material to comment on and make parallels with immigration issues during the 19th through the 21st century. Our work concerns all four conference themes.

6. As a pre-circulated reading we suggest the chronicle account from Maria Mai in Maihingen from 1525 regarding the nuns’ experiences as they fled their monastery during the Peasants’ War. English trans. by Schleif and Schier, *Katerina’s Windows: Donation and Devotion, Art and Music as Heard and Seen through the Writings of a Birgittine Nun* (Univ. Park, 2009), pp. 401-414.

KATERINA'S WINDOWS



*Donation and Devotion, Art and Music,
As Heard and Seen Through the Writings of a Birgittine Nun*

CORINE SCHLEIF AND VOLKER SCHIER

*The Pennsylvania State University Press
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Chapter Nine



Breaking Windows

Violent Clashes in the Peasants' War of 1525

The next window into Katerina's life, and last window into the history of her work at Maria Mai, opens onto the extremely tumultuous period about two years after she sent her final letter to Hans. The last letters have shown the fruits of Katerina's energetic building campaign and fund-raising activities: once the donated window panels had arrived from Nuremberg and were installed in the cloister, she could exclaim, as she did in letter 41, "Only now does it look like a monastery!" With the last lingering stained glass subsidized by Hieronymus Imhoff and his family, as mentioned in letter 57, she could lean back with a sense of pride and accomplishment. But the concluding sources show that not everyone shared such feelings of satisfaction and pleasure at the sight of these buildings and their furnishings.

DOCUMENT 10

Chronicle of the Peasants' War from the House Book

Augsburg, Staatsarchiv, Kloster Maihingen, Lit. 1, fols. 73r–82r

On the Eve of St. Francis, as one reckons, in the 24th year, we had a baker who was not heedful in his place of service, that is, the bakery. And when he went over to the outbuilding, where he wanted to eat his evening meal, he left the fire burning, and it fell out of the oven and ignited the dry wood that was lying around, and the whole bakery began to burn. But it was put out before the entire bakery had been consumed by the flames.

Our servants who first noticed the fire cried out loudly, "Fire! Fire!" so that we heard it in our convent, and they opened our gate. Some of us, very frightened, carried water from our fish tank. The brothers would have rung the bells, but out of panic they had misplaced the key and didn't know where. There was fear that the wind might change and blow in the direction of the large house. But the almighty God helped us, and miraculously the wind changed direction so that nothing happened to the houses. If it were not for the help of God, the wind would have set both convents ablaze from the fire. May God be praised forever, because he did not forsake us in this adversity. Afterward our Reverend Father, Jacob, and our Reverend Mother arranged for us sisters to give everyone something to eat and drink in keeping with the custom of our poverty.



Oh yes, this accident was certainly the beginning of the great impending suffering that God wrought upon us, for it was not long thereafter that the peasants began to persecute us in many ways. They said everywhere, publicly and privately, that before long we should have to leave our monastery. They set their children on both hills, jumping and singing, "You must leave this place and get out of here." They carried on this way day and night. They also removed part of the roof from the brickyard, and they threw large stones over the wall into our courtyard and garden, so that we could not go walking there even when necessary. Also, by night they stole our best beehives, and they cut the green cabbage and the good herbs in our garden. To us they were even more unfaithful and committed even more evil and deception than elsewhere. May God forgive them for the misdeeds that they committed in the entire world!

In the same year that the bakery burned, on Ash Wednesday, in the evening, the peasants gathered in front of the village with their pikes, halberds, and other weapons. We saw them from our convent, but we didn't know where they intended to go. After they were all assembled, they held council and marched up here toward the monastery courtyard. Nimbly and quickly our servants shut the gate. But some of the peasants climbed up over the wall and threw stones through the windows. Maliciously they committed great mischief and frightened us terribly. Then our Reverend Mother sent our steward to them, to ask them what they wanted and what their intentions were. They wanted many things, which we did not like. We wanted to complain about it to our ruler. From then on they were frightened, and several came to the turn saying they had come as good friends and they would be satisfied with two buckets of wine. At the time we did not have much, in fact very little. We were afraid that if we had given them money instead, they would have made a habit of it, and we should always have to comply, but that wasn't so; they wanted wine. Then our Reverend Mother told the steward to give them one bucket of wine, which he did. She wanted to pay for it. They accepted it but scarcely thanked us for it. The whole night they guzzled wine and loitered around.

Thereafter, in the middle of Lent, after the Day of the Annunciation of Our Lady, some of them came and caused us great fright. It was at night, at the eleventh hour, when they came to our gate at the root cellar, which at the time was not yet bricked up. They struck against it with all their might with clubs and poles and branches, so that we inside were all awakened from our sleep and were very terrified. But the almighty God helped us, so that the gate did not break or open. And so they had to leave to their disgrace.

At this time a young lay brother broke out of our men's convent. His name was Uriel, and he had not been in the monastery long. Herr Friedrich from Eichstätt broke out after him. Their rewards can be found at the end of this book. Evil people in the village helped both of them get away. And thus thereafter, to our misfortune, our suffering steadily increased, with mounting anxieties and urgencies. Here, there, and everywhere the peasants rose up against their authorities—all their authorities. They themselves wanted to rule and to be the lords of the land. And they gathered a large army, coming together from everywhere, and they pitched camp at Deiningen. They often sent someone to us for food. So we could calculate what then would become of us if we refused them. We sent them ten guilders'



worth of food and drink. We also allowed them fire wood from our forest and lent them a horse, which we could hardly expect to get back. For this and other goodness they repaid us with evil. In fact, for a long time, day and night, we waited, wondering when they would attack our monastery, since their numbers were growing. As we daily watched from the attic of our monastery, the rulers took up arms in order to oppose them. Since they became aware of this, the peasants became very frightened. They came to us and boldly demanded to borrow our wagons. They too wanted to arm themselves and be able to circle up the wagons as a barricade. In no way did we want to do this against our rulers. Then they became furious and went away in anger, vehemently threatening us, saying that we should never enjoy anything again, because they would always remember this. At this time we wrote to our protector, Count Ludwig, the chancellor of His Grace, and Herr Walther von Hürnheim, and also his brother the knight Hans [von Hürnheim]. And we obtained advice from all corners about how we should proceed. And we lamented, telling them of our great fears and danger and how we were surrounded by terror. And we were well comforted from all sides, and many people advised us not to bring many things to safety, so that we should not encourage them to any uprising, but to bury things within the monastery. If indeed they should attack us, then they probably would only march through once and would only care for food and drink. And our gracious protector promised us everything dear and good and said that he would help us; the same was said by other people, noble and not noble. Well-known people promised to give us great support. But dear God, generally when one is in need, all friends come too late. Many pious people had great sympathy with us and were concerned about us. If we could not get out of the way of the wretched faithless folk, they would deal with us in the worst way, and they begged us not to wait for their coming. At this moment we had brought very little to safety, and among ourselves we were distraught through suffering and lack of courage, so that some wanted to do it and others did not. We also didn't know where we could take it or to whom. We had been told that if we brought it to Nördlingen, it would be sold and distributed among the common people. We were worried the same would happen in Oettingen.

Then we deliberated together; and by night, so that no one could watch us from the hill-sides, we buried many good household wares in many places in the monastery, including our garden: pewter, bronze, copper, and trunks full of fine linens. Oh, if only it had remained there, we should now be living much better! But all was faithlessly betrayed and revealed by one of our sisters in the kitchen. She had not been in the monastery long; her parents, brothers, and sisters were of the peasantry. May the almighty God in his mercy forgive her for it. She committed evil against us. At the back of the book one can read about it. She was young and strong; therefore we had her bury things all over the monastery and in the garden, and we entrusted her with these tasks. We had no concern that she was untrustworthy. But God greatly spared us, since we buried a little iron casket with all our papers concerning interest income and finances as well as some of our relics that were set in silver and gold—it was all buried, but we dug it out again. God prompted us to do this; otherwise we should have been robbed of it all—everything would have been divulged by this unfaithful person. Whatever we buried that she did not know about remained as it was, but that was not much. She knew almost everything, since we could not imagine that she would do any harm.



We were enveloped in fear and danger, since we did not know to which place we could bring things to safety or flee ourselves, and many pious people had come to us and said they had learned that indeed there was no denying that they would attack our monastery. And so the Reverend Mother and the convent wrote to our gracious Lord Bishop Christoph von Stadion and asked His Grace, as our faithful father, to help us, to the honor of God, and we apprised him of our wants and needs and asked if we should have the papers and documents of the monastery brought to His Grace. His Grace wrote us a very comforting and friendly letter, saying that he himself was engulfed in fear and danger because of the peasants, who had already begun malevolently to attack his people in Füssen, and very anxiously he daily expected complaints and unhappy messages from his subjects. Therefore he and his canons were continuously concerned, and all of his people did not know when they would strike them. But if we wanted to risk it, he would be willing and would keep it as faithfully as his own goods. We, however, wanted to send him the papers and silver vessels in great secrecy, but when the messenger delivered the bishop's letter, it was already too late. We couldn't do anything more than place the relics and papers into the little iron casket and shove it into a sack, which we set on the roper's cart from Donauwörth; and she drove off with it to her daughter's husband in Donauwörth. There it was to be kept for us faithfully until we, due to poverty, had to take the silver vessels in which the relics were kept, about which more will be said later.

From then on we had no rest by day or night, ever wary that they would descend on us. Many of us never got out of our clothes, as we watched by day, watched by night, and could not sleep for fear and worry. God in heaven alone knows what we went through at this time. Among us we had many who were poor, old, and ill; the brothers too were no different in this regard. We had an old blind lay brother and didn't know how to take him to safety. An old ill kitchen sister, whose name was Sister Christina, was completely bedridden. By God's will, Margaret Wölfler, a pious sister on our farm, took her in and cared for her faithfully. She took mercy on this poor person and took her from us into her little house, believing that the peasants would not do any harm to her. We gave her food and drink for a long time: lard, eggs, fine flour, refreshment, all necessities, also a little keg with good wine and good bedding and clothing. As we thought we had provided for her well, we put her out, since the peasants were not yet there. We still had the hope that we should all stay together in the monastery, with the help of God.

Then we were strongly warned and told of the horrible deeds of this rough folk, how they had acted so shamefully toward other nuns. Needless to say, many pious children lived in fear. There were also unfortunately several among us who were secretly comforted by their friends and told they should come to them as soon as they were outside and never more go back to the monastery. Soon thereafter it unfortunately became evident what a weak foundation they had. We also should not have expected it! Oh good and merciful God, here we now are surrounded with all unfaithfulness and danger, and there is much sadness and unrest among us, which is also the case with the fathers and brothers. We also learned that our own servants were disloyal and helped the sisters and brothers who wanted to get away from us. Would to God that we had never set eyes on these sisters and brothers. They caused much disturbance among the good and unwavering sheep. God forgive them and all who helped them to do it.



Because our Reverend Mother saw the hardship, trouble, and toil that we could not long suffer and endure, she, together with the Reverend Father and both convents, wrote to our protector for help and advice about how we should react in our great peril and danger, because it had become apparent that it was unavoidable that we should have to leave the monastery if we didn't want to experience the worst calamity. And we all implored His Grace, to the honor of God and his mother Mary, to give us housing in Oettingen. Then His Grace bid us to come, saying he would find us lodging. We were happy about the answer and about the fact that His Grace was so benevolent to us. At that very hour His Grace sent word to the beer brewer, enjoined him to come to him, and asked him to take us into his house. He willingly complied with the wishes of His Grace and said he would do it gladly. The same day he had it announced in the town hall, that when we came, no one should do anything indecent or dishonorable to us, either in word or in deed. His Grace set a particular punishment for this.

And because we understood that the accommodation had been arranged by our gracious Lord, we loaded wagons with our utmost necessities, bedding, food, and drink—but only that which was absolutely necessary for us, for we left ten times as much behind. We had to leave it because of the impending danger.

And as soon as the peasants saw that we were sending things, they banded together, passing it on from one village to the next; they gathered together and went around the whole night, having ignited sheaves of straw in the fields and on the two hills, and they moved cumbrously around the monastery, so that we could not flee. They were completely restless and caused all of us to be so fearful, including the fathers and brothers, because shortly before they had attacked the monastery at Mönchsroth. There they had wildly quarreled with the monks, wounded some, set the monastery on fire, and burned it to the ground, as well as the village nearby. This caused a young brother to become so terrified that he took leave of our Reverend Father and went away before we left.

But on Saturday, the feast of the Sorrows of the Virgin, our good supporters came secretly from the peasantry. These women and men, in whom we trusted completely, were a Godsend and all of good heart, for many had shown us much deceit. But we had asked these people to warn us and not to leave anything out. They told us clandestinely that we should get out without delay on Sunday after the feast of the Sorrows of the Virgin. They were about to attack during that week. Very few knew the exact day, because they kept it very quiet. And on Sunday, already at the time of vespers, we began to make our way, our eyes filled with tears and with great sadness. Oh Lord our God, you know with what sorrow, anxiety, and peril our hearts were troubled. Oh how wretched and miserable an exit it was, that it moved any heart so that even our foes would have wept with us.

Now, several among us sisters thought they would rather die than leave this holy place, in which they had never been unhappy until this hour when they were being forced to leave. But some had a different foundation, so each must be accountable before her God. He recognizes and judges all of us, and it is commended to him.

And as we wanted to go out at the turn and had assembled ourselves in the manner of a procession, several who were not so happy about marching out began to speak with each other: "Let us trust in God and allow a part of us to stay a bit longer. God is powerful to protect us." One dauntless sister heard this and stirred up the others with the idea that some



should stay. And everyone had to struggle with herself not to be distracted by other things. And all those who had the will to remain stood together at one spot and discussed the matter with the prioress. And when it was time, those who were timid went out, thinking that the others would follow. At that moment the undaunted sister slammed the door shut. Twenty sisters remained here with the prioress, and thirty hurried out with the Reverend Mother, because they in Oettingen had to hold the gate open for them, and a portion of them could not walk well—many were 60 or 70 years old and were weak and ill.

And as soon as they went in through the gate, they closed it behind them, and a great many people saw them entering. Part of the village of Maihingen had accompanied them as far as the city gate. It was first as they came to their place of lodging that the Reverend Mother and several other sisters became aware that not all of the sisters were there. A sister who had perceived what had happened explained how it had occurred that we were not all there.

And we, the twenty sisters who had stayed here, thanked God in heaven that we did not go along with the others. We had a good quiet night, and no one did us any harm, and so we thought we had overcome the danger. But some of us watched through the night, and constantly looking out, they saw the peasants going around with burning torches of straw. Otherwise all was very still and calm. Our Reverend Father, Jacob, also remained in his convent, along with his brothers. But he sent the blind brother, Hans, into the village with a lay brother so that he would not be taken by surprise. There the pious brother had to crawl over the little bridge, since he himself was not confident enough to walk over. It was really a very miserable endeavor.

And it was on the next day after the Eve of the feast of the apostles Saints Philip and James, which had been Sunday, when in the evening our Reverend Father offered to give us the most reverend Holy Sacrament on the next morning, although he had given us all the sacrament on Saturday. Now there was no sacristan among the sisters who had stayed, and they had taken the key along with them when they left. Then we tried various keys, but found none that would work, and we sent a servant with a letter to Oettingen, before the day had dawned. We wrote the Reverend Mother and the sisters a letter saying that we had spent a quiet night and that no one had taken revenge. Thereby we created turmoil, since some wanted to come back up here. But we were rejoicing too soon.

Then the servant brought the key, and we went to the Holy Sacrament. All was well and we sang matins and prime. And so we expected that nothing bad would happen to us for a long time. But unfortunately, during the Mass of our Lady, at which we were all present, I, Sister Anna, the prioress, went down from the choir during the Mass with one of the sisters. We wanted to see if there was anyone there—and we saw the pikes and halberds sticking up over the top of the wall—and the gate was still closed. Clandestinely we unlocked the garden to see if there was anyone inside. There were many peasants there digging out what we had buried. And they searched and peered into everything. Without notice we locked it again, and in great fear we went to the fathers' turn, where we let the Reverend Father know that the peasants had entered with force. And the sisters said that at the end of the Mass they had shouted up to them: "Stop your howling. We have had enough of it!"

The Reverend Father ordered one of our servants whom he trusted to come to him, let him into the choir and out over the wall. In haste he [the Reverend Father] had written four



or five lines to the count: The peasants were there, and they wanted to attack; they were in the outside courtyard with their entire forces, and they were in control of the gate.

As soon as the count learned of this, he had someone go through the city of Oettingen with a signal drum. The men were to arm themselves immediately and go to Maria Mai with His Grace. Then they were off in a hurry, riders and men on foot marching in order.

In the meantime, while they were coming, some peasants dared to climb over or storm the monastery walls. There were about twenty of them. Full of fear, we were standing and eating our soup and knew nothing of their entry. Then the unwelcome guests came into our refectory and stood in front of us; some of them had their swords drawn. They told us we should show them the treasury of the monastery or we should bring it out—the treasury and nothing else. Then we answered: “God is our treasure; we have no other treasure.” Then they pulled out the chests in the refectory and took out cups, knives, and small bowls until nothing was left in the refectory. Then they went up into the dormitory, and from one cell to the next they cleaned everything out right before our eyes.

At that very moment came the outcry that our gracious protector was coming with all the men of Oettingen. Then all the peasants disappeared, and we didn't know where they had gone, because none remained in the monastery. And we opened the gate, and the count came in with his entourage, which now numbered many. And the members of the convent were assembled in the room to receive him respectfully. When His Grace entered, we all fell to our knees, bowing humbly to the ground, and begged His Grace to help us in our need and peril, to the honor of God and his pure mother Mary. Then His Grace bade us to rise and fully and sympathetically comforted us. Also, others of his servants said that we should be of good cheer, for all would still turn out for the best. They were only concerned about food and drink, and they would not let anything else happen to us. And the count's administrator ordered our baker to bake bread. He went into the two cellars and looked to see what was there of wine and beer, but there was nothing there to console us.

The peasants and the evil riffraff multiplied overwhelmingly and assembled everywhere with great might and much noise as the count went about in the monastery. It is estimated that more than three thousand had assembled. And the count was terrified when His Grace was told that so many of them had joined together. But he waited longer to see if his brother Count Martin and his two cousins Count Ludwig and Count Karl would come, because they had promised His Grace that they wanted to come, but they did not come. And we asked His Grace if we too should go to Oettingen to join the others. His Grace said that he would advise it in good faith, but he said to the prioress, “You have not even completely cleaned everything out. There are still many goods here in the monastery. Take away whatever you can.” And His Grace locked the cellar himself, and he ordered his servants to stay, but not all of them. And he blessed us kindly and offered himself openheartedly. And he said that the misfortune would soon pass, but he wanted to advise us faithfully to go to the others in Oettingen, where we should be well cared for. And with that His Grace rode away.

And as soon as he had gone through the gate and onto the meadows where the peasants had assembled, they captured him and all who were with him. They had to swear allegiance to them. Then, after the peasants had captured the count, they rushed into our monastery with great boisterousness and took all those from Oettingen captive who had remained here



by order of the count. And they were all forced to swear their allegiance to them. Then we were in great anguish and peril—we were in such distress, having learned that the count had been captured, along with his entourage. There was no one of them who remained there. The whole monastery was full of peasants; they ran back and forth with the signal drum, carried everything off that they found, and with all their strength smashed the windows.

As we saw this great tragedy, we had two loaded wagons standing in the courtyard, near our gate. We called our servants, bade them in the name of God and his worthy mother, and all that we could ask and admonish, to drive the wagons. It didn't help at all; they did not want to do it, although we urged them the entire day. They were disloyal, were together with the peasants, as later were unfortunately all of our servants. They seized whatever they could take away. We should have liked to bring the wagons to Oettingen, together with our horses, which were all still here as well as all our livestock. But of so many, no one wanted to drive, because the peasants had forbidden anyone to drive us there. And so we had to leave the fully loaded wagons behind, which we had filled with dire necessities: meat, salt, lard, eggs, cheese, sauerkraut, and pewter, and much of the best beer that we had put up first, probably worth about 70 guilders. We had not yet paid even a *heller* for it, and it was all spoiled and mercilessly poured away, and most of it was left in the cellar. They smashed the barrels and destroyed whatever they could not bring out. Also they poured the olive oil and a barrel of lamp oil together so that one could wade in it up to one's ankles in the cellar. We had just bought the oil and still owed the money for it.

And we were beset with grief because we saw that nothing more remained there, so we assembled ourselves with heavy hearts and went out—without a doubt with more sighing and weeping than the others who had left before us. In a short time we had experienced much dread and peril, more than the first group. All of this was the will of God, because we had not in fact left. Before our eyes they struck into our two loaded wagons, kicking with all their strength and might, so that the sauerkraut, oil, salt, and lard—all of it fell under the wagon and lay scattered in the courtyard. Oh God, the pain that we experienced here is inexpressible. It was pitiful for all pious Christians to see, of whom many were present and wept and wailed with us. We still had one more wagon, in which the old and weak sisters were sitting. And the pious old brothers Michael, Thomas, and Gabriel came to us when we wanted to get into the wagon to leave. They shed bitter tears with us. We asked them where the other fathers and brothers were. Then they said the Reverend Father and the others were all gone. Then we asked if the Holy Sacrament was still there. Then they brought it to us on the wagon with the container, and they gave it to us secretly—hiding it because, if a faithless peasant had seen it, we should certainly have had to empty it, as it unfortunately happened in Dorfkemmathen, where a poor peasant took the Holy Sacrament of our true God and Lord and emptied it onto the ground and took the container to his bosom and said, beating his chest, "This is my one true dear God." He trampled the host, crushing it beneath his feet. Oh you everlasting God, this is a piteous thing and terrifying to hear for all Christian people; more perdition has been rained down on all than has ever been wrought before. God forgive them for it.

And so we rode and went there with our best treasure, and the Lord our true God led us and was himself our wagoner. And many people ran toward us and went with us and wept,

saying, "Oh you dear sisters!" And the women peasants spoke, "Pray to God for us. Soon it will come to us!"

And we came to Oettingen and found the sisters and brothers and the Reverend Father all together in the inn of the beer brewer. They received us with wailing and weeping. And the whole city was moved, crying, wailing, and weeping, because it had already been made known that the peasants had captured the count together with the men of Oettingen. And then all the gates were locked; everywhere they deliberated, beat the drum, and assembled together. At that moment came the outcry, "The peasants are coming!" They made a lot of noise, and they led our count as a captive together with all his entourage. They wanted to take the city, and they mustered all men, had them don armor, and stationed people on the city wall. And there was a great lament in the city, especially from the women who had husbands outside. Oh everlasting God! There were many people who cursed us. Oh that the earth would have opened up! They stood in front of us, looked us in the eye, and said, "This misery is all your fault. We must die and go to perdition with you!" And an uproarious crowd drew near. The dear count had to go on foot. They didn't want to let him ride, or any of those who were with him, who were the most reputable in the city. And the gates were closed. And the peasants camped with the count a whole day and night in front of the city. And there was the sounding of alarm in the city, together with the wailing and weeping of the women. May God have mercy.

The old Count Ludwig resided at this time in Oettingen with his gracious wife and 10 children, but at this moment he was not in residence. And since the countess, His Grace's spouse, saw the great suffering that the peasants had caused in the city, she was quickly shaken with anguish, as Her Grace herself told us later. She thought, "If this heathen folk, the peasants, had me and my children, then they would have my lord too. Considering this, I got myself and my children into the wagon, prepared myself, and escaped through the back gate in great haste. I did not want to wait and see how things would play out." And we saw the countess, unprepared, moving quickly with her children.

With increasing anguish we sat huddled together as if half dead. We should gladly have fled, but we didn't know where. We were full of fear; we realized that after the peasants had stormed the city, they would take from us and the dear beer brewer what we and he had. The pious wife of the beer brewer had worried greatly that she would lose what she had along with what we had. The beer brewer was also with the count and the other captives in front of the city.

And after much toil and trouble someone was sent to Old Count Ludwig and asked His Grace if the peasants should be let into the city. He wrote that before he would allow the peasants to be his lords, he and the other rulers would see to it that the entire land of Ries was leveled and would have to be swept up with a broom. For this he and the other lords of the land would risk life and limb. They deliberated constantly because they were worried the peasants would take it out on the city, since a great and mighty folk was on the march. Hourly they were multiplying, and there was much unrest in the city.

Then some sisters wanted to quit; they didn't want to stay in the city anymore out of fear. In great haste they left the city and went home to their friends. Only one kitchen sister stayed with us in our misery. Her name was Barbara Stengl, and she always remained in the



kitchen and honored us by making an effort and working—cooking for us faithfully. May God reward her in eternity!

The Reverend Mother sent back to Jorg Müllner his two daughters and their maid, who had been a kitchen sister with us. Also the sister of the abbot from St. Ulrich, whose name was Barbara Schrot, was sent out. These sisters were glad to leave us, and since they certainly did not want to remain, we let them go. As they came to Augsburg, they said to the wagoner he should tell us that they did not want to come back and that they were giving up their prebends. And as the Müllner daughters arrived, they were so happy that they opened the best wine.

And the next day, just when it was time for vespers, the city or the council let all the peasants in. It was a large crowd and included the count. Oh how many terrible harsh words we had to hear! Had there been no fear of the rulers and had not God the Almighty kept us so faithfully, then without a doubt we should all have had to leave the city as soon as such trash rose up and revolted. Because they all said that they had all this misfortune because of us. And they marched along in the city, two by two. What a poor worthless folk, completely unarmed for combat: some had no trousers, and a part of them carried pitchforks as weapons, and some of them had our little crowns on their hats! They had spread our painted banners over their wagons, and they constantly looked in the direction of our place of lodging. They were carrying our wine with them and had taken some barrels of wine from the women at Kirchheim, which they had wanted to bring to safety. They drove the wagons in front of the castle, got some flagons, and drank the whole day. But the first place that they entered in the city was the house of the Knights of the Teutonic Order, where they tore everything apart just as they had in our monastery. One could hear the cruel laughter throughout the entire city. They took everything out that they could find and afterward gave it to the count, their captain. Because they were united with him, they actually promised him their faith and loyalty, because, after the Holy Roman Empire had been delivered into their hands, they wanted to make a great lord out of him.

And they were very violent: they took over the city government, took the keys from the accountant, took one of their own and appointed him as an official or accountant, closed the gates, appointed other officials, and ran around in the city as if they were out of their minds. They must have run around the city ten times in one day. They beat the signal drum and called all the citizens together before half of the troops. It was such a commotion that no one had any rest, either by day or by night. Oh merciful God, we sat there that evening and the whole night, constantly expecting that they would come. We had our habits and cloaks on and our prayer books with us because it was rumored that as soon as they had robbed the house of the Teutonic Order, they would also plunder us, although they had certainly done enough before—more than enough. Also, we had evacuated all of our livestock: horses, calves, and cows, taking them with us to Oettingen. Then they took all of them from us to the pasture. Thus they had become lords in Oettingen. But their rule lasted not even two days, and then it had a quick and bitter end.

And they marched around beating the drum. They wanted to take booty and make martyrs, but they themselves had to take the beating. They did not publicly announce where they wanted to go, but kept it quiet. They commanded all in Oettingen to arm themselves



and to march out with them. But many remained at home to protect the city. They won others, foreigners, to go in their place. And our beer brewer also found someone so that he could stay with us in his house.

But before they marched to Auhausen, they took all of our livestock, and we were so poor that we hadn't even a kernel of grain that we could get past them. And the pious men in the house of the Teutonic Order, when they saw that they were going to break in, took much of their grain to the baker in order to bake bread and give it to the poor, which then was done. And when we had heard it and had nothing to eat and also hadn't any more money with which to buy food, we, in the name of God, sought holy charity and went and took this same bread.

We were advised that we should go before the council of the peasants before they began to march out, and we should declare our poverty and ask them humbly if they would give us something, by the will of God. And so we requested that some of those who supported us go with us and speak on our behalf.

As we, namely the Reverend Mother, the prioress, and Sister Lemmel, together with the two listeners, came before them, they had just eaten and were lying on the table in a disorderly way, like full swine. There was neither civility nor honor there. As soon as we entered, before we had even uttered a word, two or three spoke to us: "You *Fräulein*, there are several among us who are widowers. Whoever among you wants a husband, we should like to enter into a marriage with you." Oh God, our suffering and sorrow was for them nothing but cock's play and jest. We wept. When one drinker struck the other, we understood it as the answer. And our speaker began to talk and confronted them with our wants, poverty, and sorrow. Then they said they wanted to bring it before half of the troops and let us have an answer. Then a man spoke, without a doubt the cleverest of them all: "The dear women have fared badly." And he said openly in front of all, "Due to the hostilities they have lost about 5 thousand guilders." And they made sour faces at him. One of them, whose name was Casper Hag, was sitting in the corner and had a stick in his hand. As we should later learn, he had burned our farm completely to the ground. (God the Lord forgive them!) Speaking about what the peasant before him had said, he uttered, "Yeah, they still have enough." And we spoke, "They dealt with us in an unchristian manner." Then they said, "You have lived in an unchristian manner and held fast to your good works." And we left, and implored them not to forget us, in the name of God. They said that they had to go somewhere the following day, and afterward they would give us a good answer.

Early the next morning they marched out with very many of the peasants and the men of the city. And then they went toward Auhausen, where they atrociously attacked, tore down, and robbed the beautiful and finely built monastery. They also emptied out the most worthy Holy Sacrament, hacked to pieces and broke apart all the windows and the choir stalls, and acted in an extremely unchristian manner, just as they had with us. Then, just when they least anticipated it, the noose fell over them. The margrave arrived unexpectedly, together with other noblemen and men who were not noble, and gave them just reward for their work. They were scattered and did not stay together, one fleeing here and another there. All that fled died a wretched death. They lay there in their own blood, writhing and struggling with bitter death until they perished. Their number was great. And for the men who were



freshly stabbed or wounded, it was perhaps another 2 or 3 days until they breathed their last breaths, and no one came to them. May the God of heaven be gracious and merciful to all of them!

The beer brewer had also ordered one [to fight in his place]. It is said that he also died a hard death. May God give him eternal rest.

The other peasants fled into the village [of Ostheim]. They could not flee any further from the cavalry of the margrave. And they [the margrave's forces] set fire to the village so that more than half of it burned. It was a great pity and lament. And so the pious city of Oettingen was saved from this pathetic and abhorrent rule. It was indeed a foolish folk, truly without counsel and wisdom. And none of them came there anymore; no, not one was seen there again. Then the counts ordered all their peasants to bring all of their arms: knives, swords, halberds, spears, muskets—they had to take all their weapons to a determined place, there and nowhere else. For this they drove a wagon onto the square in front of the castle. Because the castle was near our lodging, we saw it with our own eyes, how all the peasants, who were under their rule, had to bring their arms to their lords.

And so they gave us nothing, and we suffered want and poverty. Then there came an outcry that they wanted to burn down our monastery completely. First our hearts were heavy with fear and peril, and we asked every day if the monastery was still standing. But it was really true that they demolished our monastery anew. They broke all the windows, especially in the church. All of this because of the lead, from which they made shot. And they were a great enemy of iron, so they left not one nail in the walls. Yes, they smashed all the stove tiles. The benches, doors, locks, bands, tables—all were ruined, also the stalls in the church. The painted panels were all ripped apart. They even dared to tear up the upper floor where corn was stored, kicking it in. The count wanted to send his servants to throw the boards out the windows. They tore up the wall paneling and the floors in the rooms and in the chapter house. Everywhere they were searching for treasure. They carried away all the boards from the rooms, the cellars, and the cells, also from the fathers' convent. They carried away about 90 doors, large and small. Also fine trunks, chests, for one of which the dear Frau Lemmel had paid 20 guilders. Oh what goods we left behind us in the cells—trunks and chests! We were worried that if we cleared much out and they found very little, they would burn down the monastery.

But it didn't help at all. Now, they would gladly have burned it down if God had allowed it to happen. Four times they set fire at very flammable places, as they themselves told us, but a merciful God miraculously would not allow it at all. Once several of them set a fire at the turn to the fathers' convent. It was their opinion that both convents should burn together. Then a pious peasant clumsily came out of the beer cellar with a large jug of beer. As God wanted it, he poured it on the fire, so that it was completely quenched. And they set fires several times.

They stacked up piles of books and then lit them. They burned, drowned, tore up, and ripped apart more than three thousand books. They offered some of them to peddlers for purchase, so that they could tear them apart. One of them gave twelve *heller* for twelve books, as he told us without being asked. They had cost about 10 guilders. Oh how great and immeasurable the harm that has occurred to the pious fathers and their fine library of good and precious books, since one book had cost about 20 guilders or much more. All has

been destroyed. God have mercy! Such a library is not to be found in most monasteries, as many doctors have said. Also, the damage that was perpetrated against the fathers and us with respect to ecclesiastical furnishings is irreparable.

The bells in the tower—as high as they hung—also were not safe from them. They threw them down, carried them away—as far as Löpsingen. They also dug the altars out and therein also searched through the graves of the dead. Yes, indeed, they also excavated in thirty different places. They perpetrated such disrespect and dishonor with the sacred objects and the images that it would have been a terror and a horror for a pious person to see. We had two very beautiful images of the Savior in our choir, and they dashed them into about 10 pieces. They also hacked off the hands and the feet of the crucifixes. They dug out our cauldron in the bathhouse, and later, when we wanted to set the kettle back, in order to bathe, we found the head of one crucifix in the back of the bath stove. They had cut off the head of the image of our Lord. They had thrown the saints onto the manure heap, and they dismantled the altar. [A list of] that which we lost from the sacristy, which also belonged to the service of God, can hardly fit into one book. There were many precious altar cloths, liturgical vestments, chasubles, and also robes, albs, and great bronze candelabra.

And everything imaginable that belongs to a household—all of this they carried away. And we had also buried many large pieces of fine pewter, bronze, and copper in the garden and in the monastery. All of this was divulged and carried away. One can believe there were not as many household goods found in 3 monasteries! This was the boon of the many widows who came to us, who brought along their household goods for the community, as had the dear sister Lemmel, who brought us much good. May God be her eternal reward. Oh how her heart suffered, as she saw with her own eyes that all things were lost and laid waste. She spoke, “Oh God, I speak with the Lord Job, ‘God has given; God has taken away. Blessed be the name of the Lord.’ Otherwise I could not endure it.”

And all of us did not have housing in one place. There was some housing at our monastery farm, at our farm in Uttenstetten, at the mill, and in both convents. Oh the fine good quality livestock on both farms! It had all been driven away, and the farm was completely burned to the ground, so that we suffered losses of more than 7,000 guilders. They had also destroyed the wheels of the mill and all that belonged to the millwork, although in all wars the mills are spared due to the great need for bread. We had to spend around 50 guilders to have it rebuilt in a simple manner. All of our grain, of which we had a good amount, by the grace of God (and which we had hardly ever had in the past), was divided among the villages, although indeed we received part of it back as we returned. They took our horses to haul their cannons to Auhausen. There the troops of the margrave took them, and we were notified, so we could get them back for ransom. We also bought several cows at Oettingen. When we herded them back here, three of them died.

God was always with us, through the many crosses [we had to bear]. And while we stayed for a long time in Oettingen, we suffered much poverty. We were forced to live like gypsies, sleeping on the ground; it was always too much for us. So that we had something to live on—since there were many old and infirm among us, and we did not have any money—we had to draw from something. We owed the beer brewer around 70 guilders; other people also wanted to be paid by us. And we sent the Reverend Father to get the silver containers in which the relics had been kept, also the chalice and other things [from Donauwörth], and to



take it all to Augsburg in order to sell it to a goldsmith. And the money was paid out to us in Oettingen so that we could eat from it. Oh God, all were scattered around; each person went off with his sack. It was for us a harmful and difficult matter to have households in two places. For the Reverend Father was at the home of a pious widow with his brothers. The name was Gall. She kept them in her house by God's will and out of Christian love, and we sent them food and drink from our place of lodging. And we had to drink sour beer, which we were nonetheless thankful to have.

Then our Lord ordained that at this time a great hailstorm come over Marktoffingen and Maihingen. It struck down everything that was in the field, hit our grain too, and it completely lay waste to all the blossoms in the garden. In addition to all of this, we had to suffer because the wretched unfaithful among the peasantry said openly that we had caused and sent the hail. Moreover, they told us they were angry and distrusted us, so they left the good beer in the cellar for which we had paid 70 guilders, but it was still not paid for. They thought we had poisoned it, and so they didn't drink much of it. We were banned from the grace of God and ostracized everywhere, and it happened to us as it had to Job. One misfortune followed the next. And then there was an outcry that the faithless peasant Casper Hag had with his own hand set fire to our good, newly built farm. He had fetched the fire from Fremdingen and burned everything to ashes. God forgive him for it. He died wretchedly.

It was as if they had completely torn us out by the roots. Thereby they thought they had acted in the service of God. It is perhaps because of the guilt of our sins—Lord God have mercy! We were frightened everywhere. God be praised. *Dominus fecit*. As the dear Judith spoke: "The Lord has done it; the peasants have not done it."

We had endured much tribulation, and we were not a small burden for the pious beer brewer and his wife, since we had been in Oettingen for eleven weeks. Then the count gave us a steward, whose name was Casper Kessler. He was from Oettingen and served us faithfully. He arranged with the count that His Grace allow us to leave. And he was favorably disposed to us. We sent some sisters ahead, for quite a while, and they served faithfully. They saw to it that our grain was reaped, and they cooked for the mowers and the reapers. Oh dear God, these pious sisters had a harsh and difficult time of it. What they ate was bitter and bad, and they had trouble and hard work. They had to go into the fields, make hay, and also care for the animals like our other servants, and they carried the food for the reapers and others out to the fields. At night they slept on the ground, three or four of them together. They had a pathetic life, giving themselves over completely to the will of God in sacrifice and in holy obedience. And God strengthened them greatly, and they cleaned out the church and the guesthouse and the construction yard, because it lay in such desolation that it was a wonder to behold. They were as diligent as they could be. Therefore they have earned great gratitude before God and the convent. May God be their eternal reward here and there. Amen.

SOURCE AND AUTHOR

This passage in the House Book documents the bloody conflict that not only signaled the fall of the Birgittine monastery of Maria Mai but also cemented European class structures and



ushered in centuries of underclass exploitation and interclass anxiety. Historians, depending on viewpoint, moment in history, and agenda, have named the struggle variously: the Peasants' War, the Peasants' Revolt, the Revolution of 1525, or the First Revolution of the Common Man.¹

Taking up folios 73v to 82r in the House Book, the text assumes its proper place and time in the monastic chronicle, following a short section on the Abbess Anna Haselbeck. Katerina mentioned Haselbeck in letter 58, written in 1521, shortly after she had been elected. She is the last abbess to whom an entire section of the chronicle is dedicated. The circa eight folios on the Peasants' War nonetheless constitute a relatively independent segment in the book. A different hand takes up the quill at this point, and the section is followed by a completely different issue: the description of the ritual employed for the consecration of abbesses.

Research on the Peasants' War or Revolution has largely ignored this account from Maria Mai. Exceptions can be found in a few regional studies, primarily those of Ludwig Müller, who had the copy of the House Book made by the Franciscans at Maihingen in 1770 at his disposal. In 1891 he anonymously published an edition of this section from the House Book as a short monograph.²

The authorship of the eight leaves pertaining to the Peasants' War, like the authorship of the entire manuscript, has been the subject of controversy. In fact, certain aspects of this section have contributed to the debate as a whole. On the first page of the codex, the first writer declares that the House Book should be commended to each future prioress, who should use, maintain, and continue it in collaboration with the abbess and with input from others, thus making it a work of communal authorship that was to serve as a reference book for the entire community. It may be remembered from many other references we have cited that the book contains various kinds of information: first of all, financial records about property, donations, and corresponding obligations of the kind that are found in a German *salbuch*, or cartulary; second, a necrology containing specifics about the life and death of each monastic, much like the edifying *exempla* contained in the Dominican Sister Books, which were commonly lent and copied in nunneries beyond the borders of that order; and third, a chronicle of the abbey.³ The chronicle parallels that compiled between 1501 and 1503 for the Birgittine foundation of Maria Troon in Flanders. In this brief and still extant history, the abbess Marie van Oss records financial information necessary for subsequent generations, places her own abbey within the history of the Birgittines, and advises other houses to do the same in order to "preserve the memory of both the sweet and the sour."⁴ At Maria Troon and Maria Mai, economic challenges and the responsibilities of the women play an important part in the narrative. Perhaps other chronicles in this Birgittine tradition have been lost.

According to the most recent study of the House Book of Maria Mai, undertaken by Tore Nyberg, the rebellion of the peasants occurred while Walburga Scheffler held the office of prioress, but the narrative was compiled by her successor, who was likewise one of the eyewitnesses of the events. Scheffler died in 1525. It is probable that she was succeeded by Anna Mayenschein.⁵ We are of the opinion that although the text presents the impressions of the eyewitnesses, it was written from the vantage point of subsequent collective memory and colored by stories that were passed on by word of mouth and in writing from participants in other localities. We shall return to these matters in conjunction with particular points in the text.

The story is written in a far more personal style than that of other sections of the House Book. Numerous times the author uses first-person pronouns: several instances in the plural,

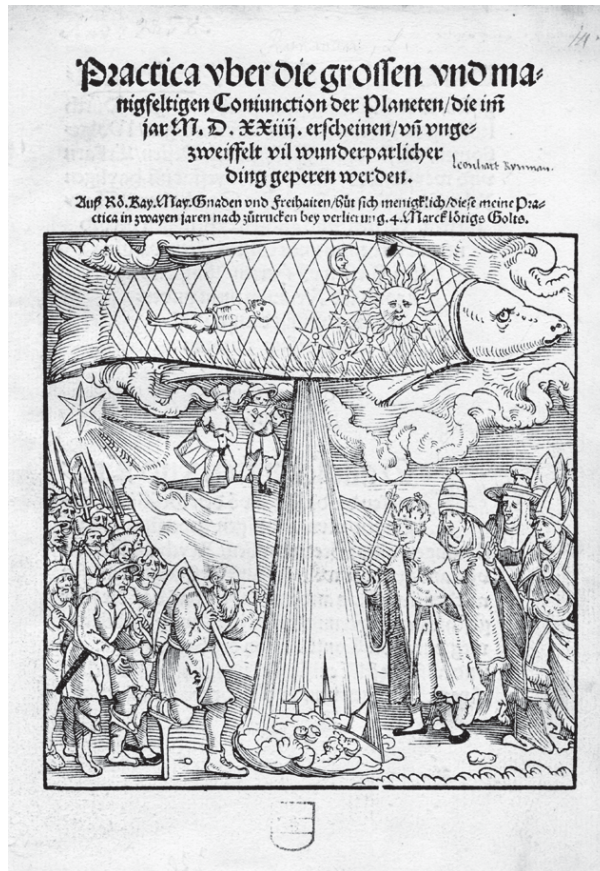


stressing what the nuns saw, heard, or felt collectively; and on one occasion even in the singular, when the writer wishes to stress that she certifies the accuracy of the graphic report that follows. Interestingly, this unmediated direct eyewitness approach, which we might readily compare with that of war correspondents of our own day, is denigrated by Georg Grupp, one of the first historians to peruse the text. In his assertions that the report is characterized by “naive charm” and “vivid liveliness” and that the narrator compromises “rhetorical and grammatical fullness” in her use of “simple popular German” as she moves her readers to “lively participation, telling what she felt and how she suffered,” Grupp may have succumbed to prejudices against women as writers of history as well as predispositions against microhistory or particular history.⁶

PORTENT OF DOOM

Not only are we now confronted with a voice other than that in Katerina's letters, but a very different genre, different audience, and extremely different goals. Quite adeptly the narrator of this gripping story uses the incident of the fire in the monastery bakery as a literary foreshadowing of the events to come. In the narrative it serves as a local portent; other accounts of the Peasants' Revolt similarly record cosmic signs: Sebastian Brant composed a *prognosticon* in which he foresaw with dread all manner of ills for the year 1525. This poem that he published, probably in 1520, was used by Abbot Jacob Murer as an introduction to the chronicle of the events of the Peasant's War at the Premonstratensian monastery at Weißenau in 1525.⁷ Thus the two chronicles follow a similar structure. In 1523 predictions that the Tübingen mathematician Johannes Stoeffler had purportedly made already in 1499 were published, according to which a catastrophe was due to occur in 1524, and the Vienna astrologer Georg Tannstaetter foresaw dissension and tension between the common man and the clergy that would result in the killing of monastics and the destruction of monasteries in that year. In 1525, Alsatian peasants themselves claimed that what they had instigated had been long prophesied and set in the stars. Most often the sign was the long foreseen conjunction of several planets in the constellation of Pisces, which happens only once every 960 years and occurred in February of 1524. Deformed progeny, earthquakes, and hailstorms that reportedly accompanied this astrological phenomenon were likewise recognized as portentous.⁸ A woodcut by Erhard Schön (fig. 196) that functioned as the title illustration for a tract containing warnings published in 1523 shows a personification of Saturn carrying a scythe and a flag, his crippled leg resting on a crutch, leading a group of armed peasants, while Jupiter portrayed as an emperor leads members of the clerical hierarchy. Above, the planets converge within the body of a large fish, from which inclement weather rains down on a village below. In the distant landscape a piper and drummer call the peasants to arms.⁹ The corpse immediately above them, within the fish's body, warns unmistakably of the impending doom. Scholars including Johannes Trithemius and Willibald Pirckheimer also prided themselves in having been able to predict the time of the uprising of the common people.¹⁰ In all of these cases, writers wished to demonstrate that the course history took, be that the violent rebellion or its bloody reprisal, was preordained by God, part of cosmic history, and as unavoidable and intractable as the movements of the planets among the stars.

FIG. 196. Erhard Schön, title woodcut for Leonhard Reinmann, *Practica vber die grossen vnd manigfaltigen Coniunction der Planeten* [. . .]. Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nuremberg.



Recognizing the presence of the anecdote of the fire in the bakery as no mere accident in the reportage, we are tempted to look for its deeper significances. Clearly the culprit in the story is the baker. He, like the cobblers, tailors, smiths, innkeepers, and bath keepers that worked in the domestic buildings surrounding the enclosure, were essential for the physical support of the monastics inside, including the nuns, priests, and deacons as well as lay brothers and sisters. Through his fault the entire monastic complex nearly went up in smoke. Analogously, the peasants, whose roles in society were likewise viewed as ancillary by the authors of such hegemonic narratives, were to blame for the insurrections of 1524 and 1525, in which Maria Mai and other monasteries were partially or completely burned to the ground. On another semiotic plane, we may choose to see the aristocratic and stately authorities embodied in the baker, who, lacking vigilance, allows the fire to fall out of the oven, where it had been as useful and necessary as the peasants toiling in the fields. Uncontrolled and unchecked, the fire's raging force, like the potential violence of the peasants when they incited each other to insurrection, could bring about total devastation.

Interestingly, the men, particularly the brothers, are the helpless buffoons of the little story, and the women save the day. We can imagine the servant unlocking the nuns' enclosure from the outside and the sisters who held the keys unlocking the lock from the inside to free the nuns to fight the fire. From the reference to the brothers' misplacement of their key, it is apparent that



the men's enclosure was likewise locked. We witness the use of the bells, here not to announce the canonical hours but to sound alarm, with the assurance that the signal would be heard at some distance. These important acoustic instruments were appropriated for yet other functions during the rebellion.

The account of the war itself is replete with notions of portents and miracles to assure readers that not only was this tragic course of history preordained but even single events and occurrences were due neither to accident nor to direct cause-and-effect relationships, because an omniscient and almighty God was pulling each individual string from outside the space-time continuum. Therefore a clumsy peasant, in spilling a jug of beer, quenches the flames of the fires that had been set; therefore the devastation of war is augmented by the destruction of a hailstorm; and therefore those who had shown treachery to the nuns die slow, painful, and ignominious deaths.

EYEWITNESSES

The intensity of the narrative develops through the excitement of eyewitness history, the facets of which are framed by the momentary windows of the nuns' firsthand experiences. Even though, as we now know, the story is told after the conclusion of the war, the narrator does not immediately divulge the outcome of specific events in order to keep up the suspense for the reader. Allowing the story to unfold with numerous unexpected turns and twists serves to add the excitement of a roller-coaster ride: After it appears the treasures have been safely buried in the garden and elsewhere, the nuns are betrayed by one of their own. Just when those remaining behind in the monastery begin to feel secure, the halberds and pikes appear over the top of the wall. Immediately after the count answers the call for help and appears on the scene, offering reassurances and protection, he rides off and is captured. German words for seeing, looking, and watching occur thirty-five times within the passage. Most often the words are used to tell of the nuns observing the peasants, a few times to relate instances in which the nuns either know or fear they are being watched by the peasants, and in one case to convey that the nuns see the peasants looking, watching to see whether the nuns are looking back to see how they have desecrated the nuns' liturgical banners by using these painted paraments as covers for their wagons, and thereby implying that the peasants wished to be observed as they misappropriated the very visual signs of the Birgittine nuns.

Similarly, with respect to the Battle of Ostheim, the narrator reports that the wounded were left for days on the battlefield, suffering slow and painful deaths as they succumbed to their injuries. The passage is telling of the voyeuristic practices that accompanied this war, with, as other sources report, citizens of Nördlingen leaving the safe confines of their city walls and venturing out to watch the battles and witness the carnage.¹¹ Here the House Book chronicler relates the gruesome details as if she were an eyewitness, although obviously she is relating the eyewitness account as it has been passed on to her.

All of this is worthy of note, since nuns were neither to gaze nor to be gazed upon. The latter was of course a more serious taboo, for which reasons so many precautions had to be taken with respect to veils and other portions of the habit, enclosure walls, turns, visitation windows



with shutters, and double doors with intermediate spaces for deliveries, all of which have been discussed in connection with items included in Katerina's letters. Breaking these taboos must have been a great cause of anxiety and one of several reasons why twenty of the nuns had to be forced to leave their confines. The count had first to receive assurances from the city government that no harm would be done to the nuns, who were thus exposing themselves to the eyes of the world, and the words of the narrator make it clear that the women feared they were vulnerable to sexual improprieties, be they physically perpetrated or verbally articulated. In describing the meeting with the peasant leaders in the city hall in Oettingen, the narrator shows that the five nuns who participated were offended by their verbal advances and body language. Whether the narrator's assertions of horrible deeds and shameful acts perpetrated by the peasants against other nuns were grounded in fact is today unknown.

The nuns themselves establish their narrative power by reclaiming the all-knowing gaze. Certainly looking was likewise disapproved in the rule. Nuns were not to have eye contact when conversing with the shutter open at the visitors' window, and one function of the enclosure walls was to block their view of the outside world. However, according to the authors of the House Book chronicle of Maria Mai, these proscriptions frequently went unheeded. For example, in Chapter 2, we pointed out that when Sister Frenicka Roffschneider was at the visitors' window, she witnessed Count Ludwig on crutches with her own eyes, proof that Saint Birgitta had taken her revenge when he would not respect the monastery's tax-exempt status.¹² Later in the same chapter we quoted another portion of the chronicle text showing that the sisters were surprised to see Wolfgang von Sandizell wearing the cross-adorned cowl of a Birgittine brother. The role of the eyewitness is also underscored in many of the obituaries of the nuns who first settled Maria Mai and could tell of the beginnings of the monastery, several of which have been previously cited.

Frequently, in the passage on the war, the women watched the peasants watching them. The nuns not only observed the actions of the peasants and imputed motivations to the deeds they witnessed, but they also presumed to know how the peasants viewed them. In almost every way, the poor, radical, violent peasant combatant presented the most extreme antithesis to the privileged, orthodox, reclusive Birgittine nun. In one point, however, they had much in common: their conviction that the good of society, its government and its economics, was grounded on theological fundamentals. Through the eyes of the Birgittine nuns, we are allowed a close-up inside view of religious war, class struggle, and gender conflict.

COURSE OF EVENTS, CAST OF CHARACTERS, AND LAY OF THE LAND

The relationship between the village peasants of Maihingen and the religious and ancillary population of Maria Mai had not always been congenial. For example, tensions arose when the monastery established a bathhouse, which the villagers perceived as competitive and therefore economically threatening. More significant animosities surfaced with an attempt from the village to have Maria Mai included in a tax that had been levied on Maihingen by the counts of Oettingen in 1512, and with the nuns' refusal to participate in the erection of an enclosing fence around Maihingen in 1521.¹³ In both cases the counts supported the position of the nuns.



Despite these incidents, the situation was far less tense than that in other localities, for example, in Kitzingen, where the abbess and Benedictine nuns were greatly resented by the local population for their complete dominance in most matters judicial and liturgical, which they maintained through their parish patrimony and strict control over all locally significant relics.¹⁴

The incidents described in the passage on the Revolution of 1525 are, of course, part of much larger developments. Uprisings of isolated groups of peasants had been occurring throughout Europe since the early fifteenth century.¹⁵

The portentous anecdote that introduces the account from Maria Mai took place in 1524, on 3 October, the Eve of St. Francis. The conflict that would later be termed the Peasants' War did not break out until six armies massed their troops in Upper Swabia a few months later, in February of 1525, with the revolt spreading into other parts of Upper Germany by March. It appears that Maria Mai was the first monastery in Ries to be targeted by the peasant forces. Perhaps this was due to the presumed wealth of this large monastery and its comparative vulnerability, inhabited predominantly by women and located in the countryside. The nuns report that on Ash Wednesday, which in 1525 was on 1 March, peasants climbed over the wall, frightening and harassing the nuns, as well as causing property damage. It is reported that they made certain unspecified demands. Surely the choice of this day was no mere coincidence, since the rebels were able to attract more attention to their cause during the time of Lent, when, as Katerina has often stressed, the monastery performed special services for the society outside and in greater quantities. Several days later, on 6 and 7 March, representatives from the armies of Algäu, Lake Constance, and Baltringen convened the Memmingen Peasant Parliament, at which they formally agreed on the so-called Twelve Articles as a summary of their common demands. Almost immediately printed and disseminated throughout Germany, these religious and economic claims encompassed exemption from some financial obligations, abolition of serfdom, the right to choose their own parish clergy, the freedom to develop their own farms, and recognition of hunting and fishing rights, including renewed use of forests and meadows. The peasants' last mentioned rights, having to do with subsistence farming, hunting, and fishing, had been slowly eroded. The situation for the common folk had also worsened in recent years through an overabundance of peasants relative to the available fiefs and parcels of arable land, thus forcing many of the poor to eke out an existence as day laborers and mercenaries.¹⁶ Three periods of crop failure, including that from 1515 to 1519, of which Katerina often reported in her letters to Hans, likewise exacerbated the situation.¹⁷

The common men and women who made up the rebel "peasant" armies were serfs, free farmers, mercenaries, day laborers, burghers, craftsmen, small-business owners, and even clergy. These forces had been able to mass unchecked largely because the Swabian League had been preoccupied with renewed attempts by Count Ulrich of Württemberg (see fig. 186) to return and regain the territories he had lost in the Württemberg War, mentioned above in connection with letters 49–51. After he finally fled back to Switzerland, on 9 March 1525, the league's troops, under Georg Truchsess von Waldburg, were free to concentrate their efforts on the rebel forces.

According to the nuns' account, the assault on the monastery began on the day after the feast of the Annunciation, 26 March, at the eleventh hour, which, depending on the system used to reckon time, was either an hour before or after midnight. In either case, the monastics

had retired for the night. The peasants' struggle to break down a gate using clubs, poles, and branches was unsuccessful. Allusions to unarmed and disorganized violence, along with the author's report that at this time evil people from the village aided in the escape of Brother Uriel and Friedrich from Eichstätt, demonstrate that only locals were involved at this point. At about the same time, however, the Deiningen army was forming at a camp outside Nördlingen (Map 4). This well-organized army, which is estimated to have numbered at least 2,500 by the beginning of April, was governed by elected representatives and maintained a highly differentiated division of labor, with captains, sergeants, police officers, musicians, standard-bearers, individuals in charge of supplies and provisions, and a woman hired as cook, all of which is well documented in records kept by official secretaries and scribes. It is likely that the Deiningen army requested the use of the monastery's wagons, a request rejected by the abbess; Nördlingen similarly refused them firearms. Perhaps it was indeed the lack of war supplies, together with the news of the bloody victory of the Swabian League over the rebel army of Ried at Leipheim, that caused this large well-organized army to decide on 12 April to disband—at least temporarily.

By this time the cavalry of the Swabian League had already taken control of the city of Oettingen. The monastery at Mönchsroth (fig. 211), which had also been under the protection of the counts of Oettingen, was stormed by the Ellwangen peasant army on 28 April. Probably the nearby nunnery at Dorfkemmathen (figs. 212, 213) was attacked about the same time.

On the feast of the Sorrows of the Virgin, 29 April, friendly villagers warned the nuns secretly that they should leave because an attack of the peasants was imminent. The next day, Sunday, 30 April, the first group fled to Oettingen. The following day, Monday, 1 May, the Ries army, probably made up of members of the former Deiningen army, stormed Maria Mai; Count Ludwig of Oettingen was captured, and the remaining nuns went to Oettingen.

The report mentions various members of this noble family (see Genealogical Table 4). The nuns considered Count Ludwig XIV to be their primary protector, and yet at one point we are told that he waited in vain for his brother Count Martin and his cousins (actually second cousins) Counts Karl and Ludwig XV to join him. Ludwig XV, who was sixteen years the senior of Ludwig XIV, is identified as "Old Count Ludwig," a differentiation necessary because both resided in Oettingen. Interestingly, these two branches of the family and their predilections or convictions have continued to color the image of the town of Oettingen down to the present day. Whereas Counts Ludwig XV and Karl opted for the Lutheran Reformation, Counts Ludwig XIV and Martin decided to remain Catholic, thus splitting the city. For generations thereafter, Lutheran houses could be passed on or sold only to Lutherans, and Catholic homes only to Catholics, creating a distinction that is still visible architecturally on the main street, lined with half-timbered fifteenth-century structures of the Protestants on one side and newer Baroque gables of the Catholics on the other (fig. 197).

The chronicle reports that a messenger was sent to Old Count Ludwig, Ludwig XV, on 2 May, in order to ask if the peasants should be let into the city. It was his wife (Salome of Hohenzollern) who confided to the nuns that she was about to flee the city. But it was Ludwig XIV who had been captured by the peasants, and subsequently the peasants camped outside the city with him until 2 May. He was forced to swear the oath of allegiance, making him a member of the "Christian community" with the peasants, a practice frequently employed by the peasant armies in the prince-bishoprics of Bamberg and Würzburg in order not only to "neutralize" the former



FIG. 197. Oettingen, view from city-hall window.



enemy but also to appropriate him in a new role within their society of equals. The peasants saw a need to make him their leader, even though he was not allowed to ride on horseback, an iconic sign that the peasants did not consider him their lord in the traditional sense and therefore forbade him to assume any such honorable pose or visual rite reminiscent of the *adventus* of kings and nobility. Walking together with the others was the utmost sign of having given up an elevated status and submitting to the rules of the group, and we have evidence that this was how this sign was perceived by others. The cleric Nicolaus Thoma, prebendary and chronicler at the town of Weißenhorn, mentions this incident in his *Weissenhorner Historie*.¹⁸ Thoma reduces the peasants' demands on the counts of Oettingen to only one point—"they shall go together with them on foot"—thus pointing out what was for Thoma the humiliating disrespect of the serfs toward their lord. This situation did cause the count to lose face and power; indeed, he was later accused of collusion. To this day it has nonetheless been questioned why the rebels were content to demand only such symbolic signs of equality. Some historians, for example Peter Blickle, have observed that the Revolution of the Common Man failed because the rebels sought too much to work within the existing social system by appropriating the nobility.

On 4 May, the city council of Oettingen opened the gates, allowing the peasants to enter. On 6 May, the delegation of five nuns from Maria Mai approached the leaders of the peasants, asking for food. On 7 May, after their two days of control in Oettingen, the rebel army moved out the city's canons and marched through the north gate, taking many burghers they had conscripted to fight with them, as well as mercenaries who had been hired by those, like the brewer, who could afford to pay others to go in their stead. Upon robbing and plundering the wealthy Benedictine monastery at Auhausen (fig. 198), under the protection of Margrave Casimir, they continued on toward another important Benedictine house at Heidenheim, when they were surprised outside the village of Ostheim by the cavalry of the margrave. The battle that ensued is described with both exacting military precision and vivid human detail by Michael Gross von Trockau, one of the commanding officers of the margrave's forces.¹⁹ According to his chronicle, the peasants first circled their wagons on the open field between Ostheim and Westheim (map 4, fig. 199), where a pitched battle was fought, the consequences of which are described in the account of the nuns. When the peasants were forced to retreat, they pulled the wagons into the streets of Ostheim. After both sides had expended all their ammunition, they fought with stones and hand weapons, and subsequently the margrave's artillery shelled the village, setting it ablaze. According to another surviving report, delivered to Walter von Hürnheim, who was one of the commanders of the Swabian League, the peasants barricaded themselves behind their wagons, and the margrave's forces surrounded the village, setting fire to it in four places.²⁰ Several chronicles point out that many of the peasants were burned to death.²¹ The rebels who survived to surrender were then allowed to return to their villages to await punishment, on the promise that they would not face life imprisonment or the death penalty. In his chronicle, von Trockau includes the astonishing fact that one of the margrave's soldiers found his father among the troops of the rebels, demonstrating that the Revolution of 1525 was indeed a war in which the lines were not easily drawn and, as in many civil conflicts, family members found themselves fighting each other.

As implied in the chronicle account from Maria Mai, this was the turning point of the war in Ries, although many peasants were able to escape. It is not known exactly when and which rebel forces plundered and destroyed the properties of Maria Mai in Maihingen. Possibly local

FIG. 198. The church and remaining buildings of the former Benedictine abbey of Auhausen.

FIG. 199. The plain between Ostheim and Westheim where the battle between the rebels and the cavalry of Margrave Casimir took place.

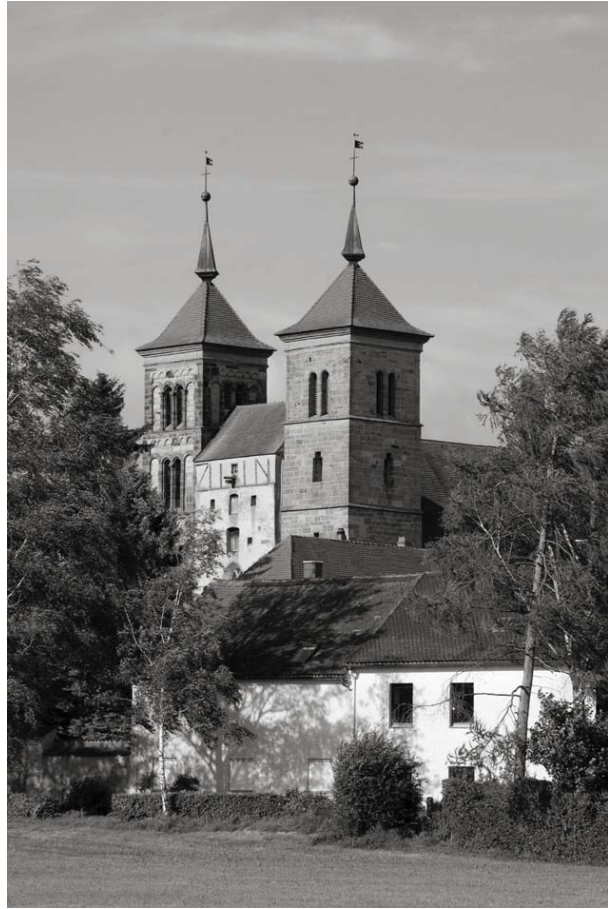




FIG. 200. Uttenstetten, with early-eighteenth-century structures.

villagers dismantled the buildings, removing anything salvageable for reuse or sale. Others may have been lingering troops that had dispersed after the defeat at Ostheim. The author seems certain about the identity of the individual who burned down Uttenstetten (fig. 200), the wealthiest of all the monastery's granges. This may have occurred as the Ellwangen army passed by on its way south the day after the Battle of Ostheim. Possibly Caspar Hag had joined this army, together with others from the defeated Ries army.

Remarkably, most of the drama and imminent danger of the war for the nuns of Maria Mai lasted but one week, from Misericordia Sunday to Jubilate Sunday, the first week of May in 1525. By mid-June it was considered safe enough to send six sisters back to Maihingen, and the count appointed the new steward, Casper Kessler. It is known from the obituaries in the House Book that Katherina Joppel, who is often mentioned above as scribe, illuminator, singer, bursar, and member of the famed Nuremberg accountant family, is one of the nuns who returned first to undertake the difficult tasks of making Maria Mai once again habitable.²² The author writes that the nuns remained in Oettingen for eleven weeks, indicating that those who were left of the original fifty sisters returned to the ruins of Maria Mai on or around 23 July 1525, although apparently for some time they were not able to live as a community but were housed at various monastic properties.

METHODICAL AND ORGANIZED OR DRUNK AND DISORDERLY?

Historians who have analyzed the Revolution of 1525 point to several reasons why the peasantry targeted monasteries. First, amassing enough provender for the troops was an almost

insurmountable challenge for the rebels, and religious houses, especially those as large as Maria Mai, kept great stores of food, as Katerina's letters have shown. Additionally, the peasants needed ammunition, transportation, and equipment, which the monasteries had outright or for which they could provide the raw materials, such as the lead in the stained-glass windows. These material considerations were augmented by deep-seated religious-based resentments against those who lived by virtue of their prayers from the donations of the wealthy and the offerings of the poor. Women's monasteries were undoubtedly also more vulnerable than men's.

In five different places, the narrator acknowledges that the peasants made their demands or plundered materials specifically for the war effort: First they borrow a horse. Subsequently they ask for wagons to form a temporary defensive structure known as a *wagonburg*, literally a fortress of wagons.²³ The tactic of circling up wagons, hiding infantrymen inside, and waiting for the cavalry to approach was first used by the Hussites in their battle against the church and the nobility during the fourteenth century and was still in use by American settlers as they pushed into western lands defended by Native American horsemen in the nineteenth century. In the third instance, the narrator refers to the destruction of the windows in order to salvage the lead for shot. These remarks are immediately followed by her comment that the peasants extracted iron, even nails, wherever they could find it, presumably for sale as scrap metal. Finally, it is mentioned that the bells were taken and hauled off to Löpsingen (map 4), likewise implicitly to be melted down for military purposes.

However, according to the report on the Peasants' Revolt from Maria Mai, the primary causes for the rebels' plunder were their proclivities for drunkenness and gluttony, their greed, and their predisposition for uncontrolled rowdiness and senseless destruction. Early on, the author tells her readers that the abbess gave the peasants a barrel of wine and further suggests that it resulted in a night of inebriation. Subsequently the abbess gave in to more of the peasants' demands, generously giving them as much as ten guilders' worth of food at one time. Later, after the outbreak of hostilities, the author describes the manner in which the peasants smashed barrels of food and drink that they could not carry out of the monastery's cellar, poured lamp oil into olive oil (perhaps the implication is that they were ignorant of the distinction), and before the eyes of the nuns ruthlessly struck into the wagons that the monastics had packed with foodstuffs, and kicked the valuable staples out of the wagons so that they lay unsalvageable on the ground. Later, while in Oettingen, the author recounts how the peasants walked the streets noisily, as if insane. At another point she calls them foolish and lacking in both wisdom and counsel.

At the meeting of the five nuns with the peasant leaders in the city hall (figs. 201, 202), the chronicler characterizes them as swine and with disgust tells of a scene in which peasants are lying about on the table, after eating and drinking to excess. She includes so many details of the encounter that it is hard to believe that the author herself was not present. An illustration for the report on the Peasants' War by Jacob Murer portrays a similar scene after the peasants have taken over the Premonstratensian monastery of Weißenau (fig. 203). In an upper room that is rendered like a dollhouse, with one wall missing so that viewers can peer inside, much like conventions employed to represent the Last Supper, peasants are merrily eating and drinking.



FIG. 201. Oettingen city hall (left).

In the courtyard below, some are ramming gates with bludgeons and axes, some are brawling, some lie bleeding, some are carrying away huge barrels of wine, some are drinking, and several are regurgitating.

The picture of the war painted by the church, the religious, and the nobility portrays the rebels as disorderly. The records left by the revolutionaries themselves, however, show them to have been far better organized and more disciplined than these reports would suggest. Although both administration and governance varied from place to place, the professional structure was often adopted from the *landsknechte* (mercenaries), and strict discipline was usually enforced in the camps.²⁴

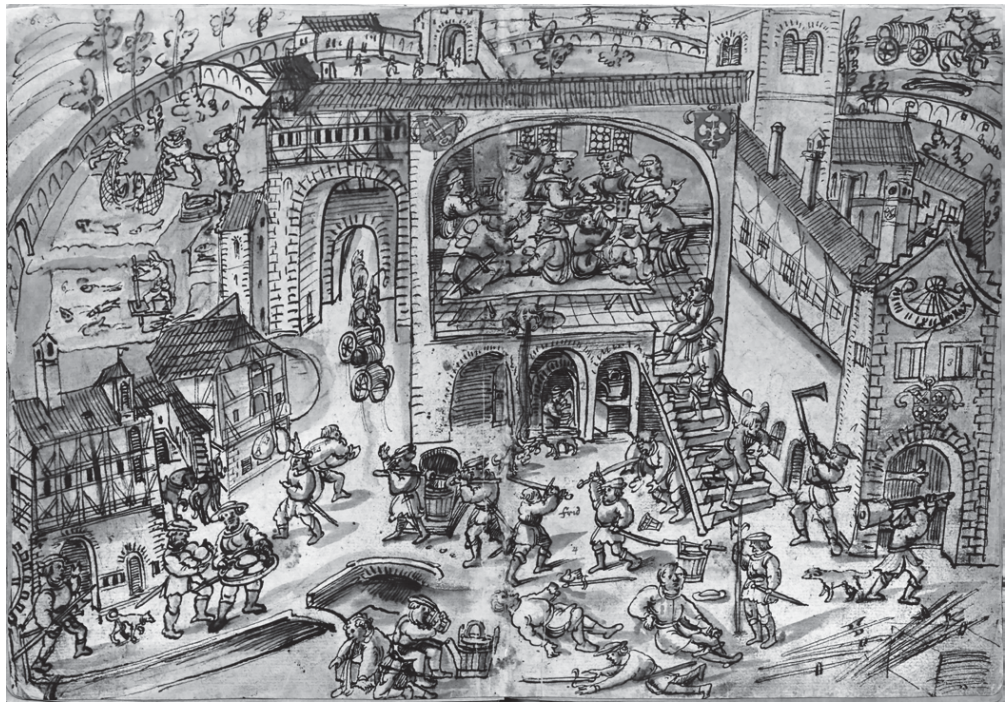


FIG. 202. Oettingen city hall, interior.

FIG. 203. Peasants taking over the monastery at Weißenau, pen-and-ink drawing from the *Weißenau Chronicle*, by Jacob Murer (from *Jacob Murers Weißenauer Chronik*, ed. Franz).

MUSIC AS WEAPON

Music assumes important roles as a multivalent acoustic sign in the narrative. When the author writes that the peasants set their children on the hillsides, jumping and singing, she assumes that the adults intended the movement and the sounds to be not only annoying but threatening to the nuns. The motif of mocking children is almost a commonplace, occurring in virtually all media from late medieval panel paintings of the crucifixion to twentieth-century portrayals of the holocaust, such as that in the film *Schindler's List*. Children could easily be incited to words and actions that the adults who goaded them would have been too polite to utter or enact. Iconoclasm was likewise often carried out by children and youths.²⁵

In one's mind's eye and ear, the children can be imagined filling the spaces on the hillsides (fig. 204), from which they could peer down into the enclosure and invade the nuns' private space with their incursions of mocking sounds proclaimed from this place they thus made public. The rhyming words of the German text *springen und singen* suggest that the youth may have used short antagonistic verses that rhymed, perhaps similar to the sounds of hecklers repeating aphoristic slogans in an attempt to compete for the acoustic space allotted to a politician delivering a prepared speech in a public arena. In a parallel incident at the Dominican monastery of Gotteszell, near Schwäbisch Gmünd, the prioress recorded that townspeople who had sided with the peasants forced entry into the church to drown out the nuns' chants by whining like calves.²⁶

Almost a decade later, in 1534, when the advent of the Reformation caused great unrest in the city of Geneva, the Poor Clare Jeanne de Jussie reports similar occurrences in her *Petite chronique*: The sisters of the monastery had forgotten to lock the door of the church when they sang vespers, thus allowing several sympathizers of the Protestant movement to enter the church. To stop the nuns' chanting they howled like wolves. In the following year, several men positioned themselves on the city wall overlooking the monastery garden. All day they sang denigrating songs, and whenever a nun entered the garden, they screamed insults. The nuns responded passively by entering the garden only in groups and covering their faces.²⁷

Indeed, the peasants in Maihingen perceived the chants of the nuns as a noisy irritant, and, according to the chronicle, the day they stormed the monastery the rebels ordered the nuns, who were up on their platform for Mass, to stop howling (*pleren* = *plärren* in contemporary German). Interestingly, this ridicule by the peasants may reflect antagonism not only with respect to class but also with respect to gender. A lingering reference from the high Middle Ages cautions Cistercian monks not to emulate the "high-pitched tinkling" of their female counterparts.²⁸ The reaction of the peasants, however, stands out in marked contrast to that of other laypersons at Maria Mai, who, as related in another portion of the House Book, quoted in Chapter 2, were moved to donate to the monastery by the sound of the nuns' music.

Why was the *Cantus sororum* so threatening to the rebels? For them, perhaps this audible sign stood for these invisible women, whose main occupation was singing. Interestingly, Anna Königsfelder, abbess of the Poor Clares in Bamberg, reported to Caritas Pirckheimer that during the weeks in which the rebels had control of the city, nuns were forbidden to sing the canonical hours.²⁹ No doubt the peasants felt excluded from the economic system that provided the donational support enabling monastics to maintain not only the daily rituals of their sung

Color



FIG. 204. Monastery of Maria Mai, with two hills to the west.



services but their very existence. By prohibiting the nuns' chants, they were greatly reducing the value of the commodity that the nuns offered in exchange for their support. Sung liturgy was always more highly remunerated than unsung—that is, spoken—liturgy, which of course also lacked the power to carry the message as far and as well acoustically.

Investigating what the nuns sang and read on this day allows us to discover what may have colored their attitudes toward the peasants. As explained above, the liturgy of the *Cantus sororum* assigns a particular topic or “story” to every day of the week, which is outlined in the three lessons for matins taken from the so-called *Sermo angelicus*, a cycle of twenty-one lessons revealed to Birgitta in Rome by an angel. The other chants of the hours complement and enhance these stories. The story for Monday focuses on the creation of angels with free will, the subsequent fall of the evil angels due to their envy of the Creator, and the resultant creation of humanity to fill the vacancy. The motif of reward for obedience and punishment for insubordination is especially prominent in the third lesson. For the sisters at Maria Mai the lessons for matins—which they knew only too well—must have provided a subtext that they could apply to their current situation: Only God's bestowal of free will makes it possible for the peasants to be disobedient and challenge the fundamental order, but their insubordination would bar them from eternal reward. Through their song, the sisters joined the ranks of the angels, praising the Creator, particularly in the festive antiphon for lauds *Angeli archangeli virtutes*, followed by the hymn *In throno deo proximo*. Further, in the hymn *Virgo fulgens virtutibus*, sung during prime, they called upon the woman closest to the throne of God to help and protect them.³⁰

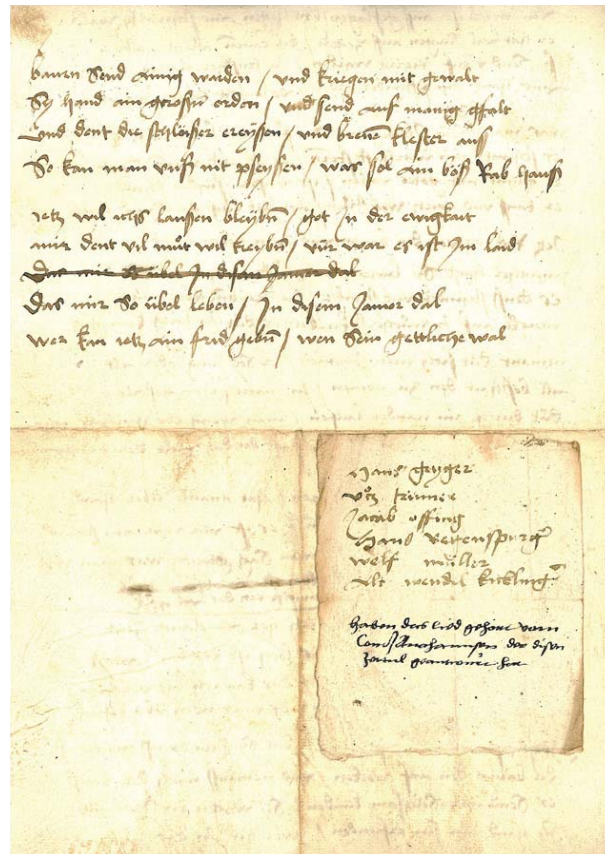
Song was a well-known weapon of the peasants in the revolution of 1525. A song written by the Nördlingen weaver Contz Anahans, one of many craftsmen who had joined the revolution, is best documented. Although no references to the melody have survived, seven different versions of the text are preserved in the Nördlingen city archives. An act of violence that takes up one of the short lines of this poem refers to the torching of monasteries (fig. 205). It is known that the song was sung publicly in Nördlingen on the eve of the Battle of Ostheim. Even after the rebellion was squelched, the song was considered so inflammatory that, in an attempt to prohibit its continued propagation, an investigation was launched to determine who had been responsible for writing and singing it.³¹

Political and religious songs were later a problem for the city government of Geneva. When in 1533 religious discussions had heated up, reaching the brink of civil war, the city council intervened to enforce public order. Among other measures, the aldermen specifically forbade the singing of any songs or ballads that could provoke further turmoil. Any breach of this order was punished with banishment or flogging. A later decree threatened that anyone denigrating the church or the Holy Sacrament, including singing a ballad against the sacrament of the altar, “as had been done previously,” faced hanging.³² Certainly it was not only the content of songs that was considered dangerous but also the medium: melody and rhyme served as mnemonic devices to carry revolutionary messages. Songs could be more easily passed on and less readily controlled than broadsheets and other media that were dependent on expensive means of production and visible acts of dissemination. Further, as material objects, printed matter could be physically destroyed.

One humorous story from Nuremberg demonstrates the strategies, both creative and subversive, that were employed to distribute polemical songs and other texts. It appears to have



FIG. 205. Song by Contz Anahans, autograph. Stadtarchiv Nördlingen, Bauernkriegsakten 1525–26 V.



been important to hide the identity of the producer, perhaps not unlike modern efforts to suppress senders' IP addresses on the Internet in order to thwart attempts at retaliation and sanctions. In 1529 Caritas Pirckheimer complained bitterly to the Nuremberg city council about a polemical song she believed had been authored and distributed by the Lutheran preacher Andreas Osiander.³³ The song, which had been sent to a neighbor of the monastery, who passed it through the visitation window of the convent, chides people who by virtue of their knowledge should be able to follow the word of God but instead only pursue "mammon" and resort to slander in their attempts to counter the "true faith."³⁴ The city council discovered that the name of the sender from Augsburg was false and that the letter had indeed been hand-delivered by a servant of Osiander. Denying any knowledge of the origin of the song, Osiander countered with accusations of his own and alleged that the nuns of St. Klara had circulated polemical texts against him. Supposedly a letter found in a box in one of the public latrines along the Pegnitz River claimed that the famous preacher was about to quit his post to become a beer brewer—perhaps a slur against his marriage with the daughter of a wealthy brewer. According to Osiander, the letter was in the handwriting of the scribe Felicitas Grundherr, and officially sealed and signed "Sister Caritas, Abbess of St. Klara." Not entirely convinced by Osiander's refutation yet wishing to mollify both sides, the aldermen charged Endres Imhoff with the task of instructing the nuns about the preacher's innocence.³⁵ The story shows that public restrooms



in the sixteenth century already provided a venue both private and anonymous and therefore suitable for relaying messages against the established authorities.

The song *Ein schön liedt von dem bruder Conradt* survives as an example of musical mockery perhaps closer in function to the children's songs at Maria Mai. This eleven-verse narrative tells of Brother Conrad who climbed over the monastery wall several times, finally marrying a "brown little maid." In his illustrated report on the Peasants' War, Abbot Jacob Murer of Weißenau relates that when he and another abbot were walking down the street in Ulm during a meeting of the Swabian League, three craftsmen who saw them spontaneously and with loud voices broke into the "popular song about the black monk who climbed over the wall," which Günther Franz believes was probably identical with the song about Brother Conrad.³⁶ When in 1524 the Ulm city council investigated the performance of satirical songs, the author of lyrics set to the melody of *Wie man kindlein wiegt* ("How one rocks the child") was ordered to be identified and arrested.³⁷ The melody mentioned in the city protocols refers to one of two very well known Latin Christmas carols, either *Resonet in laudibus* or *Dies est laetitiae*. Both of these seasonal devotional songs enjoyed immense popularity on all levels of society, especially rendered in the vernacular: *Joseph lieber Joseph mein* and *Der tag der ist so freudenreich*. In the first, Mary addresses her partner: "Joseph, dear Joseph, please help me rock my child. God will be the one who will reward you in heaven for the child of the virgin Mary."³⁸ The song's popularity was further increased by its incorporation into nativity plays. In addition to these devotional texts, at least one manuscript and six printed pamphlets and broadsides with polemical contrafacta based on the melody of *Resonet in laudibus* were produced.³⁹ In the case of the broadside with the title *Resonet ain groß geschrey*, the print specifically instructs readers that the contrafactum text should be sung to the melody of the Christmas song *Das kindel wiegen* ("Rocking the child").⁴⁰ It is believed that all the texts in the pamphlets originated at the time of the Peasants' War, even when some surviving publications are of later date. One contrafactum of the *Resonet in laudibus* melody targets the lower clergy: *Hört ihr pfaffen andere meer* ("You clerics, listen to other stories") consists of three stanzas, the first of which announces an end to the falsehood of the clergy and the fall of the false prophet, the pope; the second stanza proclaims that the "market" for memorial Masses, church festivals, and pilgrimages has finally dried up; the third changes the focus and recites the complaints of the priest's housekeeper about the bad times due to the peasants' refusal to pay tithes and the resultant wants and needs of the clerics.⁴¹ In the case of the other Christmas carol, *Dies est laetitiae*, polemical texts to the melody can be found in broadsides as early as 1524. In these cases, enough of the original text survives to suggest the intended melody: "This day is full of joy for all courtesans" or "This day is full of joy for all monks and priests."⁴²

Other evidence of desecration through the (mis)appropriation of sacred songs from major church festivals is contained in the narratives from the Revolution of 1525. The above-mentioned cleric and chronicler Nicolaus Thoma reports that in Weissenhorn "the pope, cardinals, bishops, priests, monks, and nuns" were ridiculed by isolated followers of Luther. They chanted anticlerical refrains in the streets, mimicking songs that were performed "according to the custom of the holy Christian church at Christmas, when the newborn child is adored with special chants in Latin and German, such as *Puer natus resonet omnis mundus* and other chants of praise, turning them around in the most malicious way to create their mockery."⁴³ Thoma's run-together



reference to several songs is suggestive of the quodlibet, the lyrical game, popular at the time, through which several possibly unrelated songs were combined to create a sometimes humorous textual amalgam. A five-part setting by Leonhard Paminger merges *Resonet in laudibus* and *Omnis mundus jocundetur* with *In dulci jubilo*. It may be remembered that in connection with letter 25 we made reference to a monastic New Year's greeting in the form of a woodcut print showing a Birgittine nun uttering words from the last-mentioned song (see fig. 125). There are several possibilities for the origin of the text incipit *puer natus*: *Puer natus nascitur*, *Puer natus hodie*, *Puer natus in Bethlehem*, or even the well-known introit of the Christmas Mass *Puer natus est nobis*. The first four pieces in the collection of songs known as the *Wienhäuser Liederbuch*, compiled at the Cistercian women's convent of Wienhausen, near Celle, around 1460, are indeed *Puer nobis nascitur*, *Puer natus hodie*, *Resonet in laudibus*, and *Puer natus in Bethlehem*, thus showing that these songs were known at a women's monastery. The context for such songs in a monastic environment is, however, not easy to determine.⁴⁴ Integration within the liturgy seems most likely, since in many orders, including the Birgittines, the strict application of the rule of silence would have interdicted private singing. Indeed, Walter Lipphard was able to demonstrate that Christmas songs were performed in the liturgy of the Cistercian convent of Alt-Medingen in the early fourteenth century:⁴⁵ on the day of the Holy Innocents the nuns sang *Puer natus in Bethlehem*; on the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury, *Puer nobis nascitur*.⁴⁶

Additionally, melodies referred to as secular were likewise appropriated for songs against the church. The printer Heinrich Öttinger in Magdeburg issued a four-page pamphlet, probably in the late 1520s, that called for the "song of the Franconian peasants" as melody for the contrafactum *Wacht auff, yhr Christen all geleich* ("Wake up now Christians"). Each of the stanzas of the song is devoted to one specific group of clerics and monks and their weaknesses or sins. Finally, in verse 27, nuns are addressed, obscenely: "O horny little nun, like a cat on a rope; you will remain pious for a long time, you will receive salvation; you certainly can chant well. The young boys have 'horns'; also the priests and monks, who gallop around the monastery finding whores and boys galore."⁴⁷ According to the song, the nuns' sexual desires, controlled by the church, would remain unfulfilled, while the clergy and monks sought to satisfy their animalistic lust through prostitution and pedophilia.

Derisive verses were not solely the purview of the rebels. Johann Knebel, monk at Kaisheim, ended his *Donauwörth Chronicle* with a poem lauding peasants who resembled good draft horses and other beasts of burden.⁴⁸ As far as we know, this poem, which was first written in 1529, was never set to music in order to be broadcast acoustically in the direction of the common man or woman. Rather, it was intended crudely to cement notions of their exploitability in the eyes of their exploiters. It was far more urgent, for those who did not share the right and privilege to fill public acoustic space, to usurp these means of filling that space during the short period in which this was possible, in order to make their wants known and their needs felt to all who could hear them.

CONTROL OF COMMUNICATION

Singing is only one of several means of acoustic communication within the public sphere to be addressed in the nuns' chronicle. The sounding of the drum is mentioned six times in the

narrative. The sonorous and repetitive beating of the drum foreshadowed coming atrocities, signaled imminent danger, and caused constant fear. One can see the nuns listening to determine the intensity, duration, and direction of the moving drums. What the nuns could not perceive visually, they envisaged aurally.

Legal records amassed in the wake of the Peasants' Revolt document the enormous threat of the peasants' taking over the means of public address. Like revolutionaries of the twentieth century, who initiated coups with the takeover of radio and television stations in order to control the flow of information, the rebels in 1525 sought to assume control of signal instruments and church bells functioning both as the audible symbols of authority and as the instruments for acoustic signaling. City governments used drums to alert the citizens to stand by and await public announcements, to come together and attend a civic spectacle or ritual, or—at time of war—to assemble fully armed at predetermined locations. Just as today the characteristic sound of sirens on police and emergency vehicles may not be sounded without authorization, the beating of the side drum and even more so of the kettle drum was restricted to official use. In most cases the town pipers were the only civil servants authorized to use the drum, and only on official order. Public address systems of cities took over elements from the acoustic signal system of the mercenary (*landsknecht*) armies and the musical representation of the nobility. In Chapter 1, we referred to the mural showing the town pipers in the Nuremberg city hall, depicting two civic ensembles (see fig. 32). While five musicians play cornetti, shawms, and sackbuts in the foreground, two other instrumentalists are depicted in the background holding a fife and carrying a side drum but not taking part in the performance. Whereas the five performing pipers are clad in expensive and fashionable garments, the two musicians in the background wear the slit clothing typical of the mercenary. Pipers and drummers not only accompanied the troops into battle, as is depicted in the previously discussed woodcut by Erhard Schön (fig. 196), but gave other important signals, such as *lermen*, the sounding of alarm, a term derived from the French *al arme* or Italian *all arme*, meaning “to arms” but also carrying the reflected meaning “to make noise.” Another common signal is expressed with the verb *umschlagen*, which is used by the author of our text when she refers to the count's attempt to have the citizens assemble to receive information and take orders in Oettingen.

To be effective in the field, acoustic signals had to reach the troops with minimal delay. For this reason the drummers, like the standard-bearers, who controlled visual signals, were positioned high up in the chain of command and had to stay close to the commanding officers. In order to ensure their retention, their commanders gave them double pay. Records of the Deiningen troops show that this was also the practice among the peasant armies. Here a total of five drummers and five pipers were assigned in pairs to the captains, with each musician receiving the weekly salary of a quarter guilder, which was about half the amount their counterparts in a professional mercenary army would have received.

Several visual representations of drummers and pipers survive in copper engravings. In 1543 and 1544 Sebald Beham fashioned a set of prints perhaps intended to depict the two sides of the Peasants' War.⁴⁹ One of them shows a piper, a standard-bearer, and a drummer all clad in the ostentatious garb of the mercenaries (*landsknechte*) (fig. 206). He had modeled his representation after an engraving executed by his brother Barthel in 1525, adding the text “wu nun hinaus, der krieg hat ein loch,” which may best be translated as “let us get out now, the war is coming to an end.” The other depicts a similarly attired peasant drummer and standard-bearer



FIG. 206. Sebald Beham, *Mercenaries: Drummer, Standard-Bearer, Piper*, copper engraving, 1543. Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nuremberg.



FIG. 207. Sebald Beham, *Peasants: Drummer and Standard-Bearer*, copper engraving, 1544. Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nuremberg.

(fig. 207). Here the inscription reads: *Acker Concz, Klos Wuczer im baueren krieg 1525*, emphasizing that these military musicians were really peasant farmers, as their names indicate, literally translated as “Kunz the Plowman” and “Claus the Swineherd.” This print depicts details of the construction of a side drum: the drumskin was fastened on a wooden hoop and achieved the necessary tension through a system of ropes running zigzag from top to bottom. Additional tightening buffs could be slid up and down the ropes for quick adjustments. Although not standardized, military side drums usually had a diameter of fifty to sixty centimeters and were about the same height (fig. 208).⁵⁰

The term to denote the drum in the nuns’ chronicle is *heerpauke*, “military drum.” Most commonly this term refers to the copper kettledrums used almost exclusively by the equestrian musicians of the nobility, as depicted in a woodcut attributed to Leonhard Beck (fig. 209), one in the famous series known as the *Triumph of Maximilian*, which was commissioned by the emperor and fashioned between 1516 and 1518. At this time kettledrums were relatively new instruments in western Europe. Sources first mention them around the middle of the fifteenth century, and they seem to have been copies of instruments used by Turkish armies. On the

FIG. 208. Military drum, Tyrol, second half of the sixteenth century. Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich.



other hand, *heerpaucke* could denote any large drum used for signaling or representation. From the words of the chronicle we cannot know to which drum or drums the nuns are referring. Those heard in Oettingen were quite possibly cavalry kettledrums seized from the arsenal of the counts and paraded through town to create a significant impression, which the author of the chronicle perceived as a substantial disturbance. Not only for the nuns from Maria Mai was *heerpauke* a synonym for noise. In 1511 Sebastian Virdung entered the following remark about the *heerpauke* in his treatise *Musica getutscht* (fig. 210): “They may be constructed in various ways, but they cause much unrest among honorable pious old people, also among the infirm and sick, the pious in the monasteries who have to read, to study, and to pray; and I believe—and think it to be true—that the devil designed them, since no sweetness or anything good is among them but rather a suppression of sweet melodies and music as a whole.”⁵¹

We do not know how capable the peasants were in handling the drums in Maihingen and Oettingen. Erich Stockmann cites several passages in chronicles and court records showing that in other towns the peasants tried to obtain the services of a professional musician either by persuading the local town pipers to join the revolt or by offering them remuneration.⁵² In Münnerstadt, in Franconia, a group of peasants offered town piper Jorg of Wimpfen half a guilder as salary, but he refused. In Neustadt an der Orla, in Thuringia, the peasants were successful in obtaining the services of the town pipers on a pay-per-performance basis. Here the musicians assisted in creating a spectacle by accompanying a parade around the market square and displaying a bounty of fish stolen from the pond of the local noblemen. In Langensalza, also in Thuringia, the peasants wanted to borrow the drum from the town piper. The hesitant musician was convinced when the revolutionaries argued that he as a civic employee was obliged to surrender his instrument when ordered by the authorities; they promised to take good care of it. In Rothenburg, in Franconia, the Dominican monk Michael Eisenhart reports that thirty to forty peasants came to town, purchased a drum, and proudly marched with it through the



FIG. 209. Attributed to Leonhard Beck, *Triumph of Maximilian I*, woodcut, 1516–18: detail showing imperial drummers and trumpeters (from Appelbaum, *Triumph of Maximilian I*).

FIG. 210. Signal drums, woodcut illustration in Sebastian Virdung's *Musica getutscht*, Basel, 1511 (from the facsimile ed. Schrade).



streets, creating a lot of noise, until they were silenced by order of a judge. Also, at Deiningen, the musicians fulfilled representational functions when a delegation of the city of Nördlingen was greeted by the pipers and drummers and escorted into camp.

The use of bells was a matter of strict regulation, since their sound carried much farther than the beat of the drum, reaching everyone within a community, be it a large city or small village. Bells in church towers were therefore the ideal medium to sound alarm, since—with only few exceptions in remote areas—all lived within hearing distance of the bells of their parish. Bells, like other signs, functioned within their own syntax. The particular bell, the time of day, the

number of bells, and the duration of tolling would hail listeners, requiring a specific action or reaction. The notion of bells that summon and cannot be drowned out or ignored—particularly the ring of the death knell—has lived on in the literature of more modern times, for example in Friedrich von Schiller's *Das Lied von der Glocke* or Ernest Hemmingway's novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls*.

The power of the tolling bell also finds its context in medieval hagiography. In the vita of Saint Lioba the bell is used in connection with its function to make announcements. The saint's mother dreams that she gives birth to a bell, the signal that she will become pregnant and bear the daughter Lioba. The bell also became one of Saint Anthony's main attributes. A panel painting by Martin Schaffner, today in the Staatliche Kunsthalle in Karlsruhe, shows Anthony vigorously swinging a handbell to combat the horde of demons and hybrid animals that assault him from all sides, tugging at his clothing and screeching with their mouths agape at close range. The noise that he must overcome is described in a collection of Alemannic saints' vitae, printed in 1482 in Augsburg by Anton Sorg.⁵³ The clear peel of the bell overpowers the din created by the demons and alerts God to intervene on behalf of the trusting saint. In the foreground of a painting of Saint Theodul, today in the Landesmuseum in Zurich, a small image of a devil struggling under the weight of a church bell too large for him to carry shows that the powers of evil are unsuccessful in turning the heavenly sound of the bell against its creator.⁵⁴

Doris Stockmann points to the struggle for the control of the church bells by the peasants as parallel to their pursuit of the signal drums.⁵⁵ Most towns and villages had a designated *Sturm-glocke* that was used to alert the community of danger. Interestingly, the alarm bell is employed as a military metaphor in the fifteenth-century text known as the *Myroure of oure Ladye*, the English translation of and commentary on the Birgittine breviary and other liturgical texts that is often cited above. Called to arms by the bell's tolling for matins, the nuns were to rise in defense of the faith as the *milites Christi*.⁵⁶

The bells housed in the belfries of the parish churches were in most instances also under the control of the city government. Tolling at unusual times and for purposes other than the liturgical cycle necessitated the permission of the council.

Even before the Peasants' Revolt this dual authority over one edifice had led to competition and conflicts. In early-sixteenth-century Nördlingen, the city council and the priest of St. Martin's church, Emmeram Wagner, had been embroiled in a lengthy feud that was publicly broadcast using the bells.⁵⁷ Wagner complained in writing to the city council about the sacristan at his church, who was hired and salaried by the city. The sacristan would not take orders from him and would toll at unusual hours, so that he could not study or pray. The sacristan too drew up his list of complaints against Wagner and his deacons, who had once tied a cord to the bell rope so they could toll the bell from the safe precinct of the parish rectory, which they did to such excess that, as the sacristan put it, he was nearly driven out of his mind.

In times of war, controlling the bells meant being able to sound alarm, call assemblies, and even distribute more specific orders to one's supporters through a range of predefined signals, a huge advantage in a complex civic setting in which not everyone supported the same goal. Especially well documented is the use of the bells in the small town of Ohrdruf, in Thuringia.⁵⁸ Several citizens repeatedly pestered members of the council to give the order to toll the bells in order to call the populace together when no consensus could be reached about taxes and other



burdens levied by the landlord. Contrary to the expectations of the aldermen who had hoped for a plebiscite on the issues, the burghers elected a new government. Since the old council refused to step down, a lengthy negotiation process between the competing governing bodies ensued. The new government relied on the power of the bells to appeal to the people for constant reaffirmation when the old city council would not concede.

Likewise, in Rothenburg, all major stages of the Peasants' Revolt that took place from the end of March to mid-May were announced by the bells. On 15 May, the bells tolled to announce the public reading of the Twelve Articles in the church of St. Jakob by peasant captain Florian Geyer, to be followed by a discussion and the swearing-in of the citizens.

There were also other obvious motives for obtaining the huge bells hanging in church towers. As an important source of bronze, bells were melted down and recast as field guns or sold as scrap metal. In Kempten, bells of various sizes taken from four churches were turned into two large canons, four medium-sized canons, and six muskets.⁵⁹ After the war, damage reports were drawn up by most of the plundered monasteries in order to receive compensation from their protectors for lost or destroyed property. In Thuringia, the monastery of Schlotheim reported that four bells had been taken, the monastery of Gerode reported eight, and the monastery of Reinhardsbrunn a total of twelve.⁶⁰ The narrative from the chronicle in the House Book also points to the fact that the bells of Maria Mai were about to be turned into revenue as the war ended. After the events in May, they were found in Löpsingen, only three kilometers north of Nördlingen (map 4), where they probably were to have been sold to a foundry or other business working with metals.

FEAR AND UNCERTAINTY

Throughout the main portion of the narrative, until the revolution is put down and the peasants conquered, the tenor is one of fear, uncertainty, and mistrust. The monastery's valuables are entrusted to a kitchen sister who betrays the convent, owing her first allegiance to her own class. As in many civil uprisings, friends were not always to be distinguished from foes, and alliances were constantly renegotiated. Among their own ranks, choir sisters, kitchen sisters, priests, lay brothers, and servants shifted their allegiance. In the end, it became clear that even the count could not necessarily be relied upon, since he had also been forced to swear an oath of allegiance to the rebels, and it was uncertain whether he, in order to meet some of the demands of the peasants, would not be persuaded to secularize the monasteries, including Maria Mai.⁶¹ The fact that men and women among the peasants warned the nuns secretly of the impending attack of the revolutionaries demonstrates the inner contradictions and tensions endured by the participants of the struggle.

By the nuns' account, Maihingen's adversarial peasants had early in the conflict already done all they could to incite fear in the hearts of the religious at Maria Mai: by encouraging the mockery of the children; by making noise, carrying torches or lighting fires at night, and then moving around the monastery so that the nuns could not know how many were out there; and by threatening physical harm, damaging the roof of monastic buildings outside the enclosure and throwing stones over the enclosure wall. The nuns' fears were not unfounded. In fact

other reports of violence that had occurred previously at Mönchsroth (fig. 212) include more terrifying details. According to a letter that the provost of the abbey sent to Dinkelsbühl, the church and monastic complex, including agricultural buildings, were completely robbed and plundered. Statistics vary, with records of booty ranging from fifteen to forty-two wagons full of goods. Moreover, a citizen of Ellwangen murdered a monk by striking him through the skull. In DorfKemmathen (fig. 211), the Dominican nunnery (fig. 213) was plundered, homes of villagers who had hidden treasures for the convent were searched, and the convent building was subsequently torn down, since it was feared that if it were set on fire, the entire village would go up in smoke.⁶²

Later, in the city of Oettingen, the nuns' anguish persisted. The narrator tells of constant trepidation, believing they would be the next victims after the rebels had plundered the house of the Knights of the Teutonic Order inside the city walls. The women likewise appear to have feared for their lives, since the author anticipates that the peasants would make martyrs of them. To add to their grief, the sisters were uncertain about the source of their livelihood, first asking for alms when bread was distributed to the poor, subsequently sending a delegation to the leaders of the rebellion and asking for sustenance, and finally, apparently after the rebellion was put down, selling their *vasa sacra* to a goldsmith in Augsburg. According to the writer, their greatest worry, however, was for the home that they had abandoned and to which they wanted to return: the monastic buildings, their farms, other associated economic structures, furnishings, and treasures. Here the narrator reports in great detail that although the abbey was left standing, much had been torn out and destroyed. Interestingly, with all of the reports of peril and anguish, the author likewise describes the nuns' awareness that the peasants mistrusted *them*: for example, the peasants feared that the nuns may have poisoned the beer they left in the cellar.

RISE TO ACTION

The text stresses the fact that the women did not let themselves be distracted from their "business" of singing, praying, and attending Mass. The narrator comments that the women were up on their platform during the Mass of our Lady when the peasants came over the wall. Performed at the Marian altar, which was in close auditory and visual proximity, located just above the sister's choir and accessible to the priest via the brothers' ambulatory (see figs. 75, 76), this Mass was sung daily at daybreak, just after the sisters' prime, and formed the centerpiece of the Birgittine liturgy.

According to the narrator, the nuns were also quick to turn their fear into action: they were vigilant, some not able to sleep, some not undressing for the night; at least once they ate their soup while standing; and they took the necessary precautions or at least attempted to by hiding valuables or bringing them to safety outside the monastery. We note that even though the author reports that circumstances prevented the nuns from availing themselves of the help offered by Christoph von Stadion, bishop of Augsburg, with respect to the safekeeping of their valuables, he is nevertheless praised in the list of bishops that occurs at another place in the House Book because he was especially loyal and generous to the nuns during the Peasants'



FIG. 211. Dorfkemmathen.

FIG. 212. Former Benedictine priory of
Mönchsroth.





FIG. 213. Church of the former Dominican nunnery at DorfKemmathen.



Revolt.⁶³ We likewise note that the person who carried their valuables to Donauwörth was again a businesswoman who was involved in a craft; she was a roper. Also of interest is the importance of the monastery's documents. Initially buried, subsequently removed to Donauwörth, the records of Maria Mai that confirmed claims to ongoing sources of income and properties were irreplaceable and far more valuable than the *vasa sacra* that were ultimately melted down to cover daily expenses. We are reminded of Katerina's anxieties about keeping and locating documents and her resolve to send receipts only when she had a secure messenger. In early uprisings in other localities, for example Forchheim, in Franconia, the peasants had indeed targeted archives and destroyed legal and financial documents.⁶⁴

Other precautions included evacuating the weak and infirm. The detailed description of the measures that were taken to assure the extended care of Sister Christina, written in the subjunctive voice with hints that the worst was yet to come, represents only the beginning of the story that unfolds around the person of Christina Bercholt in the necrology. Originally from Nuremberg, this kitchen sister had served the monastery even before its official foundation. Now elderly, she was apparently not only bedridden but spoke little, and "because she was old, she was like a child." After she was evacuated, the peasants attacked the house of her caregiver on the monastery's farm. "They plundered the sister's little house too, and tore the bed out from under the back of this poor ill person. And they took food and drink and all the necessities we had given her, and left the dear person lying there." From here she was taken to the home of a man in the village, where she remained until the nuns returned from Oettingen. She died shortly thereafter.⁶⁵



The most poignant tale is that of the blind brother Hans, who was forced to crawl over a bridge to safety in the village. According to the profess list, we may assume that this episode was only one of many adventures in the long life of the lay brother Hans Mairer from Kehlheim, who worked for Maria Mai even before it was settled, often traveling to Gnadenberg and elsewhere in the early years. Later, he was among the group to settle Altomünster, and for this community as well, he spent most of his time traveling, collecting income that was due to the monastery. After losing his sight, he was sent back to Maria Mai and, according to his obituary, survived the Peasants' War and died in 1531 at the age of ninety-five.⁶⁶

The narrative demonstrates that in Oettingen, too, the nuns were active. They remained vigilant. They sent a delegation to ask for food. Even during the times of greatest peril, when they feared being plundered, as the Knights of the Teutonic Order had been, they remained ready: each dressed in her habit and cloak, prayer book in hand. It is not completely clear what kind of book each nun had in her own possession, though it was probably not an individual devotional book of prayers that she had previously kept in her cell, since such objects would have transgressed the ideal of individual poverty. It is more probable that each had taken the chant book that was assigned to her and that she usually left in her choir stall, where she could find it when she came there to sing the hours seven times every day. Five antiphoner-graduals from Maria Mai are still extant in the monastery at Altomünster (see figs. 86–88), where they must have been brought by the nuns from Maihingen who founded the monastery there in 1497.⁶⁷ It is also possible that the nuns had taken the smaller and more portable processional books when they fled in 1525. Perhaps the processional books that survive today in Stockholm and Augsburg (see figs. 140, 141) were among the objects that traveled with the women to Oettingen and back to Maihingen.

The nuns themselves likewise took matters in hand and made preparations to return to the abbey. The sisters who went before to prepare for the others are praised for their strength, stamina, and hard work. Through it all they showed tremendous resilience, so that when the narrator is reaching the end of her saga, she exclaims with the excitement of the eyewitness that through the efforts of these sisters the monastery was “a wonder to behold.”

DIVISION AND INDECISION

Much of the tension of the saga occurs through divisions among the protagonists, and indecisive actions. Some nuns leave, others stay. Whether or not we are willing to believe that all the way to Oettingen the first thirty nuns were unaware that twenty others had stayed behind, we must admit that the motif adds a great sense of drama to the story. We might imagine the line of nuns assembled hierarchically, as outlined in the Birgittine writings, walking two by two, clad in habits and veils, with purses, needle containers, and knives appended to their belts, their heavy gray cloaks hanging from their shoulders, each carrying her chant book and perhaps a processional, moving slowly, for the benefit of those with disabilities, and accompanied by servants and villagers as they made their way along the ten kilometers toward Oettingen (map 4) (fig. 214).

We are supplied neither with a list of the nuns who left for Oettingen with the abbess, Anna Haselbeck, nor with one of those who remained in the monastery with the prioress, Walburga

(Color)



FIG. 214. City gate (called the Königstor) of Oettingen through which the nuns entered, early sixteenth century.



Scheffler. It would be interesting to know who the decisive nun was who resolutely slammed the door shut. Readers would certainly like to know if Katerina Lemmel was among those who witnessed the rebels rampaging through the nuns' quarters, the building she had donated and commissioned and the furnishing of which she had overseen just a few years before. It is, however, certain that the author of the chronicle text was among those who remained, since at the most dramatic moment in her text she vehemently asserts, "I, Sister Anna [. . .] saw the pikes and halberds sticking up over the top of the wall."

Interestingly, the two groups of nuns, in Maria Mai and Oettingen, exchanged messages three times on the day that the monastery was attacked by the rebel forces. Two written communiqués were carried to Oettingen, presumably by a courier on horseback, and earlier in the day, a key to the sacristy or to the chest in which the elements for the Eucharist were stored had likewise been fetched from the sacristan. We note from the use of the feminine ending that this sacristan was indeed a nun. Not only was this person in charge of distributing the various objects carried in procession in the cloister, as detailed in the Joppel manuscript and as mentioned above in connection with letter 27, but she must also have been in charge of the Sacrament, certainly for the women's convent and possibly for the entire community. The nuns partook of the Eucharist at shuttered window openings in the side walls of the choir (see figs. 78, 79).

Here again the author does not treat the men of the monastery with great admiration. We are reminded that even in the days, hours, and minutes before and during the rebels' attack, communication within the monastery was not easy, since the men and women were still conversing only through the turn between the two convents. It is nonetheless surprising to read that the men evacuated their quarters without telling the remaining twenty nuns they were going and that they left the three infirm brothers Michael, Thomas, and Gabriel behind.

Michael Praun, originally from Nördlingen, was a lay brother of whom nothing more is known because no obituary for him is included in the House Book.⁶⁸ Brother Thomas Walhauser, who came to Maihingen from the Franciscan monastery in Rothenburg, spent his first years at Maria Mai as a lay brother, until the confessor general Bernhard Eppischoffer requested that he be ordained. His obituary records that he remained with the sisters even "after the uprising of the peasants, until his end." Brother Gabriel Sander, from a village near Donauwöhrd, whose name had been Michael Sander before entering the monastery, was likewise a lay brother, who worked outside the monastery collecting the various annuities and interest payments that were due to Maria Mai. He is praised for remaining when the rebels attacked the monastery.⁶⁹ Yet another brother, Ulrich Spiegel, is mentioned in the necrology as one who remained. The entry about him sheds more light on the situation. Of him it is told that he joined his friends during the time when the nuns were driven out, but that upon learning they had returned to Maria Mai, he too came back. At the request of the abbess and the sisters, he accepted ordination, and later the bishop allowed him to hear confession. The author records that these were times of great instability, with priests coming and going, and that for some time he was the sole priest, accompanied by only two lay brothers. He is praised for diligently singing the daily Mass of Our Lady with the nuns, except when he was too weak.⁷⁰

That the abbess, together with the nuns of highest rank in the convent, never relinquished their authority to men, but may even have assumed more independence from the confessor general when the men and women were apparently living in completely separate situations in



Oettingen, is clear from the meeting with the leaders of the rebels that is organized and carried out by the delegation of five women. The author tells us that the confessor general and the priests were housed with the widow Frau Gall and that the nuns saw to it that they were provided with food and drink. Presumably this statement applies to the time when the community was still in Oettingen.

The most painful divisions were of course not those between the brothers and sisters or those between the sisters who initially stayed at Maria Mai and those who decided to flee to Oettingen. Far more troublesome was the rift that developed between those of the religious who decided to take the opportunity to renounce their vows and those who remained true to their profession. This topic takes up considerable space within the narrative.

The first two individuals recorded to have left are Uriel and Friedrich. It is known that Uriel was the name given to a man whose name was Michel before he entered Maria Mai as a lay brother, and Friedrich from Eichstätt was a priest in the monastery. The two had joined Maria Mai just four years before, when Abbess Anna Haselbeck was consecrated.⁷¹ Subsequently the author mentions, but does not name, the kitchen sister who was to divulge the location of the buried valuables. Later the teamsters of the wagons refused to drive the women to Oettingen, and finally all of the servants became disloyal. We are likewise told that at one point, while the nuns were in Oettingen, all the kitchen sisters, with the exception of Barbara Stengl, abandoned the nuns. In her obituary she is praised for being a loyal and diligent worker.⁷²

Perhaps most surprising for anyone who has read Katerina Lemmel's letters is the report that two of the Müllner sisters, together with the former family maid, all returned home to Augsburg, where they were welcomed by the family with festivities reminiscent of those in the biblical parable of the prodigal son. The profess list indicates that both Katharina and Apollonia Müllner came to Maria Mai in 1509, professing in 1510 and 1516 respectively.⁷³ It may be remembered that Katerina wrote about three Müllner sisters. A glance at the necrology shows that Elsbeth, who professed in 1509, had died in 1523. The maid was Barbara Berckmüller from Kauffbeuren.⁷⁴ Katerina had written in letter 36 that Jorg Müllner had successfully brought her into Maria Mai by forgiving half the debt of two hundred guilders owed to him by the monastery and by donating a memorial Mass. At this point in the chronicle of events from 1525 it becomes apparent that Katerina's world was coming apart at the seams. In letter 12 she had praised Jorg Müllner as the paragon of monastic benefaction. Now he celebrated when all the members of his family and household left the monastery. Barbara Schrott, another nun with important family ties in Augsburg, as the sister of Johannes Schrott, abbot of St. Ulrich and Afra, left the monastery with the Müllners. She had likewise professed in 1509.⁷⁵

In several cases readers are told to look to the "end of this book" to read about the "rewards" that these individuals were to receive for their misdeeds. Interestingly, although the prioress writing the text must have planned to include entries on these dishonorable defectors, they are nowhere to be found in the House Book.⁷⁶ The section under the rubric "Apostates," containing eight entries, appears not to have been continued into the time of the Peasants' War.⁷⁷ Reading the account of these months written by Anna Mayenschein, we become aware why this was not done. The task would have been insurmountable, since it appears that the population of the monastery had drastically declined from the numbers around ninety quoted in Katerina Lemmel's letters.



The rubric is nonetheless interesting for what it relates about attitudes toward those who wavered. For example, we read about Brother Hans, a baptized Jew who fathered a child with a village woman. After being kept for a time in the monastic dungeon, he was released but forced to wear leg irons. After he was allowed more freedom, he escaped and joined another religious community in Rothenburg, where he was eventually recognized and suspended.⁷⁸ In the case of the priest Jobst Zerler from Erfurt, whose misdeeds are described at length, the author writes that if he returned to Maria Mai, a piece of paper would be glued over the entry about him so that it could not be read.⁷⁹

ICONOCLASH

The nuns' story of the Peasants' War is replete with the sights and sounds of clashing icons, or iconoclasm, to employ the term coined in a recent exhibition.⁸⁰ This manifests itself in the appropriation and resignification of icons as well as in their removal and destruction. Indeed, the story of the breaking and unmaking of art is as rich, varied, and polysemic as that of its making.

The rebels' appropriation of icons included the conscious misappropriation of the Birgittines' crowns, which they had apparently stolen from the chests in the monastery as trophies. The incident may be compared to that which took place almost five hundred years later and is preserved in a now famous photograph showing an American soldier laughing and casually smoking a cigarette with (a copy of) the crown of the Holy Roman Empire placed jauntily on his head after it had been discovered in the mine where it had been kept at the end of the Second World War.⁸¹ Although the white fabric crowns were known to have been worn at times by Cistercian nuns, they had become the true hallmark of the Birgittines and were integrated through great hermeneutic detail into the investiture ceremony, as described above, in Chapter 2. Although primarily signifying Christ's crown of thorns, punctuated with red at the five points (Christ's wounds) at which the thin white strips intersected and were fastened to the veil with pins (see figs. 17, 62, 64, 81, 84), and secondarily suggesting the crown of the Virgin as Queen of Heaven, they had also come to "crown" the Birgittines as the elite order that occupied the uppermost rung in the unspoken hierarchy of women's monasticism during the late Middle Ages. In this war of symbols the peasants could thus show that they had triumphed and that the nuns could no longer claim their exclusive status. Parading with the crowns atop their hats, the troops must have felt the pride of the hunter showing off the antlers of his prey.

The nuns' description of rustic types carrying pitchforks rather than weapons, wearing no trousers—but presumably clad in the leggings worn by mercenaries, merchants, and nobility—and donning the most distinctive sign of the Birgittine nuns as they marched up and down the streets of Oettingen in an assumed display of military might and pomp causes even readers of today to smile, if not to laugh. We shall never know if indeed the peasants did engage in such an exhibition during their two days of hegemony in Oettingen or whether the author here presents a composite of various glimpses of them.

Interestingly, Knebel reports of the activities of the same rebels when plundering the Benedictine abbey at Auhausen, telling how "one put an alb over his roguish clothing and a chasuble

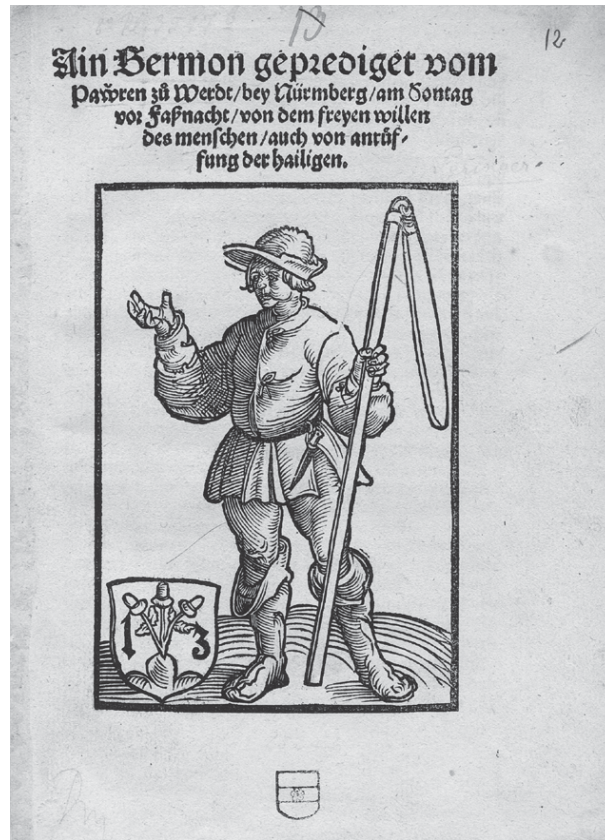
over that and perpetrated his mockery, scorning the holy Mass and everything clerical.”⁸² By walking two by two and spreading the nuns’ liturgical banners over their wagons, the peasants may similarly have been parodying the nuns’ processions. Counterrituals or antirituals with the intention of deconstructing the signs, placing them within new absurd contexts and ridiculous juxtapositions, thus creating a humorous public spectacle, became prominent ideologically critical weapons, much like the singing of subversive songs to the tune of sacred hymns, discussed above.

Remarkably, yet another chronicle demonstrates how the converse strategy was employed by the other side of this struggle. In this case, as in the case of the common men versus the Birgittine nuns, the conflict was one of class and gender. At Raunau, outside Krumbach, twelve peasants made a pact to deny the noblewomen honor by refusing to remove their hats when they came before them in church. As punishment the widow of Hans von Freyberg required the peasants either to perform labor toward payment of a monetary fine or for a period of six weeks to wear the veil worn by women. It is reported that they chose the latter.⁸³ In this case, a woman robbed the men of the sign of their masculinity, their hats, and further humiliated them by forcing them to wear women’s veils. Since they had refused to observe the proper decorum for their class and gender, they lost, at least temporarily, their gender privilege. In the other case, the men wished to exhibit a symbol of conquest as well as to ridicule the nuns by demystifying or deconstructing their outward signs as mere trappings. In each case, the audience, which was essential to these public performances, was aware of who had written the script, who was controlling the players, and who had acquired the props. Needless to say, the author of the chronicle of Maria Mai reappropriates the event through the power of her narrative, in which she makes the peasants wearing “our little crowns,” no trousers, and armed only with pitchforks appear silly, weak, and emasculated.

Cross-dressing appears to have been the order of the day during the Revolution of 1525. As mentioned above, the rebels had been quick to adopt the organization, weaponry, and military strategies of the successful mercenary troops. From the nuns’ comment that some of the rebels parading through Oettingen had no trousers, we are reminded that the peasants likewise copied the dress of the mercenaries and had donned their fashionable attire. This is born out by other sources, such as the Chronicle of Donauwörth, in which Knebel contends that the peasants were pleased to be noble, no longer wishing to wear a smock or trousers, but “had their trousers shortened and slashed with blue lining, and wore a large hat with a feather in it.”⁸⁴ The apparel described can be observed in the above-mentioned prints by Sebald Beham (figs. 206, 207). The differences between the two images are obvious: The *landsknechte* wear the much coveted knee breeches, their clothing stylishly slashed so that the brightly colored linings would be visible, while Acker Concz and Klos Wuczer are depicted as boorish versions of professional soldiers. Although the standard-bearer follows the mercenary custom of wearing leggings and he tops his outfit off with an ostentatious hat with a showy plume, the drummer wears the proverbial *bundschuh*, the loose heavy boots often found in depictions of peasants. This *bundschuh* had been the visual symbol selected by the peasants during several uprisings from 1493 to 1517. Still used on banners by several of the armies in the Peasants’ Revolt, it had obviously retained its positive iconic value for the common man through 1525. Knebel once again ridicules the peasants on the basis of their boots. Drawing up a mock peasant-class distinction based on



FIG. 215. Pamphlet containing a sermon with a woodcut illustration of the peasant of Wöhrd, Augsburg, 1524. Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nuremberg.



boots, he states that the “noble” peasant in Ries wore four pairs of boots on festive occasions, the “less noble” only boots reaching to their knees.⁸⁵

At the same time that the peasants were “dressing up,” other social groups that had joined their ranks were “dressing down.” The itinerant Swabian cleric whose name was Schuster had drawn crowds in Nuremberg under the assumed name Diepold Peringer and was known popularly as “the Peasant of Wöhrd,” a village just outside the Nuremberg city walls. A pamphlet containing one of his sermons was published in Augsburg in 1524 with a title woodcut depicting him clad as a peasant farmer holding a thrashing flail (fig. 215).⁸⁶

Of course, not all of the challenges to the nuns’ power and hegemony manifested themselves in the form of stealing, borrowing, or appropriating the signs. As stressed in the chronicle of Maria Mai, the peasants were likewise pragmatists, and, as discussed above, they took foodstuffs to be used as war rations, horses to pull their canons, and recycled everything from church bells to lead came in the church to iron nails in the wall to make arms and ammunition. Not stopping there, the chronicler claims they further plundered wooden boards, about ninety doors, and numerous fine chests and trunks containing household goods that the nuns had brought with them when they entered the monastery.

The narrator emphasizes that much structural damage was done because the rebels were convinced that treasures were buried in the garden—and indeed some were—and that other valuables were hidden, perhaps beneath floorboards or behind wall paneling. More shocking



is the report that the rebels had looted graves and excavated in thirty other locations as well. It appears that the peasants searched for valuables in the graves of benefactors and clerics, who had the privilege of burial before the altars they had donated or at which they had served. For example, we know from the *salbuch* (cartulary) portion of the House Book that Dr. Werner, who had planned to become a pensioner at Maria Mai and had given significant funds to the monastery, was interred before the high altar and that the noblewoman Reichgard von Landau, whose list of donations takes up an entire folio, had her grave in front of the St. Birgitta Altar.⁸⁷ One might imagine that the peasants dug under the tombstones marking the graves. Obviously the rebels associated Maria Mai with a large number of donors and their riches, some of which they hoped to find still with them.

Further, if we can believe the story as told by the nuns, the rebels likewise perpetrated destruction for its own sake, without any material utility for themselves and without the intention of making public any Reformation cause or revolutionary utterance. The author lists acts such as smashing stove tiles, ruining furniture and furnishings, and destroying the mills, the last of which was tantamount to violation of the conventions of war that were in force at the time.⁸⁸ It would appear that they wished to signal that they had crossed a line of no return, and that their scorched-earth policy may have been used to signal their willingness to make substantial sacrifices for their cause.

The report of the destruction of the books from the library demonstrates the full range of iconoclastic motivation and fervor. Some books were sold, although far below both replacement and market value, as the author laments. Apparently the peasants had bragged to the nuns about the revenues they had received by selling the costlier manuscripts and early printed books to vendors who proffered the illustrations after removing them. Large numbers of books were evidently stacked up and openly burned in bonfires. Still others were individually “drowned” or torn up. Since the last two methods of destruction required additional individual effort, it would seem that the rebels were projecting their anger and frustration onto these inanimate objects, even using kinds of violence that were usually perpetrated only on living things, or so the nuns would have us believe. Indeed, books cannot be exterminated by “drowning,” only those who wrote, commissioned, made, read, or otherwise used them. Interestingly, other examples of iconoclasts “drowning” their “victims” include those incidents in which images and objects were eradicated by throwing them into streams or wells.⁸⁹ Undoubtedly such actions may be considered within the larger context of effigy rituals, by which punishments, including executions, were symbolically meted out.⁹⁰

From the descriptions it would appear that the vestments, paraments, and large candelabra were a total loss. Also, the author leaves no doubt that the two *Salvator* sculptures, both of which were in the choir and were of particular importance in this order dedicated to the Savior, were completely destroyed. It is less clearly articulated but strongly implied that the same was true of the choir stalls, perhaps those of the men and the women, as well as the furnishings composed of painted panels: altarpieces and the balustrade of the nuns' choir.

Some of the most enlightening passages are those describing the partial destruction or maiming of the sculpted figures, as well as those detailing the manner in which sacred images were discarded. Much attention has focused on these aspects of iconoclasm since they were first analyzed in the 1970s. Addressing Hussite iconoclasm at the beginning of the fifteenth



FIG. 216. Melchior Schabert, north choir stalls, former Benedictine abbey at Auhausen: the figure of Saint Matthew without arms, evidence of fire damage on the floorboards, talons remaining from the eagle—symbol of Saint John.



century, Horst Bredekamp has written of sculptures with *redende Verletzungen*, literally “injuries that speak,” because they tell the story of their punishment by mutilation. Martin Warnke has observed the wounds to the sense organs—noses and eyes—that are still evident in the sculpture damaged by the Anabaptists in 1534 and 1535 in Münster.⁹¹ The author of the chronicle from Maria Mai relates that the hands and feet were hacked off of the images of the crucified Christ.

None of the mutilated figures or other damaged art from Maria Mai has survived. At the nearby abbey in Auhausen, however, the maimed sculptures (fig. 216) continue to speak to the present day, although their language is not the original tongue of the artists that fashioned them, but rather one of bricolage, to use the term as it is employed by Norbert Schnitzler, who, borrowing it from Roland Barthes, uses it to refer to subcultural semiosis that rebounds off of conventional hermeneutics, from which it derives all its energy while countermending its direction.⁹² Most common of the injuries was the amputation of noses, a stroke of symbolic emasculation.⁹³ The cheek and forehead of the stone carving of Abbot Georg von Schechingen on his tombstone, ca. 1481 (figs. 217, 218), have sustained blows executed with a thin pointed instrument, perhaps a pike; his nose and upper lip have been chopped off with a halberd or ax, thus silencing him and rendering his facial features so weak that, clad as he is with a hood, the loose folds of which rest on his shoulders, he resembles a nun. The crook of the crosier, sign of



FIG. 217. Damaged tombstone for Abbot Georg von Schechingen, sandstone relief, ca. 1481, former Benedictine abbey at Auhausen.



FIG. 218. Detail of the damaged tombstone for Abbot Georg von Schechingen, sandstone relief, ca. 1481, former Benedictine abbey at Auhausen (fig. 217).

his office, has been removed, leaving only a raised outline on the surface of the stone. On the tombstone believed to be that of Abbot Wilhelm de Lacu, ca. 1460 (fig. 219), not only have the nose and upper lip been hacked off, but the eyes have been slashed several times with short blows by a sharp instrument, reminiscent of the manner in which late medieval participatory beholders of panel paintings sometimes left their marks on the visages of evil characters such as Judas in an attempt to perform individual apotropaic rituals in order to rob the figures of the power of the evil eye.

Many of the finely carved figures on the choir stalls have likewise been “defaced.” On the figure of Saint Jerome (fig. 220) the wide brim of his cardinal’s hat has been trimmed with a sharp weapon, thus rendering it indistinguishable as attribute or sign of his high office. Here, as with the abbot’s crosier or the Birgittines’ crowns, the rebels were intent upon removing the outward metonymic signs of power. Moreover, both hands and nose have fallen victim to the sculpture’s



FIG. 219. Damaged tombstone for Abbot Wilhelm de Lacu, sandstone relief, ca. 1460, former Benedictine abbey at Auhausen.



mutilating tormentors, not only rendering him powerless but feminizing him through the weakening of the facial features and transforming the saint into a common criminal, bearing the marks of society's revenge upon the thief and the adulterer, insults rendering him more ignoble than the nuns had been made through the mockery perpetrated by the peasants parading through the streets of Oettingen adorned with their crowns.⁹⁴ After the Revolution of 1525 was brutally squelched, Auhausen adopted the Lutheran Reformation. The abbot finally fled, the monks became Lutheran, and the church was taken over by the local parish. Here the partial destruction was allowed to "live on." Interestingly, medieval choir stalls, furniture in constant use for centuries, always show "signs of wear" left by their diverse users. At Anhausen the surviving signs, however, demonstrate how the figures were made to carry messages not only quite antithetical to those originally intended by their makers but also now far removed from

FIG. 220. Mutilated figure of Saint Jerome, on the choir stalls of the former Benedictine abbey at Auhausen.



the aims of the iconoclasts. Those who permitted them to remain may have hoped they would serve to warn against the consequences of radical revolutionaries left unchecked. These pieces belong to the most polysemic and multivocal of history. Existing today as so-called “producerly texts,” they enable viewers to produce variant messages.

Perhaps most shocking of the nun’s tales is the mental image of the decapitated head of “our Lord” discovered in the stove used to heat the water for the bathhouse. For readers today, looking back at history through a number of screens, the mental picture of human body parts in an oven may bring to mind the horrors of the holocaust. The rebels’ attempts to “kill” images with their weapons are also known elsewhere. For example, in the above-mentioned letter written by Anna Königsfelder and sent to Caritas Pirckheimer, the abbess reports that the troops who stormed the Poor Clares’ convent in Bamberg struck their spears through some images and shot others.⁹⁵ Similarly, in one Augsburg cemetery sculptures were smeared with blood supplied by a butcher.⁹⁶ The narrator of the chronicle from Maria Mai also engenders slippage between the signifier and the signified, and the acts of mutilation, decapitation, and drowning substantiate the same blurring of these categories among the perpetrators and recipients of the destruction.

The narrator allows readers a glimpse of her interpretation of the kinds of desecration wrought by the rebels, reporting that “the saints” had been thrown onto the manure heap.



Other chronicles of similar removal and destruction contain the often repeated motif of images that were smeared with excrement or thrown into latrines.⁹⁷ Madeline Caviness cites more recent examples of similar image defilement, including that of the thirteenth-century stone sculptures of kings that were broken from the facade of Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris during the French Revolution.⁹⁸ The destination of Christ's head, the bathhouse, was similarly a place of dishonor and ill repute, which, although associated with cleansing and purging, was conversely a place associated with that which was dirty, if not promiscuous, and therefore a place of defilement in which many of the objects of iconoclastic vengeance met their end.⁹⁹

Most fascinating in the narrative is the struggle for the Holy Sacrament, which becomes almost a leitmotif that threads its way through the story. First it is stressed that the remaining nuns wished to receive the Eucharist, even though they had done so just two days before, apparently just prior to the departure of the first group of nuns, and even though they had to go to great trouble and risk, sending someone all the way to Oettingen to obtain the key to the cupboard in which the elements were kept. Then, before leaving the monastery, the group of twenty nuns was most concerned about the safety of the Sacrament, by which they meant a consecrated host that was traditionally reserved for veneration after the celebration of the Mass, typically in a festive container or containers, which, in the monastic churches of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries could be stored in towering eucharistic tabernacles that soared into the vaulting. The women were relieved to learn that, although the men had left them, the consecrated host was still safely in their own keeping, whereupon they had the pyx in which it was contained brought out and secretly placed in their wagon, without the knowledge of the rebels. The anecdote that ensues is related ostensibly as an explanation and justification for their worst fears.

We are told that a wretched and blasphemous peasant at the Dominican nunnery in the village of DorfKemmathen had performed what was essentially a deconstructive counterritual act of desecration, trampling the round little white wafer under foot after he had removed it from the pyx and then salvaging and indeed embracing this small container made of precious metals, probably gold or at least gilt silver. The peasant at DorfKemmathen thus expressed his belief in the worthlessness of the host and the preciousness of the pyx, recognizing the exchange value of the latter, even if it did not hold any of the utilitarian value of the other items that were plundered from the monasteries. Incidentally, according to the Rule of Saint Birgitta, gold was allowed only and exclusively for containers of the Sacrament, indicating that the pyx at Maria Mai was indeed very valuable as a material object.¹⁰⁰ The story is likewise to be understood in light of the nuns' report that as soon as the peasants had climbed over the wall and stormed Maria Mai, they asked the nuns to bring out their treasure, to which the nuns replied that God was their only treasure, and of course it was indeed God that the pyx housed. The host was the body of Christ, God incarnate, not as the product of semantic slippage that blurred the identities of signifier with signified but as a theologically constructed reality, dogmatically articulated at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 and visually reified in the monstrances and eucharistic tabernacles of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The story is thus meant to portray the most atrocious form of sacrilege, that which surpassed the desecration of images.

At Auhausen concomitant denigration rituals are reported to have taken place, possibly in conjunction with the above-mentioned donning of clerical vestments by the peasants. After the

religious community and armed guards assigned by the margrave to protect the buildings and furnishings had all fled, the peasants stormed the monastery unimpeded. The gilt grillwork of the eucharistic tabernacle fashioned by Loy Hering (fig. 221) is listed among the items in a later inventory of damages.¹⁰¹ Apparently the peasants broke into it in order to retrieve the host and its container. In his chronicle, Knebel narrates that the peasants took the pyx, with the consecrated host, into their own “sacrilegious” hands and tossed it to and fro as if playing some impish children’s game. We are reminded of other incidents of trivialization, discussed above, involving children’s songs and rhymes. The power of rumor can likewise be observed in Knebel’s chronicle, which contends that similar incidents had occurred not in DorfKemmathen but in Maihingen.¹⁰²

Elsewhere similarly blasphemous acts are recorded by the religious. For example, Anna Königsfelder reported to Caritas Pirczheimer that at the Clares’ monastery in Bamberg the rebels threw the host into a *siedel* (chair with a storage compartment under the seat), where it remained, apparently unnoticed, for six weeks.¹⁰³

Certainly these tales of the physical abuse of the body of Christ were intended to shock readers, and the narrator does not hesitate to build them into the justification for violence that included the brutal retaliatory annihilation of these peasants on the battlefield later the same day.¹⁰⁴ In fact Knebel reported of the rebel who had donned the chasuble at Auhausen that “a cavalryman thrust a spear through him and left the spear in him for three days in order that the punishment of God would be revealed.”¹⁰⁵ Several chronicles report that as punishment for the uprising, the margrave ordered that eighty rebels be decapitated, that seven have their fingers cut off, and that, according to varying estimates, anywhere from sixty-two to seventy-five peasants have their eyes struck out.¹⁰⁶ As the survivors of this mutilation were forced to beg, wandering from place to place, they, even more effectively than their sculpted stationary and mute counterparts, served as continuous warnings to the lower classes. The narrative of the nuns of Maria Mai likewise describes the gruesome details of the “cycle of violence,” including the slow deaths of the blasphemous rebels who had perpetrated so many crimes against religious men and women, against “the saints,” and against the body of Christ. Although the narrator consistently appends the aphoristic plea that “God forgive them,” the currency of iconoclastic exchange is not one of forgiveness.

Why did the rebels target inanimate objects? Why did they storm women’s monasteries? Perhaps because the saints of wood and abbots of stone could not fight back, and because the religious women offered little physical resistance. The art and the nuns were well integrated and essential components of a systemic spiritual economy that did not provide parity to the common man or woman but was nonetheless perpetuated at their expense.

Remarkably, the author of the account of the Peasants’ War at Maria Mai provides us with a perspective of the monastery that is quite different from that of Katerina Lemmel or of the rule and associated normative texts of the Birgittine Order. Rather than stress the great financial needs of Maria Mai or the proscriptions against individual possessions or collective extravagance, the narrator tells of long lists of precious church furnishings, extols the unusual size of the monastic library and the quality of its books, and describes the chests full of expensive household items found in the individual cells of the wealthy nuns, many, like Katerina, with backgrounds as well-to-do widows.



FIG. 221. Loy Hering, eucharistic tabernacle, former Benedictine abbey at Auhausen.



It is clear that these riches were no secret to the rebels who attacked and plundered Maria Mai. Interestingly, both Auhausen and Maria Mai had recently undergone extensive building campaigns. Abbot Georg Truchsess von Wetzhausen had spent exorbitant amounts of money rebuilding most of the monastic complex at Auhausen, enlarging the church with side chapels, adding a new hall choir, and furnishing the edifice in a most lavish manner. This included an altarpiece painted by Hans Schäufolein in 1513, which celebrated visually both the abbot and his buildings (figs. 222–25). The cost of new stained glass alone reached eight hundred guilders, and an equal sum was expended for vestments. The most recent additions were the choir stalls fashioned in 1519 by Melchior Schabert (figs. 226, 216) and the eucharistic tabernacle sculpted in 1521 by Loy Hering (fig. 221).¹⁰⁷ At Maria Mai, Katerina's building and furnishing campaigns, costing in excess of one thousand guilders, had taken place between 1516 and 1520. Thus in both cases the peasants had chosen to plunder and vandalize splendidly new objects, the fashioning of which they had witnessed very recently at close hand. The catalysts of their



iconophobic rage were not the miracle-working idols of old but the costly new array of conspicuous consumption and ecclesiastic display. It may also be remembered that Katerina remarked in several letters that the locals worked toward her building efforts not for wages but for eternal reward. For example, in letter 2 she writes, "Everywhere there were neighbors from the villages who work for the will of God. They would clean us out if we had to pay them! They do it not for wages but to receive divine reward." Although these were especially adverse times for the peasant farmers in the area, they were nonetheless expected to bring their own donations to the monastery in the form of labor, for which their names were not sounded prior to singing memorial Masses nor were their names inscribed above commemorative windows.

KATERINA LEMMEL

Katerina Lemmel is mentioned three times in the House Book chronicle of the Peasants' War, making her the only nun to be identified by name other than the narrator, who is identified only in a single cryptic first-person reference: "I, Sister Anna." Katerina's particular status is underscored by the fact that she is among the delegation sent to the peasant leaders in Oettingen. The mention of a trunk she had brought with her that had cost her twenty guilders appears itself to have taken on an almost legendary distinction at the monastery, having become emblematic of the wealth that many well-to-do widows had contributed when they professed. The third and final acknowledgment comes at the end of the tragic saga as a kind of denouement of resignation. Perhaps documenting her reaction upon returning to Maria Mai during the summer of 1525, the author quotes Katerina as having cited Job, who in the Old Testament praised God even after losing all his riches, household, and family. In the unrecounted continuation of the Job narrative, the prophet regains all he has lost and founds a new family. Perhaps an analogous hope burned bright in the heart of Katerina, the consummate protocapitalist and optimist. We should of course like to know if Katerina returned to see her long-sought window donations lying as shards of colored glass on the pavement of her cloister, the comes having been removed and melted down to serve as ammunition against the forces of the Swabian League, among whom was one of the patrons of the windows, Christoph Fürer.

BLAME, GUILT, AND SELF-REFLECTION

The nuns found themselves in a very uncomfortable situation. Safely protected behind their monastery walls, diligently keeping the canonical hours by meticulously singing their *Cantus sororum*, going about their business of praying for the salvation and well-being of others, maintaining written correspondence with their benefactors, and carefully eating, sleeping, and otherwise living ordered and disciplined lives on behalf of themselves and others, they could bolster each other in the communal reassurance that all was right with the world outside. Now they confronted other realities. They feared they would become martyrs, sacrificed as the entire system that supported their spiritual economy was challenged. The narrator writes that they were generally mistrusted, excluded, and ostracized. More specifically, we are told that the citizens of



FIG. 222. Hans Schüpfelin, altarpiece, 1513, former Benedictine abbey at Auhausen.

Oettingen confronted them, looked them in the eye, and told them that the armed conflict was their fault and that they were to blame for the deaths. The narrator goes so far as to say that many cursed them to their faces.

The passage implies that much of the criticism came from women whose husbands had been conscripted to fight. Chronicles from other localities likewise preserve bitter verbal confrontations between laywomen and nuns at this time. For example, at the nunnery in Heggbach near Biberach, the nuns reported that evil women from among the peasantry had come and told the abbess and other nuns who held office that they had incited the Swabian League against their men and that if they killed their husbands, the women would storm the monastery and scratch the nuns' eyes out, forcing the nuns to leave, to wear simple clothing, milk cows, bear children, and endure pain—just as they were made to do.¹⁰⁸ Here the intragender tensions are overt: the peasant women could not understand how the nuns could claim superior status, elevated lifestyle, and exemption from the hardships of female existence; after all, they too were just women.

In Oettingen the charges that the nuns were ultimately responsible must have been taken seriously, at least by the narrator of the chronicle. She wishes that the earth would have swallowed them up to spare them this blame. In her assessments she is cognizant that the peasants had accused the nuns of reliance on their good works, thus referencing what Luther had termed “work righteousness” in distinction to his doctrine of justification by faith alone. In the final introspective remark, in which she laments that it appeared the rebels had torn them out

FIG. 223. Abbot Georg Truchsess von Wetzhausen, detail from the shrine of the altarpiece by Hans Schäufelein, former Benedictine abbey at Auhausen (fig. 222).



by the roots, she asks if it is the fault of their sins. Likewise she acknowledges that the rebels believed they were acting in the service of God, and since the nuns likewise believed they had been acting in the service of God and living exemplary lives, this became a true call for soul-searching reexamination and self-criticism. Realizing finally that like Judith she must conclude that God has allowed this adversity, she simply asks for forgiveness—in an all-embracing and ecumenical manner.

The words of the narrator almost paraphrase some of the words the radical reformer Thomas Münzer had uttered against monastics in 1524, when he discussed the abolition of the Latin Mass: “Then all the greed, the usury, and the devious tricks of the priests, monks, and nuns, who, for all their fine appearances, at present stand in the way of faith, will topple over immediately, torn out at the roots.”¹⁰⁹

The ambivalence that was rampant on other levels of society, due to the much sublimated animosities against monasteries, especially wealthy ones, prompted strange alliances. Margrave Casimir had been considered sympathetic to the peasant cause for a time, and subsequent to the war Count Ludwig XIV was relieved of much of his power because he had spent several days among the forces of the peasants. It will never be resolved whether he was forced to do so, was partially sympathetic with their cause, or was moved by psychological pressures exerted on captives, today known as the Stockholm syndrome.



FIG. 224. Saint Gregory and the monastery of Auhausen, detail from the predella of the altarpiece by Hans Schäußelein, former Benedictine abbey at Auhausen (fig. 222).

FIG. 225. Benedictine abbey at Auhausen as it appeared in 1513, detail from the predella of the altarpiece by Hans Schäußelein, former Benedictine abbey at Auhausen (fig. 222).





FIG. 226. Melchior Schabert, choir stalls, former Benedictine abbey at Auhausen.

In the end, the monasteries were treated as the scapegoats of the Revolution of 1525. In Franconia, particularly in Bamberg and Würzburg, the nobility, including the prince-bishops, blamed the monastic foundations and initially proposed secularization in order to channel wealth and income into the hands of the nobility as well as to ease the tax burdens on the common men and women, one of the situations that had precipitated the outbreak of hostilities.¹¹⁰

Whether women's monasteries were treated more harshly than men's is not an easy question to answer. Clearly, however, in those areas that adopted the Lutheran Reformation and therefore decided to close their monasteries, the women fared worse than the men. Women found it more difficult to reintegrate themselves into secular society. Whereas monks were given appanages and frequently married, many nuns fought tooth and nail for the privilege of living out their lives in their convents. The situation in Nuremberg's houses for mendicant women, St. Klara and St. Katharina, is well known: although family members tried to coerce their daughters to leave, many resisted, and at St. Klara the bells announcing the canonical hours rang out defiantly until the last nuns died in 1591.¹¹¹

Nationalmuseum, 179–94. For similar columns on arched corbels, see *ibid.*, ill. 16. For photographs of similar interior courtyards still intact, see Frank Matthias Kammel, “Was wird hier eigentlich gespielt? Die Musikantenfiguren aus dem Imhoffschen Haus,” in *Adam Kraft: Die Beiträge des Kolloquiums im Germanischen Nationalmuseum*, 307–26, esp. ills. 5 and 6.

26. Biedermann, *Geschlechtsregister*, table ccxxv.

27. Schleif, *Donatio et Memoria*, 58–59.

28. Schleif, *Donatio et Memoria*, 72–73; Karl Kohn, “Archivalisches zu Leben und Werk von Adam Kraft,” in *Adam Kraft: Die Beiträge des Kolloquiums im Germanischen Nationalmuseum*, 61–62.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 9

1. Volker Press, “Der Bauernkrieg als Problem der deutschen Geschichte,” *Nassauische Annalen* 86 (1975): 158–77; *Revolte und Revolution in Europa: Reférate und Protokolle des Internationalen Symposiums zur Erinnerung an den Bauernkrieg 1525, Memmingen 24. bis 27. März 1975*, ed. Peter Blickle (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1975); *Bauernkriegs-Studien*, ed. Bernd Moeller (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1975); Peter Blickle, *Die Revolution von 1525* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1981); *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg von 1525*, ed. Peter Blickle (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985); *Die frühbürgerliche Revolution in Deutschland*, ed. Max Steinmetz (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1985); Peter Blickle, *Unruhen in der ständischen Gesellschaft 1300–1800* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1988); *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg*, ed. Horst Buszello, Peter Blickle, and Rudolf Endres (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1995); Peter Blickle, *Der Bauernkrieg: Die Revolution des gemeinen Mannes* (Munich: Beck, 1998).

2. *Aus den Jahrbüchern des Klosters Maria Mai im Rieß: Aufzeichnungen der Priorin Walpurgis Schefflerin über die Geschehnisse ihres Convents im Jahr 1525: Eine Quellenschrift zur Geschichte des Bauernkrieges im nordöstlichen Schwaben*, [ed. Ludwig Müller] (Augsburg: Huttler 1891). See Binder, “Geschichte der bayerischen Birgitten Klöster,” 6. The manuscript used by Müller is today housed in the Harburg Castle and bears the shelf number Oe. B.V.2.

3. These have recently formed the basis of a study by Jaron Lewis, *By Women, For Women*.

4. Ulla Sander Olsen, “The Late Medieval Chronicle of Marie van Oss, Abbess of the Birgittine Monastery Maria Troon in Dendermonde, 1466–1507,” in *The Medieval Chronicle: Proceedings of the Second International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle, Driebergen, Utrecht, 16–21 July 1999*, ed. Erik Kooper (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), 240–50.

5. For the discussion of authorship, see Nyberg, “Das Hausbuch des Klosters Maihingen,” and the literature cited there. In the Altomünster necrology, Nyberg discovered a reference indicating that

Mayenschein had been prioress at Maria Mai before coming to Altomünster. For a study of chronicles written by and for women monastics in early modern Germany, see Woodford, *Nuns as Historians*.

6. Georg Grupp, *Oettingische Geschichte der Reformationszeit: Reformationsgeschichte des Rieses von 1539–1553* (Nördlingen: Reischle, 1893), 7–8.

7. *Jacob Murers Weißenauer Chronik des Bauernkrieges von 1525*, ed. Günther Franz, with contributions by Werner Fleischhauer (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke 1977), commentary 41.

8. Gustav Hellmann, “Aus der Blütezeit der Astrometeorologie: J. Stöfflers Prognosen für das Jahr 1524,” *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Meteorologie* 1–5 (1914): 5–102; Günther Franz, *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg*, 4th ed. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1956), 92.

9. Aby Warburg, *Heidnisch-antike Weissagung in Wort und Bild zu Luthers Zeiten* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1920), 29–31; Volker Press and Gottfried Seebaß, “Bauernkrieg und radikale Reformation,” in *Martin Luther und die Reformation in Deutschland*, exh. cat., Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg, 25 June–25 September 1983 (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1983), 255–74, esp. cat. no. 325; *Ohn’ Ablass von Rom kann man wohl selig werden: Streitschriften und Flugblätter der frühen Reformationszeit* (Nördlingen: Uhl, 1983), no. vii; Leonhard Reinmann, *Practica über die grossen und mannigfaltigen Konjunktionen der Planeten, die im Jahr 1524 erscheinen werden* (Nuremberg: Hieronymus Hölzel, 1523).

10. Carl von Höfler, *Der hochberühmten Charitas Pirkheimer, Aebtissin von S. Clara zu Nürnberg, Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Reformationszeitalter* (Bamberg: Reindl, 1852), 3.

11. Ludwig Müller, “Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bauernkrieges im Rieß,” *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins Schwaben* 16 (1889): 36–39.

12. Hausbuch, fols. 138r–139r.

13. *Ibid.*, fols. 138r–140v; Nyberg, *Dokumente*, 2:252–54.

14. Dieter Demandt and Hans-Christoph Rublack, *Stadt und Kirche in Kitzingen: Darstellungen und Quellen zu Spätmittelalter und Reformation* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1978), 20–21. Merry Wiesner has enumerated the ways in which many abbesses assumed roles as territorial rulers. See Merry E. Wiesner, “Ideology Meets the Empire: Reformed Convents and the Reformation,” in *Germania Illustrata: Essays on Early Modern Germany Presented to Gerald Strauss*, ed. Andrew C. Fix (Kirksville, Mo.: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1992), 181–95.

15. Hartmut Boockmann, “Zu den geistigen und religiösen Voraussetzungen des Bauernkrieges,” in *Bauernkriegs-Studien*, ed. Moeller, 9–28; Paul Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 257–88.

16. David Warren Sabeau, *Landbesitz und Gesellschaft am Vorabend des Bauernkriegs: Eine Studie der sozialen Verhältnissen im südlichen Oberschwaben in den Jahren vor 1525* (Stuttgart: Fischer, 1972).
17. Rudolf Endres, "Probleme des Bauernkriegs im Hochstift Bamberg," *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung* 31 (1971): 102.
18. *Quellen zur Geschichte des Bauernkriegs in Oberschwaben*, ed. Franz Ludwig Baumann (Tübingen: Litterarischer Verein, 1876), 115.
19. "Zur Geschichte des Bauernkriegs in Franken," *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit*, n.s., 3 (1855): cols. 73–75; Carl Jaeger, "Markgraf Casimir und der Bauernkrieg in den südlichen Grenzämtern des Fürstentums," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 9 (1892): 17–164, esp. 84–90; Müller, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bauernkriegs im Rieß," 119–35.
20. *Quellen zur Geschichte des Bauernkriegs in Oberschwaben*, ed. Baumann, 271.
21. See the description of the Peasants' War in Rothenburg by the city scribe, Thomas Zweifel, in *Quellen zur Geschichte des Bauernkriegs aus Rothenburg an der Tauber*, ed. Franz Ludwig Baumann (Stuttgart: Litterarischer Verein, 1878), 314.
22. Hausbuch, fol. 207r.
23. Siegfried Hoyer, *Das Militärwesen im deutschen Bauernkrieg 1524–1526* (Berlin: Militärverlag der DDR, 1975), 21.
24. Günther Franz, "Aus der Kanzlei der württembergischen Bauern im Bauernkrieg," *Württembergische Vierteljahreshefte*, n.s., 41 (1935): 83–108, 281–305; n.s., 42 (1936): 377–78; *Dokumente aus dem deutschen Bauernkrieg: Beschwerden, Programme, theoretische Schriften*, ed. Werner Lenk (Leipzig: Reclam, 1974), 133–39; *The German Peasants' War: A History in Documents*, ed. and trans. Tom Scott, with an introduction by Bob Scribner (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1991), 160–63.
25. Sergiusz Michalski, "Das Phänomen Bildersturm: Versuch einer Übersicht," in *Bilder und Bildersturm im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Robert Scribner et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1990), 88, 101–2.
26. Gerhard Kolb, "Zur Geschichte der Kaplanei des Dominikanerinnenklosters Gotteszell," *Gmünder Studien* 5 (1997): 141–88, esp. 174. In reaction to the forced introduction of Reformation doctrine at the Cistercian monastery in Wienhausen, the nuns used their superior vocal power to drown out the Lutheran preacher. See Wiesner, "Ideology Meets the Empire," 184.
27. Jeanne de Jussie, *Kleine Chronik: Bericht einer Nonne über die Anfänge der Reformation in Genf*, ed. and trans. Helmut Feld (Mainz: Konrad von Zabern, 1996), 102–8. See also Jeanne de Jussie, *Petite Chronique: Einleitung, Edition, Kommentar*, ed. Helmut Feld (Mainz: Konrad von Zabern, 1996).
28. Sally Thompson, "The Problem of the Cistercian Nuns in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries," in *Medieval Women: Dedicated and Presented to Professor Rosalind M. T. Hill on the Occasion of Her Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978), 227–52.
29. Franz, *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg*, 401–8.
30. Collins, *The Bridgettine Breviary of Syon Abbey*, 34–46.
31. Hans Christoph Rublack, "The Song of Contz Anahans: Communication and Revolt in Nördlingen, 1525," in *The German People and the Reformation*, ed. Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 102–21.
32. Jussie, *Kleine Chronik*, 53–54.
33. *Briefe von, an und über Caritas Pirckheimer*, ed. Pfanner, 134; Andreas Osiander der Ältere, *Schriften und Briefe 1528 bis April 1530*, vol. 3 of *Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Gerhard Müller and Gottfried Seebaß (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1979), 378–90.
34. Nuremberg, Staatsarchiv, Rep. 15a, Reichsstadt Nürnberg, Ratskanzlei, A-Laden, Akten, 120, no. 33. See Osiander, *Gesamtausgabe*, 3:379.
35. Nuremberg, Staatsarchiv, Rep. 60a, Reichsstadt Nürnberg, Ratskanzlei, Verlässe des Inneren Rates, no. 722, fol. 3r. See Osiander, *Gesamtausgabe*, 3:390.
36. The song was published in Nuremberg after the Reformation. See *Jacob Murers Weißnauer Chronik*, ed. Franz, 44.
37. *Akten zur Geschichte des deutschen Bauernkrieges aus Oberschwaben*, ed. Franz Ludwig Baumann (Freiburg: Herder, 1877), 34.
38. Konrad Ameln, "Resonet in laudibus—Joseph, lieber Joseph mein," *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 15 (1970): 52–112.
39. Philip Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1864), nos. 349–54; see also Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2001), 100.
40. Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, vol. 3 (1870), no. 467; Philip Wackernagel, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes im XVI. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main: Heyder & Zimmer, 1855), no. 148; Emil Ottokar Weller, *Repertorium typographicum: Die deutsche Literatur im ersten Viertel des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Nördlingen: Beck, 1864–85), no. 2950; Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda*, no. 191.
41. Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, vol. 3, no. 469; *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Irmgard Bezzel (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1983–2000), R 1183, R 1185; Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda*, no. 108.
42. "Der tag der ist so frewden reich aller Curtisanen": Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, vol. 3, no. 93; idem, *Bibliographie*, no. 148; Weller,

Repertorium, no. 2950; Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda*, no. 52. “Der tag der ist so freyden reich allen münch vnd pffaffen”: Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, vol. 3, no. 467; idem, *Bibliographie*, no. 148; Weller, *Repertorium*, no. 2950; Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda*, no. 53.

43. *Quellen zur Geschichte des Bauernkriegs in Oberschwaben*, ed. Baumann, 61

44. *Das Wienhäuser Liederbuch (von 1470)*, ed. Paul Alpers (Celle: Georg Ströher, 1951); Heinrich Sievers, *Das Wienhäuser Liederbuch* (Wolfenbüttel: Mösel, 1954); *Das Wienhäuser Liederbuch*, ed. Peter Kaufhold (Wienhausen: Kloster Wienhausen, 2001).

45. Walther Lipphardt, “Die liturgische Funktion deutscher Kirchenlieder in den Klöstern niedersächsischer Zisterzienserinnen des Mittelalters,” *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 94 (1972): 158–98; idem, “Niederdeutsche Reimgedichte und Lieder des 14. Jahrhunderts in den mittelalterlichen Orationalien der Zisterzienserinnen von Medingen und Wienhausen,” *Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung* 95 (1972): 66–131.

46. Manuscripts from Neu-Medingen, near Lüneburg, dating from ca. 1450 show that the nuns sang Christmas songs not only in Latin but also in German, for example, *Ghe-luet sistu ihesu crist*, which was chanted during the first Christmas Mass following the priest’s lifting of the infant Christ from the manger. Visually this ritual of displaying the Christ child paralleled the elevation of the host in the Eucharist. See Lipphardt, “Die liturgische Funktion deutscher Kirchenlieder,” and idem, “Niederdeutsche Reimgedichte und Lieder.”

47. Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda*, 373.

48. *Quellen zur Geschichte des Bauernkriegs in Oberschwaben*, ed. Baumann, 257–58.

49. Erich Stockmann, “Funktion und Bedeutung von Trommeln und Pfeifen im deutschen Bauernkrieg 1525/26,” *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 21 (1979): 113–14; Herbert Zeschelletschky, *Die “Drei gottlosen Maler” von Nürnberg, Sebald Beham, Barthel Beham und Georg Pencz: Historische Grundlagen und ikonologische Probleme ihrer Graphik zur Reformations- und Bauernkriegszeit* (Leipzig: Seemann, 1975), 317–19.

50. Christian Terzer, *Der Ruf der Trommel: Ein Lärminstrument und sein Gebrauch im Alltag, Krieg und Brauchtum*, exh. cat., Schloß Runkelstein, 7 April–12 September 2004 (Bozen: Schloß Runkelstein, 2004), 53–55.

51. Sebastian Virdung, *Musica getuscht* (Basel, 1511), facsimile edited by Leo Schrade (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1931).

52. Stockmann, “Funktion und Bedeutung von Trommeln und Pfeifen.”

53. Dietmar Lüdke, *Martin Schaffner: Die vier Antonius-Tafeln von 1517* (Karlsruhe: Kulturstiftung der Länder, 1999), 18–27.

54. See also Kurt Kramer, “Die Glocke in der bildenden Kunst,” in *Glocken in Geschichte und*

Gegenwart: Beiträge zur Glockenkunde, ed. Kurt Kramer (Karlsruhe: Badenia Verlag, 1997), 2:183–240.

55. Doris Stockmann, “Der Kampf um die Glocken im deutschen Bauernkrieg: Ein Beitrag zum öffentlich-rechtlichen Signalwesen des Spätmittelalters,” *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 16 (1974): 163–93; idem, “Deutsche Rechtsdenkmäler des Mittelalters als volksmusikalische Quelle,” *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 15 (1973): 267–302.

56. *The Myroure of oure Ladye*, ed. Blunt, 72; Collins, *The Bridgettine Breviary of Syon Abbey*, xxxv–xl.

57. Hans-Christoph Rublack, *Eine bürgerliche Reformation: Nördlingen* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1982), 68.

58. Stockmann, “Der Kampf um die Glocken,” 177–79.

59. *Quellen zur Geschichte des Bauernkriegs in Oberschwaben*, ed. Baumann, 492.

60. *Akten zur Geschichte des Bauernkriegs in Mitteldeutschland*, ed. Günther Franz and Walter Peter Fuchs, vol. 2 (Jena: Frommann, 1942), 512, 522, 708, 925.

61. Paul Braun, *Der Bauernkrieg in Franken* (Nuremberg: Spindler, 1925), 93–94; Rudolf Endres, “Der Bauernkrieg in Franken,” *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte* 109 (1973): 49.

62. Müller, “Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bauernkriegs im Rieß,” 71.

63. Nyberg, *Dokumente*, 2:271.

64. Franz, *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg*, 94; Lawrence Paul Buck, “Opposition to Tithes in the Peasants’ Revolt: A Case Study of Nuremberg in 1524,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 4 (1973): 11–22.

65. Hausbuch, fol. 206r; Grupp, “Maihinger Brigittinerinnen aus Nürnberg,” 90–91; Nyberg, *Dokumente*, 2:201, 216.

66. Hausbuch, fol. 245r; Nyberg, *Dokumente*, 2:203, 226.

67. Altomünster, Klosterbibliothek, ms P An 1–4.

68. Nyberg, *Dokumente*, 2:203, 222.

69. Hausbuch, fol. 246v; Nyberg, *Dokumente*, 2:239, 244–46

70. Hausbuch, fol. 246r.

71. *Ibid.*, fol. 73r.

72. *Ibid.*, fol. 216r; Georg Grupp, “Maihinger Brigittinerinnen aus Eichstätt und Umgebung,” *Sammelblatt des Historischen Vereins Eichstätt* 12 (1897): 74–75; Nyberg, *Dokumente*, 2:238, 243.

73. Hausbuch, fol. 69r; Nyberg, *Dokumente*, 2:237–38, 242–43.

74. Hausbuch, fol. 72v.

75. *Ibid.*, fol. 69r; Nyberg, *Dokumente*, 2:238, 242. See also Johannes Zoepfl, *Das Bistum Augsburg und seine Bischöfe im Reformationsjahrhundert* (Munich: Schnell & Steiner, 1969), 163–64; Wilhelm Liebhart, *Die Reichsabtei Sankt Ulrich und Afra zu Augsburg: Studien zu Besitz und Herrschaft (1006–1803)* (Munich: Kommission für bayerische Landesgeschichte, 1982), 161–67.

76. Hausbuch, fol. 75v.
77. Ibid., fols. 264v–70r; Georg Grupp, “Abgefallene Brüder des Brigittenklosters in Maihingen,” *Diözesanarchiv von Schwaben* 14 (1896): 161–66.
78. Hausbuch, fols. 267v–268r.
79. Ibid., fols. 269r–270r.
80. Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel, “Iconoclasm: Image-Making in Science, Religion, and Art,” in *Iconoclasm*, exh. cat., Zentrum für Kunst und Medientechnologie Karlsruhe, 4 May–4 August 2002 (Karlsruhe: ZKM, 2002).
81. The photograph of Ivan Babcock is reproduced in *Kronungen: Könige in Aachen, Geschichte und Mythos*, ed. Mario Kramp, exh. cat., Stadt Aachen, 11 June–3 October 2000 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2000), 2:878–79.
82. *Quellen zur Geschichte des Bauernkriegs in Oberschwaben*, ed. Baumann, 257.
83. Ibid., 123–24.
84. Franz, *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg*, 418–19. See Keith Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 67–100.
85. *Quellen zur Geschichte des Bauernkriegs in Oberschwaben*, ed. Baumann, 257.
86. Diepold Peringer, *Ain sermon geprediget vom pawren zu Werdt* (Augsburg: Silvan Otmar, 1524), reprinted as *Peringer: Sermon des Bauern von Wörd*, *Schriften zur Reformationszeit*, vol. 10 (Nuremberg: Verlag Medien und Kultur, 1979) and in *Ohn’ Ablass von Rom kann man wohl selig werden*, no. VI. For Diepold Peringer, see Karl Schornbaum, “Zur Lebensgeschichte des Bauern von Wöhrd,” *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 43 (1952): 488–89; Lawrence Paul Buck, “The Containment of Civil Insurrection: Nürnberg and the Peasants’ Revolt, 1524–1525” (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1971), 40–44.
87. Hausbuch, fols. 61r–62r.
88. See the “Kriegsordnungen” of the peasants on the Rhine, dated 10 May 1525, and of the Franconian peasants at Ochsenfurt, dated 27 April 1525. *Dokumente aus dem deutschen Bauernkrieg*, ed. Lenk, 122, 138.
89. Michalski, “Das Phänomen Bildersturm,” 90.
90. Martin Warnke, “Durchbrochene Geschichte? Die Bilderstürme der Wiedertäufer in Münster 1534/35,” in *Bildersturm: Die Zerstörung des Kunstwerks*, ed. Martin Warnke (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1977), 65–98; Michalski, “Das Phänomen Bildersturm,” 90.
91. Horst Bredekamp, *Kunst als Medium sozialer Konflikte: Bilderkämpfe von der Spätantike bis zur Husitenrevolution* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1975), 299–300; Warnke, “Durchbrochene Geschichte?”
92. Norbert Schnitzler, *Ikonoklasmus—Bildersturm: Theologischer Bilderstreit und ikonoklastisches Handeln während des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Fink, 1996), 324; Roland Barthes, “Mythos als semio-logisches System,” in *Mythen des Alltags*, trans. Helmut Scheffel (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1964).
93. Valentin Groebner, “Losing Face, Saving Face: Noses and Honour in the Late Medieval Town,” *History Workshop Journal* 40 (1995): 1–15.
94. Ibid.
95. Franz, *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg*, 401–8.
96. Pia Cuneo, “Propriety, Property, and Politics: Jörg Breu the Elder and Iconoclasm in Reformation Augsburg,” *German History* 14 (1996): 1–20.
97. Michalski, “Das Phänomen Bildersturm,” 71, 89, 98.
98. Madeline H. Caviness, “Iconoclasm and Iconophobia: Four Historical Case Studies,” *Diogenes* 50 (2003): 106, 113.
99. Michalski, “Das Phänomen Bildersturm,” 92, 104–5.
100. Joppel, fol. 22.
101. Nuremberg, Staatsarchiv, Rep. 107 I, Fürstentum Brandenburg-Ansbach, Bauernkriegsakten, vol. VIII, fols. 385r and 389r (new foliation).
102. Franz, *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg*, 418–19.
103. Ibid., 401–8.
104. On the cycle of violence involving the destruction of images and human life, see Caviness, “Iconoclasm and Iconophobia.”
105. *Quellen zur Geschichte des Bauernkriegs in Oberschwaben*, ed. Baumann, 257.
106. “Zur Geschichte des Bauernkriegs in Franken,” cols. 137–40; *Quellen zur Geschichte des Bauernkriegs in Oberschwaben*, ed. Baumann, 112.
107. Klaus Sturm, “Geschichte des Klosters Auhausen an der Wörnitz,” *Sammelblatt des Historischen Vereins Eichstätt* 63 (1969–70): 88–101. See also Isolde Lübbecke, “Hans Schäufoleins Allerheiligenretabel von 1538,” *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 62 (2001): 155–69.
108. Franz, *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg*, 140–42.
109. *The Collected Works of Thomas Müntzer*, ed. and trans. Peter Matheson (Edinburgh: Clark, 1988), 182.
110. Endres, “Der Bauernkrieg in Franken.”
111. Andreas Würfel, *Diptychorum ecclesiarum Norimbergensium succincta enucleatio; das ist ausführliche Beschreibung aller und jeder Kirchen, Klöster, Kapellen [. . .]* (Nuremberg: Hirsch, 1766), 124; Rudolf Eckstein, “Der Klausurkirchhof des Klarissenklosters zu Nürnberg und seine Gräber nach dem Totenbuchein der Anna Ketzler,” *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 68 (1981): 133.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 10

1. G[eorg] W[olfgang] K[arl] Lochner, “Aus dem Leben Christoff Fürers des Aeltern,” in *Geschichtliche*

Studien (Nuremberg: Campe, 1836), 9–12; Kamann, “Briefe,” 195–99.

2. Gerhard Hirschmann, “Christoph Krefß von Kressenstein,” *Fränkische Lebensbilder* 15 (1993): 37–61.

3. Hausbuch, fol. 215v.

4. A volume from the library of Maria Mai, today in the Augsburg Universitätsbibliothek (Cod. 111. 1.8° 22), consisting of tracts, songs, sermons, and other texts by Master Eckhard, Hermann of Ritzlar, Marquard of Lindau, and other writers contains a note on the back pastedown stating that it belonged to Katharina Müllner. Another book from Maria Mai, today also in the Augsburg Universitätsbibliothek (Cod. 111. 2.8° 6), consisting of meditations by Saints Bonaventure and Birgitta, includes a note that it belonged to Sisters Elsbeth, Katharina, and Apollonia Müllner of Augsburg. See also Arnold Schromm, *Die Bibliothek des ehemaligen Zisterzienserinnenklosters Kirchheim am Ries: Buchpflege und geistiges Leben in einem schwäbischen Frauenstift* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998), 230, 243.

5. Gottfried Seebass, “The Reformation in Nürnberg,” in *The Social History of the Reformation*, ed. Lawrence Buck and Jonathan Zophy (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1972), 17–40.

6. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Imhoff-Archiv, Fasc. 13, no. 12d (13).

7. Kamann, “Aus dem Briefwechsel der Nürnberger Patrizierfamilie Fürer,” 76–79; Nyberg, *Dokumente*, 1:364–66; *Die “Denkwürdigkeiten” der Caritas Pirckheimer*, ed. Josef Pfanner (Landshut: Solanus-Druck, 1962), 14–25, 68–71, 76–84; Karl Ulrich, “Supplikation der Ursula Tetzl an den Nürnberger Rat” and “Ratschlag zu der Supplikation der Ursula Tetzl,” in *Caritas Pirckheimer 1467–1532*, ed. Lotte Kurras and Franz Machilek, exh. cat., Katholische Stadtkirche Nürnberg, 26 June–8 August 1982 (Munich: Prestel, 1982), 147.

8. Lochner, “Aus dem Leben Christoff Fürers des Aeltern.”

9. Chrisman, *Conflicting Visions of Reform*, 139–57; Antje Rüttgardt, “Die Diskussion um das Klosterleben von Frauen in Flugschriften der frühen Reformationszeit (1523–1528),” in *“In Christo ist weder Man noch Weyb”: Frauen in der Zeit der Reformation und der katholischen Reform*, ed. Anne Conrad (Münster: Aschendorff, 1999), 84–90.

10. Martin Luther, “Ein Geschicht, wie Gott einer ehrbarn Klosterjungfrauen ausgeholfen hat,” in *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 15 (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1899), 86–94, Rüttgardt, “Die Diskussion um das Klosterleben,” 84–85.

11. *Christlich Schreiben, so ain Evangelischer bruder seiner schwestern, ainer Closter junckfrauen zugeschickt* (Strasbourg, 1523), reprinted in

Flugschriften des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts, ed. Hans-Joachim Köhler (Zug: Interdokumentation AG, 1978–88), fiche 1550, no. 4019; Chrisman, *Conflicting Visions of Reform*, 142–45, 259.

12. Matthias Wurm von Geudertheim, *Trost Clostergefangner* (Strasbourg, 1523); Chrisman, *Conflicting Visions of Reform*, 143, 259.

13. *Ain Sendtbrief an etlich Closterfrauen zu sant Katherina und zu sant Niclas in Augspurg* (N.p., n.d.); *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Irmgard Bezzel (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1971–2003), vol. 16: R 1084; *Flugschriften des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts*, fiche 225, no. 632; Chrisman, *Conflicting Visions of Reform*, 145–48, 253; Rüttgardt, “Die Diskussion um das Klosterleben,” 86–87.

14. *Antwort zwayer Closterfrauen im Katheriner Closter zu Augspurg an Bernhart Remen Vnd hernach seyn gegen Antwort* (N.p., n.d.); *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 16, R 1063; *Flugschriften des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts*, fiche 751, no. 1921. For an edition and English translation, see *Convents Confront the Reformation: Catholic and Protestant Nuns in Germany*, ed. Merry Wiesner-Hanks, trans. Joan Skocir and Merry Wiesner-Hanks (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1996), 28–37.

15. Siegfried Wenzel, *The Sin of Sloth: Acedia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 18–22.

16. *Ibid.*, 47–55.

17. *Revelationes*, 4:1, ed. Hans Aili (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1992).

18. By the time of Katerina’s death the terms *kurzweil* and *langeweile* already carried a variety of only partially reconcilable meanings and concepts, as evident, for example, from Thomas Müntzer’s *langeweile*: useful sadness, imperfection, and consciousness of sin. These concepts were heavily criticized by Martin Luther. See Völker, *Langeweile*, 40–41.

19. Eamon Duffy, “Devotion to the Crucifix and Related Images in England on the Eve of the Reformation,” in *Bilder und Bildersturm im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Scribner et al., 21–36, esp. 30.

20. *Revelationes* 9:38; Joppel, fols. 63v–64r, 117v–118r; *Lucidarium*.

21. Nuremberg, Staatsarchiv, Rep. 44d, Reichsstadt Nürnberg, Ratskanzlei, Losungsamt, Bände, vol. 70, fols. 49v (no. 181), 88r (no. 335), 98r (no. 359).

22. Hausbuch, fol. 273v.

23. Nyberg, *Dokumente*, 2:295–96, 301–6.

24. Georg Binder, *Geschichte des Birgittenklosters Maihingen im Ries* (Regensburg: Historischer Verein für Oberpfalz und Regensburg, n.d.), 61; Nyberg, *Dokumente*, 2:322–24.



25. Binder, *Geschichte des Birgittenklosters Maihingen*, 64.

NOTES TO THE CONCLUSION

1. “I believe that we need to make images as central to our investigations of female monasticism as they were to the women who commissioned and created them.” Hamburger, “Texts Versus Images,” in *The Visual and the Visionary*, 28.

2. On the performance of memory, see Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); on locational memory, see her more recent study *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

3. See Marie-Luise Ehrenscheidtner, “A Library Collected by and for the Use of Nuns: St. Catherine’s Convent, Nuremberg,” in *Women and the Book*, ed. Taylor and Smith, 126–28.

4. Hamburger, “Texts Versus Images,” in *The Visual and the Visionary*, 24.

5. Nancy Partner, “No Sex, No Gender,” in *History and Theory: Contemporary Readings*, ed. Brian Fay, Philip Pomper, and Richard T. Vann (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 268–96; Schutte, Kuehn, and Menchi, *Time, Space, and Women’s Lives in Early Modern Europe*, xvi–xvii. An interdisciplinary conference centering on various cases of *Selbstzeugnis* of nuns during the Reformation period in Germany was organized at the Freie Universität Berlin in 2003.

6. The question cannot receive a simple answer. Certainly these debates must focus on individual circumstances and on specific localities and time periods. See Margaret King, *Women of the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), esp. 81–93, and Jeryldene Wood, *Women, Art, and Spirituality: The Poor Clares of Early Modern Italy*

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 2–9, and the literature cited there.

7. Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung*, 172; Matthäus Bernards, *Speculum virginum: Geistigkeit und Seelenleben der Frau im Hochmittelalter* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1955), 42; Hans von Campenhausen, *Die Idee des Martyriums in der alten Kirche*, 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), 139–44.

8. Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

9. In a broader arena outside the realm of intentionality, pervasive contextualization has become a part of various theoretical discourses. Wolfgang Kemp, Mieke Bal, and Norman Bryson point to problems in privileging one aspect as “text” and relegating everything else to the “context” against which or within which the “text” is explained. According to the insights often propagated under the rubric of “intertextuality,” everything belongs to the larger intertextual framework, and meaning is constantly in flux as new texts enter the scene and old ones change. See Wolfgang Kemp, “Kontexte: Für eine Kunstgeschichte der Komplexität,” *Texte zur Kunst* 2 (1991): 89–101; Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, “Semiotics and Art History,” *Art Bulletin* 73 (1991): 174–208.

10. For an overview of the theology of purgatory and the notion of diversification with respect to the care for the hereafter, see Peter Jezler, “Jenseitsmodelle und Jenseitsvorsorge—Eine Einführung,” in *Himmel, Hölle, Fegefeuer: Das Jenseits im Mittelalter*, ed. Peter Jezler, exh. cat., Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, 4 March–29 May 1994 (Zurich: Neue Züricher Zeitung, 1994), 13–26.

11. Schleif, *Donatio et Memoria*.

12. For specific examples, refer to the Internet database <http://www.nunsploitation.net> (accessed 1 October 2006) and the book by Steve Fentone *AntiCristo: The Bible of Nasty Nun Sinema and Culture* (Guildford, Surrey: FAB, 2000).