

Catholicism and Civic Identity in Cologne, 1475-1570

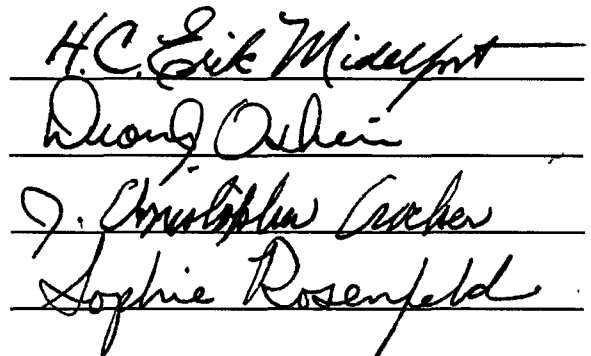
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## Abstract

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The city of Cologne was known as the bulwark of Catholicism in northwestern Germany during the age of the Reformation. The city remained resolutely Catholic during the religious upheavals of the sixteenth century. Cologne's Catholicism was an integral part of its urban culture. The city's history, traditions, image, constitution, laws, and institutional structure became elements in the construction of a self-conscious civic identity by the residents of Cologne. The increasingly dominant characteristic of Cologne's identity was a strong sense of sacred community within the Catholic tradition.

Cologne's residents demonstrated their sense of Catholic community by enforcing rules concerning belief and action and by participating in rituals, including baptism, communion, funerals, processions, and masses. Many rituals had combined civic and religious significance. The construction of the rituals demonstrated the increasing strength of the links between Catholicism and a distinctive Cologne identity as the sixteenth century progressed.

Cologne's Catholic civic identity, which developed beyond traditional common legal and economic interests which linked urban dwellers, permeated the political, social and cultural life of the city. Using published city council records, as well as unpublished city council records, city proclamations, and criminal investigation records, I have examined the ways in which the Cologne government defined membership in the civic community, and the penalties it imposed on dissidents. The city's use of banishment as a punishment in religious cases provided a graphic

demonstration of the separation from the community produced by religious dissent. The city's responses to the challenges of the sixteenth century-- Protestantism, including Lutheranism, Anabaptism, and Calvinism, the Archbishop of Cologne's attempt to exercise control over the city, and the threat presented by immigrants who did not share the city's sense of identity-- developed throughout the sixteenth century. The complex intermingling of religious and civic identity helps to explain why Cologne, the largest of Germany's imperial cities, did not follow the path of many German cities and adopt the Protestant Reformation.



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## Chapter 1: Introduction

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Why was Cologne Catholic? In 1975, Robert W. Scribner published an essay entitled, "Why was there no Reformation in Cologne?"<sup>1</sup> The title carried a wealth of assumptions. The Reformation was an urban event. The people of cities had a particular affinity for the teachings of the Protestant Reformers. Catholicism no longer served the needs of the people of the growing cities of the Holy Roman Empire, and they were looking for spiritual fulfillment which Catholic practice no longer provided. Cologne should have become Protestant, as did so many of the free and imperial cities of the Holy Roman Empire. Scribner's question, "why was there no Reformation in Cologne?" fitted into a growing body of scholarship which concentrated on explaining the spread of the Protestant Reformation in sixteenth-century Germany. Before Scribner wrote his essay, most of the scholars who had written about the Reformation in the cities had concentrated on Protestant cities. Protestant cities were easier to find, they underwent revolutionary and sometimes violent change during the age of the Reformation, and they provided a clear agenda for historians. Something happened. Historians can explain it.

The case of Cologne was more difficult. Although it was the largest of the imperial cities of the Holy Roman Empire, it did not follow the pattern of

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<sup>1</sup>Robert W. Scribner, "Why Was There No Reformation in Cologne?," in Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany, ed. Robert W. Scribner (London:The Hambleton Press, 1987), 217-241.

the urban Reformation. It remained Catholic throughout the age of the Reformation. This provided a greater challenge to historians. The absence of a transformational event is more difficult to explain than is the event itself. Scribner accepted the challenge and suggested, in his essay, that Cologne, like other cities, acted as it did in the age of the Reformation in order to preserve order. In Cologne, a strong, theologically-conservative university faculty helped to keep the message of the Reformers out of Cologne. The city council embraced Catholicism in order to protect its status as an imperial city. The emperor's protection was important to the city because it enabled the city to fend off the encroachments of the Archbishop of Cologne, who was the temporal ruler of the area around Cologne, as well as the spiritual leader of the archdiocese. The city council also acted to protect its own power, and resisted the Reformation because it threatened to bring disorder and change, and it might have cost the councilors their privileged economic and political positions. Scribner argued that "the failure of the Reformation was as much a product of the urban environment as its success elsewhere."<sup>2</sup>

Scribner's analysis emphasizes the effectiveness of the social control imposed by the clergy and the city council of Cologne. He argues that the failure of the Reformation in Cologne was the result of strong institutional religious conservatism and effective social control, which did not allow "the social space for a Reformation movement to appear."<sup>3</sup> There is a continuing

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 241.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 241 and *passim*. For Scribner's views on the importance of social control, see Robert W. Scribner, "Social Control and the Possibility of an Urban Reformation," in Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany, (London:Hambleton Press, 1987), 175-183.

implication in his analysis that there might have been a Reformation in Cologne, but for the social control exerted by the people in power.

Scribner raised good points about the circumstances surrounding the absence of a Reformation in Cologne, but his essay is less successful at explaining the mechanisms by which Cologne maintained its Catholicism, or at explaining why the social controls he identified were so successful. There is a marked lack of discussion of religious practices or beliefs in his essay. Instead of phrasing the question as a negative, it may help to frame a series of positive questions. If there was no "social space" for a Reformation movement in Cologne, what religious and social activities, institutions, and identities occupied the social space in Cologne? What role did Catholicism play in the life of the people of Cologne? How did the city's political and religious cultures combine? What was the role of the clergy in Cologne, and how did Cologne escape the anticlericalism which fed the Reformation in other places? Why did Cologne, in the face of the adoption of the Reformation by two Archbishops of Cologne (in 1543 and 1582), remain Catholic when a powerful advocate of the Reformation was encouraging people in the archdiocese to convert? Why was there no grassroots Reformation movement in Cologne which could have convinced the city council that adoption of the Reformation was the best way to maintain order?

Cologne's Catholicism in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was not static. The city government identified itself strongly with Catholicism, and in response to the advent of the Protestant Reformation, the city government led the people of Cologne in creating a collective civic identity which was closely linked to Roman Catholicism. Although the coercive mechanism of the law played a role in the maintenance of Catholicism in

Cologne, the city remained Catholic not by coercion but by consensus. The city saw itself as a sacred community, with links to the sacred which were defined by Roman Catholic theology and practice. Rather than weakening in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, these links became stronger because of the ways in which the city council and the city's people chose to respond to the threat of the Reformation. Cologne remained Catholic because the people of Cologne considered themselves to be members of a Catholic community, and the idea of the city without its Catholic identity was not acceptable to them. The question "why and how did Cologne maintain its Catholicism in the face of the challenge of the Reformation?" produces a richer social and historical analysis than the question "why was there no Reformation in Cologne?" The analysis reveals the existence of a vibrant and self-conscious Catholic community in Cologne.

### Collective Identity and the Study of Early Modern Europe

Questions of community and identity, mutual rights and responsibilities, group identification, the actions and beliefs which define membership in a society, the safe and familiar group of insiders, and their relationships with the dangerous, disorderly forces of change which arise outside the community are common across societies, cultures, and centuries. The ways in which groups of people define, construct, and maintain communities can reveal many things about the values, beliefs, and perceptions of a society. The definition, construction, and maintenance of community is also an important element of a group's collective identity.

Collective identity is a social construction. Societies define themselves in a variety of ways. The people of a community define themselves in



response to the political, economic and social circumstances of their time. They make political, economic and social decisions within the context of their understanding of themselves and their relationship to the world.<sup>4</sup> They develop a sense of the characteristics which are necessary for membership in the community. Collective identity is a system of social classification, sometimes explicit and sometimes implicit, which enables groups of people to organize themselves, to govern admission to their society, and to maintain the cohesiveness of their community. An understanding of the ways in which a society constructs its identity can lead to an understanding of the political and social decisions the society makes.<sup>5</sup> In a recent attempt to create a typology for the study of collective identity, the sociologists Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt and Bernhard Giesen have suggested that there are three patterns for the construction of collective identity. Groups may define themselves in terms of a natural, primordial separation or difference from outsiders. Membership in primordially-defined groups can be determined by factors such as birth, kinship, or gender. The common factor in the definition of a pure primordial social group is that it is difficult (though usually not impossible) to gain or to lose membership by a voluntary act.<sup>6</sup> Societies may also define themselves in terms of civility, or social interaction. In these societies, which Eisenstadt and Giesen call civilly-defined, public action, and familiarity and compliance with social rules, traditions and routines determines community membership. The ritual, routine, tradition, civic

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<sup>4</sup>Jonathan Friedman, "The Past in the Future: History and the Politics of Identity," American Anthropologist 94 (1992):837.

<sup>5</sup>Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt and Bernhard Giesen, "The Construction of Collective Identity," Archives européennes de sociologie 36 (1995):74.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 78

institutions, or constitutional structures which form the basis of community membership also embody and reinforce the shared sense of community among the members.<sup>7</sup> In the third type of collective identity, the people of a society define themselves in terms of their relationship to the sacred. The community may define itself as an elect, a congregation, or simply a group of people who define themselves by the beliefs about the sacred which they hold.<sup>8</sup> Religion is, for some groups of people, a defining element of ethnic, social or national identity. The nature of the relationship between religion and identity can change over time. When a group is at peace, and is not faced with political, social, economic, or theological incentives to abandon the religion of their ancestors for a new or different faith, the identification of religion and identity is implicit.<sup>9</sup> Religion can be associated with the mythic past of a people. Foundation or creation stories, accounts of victories in wars and of the establishment of good government, and legends of heroes or patron saints can reinforce the religious character of the social bond. Association of the political leadership of the community with the religion of the community can provide the government with a legitimacy which reaches beyond the boundaries of this world, and bears the approval of God. Religious rituals—or rituals in which religion, along with other factors, plays a part—provide a focus for the demonstration of the existence of a political, social and moral community. Religion is not the only element of social

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 80.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 82-83.

<sup>9</sup>Gananath Obeyesekere, "Sinhalese-Buddhist Identity in Ceylon," in Ethnic Identity: Cultural Continuities and Change, ed. George de Vos and Lola Romanucci-Ross (Palo Alto:Mayfield Publishing Company, 1975), 231-233.

identification; it plays a role in complex fabric of social, political and economic relationships.

Eisenstadt and Giesen suggest that social groups, in constructing collective identities, use elements of any or all of the three types of construction. The study of the mix of primordial, civil, and sacred elements in a community's collective identity can lead to an understanding of the society's social and political decisions. In understanding how people understood themselves, we may understand why they acted as they did. The study of collective identity and of community therefore provides a framework for the investigation of social and political change.

Much of the recent scholarship concerning collective identity concerns the rise of nationalism, the formation of nation-states, and the rise of the elusive concept of modernity.<sup>10</sup> Collective identity is an important concept in the study of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when old empires fell and when the development of new nation-states to replace the old social and political communities became a major force of change. What implications can the study of collective identity have in an age before the rise of nationalism? Was the formation of collective identity a factor in the history of early modern Europe? Students of nationalism have shown that collective identity, in its nationalist form, can be a powerful force for social and political change and legitimacy. The surviving sources for the history of early modern Europe do not always contain clear explanations of the reasons for the adoption of, or resistance to, social and political change. The records do,

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<sup>10</sup>Eisenstadt and Giesen, 74-75 For a discussion of urban identity and the transition to national identity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Dieter K. Buse, "Urban and National Identity: Bremen, 1860-1920," Journal of Social History 26 (1993): 521-539.

though, show how groups of people reacted to particular problems. Details of social interaction such as criminal prosecution and punishment, immigration, citizenship, public festivals and rituals, and the development of social and political structures, reveal the ways in which people in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries defined their own communities and identities. The definition of collective identity can, in turn, explain the acceptance of or resistance to currents of change which swept across Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The analysis is complex, and the conditions in early modern Europe are not precisely analogous to the conditions in nineteenth-century Europe, which gave rise to early studies of collective identity. Social organization was not a simple thing, and people did not have only one identity, or belong to one discrete community. Instead, both community and identity were based on webs of relationships—social, familial, political, economic, geographic, and religious. The web of relationships which determined the definition of collective identity and the boundaries of the community also influenced the community's readiness to accept change, or to defend existing institutions and patterns of belief and action.

One of the most persuasive theorists of the importance of collective identity as it relates to the rise of nationalism is Benedict Anderson. In his study of the rise of nationalism as a social and cultural concept, he argues that the rise of the age of nationalism in Western Europe corresponded to the "dusk of religious modes of thought."<sup>11</sup> Nationalism, according to

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<sup>11</sup>Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism Revised and extended 2nd ed., (London: Verso, 1991), 11.

Anderson, arose both out of and in opposition to large, universalist cultural structures. The first type of universalist structure was the religious community, broadly defined, such as Christendom, or the Islamic 'Umma. Broad, universal religious communities were linked by a common set of sacred texts and beliefs and a common sacred language. The religious community was based in a hierarchical cosmology, with a bilingual clerical elite, which served as mediator between the institution of the church and its members, as well as between the earthly and the sacred realms.<sup>12</sup> Anderson argues that the "unselfconscious coherence" of the religiously-imagined Christian community declined after the later Middle Ages as a result of the exploration and expansion by Europeans into other parts of the world. European expansion broadened Europeans' ideas of the "possible forms of human life," and thereby set up a new paradigm, in which other cosmological systems became possibilities and competitors for the Christian people of Europe. The unity of Christendom also declined as a result of the decline of the teaching of Latin as a sacred language after the sixteenth century. The decline of Latin, in Anderson's view, reflected the increasing fragmentation of the Christian religious community.<sup>13</sup>

The second broad community envisioned by Anderson in contrast to the paradigm of nationalism is the dynastic realm. The concept of sacral monarchy, sustained by political and familial ties, and possessing a God-given legitimacy, created broad networks of heterogeneous groups which

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., 12-19. Although Anderson discusses the broadening of the European vision of social organization in the context of the "late Middle Ages," he illustrates his point with an excerpt from the Travels of Marco Polo, which dated from the late thirteenth century.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 18-19.

maintained existence as imagined communities. The concept of sacral monarchy bound people of different ethnicities, geographic locations, and local political allegiances into a community. Anderson hypothesizes that the decline of the legitimacy of sacral monarchy after the seventeenth century led to the rise of nationalism as an alternative model of state legitimacy.<sup>14</sup>

What implication does Anderson's model of imagined communities have for the study of the early modern period? The conception of Christendom had power in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but even before the Protestant Reformation, Christendom was not an unbroken community. The Orthodox church had been in conflict with the Roman Catholic branch of the church as early as the ninth century, and the divisions between the two branches of the church became acute in 1054.<sup>15</sup> Since that time, the idea of a united Christian community was an ideal rather than a description of reality. The already-fragmented unity of Christendom came under attack again in the Protestant Reformation. Protestants and Catholics in the age of the Reformation argued vigorously over the proper relationships between the social and political communities and the sacred community. Religious identification was important across Europe, and simple identification as "Christian" was not sufficient. During the age of the Reformation, religious identity within Christianity became important, and

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<sup>14</sup>*ibid.*, 19-22.

<sup>15</sup>Kallistos Ware, "Eastern Christendom," in The Oxford Illustrated History of Christianity, ed. John McManners (Oxford:Oxford University Press, 1990), 145-147. Ware argues that the process of schism took centuries, and that there was no clear date for the break between Eastern and Western Christendom. The year 1054 is a conventional date, which marks the mutual anathematization of Michael Cerularius, the patriarch of Constantinople, and the papal legate Cardinal Humbert.

varied by locality. Confession became an increasingly important part of local imagined communities.

Sacral kingship and multi-ethnic empire also existed in the early modern period. The Holy Roman Empire provided a framework of multi-ethnic, geographically-diverse territories which owed allegiance to the Holy Roman Emperor. The emperor was elected by the seven electors of the Empire, three of whom were Prince-Bishops and four of whom were secular princes. The Empire was made up of many territories and cities, which were aware of their role as participants in the Empire but which also had important local identities. Membership in the Empire was one component of political and social identity, but it was not the only or even the primary focus of the imagined community in the Empire's constituent parts. A city's or a territory's local identity was an important determinant of its political and religious positions. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, communities such as cities formed local identities which were important determinants of belief and action. The local identities of the cities developed within the broader framework of religious community and monarchical realm. Rather than developing in opposition to broad, universal communal concepts, local identities in early modern Germany grew up with strong elements of consciousness of the community's place in the larger, hierarchical structure of Christendom and of the Empire.

### Community and the Study of the Reformation

The study of the spread of the Protestant Reformation in the German lands of the Holy Roman Empire has been the study of communities and conflict. Alfred Schultze, in his 1918 monograph, Stadtgemeinde und

Reformation, argued that the city was a corporate body, and that the Reformation allowed the cities to pursue their own political interests. According to Schultze, the cities embodied the constitutional concept of the corporation, which came into irreconcilable conflict with the hierarchically-organized Catholic church. The spread of the Reformation in the cities was the result of the conflict between the two competing constitutional principles of corporate action and institutional control. The rise of the political power of the people of the cities led to the desire of the urban administrators to bring the independent power of the church under the control of city administration. The Protestant Reformation in the cities, therefore, spread in concert with the increasingly anti-clerical tendencies of the politically active and self-aware polities of the German cities. Schultze argued that city councils embodied the will of the citizens of each city. In cities where the city council was ruled by patricians or was otherwise in conflict with the will of the citizens, the citizens pressured the council until the council did reflect the will of the citizens.<sup>16</sup> Implicit in Schultze's argument was the idea that the cities had representative structures, and that the actions of the government represented the will of the politically-active residents of the cities.

Bernd Moeller, building on the work of Schultze and on the work of the nineteenth-century scholar Otto von Gierke, argued that late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century cities were ripe for the teachings of the reformers because the Reformation allowed the city to act as a corporate body, and to

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<sup>16</sup>Alfred Schultze, Stadtgemeinde und Reformation (Tübingen: 1918), cited in Heinrich Richard Schmidt, Reichsstädte, Reich und Reformation (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1986), 3-4. See also Hans-Christoph Rublack, "Forschungsbericht Stadt und Reformation," in Stadt und Kirche um 16. Jahrhundert, ed. Bernd Moeller (Güttersloh:Güttersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1978), 12-14.



defeat the hierarchical Catholic church. Moeller argued that, in the cities of early modern Germany, the medieval concept of the city as a sacred community had broken down. The Reformation, with its emphasis on establishment of local congregations, lay participation in the life of the church, and, at least in the Zwinglian and Bucerian models, a blending of religious and political aspects of the community, allowed the residents of German cities to re-establish the communal structures which, Moeller argued, had declined in the late fifteenth century.<sup>17</sup> In his essay, "Imperial Cities and the Reformation," Moeller developed the idea of the importance of civic participation in government as a factor which influenced the readiness of the people of the cities to adopt the Protestant Reformation. The greater the breadth of political participation in the government of a city, the more likely a city would be to accept the Protestant Reformation. Moeller argued for a communal ideal of equality and participation, which found expression both in urban life and in the Protestant churches of the sixteenth century.<sup>18</sup>

Since the publication of Moeller's essay in 1962, there has been a great deal of work on the question of the spread of the Reformation in the cities.

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<sup>17</sup>Bernd Moeller, "Imperial Cities and the Reformation," in Imperial Cities and the Reformation: Three Essays, ed. H.C.Erik Midelfort and Mark U. Edwards Jr. (Philadelphia:Fortress Press, 1972), 52-53. Moeller has since revised this work. The revision appeared in 1987. This part of his analysis did not change. See Bernd Moeller, Reichstadt und Reformation 1. Auflage der bearbeiteten Neuausgabe ed., (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1987). For good discussions of the historiography of the Reformation in the cities, see Rublack, "Forschungsbericht Stadt und Reformation," 9-26, Kaspar von Greyerz, "Stadt und Reformation: Stand und Aufgaben der Forschung," Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte 76 (1985): 6-63, R. Po-Chia Hsia, "The Myth of the Commune: Recent Historiography on City and Reformation in Germany," Central European History XX (1987): 203-215, and Schmidt, Reichsstädte, Reich und Reformation, 2-16.

<sup>18</sup>Moeller, "Imperial Cities and the Reformation," 75-103.

Some scholars, most notably Thomas Brady, have criticized Moeller for having a romantic conception of the city as an egalitarian community.<sup>19</sup> Brady, like Moeller and Schultze, saw the success of the Reformation as the result of a power struggle. Instead of a struggle between the forces of community and the forces of hierarchy, however, Brady argued that the success of the Reformation was the result of a class struggle. In his study of Strasbourg during the Reformation, Brady argues that the introduction of the Reformation was the product of a struggle between an oligarchic city council and the general population. Brady makes the valuable point that the cities were not homogenous groups of people. Craftsmen, traders, patricians, the rich, the poor, the clergy the laity, the people who held formal political power and the people who were excluded from the formal polity but included in the city's population formed groups with different aims and different needs. In contrast to Moeller's view of cities as communities which embodied an egalitarian philosophy, Brady suggests that cities were hierarchical, and that even social and political structures such as guilds, which may have originally served to expand the political participation of members of the non-patrician classes, had ossified and had become protectors of privilege and monopoly by the sixteenth century.<sup>20</sup> In Brady's view, the power relationship between the elite governing classes and the governed was the most important factor in determining whether a city accepted the Reformation or not. In Strasbourg, the city's aristocracy, which constituted the city's government, accepted the Reformation in response to popular pressure from below. The magistrates

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<sup>19</sup>Thomas A. Brady, Jr., Ruling Class, Regime and Reformation at Strasbourg (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978), 5, 12.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, 14.

accepted the Reformation to preserve order and to preserve their own economic and political power within the city. The aristocratic oligarchy was successful in its attempt to coopt the Reformation in its early years, but the strain produced by the Schmalkaldic War in the 1540s and the attempt of the lower classes to form a more corporate, less hierarchical social and religious structure proved fatal for the old governmental structure.<sup>21</sup>

In Imperial Cities, Empire and Reformation, his comparative study of Nuremberg, Frankfurt, Augsburg, Ulm and Strasbourg, Heinrich Richard Schmidt examined the relationships between internal city politics and the corporative politics of cities within the Holy Roman Empire. He chose the cities he studied with the intention of comparing cities with guild constitutions, such as Strasbourg, Augsburg, and Ulm, with cities which had patrician governments, such as Nuremberg and Frankfurt. He specifically excluded Cologne from his study because Cologne did not accept the Reformation.<sup>22</sup> Schmidt notes that both Brady and Moeller thought that the social composition of German cities was relatively uniform. Brady found no difference between the characteristics of the ruling class in cities such as Strasbourg, Ulm and Constance, where there were strong guilds, and the ruling class in Nuremberg, where there were no guilds.<sup>23</sup> Moeller made some distinctions; he argued that where the corporate spirit was strongest, cities adopted the teachings of Bucer or Zwingli. Where lordship and hierarchy were stronger, cities adopted the Lutheran Reformation. Schmidt argued that the constitutional structure of cities did not determine the

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 259-280, 292.

<sup>22</sup>Schmidt, Reichsstädte, Reich und Reformation, 17.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 5.

likelihood of the acceptance of the Reformation.<sup>24</sup> The major political force driving the free cities of the Empire, in Schmidt's view, was the cities' response to the threat of subjection to territorial lordship. The cities acted to protect their freedom as best they could, in the hope of preventing themselves from changing from "a subject to an object of history."<sup>25</sup> Freedom, for the cities, meant freedom within the Empire, and loyalty to the emperor. This remained true even for cities which had strong Protestant movements in the sixteenth century.<sup>26</sup> Schmidt argues that the cities which accepted the Protestant Reformation were influenced by the actions of the Reichstag. When the decisions of the Reichstag were more favorable to the Reformation, the Reformation made progress in the cities. When the decisions of the Reichstag were less favorable to the Reformation, the rate of acceptance of the Reformation in the cities declined. In Schmidt's analysis, the role of the cities in the Empire, or perhaps the cities' perception of their role in the Empire, was a more important determinant of the acceptance of the Reformation than was the constitutional structure of cities. In spite of the strain of scholarship suggesting that the Reformation had a particular attraction for the people of the cities, the cities were ultimately the victims of the Reformation because they became the objects of imperial politics. The broad categories of Catholic, Lutheran and Reformed acquired the status of corporate entities within the politics of the Empire. This transformed cities

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 5.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., 24.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 26.

into the weaker partners of territorial lords, and weakened their position within the Empire.<sup>27</sup>

In The Reformation in the Cities, Steven Ozment argues that, while the constitutional structure of cities influenced the degree of ease or difficulty with which the proponents of reform introduced the Reformation in the cities, explanations of the success or failure of the Reformation based on the constitutional structure of cities do not address the underlying problem of why the people of the cities embraced the teachings of the reformers. Princes, magistrates, and city councils, in Ozment's view, were rarely, if ever, in the forefront of the adoption of the Reformation. Proponents of the Reformation were not members of the old guard in the cities. Instead, they tended to be "ideologically and socially mobile, either by reason of social grievance (as with the lower clergy and workers), ambition (as among certain guilds and the new rich) or ideals (as witnessed by university students and various humanistically educated patricians)."<sup>28</sup> The acceptance of the Reformation, in Ozment's view, was the result of Protestant preaching, which touched a chord in the spiritual lives of the people. Protestant preaching led to the rise of a large, popular, pro-reform movement, and finally to acceptance of the Reformation by the political leadership. Reformation preachers were successful at building a base of support among the people of the cities because the people who heard the sermons found that the official, ritualistic, and formal expression of late medieval religion was burdensome. Catholic ritual did not provide the lay people with the spiritual

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 330-337.

<sup>28</sup>Steven E. Ozment, The Reformation in the Cities: The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), 123, and more generally 122-125.

enrichment they sought. The widespread discontent with the ritual-based, cleric-dominated Roman Catholic religious observance was the main reason for the rise of popular reform movements, which led in turn to the adoption of the teachings of the reformers. Protestant preaching was the catalyst which set off the rapid growth of Protestant reform in a Catholic society saturated with discontent.<sup>29</sup> Ozment, unlike many of the theorists of the urban Reformation, saw the acceptance of the Reformation as a matter of lay enlightenment, as taught by the preachers, and then as a matter of political response to popular pressure. There is little in Ozment's analysis which links the spread of the Reformation to the cities in particular, nor is there a particular emphasis on the importance of community in the age of the Reformation.

Other scholars have challenged the idea of an urban reformation in more explicit terms. Hans-Christoph Rublack examined the failure of an early Reformation movement in Würzburg, and concluded that, even when some of the conditions which produced the Reformation in other cities were present, there was not an affinity between cities and reformed teaching that made the Reformation inevitable once the new teachings came to a city. In the early 1520s, the Prince-Bishop of Würzburg permitted evangelical preaching in the city. A few humanist scholars and priests advocated the teachings of Luther, and two Würzburg priests even married. In spite of the presence of evangelical preaching in the city, and even of married priests, the Reformation movement in Würzburg died in the face of stricter regulation of

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., 15-46. For another view of the burdensomeness of Catholic piety in the late Middle Ages, see Bernd Moeller, "Frömmigkeit in Deutschland um 1500," Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte 56 (1965): 5-31.

orthodoxy by the Prince Bishop in the wake of the Peasants' War. The arrest and banishment of the married priests caused no public outcry, and there was no general public demand for the Reformation in the city. Rublack suggests a variety of reasons for the failure of the Reformation in Würzburg. The teachings of the reformers never achieved widespread support, perhaps because the humanist proponents of reform did not have strong connections to the population of the city. Most of the evangelical preaching in Würzburg dealt with the education of the laity, rather than with confrontation with the authorities or radical reform of the government. The city council had little political power, compared to the Prince Bishop and the cathedral chapter. The city council generally supported the Catholic church, and did not become a base of support for the Reformation. Although Würzburg, like many cities in which the Reformation was accepted in the early sixteenth century, exhibited anticlericalism and had access to evangelical preaching, the people of the city did not display any particular affinity for the Reformation.<sup>30</sup>

The idea that the Reformation was not necessarily tied to the cities does not mean that ideas about community were not important to the success of the Reformation. Peter Blickle, who studies the spread of the Reformation in the rural areas of southern Germany and the Swiss cantons, has argued against the characterization of the Reformation as "an urban event." Blickle's argument is for a "communal Reformation," based on demands by the common people for religious practices and institutions which served their

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<sup>30</sup>Hans-Christoph Rublack, Gescheiterte Reformation: Frühreformatorische und protestantische Bewegungen in süd- und westdeutschen geistlichen Residenzen (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1978), 48-49. See also Hans-Christoph Rublack, "Reformatorische Bewegungen in Würzburg und Bamberg," in Stadt und Kirche im 16. Jahrhundert, ed. Bernd Moeller (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1987), 109-124.

needs. He argues for a model of the Reformation which applies to both the Reformation as experienced by the peasants in the countryside, and as experienced by the burghers in the cities. In Blickle's view, as in Ozment's, the essential elements of the Reformation include the preaching of the true gospel. Blickle also argues that the successful Reformation, in the city or the countryside, required the economic and political unification of the institution of the church and the political community, whether in the cities or in the web of lordship and patronage relationships which defined political and economic life in the countryside, and the submission of political authority to the gospel.<sup>31</sup> The Reformation, according to Blickle, was carried through by communities acting in concert, whether in the context of the polity of a city or in the context of rural political communities. Blickle argues that "when the political community laid claim to the reformation [sic] and grounded the church in the community, it acquired a new ideological stature, new because it was now derived from theological principles. By communalizing the church, burghers and peasants "sacralized" the community . . . ."<sup>32</sup> Blickle's ideas about the communal reformation stress the egalitarian nature of the concept of the commune. He argues that the rejection of lordship and hierarchy which was implicit in the theological teachings of the reformers, and the eager adoption of the communal principles of the Reformation by the

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<sup>31</sup>Peter Blickle, Communal Reformation: The Quest for Salvation in Sixteenth-Century Germany trans. Thomas Dunlap (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1992), 98-101. For a further exposition of Blickle's views about the communal roots of the Reformation theology, and its relationship to the constitutional structure of German cities, see Peter Blickle, "Reformation und kommunaler Geist: Die Antwort der Theologen auf den Verfassungswandel im Spätmittelalter," Historische Zeitschrift 261 (1995): 365-402.

<sup>32</sup>Blickle, Communal Reformation, 101.



common people in the cities and in the countryside account for the princes' eventual rejection of the communal reformation.<sup>33</sup>

### Cologne in the Age of the Reformation

Cologne in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries did not fit neatly into the compartments defined by students of the Reformation in the cities. It was a large, free, imperial city, with important trade contacts ranging across Europe. Its government was a city council, the members of which represented the city's twenty-two political corporations (Gaffeln). The structure of civic government was derived from the city's guild structure, but it did not mirror the guild structure. The city council structure dated from the fourteenth century, when the rising merchant and artisan classes led a rebellion against the city's patricians. The patricians had ruled the city since the thirteenth century, when the patrician city council rebelled against the direct rule of the Archbishop of Cologne. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, Cologne had passed through the experiences of territorial lordship under the archbishop, and oligarchic rule by the patricians. The roots of the civic government in the struggle of the rising merchant and artisan class against the patricians allowed the governing elites of Cologne to maintain the idea that they were acting as representatives of the entire community, even though the percentage of the population who were entitled to participate actively in the government was relatively small.<sup>34</sup> The image of the city of Cologne was linked to the fourteenth-century origins of the city's constitution

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 176-184.

<sup>34</sup>Wolfgang Herborn, "Verfassungsideal und Verfassungswirklichkeit in Köln während der ersten zwei Jahrhunderte nach Inkrafttreten des Verbundbriefes von 1396 dargestellt am Beispiel des Bürgermeisteramtes," in Städtische Führungsgruppen und Gemeinde in der werdenden Neuzeit, ed. Wilfried Ehbrecht (Köln:Böhlau Verlag, 1979), 25-30, 44-52.

(the Verbundbrief), and to the idea that the government of the city was carried out in accordance with the will of the citizens.

The concept of civic identity in Cologne was rooted in the struggle against the lordship of the Archbishop of Cologne as well as in the fourteenth-century revolt by the merchants and artisans against the rule of the patricians. Although the city of Cologne was the ecclesiastical seat of the Archdiocese of Cologne, the relationship between the city and the archbishop was anything but straightforward. The archbishop's direct role in the government of the city had, for the most part, ended by 1288, when city forces defeated the Archiepiscopal forces in the Battle of Worringen, and the archbishop moved his court south of the city, to the town of Brühl. The archbishop retained jurisdiction in some criminal matters, and the archbishop's officials, the Greven and the Schöffen, assisted in the administration of justice.<sup>35</sup> The Greven and the Schöffen were also citizens of Cologne, and their loyalties were not necessarily with the archbishop. Tension between the city and the archbishop was a consistent element of the political and civic life of the city. At the same time, the officials of the city government became adept at dealing with the archbishop in order to transfer responsibility (or blame) for matters with which the city government did not wish to take action. In some cases, the city cooperated with the archbishop in political or religious matters. The general themes of the civic-archiepiscopal interaction were the maintenance of a careful distance, designed to keep the archbishop from asserting temporal authority over the city, cooperation

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<sup>35</sup>For a general overview of the jurisdiction of the archiepiscopal court see Maria Clementine Beemelmans, "Die Stellung des Hohen Kurfürstlichen Gerichts zum Rat der Stadt Köln (1475-1794)," Jahrbuch des kölnischen Geschichtsvereins 17 (1935): 3-43.

(where possible) with the archbishop in matters involving the clergy, religious practice, or the exercise of the archbishop's criminal jurisdiction, and a gradual increase in the city's independent sphere of operation throughout the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries.

The archbishop was not the only important cleric in Cologne. The city was home to a large number of religious institutions, including the cathedral chapter, monasteries, convents, hospitals, chapels, friars' houses, and beguinages. The question of the role of the clergy in the community is another question which scholars of the Reformation have investigated with great enthusiasm. Brady criticized Moeller for failing to recognize the importance of internal structural divisions in the cities. One of the most important of these internal structural divisions was the distinction between citizens, who paid taxes, participated in the defense of the city, and were subject to its laws and courts, and the clergy, who were exempt from taxes on their property, did not participate in the defense of the city, and were subject only to separate ecclesiastical courts.<sup>36</sup> The desire of city residents and governments to end the privileges of the clergy and to bring the clergy under the authority of the city government was an important goal of reformers across Germany.

Moeller argued that, even before the Reformation and before the attempts of city governments to end the privileges of the clergy and to bring them within the control of the civic authorities, the clergy had participated in the life of the community. While they may not have participated in the armed defense forces, they maintained the churches and the relics, which served as the spiritual arm of the defense forces. The visible presence of

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<sup>36</sup>Brady, Ruling Class, Regime and Reformation, 5.

church spires in the city's skyline, and the presence of churches and chapels throughout the city, served as landmarks, icons, reminders of the power of God, and ornaments in the fabric of the city. Moeller argued that, while the cities held a conception of themselves as sacred communities, the clergy held a special place in the community. While they were exempt from some of the secular obligations of community membership, they played a different and no less important role in the life of the cities.<sup>37</sup> Moeller, and later, Blicke both argue that the incorporation of the clergy into lay authority structure of the cities was a central part of successful Reformation movements. Moeller argues that the incorporation was, at best, incomplete. Blicke, in his analysis of communal reformation, argues that the transformation of a separate clerical order into a part of the community was one of the essential transformations accomplished in the course of the communal reformation.<sup>38</sup>

Once again, Cologne does not fit easily into existing analyses of the relationship between the clergy and the community. Cologne's religious institutions created worldly problems, as well as spiritual opportunities, for the city. The large number of clergy required to serve in these institutions formed a sizable bloc of residents who were not citizens and were not subject to the jurisdiction of the city's courts. They also were free from the obligation to pay city taxes on their property, and from some of the city's import taxes. Some of them had special economic privileges, which allowed them to weave cloth, brew beer, or mill grain without recourse to the laymen who normally provided such services to city residents for a fee. The relationship between

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<sup>37</sup>Bernd Moeller, "Kleriker als Bürger," in Festschrift für Hermann Heimpel zum 70. Geburtstag zum 19. September 1971, ed. Max Planck-Institut für Geschichte (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 197-198.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., 223-224. Blicke, Communal Reformation, 74-88.

the city and the clergy was complex. From the beginning of the fourteenth century on, the city council struggled to maintain control over the growing mass of church-owned property. The parish clergy allied with the city council to take action against the mendicant orders, whose members received popular support which might otherwise have gone to the parishes. In 1385, the council passed legislation to prevent the transfer of property to religious institutions, in an effort to prevent removal of property from the tax base and the growth of immunity from civic jurisdiction.<sup>39</sup> Cologne therefore shared in the common problem of tension between the clergy and the city, especially in the areas of jurisdiction and taxation. Bernd Moeller argued that this tension was strong in many cities on the eve of the Reformation, as the cities, in pursuit of a communal ideal stressing equality and mutual responsibility, came into conflict with the Catholic idea of a consecrated priesthood, spiritually separate from other men by means of consecration, and practically separated from other men by means of immunity from civic jurisdiction, civic taxation and civic responsibility.<sup>40</sup>

The complexity of Cologne's relationship with its clerical residents increased because Cologne was a university city. The university was created by the city council in 1388, under the authority of a charter granted by Pope Urban VI. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the University developed one of the foremost faculties of Catholic theology in Europe.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup>Toni Diedrich, "Stift-Kloster-Pfarrei: Zur Bedeutung der kirchlichen Gemeinschaften in Heiligen Köln," in Köln: Die romanischen Kirchen von den Anfängen bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg, ed. Hiltrud Kier and Ulrich Krings (Cologne:J.P. Bachem, 1984), 62-63.

<sup>40</sup>Moeller, "Kleriker als Bürger," 210-215.

<sup>41</sup>Edith Ennen, The Medieval Town (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1979), 203.

The University operated under the supervision of the city council, advised the council on some religious matters (although it is not clear from the records that the council invariably consulted the University when dealing with matters of religious faith or observance), and certain University positions also carried appointments in Cologne's parish churches as part of the compensation package for scholars. The presence of the University also provided the city with a student population, the size of which fluctuated according to the reputation of the University.

The city's independence was, in part, assured by its status as an imperial city, which owed direct allegiance only to the Holy Roman Emperor. The city had a long tradition of referring to itself as an imperial city. The Holy Roman Emperor Friedrich III first confirmed the city's status as an imperial city in 1475, as a reward for its assistance in his war against Charles the Bold. This status gave Cologne a special, direct relationship with the emperor, an ally in its quest for local political autonomy (which was particularly useful in the city's continuing power struggles with the archbishop) and an independent, if vaguely defined, role to play in the politics of the Empire. By the late fifteenth century, the city nurtured a civic tradition based on freedom from the lordship of the archbishop, loyalty to the Holy Roman Emperor, and a government which was, at least nominally, broadly representative. In practice, the city council was oligarchic (but not patrician), but the city's rhetoric of political independence and social unity included people from varied social classes. The "community" of Cologne included not only those citizens with high political and economic status, but also those who were at lower levels of the city's social structure.

If Cologne had followed the pattern Moeller developed, it would have adopted the Protestant Reformation, perhaps in the Lutheran form. Cologne was a large city, with a nominally representative government which in fact tended to operate as an oligarchy. It had strong ties to the Holy Roman Empire, and it had trade ties far beyond its own hinterland. The city council, in its dealings with other cities, papal and imperial representatives, and trade representatives from other places, was aware of the place of the city in the larger contexts of empire, region, and the Roman Catholic Church at large. Under these circumstances, Moeller argued that the medieval, inward-looking sacred community broke down in the cities of the Holy Roman Empire, and the teachings of the reformers fell on fertile ground. In the only reference to Cologne in "Imperial Cities and the Reformation," Moeller says that a promising reform movement in Cologne opposed the city council in a city uprising in 1525, but lost its courage when the peasants were defeated.<sup>42</sup> While news of the troubles in the south had come to Cologne before the city uprising of 1525, the articles put forward by the city rebels were very locally-oriented and lacked the clear overtones of religious reform and biblical justification found in the peasants' articles.<sup>43</sup> The city council's responses to the demands of city rebels amounted to co-optation of the rebels' position on

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<sup>42</sup>Moeller, "Imperial Cities and the Reformation," 37.

<sup>43</sup>Blickle argues that local orientation and lack of systematic structure are characteristic of the demands of urban uprisings in the sixteenth century. See Blickle, Communal Reformation, 63-97. For a close analysis of the demands of the Cologne rebels, and printed editions of the demands and the council's response, see Clemens Graf von Looz-Corswarem, "Die Kölner Artikelserie von 1525: Hintergründe und Verlauf des Aufruhrs von 1525 in Köln," in Kirche und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in deutschen und niederländischen Städten der werdenden Neuzeit, ed. Franz Petri (Köln:Böhlau Verlag, 1980), 65-153.

most of the contested issues. The rebellion, while serious, never attracted overwhelming popular support among the people of Cologne. Moeller implies, without directly stating, that it was the city council's determination to adhere to Roman Catholic orthodoxy, in combination with the rebels' faintheartedness, which kept the Reformation from succeeding in Cologne. Faintheartedness, though, is a weak explanation for the lack of a strong Protestant Reformation movement in Cologne. The lack of major popular uprisings or demands for church reform or for the teaching of the true Gospel in Cologne indicates that the city council, tenacious as it was, reflected the will of the majority of the population of the city. A steady, albeit small, stream of cases of Protestant heresy in the city shows that the teachings of the Reformation were available to the people of Cologne, but the movement never really gained momentum in the city. Cologne, in short, remained Catholic because the people of Cologne, represented rather than oppressed by the strong city council, wished the city to remain Catholic.

In Brady's class-conflict model of the Reformation in the cities, the dominant political goal of the aristocracy, which included both patricians and rich guildsmen, was the maintenance of their own political and economic power. The aristocracy ruled the city through membership in the city council and the administrative structures of the urban government, and they acted to preserve their own interests wherever possible.<sup>44</sup> One of the main characteristics of the early Reformation in Strasbourg was the civic incorporation of the clergy, which took place in response to a deep-seated, economically-and politically-based anticlericalism. In 1524, Strasbourg revoked the immunity of the clergy, requiring clerics to become citizens, to

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<sup>44</sup>Brady, Ruling Class, Regime and Reformation, 162.



pay taxes, to take part in the duties of citizenship, and to submit to the law of the city.<sup>45</sup> The people of Strasbourg supported the civic incorporation of the clergy, and also supported proposals that the city confiscate church property. The popular demand for reformation of the church in Strasbourg came from the populace, rather than from the oligarchy. The aristocrats, who constituted the government of the city, adopted the reforms demanded by the people gradually and with much discussion between 1524 and 1529, in an effort to quiet dissent and to maintain their hold on power.<sup>46</sup>

It is difficult to use Brady's model to analyze Cologne's responses to the Reformation. Of course there was economic tension between the clergy and the laity in Cologne. Because Cologne raised its money by means of excise taxes rather than by means of head or hearth taxes, the question of the taxability of manufactured goods and agricultural commodities was always a pressing one. Throughout the sixteenth century, the city council dealt with protests about the improper importation of food or wine by the clergy, about the improper (and untaxed) sale of wine by monasteries and convents, and about clerical encroachment upon the manufacturing prerogatives of the craft guilds.<sup>47</sup> The city dealt with these problems generally on a case by case basis, but it also negotiated with the clergy and with the archbishop for a general agreement regarding the payment of taxes. When the news of the Peasants' War came to Cologne in 1525, the clergy accepted the government's offer of protection on the condition that the clergy accept taxation by the city.<sup>48</sup> The readiness of Cologne's council to fashion a solution which addressed the

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<sup>45</sup>Ibid., 203.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., 204-208.

<sup>47</sup>Diedrich, "Stiff-Kloster-Pfarrei," 65-68.

<sup>48</sup>Looz-Corswarem, "Die Kölner Artikelserie," 75.

problem of clerical privilege without doing away with the Roman Catholic clergy is further evidence that the city, although faced with the same problems other cities faced, chose to remain Catholic.

While Protestant preaching in Strasbourg began as early as 1521, the city council made efforts to keep the new teaching out of Cologne throughout the 1520s.<sup>49</sup> In 1520, the faculty of the University of Cologne, in response to the papal bull of excommunication against Luther, presided over the burning of Luther's books. The strong ecclesiastical establishment of the city of Cologne was not, for the most part, friendly to the teachings of the reformers. It is not true, though, to say that censorship kept the teachings of the reformers out of Cologne. From the mid-1520s on, the city officials dealt with a small but steady stream of cases involving adherents of the new faith in Cologne. The Augustinian monastery in Cologne was a notorious nest of Lutheran sympathizers, and the city council repeatedly requested assistance from the Augustinian order to reform the monastery in Catholic fashion. Cologne's printers were apparently willing to print and sell Reformation tracts, because the city council worried at length about the availability of Lutheran and other heretical books in the city's bookshops. The people of Cologne had opportunities, albeit clandestine ones, to learn about the Reformation, and yet they did not demand that the city council adopt the teachings of Luther or of other reformers. Once again, the people of Cologne chose to remain Catholic, although they could, like the people of Strasbourg, have demanded that the city adopt the Reformation.

Peter Blickle, in his book, Communal Reformation, says that the Reformation succeeded in both the cities and in the countryside because it

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<sup>49</sup>Brady, Ruling Class, Regime and Reformation, 203.

was a communal movement.<sup>50</sup> In the same sense in which the Reformation succeeded where it was a communal movement, Catholicism succeeded in Cologne because it was an inseparable facet of the urban community. The tenacity with which Cologne maintained its Catholicism was a product of communal Catholicism. The city dealt with many of the same problems which Blickle identifies in Protestant cities. The choice of parish priests was an issue in Cologne, as it was in other cities. Even before the Reformation, parishioners had a limited voice in the choice of parish priests. In the parish of St. Columba, from as early as the thirteenth century, parishioners chose their priest from a selection of clerics nominated by the Cathedral chapter. The chapter nominated three candidates. If the parishioners were satisfied with one of the three, he became the parish priest. If the parishioners did not approve one of the three, they in turn submitted three candidates to the chapter for consideration. If the chapter did not choose one of the three, a committee of canons and parishioners met to attempt to agree on one of the six named candidates. If the committee could not agree, the parish and the chapter requested the intervention of the Holy Spirit. They placed a coffer containing a bag with wax balls in it on the altar, and one of the clerics said Mass. After the Mass, a representative of the chapter and a representative of the parish each drew a ball from the bag. The one who drew a ball marked with alpha and omega made the choice of priest for the parish.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>Blickle, Communal Reformation, *passim*, but see especially 40-46; 49-53; 73-88.

<sup>51</sup>Dietrich Kurze, Pfarrerwahlen im Mittelalter: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gemeinde und des Niederkirchwesens (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1966), 352-354.

The parishes of St. Peter, St. Johann Baptist, St. Jakob and St. Laurenz had similar election procedures, though instead of the cathedral chapter, the initial nominations were made by the collegiate churches of St. Cäcilien, St. Severin, and St. Georg, respectively.<sup>52</sup> The election right was a matter of interest to parishioners in the sixteenth century. Hermann von Weinsberg, Cologne merchant and diarist, was a lifelong member of the parish of St. Jakob. When the pastor of St. Jakob died in February, 1555, the parish met to choose a new pastor. The meeting was announced to all the property-owning neighbors (geerbte nachparen), the great bell called the parish together, and the parish community met in the church to choose a pastor. In the St. Jakob election procedure, the parish members nominated three candidates and the prior of St. Georg chose the next pastor from the people nominated by the parish. Weinsberg reported that the parish could (and did) manipulate the voting to get the pastor it wanted. In the 1555 election, the congregation nominated one candidate who was old and unlearned, one candidate who did not want to be a priest, and one suitable candidate, who was both learned and willing to accept the post.<sup>53</sup>

In some of Cologne's churches, the right of appointment as pastor rested with the city council rather than with the parish. The city council funded the University of Cologne, hired and fired its professors, and was always in the market for a way to subsidize the expensive scholars who taught there. Some university appointments carried with them prebends in the city's collegiate churches. The city also employed priests to say Mass at the

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<sup>52</sup>Ibid., 355-356.

<sup>53</sup>Konstantin Höhlbaum, ed., Das Buch Weinsberg: Kölner Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem 16. Jahrhundert (Leipzig:Verlag Alphons Dürr, 1887), vol. II, 72-73.

council's chapel, and at other chapels throughout the city. The chapels with council-appointed priests included the chapel of St. Boniface, and the late fifteenth-century chapels dedicated to the Virgin Mary and to all the saints.<sup>54</sup> The exercise of authority over the church helped to minimize the distinction between the clergy and the laity in Cologne. Conflicts over prerogative and property never disappeared completely, but the combination of civic control over some aspects of the church, and clerical submission to some elements of civic authority allowed the people of Cologne to construct a definition of community which included the clergy. The clergy were not citizens, but they fulfilled a role in the civic community and in spite of periodic complaints by the laity, there was no serious movement to incorporate the clergy into the citizenry or to eliminate the Roman Catholic idea of a separate clerical estate.

Steven Ozment, in his book The Reformation in the Cities, argued that the Reformation was attractive to people in the cities because the rituals of the Roman Catholic church had become burdensome forms of piety, which provided the people with no spiritual satisfaction.<sup>55</sup> In Cologne, however, there was no outcry against processions, Masses, confession, the Mass, or other forms of Catholic piety. The cult of the saints remained a vigorous part of the city's devotional life throughout the sixteenth century. In Cologne, the ceremonies and rituals of the Roman Catholic church blended with the ceremonies of the city government, to create a series of civic and religious rituals which emphasized the importance of Catholicism to the physical and

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<sup>54</sup>Leonard Ennen, ed., Geschichte der Stadt Köln, meist aus den Quellen des Kölner Stadt-Archivs (Köln:L. Schwann'schen Verlagshandlung, 1869), vol. 3, 786-788. On other Cologne chapels, see Diedrich, "Stift-Kloster-Pfarrei," 58-60.

<sup>55</sup>Ozment, The Reformation in the Cities, 22-32, 117-120, 165-166.

spiritual well-being of the Cologne community. The city used ritual activities, such as processions and Masses, to maintain a sense of community as well as a sense of spiritual health. The structure of these events indicates that the organizers saw the religious and civic aspects of the community as interwoven strands of the same social fabric. They defined the community by rites of inclusion and exclusion, and because they were public, they served as a graphic representation of the social and spiritual communities.<sup>56</sup>

In sixteenth-century Cologne, the separation of religion from the civic rituals of the community was not possible. The Catholic identity of the city was bound up with the civic identity of the people. The city's emphasis on civic ceremony, on sacramental unity, and on the city's strong Catholicism were all bound together. The routes of processions in Cologne demonstrate the intertwined civic and religious character of the Cologne community. By the sixteenth century, procession routes were relatively stable. Processions went from the Rathaus to the cathedral, with stops at the shrines of the three kings and the high altar. Prayers in the city council's chapel followed the devotions in the Cathedral. Sometimes a Marian devotion was included in

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<sup>56</sup>Jeremy Boissevain, "Play and Identity: Ritual Change in a Maltese Village," in Revitalizing European Rituals, ed. Jeremy Boissevain (London:Routledge, 1992), 151-152. In this 1992 essay on the changes in modern civic and religious ritual in a Maltese village, Boissevain argues that the decline of specifically religious, ceremonial rituals over the past thirty years, and the corresponding growth of public, playful rituals in which neighborhood rivalries grew, and neighborhood saints took precedence over observance of more general saints' days indicates that the people of the Maltese village used the public, Carnival-type rituals to reinforce their identity as members of the village community, and even more specifically, of their parishes or neighborhoods. The use of rituals which allowed the people to interact and to play with each other was especially important in the face of the influx of foreigners, both tourist and immigrant, to Malta and the dilution of the old, tightly-knit community.

the processions. On Good Friday, the church of St. Maria im Kapitol was added to the procession route.<sup>57</sup> In addition to the normal processions which formed a part of the liturgical year, the city also sponsored processions in times of emergency. Processions were held to prevent or ameliorate the effects of flood, drought, plague and war. In times of particular danger, citizens carried the relics of several of the city's patrons, including St. Severin, St. Kunibert, St. Albin, St. Evergistus and St. Agilolfus along with the host in the processions. With the exception of St. Alban, who appears to have been an English import, all of the saints whose relics the people carried in processions were Archbishops of Cologne. In spite of the city's tense and adversarial relationship with living Archbishops of Cologne, the city claimed dead archbishops as saintly protectors. The importance of the archiepiscopal saints provided a strong link between Cologne and its Catholic past, and created a safe bond between the city and the Catholic hierarchy. By venerating the relics of the archbishops, the people of Cologne domesticated the threat presented by the living archbishops, and turned the dead archbishops into spiritual advocates for the city.

The civic ceremonies of Cologne helped to define the community and to reinforce its connection with the Roman Catholic church. During the course of the sixteenth century, the people of Cologne, in response to the challenge of the Reformation, refined their definition of the civic and religious community in Cologne. The city council became increasingly interested in public religious observance, proper sacramental practice, and orthodox belief. Civic officials conducted inquiries about religious beliefs and

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<sup>57</sup>Josef Klersch, Volkstum und Volksleben in Köln: Ein Beitrag zur historischen Soziologie der Stadt (Köln: J.P. Bachem Verlag, 1968), 69-71.

practices, and the city council consistently attempted to maintain a strong Catholic identity within the city.

The city's determination to remain Catholic persisted in the face of recurring incidents of Protestant presence in the city. City officials used the people's opinions about the sacraments of communion and baptism, their views of the saints and the Virgin Mary, and their participation (or lack of participation) in civic and religious rituals to define community membership. At a superficial level, the officials inquired into elements of belief and action which were simply marks of Protestant theology, such as receiving communion in both kinds, avoiding infant baptism, and participating in private or secret religious meetings. All of these activities, though, were markers of community as well as of theology. The city's methods of dealing with non-conformity show that the officials' concern for orthodoxy was part of a broader concern for the protection of the civic community. Catholicism was an integral part of the imagined community of Cologne. It linked the city to the sacred realm of Christendom, as well as to the secular realm of the Holy Roman Empire. The people of Cologne constructed their civic identity within the context of two broad, interwoven, hierarchical communities, and at the same time, they combined elements of primordial, social and especially civil construction of collective identity. In this way, they maintained a strong sense of local identity, based on their ideas of what it meant to be "of Cologne."



## Chapter 2: Community and Civic Identity in Cologne on the Eve of the Reformation

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Let it be known that Cologne, the beautiful crown of all cities has five names, which should be made known to all people. The first name is "holy city," because of the beloved saints, whose shrines and bones are in Cologne. Another name is "imperial city," which shall be subject to the holy empire in all godly and proper things. The third name is "city of law," where law rules the relationships between men. The fourth name is "free city," where no one shall oppress or assail another other than according to the law. The fifth name is "city of good customs," where the customs are in accord with both spiritual and temporal law.<sup>1</sup>

Holy, imperial, lawful, free, and in peaceful accord with the spiritual and temporal traditions of the ages--this was the image of Cologne in the fifteenth century. The description, which began a mid-fifteenth century treatise on the rights and duties of the city's residents, illustrated the multifaceted concept of civic identity. Cologne had, in the imagination of its leaders, a distinct character, which had religious, political, legal, social, and cultural aspects. Civic identity means both the idea that the city, as a

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<sup>1</sup>Walther Stein, ed., Akten zur Geschichte und Verfassung der Stadt Köln im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert (Düsseldorf:Droste Verlag, 1993), vol. 1, 716-723 at 717-718. "Kunt sy, dat Coellen, de kroen boeven allen steiden schoene, hait vunff namen, de man alle samen sall beduden allen luden. De erste name is en hillige stat oevermytz de leive heiligen, der heyldom ind gebeynt in Coelne iss. Der ander name iss eyn rychstat genant, de onderdain soellen syn dem hillgen rych in allen gotlichen tzemlichen sachen. De dyrde name iss eyn stat van rechten, also dat man eyderen man recht sal layssen wedervaren. Der veirde name iss eyn vrye stat, also dat man neymant dryngen en sall noch besweren anders dan myt recht. Der vunffte name is, dat Coellen is genant eyn stat van guider gewoenden ind de gewoenden soellen gelichen den rechten, geistlich ind werentlich."

corporate body, had certain characteristics, and the idea that particular duties and beliefs were required of the city's residents in order to maintain the city's political, economic and spiritual health. Underlying the concept of civic identity is a vision of the city as a community whose members shared rights, responsibilities, beliefs, a common history, and common political, social and economic interests. By examining the proclamations and resolutions of Cologne's city council, it is possible to come to an understanding of the idea of civic identity held by the merchants and craftsmen who helped to construct and maintain the civic community in Cologne. Consideration of the problems brought before the council by the city's residents can reveal the extent to which the image promulgated and enforced by the council was shared or accepted by the people of Cologne.

The city council's concept of Cologne as a community with a distinctive identity grew out of circumstances which were common to many cities, in Germany and elsewhere, in the Middle Ages. Associations of town residents, sworn to act together for mutual defense and for the benefit of all members, developed in France, in Flanders, and in German towns as early as the twelfth century. Town councils and the structures of town self-government grew in German towns such as Lübeck, Speyer, Utrecht and Strasbourg in the late twelfth century. Cologne remained subject to the Archbishop of Cologne during most of the thirteenth century, but by mid-century a town council emerged and by 1288 it was strong enough to challenge the archbishop for the rule of the city.<sup>2</sup> The first communal government of Cologne, which was established after the archbishop's defeat

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<sup>2</sup>Edith Ennen, The Medieval Town (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1979), 110, 113, 124-125.

by city forces and lasted until the constitutional revolution of 1396, was dominated by an urban patriciate, which by the late fourteenth century included about forty families. In 1396, prosperous merchants and traders, who enjoyed growing economic success, sought access to political power commensurate with their rising economic status. They led an uprising, overthrew the patrician government, and established both a new city council-based government, and an enduring civic mythology of popular government and of a broadly-based community. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the concept of a distinctive Cologne identity was largely based in the ideas of independence, self-government, and mutual responsibility expressed in the Verbundbrief of 1396. The tradesmen and artisans who sought political power drafted the Verbundbrief, or letter of alliance, after their successful effort to wrest civic power away from the patrician families who had dominated the city's political life since the thirteenth century. The Verbundbrief became the basis of Cologne's government, and also the basis of an ideal to which Cologne's rulers and residents gave great credence, even when it did not entirely reflect urban reality. The ideal urban community, as envisioned in the Verbundbrief, was broadly inclusive, and provided access to political power to a broader range of people than the previous patrician rule had provided. It was politically independent, and it was an association with spiritual, as well as secular, responsibilities.

The civic community in Cologne was a creation of its residents. The active creators were, for the most part, the politically active citizens who sat in the council and filled the city's administrative positions. The politically powerless, including women, the poor, and male non-citizens, also participated, albeit in less obvious ways, in the construction of the civic

community. The community was, in a sense, an "imagined community" similar to those discussed by Benedict Anderson in his study of the origins of nationalism in the nineteenth century. While Cologne's imagined community was not a proto-nationalist community, it had some of the characteristics Anderson associates with the development of a sense of national identity. Anderson defines the nation as "an imagined political community," characterized by a finite territory, a finite population, a sense of sovereignty, and a sense of commonality among people who do not necessarily know each other, but nevertheless feel bound to one another and share a vision of themselves as members of a "deep, horizontal comradeship."<sup>3</sup> Cologne's territorial and population limits, and its sense of sovereignty are similar to the characteristics of an imagined community identified by Anderson. The people of the city were bound to each other in a variety of ways, and shared a vision of themselves as a common body, although it was not a horizontal comradeship in the sense discussed by Anderson. The community also included aspects other than the political. In contrast to Anderson's model, in which universal religious communities such as Christendom are distinguished from discrete, imagined national groups, the civic community in Cologne was firmly grounded in a sacred cosmology. As challenges to the Roman Catholic faith grew in the sixteenth century, religious belief and religious practice took on increasing importance in the imagined community of Cologne. Community and Catholicism became more closely associated.

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<sup>3</sup>Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism Revised and extended 2nd ed., (London: Verso, 1991), 6-7.

Cologne's geography contributed to the development of the concept of a civic community with a unique identity. Cologne lies on the west bank of the Rhine. Since the foundation of the city by the Romans, the northern, southern, and western borders of the city were protected by walls. In 1180, the city replaced an older, smaller wall with a new and extensive wall, which enclosed a semicircular area of about 320 hectares (about 790 acres). By the fourteenth century, the area had increased to about 397 hectares (about 980 acres). The semicircle's flat eastern edge was formed by the Rhine riverbank. The area included within the walls consisted of farm land as well as the central, built-up district of the city.<sup>4</sup> The walls and the river formed a discrete civic space and defined the general physical boundaries of the community throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The city wall was an especially powerful symbol of the distinctiveness and independence of the city because it divided the area subject to the city's jurisdiction from the princely territory of the Archbishop of Cologne. Cologne rejected the temporal lordship of the archbishop in 1288, when civic forces won a battle with archiepiscopal forces, the archbishop moved his court upriver to Brühl, and the city council established itself as the city's temporal authority. The archbishop remained a force in Cologne's political and religious life throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, because the city remained part of the archdiocese of Cologne for ecclesiastical purposes, and because the archbishops never gave up their goal of re-establishing temporal control over the city. The archbishop governed the land outside the walls of Cologne, and the city's sharp awareness of political distinctiveness

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<sup>4</sup>Josiah Cox Russell, Medieval Regions and their Cities (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972), 91.

and civic independence was honed in long-standing conflict with the archbishop. The city council jealously guarded the city's sovereignty and independence, within the context of the Holy Roman Empire. Cologne's status as an imperial city, which owed allegiance directly to the emperor, rather than to any local territorial lord, helped the city to resist the archbishops' efforts to control the city.<sup>5</sup>

Unlike other cities, such as Nuremberg, which controlled territories extending for several miles outside the city walls, Cologne did not have an extensive territory outside its walls.<sup>6</sup> The walls therefore formed a more definite limit to Cologne's civic space than did the walls of cities with farther-reaching jurisdiction. This did not mean that Cologne was isolated from its surroundings; it had strong economic influence over the villages in the area, and Cologne's residents often had family, property, or business interests outside the walls. The city as a corporate body also used land outside the walls for a variety of purposes which were outside the bounds of the daily life of the community. The execution grounds were outside the walls, and the city maintained hospitals for lepers to the west and the south of the city. (The lepers were allowed to come within the walls to beg on major holidays.) Two sources (one of them a Protestant polemic) suggest that there was a burial

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<sup>5</sup>For a discussion of the problematic relationship between the city, the archbishop and the emperor, see Robert W. Scribner, "Why Was There No Reformation in Cologne?," in Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany, ed. Robert W. Scribner (London: The Hambleton Press, 1987), 217-241.

<sup>6</sup>Ennen, The Medieval Town, 158. See also Ermentrude von Ranke, "Köln und das Rheinland," Hansische Geschichtsblätter 47 (1922):26. For a description of the city of Nuremberg and of the extent of its territory, see Gerald Strauss, Nuremberg in the Sixteenth Century: City Politics and Life Between Middle Ages and Modern Times Revised ed., (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), 1-56.

ground for livestock outside the walls, and that on one occasion, the body of a suspected Lutheran, who died after refusing extreme unction, was buried there.<sup>7</sup> The walls and the riverbank denoted the extent of the city's sovereignty, and separated the city from the archiepiscopal threat to sovereignty which waited just outside the walls. Together with the liminal area outside the walls, they defined the physical extent of the imagined community in Cologne.

Within the well-defined physical and political boundaries of Cologne, the city developed as a multi-faceted and complex human community. The boundaries of this human community were flexible at some points and rigid at others. Membership in the community was a product of a variety of factors, including birth, family relationships, occupation, residence, sworn allegiance, religious belief and practice, and outright purchase of citizenship. Members of the community were bound together as relatives, neighbors, workers, employers, governors and governed, and as members of a common religious community. As Benedict Anderson's model suggests, the urban

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<sup>7</sup>Manfred Groten, ed., Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln 1320-1550 (Düsseldorf:Droste Verlag, 1988), vol. 3, 1523-1530, 727. August 8, 1530. Rpr. 8. "Die Turmmeister sollen die Sache mit dem verstorbenen Knecht von Dr. Westenberg oder Feigefuyl untersuchen. Später sollen sie diejenigen ausfindig machen, die ihn begraben haben, und sie anweisen, ihn im Feld zu begraben und dann zu Turm zu gehen." Groten reported the contents of the city council's resolutions, rather than providing a complete edition. The spelling and modernization are his. See also Leonard Ennen, ed., Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln (Köln:Druck und Verlag der L. Schwann'schen-Verlagshandlung, 1873), vol. 1, 263, citing Gerhard Westerbürg, "Wie die Hochgelerten von Cölln, doctores in der Gottheit und Ketzermeister den Doctor Gerhard Westerbürg des Fegfewers halber als einen unglaublichen verurtheilt und verdamt haben. Wie Doctor Johann Cocleus von Wendelstein wider D. Westerbürg's Buch u.s.w." (Marburg: Frantzen Rhodiß, 1533), A.M. II.

community was based on a vision of comradeship and social connection between residents of the city, even those that did not know one another. The community was not Anderson's "deep, horizontal comradeship"; rather, the civic community in Cologne, although articulated by the elite, specifically included people at all levels of society, and reflected an implicit assumption of a hierarchical social structure. The merchants and artisans who drafted the Verbundbrief, which was central both to the operation of Cologne's government and to the formation of an imagined community, stated their belief in a community which encompassed rich and poor, great and small, merchants and artisans, laborers and masters. The Verbundbrief began with a sweeping statement of inclusiveness:

In the name of the holy trinity, amen. We mayors and council of the city of Cologne and further we, the community of all, poor and rich, from each and every guild and gaffel community established and living in Cologne, undersigned hereafter with names . . .<sup>8</sup>

This introductory paragraph set the pattern for the development of civic identity and community in Cologne. The drafters and signatories of the document were careful to assert that they acted in the name of God, for the common good, and on behalf of the whole Cologne community. The first substantive paragraph of the Verbundbrief shows that the drafters considered their community to be wider than the group of people who exercised political power. The Verbundbrief recited that "all guilds and gaffel

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<sup>8</sup>Stein, Akten zur Geschichte und Verfassung der Stadt Köln. 187. "In name der heiliger drijveldicheyt, amen. Wir burgermeystere und rait der stat van Coelne ind vort wir die gemeynde alle gemeynlichen, arm und rijch, van allen ind yeclichen ampten und gaffelgeselschappen gesessen und wonaftich enbynnen Coelne hernageschreven as mit namen . . ."



communities, united with the whole community of Cologne" were "truly, firmly and completely sworn and bound together."<sup>9</sup> The image created by the Verbundbrief is of a network of associations or groups, who were unified by a sense of shared identity as members of the "whole community of Cologne."

The idea that the medieval German city was a commune based on voluntary association among free men, who joined themselves together as a corporate body for the benefit of all has a venerable history in German legal and historical scholarship. The nineteenth-century legal historian Otto von Gierke wrote a multi-volume work on the nature of German fellowship or community law (deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht), in which he argued that the heart of German communal organization was the voluntary association of people into groups with common interests and common goals.<sup>10</sup> In Gierke's

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 190. "In deme yersten so hain wir alle ampte und gaffelgesellschafften eyne myt der gantzer gemeeynden bynnen Coelne vurs. in Gueden gantzen truwen vestlichen und gentzlichen gelyofft und uns verbunden, gelyoyve ind verbynden uns mit desem brieve . . . ." The Gaffeln (singular, Gaffel) were Cologne's political associations. They were similar to guilds, but membership was not necessarily linked to occupation, and they did not have a master and apprentice training structure. The guilds were associated with Gaffeln, and more than one guild was associated with each one. Representation on the city council was apportioned to the Gaffeln.

<sup>10</sup>Otto von Gierke, Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1954), especially vol. 2, Geschichte des Deutschen Körperschaftsbegriffs. See also Anthony Black, ed., Community in Historical Perspective: A Translation of Selections from "Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht" ("The German Law of Fellowship") by Otto von Gierke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), and especially Black's "Editor's Introduction," xiv-xxx. I have followed Black and his translator, Mary Fisher, in translating Genossenschaftsrecht as the law of fellowship rather than the law of community or communal law. As Black points out, the German language has a wealth of terms for different kinds of communal relationships. I use the term "community" as a rough translation of the sixteenth-century German concept of Gemeine or Gemeinde, not the nineteenth-century concept of Genossenschaft. The translation of Genossenschaft as "fellowship" rather than as "community" may help to

view, the epitome of German civic organization began with the guild revolts of the late fourteenth century, which established city government by common participation in voluntary associations. He believed that government by the guilds was a function of a particular talent for governing by association, rather than by the sovereignty of a ruler who was removed from the group of the ruled. The guild revolt of 1396 in Cologne, which overthrew the urban patricians and broadened the base of political participation in Cologne, was a good example of the triumph of government by voluntary association.<sup>11</sup> Gierke stressed the importance of group action and the real, as opposed to fictional, existence of corporate groups with their own moral and legal standing. More recent scholarship, discussed by Antony Black in a modern English translation of selections from Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht, has characterized Gierke's vision of a particularly German tradition of morally superior corporate action as a product of nineteenth-century national romanticism.<sup>12</sup> Gierke believed that groups have collective moral responsibility for actions and decisions, and that people, acting as communities, achieve their highest moral development.<sup>13</sup> He argued that the egalitarian, participatory values at the heart of the German idea of fellowship reached their highest development in the age of the Protestant

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make this distinction clearer. For a discussion of the elusive meaning of the term "community" in the context of sixteenth-century Germany, see H.C. Erik Midelfort, "Social History and Biblical Exegesis: Community, Family and Witchcraft in Sixteenth-Century Germany," in The Bible in the Sixteenth Century, ed. David C. Steinmetz (Durham:Duke University Press, 1990), 7-10.

<sup>11</sup>Black, Community in Historical Perspective, 135.

<sup>12</sup>Black, "Editor's Introduction," at xviii, citing Ulrich Stutz, "Zur Erinnerung von Otto von Gierke, Gedächtnisrede," Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, (Germanistische Abteilung) 43 (1922):vii-lxiii at x and xxi.

<sup>13</sup>Black, "Editor's Introduction," xviii-xix.

Reformation. The development continued until 1525, when the forces of lordship, in opposition to the forces of fellowship, put down the Peasants' War and reasserted the dominance of lordship over fellowship. Gierke saw the relation of lordship and fellowship as dialectical, with constant tension and a continuing alternation between the triumph of fellowship and the resurgence of authoritarian rule.<sup>14</sup>

Gierke's views on the nature of urban communities are important because they have influenced much of the scholarship on the nature of cities in medieval and early modern Germany. In particular, Gierke's ideas are central to the ideas of one of the first of the twentieth-century scholars to approach the question of the importance of urban communities in the age of the Protestant Reformation. Bernd Moeller, relying heavily on Gierke's ideas about voluntary associations and government by fellowship, argued that late medieval cities, especially in western and southwestern Germany, developed a uniquely independent character in the late middle ages.<sup>15</sup> The working people of the cities began to free themselves from the rule of a small elite, the patriciate, and to participate in city government. As the base of participation in city government grew, Moeller argued, the citizens began to identify themselves with the community, to recognize that they were part of a greater whole, and to acknowledge that they were responsible for the health of the

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<sup>14</sup>Black, Community in Historical Perspective, 138-139; idem, "Editor's Introduction," xxiv-xxv.

<sup>15</sup>Bernd Moeller, "Imperial Cities and the Reformation," in Imperial Cities and the Reformation: Three Essays, ed. H.C.Erik Midelfort and Mark U. Edwards Jr. (Philadelphia:Fortress Press, 1972), 43-44. Moeller published a revised version of his essay in 1987. He did not change the essence of his argument. See Bernd Moeller, Reichstadt und Reformation 1. Auflage der bearbeiteten Neuauflage ed., (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1987), 10-11.

body politic.<sup>16</sup> The responsibility of the citizen for the welfare of the community was far-reaching, and included the city's spiritual well-being, as well as its economic health and its political independence. In Moeller's analysis, residents of a city believed that the city's welfare was a product of communal culture, for which each resident was responsible, and which provided each resident with rights and duties which sprang from membership in the corporate body. He further argued that the voluntary association of the city encompassed more than the duties of defense and obedience to the city government. The urban community in late medieval Germany, in Moeller's view, was a sacred community, whose members depended on one another not only for worldly security and good government, but for spiritual health and ultimately for salvation.

Material welfare and eternal salvation were not differentiated and thus the borders between the secular and spiritual areas of life disappeared. We can grasp an essential trait of the late medieval urban community if we characterize it as a 'sacred society' . . . In such towns the civil community was confused with the religious. In principle, we should not even consider them separately, for they coincide."<sup>17</sup>

Moeller further argues that the sense of sacred community which bound the residents of medieval cities went into decline in the later Middle Ages; the decline of a sense of community and mutual responsibility provided fertile ground for the growth of the Protestant Reformation in the cities of sixteenth-century Germany and Switzerland.<sup>18</sup> Steven E. Ozment, who has also

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<sup>16</sup>Moeller, "Imperial Cities and the Reformation," 44.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 46.

<sup>18</sup>See Bernd Moeller, "Frömmigkeit in Deutschland um 1500," Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte 56 (1965):5-31; idem, "Imperial Cities and the Reformation," 49-53.

studied the relationship between urban society and the acceptance of the Protestant Reformation, argued that the ritual observances of Catholicism, which were an integral part of the sacred community as analyzed by Moeller, became burdensome and spiritually unsatisfying to the residents of early modern cities. He too argues that the failure of the sacred community prepared the way for the Protestant Reformation in German and Swiss cities.<sup>19</sup>

Moeller's view of the city as a sacral community has been criticized by other historians, including Robert W. Scribner and Thomas A. Brady, Jr. as too static and too romantic. According to Scribner, Moeller's analysis fails to account for the importance of internal strife in the development of urban communities, while according to Brady, Moeller makes an unwarranted assumption of the egalitarian nature of the guild revolutions of the fourteenth century, and of the city governments which were developed by the guilds after their defeat—if defeat it was—of the urban patriciate.<sup>20</sup>

Without accepting Gierke's thesis that community and lordship are in constant tension, that Germans have a particular gift for community, and that people achieve their highest potential when acting in communities, I argue that it makes sense to talk about civic community in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries because the people who lived in Cologne in the fifteenth

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<sup>19</sup>Steven E. Ozment, The Reformation in the Cities: The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), 15-36.

<sup>20</sup>Thomas A. Brady, Jr., Ruling Class, Regime and Reformation at Strasbourg (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978), 3-19; Robert W. Scribner, "Civic Unity and the Reformation in Erfurt," in Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany, ed. Robert W. Scribner (London: The Hambleton Press, 1987), 185.

and sixteenth centuries thought that community was important. The surviving records, including city council records (Ratsprotokolle), criminal records, and immigration, citizenship, and religious records from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries suggest that the issues of membership in the community, duty to the community, participation in communal activity, and sharing of communal beliefs presented varied, lively, and important problems to the people who lived in the city. In Cologne, this interest in community lasted throughout the sixteenth century. Following Moeller's analysis, I suggest that the urban community in Cologne in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was a sacred community, whose members believed that they were responsible to one another for the city's social and spiritual well-being. In the fifteenth century, the Roman Catholic basis of the sacred community was implicit. As the sixteenth century progressed, and Protestant reformers challenged the Roman Catholic basis of communal life, the Cologne community, led by the city council, refined and adapted its views of community membership and communal life in response to political, economic and religious stimuli. While the imagined community of Cologne was not static, Roman Catholicism remained central to the definition of the imagined community throughout the sixteenth century. The imagined community was an important part of a socially-constructed collective identity, by means of which the people of Cologne defined themselves and made decisions about the future of their community. The existence of a thriving sense of community, closely identified with the Catholic church, may help to explain why Cologne successfully resisted the adoption of the Protestant Reformation, and maintained a stable civic government in the tumultuous political and religious world of sixteenth-century Germany.

### Holy Cologne

Cologne's history, as the people of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Cologne understood it, supported a strong association between the city and the Roman Catholic church. The city claimed the title of "Holy Cologne" early in its history. The city's seal included a representation of St. Peter, the patron of the cathedral, and a rendering of towers and roofs which were common symbols for the city of Cologne. Around the images ran the phrase "Holy Cologne by grace of God the faithful daughter of the Roman church."<sup>21</sup> While Cologne was not alone in its claim to be a holy city, its claim to holiness was venerable and pervasive. The city's ties to Catholicism were reinforced by the city's mythic past, its iconography, and its wealth of sacred sites and institutions--the "shrines and bones" praised by the author of the fifteenth-century treatise about the city's attributes. The government tied itself explicitly to Biblical principles, and the city's public art reminded the governors and the governed of the importance of the Christian basis of government. The same treatise which identified the five primary characteristics of the city of Cologne contained a description of the city hall, which illustrated the city's strong self-image as a community which derived its legitimacy and its moral authority from its religion. The "forefathers" (vurvadern), the mayors and council members who established the city government, set up an earthly government in accordance with the law of God. So that all of their descendants would forever remember the principles upon which the city's government rested, the forefathers ordered a series of

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<sup>21</sup>Alfred Haverkamp, "'Heilige Städte' im hohen Mittelalter," in Mentalitäten im Mittelalter: methodische und inhaltliche Probleme, ed. Frantisek Graus (Sigmaringen:Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1987), 122-123.

eight signs to be painted and hung along the steps leading to the city council's chamber. These signs displayed proverbs "taken from the Scriptures," to guide the members of the council in their actions. The eight proverbs, only three of which actually came from the Bible, reveal the close ties between religious authority and civic authority in Cologne. They both implied limits upon the power of the government, and urged the populace to comply with the just government of the city.

The treatise reported the eight proverbs in Latin, translated them into German, and then explained them in German. The first proverb came from the account of the Sermon on the Mount, as recounted in the Gospel according to Matthew: Seek first the kingdom of the Lord, and the justice thereof (Matthew 6:33). The treatise went on to explain that the kingdom of God meant the holy Church, in which one should serve God and seek justice. The second proverb came from the book of Jesus Sirach (Ecclesiasticus): The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord (Jes. Sir. 1:16). This meant that God was the source of all wisdom, and that one should fear God in all things. The third proverb, which was not actually biblical, provided that one should take council slowly, and act swiftly on those things which the council decided. The German explication tied this proverb to God as well: when a thing had been considered well and with reference to God's wisdom, it should be carried out. The fourth proverb reminded the councilors and the people that the public good is always preferred to private benefit, and that a council member should always act for the good of the community (der gemeyn[de] beste) in all things. The fifth proverb reminded the councilors and the people that integrity of [public] action conquers the desire for change. The sixth proverb, which came from the Bible, and may have been from the New



Testament (Matthew 26:52; Romans 13:3-4; Revelation 13:10) or the Old Testament (Genesis 9:6; Exodus 21:12; Leviticus 24:17; Numbers 35:33), provided that a person who kills shall himself die.<sup>22</sup> The seventh proverb provided that matters considered by the council were to be kept secret. The eighth proverb assured the citizens and residents of Cologne that whoever gave up his life for the common good would receive eternal life. Those who acted in the common good (umb gemeynen beste) would have eternal life with God, forever and in joy.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Stein, Akten zur Geschichte und Verfassung der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 718-719. "(6) Equum est necis artificem arte perire sua: it is recht, dat eyn doitslager der kunst off eyn meister der shcal[k]heit vergenclich is in synre konst, dat is also zo verstein: so wer den anderen doitsleyt, dat man den wederumb doeden sall mit dem rechten." Stein, in his published version of the treatise, cites Matthew 26:52. ("Then said Jesus unto him, Put up again thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.") The sense of the "proverb" (spruch) seems to me to be closer to Genesis 9:6. ("Whoso shedeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made he man."). See also Exodus 21:12. ("He that smiteth a man, so that he die, shall be surely put to death."); Leviticus 24:17 ("And he that killeth any man shall surely be put to death."); Numbers 35:33 ("So ye shall not pollute the land where ye are: for blood it defileth the land: and the land cannot be cleansed of blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it."); Romans 13:3-4 ("For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same: For he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil.") Revelation 13:10 ("He that leadeth into captivity shall go into captivity: he that killeth with the sword must be killed with the sword. Here is the patience and the faith of the saints.")

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 718-719. "Ouch sy myt zo wissen, dat unss vurvaderen, burgermeister ind raitzheren myt yeren vrunden hat betracht ind bedacht noetz ind urber nakoemlyngen zo eynre ewiger gedechtniss zo bedencken ind zo behalden ind dem nazovolgen, so wanne burgermeister ind raitzheren in den rait suyllen gaen, 8 verssen, de 8 propheten, de da staynt up den hoeltzeren pylren up der trappen, ass man in de raitzkammer gayn sall, so hait eyn eycklich prophete synen spruch in synre hant, als herna geschreven

The treatise went on to say that the forefathers had required that city councilors must swear by God and the saints to uphold the honor of God, the honor of the city and the freedom of the city, and to work for the best interests of the community in all things.<sup>24</sup> The honor of God and the honor of the city were closely linked. Violence and injustice, for example, were contrary both

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steit, eyn eycklich besondern, ind dat iss genoemen uyss der hilligen schryfft tzo eynme gedechteniss: (1) *Primum querite regnum dei et justiciam eius*: in dem eyersten saltu suycken dat rich gotz, [dat] is de hillige kyrche, darin gode zo deynnen ind ouch de gerecht halden ind layssen sall. (2) *Inicium sapiencie tymor domini*: eyn begyn der wysheit is de frucht gotz, dat iss alsus zo verstain, dat in dem anbegyne iss geweist de wisheit by goede ind got iss de wisheit, darin dat man got in allen dyngen voerten sall. (3) *Oportet operari consiliata velociter, consiliare autem tarde*: de geraden sachen sal man geringe doen, wan it wail bedacht iss, mer man sall lansem raden, dat is alsus zo verstain: so wan eyn dynck myt goede ind wisheit wail besonnen ind bedacht iss, so sal man demvorthelpen sonder vertrecken. (4) *Utilitas publica private est semper preferenda*: die nutzicheit des gemeynnen besten iss alweige vorzokeren in allen sachen, dat iss alsus zo verstain: dat eyn eiklich raitzhere der gemeyn[de] beste vorkeren sal in allen sachen. (5) *Derogare cupienes vincit integritas actionis*: de volherdich is in synen wercken off in synen sachen, [p. 719] de verwynt allet, dat eym intgain off hynderlich is in dem rechten. (6) *Equum est necis artificem arte perire sua*: it is recht, dat eyn doitslager der kunst off eyn meister der shcal[k]heit vergenglich is in synre konst, dat is also zo verstain: so wer den anderen doitsleyt, dat man den wederumb doeden sall mit dem rechten. (7) *Fidum sit rey publice consistorium sylentique salubritate munitum*: de heymlicheit der raitzkameren de sal man halden myt gesyerder styller heylsamcheit, dat iss alsus zo verstain: wat also verdragen ind geslossen wirt, dat sal man hail halden, off da geboedenwirt, biss zo der oessdracht. (8) *Qui pro re publica perierunt perpetuo vivere intelliguntur*: Deghene, de hyeer vergenglich syn umb des gemeynen besten wille, de sullen alweige leven by goede in ewicheit ind vroeden."

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, 719. "Ouch so haint verdragen ind geoerdeneirt unsse vorvadere, dat eyn eicklich raitzman sweyren moiss tzo got ind den hilligen, gotz ere, der steide ere ind der stat vryheit tzo behalden ind eyn gemen best truwelichen vorzokeren ind zo besorgen in allen sachen."

to the honor of God and to the honor of the city.<sup>25</sup> After another paragraph discussing nature of the freedom of the city, and the limits on the power of the Council to dispense public funds, the treatise devoted sixteen paragraphs to discussing "the law of the city and the freedom of the citizenry" (der stadt recht ind der burger[e] vriheit). These paragraphs dealt with the liberty and property rights attached to city citizenship or residency, limited the right of appeal to courts outside the city, and required the representatives of the archbishop, insofar as their jurisdiction overlapped that of the city, to comply with proper procedures before they summoned citizens or residents to comply with their orders. The points covered by the treatise were not all arcane jurisdictional points; one paragraph addressed the apparently vexing problem of persons who persisted in jumping over the walls after the gates had been closed. Such persons had to be apprehended and dealt with according to law.<sup>26</sup>

The mingling of law and religious legitimacy, and the linking of the common good of the city and eternal salvation for its good residents placed the government and the community of Cologne firmly in a hierarchy which reached beyond the corporeal world and into the spiritual world. The laws of the city gained legitimacy because they reflected the justice of God. Cologne was not alone in its belief that the city was a part of a universal Christian cosmology. In her study of the political iconography of Regensburg in the age

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., 719. "Ind dit [is] zo ercleren: alle gewalt ind unrecht is weder de ere gotz ind auch weder der state ere."

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 721. "Ouch is der stat vryheit ind recht, offt sache were, dat yemant steiche oever der stat muyren uyss off in, wann de portzen geslossen synt, wa man den man kreige, den sal man offenbair rychten, as sich dat recht heyscht ind geburt."

of the Reformation, Kristin Zapalac demonstrates that the common iconography of the Last Judgment in city council chambers across Germany linked the government of the cities to the justice of God before the advent of the Reformation.<sup>27</sup> While the painted panels lining the staircase to Cologne's city council chamber did not include a Last Judgment, they linked the city to eternal judgment in the same way in which Last Judgment images linked the city to eternal judgment in other cities. The strong links between Catholicism and the civic community in Cologne were linked to the maintenance of this strong connection between governmental legitimacy and eternal judgment. The iconography of Cologne demonstrated the persistence of this connection.

The iconography of Cologne also demonstrates the city's position in the Christian cosmology. A striking woodcut, published with the 1499 Koelhoffsche Chronik, showed the city's pride in its sacred identity.<sup>28</sup> The woodcut, titled "The crown of thorns of Cologne," showed Christ on the cross, surrounded by two interlocking circles of thorns, forming the crown. Each point on the crown of thorns was labeled with the name of one of Cologne's churches or monastic foundations. The cathedral, at the top of the

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<sup>27</sup>Kristin Eldyss Sorensen Zapalac, "In His Image and Likeness": Political Iconography and Religious Change in Regensburg, 1500-1600 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 26-54.

<sup>28</sup>Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, ed., Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968), vol. 13, Cöln: Zweiter Band, 284-290. The Koelhoffsche Chronicle provides another description of "Holy Cologne." Unfortunately, the published Chronicle does not include the woodcuts. A copy of the crown of thorns woodcut is printed in Hiltrud Kier and Ulrich Krings, eds. Köln: Die Romanischen Kirchen: Von den Anfängen bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg (Köln: Verlag J. P. Bachem, 1984).

circle, is the first stop of what Professor Gérald Chaix, in his 1994 thèse d'État, "From the Christian City to the Catholic Metropolis: Religious Life and Civic Conscience in Sixteenth-Century Cologne," has identified as a circuit around the city. The points of the crown lead the reader from sacred place to sacred place, and define the city of Cologne as an entire sacred precinct, with Christ at its center.<sup>29</sup>

The religious basis of the communal identity of the city of Cologne was, in part, a function of the spiritual wealth of the city's religious institutions. Chaix called the wealth of sacred sites and objects Cologne's "sacred capital."<sup>30</sup> He argues that one of the major characteristics which distinguishes Cologne from other German cities is the "wealth of its sacred capital, measured by the number of buildings and by the number of relics preserved there." The importance of the city's religious character was

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<sup>29</sup>Gérald Chaix, "De la cité chretienne à la metropole catholique: vie religieuse et conscience civique à Cologne au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle" (Thèse pour le Doctorat d'État, Université des Sciences Humaines de Strasbourg, 1994), Plate IV and 52-62. Professor Chaix graciously provided me with a microfiche copy of his manuscript, which was unpublished at the time of this writing. I learned of his research after I completed my research in Cologne, and while I was writing this dissertation. He has used the wealth of Cologne's sources to analyze the evolution of the city from a community grounded in medieval Christianity to one grounded in modern Catholicism. I have relied on his comprehensive arguments about the importance of the interpretation of the city's history and iconography. I read his work on these topics just before attempting to revise my own early efforts at explaining the importance of the city's history and imagery. We reached similar, not identical conclusions, and he presented the data much more gracefully and with more authority than I had. Rather than attempting to duplicate his documentation, I have relied on his work to support my own. For another discussion of the "crown of thorns of Cologne," see Klaus Militzer, "Collen eyn kroyn boven allen steden schoyn. Zum Selbstverständnis einer Stadt," Colonia Romanica: Jahrbuch des Fördervereins Romanische Kirchen 1 (1986):18.

<sup>30</sup>Chaix, 7.

intensified because, unlike Nuremberg, with its emphasis on metallurgy, or Augsburg, with its strong identification as a financial center, Cologne's identity as a commercial or industrial center lacked a strong focus.<sup>31</sup> Certainly the city itself recognized that the cloth industry was the most important in the city; the Wollenamt Gaffel elected four members to the city council, while other Gaffeln elected only one or two. The multiplicity of traders and artisans active in Cologne, though, prevented the strong identification of the city with one trade. In this context, the old idea of Cologne as a holy city had the effect of creating a unifying identity for the city.

Fifteenth-century art showed the union of commerce and Christianity which comprised the image of Cologne. The most common view of the city in artists' renderings was from the Rhine side. Depictions of Cologne's Rhine shoreline showed a city crowded with beautiful buildings and bustling with riverborne commerce. All of the Rhine views show the characteristic skyline produced by the church towers of the city. In some views, pilgrims can be seen walking along the walls, or sailing on the Rhine. The eaves of sturdy and prosperous-looking houses peek above the city's strong walls. The walls themselves are fortified with towers and pierced with gates. Boats, occupied with trade or with fishing, ply the river. A painting of the martyrdom of St. Ursula, created by an anonymous Cologne artist around 1411, was the first work to include a recognizable depiction of the city. As seen from the Rhine, the city appears to be a large, rich metropolis, with numerous churches. Among the recognizable features of the urban skyline are the cathedral choir, the Benedictine monastic foundation of Groß St. Martin, the collegiate churches of St. Severin and St. Maria im Kapitol, and the parish churches of

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid., 40-41.

St. Maria Lyskirchen and St. Kunibert. The depiction of the city fills about two thirds of the artist's canvas; the martyrdom of St. Ursula, at the hands of the Huns, before the gates of the city occupies the right one-third of the scene. Pilgrims walk along the Rhine shore and, in the company of a monk and a bishop, sail in a boat on the Rhine. In this depiction, the city itself is as important as the story of the saint.<sup>32</sup>

Paintings with saintly motifs were not the only views of Cologne created in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In 1531, Anton Woesnam produced a large woodcut of the city's Rhine shoreline. He labeled the churches and the public buildings, depicted houses and churches in great detail, showed the boat traffic on the Rhine and tied up at the city's docks, the water mills in the river, and the shipbuilding activities on the shore. Busy people walk and ride along the causeway fronting the river. The impression one gains from this depiction of the city is one of economic power, social vitality, and religious devotion. All of these works show us Cologne as its prominent citizens, leaders, and advocates wished it to be seen. The city's public persona was that of a prosperous, pious, city, well-provisioned with those things needful both in this life and the next.<sup>33</sup>

One of the great works of art of fifteenth-century Cologne was the altarpiece, painted by Stephen Lochner. It depicted the city's patron saints, and it was displayed in the city council's chapel. The painting showed the Madonna and Child in the center panel, surrounded by the Three Kings, who

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<sup>32</sup>Hans Borger and Frank Günter Zehnder, Köln, die Stadt als Kunstwerk: Stadtansichten vom 15. bis 20. Jahrhundert 2d ed., (Cologne: Greven Verlag, 1986), 66-67.

<sup>33</sup>See Chaix, 33-38, for another discussion of the iconography of Cologne in the fifteenth century.

were the patrons of the city and whose relics rested in the cathedral. The wings of the altarpiece depicted St. Ursula and St. Gereon, two of the city's other patron saints. St. Gereon linked the city to its Roman and early Christian past. St. Gereon was one of the members of the mythical Theban Legion, who chose to die at Cologne rather than to obey Roman orders to persecute Christians. St. Ursula, virgin and martyr, also died at Cologne, purportedly with eleven thousand virgin companions. She had completed a pilgrimage to Rome, and died at the hands of the Huns just outside of Cologne.<sup>34</sup> The iconography of Cologne's patron saints emphasized the importance of early recognition of the truth of Christian teaching, and faithfulness to it even in the face of persecution and death. Cologne's patron saints were saints, not simply of Christian virtue, but of perseverance in the face of danger, persecution and doubt. They formed an important part of the city's identity in the face of the challenges to Cologne's Catholicism in the sixteenth century.

Professor Chaix argues that in the late Middle Ages, Cologne became a Marian city. The explicit identification of the city with Mary, as demonstrated in the Lochner altarpiece, replaced the accumulation of sacred artifacts as the main dynamic of the cult of the saints in Cologne.<sup>35</sup> Mary did not, however, replace the local saints in the ritual life of the city, and local saints continued to be important intercessors for the city throughout the sixteenth century. Mary fit the pattern of Cologne's patron saints. She was the first person

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<sup>34</sup>Hiltgart L. Keller, Reclams Lexikon der Heiligen und der biblischen Gestalten: Legende und Darstellung in der bildenden Kunst (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1984), 252-253; 556-559. On the Lochner altarpiece, see Chaix, 69-74.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, 74-75.



entrusted with the knowledge of the incarnation of Christ. She was loyal to Christ from the beginning, and remained with him until the end. Like Gereon and Ursula, she was a saint of perseverance. The veneration of Mary in Cologne complemented the veneration of the local saints, including a series of early medieval archbishops of Cologne, as well as St. Gereon and St. Ursula. The relics of the archbishops Severin, Evergisel, Agilolf, and Heribert were often carried in the city's processions, along with the Blessed Sacrament. The veneration of a variety of saints, including local saints and universal saints, such as Mary and St. Peter, who was the original patron of the cathedral and who appeared on the city's seal, allowed the people of Cologne to maintain a sense of Cologne's unique sacred character and, at the same time, to develop links with the wider Catholic community.<sup>36</sup>

#### Membership in the Civic Community

The civic community in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Cologne was more than an abstract idea rooted in an idealized fourteenth-century governmental structure. Community membership was a social bond which people formed, reinforced, and demonstrated by participation in civic life and civic ritual. As anthropologists teach, conduct and profession of allegiance or of belief can produce social relationships as well as follow from them.<sup>37</sup> Civic

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<sup>36</sup>Militzer, 18-21. Militzer discusses the importance of both universal saints, such as Mary, and local saints, such as St. Ursula, St. Gereon, and the early archbishops of Cologne, as elements in the construction of Cologne's identity as a holy city. The Three Kings were both universal in their importance and local in their effect, because their relics were in the cathedral. Militzer argues that "Because they belonged to the identity of the city and had such great value in the consciousness of the populace, the city council made every effort to guard them [the relics] against alienation, theft or translation."

<sup>37</sup>Marshall Sahlins, "Introduction," in Islands of History, (Chicago:University of Chicago Press, 1985), vii-xix, xi, xii.

rituals, like many aspects of life in Cologne, had both secular and sacred aspects. Oath-taking was, for some people, an important ritual component of the membership in the civic community in Cologne. The Verbundbrief of 1396 incorporated the idea of Cologne as a sworn association, whose members were bound for the sake of the praise and honor of God, and the honor and freedom of the city, to protect the freedom of the city, and to act in the common good forever.<sup>38</sup> Oaths of loyalty were basic elements of the formation of the civic community. The duty to be loyal to the community and to act in its best interests was not limited to citizens (Bürger). Between the fourteenth and the early sixteenth centuries, Cologne's records frequently contained the word "sworn" (vereidete) rather than the word "citizen" or "resident" (Bürger, Eingesessene) to indicate community membership. Citizens were a special category of community members; one had to be a citizen to sit in the city council. The terms of the Verbundbrief, which mentioned citizens only twice, but discussed sworn association extensively, suggest that there were many more sworn residents of Cologne than there were citizens.<sup>39</sup>

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the city council was very concerned with sworn membership in the community. Government proclamations, called Morgensprachen (morning decrees or morning speeches), generally delivered from the steps of the city hall and sometimes printed as well, stressed the importance oath-taking. The number of

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<sup>38</sup>Stein, Akten zur Geschichte und Verfassung, vol. 1, 189. See also Joachim Deeters, "Das Bürgerrecht der Reichsstadt Köln seit 1396," Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, (Germanistische Abteilung) 104 (1987):3.

<sup>39</sup>Deeters, 3-4.

Morgensprachen dealing with oath-taking increased in 1475, when the city came under threat of conquest by Charles the Bold, who had besieged the nearby town of Neuss. The city government responded to the threat of war and conquest by insisting that residents publicly profess loyalty to the city. The city council sought to use the ritual of oath-taking to reinforce the bonds of the civic community. The council appointed officials, the Lords of the Unsworn (Herrn zu den Unverdeideten), also known as Oathmasters (Eidmeister), to track down residents of the city who had not sworn their loyalty to the community and to offer them the opportunity to do so. Refusal meant either a prison term or banishment.<sup>40</sup> The city promulgated comprehensive rules for determining who had to take an oath. Although most clerics were exempt from civic jurisdiction and were not required to take civic oaths, persons such as notaries and scribes, who may have had clerical status, but practiced their professions and had families in Cologne, were required to swear. Children still living with their sworn parents did not need to swear separately, but others, including foreign knights (auswendige Ritterschaft) who made their homes in Cologne from year to year were included in the duty to swear loyalty to the city. People who made their homes there on a temporary basis were required to swear a lesser oath of loyalty.<sup>41</sup> The requirement that all male residents of the city be sworn members of the community, whether or not they were citizens, suggests that although a hierarchical social structure determined who held political power in Cologne, the sense of community membership and community responsibility extended far along the social spectrum.

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 5-6.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 6-7.

For men, Gaffel membership was essential to political participation in Cologne, since city council members were elected by the Gaffeln. The Gaffeln were twenty-two political associations. Their structure was linked to the city's craft guilds, but was not identical to the guild structure. Men whose work fell outside the guild structure could choose their Gaffel freely. The political associations were the basis of political organization in Cologne, and they formed an important component of the web of associations which formed Cologne's collective identity. Gaffel membership was required of men who wanted to work in the city. Gaffel membership was also a sign of membership in the civic community. The Gaffeln, which were composed of and run by merchants and artisans, helped to enforce the requirement that workers and residents in the city be members of the sworn community. Gaffel members were forbidden to take unsworn workers as apprentices or as employees.<sup>42</sup> All servants, and children over the age of fifteen, had to take oaths of loyalty to the community. Women's servants were directed to swear their oaths before the Oathmasters themselves, or else before the Gaffel of their mistresses' husbands.<sup>43</sup> The city council, in its efforts to define, and perhaps to control, the civic community in Cologne, was careful to be inclusive in its imposition of the duty to swear loyalty to the city. It used the Gaffel and guild structures to extend the reach of the city authorities, and to construct a web of associations linked to the city, with civic community membership at its center.

The question of oath-taking among persons who claimed citizenship by right of birth (geborene Bürger) illustrates the web of interconnected

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., 6-7.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., 7.

associations which made up the civic community in Cologne. Although the city has preserved extensive citizenship records for people who purchased their citizenship (gegoldene Bürger), there are no equivalent records for geborene Bürger. Cologne, in spite of its apparent interest in maintaining a sworn community, did not have annual an annual ceremony at which citizens and residents reaffirmed their oaths. As the sixteenth century progressed, men who claimed citizenship by right of birth, may have simply taken their oaths as members of a Gaffel, without taking a separate, formal oath of loyalty to the city.<sup>44</sup>

The diary of Hermann von Weinsberg (1518-1598), a sixteenth-century businessman from Cologne, indicates that the choice of Gaffel, as well as the timing of the oath-taking, was a complex one, hemmed in with social, familial, professional, and political considerations. Weinsberg took his oath to the Gaffel Schwarzhaus in 1543, when the city made a major effort to enforce the requirement that all residents and citizens (inwoner und burger in Collen) be sworn members of the community.<sup>45</sup> The timing of his affirmation of community membership is significant, because in 1543, the Archbishop of Cologne, Hermann von Wied, had taken communion in both kinds, embraced the teachings of the Protestant Reformers, and begun his efforts to introduce the Reformation into Cologne. Weinsberg reported that the archbishop's efforts to introduce the Reformation, including his invitation to Martin Bucer to come to Bonn and to preach in the manner of the Augsburg Confession upset many people in the city and archdiocese of

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<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>45</sup>Konstantin Höhlbaum, ed., Das Buch Weinsberg: Kölner Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem 16. Jahrhundert (Leipzig:Verlag von Alphons Dürr, 1886), vol. 1, 192-194.

Cologne.<sup>46</sup> The city's reaction to this threat to the religious and civic community resembled its response to the military threat posed by Charles the Bold in 1475: it increased its efforts to reinforce the loyalty of the city's residents to the civic community. Hermann von Weinsberg had apparently not been sworn earlier because he was a student, and was in minor clerical orders. In 1543, however, he was advised (it is unclear by whom) that he should no longer avoid taking the oath. He chose the Gaffel Schwarzhaus, to which his father belonged. He noted that it was listed third in the Verbundbrief, that it had a lovely large house, and a distinguished history. The guild was originally a mixed guild, including both merchants, largely in the wine trade, and craftsmen, especially dyers who worked with the city's characteristic blue fabric dye.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid., 193. "1543 hat her Herman von Weidt, erzbischof zu Coln, durch angebung etlicher siner rete Martinum Bucerum, einen evangelischen predikanten, in das erzstift Coln beroifen und in der stat Bon uff die weise der Auspergischer confession predigen laissen und ein neuwerung im stift angericht, daran sich vil in der stat und stift Coln geargert hatten."

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 194-195. "1543 den lesten maji hab ich minen eit bei die erpare gesellschaft und gaffel des Swarzenhaus getain. Dan es wart domails hefftich angehalten, das alle unvereidte inwoner und burger in Collen ire eide uff ein gaffel doin sulten. Derhalber wart mir geraten, ich sult mich darin nit weigern, dan vil doctores, licentiaten und der fursten und herschaften rede hin und widder sin vereidet, moisten ire eide doin. Derwegen folgte ich ires raitz, erwelte disse gaffel und wart ein geboren und vereidet burger. Min fatter und dergin sint beide uff disser gaffeln vereidet gewest, der ursachen gefiele sei mir auch bess dan andern. Disse gaffel ist die dritte im verbuntbreif, haben ire behausung vur den Augustinern uber, ein herlich groisse gebeu mit einen bongarten, gehatt, wilchs folgens von der gesellschaft komen durch unordnung in den vorigen uffleufen . . . Vurmails ist uff dissem gaffelhaus ein groisse herliche gesellschaft gewest van alten zeiten, dan man findet noch etlicher graven schilder da hangen, als Virnenberch, Seine, Nuwenar, auch rittermeissigen, als die Harffen, Rommel, Katz, Juden, alle die Wasserfassen, davon 4 burgermeister gewesen, haben alle uff diss haus gehort; auch alle weidener, das sint ferber, die mit dem weit umgangen,

One's initial choice of Gaffel was important, since changing one's membership was forbidden, initially by the Gaffeln themselves, and then, in 1467, by the council.<sup>48</sup> Indecision about Gaffel membership, though, did not exclude men from the civic community. Hermann von Weinsberg's brother, Christian, was apprenticed to an artisan in the wool trade, although the von Weinsberg family was not in the cloth business. The apprenticeship did not work out and after four years, Christian, disenchanted with the trade, left his apprenticeship. This did not, however, mean that he was not a citizen. In 1540, Hermann, Christian, and their three brothers had been taken to the Rheinmeister, a city official whose duties included maintaining the rolls of the Weinschule, the organization which controlled the right to import wine into the city. In the presence of the Rheinmeister, two witnesses swore to the brothers' status as "born citizens." The right of excise-free importation was an exclusive perquisite of citizenship. Weinsberg suggests that inscription in the list of Weinschule members was equivalent to recognition of one's citizenship.<sup>49</sup>

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auch blaferber und der gleichen. Eiz die gesellschaft so klein gewest, das man nehe gaffel gehalten hat an vil jaren, quam mit me emans uff die gaffel dan christmissen und Johansmess, wan man raitzheren kore; dan quam jederman van der gesellschaft und dem moist man frei anrichten und er gab nichtz darvan."

<sup>48</sup>Ludwig Arentz, Die Zersetzung des Zunftgekankens Nachgewiesen an dem Wollenamt und der Wollenamtsgaffel in Köln (Köln: Verlag des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins, 1935), 76-77.

<sup>49</sup>Höhlbaum, Das Buch Weinsberg, vol. 1, 145-146. "1540 als min fatter Christian van Swelme reinmeister war, hat er mich samt minen 3 brodern, Christian, Gotschalk, und Jheronimum van Weinsberch, uns alle vier, in der weinscholen in der Rhingassen als vurgeborenen burger mit namen und zunamen Weinsberg laissen inschriben umb unser burgerfreiheit und auch das nemans wein zappen mois er sei dan ingeschriben. Lenhart van Bracht und Peter Beickhusen waren die gezeugen, die sulches bei iren eiden moisten

The city council, the police and taxation officials, and the trade and political associations were not the only structures in Cologne which contributed to the maintenance of a cohesive civic community. Religious institutions played major roles in maintaining the civic community. The Oathmasters met four times a year with the Churchmasters, laymen elected by the residents of each of the city's parishes to attend to the parish's administrative business. Together, the Oathmasters and the Churchmasters made sure that all residents of the city's parishes were sworn community members. There were nineteen parishes in Cologne; by early modern German standards, this was an unusually large number.<sup>50</sup> By comparison, Augsburg and Trier each had six, Lübeck had five, and Nuremberg had only two in the sixteenth century.<sup>51</sup> The parishes, like the Gaffeln, were smaller associations within the civic community, in which people knew the other members. If a stranger were among them, parish residents were likely to know. Although the parishes were not the basis of political representation in Cologne, the city took advantage of parish structure, and used the priests and their pulpits to make general civic announcements about purely secular subjects, such as the need to keep buckets of water at hand in case of fire. Parishes were an important part of communal life in Cologne, and the identification of residents with a parish and a local community was an integral part of the residents' sense of identity. Herman von Weinsberg, for example, considered his parish affiliation to be a part of his vital statistics,

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bekennen Ich bin selbst nit geganzwordich gewest, dan die rheinmeister und schriben kanten mich alle wol, aber min 3 broder waren dar, hatten ein keidung an, swarze wollen paltrock, gel hosen, gra hode."

<sup>50</sup>Leonard Ennen, "Das alte Pfarrsystem in der Stadt Köln," Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein 23 (1871):23-45.

<sup>51</sup>Diedrich, "Stift-Kloster-Pfarrei," 17-78.



along with the details of "when and where [he] was born, baptized, confirmed and reared."<sup>52</sup>

Family membership could also carry membership in the civic community with it. Family connections seem to have been especially important for the establishment of women's membership in the civic community (although they were not the only means by which women established community membership). Women, although they were excluded from the political power structure, were sometimes sworn residents of Cologne. Women could be citizens; their names appear in lists of new citizens, albeit in small numbers, throughout the early modern period. Wives and widows could also obtain citizenship, and although the records are not clear on this point, it is possible that the daughters of citizens were considered to be citizens. The rituals of inclusion involving women were not always the straightforward civic oath-taking used by men. In one early fifteenth-century case, the status of women as daughters of citizens was sufficient to bring their intended husbands, who were not residents of Cologne, and whose families were apparently under suspicion of participation in "uproars" against the city government, into the civic community. In 1401, the council allowed a petitioner to give his daughters in marriage to the sons of non-resident citizens of Cologne. The prospective sons-in-law, because of recent "uproars" in the city, were not allowed to enter the city without the express permission of the council and the community. The council allowed the soon-to-be sons-in-law to remain in the city on the

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<sup>52</sup>Höhlbaum, Das Buch Weinsberg, vol. 1, 5, 7, 24.

same terms as all other citizens and residents.<sup>53</sup> The community was flexible enough to include outsiders, if the appropriate rituals were followed. This political decision had religious aspects, since it turned on the religious sacrament of marriage between insiders and outsiders. By marrying women from a Cologne family in good standing, two outsiders became insiders.

The legal standing of women was not entirely dependent upon marriage. Women had legal standing in their own right, were subject to the same laws as men, and were competent to testify in courts, make wills, serve as executors of wills, and be named legal guardians of children.<sup>54</sup> They also participated in the web of associations which made up the civic community. In some trades, especially those associated with household production, women could enter business independently, and achieve relatively high economic and social status. There were also women's guilds which were not members of the Gaffeln, including the gold spinners, the silk weavers, and the yarnmakers. These guilds were organized as craft guilds, but excluded

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<sup>53</sup>Manfred Huiskes, ed., Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln 1320-1550 (Düsseldorf:Droste Verlag, 1990), vol. 1, Die Ratsmemoriale und ergänzende Überlieferung, 57-58. October 29, 1401. Ratsmemoriale 1. "Henrich vanme Spiegel van Rodenburgh darf seine beiden Töchter an Söhne auswärtiger Kölner Bürger verheiraten (bestaden), die sich wegen des ersten und letzten Aufruhrs (uplouff) ohne sondere Erlaubnis des Rates und der Gemeinde nicht in der Stadt aufhalten dürfen; die beiden Schwiegersöhne dürfen sich in Köln niederlassen wie andere Bürger und Eingesessene." Huiskes reported the contents of the entries, rather than providing a full edition. The spelling and word modernizations are his.

<sup>54</sup>Edith Ennen, The Medieval Woman trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 173-175; Hugo Stehkämper, Heinrich Kirschner, Bernhard Diemer and Gerd Müller, ed., Kölner Neubürger, 1356-1798 (Cologne:Böhlau Verlag, 1975), xii; Margret Wensky, Die Stellung der Frau in der Stadtkölnischen Wirtschaft im Spätmittelalter (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1980), 13-15.

form the political structure of the city.<sup>55</sup> Margret Wensky, in her study of The Status of Women in the Economy of the City of Cologne in the Late Middle Ages, concluded that "the legal standing of Cologne's women was very favorable; with the exception of access to the Council, and so to political office, they possessed full civil rights and duties, which allowed them to proceed with trade and business, unlimited and unhindered."<sup>56</sup> In an age when not all men were citizens and not all men exercised political power, the degree of economic and legal standing enjoyed by women in Cologne suggests that they too were members of the civic community.

Oath-taking was sometimes voluntary. In other cases, people were induced to take a formal oath by economic pressure exerted by the Gaffeln, police pressure exerted by the Oathmasters, or peer and religious pressure exerted by the Churchmasters. Oath-taking was not, however, the only means of demonstrating the existence of a civic community in Cologne. The records of the city council, which record the problems that people brought to the council for solution, as well as the council's resolutions, are among the most valuable records from early modern Cologne. The long series of city council resolutions (Ratsbeschlüsse, Ratsmemoriale, Ratsprotokolle) are preserved in fragmentary form from as early as 1320, and exist in full from 1513 on, with the exception of the years between Christmas of 1520 and early 1523, for which the most of the records are lost. Before 1513, recordkeeping was sketchy and cryptic. The records seem to have been intended to remind the councilors what action had been taken on various problems, rather than

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<sup>55</sup>Martha C. Howell, Women, Production and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 129-130.

<sup>56</sup>Wensky, 318.

to provide a full record of proceedings. Beginning in 1513, after a successful uprising by Gaffel members in protest of the increasingly closed oligarchy that was running the government, the council made a greater effort to record its actions and decisions, if not its full deliberations. The city council's records provide glimpses into city life, as Cologne dealt with problems ranging from broad policy decisions to mundane details of daily life. The Ratsprotokolle and their forerunners, the Ratsmemoriale, show the council's concern with membership in the community and the duties and obligations it carried.

### Ritual and the Civic Community

Over the course of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, one of the major concerns of the city council was the spiritual health of the city. The council's interest in questions of religious belief and behavior indicates that orthodoxy and orthopraxy were important elements of membership in the civic community. The range of the council's activity shows that questions of religious observance, civil jurisdiction, civic duty, and community membership were interwoven, so that it is impossible to say that there was one urban view of religion, or that religious concerns were separate from civic concerns generally.

The city council reinforced the idea of Cologne as a united Catholic community by sponsoring or participating in public rituals, such as processions, which had both religious and civic character. Public rituals emphasized the close relationship between religious observance and the city's welfare. Participation in rituals was a privilege reserved to members in good standing in the community, and therefore the rituals helped to define the boundaries of the community. These rituals marked important

transformations in the life of the community, celebrated the city's government, and maintained the city's spiritual health.

In 1431, the city council faced an emergency for which it had no precedent. Wenemar van dem Birboume, one of the city's two mayors, died while in office. The city council kept careful records of what it did, so that people in the future would know how such a serious situation should be handled. Before setting out the details of the procession and Masses to be held, it stated its concern that the burial be carried out "in keeping with the honor of the city and the community."<sup>57</sup> The council, the remaining mayor, the city office holders, and the "friends" of the council gathered at seven in the morning, dressed in their holiday best, to pick up the body and process with it from the house where the mayor had died, first to the house of the Lungenbrüder, a religious order whose members provided accompaniment for corpses on their way to burial, and then to the parish church of St. Alban, where the deceased mayor would be buried. The marchers carried fourteen candles, and a piece of black damask silk covered the bier. After the delivery of the body to St. Alban, the friends and family of the deceased stayed there for services, while the council members adjourned to St. Maria im Kapitol, a convent church. There, in the presence of another bier, with candles and black damask cloths, priests said Masses. The candles, provided to honor the mayor at the service, also provided an opportunity for civic charity, because after the services, they were distributed to the nuns of St. Maria im Kapitol, and the representatives of the mendicant orders. The council's own chapel

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<sup>57</sup>Huiskes, Die Ratsmemoriale, 142-143. June 6, 1431. Ratsmemoriale 1. "Weil bisher kein Bürgermeister während seiner Amtszeit gestorben ist, wurde beraten, wie er der Stadt und der Gemeinde zu Ehren würdig begraben und begangen werden soll."

and the parish of St. Alban also received candles from the service. The city council provided an endowment for three priests to sing a Mass at the high altar of St. Maria im Kapitol, and directed that Masses be read at all of the other altars. Each of the priests and nuns at St. Maria im Kapitol received a gift of two silver pennies from the city's funds. The council requested that all of the servants of the mayors, the gatekeepers and the members of collegiate churches and nuns come to a Mass for the mayor's soul, for the sake of honor of the city.<sup>58</sup>

In 1471, the council's copious records of the 1431 funeral were needed, because the mayor, Johan van Breyde, died in office. The city followed the pattern set out in 1431, as the council and city officials accompanied the mayor's corpse to the Dominican church, where the mayor was buried. The council noted that this time, the corpse was guided by thirty pairs of singing Dominicans, the usual complement of Lungenbrüder, the mayor's son, four servants with hoods pulled over their heads, twelve pairs of priests in choir robes and the priest of St. Kolumba. Behind the clerical contingent came city workers, dressed in their official clothing, then the members of the council and the city officials. After discussions about which clerics had to be invited to participate in the ceremonies, the council decided that while most of the clergy who were invited to participate in the first procession should be invited again, the prelates of the cathedral chapter should not be invited, because they were involved in a long-standing dispute over the cathedral's rents, which had resulted in the chapter's excommunication.<sup>59</sup> Persons not

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<sup>58</sup>Ibid., 142-143. June 6, 1431. Ratsmemoriale 1. "Dies wurde eingetragen, damit man sich später richtig zu verhalten weiß."

<sup>59</sup>Huiskes, Die Ratsmemoriale, 442-446. March 6-8 1471, March 11, 1571. Ratsmemoriale 1. and Ratsmemoriale 2. "Die Prälaten des Domstiftes

in good standing, either with the church or with the community, were not welcome to participate in communal activities. The development of the idea of funerals and Masses as public, civic affirmations of community can be seen in these two official funeral accounts. The participation of large groups of people, from all walks of life, was important in both cases. Ceremony, pomp, religious observance, civic honor, and civic identity were all linked in the public processions sponsored by the city council.

Happy political occasions, as well as sad ones, provided opportunities to demonstrate the strength of the civic community. The city instituted annual processions to celebrate the relief of Charles the Bold's siege of Neuss, a city near Cologne, in 1475, and the successful quelling of an uprising in Cologne in 1482. These processions, held on the eve of the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul and on the eve of Pentecost, specifically commemorated the political survival of Cologne. The council recited that it endowed the processions

For the praise, honor and worthiness of almighty God and the glorious mother of our dear lord Jesus Christ and all the saints, who have spilled their blood in and around the worthy city of Cologne, and who rest and lie buried here, and in diligent thanks for the great shining mercy that almighty and eternal God has recently shown us . . . .<sup>60</sup>

The procession started early in the morning at the city hall. The members of the council, city officials and city employees were directed to appear in their

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sollen nicht geladen werden, weil sie sich seit langem wegen des Streites mit den Domrentenempfängern im Bann befinden."

<sup>60</sup>Stein, *Akten zur Geschichte und Verfassung*, vol. 1, 519-521. "Dem almechtigen gode ind der glorioser moder unss lieven heren Jhesu Christi ind allen heilghe, die yre bloit bynnen und umb die wyrdige stat Coelne her gesturzt haint, die auch daselbs resten ind begraven lygent, zo love, eren ind wirkicheit ind zo vlyssliger danckbairheit der groisser schymberglicher gnaden, uns der almechtige ewige got nu bynnen kortz bewyst hait . . ."

holiday clothing, and to process first to the chapel of St. Boniface, and then into the cathedral. The procession moved to the shrine of the Three Kings, to the high altar, and then to the choir, where the participants knelt down to pray. After the prayer, the procession continued to the council's chapel, where priests said a Mass in honor of the city government. The council's endowment of the Mass specified that prayers should be said in honor of the city's freedom and in honor of the government, which acted for the common good.<sup>61</sup>

The route of these two processions demonstrates the combined religious and civic nature of community rituals. The processions, both of which were held to commemorate political victories by the ruling government, moved from the civic space of the city hall to the chapel of St. Boniface. St. Boniface was the apostle to the Germans, credited with bringing Christianity to the German lands in the eighth century. The city council supported the chapel of St. Boniface in Cologne, and the procession route from the city hall to the chapel demonstrated the mingling of civic and religious duty. After devotions at the chapel, the procession moved to the religious space of the cathedral. The marchers made a special stop at the

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<sup>61</sup>Ibid., 519-521. "... so seullen die dry prystere, vicarien derselver cappellen, bereyt hain zo dem altaer, as zemlich ind eirlich is, aldae sall men asdanne aenheven ind syngen eyne misse van u.l. frauwen ind dairin rucken die collecte vur alle diegene, die van dem regimente dieser heilger stat geweist ind uiss diesem leven verscheiden synt, dat yn got allen gnedlich und barmhertzlich wyn wille, ind dighenen noch in leven syn, dat sy also regiren muessen, dat der almechtige got daevanne geeirt ind dat gemeyne gut danaff gebessert werde. . . . item eyne collecte van dem vreden, dat uns der almechtige got vrede ind eyndracht verlenen muesse, diese heilge stat in vreden ind eyndrechticheit zu regieren, ind wanne die misse uyss is, so sall man syngen: salve regina mit dem versykell ind gewoenlicher collecten, ind wann sulchs uyss is, so seulden unse heren mit yren dieneren ind anderen heym ghayn."



shrine of the Three Kings, who had been patron saints of the city since their bones were moved to Cologne from Milan in the twelfth century. The procession stopped again at the high altar, the site of the high Mass and the center of ritual life in the cathedral. After a stop in the choir for prayer, the marchers moved out of the sacred space of the cathedral and into the space of the council's own chapel, near the city hall. The council's chapel was built on the site of the former Cologne synagogue, after the city expelled the Jews in 1424. The chapel symbolized the Christian unity of the city, and the service there combined religious and civic elements, as a Mass was held to thank the Lord for the survival of the good government of the city. The combination of sacred and secular in Cologne's imagined community is evident in the structure of these processions.

Processions could be part of the city's participation in political activities that reached beyond the city of Cologne. In February of 1481, the city planned and participated in a festive procession for the entry into the city of the newly elected Archbishop of Cologne, Hermann von Hessen. The marchers included city officials and representatives of religious orders with houses in the city. The city officials and the religious representatives met the new archbishop at the gate of the city, and guided him, along with the pallium, which the cathedral chapter had received from Rome, to the cathedral. The procession ended with a ceremony at the cathedral, where the archbishop-elect "stood in the midst of singing choirs while the pallium was laid on the high altar and shown three times" by one of the cathedral canons, the papal bull confirming the archbishop's election was read to the people, and a Mass

was sung in honor of the Virgin.<sup>62</sup> The participation of representatives of the city in the investiture of the archbishop, and in particular, the council's care to see that city officials met the archbishop at the gates of the city and escorted him to the Cathedral, was characteristic of the city's careful dealings with the archbishop. The archbishop was an ever-present threat to the independence of the city, and the members of the city council wanted to make sure that all of the city's prerogatives were respected. The city's strong identity, both as an independent political entity and as a strongly Catholic entity, developed in opposition to the perceived (and sometimes real) threat that the archbishop would absorb the city into his dominions.<sup>63</sup>

Political events were not the only occasions for processions in the city. Processions commemorating feasts in the church year also served as opportunities to reinforce the concept of the sacred community. The council participated in or sponsored annual processions on the feast of St. Boniface and the day of the Gottestracht, the city's major annual host procession, which was held just after Easter. A week after the Gottestracht, there was a relic procession with the head of St. Silvester, and accompanying church services. In addition to the annual processions, the council participated in ad hoc processions. In March of 1480, the council appointed leaders from different areas in the city to participate in a sacrament procession around the city<sup>64</sup> Unfortunately, none of the sacrament processions were described in

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<sup>62</sup>Huiskes, Die Ratsmemoriale, 641-642. February 6, 1481. Ratsmemoriale 3.

<sup>63</sup>See Scribner, "Why Was There No Reformation in Cologne?" 217-241 for a discussion of the tense and often adversarial relationship between the city of Cologne and the Archbishop of Cologne.

<sup>64</sup>Huiskes, Die Ratsmemoriale, 626. March 6, 1480. Ratsmemoriale C17. "Als Hauptleute für die 4 Wachbezirke bei der Sakramentsprozession

much detail until the early part of the sixteenth century. In January 1513, the city council, at the suggestion of the cathedral chapter, announced its intention of taking part in a host and relic procession, and noted that the "council and community" would carry the holy sacrament and a selection of relics from the city's churches from the Cathedral to the church of St. Maria im Kapitol.<sup>65</sup> There, the assembly heard a Mass and a sermon. The council and the community reserved the right to choose the topic of the sermon, although they did not record the topic they chose. All of the participants in the procession received an indulgence freeing them from 40 days in purgatory. The council and the community also took the responsibility of seeing that all of the cloisters and parish churches along the path of the procession set their reliquaries outside before the procession, and that the relics to be carried in the procession arrived at the cathedral by 7:00 on the morning of the procession.<sup>66</sup> On the day of the sacrament procession, the

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um die Stadt wurden gewählt: Niederich: Dries van Kerpen und Gobel Kranenmecher; St. Brigiden: Johan Keseman und Peter Kallenberg; Schützenhof: Coenrat van Brenich und Johan van Berchem [zum] Pappegeye, Airsburg: Godart Rodenkirchen und Joohan van Lovenich."

<sup>65</sup>Manfred Groten, ed., Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln 1320-1550 (Düsseldorf:Droste Verlag, 1989), vol. 2, 1513-1520, 5. January 18, 1513. Rpr. 1A. "Der Domdechant beewilligt eine Heiligentracht. Sie soll an Conversio Pauli [25. Jan.] stattfinden. Rat und Gemeinde wollen das hl. Sakrament vom Dom bis nach St. Maria tragen lassen, dazu die Heiligen Severin, Kunibert, Agilolf, Evergisel und Albinus. Der Domdechant mag die Zustimmung des Erzbischofs einholen."

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., 6. January 20, 1513. Rpr. 1A. "Der Domdechant läßt Gerhart vamme Wasservas [a member of Gaffel Schwarzhaus] and Gerhart van Ercklentz [a member of Gaffel Himmelreich, who had been elected to the Rat at Christmas 1512] in der Domdechanei vom Offizial Dr. Kirstgin Boumheuwer erklären: Der Klerus ist zur Heiligentracht bereit. Der Konsens des Erzbischofs liegt vor. Der Klerus verzichtet auf die Kerzenstümpfe und die Präzens, jedoch unbeschadet seiner Rechte für die Zukunft. Der Weihbischof wird das hl. Sakrament vom Dom bis nach St. Maria tragen und

citizens carried twelve large processional candles (tortysen) and four smaller candles (kerzen) to guide the host and the relics along the way. The relics and the host were also accompanied by the entire city council, and a large group of officials, including the holders of the city's fiscal offices, judges, police officials, and University leaders, also took part in the procession. An equally large number of people accompanied each saint's relics, but the records are, unfortunately, silent about who those people were. Council records note that in spite of a streak of rainy weather, the skies cleared in time for the procession and the rain did not return until all of the relics had been returned to their home churches.<sup>67</sup>

The communal nature of the procession was underscored by the council's careful exclusion of people who were not members of the community. For example, two boatmen, who had been banished by the Council for reasons not recorded, were prohibited from participating in the procession.<sup>68</sup> The Cologne city council maintained its concern about the

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dort die Messe lesen. Rat und Gemeinde sollen den Gegenstand der Predigt bestimmen. Allen Teilnehmern sind ein vierzigstägiger Ablass gewährt. Rat und Gemeinde sollen dafür sorgen, daß die Klöster am Prozessionsweg ihre Heiligtümer ausstellen und daß die Reliquien um 7 Uhr früh im Dom eintreffen." See also *ibid.*, 7. January 24, 1513. Rpr 1A. "Die Klöster und Pfarrkirchen am Weg der Heiligentracht sollen ihre Heiligtümer ausstellen."

<sup>67</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, 7. January 25, 1513. Rpr. 1A. "Es herrscht Regenwetter, das aber während der Heiligentracht aufklärt. Als alle Heiligen bis auf St. Kunibert wieder in ihren Kirchen sind, setzt der Regen wieder ein. Das hl. Sakrament und die Reliquien begleiten je zwölf große tortysen und vier Kerzen. Die Geistlichen verzichten unbeschadet ihrer Rechte für die Zukunft auf die Strümpfe der tortysen. Die Ratsherren, die 23 Geschichten im Rat, die Beisitzer beider Rentkammern, die Ratsrichter, die Gewaltmeister und vier Doktoren nehmen an der Prozession teil, bei jedem Heiligen gleich viele Personen."

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.*, 6. January 21, 1513. Rpr. 1. "Die des Rates verwiesenen Schiffer Goebel Smitgin und Gerhart v. Segen werden in ihrer Eigenschaft als Amtleute auf der Weyerstraße nicht zum Tragen der Heiligen zugelassen."

right to participate in civic processions well into the sixteenth century. As the Protestant Reformation spread, and the possibility of religious dissent became real and threatening, the council imposed an explicit religious test for community membership. In 1530, the council linked proper religious belief and behavior to community membership by ruling that, in addition to agitators and critics of the council, persons who abused or insulted "almighty God, his sacraments and his blessed Mother, and all Beloved God's saints" were forbidden to participate in civic processions.<sup>69</sup>

In Cologne, the government continued to endow community activities, such as processions or Masses, after many other cities abandoned the practice. Bernd Moeller has suggested that Strasbourg continued such endowments relatively late, and cites "the sixth and last" city council-sponsored Mass of 1513, which the Strasbourg council endowed "for the praise and honor of the holy Trinity and the salutary longevity of the blessed government."<sup>70</sup> The Cologne council, in contrast, added new Masses and processions, and financed old ones, much longer. The procession on the feast of Corpus Christi, and the procession with the head of St. Silvester were

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Banishment in Cologne was often temporary; it is possible that community members who were temporarily banished could be in the general area and seek to participate in the procession with their comrades. While the records are not clear on this point, it is possible that the council was reminding the boatmen that banishment, while temporary, was serious while it was in effect.

<sup>69</sup>Gerd Schwerhoff, Köln im Kreuzverhör: Kriminalität, Herrschaft und Gesellschaft in einer frühneuzeitlichen Stadt (Bonn: Bouvier Verlag, 1991), 249, citing Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln (HASTK) Verfassung und Verwaltung V 126b, fol. 251b und fol. 253b; Verf. u. Verw. V 127, fol 48a; Ratsedikte 1, fol.166f. und fol. 128.

<sup>70</sup>Bernd Moeller, "Kleriker als Bürger," in Festschrift für Hermann Heimpel zum 70. Geburtstag zum 19. September 1971, ed. Max Planck-Institut für Geschichte (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 207.

annual events throughout the sixteenth century. Although they are noted less frequently in the city council records, the processions on feast of St. Boniface and the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul also appear to have remained in the city's festival calendar throughout the century. The calendar could become crowded with processions. In 1524, the council held the St. Boniface procession on the day before the saint's day, because the council was committed to participate in another host procession on the feast day.<sup>71</sup> The council's sponsorship of, and participation in, public religious ritual continued to tie the city of Cologne to the Catholic faith in a public way. In the absence of an annual civic oath day, they also served as the city's main opportunities for the public expression of civic solidarity and identity. The deterioration of the sacred community, which Bernd Moeller noted in the cities of southern Germany, does not appear to have happened in Cologne.

The construction of the civic identity of the city of Cologne had its roots in the city's past. The city's constitutional structure, its commitment to the idea of an inclusive community, its tense relationship with the archbishop, its place in the Empire, and its sacred capital all contributed to the idea that Cologne was a holy city. The government and the residents reinforced both the idea of sacrality and the idea of community by combining religious and civic imagery in the city's rituals. The combination of historic self-consciousness and active reinforcement of sacrality and community gave Cologne a strong basis with which to resist the upheavals of the Protestant Reformation.

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<sup>71</sup>Groten, *Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln*, vol. 2, 117. June 1, 1524. Rpr. 5. "Die Bonifatiusprozession soll am Samstag gehalten werden, weil der Rat am Sonntag, dem Bonifatiusstag, an der Sakramentsprozession nach St. Laurenz teilnimmt."

## Chapter 3: The Challenge of the Reformation, 1520-1529

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During the sixteenth century, the Cologne community, which defined itself both in political terms and in religious terms, faced challenges to its stability and to its self-perception. The Protestant Reformation became a revolutionary movement with broad implications for change in ecclesiastical structures, daily religious observance, the organization of secular society, and in people's understanding of their place in the physical and spiritual worlds. The theological questions at the heart of the Reformation movement had far-reaching consequences, not only for the proper interpretation of doctrine and religious practice, but also for the organization of the Christian church in the world, and the organization of Christian political and social institutions.

Bernd Moeller argues that the breakdown of the sacred community in many of the cities in the German lands of the Holy Roman Empire made the cities especially susceptible to the appeal of the Protestant reformers. Cologne appears to be at odds with Moeller's thesis, since it was a large city, with a tradition of participation in government by the merchants and tradesmen who dominated the city's economic life, and with strong economic and political connections to other cities and principalities, both inside and outside the Holy Roman Empire. According to Moeller's thesis, one might expect Cologne to have adopted the Reformation, possibly in its Lutheran variant. Cologne, however, remained strongly Catholic throughout the age of the Reformation.

In Cologne, the city's strongly defined civic community, which did not break down in the fifteenth century, retained its connection with Catholicism even in the face of the Reformation. Cologne presents a case study in which the urban population's need for a defined community, with which city residents could identify and which provided a foundation for the religious and moral life of the city, was met within the city's traditional civic and Catholic structures and beliefs. In response to the challenge to tradition presented by Martin Luther and other reformers, Cologne's leaders defined the city's identity by linking the city more closely and more explicitly with Catholicism. Robert W. Scribner argues that Cologne's persistent Catholicism was the result of the city's antagonistic relationship with the Archbishop of Cologne, its ties to the Empire, the conservatism of its University-dominated clergy, and the effectiveness of the social control exercised by political elites.<sup>1</sup> While Moeller's analysis contributes important ideas about the construction and maintenance of sacred community, and Scribner's analysis is a partial explanation for Cologne's Catholicism, the story of Cologne in the sixteenth century is more complex than either of these analyses shows. The Catholic community in Cologne was the creation of the city council and of the city's inhabitants. With its history, its sacred capital, its religious and civic rituals, and its legal structure, the people of Cologne built a strong civic identity within the context of Catholicism. While no single factor can explain the persistence and the success of Cologne's vision of itself as a Catholic city, the combination of these factors produced a collective identity which bound

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<sup>1</sup>Robert W. Scribner, "Why Was There No Reformation in Cologne?," in Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany, ed. Robert W. Scribner (London: The Hambleton Press, 1987), 217-241.



Cologne to Catholicism by consensus rather than by political expedience or by coercion.

The city council acted in traditional ways to achieve this powerful fusion of civic and religious identity. It used the criminal law to enforce religious orthodoxy. Rituals, such as processions and Masses, sponsored by the city council, reinforced the close linkage between civic identity and religious identity. In an urban community, such as Cologne, the Reformation's attack on the sacramental and ritual practices of Catholicism was also an attack on the community itself. The city used religious ritual, which carried dual religious and political significance, to define the community and to demonstrate its unity and its sanctity. The response of the city to the challenge of the Reformation reflected both the religious conviction of the residents of Cologne, and the interconnected nature of the city's religious and political organization. The city council's efforts to control rituals and ceremonies sponsored by other groups within the city resulted in the centralization of power and of the city's symbolic identity within the city's political structures. While smaller groups, such as guilds, political associations and parishes remained important centers of group activity and identification for the residents of the city, the city itself held widely-recognized central authority over diverse groups within the urban community. The council emphasized the importance of individual membership in the urban community, and attempted to enforce the requirement that all residents take oaths of loyalty. It appealed to the civic and religious traditions of Cologne to support its actions. During the early years of the sixteenth century, the city council used these familiar methods to

link Cologne firmly to the Catholic faith, in direct response to the challenge from the outside presented by the Reformation.

### Cologne in the 1520s

During the 1520s, the teachings of Martin Luther, of his followers, and eventually, of other reformers, spread across the German lands. The religious unrest coincided with political unrest. The Emperor Maximilian I died in January, 1519, and Charles V was elected emperor in June, 1519.<sup>2</sup> Charles visited Cologne shortly after his coronation at Aachen in October, 1520; his visit coincided with the public burning of Luther's works by the theological faculty of the University of Cologne.<sup>3</sup> This spectacular reception of the teachings of the Reformation in Cologne was not followed by diligent or systematic institutional repression of the new teaching. While the University theologians, who orchestrated the burning of the books, were convinced that Luther's teachings were heretical and dangerous, the city council did not share the University's alarm. The city council records are silent on the subject of the burning of the books, though the council was very interested in the logistical details of the new emperor's visit to the city. The city authorities' interest in the new religious teachings grew slowly during the 1520s. While the authorities were consistent in their attempts to maintain

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<sup>2</sup>For a summary of the election of Maximilian I and his coronation at Aachen, see Steven Ozment, The Age of Reform, 1250-1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 246-253

<sup>3</sup>Leonard Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln (Köln: Druck und Verlag der L. Schwann'schen Verlagshandlung, 1873), vol. 1, 167-180; See also Hajo Holborn, A History of Modern Germany: The Reformation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), and Franz Lau and Ernst Bizer, A History of the Reformation in Germany to 1555 trans. Brian A. Hardy (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1969).

the city's Catholic identity, they only slowly reached consensus about how to deal with the influx of new ideas about religion.

During the 1520s, the Holy Roman Empire saw a great deal of conflict and change. In 1521, Luther was condemned at the Diet of Worms, and retreated to the Wartburg, where he produced a series of sermons and translated the New Testament into German. Between 1521 and 1525, the teachings of the Reformation were spread by preachers and pamphleteers, who carried their message throughout Germany. Andreas Osiander preached in Nuremberg, and the city adopted the Reformation in 1524. Strasbourg was also a hotbed of reform, while in Switzerland, the examples of Basel and Zurich provided other models for the advance of the Reformation in the cities.<sup>4</sup> By 1530, the religious dispute had become an imperial political dispute, as successive imperial diets attempted, without success, to resolve the religious controversy which convulsed the German lands. The failures of the diets at Speyer in 1526 and 1529, and at Augsburg in 1530 to come to a final agreement about religious and political conflicts made it increasingly clear that religious and political loyalties were intertwined, and that religious conflict could and would produce political conflict.

Cologne did not escape the general ferment of the 1520s. The city was an important trade center; news traveled the Rhine and the east-west trade routes as easily as did trade goods. In a city whose lifeblood was trade, it was impossible to regulate the comings and goings of residents or of visitors completely. In spite of Cologne's reputation as "holy Cologne, faithful daughter of the Church of Rome," the teachings of the reformers did

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<sup>4</sup>See, generally, Holborn, History of Modern Germany: The Reformation, 152-200.

penetrate the city's defenses, as teachers, preachers and the ubiquitous printed pamphlets came into the city.<sup>5</sup> The conflict between proponents of the new teachings and those of the old faith provided the setting in which the city authorities worked to define the community's identity. The city's reactions to the advent of reformed religious teaching, preaching, and printing were varied, and did not always follow a systematic pattern. The city's responses to the Reformation in its early years reveal a community grappling with challenges to political and religious structures, to the unity of the urban community, to traditional ideas about the character of the city, and to order and the rule of law.

Between 1520 and 1525, the city's responses to the Reformation were sketchy, and it is not clear from the city records just how serious a problem the Reformation presented in Cologne.<sup>6</sup> In 1525, however, the city was faced with an explicit challenge to its political structures and possibly to its religious identity. In 1525, in response to the teachings of the reformers, the Peasants'

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<sup>5</sup>On the medieval roots of Cologne's reputation as a holy city with particular fidelity to the Roman Catholic church, see Alfred Haverkamp, "'Heilige Städte' im hohen Mittelalter," in Mentalitäten im Mittelalter: methodische und inhaltliche Probleme, ed. Frantisek Graus (Sigmaringen:Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1987), 119-156.

<sup>6</sup>The analysis of the attitudes of Cologne's government and people during the era of the Reformation is aided by the almost complete series of city council resolutions, or Ratsprotokolle, (Rpr.) which are preserved in the Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln. Unfortunately, the one volume that is missing from the collection of records in the sixteenth century covers the period between the end of November, 1520 and the end of December, 1522. It is therefore impossible to gauge the responses of the city's people and government to the earliest spread of the Reformation movement. In general, though, the slow pace of response to the challenge of the Reformation in 1523 and 1524 suggests that there was neither a systematic campaign to reform Cologne, nor a systematic campaign of repression, during the years for which the records are lost.

War broke out in southern Germany. The rebels in the south, including not only peasants, but also many people from the growing merchant and artisan populations of the towns, applied the themes of Protestant teaching to their views of their own position in life, and demanded that the lords deal with them with justice, as required by the Gospel.<sup>7</sup> There was also a popular rebellion in Cologne in 1525. Although scholars do not agree about whether the Cologne rebellion was inspired by the teachings of Luther and by the religious claims of the southern rebels, or whether it was a rebellion with a strictly local character, in 1525 the Cologne authorities believed that the rebellion was inspired by the southern rebels.<sup>8</sup> The city government, in its response to the rebellion of 1525, used the rhetoric of Cologne's political and civic traditions to solidify opposition to the rebels and to resolve the uprising with a relative lack of violence. After the rebellion, the city used religious and civic ritual to reaffirm the existence of the urban community. The city's response to the rebellion of 1525 reveals clear links between the city's interest in the maintenance of order, the maintenance of the power structure, and resistance to the Reformation.

Between 1526 and 1530, the city was again faced with the challenges presented by the spread of the Reformation. The emperor and the Pope, alarmed by the spread of the new teachings, put pressure on the city to remain

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<sup>7</sup>Peter Blicke, The Revolution of 1525: The German Peasants' War from a New Perspective trans. Thomas A. Brady, Jr. and H.C. Erik Midelfort (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 25-57.

<sup>8</sup>For a discussion of the roots of the demands of the Cologne rebels of 1525, see Clemens Graf von Loos-Corswarem, "Die Kölner Artikelserie von 1525: Hintergründe und Verlauf des Aufruhrs von 1525 in Köln," in Kirche und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in deutschen und niederländischen Städten der werdenden Neuzeit, ed. Franz Petri (Köln:Böhlau Verlag, 1980), 65-153.

faithful to the old religion. At the same time, new and perhaps dangerous advocates of the Reformation were active in Cologne, and the city was faced with a series of decisions about what to do with prominent advocates of reform.

The city's actions during the 1520s set the stage for its attitude toward Protestants and toward the maintenance of the city as a Catholic stronghold throughout the sixteenth century. Council resolutions reflected the city's attempts to control the dissemination of information within the city, to reinforce the equivalence of Catholic and civic identity by sponsorship of civic and religious ritual, and to define Protestants as outsiders.

### Ritual and Civic Identity

During the sixteenth century, the Cologne city council continued to sponsor many civic rituals, such as Masses and processions, as it had in earlier years. Besides participating in the organization of processions, the city authorities provided necessary equipment; frequently, the city council provided candles for processions.<sup>9</sup> City-sponsored Masses always linked civic interests to religious identity. Processions often involved components of both civic and religious identities, but sometimes were more clearly civic and secular than religious. In the sponsorship of Masses and processions, the city council tied the identity of the civic community to the Roman Catholic church. It also took steps to combine the interests of the city with the interests of the city's numerous clergy, who were responsible to the archbishop and the

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<sup>9</sup>See Manfred Groten, ed., Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln 1320-1550 (Düsseldorf:Droste Verlag, 1988), vol. 3, 1523-1530, 103. April 18, 1524. Rpr. 5. "Die Rentmeister sollen für die Reliquienprozession am Samstag Wachskerzen beschaffen."

ecclesiastical hierarchy and, as such, were outside the direct jurisdiction of the city's lay authorities. The city council enlisted the cooperation of the clergy in its efforts to maintain the ceremonial representation of the community, and worked with the churches and the cathedral chapter to schedule processions and displays of relics in the city.<sup>10</sup> By working with the clergy, the city council linked itself to a potential rival for authority in the city, and blurred the distinction between religious authority and civic authority.

The importance of ritual in the definition of the civic community has been recognized by historians and anthropologists. Processions are a graphic representation of the community, with reflections of social structure and communal beliefs.<sup>11</sup> Ritual is also useful as a method of demonstrating order, and of keeping the forces of disorder at bay.<sup>12</sup> Processions and other rituals can also be tools for the construction of a society's identity, as well as mirrors for its reflection. The uses of processions and Masses in Cologne included the creation and demonstration of the boundaries, the solidarity, and the structure of the community, the response of the city to threats of

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 77. January 11, 1524. Rpr. 5. "Mit dem Domkapitel soll über eine Reliquienprozession oder -aussetzung verhandelt werden. Also p. 28, Rpr. February 12, 1524. Der Erzbischof beabsichtigt, eine Reliquienprozession halten zu lassen.

<sup>11</sup>See, for example, Charles Phythian-Adams, "Ceremony and the Citizen: The Communal Year at Coventry 1450-1550," in Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700, ed. Peter Clark and Paul Slack (London:Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), 57-85.

<sup>12</sup>Robert W. Scribner, "Cosmic Order and Daily Life: Sacred and Secular in Pre-Industrial Germany," in Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany, ed. R.W. Scribner (London:The Hambledon Press, 1987), 1-16; Mary Douglas, Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo (London: Ark Paperbacks, 1966), 94. For a comprehensive analysis of the importance of ritual in the construction of community, see Richard C. Trexler, Public Life in Renaissance Florence (New York: Academic Press, 1980).

disorder, and the community's attempts to influence the natural and supernatural world. Both regularly-scheduled processions and Masses, and additional rituals, scheduled to meet the needs of the city at different times, show the importance public affirmation of the religious and civic identity of the urban community. The use of combined civic and religious ritual demonstrates the identity of religious and civic identity in sixteenth-century Cologne.

By the mid-1520s, the danger which the Reformation presented to the Catholic community across Germany was clear. The Peasants' War swept southern Germany in the spring of 1525. During the same spring, the city received Duke Heinrich of Braunschweig, the special envoy of Emperor Charles V, who urged the city to "remain upright and steadfast in the old belief" in the face of the "unevangelical, damned and heretical teaching of Martin Luther."<sup>13</sup> In response, the city reiterated its determination to root out the Lutheran heresy, and to keep the city firm in its Christian beliefs. The Peasants' War, though, had sent ripples as far northward on the Rhine as Cologne, where an ultimately unsuccessful urban rebellion broke out in June, 1525.<sup>14</sup> The aftereffects of the rebellion continued in 1526, with the arrests, interrogations, and executions of three of the rebellion's leaders in the spring.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 237, citing Akten im Stadtarchiv, Kirchliches N. 472.

<sup>14</sup>See section on the Cologne rebellion, *infra*, 103-113.

<sup>15</sup>Konstantin Höhlbaum, ed., Das Buch Weinsberg: Kölner Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem 16. Jahrhundert (Leipzig:Verlag von Alphons Dürr, 1886), vol. 1, 47. See also Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 231-232.



The teaching of the reformers continued to make their way into the city, in spite of the council's attempts to control the printing industry and the booksellers. A series of pamphlets attacking the cult of the saints and the doctrine of works righteousness, and discussing the proper Christian way of life, appeared in Cologne in 1525 and 1526, and caused consternation among the city's leaders, who worried about the spread of Lutheran teachings.<sup>16</sup> On Christmas day, 1525, the city sought the arrest of a Lutheran preacher, who attempted to preach in the stonemasons' Gaffel (Steinmetzgaffel).<sup>17</sup>

The city was also involved in a series of religious disputes and famous cases in 1525 and 1526. Gerhard Westerborg, a resident of Cologne who was suspected of Lutheranism and, some years later, of Anabaptist beliefs, had in 1523 published a pamphlet attacking the doctrine of Purgatory. The city grappled with the question of what to do about Westerborg; he was from an old Cologne family, and had studied in the faculty of arts at the University of Cologne, and after promotion to the masters degree, he enrolled at the University of Bologna, where he studied canon law and received the doctorate in 1517. He returned to Cologne in 1521, and appeared to have been a good Catholic at least as late as June of 1521, when he and his family made a donation to one of the city's many cloisters.<sup>18</sup> Soon thereafter, however, he learned of the teaching of the Zwickau prophets. He became one of a group of prominent sympathizers with the Reformation, and eventually one of its advocates. He went to Wittenberg, where he met and favorably impressed

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<sup>16</sup>Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 291.

<sup>17</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 3, 283. December 25, 1525. Rpr. 6. "Der Lutheraner, der auf der Steinmetzgaffel predigt wollte, soll verhaftet werden."

<sup>18</sup>Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 241-244.

Luther, who thought Westerborg could be an ally.<sup>19</sup> Westerborg returned to Cologne to distribute his Purgatory pamphlet, departed again, and subsequently returned to the city to debate the prominent university theologians, who condemned his tract as heretical. The city forbade the disputation, perhaps to prevent the promulgation of reformed ideas in the city, and Westerborg once again left Cologne. He went to Jena and to Frankfurt, where he stayed until the failure of the Frankfurt uprising of 1525. The Frankfurt government deemed him a rabble-rouser and expelled him, and he returned to Cologne.

Between 1525 and 1526, the city council and the university theologians debated what to do about Westerborg. The theologians were firmly convinced that he was a heretic, and advised the city to enforce the imperial edicts against advocates of the reformed faith. In January, 1526, the city council granted him freedom within the city, but ordered him to "conduct himself as a citizen, and not to spread Luther's teachings."<sup>20</sup> Conducting oneself as a citizen implied both obedience to the orders of the city council, and adherence to the Catholic faith. In March, 1526, after investigation by a joint commission of city council members and clergy, Westerborg left the city to appeal for protection from the imperial court. In his absence, the university theologians declared him to be a heretic, and burned his pamphlet on purgatory.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 245.

<sup>20</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 3, 291. January 26, 1526. Rpr. 6. "Dr. Gierat Westenberg [sic] darf sich frei bewegen. Er soll sich wie ein Bürger verhalten und nicht Luthers Lehren vertreten."

<sup>21</sup>Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 260-261.

During the same period, the council was engaged in a conflict with Theodor Fabritius, a scholar who, as a student, had left the University of Cologne in 1522 to study ancient languages and theology at Wittenberg. He returned to Cologne in 1526, in the hope of obtaining a professorship in ancient languages at the University. When no appointment was forthcoming, he began offering independent classes in Greek and Hebrew. These classes were popular with students, and Fabritius enjoyed the protection of the rector of the University of Cologne, at least for a short while. In August of 1526, the city council, which saw the Wittenberg-trained Fabritius's teaching of ancient Biblical languages as a threat, and possibly as a symptom of Protestant sympathies, ordered Fabritius to cease his activities.<sup>22</sup> Fabritius defied the council's orders and continued to teach. The challenge to the city's authority, and Fabritius's humanistic teaching, informed by the theology of Wittenberg, provided a double challenge to the civic power and the religious identity of the city. The presence in the city of powerful and perhaps attractive proponents of the Reformation may well have caused the city to fall back on familiar rituals, such as processions and Masses, which reinforced the ties between the Catholic church and the civic community.

Not even the clergy were exempt from suspicion of seduction by the new religious teaching. The Augustinian convent was a particular hotbed of Lutheran sympathies, and its members had connections to Wittenberg and the teachings of Luther and his followers. The city council sought the

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<sup>22</sup>The council's suspicions were correct. Fabritius had embraced the teachings of the Reformation. Although he eventually left Cologne, he never gave up the idea of bringing the Reformation to the city. In 1567, he wrote to the city council, offering his services to oppose the threat to the community presented by the papacy. See *Reformationsakten* 1, s. 82r-84r, 1567.

assistance of the order's leadership in maintaining the convent according to Roman Catholic principles, and the "reformation"--that is, the Catholic reformation-- of the Augustinian convent was an important concern of the city council in 1525 and 1526. In early 1526, the city gave one of the clerics who, at the council's request, had participated in the reformation of the Augustinian convent, a substantial gift of twenty Gulden.<sup>23</sup> The council also ordered the investigation of the order of the brothers of Herrenleichnam, on suspicion of Lutheran leanings. <sup>24</sup>

In 1525 and 1526, Cologne's status as a holy, imperial, and free city was under attack from many quarters. In the late summer of 1526, the city council sponsored a series of processions which demonstrated both the power of the council and the boundaries of the Cologne community. By combining civic and religious ritual, the council acted to solidify the identity of the city of Cologne as a Catholic community.

In August, 1526, the council appointed a delegation including the most powerful of the city's officials, the mayors and the Rentmeister (exchequer), to look into the question of the holding of processions and Masses. Three days later, the council approved the holding of sacramental processions and Masses on the following Friday, Saturday and Monday. In an effort to emphasize the orthodoxy of the city and of the clergy, city officials went to the city's cloisters and parishes, to request the participation of the clergy in the

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<sup>23</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 3, 304. March 19, 1526. Rpr. 6. "Die Rentmeister sollen mit dem Vikar, der auf Bitten des Rates den Augustinerkonvent reformiert hat, sprechen und ihm 20 Gulden schenken."

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, 283. December 15, 1525 Rpr. 6. "Die Bürgermeister, Johan Huype und die Weinmeister sollen in Herren leichnam nachforschen, wo einige die Lehre Luthers angenommen haben sollen."

Masses, and to offer them an allowance of wine as a reward for participation. In another outlay of funds, the city provided six candles to be carried before the Sacrament.<sup>25</sup> While no specific organizational document for the procession appears to have survived, the city council records show that the city authorities attempted to obtain widespread participation for these processions and Masses. The city's sponsorship of processions, and its recruitment of and payment to the clergy shows the blurring of lines between civic and religious functions. The processions and Masses served to demonstrate the power of the city council, the piety of the city, and the ideal of the unity of the civic community in the face of unorthodox teaching and preaching, and the disorder that such unorthodoxy could produce.<sup>26</sup>

Sponsorship was not the only form of interest which the city government took in processions and public religious rituals. The city

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., 333. August 10, 1526. Rpr. 6. "Über die Abhaltung von Prozessionen oder Bittmessen sollen beraten die Bürgermeister, Rentmeister, Inhibitionenmeister, Weinmeister [und] Goiswyn van Lommersum.;" 333. August 13, 1526. Rpr. 6. "Der Offizial hat auf Antrag von Dr. Bellinchusen für den kommenden Freitag, Samstag und Mittwoch Sakramentsprozessionen in den Pfarrkirchen und die Abhaltung von Bittmessen genehmigt;" 334. August 15, 1526. Rpr. 6. "8 Herren werden in die Klöster geschickt, um die Konvente zu bitten, am Freitag, Samstag und Montag Fürbitten zu beten. Jeder, der die Bitte erfüllt, soll ein Achtel Wein erhalten;" 336. August 22, 1526. Rpr. 6. "Die 8 Herren sollen noch einmal mit dem Mandat des Offizials in den 4 Quartieren umhergehen und die Pfarrer und Konvente anhalten, die vom Rat festgesetzten Tage einzuhalten;" 337. August 27, 1526. Rpr. 6. "Die Rentmeister sollen 6 Kerzen herstellen lassen, die wie gewöhnlich, vor dem Hl. Sakrament getragen werden sollen, wenn die Prozession am Freitag vom Dom nach St. Maria im Kapitol zieht. [Separate entry, same date] Jeder Pfarrer, der Bittmessen gehalten hat, soll 3 Ratszeichen erhalten."

<sup>26</sup>For a discussion of the function of host processions as rituals of control, of unity, and sometimes of divisiveness, see Charles Zika, "Hosts, Processions and Pilgrimages: Controlling the Sacred in Fifteenth-Century Germany," *Past and Present* 118 (1988):37-48.

exercised control over the organization of rituals by other institutions within the city. The city records do not recite the council's reasons for its interest in regulating the holding of processions and Masses, and other public activities, but the desire for centralized, governmental control of public ritual may have been a product of the city's desire to maintain order within the city. As a result of the council's actions, the city became the primary focus of collective identity, and occupied a position of authority over the web of associations which provided lesser elements of identity. The effect of the city's prohibitions was to make the city government the main actor in the city's ritual life, and an important coordinator of its religious life.

Cologne's numerous parish churches provided a structure which served both to spread Catholic teachings throughout the city, and to enable the government to use the ecclesiastical structure as an arm of the city government. The city council sometimes intervened directly in the ritual life of the city's parishes. In 1520, in an effort to control ad hoc sacrament processions, the city forbade parish priests to carry the Holy Sacrament around the city while ringing small bells. The ringing of bells was a common method of alerting people to the presence of the sacred host. The city council, by controlling the priests' use of bells, attempted to control access to the sacrament.<sup>27</sup> Church bells were also a matter for civic regulation; churches were forbidden to ring the hours. On the same date, the city council forbade members of the mendicant orders to participate in funerals in the city without the leave of the city council.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid, 31.

<sup>28</sup>Manfred Groten, ed., Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln 1320-1550 (Düsseldorf:Droste Verlag, 1989), vol. 2, 1513-1520, 517. September 28, 1520. Rpr. 4. "Die Pfarrer sollen nicht mit Schellen das Hl. Sakrament beglieten

The city also controlled sponsorship of religious activities by secular institutions, such as the guilds. In 1526, the clothcutters requested and received permission to hold a procession with drums and fifes, and to sponsor a holiday, in connection with a previously-scheduled relic procession.<sup>29</sup> The guild's request demonstrated that there was popular demand for participation in processions. The city's tolerated such demonstrations as long as civic authorities remained firmly in control. Processions were occasions of potential disorder, and the city wanted to make sure that the guild members did not get out of hand during or after the festivities.

The city's interest in sponsoring and participating in processions was not merely an attempt to manipulate religious ritual for political purposes. The city council's records show that the city held processions for a variety of reasons. In August, 1529, the council called for relic processions and Masses to petition God to cease the heavy rains, which had caused great damage.<sup>30</sup> The people of Cologne used ritual in an effort to influence or control the

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lassen, auch nicht die Stunde läuten lassen und das Verzeichnis der Verstorbenen verlesen. Die vier [Bettel]orden dürfen nur mit Genehmigung des Rates an Trauerfeierlichkeiten teilnehmen."

<sup>29</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 3, 316. May 28, 1526. Rpr. 6. "Das Tuchschereramt möchte am Sonntag, wenn das hl. Sakrament nach St. Peter und St. Caecilien getragen wird, einen Umzug mit Trommeln und Pfeifen machen und ein Fest veranstalten. Dazu wird ein Beschuß aus dem Register verlesen. Die Prozession wird gestattet, das Amt darf aber danach oder am nächsten Tag nicht im Harnisch ins Feld ziehen."

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., 640-641. August 11, 1529. Rpr. 7. "Die Rentmeister und Inhibitionenmeister sollen mit dem Domdechanten über Reliquienprozessionen und Bittmessen verhandeln, weil seit längerer Zeit immer wieder Regenfälle großen Schaden anrichten."

natural world.<sup>31</sup> During an epidemic of "sweating sickness" in 1529, the city and the clergy sponsored another procession with the host and a number of relics from the city churches. The relics chosen for the procession were those of the early archbishops of Cologne: St. Severin, St. Kunibert, St. Agilolf, and St. Evergisel. The only saint mentioned who was not an Archbishop of Cologne was St. Alban.<sup>32</sup> The people's reliance on the intercession of the saintly archbishops reinforced the importance of Catholicism in Cologne. The relics of the archbishops allowed the city to maintain ties to the Roman Catholic hierarchy, while at the same time demonstrating that the archbishops served the city but did not control it. The power of the archbishops' relics was controlled power, unlike that of the living archbishop, which threatened Cologne's independence. The sainted archbishops were local saints who embodied the holiness of the city of Cologne, and

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<sup>31</sup>For an analysis of the use of ritual to control the natural world, see Scribner, "Cosmic Order and Daily Life," 9-14.

<sup>32</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 3, 648. September 6, 1529. Rpr. 7. "Alle Gerichte werden wegen der Schweißseuche 14 Tage geschlossen;" 648. September 6, 1529. Rpr. 7. "Die Rentmeister, Herr Johann v. Riedt und der Doktor sollen morgen beim Domkapitel Bescheid einholen wegen der Reliquienprozession;" 649. September 15, 1529. Rpr. 7. "Die Stifte und Abteien haben gestern eine Prozession mit dem H. Sakrament und den Reliquien der Heiligen Severin, Kunibert, Albinus, Agilolf und Evergisel gehalten. Der Sekretär M. Heinrich soll in allen Kirchen ansagen, daß die Geistlichen wegen ihrer Zuvorkommenheit die Wachsstümpfe zu Lob und Ehre des Hl. Sakraments behalten dürfen." The only saint listed who was not an Archbishop of Cologne was St. Alban. For the history of the veneration of St. Alban in Cologne, see Eric P. Baker, "The Cult of St. Alban at Cologne," The Archaeological Journal 94 (1937):207-239. Baker, by analyzing stained glass portraits from Cologne, links the veneration of St. Alban to the veneration of St. Gereon and St. Maurice, members of the mythic Theban legion, and St. George. Baker also reports that St. Alban was venerated in the company of Sts. Severin, Evergisel, Agilulf, Kunibert, and Severin as late as 1578. See Baker, 234.



represented the city's connection with the institutions of the Catholic church.<sup>33</sup> The relics of St. Alban had similar significance. St. Alban was an English saint, whose relics were brought to Cologne by the Empress Theophano, with the permission of the Pope, as a gift to the Benedictine monastery of St. Pantaleon at Cologne.<sup>34</sup> The relics of St. Alban linked the city to the Empire and the Papacy, as the relics of the archbishops linked the city to the Roman Catholic hierarchy. As with the archbishops' relics, the relics of St. Alban served to remind the city of its ties to the wider church and the wider empire, without threatening the city's independence.

Some civic rituals were not also religious rituals. Cologne's guildsmen and Gaffel members participated in a procession which was not obviously connected to the city's religious identity. In this procession, the annual Holzfahrt, or woods-journey, Gaffel members, wearing weapons, marched to the nearby Ossendorfer Woods, outside the city walls. While the Holzfahrttag was a day for demonstrating the city's solidarity and military might. It had the potential to be an occasion for disorder, because some citizens were reluctant to put down their arms after the procession. The city authorities issued edicts against the wearing of weapons and ceremonial clothing on the days following the procession. The Holzfahrt was a powerful demonstration of community. A disruption in the orderly procession could reflect disorder or a threat to the community. The council's resolutions about the Holzfahrt show that it was as important to contain the ritual power as it was to demonstrate the power.

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<sup>33</sup>On the importance of local religion, local saints, and local observances, see William Christian, Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), especially 126-158.

<sup>34</sup>Baker, 216.

The danger of the Holzfahrt, and of processions gone wrong, was demonstrated in 1525, when a parish procession in the parish of St. Christoph and the Holzfahrt became the incubators of an urban rebellion in Cologne. The beginnings of the revolt demonstrate that processions, which were ritual events that gave the people of Cologne a chance to demonstrate and reinforce their communal identity, could also be liminal events.<sup>35</sup> In processions, the identity of the city could be redefined and transformed. It is not a coincidence that the rebellion of 1525 began during successive civic and religious processions. The possibility of rebellion and disorder was strong in 1525, as the teachings of the reformers spread throughout Germany, and as people who received those teachings began to explore the revolutionary ways in which the teachings of the Gospel could be applied to the reformation of social and political life on earth. When religious and political conditions are in flux, the rituals which usually create and reinforce communal relationships can also reveal the stress in the community.<sup>36</sup>

#### The Cologne Uprising of 1525

In the spring and summer of 1525, southern and central Germany were convulsed by the violence of the Peasants' War, and the news of the unrest in the south came to Cologne. The city's clergy saw the news as a threat to their faith and to their lives, and immediately took their concerns to the city authorities. In May, 1525, leaders of the cathedral chapter, the University and

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<sup>35</sup>Victor Turner, Dramas, Fields and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), see especially chapter 1, "Social Dramas and Ritual Metaphors," 23-59.

<sup>36</sup>For a discussion of failed ritual as a tool for the analysis of social change, see Clifford Geertz, "Ritual and Social Change: A Javanese Example," in The Interpretation of Cultures, ed. Clifford Geertz (New York:Basic Books, 1973), 142-169.

the city's parish and collegiate churches approached the city council, and asked if the city was prepared to protect the clergy in the event of an uprising. The city fathers seized their opportunity; they assured the clergy that they would extend the city's protection to the clergy, if the clergy would take up the burdens of citizenship (namely, taxes), and agree to limits on the practice of trades and crafts within the city's religious foundations. The city also demanded that the clergy forfeit fishing rights, give up a long-contested dispute to the tithe in the parish of St. Severin, behave properly, and provide a good example for the people of the city. Finally, the city requested the payment of a flat fee to ministers for the duties attendant upon parish ministry, and requested a standardization of fees and procedures for burials, memorial services and other ceremonies.

The artisans and craftsmen of the city had long-standing grievances about the practice of trades in religious houses; they claimed that clerical weavers, embroiderers, and cloth workers were undercutting their production. Millers complained of clerical milling, and brewers of clerical brewing. Citizens also complained about the excise-free import of wine for cloisters. The clergy's economic privileges deprived the city's businessmen and craftsmen of income, and deprived the city government of an important source of revenue. The council's demands took residents' dissatisfaction with the privileged position of the clergy into account, and took a large step toward bringing the clergy under the control of the city council

In the face of rumored anticlerical riots, the leaders of the Cologne clergy thought that the city council's proposal sounded reasonable. On May 30, 1525, representatives of the archbishop reached an agreement with the city council, committing the clergy to pay excise taxes for beer, bread and wine,

just as other citizens did.<sup>37</sup> In return, the city placed the clergy under the protection of the council, and announced that any person, "poor or rich, small or great, who violently attacks the council, any cleric, be he monk, nun, or priest, male or female citizen, or any other resident of this city, with words, deeds, or in any other fashion, will be punished sternly and severely, according to the law of the city."<sup>38</sup>

The clergy and the city council reached their agreement just before the outbreak of an uprising in the city. This uprising, which was led by members of several of the city's Gaffeln, lasted most of the month of June, 1525, and ended with a complete victory by the city government.<sup>39</sup> While older scholarship has assumed that the Cologne uprising of 1525 was strongly influenced by the Peasants' War in southern Germany in the spring of 1525, more recent scholarship has linked the central issues of the Cologne uprising to civic traditions and to distinctly local concerns.<sup>40</sup> The leaders of the uprising used the familiar organization of the political organizations of the city. Although one of the leaders of the rebellion, the cooper Wilhelm Krieger, had visited the Rheingau in the spring of 1525, and returned to the city with ideas of rebellion gleaned from the demands of the rebels of the south, the Cologne rebellion had a distinctly urban and even an distinctly

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<sup>37</sup>Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 222-224. Not all of the clergy was included in the contract; the four noble collegiate institutions, the Cathedral, St. Gereon, St. Ursula, and St. Mary, were exempt from the taxation agreement. Still, most of the clergy were included in the contract.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, 225, citing *Actus et processus* t. VII, f. 129.

<sup>39</sup>Leaders of the uprising included butchers, harnessmakers, bookbinders, excavators, coopers, shoemakers, musicians, and barbers. See Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 229-230.

<sup>40</sup> Looz-Corswarem, "Artikelserie," 65-152, 65.

"kölnisch" flavor.<sup>41</sup> In its conception, its progress, and finally its defeat, the rebellion demonstrated the importance of the city's history and traditions. Both the rebels and the authorities clung to the rhetoric of Cologne's character and to the traditional rights and responsibilities of members of the Cologne community.

The uprising of 1525 took some time to coalesce. The rebels began their efforts to foment the rebellion during a procession in the parish of St. Christoph on the Wednesday following Pentecost of 1525 (June 7, 1525). Some of the marchers in the morning procession agreed to meet in the afternoon, to discuss demands to be presented to the city council. A plan to meet that evening at Newmarket to swear an alliance against the council and to take over the gates and towers dissolved when only a few people appeared at the appointed time.<sup>42</sup>

The day following the procession in the parish of St. Christoph was the annual Holzfahrt. A gathering of armed citizens, who had time to talk as they marched to the woods, also had time to discuss grievances and changes that they wanted to see in the government of their city. The Holzfahrt of 1525 was an opportunity to organize a rebellion against the city's leaders. The rebellion, though, was specifically "kölnisch" in structure.

The leaders of the rebellion were members of the city's political associations. One of them, Jakob von Biest, was a member of the city council. The rebels who designed the protest during the Holzfahrt organized it along the lines of the existing city council. The rebels canvassed the political associations, and recruited representatives from every Gaffel, in an attempt to

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<sup>41</sup>Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 225.

<sup>42</sup>Looz-Corswarem, "Artikelserie," 76-77.

reconstitute the city government. Between June 8 and June 26th, the rebellious members of the associations holed up in a house near the Quattermarkt, which had also been a center of the uprising of 1513. There they prepared a series of 154 demands and presented them to the city council.<sup>43</sup>

The concerns of the Cologne rebels were familiar ones. Most of the articles concerned economic and constitutional grievances. The rebels couched their demands in terms of Cologne's civic tradition and in terms of the Verbundbrief and the Transfixbrief, the city's basic constitutional documents.<sup>44</sup> In this appeal to tradition and constitutional law, the Cologne demands differed from the demands of the rebels in southern Germany. In the south, the rebels had abandoned arguments of custom, tradition, and venerable law, in favor of an appeal to godly law and to the Gospel.<sup>45</sup> The Cologne rebels apparently did not think that an appeal to the old, time-honored traditions of the city was doomed to fail. The Cologne community was a creation based on tradition, history, and the self-perception of community members, and the presentation of demands as part of a return to Cologne's traditions was an argument with which the council might be able to agree without loss of stature.

The Cologne rebels complained about the need for price controls and for control of entry to the Cologne markets, the proper assessment and collection of excise taxes, the necessity for the clergy to take up the burdens of

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid., 78.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., 84.

<sup>45</sup>Peter Blickle, Communal Reformation: The Quest for Salvation in Sixteenth-Century Germany trans. Thomas Dunlap (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1992), 44-46.

citizenship, the proper administration of the city government, and the jurisdiction of the courts.<sup>46</sup> The themes running through the economic concerns of the rebels are the protection of the rights of citizens and residents of Cologne, and the maintenance of clear distinctions between community members and outsiders. The rebels demanded restrictions on large (and by implication, foreign) corporations, and on foreign artisans and tradesmen. Their motivation was protectionist; the resources of the city should enrich and protect members of the Cologne community.

The rebels also complained about the clergy and about certain religious practices. Complaints about the economic activity of the clergy, which diluted the market for privately-manufactured goods, the accumulation of property by religious foundations, claims of ecclesiastical privilege in the courts, and misuse of ecclesiastical privilege are familiar, not only from the complaints of the rebels in the south, but from other complaints about the clergy which were centuries-old. Many of the complaints, though, had already been addressed by the council's May 30, 1525 compact with the clergy.<sup>47</sup>

The rebels' demands for reformation of the devotional life of the city's parishes are the ones which are most similar to those of the explicitly evangelical rebels of the south. Like the rebels in the countryside of southern Germany, the Cologne rebels saw the administration of the sacraments, and the proper provision of religious services, as matters of communal interest.<sup>48</sup> They demanded that parish priests be given an annual income, so that they could distribute the sacrament and provide necessary religious services to the

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<sup>46</sup>Looz-Corswarem, "Artikelserie," 85-87.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 91.

<sup>48</sup>Blickle, Communal Reformation, 33-39; 79.

people without charging additional fees. The Cologne rebels did not object to ritual observances, and did not mention the gospel or true preaching in connection with their demands for free communal religious services. Their aim seems to have been to make religious ritual available to the entire community. The demands included regulation of the fees for infant baptism, marriage, crosses and candles for funeral processions, seats in churches, and regulation of special church services which required expensive offerings. The council and the rebels shared their concerns about the proper provision of the sacraments within the community. The city, in its response to these demands, was amenable to the establishment of an annual stipend for pastors, and directed that each parish should negotiate with its priest over the stipend issue. The city referred the question of fees for other services to the archbishop, saying that it had no jurisdiction over the fees charged for specific services.<sup>49</sup> In this instance, the city government used the archbishop and his ecclesiastical jurisdiction as a diversion to reduce pressure on the city for religious reform. The council expressed its sympathy with the concerns of the rebels, but claimed to be powerless. The council did not claim powerlessness in all religious questions. In some cases, the city authorities claimed not only the power but the right to regulate religious matters as a part of their civic duty. In 1525, although they avoided dealing with the matter of fees for clerical services, the councilors responded to the rebels' demands about preaching.

Only two of the Cologne articles were concerned with preaching, and one of those was concerned with the choice of parish priests. Article 76 discussed the proclamation of the word of God.

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<sup>49</sup>Looz-Corswarem, "Artikelserie," 96.



Each parish shall choose [a] learned (wyse) pastor and [a] learned (wyse) chaplain, who knows how to present the word of God properly, so that the monks stay in their cloisters, and the common folk are served by such pastors and chaplains, and so that the sacraments and the patrimony (erde) are not sold.<sup>50</sup>

The city council did not refer this demand to the archbishop. Instead, it answered that it would be pleased to do this insofar as it was in accord with the ancient traditions of the city. The council also said that the Churchmasters of each parish should take steps to be sure that false teaching or preaching and superstitions or abuses (myspruych) should be eliminated.<sup>51</sup> In the matter of preaching and teaching, the city council employed a generally agreeable and conciliatory tone; without agreeing specifically with the demand for election of pastors, the council relied on the traditions of the city (which in fact allowed the election of pastors in some of the city's parishes), and placed the responsibility for regulation of preaching and teaching in the parishes in the hands of the church masters of each parish. The church masters were leading citizens of the parish; frequently they were also members of the council. The church masters were elected by the parish

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<sup>50</sup>Ibid., Anlage VI, "Die 184 Artikel der Bürgerschaft vom 14. und 21. Juni und die Antworten des Rates darauf vom 26. Juni 1525." 119-153, 134. "Sall ein yeder kyrspell kiesen wyse pastoir und wyse capellain, die dat wort gots recht uyßlaigen kunnen, daemit die moenchen in iren cloestern plieben und dat gemeyn foulck mit solichen pastoiren und capellainen versorgt, die sacramenten und die erde nit zo verkouffen."

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., 134-135. "Uff den 76. will ein e. raide ghern sollichs gehalden haben, wie van alders, darbeneven bevelhen, den christlichen glouben den ein stat [gestrichen:] noch bisher [ersetzt durch:] van anfangk bis noch erhaldden hait und gottes lobe uff das geschicklichst zuverpraideten, dartzu ist einem ersamen raide gefellich, dat die kirchenmeistere mit iren verwandten zymliche ordnung uff alle gesprechen und byspruych irer kirchen die indrechtig ist, uffrichten, so etlich kirspell zo vorents andern zu achter syn."

members; this allowed the residents of Cologne to exercise some control over the life of the parish within the structure of the Catholic church.

Article 150 also dealt with the quality of preaching. It addressed the problem of the mendicant preachers, rather than the parish clergy, and demanded that "the four preaching orders should be directed to preach nothing but the true word of God, and to preach no fables, but rather to remain silent, on pain of losing protection [of the council]."<sup>52</sup> The city council's response to this demand, like its response to the demand for election of pastors and correct teaching in the parishes, was very conciliatory. The council said that

The honorable council is well disposed to order its preachers to preach and to show forth, for the benefit and welfare of the honor and love of God and of the Christian belief, so that this praiseworthy holy city can remain steadfastly in a godly condition.<sup>53</sup>

The city council saw preaching as an important element of Cologne's spiritual health. In the council's view, the encouragement of preaching was perfectly consistent with the city's Catholic identity. The council was amenable to encouraging preaching because it exercised control over preachers and over the kinds of preaching allowed in the city.

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<sup>52</sup>Ibid., 146. "Dat in den 4 orden den predicanten befoilhen werden, anders niet zu predigen, dat recht wort gots, und ghein fabulen, sunder furhyn style zu zwygen, und sich zu enthalten uff buyrniss schutz und schirms."

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., 146. "Uff den 150. artickell ist ein ersamer raide gutwillig, iren predicanten zubevelhen, gotz eeren und loiff zu nutz und wailfart des christlichen gelouffens und satzung der heiligen kirchen zupredigen und zuverspreiten, darmit diese lobliche heilige statt in einem gotlichen wesen standthafftigh plyven moige."

One of the strangest demands of the rebels, and one of the demands to which the city failed to accede, was the demand for a change in the city's coat of arms and official seal. The rebels demanded that a depiction of the Three Kings, the patrons of the city, should be added to the city's arms and seal. The city council refused this demand, saying that the emperor and the other estates would view a sudden change in the city's arms and seal as frivolity, and that it was in the interest of the city to keep the old and recognizable symbols of the city intact. In fact, the crowns of the Three Kings were already part of the city's arms; the crowns occupied the upper third of the city's device, above the eleven drops of blood, representing the eleven thousand virgin martyrs who died at the gates of Cologne, according to the city's religious and civic tradition. The seal of the city showed Saint Peter, another of the city's patrons, and the saint to whom the Cathedral was dedicated.<sup>54</sup> The interest in the saintly attributes appearing on the city's arms and seal suggests that the rebels in Cologne did not oppose the veneration of the saints, and that the rebels, as well as the council, considered the patron saints of the city to be important protectors of the community. The council thought that the city's arms and seal, which already carried the symbols of the Three Kings, the eleven thousand virgins, and St. Peter, were effective symbols of the city's identity, and resisted altering them. The question of the symbolic representation of the city was an important one, and change was not to be undertaken lightly.

The council dealt with the demands of the rebels by agreeing with most of them in principle, referring others to the archbishop, claiming that the city had no authority to remedy certain religious abuses, and absolutely denying

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<sup>54</sup>Ibid., 89-90; 147.

only a few of the demands. The council's agreement with many of the articles sapped the energy and the power of the rebels.<sup>55</sup> It was difficult for the rebels to maintain a rebellion against a city government which agreed, at least in principle, with their demands. The repeated appeals on both sides to the venerable traditions of the city allowed the council to agree with the rebels without making any specific promises, and without necessarily intending to institute reforms. An appeal to the traditional structures and ideals of the city of Cologne was a powerful tool, which could be used to advocate change or to defend the status quo. The city council used the idea of Cologne's traditions to co-opt the demands of the rebels. Having agreed to do almost everything that the rebels wanted, within the bounds of the city's traditions, the council was able to end the rebellion without taking much action at all. By the end of June, 1525, the rebels, unable to raise a sufficient armed force with which to take over the city, dispersed and the rebellion came to an end.

In the aftermath of the rebellion, the city council acted to re-establish and solidify its position as the leader of the civic community by staging processions, as it did in the summer of 1526, and by punishing the leaders of the rebellion. The city's use of criminal law was another method of defining the boundaries of the civic community, and of dealing with civic and religious dissent.

#### Direct Religious Challenge in Cologne

The reputation of Cologne as the firm citadel of Catholicism in the northern Empire was not enough to keep all attempts to introduce the Reformation into the city at bay. Cologne was not homogenous. Its people

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<sup>55</sup>Ibid., 84-85.

were travelers and traders, and its markets drew people from across the Empire. The city was never able to make itself impermeable to the teachings of the reformers. The city, though, was not systematic in its efforts at combating the advance of the Reformation. The city council employed different means at different times, and the city's reactions to attempts at reformation were linked to its political relationship with the emperor and with the Archbishop of Cologne. The most dramatic, but least characteristic, of the city's responses to the Reformation came relatively early in the city's attempts to deal with the threat of advancing Protestantism.

During 1528 and 1529, the city council was faced with the most spectacular cases of Protestant preaching and teaching that it ever faced during the years of the Reformation. Adolph Clarenbach and Peter Fliesteden, were, in different ways, proponents of Protestant teaching, who attempted to bring the new religion to Cologne. For their efforts, they were arrested by the city authorities, interrogated, turned over to the archiepiscopal authorities, and eventually sentenced to death and executed. Peter Fliesteden was a Protestant sympathizer who came to Cologne in late 1527, and proceeded to disrupt church services and spread Protestant teachings. He entered the cathedral during Mass, approached the priest during the consecration of the host, made gestures (Geberde) and spat. City officials arrested him in January, 1528, on charges of blasphemy, and turned him over to the archbishop's officials. He refused to repent, and said that in the interest of preventing people from worshipping the host as an idol, he would do the same thing again. His imprisonment lasted until his execution, with Clarenbach, in September, 1529.<sup>56</sup> Fliesteden's attack on Catholicism was a visible attack on its central

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<sup>56</sup>Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 285-286.

rituals: the Mass and the central event of the transubstantiation of the elements. He attacked the cathedral, which was the center of Catholic ritual life in Cologne; he also managed to offend both the city officials and the archiepiscopal authorities. His challenge was serious, violent and public. His arrest was swift, but not swift enough to prevent emulation of his tactics by others.

In August, 1528, the cathedral chapter excommunicated thirteen people for having disturbed holy services in the cathedral. The city council requested that the archbishop lift the ban until the matter could be properly investigated.<sup>57</sup> The city's different reactions to Fliesteden and the thirteen disrupters is unexplained in the city's records. It may be that Fliesteden, an outsider who came to Cologne and caused trouble, was treated more harshly than the thirteen "neighbors," who were members of the Cologne community. It may also be that the difference between the two cases reflects the tensions between civic and archiepiscopal structures of authority in the city. The harsh treatment of Fliesteden, as contrasted with the apparent leniency offered to the thirteen disruptive neighbors, suggests that the city did not always respond quickly or automatically to direct religious challenges in the early sixteenth century.

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<sup>57</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 3, 542. August 7, 1528. Rpr. 7. "Mit allen Räten und Vierundvierzigern: Der Domherr Friedrich v. Rietberg hatte Johan v. Walde und seine 12 Nachbarn bannen lassen. Die Gebannten sind gestern in den Dom gezogen und haben den Gottesdienst gestört. Sie sollen auch einen geistesgestörten Priester verletzt haben. Die Inhibitionmeister und der Kanzler sollen die beiden Offiziale bitten, den Bann aufzuheben, bis der Rat mit dem Erzbischof über die Sache verhandelt hat."

The case of Adolph Clarenbach also shows how the city dealt with a direct religious challenge, in the context of the tensions between city residents and outsiders, between the city authorities and the archbishop, and between the city's jurisdiction and the emperor's. Clarenbach was a humanist who had trained in the theological faculty of the University of Cologne. He converted to Lutheranism in Münster, and then moved to Osnabrück, where he lectured on the Gospel according to John, the letters of Paul, and the writings of Philip Melanchthon. During Lent, 1528, he came to Cologne to spread the message of the Reformation. On Good Friday, the council ordered his arrest, and his imprisonment and a long series of interrogations began.<sup>58</sup> Clarenbach claimed to be a layman, and therefore to be subject to the authority of the city council, rather than the authority of the cathedral chapter or the archbishop's court. City officials imprisoned him and, in April, 1528, interrogated him on charges of heresy.<sup>59</sup> Other interrogations were carried out by representatives of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, including an inquisitor appointed by the archbishop and representatives of the University. In May,

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<sup>58</sup>For Clarenbach's story, see generally Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 271-290.

<sup>59</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 3, 499. April 8, 1528. Rpr. 7. "Die Turmmeister, Inhibitionmeister und der Kanzler sollen den wegen Ketzerei festgenommen Schulmeister [Clarenbach] verhören;" 502. April 17, 1528. Rpr. 7. "Heinrich und Johan Lenepe verwenden sich für ihren Bruder Aloff [Clarenbach], der wegen Ketzerei in Haft sitzt. sie sollen heimkehren. Aloff wird vom Ketzerichter verhört. Dann wird geschehen, was Recht ist." The council continued to take an interest in the interrogation, and requested regular reports and translations of interrogations carried out by church officials.

1528, Clarenbach was transferred to solitary confinement, because the council worried that he would convert the other prisoners to his heretical beliefs.<sup>60</sup>

Clarenbach demanded that the city release him, and sent an appeal of his imprisonment to the imperial court in September, 1528. The imperial court intervened in the city's judicial procedures. The imperial court ordered the city, on pain of a fine, "other severe punishments and the emperor's displeasure," to release Clarenbach.<sup>61</sup> The city, however, did not comply with this order. Clarenbach's wealthy family and his friends pursued his case before the imperial court, and the court continued to attempt to intervene in the proceedings in Cologne. The city did not appear eager to punish Clarenbach in the face of the support of the imperial court; neither was the city eager to release him, since evidence of heresy had been found by the investigating clerics. The city attributed the imperial intervention to false reports made to the imperial authorities by Clarenbach's allies.

In January, 1529, in spite of the efforts of Clarenbach's lawyer to keep him under the jurisdiction of the city authorities, the city council transferred Clarenbach to the custody of the archiepiscopal authorities.<sup>62</sup> The final decision about Clarenbach's execution was made by a combined commission of city and archiepiscopal authorities. Although the archbishop wanted to

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<sup>60</sup>Ibid., 518. May 25, 1525. Rpr. 7. "Die Turmmeister sollen den Anhänger der lutherischen Lehre [Clarenbach] in Einzelhaft setzen, damit er niemanden für seine Anschauung gewinnt."

<sup>61</sup>Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 279.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., 284-285. See also Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 3, 588-589. January 20, 1529. Rpr. 7. "Die Bürgermeister, Stimmeister, Weinmeister, Turmmeister und der Kanzler sollen morgen den Greven auffordern, Adolphus Clarenbach, den Totschläger und den Dieb zu übernehmen." The council repeated the order to turn Clarenbach over to the Greven on January 22, 1529.



execute him by drowning, which would made less of a spectacle of the execution, the final sentence of the commission was execution at the stake.<sup>63</sup>

The execution of Clarenbach and Fliesteden was set for September 28, 1529. Both city and clerical authorities participated in the rituals leading up to the execution, and in the execution itself. The Cologne clergy sponsored a procession with the Sacrament and relics two weeks before the execution. The city donated candles, and gave all the leftover wax to the city's churches.<sup>64</sup> Although the execution itself was carried out under the authority of the archbishop, the city cooperated by providing additional security forces.<sup>65</sup> Public executions, like processions, were dangerous ritual events, during which crowds of spectators could change from supportive

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<sup>63</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 3, 629. July 5, 1529. Rpr. 7. "Mit den kurkölnischen Räten ist über die Hinrichtung der Ketzer Adolffus Clarenbach und Petrus Vlysteden verhandelt worden. Die neuen Bürgermeister sollen den Räten sagen: Der Rat wünscht die Bestrafung der beiden. Der Erzbischof möge aber eine Hinrichtungsart anordnen, die kein Aufsehen macht, etwa Ertränken." See also Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 289.

<sup>64</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 3, 649. September 15, 1529. Rpr. 7. "Die Stifte und Abteien haben gestern eine Prozession mit dem Hl. Sakrament und den Reliquien der Heiligen Severin, Kunibert, Albinus, Agilolf und Evergisel gehalten. Der Sekretär M. Heinrich soll in allen Kirchen ansagen, daß die Geistlichen wegen ihrer Zuvorkommenheit die Wachsstümpfe zu Lob und Ehre des Hl. Sakraments behalten dürfen. Die Weinmeister sollen dem Unterdechanten und dem [Domscholaster] v. Eppstein Wein schenken."

<sup>65</sup>Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 289. See also Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 3, 652. September 27, 1529. Rpr. 7. "Die Söldner und Nachtwächter sollen demnächst das Feld sichern, wenn der Greve richten läßt, damit der Scharfrichter nicht behindert wird."

members of the community to opponents of the community, if the rituals were not properly observed.<sup>66</sup>

The ritual of execution began with a procession from the prison maintained by the archbishop's representatives (the Grevenkeller) to the Hacht, a jail within the Cathedral precincts. While they were processing to the cathedral, the "poor sinner's bell" rang. Within the Cathedral precincts, Clarenbach and Fliesteden, under guard, presented themselves at the archbishop's High Court, and submitted themselves to the jurisdiction of the archbishop.<sup>67</sup> When the formalities in the Cathedral precincts ended, the condemned men and their guards marched back out through the Hacht gate, and through the city streets. The execution procession marched from the Cathedral area, almost at the eastern edge of the city, westward. The route was direct, and led to the city wall, out the gate, and on to the execution ground at Melaten, beyond the city walls.<sup>68</sup> Melaten was notable not only as an execution ground, but as the site of the city's hospital for lepers. It was a location for unpleasant but necessary tasks. The journey of the condemned in Cologne illustrated their banishment from the community. They moved

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<sup>66</sup>Richard van Dülmen, Theatre of Horror: Crime and Punishment in Early Modern Germany trans. Elisabeth Neu (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), especially chapter 4, "The Poor Culpit Under Sentence of Death," 58-87.

<sup>67</sup>The procession and submission described in the case of Fliesteden and Clarenbach seems to be typical of punishments carried out under the Archbishop's authority. For a discussion of the ceremonies surrounding punishments in Cologne, see Franz Irsigler and Arnold Lassotta, Bettler und Gaukler, Dirnen und Henker: Außenseiter in einer mittelalterlichen Stadt, Köln 1300-1600 (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1984), 239-250.

<sup>68</sup>Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 289. See also Hermann Keussen, Topographie der Stadt Köln im Mittelalter (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1918), 137\*, for a discussion of the city's geography and the location of the Hacht.

from city custody in the towers of the wall, to the custody of the archiepiscopal authorities. They were condemned by the archbishop's court, but the procession to the execution ground ran through the city streets, by short route. The execution ground was outside the city, both as a demonstration of the archbishop's criminal jurisdiction and as a public reminder that the condemned prisoners were cast out of the community.

The procession and the execution drew a crowd of witnesses, among them Hermann von Weinsberg, who recalled the event years later in his memoir. According to Weinsberg, Fliesteden and Clarenbach were condemned as heretics by the theologians. Their deaths impressed the witnesses; Weinsberg noted that the two men refused to abandon their beliefs. He said that the people (das Volk) cared about the two men, and that there was much discussion about them in the city following the executions.<sup>69</sup> Although Weinsberg's account of the deaths of Clarenbach and Fliesteden is not very detailed, it suggests that the execution of heretics was not the best way of maintaining the city's civic and religious solidarity. The relative rarity of religious executions in Cologne suggests that city officials knew this, and were not interested in creating martyrs for the Protestant faith. The executions of Clarenbach and Fliesteden, which are famous illustrations of Cologne's determined Catholicism, were not characteristic of the city's handling of religious dissent. While the authorities executed a few more people in the 1530s, when fear of Anabaptists ran high, execution of heretics remained the exception rather than the rule in Cologne. For a clearer understanding of the city's dealings with direct religious challenges, and of its use of the criminal law to maintain the community's civic and religious

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<sup>69</sup>Höhlbaum, Das Buch Weinsberg, vol. 1, 30.

unity, it is important to consider the less dramatic cases, and to ask how the city's more common dealings with religious threats helped it to define community membership and religious orthodoxy.

### Law, Community and Religion

Traditionally, scholars have suggested that Cologne's response to the Reformation was a successful campaign of repression, in which the forces of order and tradition achieved a victory over the forces of change.<sup>70</sup> The Reformation produced dramatic challenges to the institutions of government and of the Catholic church, and many rulers and churchmen saw the new religious teaching as a profoundly threatening source of disorder. Robert Scribner has argued that any city's decision whether or not to accept the Reformation was linked to the leadership's perception of what confessional stance would enable the leadership to maintain order in the city. In Scribner's analysis, order and Catholicism were not inseparably linked. In Erfurt, for example, the city government adopted an unusual policy of religious tolerance, in which both Protestant and Catholic residents were allowed to exercise their religions freely within the city. Although Erfurt outlawed the Mass for a short time after the Peasants' War in 1525, the city permitted its reintroduction in 1526. Both Catholic and Protestant services were held in the city until 1664. Four of the city's parishes were Lutheran,

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<sup>70</sup>See, for example, Moeller, "Imperial Cities and the Reformation," 57. Moeller suggests that the Reformation failed in Cologne only because the city's Reformation-inspired rebels of 1525 lost their courage after the defeat of the peasants in the south. See also Scribner, "Why Was There No Reformation in Cologne?" 217-241. Scribner discusses the conservative influence of the University theologians and the rich oligarchs who dominated the city council.

and four were Catholic.<sup>71</sup> Scribner argued that in Erfurt, "civic unity was more important than religious uniformity" and that Erfurt, like most cities, took the religious position necessary to guarantee its political independence.<sup>72</sup> In Strasbourg and in Nuremberg, city councilors also adopted the Reformation in an effort to maintain order in the face of demands for change from the populace.<sup>73</sup>

In Cologne, the actions of the council suggest that civic unity and religious uniformity were linked. The council, by its actions and its justifications for its actions, emphasized the nature of the city as a Catholic community. The council used the tools of social control, but the common themes of its actions were the protection of the community and the maintenance of Cologne's traditions. Because Catholicism was integral to both the traditions of the city and to the maintenance of a healthy community, as the sixteenth-century Kölners saw it, the council's desire to protect the community required the city officials to attempt to regulate the spread of Protestant teachings. The city's decision to remain Catholic was a result of many concerns. The council sought to protect the community from the wrath of God, which could threaten the whole community for the doctrinal errors of a few. Cologne's determined Catholicism was been linked to the council's perception of Protestantism as a source of disorder. The

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<sup>71</sup>Robert W. Scribner, "Civic Unity and the Reformation in Erfurt," in Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany, ed. Robert W. Scribner (London: The Hambleton Press, 1987), 202-207.

<sup>72</sup>*Ibid.*, 212-214.

<sup>73</sup>See, generally, Thomas A. Brady, Jr., Ruling Class, Regime and Reformation at Strasbourg (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978), and Gerald Strauss, Nuremberg in the Sixteenth Century: City Politics and Life Between Middle Ages and Modern Times Revised ed., (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976).

council acted repeatedly to protect the community from disruptive influences. The council envisioned disruption as a force which came from outside the Cologne community, almost by definition. In 1525, the council ruled that it should be consulted before any immigrants were accepted into the merchants' and artisans' associations of the city. The council was worried about an influx of outsiders because "many people who have been exiled or chased out of their homelands because they believe Luther's teachings or because they have opposed the authorities want to settle in Cologne; this could cause [the] Pope, [the] emperor and [the] princes to become prejudiced against the city."<sup>74</sup> This early linking of adherents of Luther's teachings with outsiders set the tone for the city council's attitudes toward deviance from what the council called the "good old religion." As the sixteenth century progressed, and the council's concerns expanded from Lutherans to all sorts of Protestants, the idea that religious deviance came from outside the community took root. City proclamations warned of the dangers posed by foreigners who held secret devotional meetings.<sup>75</sup> The danger to Cologne came from outside the community, and from people who did not practice their religion in the company of their neighbors.

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<sup>74</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 3., 257. September 18, 1525. Rpr. 6. "Ohne Wissen des Rates dürfen keine Auswärtigen aufgenommen werden. Viele, die aus ihrer Heimat verbannt oder verjagt worden sind, weil sie sich zu Luthers Lehre bekannt oder sich gegen ihre Obrigkeit aufgelehnt haben, wollen sich nämlich in Köln niederlassen, wodurch Papst, Kaiser und Fürsten gegen die Stadt eingenommen werden könnten."

<sup>75</sup>Gerd Schwerhoff, "Bürgerliche Konflikt in Köln 1608-1610, Zur Vorgeschichte des 'Summarischen Extraktes,'" Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins 60 (1989):242.

The city's concern with the residents' loyalty to the city and to the community remained a strong theme throughout the remainder of the 1520s. It was important that the city officials and the Gaffeln not admit non-Catholics to citizenship. In August of 1526, while the city council was laying plans for processions and Masses in the city, it also approved the delegation of the council lord Jakob Arnold von Siegen, one of the council's leading members, as an emissary from the German estates (Reichstände), then in session in Ulm, to the emperor's court in Spain. Von Siegen's mission was to report to the emperor on the state of the religious disputes in Germany, and also to reassure the emperor of the faithfulness of the city of Cologne.<sup>76</sup> In September, 1526, the city council for the first time cautioned city officials and the city's political associations not to accept non-Catholic foreigners as citizens.<sup>77</sup> The council reminded the Gaffeln that, in order to work in the city, craftsmen and tradesmen should be loyal residents of the city.<sup>78</sup> In 1528, the city attempted to enforce the requirement that all men living in the city should be bound to the city by oath by making a blacklist of men who refused to take the oath. At least in theory, it would then be impossible for men who had not sworn the oath to do business in the city, because they would have no access to city facilities such as cranes for unloading goods from ships, and markets in which to sell or buy goods. A few months later, the council

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<sup>76</sup>Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 238-239, citing Copienbücher N. 53.

<sup>77</sup>Peter Fuchs, ed., Chronik zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln (Cologne: Greven Verlag, 1991), 53.

<sup>78</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 3, 456. October 11, 1527. Rpr. 7. "Die Gaffeln dürfen neimanden als Bürger aufnehmen, ihn Geld zahlen und seinen Schild aufhängen lassen, wenn er nicht in Köln zu Haus und Hof sitzt und der Stadt Treue hält."

elaborated in the penalties for refusal to take an oath of loyalty to the city. Unsworn residents could not receive payments of wine, beer, bread or other goods, and could not purchase or convey real property because they were not eligible to register their property transactions in the city's property registers.<sup>79</sup>

It was also important that the religious houses not become centers of dissent. The city council reminded the Augustinians, who were already under suspicion of Lutheran sympathies, and who had undergone a Catholic reformation under the authority of the city council, not to accept any foreigners without the knowledge of the council.<sup>80</sup>

The links between religious belief and observance, community membership and order became the basis of Cologne's response to the Reformation in the 1520s. The tensions between Catholics and Lutherans, citizens or residents of Cologne and foreigners, dissidents and law enforcement authorities provide tools for analyzing the development of the ideas of civic and religious identity in sixteenth-century Cologne.

The response of the civic authorities to the problems of civic disorder and the introduction of the Reformation into Cologne was not limited to the extraordinary events surrounding the rebellion of 1525. The civic authorities

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<sup>79</sup>Ibid., 514. May 19, 1528. Rpr. 7. "Die Eidherren sollen alle Unvereidigten laden und zur Eidesleistung auffordern. Diejenigen, die den Eid verweigern, sollen aufgeschrieben werden. Ihnen sollen in den Kränen, Kaufhäusern und anderswo keine Zeichen gegeben werden;" 540. August 4, 1528. Rpr. 7. "Wie schon am 19. Mai beschlossen, sollen die Eidherren alle Unvereidigten vorladen und zur Leistung des Eides auffordern. Wer sich weigert, soll keine Zeichen für Wein, Bier, Brot und andere waren erhalten und nicht von den Schreinschreibern für ihre Erben und Renten in die Schreinsbücher eingetragen werden."

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., 367. December 19, 1526. Rpr. 6. "Die Augustiner sollen sich an die früher getroffenen Beschlüsse halten und keine Fremden ohne Wissen des Rates [aufnehmen]."



reacted to more mundane threats to the civic community with the enforcement mechanisms of the criminal law. The application of the criminal law to suppress religious innovation was a part of the phenomenon of "social discipline" (*Sozialdisziplinierung*), or social control.<sup>81</sup> Robert Scribner has pointed out that social control in the Reformation era was a multifaceted phenomenon. The explicitly coercive mechanism of the criminal law was only a part of the apparatus of social control in an urban community. Cities used a variety of techniques, including the establishment of rules and regulations, and their enforcement by police, "to create deep-rooted consensus within civil society, which leads to the acceptance of the social and political order as legitimate and purposive."<sup>82</sup> In Cologne, public ritual, *Gaffel* membership, and the requirement of sworn loyalty to the city, even for temporary residents, helped to create an awareness of community and, perhaps, contributed to the creation of consensus. If the city did enjoy consensus about the legitimacy of its political structures and the unity of its religious identity, that consensus was widespread, rather than universal, and did not exist without challenge. The idea of community was not static. The people of Cologne refined and re-defined it throughout the sixteenth century. The criminal law, one of the tools of social coercion, was also a tool for the construction of communal identity, and a measure of the limits of community.

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<sup>81</sup>Robert W. Scribner, "Social Control and the Possibility of an Urban Reformation," in Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany, ed. Robert W. Scribner (London: The Hambledon Press, 1987), 176-177.

<sup>82</sup>*Ibid.*, 171.

The criminal law was perhaps the most obvious of the city's coercive control mechanisms. It was coercive in the sense that it required conformity with social norms, and punished nonconformity in a variety of ways, including imprisonment, physical punishment, and expulsion from the community. It is too simple, though, to say that Cologne remained Catholic because of the coercive mechanism of the criminal law. The criminal law was administered by members of the city council and their appointees, and it reflected, at least to some extent, the values and civic consciousness of the city's population. Cologne could not be sealed off from the intellectual and religious currents of the age. Neither was its government equipped to impose religious uniformity on thousands of residents, if those residents had been determined to accept the new teachings of the reformers. The criminal law was the city's best effort at establishing community norms for belief and behavior. It is therefore important, not only because it was a highly effective coercive mechanism, but because it is a guide to the Cologne community's analysis of social dangers and disruptions.

The impossibility of using the criminal justice system to coerce a population of almost 40,000 people to accept a system of belief and behavior which they were not inclined to accept is evident when the mechanism of criminal enforcement in Cologne is considered. Scribner noted that the weakness of the coercive ability of governments was a pervasive problem for sixteenth-century rulers.<sup>83</sup> Cologne was no exception. Cologne did not devote an high portion of its resources to its police force. Generally, the city employed only two Gewaltmeister, (police authorities) who employed three

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<sup>83</sup>Ibid., 177.

deputies; after 1546, the Gewaltmeister employed four deputies.<sup>84</sup> The Gewaltmeister were responsible for maintaining order and punishing those who broke the peace of the city.<sup>85</sup> They were appointees of the council; the positions were usually filled by former council members who were not currently holding seats in the council. The Gewaltmeister (also known as Gewaltrichter) held jurisdiction over a wide variety of matters which could break the peace, including the physical breaches of peace which could be all too common in urban settings, such as "punishment for drawing knives, wounding, housebreaking, or the forcible appropriation of the inheritance of another."<sup>86</sup> There were other offenses, though, which fell within the rubric of "breaches of the peace," which were less obviously dangerous to the city's tranquillity. The crime of blasphemy fell within the Gewaltrichter's responsibility. The Gewaltrichter also enforced the sumptuary ordinances, the regulations on gaming, curfew, night patrols of the city, and the laws against obstruction of the streets. They exercised jurisdiction over moral offenses, including adultery, bigamy and fornication, as well as over cases of religious nonconformity, and secret gatherings of non-Catholics.

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<sup>84</sup>Schwerhoff, 59. Schwerhoff argues that the Rat periodically increased the number of Gewaltmeister and deputies temporarily, in order to account for extraordinary security needs. In 1530, for example, he suggests that the Rat doubled the number of Gewaltmeister because of a visit from the Emperor. The general structure of two Gewaltmeister with three or four deputies seems to have been both the longstanding tradition and the rule during the sixteenth century. See also Robert Jütte, "Disziplinierungsmechanismen in der städtischen Armenfürsorge der Frühneuzeit," in Soziale Sicherheit und soziale Disziplinierung, ed. Christoph Sachsse and Florian Tennstedt (Frankfurt:Suhrkamp Verlag, 1986). Jütte argues that the number of Gewaltmeister increased permanently in 1555, when the Rat doubled the number of Gewaltmeister, and increased the number of deputies to eight.

<sup>85</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 2, xiv.

<sup>86</sup>Schwerhoff, 52.

Other officials were responsible for the city's security with respect to threats from outside the walls. The night watchmen were responsible for protection against external threats, and did not have responsibility for internal policing. Additional officials were responsible for watching the city's gates, and for keeping track of the city's beggars, but they did not have general police responsibilities.<sup>87</sup>

City officials also administered the city's prisons, and were in charge of the examination of prisoners and the taking of statements. These officers, called Turmmeister (Tower Masters) because the prisons were located in towers (Türme) in the walls of the city, appear in the records for the first time in the mid-fifteenth century. The advent and increasing importance of the Turmmeister may be related to the city's attempts to increase its jurisdiction over matters of criminal interrogation, internal security and police procedure, at the expense of the archbishop's officials.<sup>88</sup>

Another set of officials responsible for protection of the community were the Stimmeister (appraisers). Together with the two Bürgermeister (mayors) and the two Rentmeister (exchequers) who were in charge of the city's finances, the two Stimmeister made up the elite "six lords," who were the most important city officials. The Stimmeiester's original duties included organization of the city's defense, but during the fifteenth and sixteenth century, the list of duties expanded to include a series of concerns which can be described as protection of the community. By the early seventeenth century, when one of the few lists of Stimmeister responsibilities was written, the Stimmeister's tasks included "searching out

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<sup>87</sup>Ibid, 60.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., 62.

the originators of blasphemies, pamphlets, and scurrilous writings, discovering secret meetings and conventicles, calling to account parents, children and servants who are forgetful of their duties, confiscating forbidden books and other printed materials, enforcing the burial ordinances, managing the registration of citizens' religious compliance . . .forbidding the fomenting of war in the city, and overseeing the currency."<sup>89</sup> The Stimmeister's duties, like those of the Gewaltmeister, were linked to the preservation of the community; the Stimmeister supervised the carrying out of each resident's duties to the city, the church, and the family.

The per capita number of law enforcement officials was relatively low in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Cologne, even as compared with other early modern cities. Cologne seems to have had about one police official for every 4000 residents, while cities such as Siena, Venice and Florence had ratios of 1:145, 1:250 and 1:800, respectively. In Nuremberg, sixteen Quartermasters held police power in a city of about 25,000 inhabitants (a ratio of about 1:1500) and other officials were also empowered to make arrests. Gerd Schwerhoff, who has studied the criminal law of early modern Cologne, argues persuasively that the relative lack of internal police officials in Cologne suggests that the paradigm of firm, governmentally-imposed social discipline is not an accurate model of the civic community in early modern Cologne.<sup>90</sup>

Tension between the jurisdiction of the city authorities and the jurisdiction of the archiepiscopal authorities added complexity to the question

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<sup>89</sup>Ibid., 65. See also Leonard Ennen, Geschichte der Stadt Köln, meist aus den Quellen des Kölner Stadt-Archivs (Köln:L. Schwann'schen Verlagshandlung, 1869), vol. 3, 45.

<sup>90</sup>Schwerhoff., 61.

of social control and religious conformity in Cologne. While the archbishop of Cologne had technical legal jurisdiction over the city, in practice the jurisdiction of the archiepiscopal authorities was parallel to the jurisdiction of the city authorities, and the archiepiscopal authorities lost stature and practical authority during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The High Court (das Hohe Gericht), with its main officials, the Schöffen, and its police officers, the Greven, were the archbishop's tools for the exercise of jurisdiction over the city. The High Court was located in the Cathedral precincts, within the main walls of the city, but within the separate jurisdiction of the Cathedral chapter. In addition to the High Court, the Greven and Schöffen operated a jail (the Hacht), also within the Cathedral grounds, and a jail and interrogation center in the cellar of the Greve's house. The offices of Greven and Schöffen, and the High Court itself, existed throughout the sixteenth century, but their power and importance had declined steadily after the expulsion of the archbishop from the city in the late thirteenth century. During the fourteenth century, the patrician families who controlled the city council also contrived appointments to the archiepiscopal offices for their supporters. After the victory of the Gaffeln in 1396, the Schöffenkolleg became less closely associated with council membership. Members of the old patrician families continued to receive appointments as Schöffen, but the archiepiscopal appointments began to be less sought-after than places on the city council, which became the real seat of civic authority. From the middle of the fifteenth century, by order of the archbishop, appointments as Schöffen were no longer limited to members of the old patrician families. The Greven and the Schöffen occupied an ambiguous position in the city. They were citizens of Cologne, and as such they were

members of the urban community, and owed loyalty to the city council. On the other hand, they were officials and servants of the archbishop, whose interests did not always coincide with those of the city.<sup>91</sup>

The existence of the archiepiscopal High Court was a continual reminder of the claims of the archbishop to lordship over the city, and was in conflict with the city's rights as a free and independent imperial city. Although the conflict over jurisdiction continued throughout the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the balance throughout the period slowly swung in the city's favor. Around 1420, the city secured the important right to arrest suspects (Antastrecht), and therefore controlled the most basic beginnings of criminal procedure.<sup>92</sup> During the sixteenth century, the city courts and the archiepiscopal court seem to have worked together, or at least in similar ways. Most arrests started with the city authorities; sometimes, prisoners were turned over to the High Court for trial, sentencing or execution of sentence. There was no clear structure for determining which cases were turned over to the High Court by the city's criminal authorities. Furthermore, the archbishop's officials did not control the prosecution of religious deviation in Cologne. The city authorities dealt with religious nonconformity as a matter of civic interest. While they sometimes referred such cases to the archbishop's court, they did not always do so.

The question of the jurisdiction of the Cologne courts in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is troublesome. Few scholars have treated the question, and most of them have relied on normative source material from

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<sup>91</sup>Ibid., 74-77.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid., 79-80.

the late Middle Ages.<sup>93</sup> In practice, the records reveal that the city council acted as a court and as the supervisory agency for the police officials in many cases. Arrests were often ordered by the city council, and at the very least, arrests had to be reported to the council.<sup>94</sup> The council had several choices about how to handle a criminal case. It could end the proceeding with the release of the accused. It could pass a sentence, such as banishment from the city. It could order further investigation, which was then carried out by appointees of the council. Finally, it could turn prisoners over to the High Court, which fell under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Cologne. Schwerhoff concludes that the city council was the "central jurisdictional authority" in the city.<sup>95</sup>

The application of the criminal law to the problem of religious change shows how the civic authorities in Cologne defined the civic community, and how the element of religion became more explicitly important to the definition of the Cologne community during the sixteenth century. In the midst of religious challenge and change, the Cologne city council, made up of the city's prominent merchants, tradesmen and artisans, acted to keep Cologne a Catholic community. The decrees of the council and the enforcement of the criminal law show how the authorities linked

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<sup>93</sup>Ibid., 49, n.2; for more information on the structure of police and legal authority in Cologne, see generally 50-122. On the relationship between the archiepiscopal High Court and the city council, see Maria Clementine Beemelmans, "Die Stellung des Hohen Kurfürstlichen Gerichts zum Rat der Stadt Köln (1475-1794)," Jahrbuch des kölnischen Geschichtsvereins 17 (1935):1-43.

<sup>94</sup> Schwerhoff, 50.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., 50.



community membership with Catholicism, and religious dissent with foreign innovation.

Kai Erikson, following the teachings of Emile Durkheim, argued that societies use the definition and punishment of deviant behavior to define and to reinforce the boundaries of the society's cultural identity.<sup>96</sup> The punishment of criminal behavior is important because it defines the boundaries of the community by setting limits beyond which members may not stray without risk of punishment. The function of punishment goes beyond the mere exaction of payment or vengeance for wrongdoing. The type of punishment imposed by society can help to define the harm which society associated with the crime, and in some cases, can help to repair the harm done by the criminal. It is a cliché to say that in most criminal systems, the punishment is designed to fit the crime. This "fit," though, can be defined in a variety of ways. Punishments may demand that the criminal suffer the same fate as the victim, as in "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." Sometimes punishments are related to crimes by analogy; authorities may attempt to design a fitting punishment for a particular crime, or may attempt to design a punishment which reflects the harm done to society by the criminal. Some punishments can be designed to repair the social harm, or to make restitution to the individual victims of crime. In the twentieth century, punishment is often intended to be proportional to the crime, and both modern scholars and modern sentencing authorities debate long and hard

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<sup>96</sup>Kai T. Erikson, Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966), 10-13. On deviance and the boundaries of society, see, generally, Emile Durkheim, "The Rules of Sociological Method," in The Rules of Sociological Method and Selected Texts in Sociology and its Method, ed. Steven Lukes (London: The Macmillan Press, 1982), 26-163.

over exactly how much punishment and what degree of harshness are appropriate for any given crime.<sup>97</sup>

In sixteenth-century Cologne, punishment was a public matter. Michel Foucault suggested that public punishment, such as public execution, was a ceremony designed to reemphasize the power of the political authority, which was cast into doubt by the deviant behavior of the criminal.<sup>98</sup> In Cologne, religious crime was punished in a variety of ways which suggest that the city officials were worried about harm to the community itself, rather than harm to the political authorities. The element of the "triumph of the law," identified by Foucault, was present, but the foci of criminal punishment for religious deviation were the purification and restoration of the community.

The use of the criminal law to prosecute religious deviation was not new in the sixteenth century. Blasphemy prosecutions, for example, were common in earlier centuries. Gerd Schwerhoff noted that prosecutions for blasphemy were common in most of the cities and territories of the Holy Roman Empire throughout the fifteenth century, and that blasphemy was forbidden by imperial statute after 1495. In fifteenth-century Cologne, the common punishments for blasphemy, which included reviling God, the

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<sup>97</sup>In modern criminal law, there is also a major dispute over the function of criminal sentencing: is it punishment, or is it rehabilitation? In sixteenth century Cologne, the authorities were not concerned with the debate between punishment and rehabilitation, and I will not deal with it here. There is some evidence, however, that the Cologne authorities recognized the possibility of rehabilitation, at least in religious crimes, and recognized the possibility that persons convicted of Lutheranism could recant and thereby rejoin the community. See discussion of temporary banishment in Chapter 4.

<sup>98</sup>Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), 49.

Virgin Mary, and the saints, as well as swearing improper oaths, was public display of the criminal in irons.<sup>99</sup> A 1479 Morgensprache, one of the decrees promulgated by the city council, prescribed corporal punishment for anyone who engaged in blasphemy or cursed in the name of God, His mother, or the saints, or who attacked any image or crucifix with a knife or other weapon.<sup>100</sup> Blasphemy prosecutions continued into the sixteenth century, when a common punishment for blasphemy was the wooden overcoat, or "coat of shame"<sup>101</sup> The "wooden overcoat" was a portable prison of sorts; it was a device shaped like a barrel which covered the offender's torso, but left his head and his legs free.<sup>102</sup> This punishment, unlike imprisonment in the city's tower jails, made prisoners very visible. Tower imprisonment, usually on bread and water, was also used to punish blasphemy.

Blasphemy was an offense because religion was a matter of public concern. The errors of a few people could call the wrath of God down on the community. Blasphemy was dangerous to the peace of the city, and it was logical that, within the structures of civic authority, it fell within the jurisdiction of the Gewaltmeister. Blasphemy was also an offense in which the archiepiscopal courts had an interest. Over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, though, the city appears to have taken a greater interest in the prosecution of blasphemy cases, and punished incidents of blasphemy

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<sup>99</sup>Schwerhoff, 246

<sup>100</sup>*Ibid.*, 246.

<sup>101</sup>*Ibid.*, 246.

<sup>102</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 3, 414. May 31, 1527. Rpr. 6. "Die Turmmeister sollen Laurents Kremer den hölzernen Mantel tragen lassen, weil er gewürfelt und Gott und die Heiligen geschmäht hat." See Fuchs, Chronik, 75, for an illustration of a seventeenth-century "wandering prison" called the Heuke, used for prisoners convicted of blasphemy, swearing, criticism or libel, or malicious or provocative speech.

within the civic authority structure, rather than turn them over to the High Court. Still, some cases were turned over to the archbishop's court, and even as late as 1556, transferal of blasphemy cases to the High Court was possible.<sup>103</sup>

To the extent that the sort of blasphemy punished by the city can be traced, blasphemy prosecutions in the sixteenth century became almost a proxy for prosecutions of Protestants. The records are not always clear about what accused blasphemers said. Recorded cases include instances of blasphemy against the Virgin Mary and the saints. Some blasphemers cast doubt upon the perpetual virginity of Mary; this could easily be an indicator of Protestant theological convictions. Prosecutions for blasphemy against the host reflected the city council's developing interest in the sacramental elements of Catholicism as indicators of religious belief and of community membership. The city's interest in punishing people who defamed the saints and the Virgin reinforced the city's strong Catholic identity. The reverence for the host was also specifically linked to Catholicism. Because Catholic doctrine included the transubstantiation of the elements of the sacrament from bread and wine to the body and blood of Christ, the host, which was distributed to all communicants in the Catholic communion ceremony, became a physical manifestation of God. Harm done to the host was harm done to the deity. The host was an important focus of devotion, in the Mass itself, in civic processions, and in the minds of the believers. Disdain for the host was a mark of dangerous impiety, which once again presented a danger to the community at large. Other prosecutions simply refer to blasphemy against God; it is more difficult in these cases to infer that the accused

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<sup>103</sup>Schwerhoff, 246.

blasphemer had Protestant sympathies. Protestant or not, however, blasphemers were dangerous to the civic community, and the council maintained an interest in prosecuting them.

Schwerhoff argues that prosecution and sentencing for blasphemy alone was a rare thing; he finds that blasphemy verdicts are most often accompanied by punishments for other crimes, especially violent crime or adultery.<sup>104</sup> Schwerhoff's sources for this assertion are the Turmbücher, or criminal records. Schwerhoff's study concentrates on the late sixteenth century and the seventeenth century, when the Turmbuch records are more complete. The Ratsprotokolle, which are the main source of information for city prosecutions in the earlier sixteenth century, on the other hand, contain numerous instances of punishment for blasphemy without any indication that other crimes of violence or of sexual impropriety were involved. Blasphemy itself was dangerous to the community, and merited punishment because it threatened the spiritual health of the community as well as the temporal order.

In late May, 1527, the council sentenced Laurents Kremer, who had been convicted of playing at dice and of reviling God and the saints (perhaps because of a bad throw), to wear the "wooden overcoat." In February, 1529, the city ordered the arrest of a man who had opined that the Virgin Mary had two children after the birth of Christ. The council seems to have been concerned about the belief in the doctrine of the perpetual virginity of Mary. The blasphemer, who was arrested and examined, turned out to be a Lutheran as well as a blasphemer. The council sentenced him to be

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<sup>104</sup>*Ibid.*, 247.

imprisoned and fed only bread and water for the duration of Lent.<sup>105</sup> At the end of March, 1529, Thonis (the blasphemer) prostrated himself in the city council chamber, and to ask God, the Virgin Mary, and the council for forgiveness.<sup>106</sup>

In another case, the council considered sending a smith, who had cast aspersions on the Virgin Mary, on a pilgrimage as punishment for his blasphemy. The council reconsidered, though, and concluded that a prostration before the city council would be sufficient.<sup>107</sup> The smith's and the Lutheran's punishments illustrate the city council's perception of the danger to the civic community posed by religious nonconformity. To repair the damage done by their attacks on the Virgin Mary, both men performed rituals of public humiliation and penance before the city council. The Lutheran was required to ask forgiveness of a strange trinity: God, the Virgin and the city council. The council specifically considered and rejected requiring the smith to repair his fault by making a religious pilgrimage; the specifically religious solution was rejected in favor of a punishment which

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<sup>105</sup>Groten, *Beschlüsse der Rat der Stadt Köln*, vol. 3, 595. February 8, 1529. Rpr. 7. "Die Turmmeister sollen denjenigen festnehmen lassen, der behauptet hat, die Hl. Maria habe nach Christi Geburt noch 2 Kinder gehabt." See also 596. February 12, 1529. Rpr. 7. "Der alte Thonis Slosmecher, der ebenfalls Lutheraner ist und die Hl. Maria geschmäht hat soll über die Fastenzeit bei Wasser and Brot eingesperrt werden, ebenso der Steinmetz."

<sup>106</sup>*Ibid.*, 608. March 26, 1529. Rpr. 7. "Thonis Slosmecher macht für seine Lästerung einen Fußfall in der Ratskammer und bettet Gott, die Jungfrau Maria und den Rat um Vergebung."

<sup>107</sup>*Ibid.* 607. March 24, 1529. Rpr. 7. "Der Schmied, der die Jungfrau Maria geschmäht hat, soll kräftig zurechtgewiesen werden. Zunächst wird erwogen, ihn auf eine Pilgerfahrt zu schicken, dann wird beschlossen, ihm einen Fußfall vor dem Rat abzuverlangen."

took place within the community, and reflected both the harm done to the Virgin and the harm done to the civic community.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to generalize about when and why city officials transferred blasphemy cases to the archbishop's court. City officials turned one suspect, who said derogatory things about the Holy Sacrament, over to the archbishop's officials without further comment.<sup>108</sup> A few days later, the police officials arrested a man for blaspheming God and the saints. The council sentenced the man to spend a month in jail on bread and water. He was also fired from his job.<sup>109</sup> In November, 1526, the council directed the investigation of people who mocked the Holy Sacrament on the feast day of St. Kunibert (November 12), one of the early Cologne archbishops whose relics were an important part of the city's sacred capital.<sup>110</sup> One suspect offended both the Holy Sacrament and the city itself, in the person of St. Kunibert, whose day he dishonored. While the council did not record any outcome for this case, it was not isolated. In February, 1527, the council ordered the arrest of several people who blasphemed God and the Virgin Mary.<sup>111</sup> A few days after the arrest order, the council ordered a hearing for

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 650. September 17, 1529. Rpr. 7. "Die Turmmeister sollen den Leyendecker, der über das Hl. Sakrament verächtlich gesprochen hat, dem Greven übergeben."

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 650. September 20, 1529. Rpr. 7. "Die Gewaltrichter sollen Jelis auf der Ark festnehmen, der Gott und die Heiligen gelästert hat;" 652. October 1, 1529. Rpr. 7. "Die Turmmeister sollen Jelis Pergementzmecher, der auf der Ark am Bayenturm wohnt, wegen seiner Lästertworte einen Monat bei Wasser und Brot einsperren. Er wird aus seinem Dienst entlassen. Die Rentmeister sollen einen anderen einstellen."

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 358. November 14, 1526. Rpr. 6. "Die Weinmeister sollen nach denjenigen forschen, die am Kunibertstag [12 November] das H. Sakrament verspottet haben."

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 382. February 11, 1527. Rpr. 6. "Die Gewaltrichter sollen diejenigen unverzüglich festnehmen, die Gott und die Hl. Maria lästern."

the suspected blasphemers.<sup>112</sup> After further investigation, the city council turned one blasphemer, a barber, over to the high court.<sup>113</sup>

The seriousness of blasphemy or unchristian conduct could be influenced by time and place, as well as by the nature of the utterance or action. Heinrich Kurffmecher was sentenced to wear the wooden overcoat as a punishment for cursing on Sunday.<sup>114</sup> The city council also made distinctions between people who engaged in blasphemy or heresy as a matter of principle or belief, and people who were merely misguided or crazy. In October, 1523, the city arrested two men, whom the council characterized as mentally ill (geisteskrank). One of the men was exiled from the city immediately. The other, who had blasphemed against God, was imprisoned in one of the city's towers.<sup>115</sup> In January, 1524, the council provided him with new clothing. At the end of January, 1524, he was escorted out of the city and across the Rhine. The blasphemer's punishment was separation from the community which his blasphemy had harmed. At the same time, the council ordered that another mentally-ill man, who was a citizen, be accommodated in the city's St. Revilien hospital, which maintained places for

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<sup>112</sup>Ibid., 382. February 13, 1527. Rpr. 6. "Die Turmmeister und Gewaltrichter sollen denjenigen, der der Gotteslästerung bezichtigt wird, genau verhören."

<sup>113</sup>Ibid., 385. February 20, 1527. Rpr. 6. "Auf der Sache des Bartscherers, der Gott gelästert hat: die Stimmeister, Weinmeister, Turmmeister;" 387. March 1, 1527. Rpr. 6. "Der Bartscherer, der Gott und die Hl. Maria gelästert haben soll, soll dem Gericht übergeben werden."

<sup>114</sup>Ibid., 653. October 1, 1527. Rpr. 7. "Die Turmmeister sollen den Trommelschläger Heinrich Kurffmecher als Strafe für seine unchristlichen Flüche am Sonntag den hölnzernen Mantel tragen lassen."

<sup>115</sup>Ibid., 55. October 12, 1524. Rpr. 5. "Die Turmmeister sollen den einen giesteskranken Mann gegen Urfehde aus der Stadt führen. Der andere, der u.a. zu St. Andreas Gott gelästert hat, soll unten in einem Turm gesetzt werden, bis ein neuer Greve eingesetzt ist."



the city's mentally-ill residents.<sup>116</sup> Here, as in many areas, the city showed a clear distinction between insiders, or community members, and outsiders. The city had to care for its own poor and ill residents, but outsiders were entitled to less solicitude. The pattern of privilege and duty attached to community membership is characteristic of late medieval and early modern cities. Cologne used this traditional distinction to develop its response to the spread of the Reformation.

A man known as Huprecht der Narr appeared in the records in the 1520s and 1530s. He frequently criticized the city government and the theological establishment of the city, and yet he was never punished as a criminal for his actions. In August, 1529, he was apprehended by city officials, taken to one of the city's towers, and given something warm to eat. The council noted that Huprecht had engaged in confused and abusive commentary at the school of theology.<sup>117</sup> The authorities did not, however, accuse him of blasphemy, or punish him with any of the usual methods employed in blasphemy cases. Belief and volition and not just behavior, were relevant to the council's actions with respect to blasphemers.

Blasphemy prosecutions formed a bridge between traditional ways and means of protecting the civic and religious community, and the new

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<sup>116</sup>Ibid., 76. January 6, 1524. Rpr. 5. "Der arme Mann, der wegen Blasphemie zu St. Andreas in Haft gewesen ist, soll eine graues Röckchen und eine Hose erhalten." See also 80. January 22, 1524. Rpr. 5. "Derjenige, der die Blasphemie zu St. Andreas verübt hat, soll, wie beschlossen, eingekleidet und dann mit einigen Dienern über den Rhein abgeschoben werden. Der andere geistesgestörte Mann, der Bürger ist, soll in St. Revilien untergebracht werden."

<sup>117</sup>Ibid., 638. August 4, 1529. Rpr. 7. "Die Turmmeister sollen Huprecht den Narren auf einen Turm setzen und ihm etwas Warmes geben. Er hat in der Schola theologorum konfuse Schmähreden geführt."

imperative of responding to the spread of the Reformation. Using traditional methods, the city authorities discouraged the expression of Protestant beliefs in the city. Particular points of Catholic doctrine, including the virginity and sanctity of Mary, the mysterious holiness of the host, and the efficacy of the cult of the saints became topics of civic, as well as religious, interest.

The prevention of the spread of unorthodox ideas was another main theme of the city council's actions in the 1520s. Although there is no record suggesting that the city council participated in the University's decision to burn Luther's works in 1520, the council attempted to restrict the publication and sale of Lutheran books, and to prevent the spread of Lutheran preaching and teaching. The council, acting in accordance with an imperial edict directing the cities to take action against the promulgation of Lutheran writings, ruled that no books could be published in the city without review by city officials.<sup>118</sup> As with many coercive measures, the city's proclamations did not stop people from trying to spread the Reformation in Cologne. In 1523, an unnamed man was arrested for selling Lutheran books, in spite of the city council's prohibition on such sales.<sup>119</sup> In August, 1524, the council passed a resolution forbidding the printing and sale of Lutheran books.<sup>120</sup> The direction to take action against Lutheran writings was reinforced by the resolutions of the urban diets of the cities (Städtetagen), held in Nuremberg

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<sup>118</sup>Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 190-191.

<sup>119</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 3, 59. October 28, 1523. Rpr. 5. "Die Turmmeister sollen den Mann, der den Bürgermeister beleidigt hat und trotz dessen Verböts lutherische Bücher verkaufen will, zu Turm wiesen."

<sup>120</sup>*Ibid.*, 144. August 17, 1524. Rpr. 5. "Die Buchdrucker dürfen keine lutherischen Bücher drucken, die Buchhändler keine verkaufen."

and in Speyer.<sup>121</sup> The city's concern about the spread of new ideas through print did not prevent the new ideas from spreading. The presence of Protestant literature remained a prominent feature of the council's concern. Appointees were named to assist police officials in the confiscation of Lutheran books in early 1527.<sup>122</sup> There is even a suggestion that Lutheran books, along with knives and other wares, were offered for sale in the cathedral itself.<sup>123</sup>

Once books were confiscated, they were taken to the Chancery in the city hall, and examined by professors from the University, who determined whether or not they were heretical. If the experts found the books to be harmless, they were returned to their owners. If they were found to be tainted with Lutheranism, they were retained by the council.<sup>124</sup> The cooperation between the University clergy and the city authorities illustrates the working relationship between the civic and religious establishments in the city. The laymen on the city council were interested in and capable of making policy decisions concerning the spread of new religious ideas, but

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<sup>121</sup>Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 191-192.

<sup>122</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 3, 371. January 2, 1527. Rpr. 6. "Der Ketzermeister soll 2 Männer benennen, die mit den Gewaltrichtern lutherische Bücher beschlagnahmen sollen."

<sup>123</sup>Ibid., 394. March 25, 1527. Rpr. 6. "Der Domküster und der Keppler haben um ein Gespräch nachgesucht wegen der lutherischen Bücher, Messer und anderen Waren, die im Dom feilgeboten werden." Confiscations of books continued throughout the 1520s. See Ibid., 581. December 21, 1528. Rpr. 7. "Die Inhibitionenmeister und der Kanzler sollen lutherische Bücher beschlagnahmen."

<sup>124</sup>Ibid. 584. January 1, 1529. Rpr. 7. "Die Inhibitionenmeister, Turmmeister und der Kanzler sollen die von den Gewaltrichterdienern beschlagnahmten lutherischen Bücher prüfen. Diejenigen, gegen die keine Bedenken bestehen, sollen zurückgegeben, die anderen auf der Kanzlei behalten werden."

they called for expert advice in determining which of the materials they seized were actually dangerous Lutheran books.<sup>125</sup>

Sometimes, the offering of Lutheran books for sale was accompanied by more direct action. In one case, the purveyor of Lutheran books was also alleged to have boxed a Dominican friar's ears.<sup>126</sup> The council sentenced the culprit to a month in prison on bread and water.<sup>127</sup> The council also ordered people who complained about monks to cease their complaints or to leave the city. Women who criticized a certain monk were also sentenced to one month on bread and water.<sup>128</sup> Such complaints about and violence against the city's clergy were offenses against public order, as well as against the city's good standing in the Catholic faith. They were also harbingers of the Reformation; reform of the clergy and the elimination of monastic foundations were rallying cries of the reformers. Persons who advocated such reforms in Cologne were removed, at least temporarily, from the community. They were imprisoned; they were prevented from sharing

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<sup>125</sup>Ibid., 433. August 5, 1527. Rpr. 7. "Der Gewalttrichter soll die beschlagnahmten Bücher auf die Kanzlei bringen. Der Doktor soll die Professoren prüfen lassen, welche davon sich mit der lutherischen Lehre beschäftigen."

<sup>126</sup>Ibid., 102. April 18, 1524. Rpr. 5. "Lambert van Reyde und Heinrich van Molheym [members of the city council] sollen sich nach demjenigen erkundigen, der lutherische Bücher feilgeboten und einem Dominikaner eine Ohrfeige gegeben hat."

<sup>127</sup>Ibid., 105. April 25, 1524. Rpr. 5. "Die Gewalttrichter sollen den Bucherverkäufer, der den Dominikanern geschlagen hat, einen Monat bei Wasser und Brot einsperren."

<sup>128</sup>Ibid., 105. April 25, 1524. Rpr. 5. "Die Turmmeister sollen Calixt und den anderen auffordern, von Reden gegen die Mönche abzusehen oder die Stadt zu verlassen." See also Ibid., 127. June 29, 1524. Rpr. 5. "Die Turmmeister sollen die Frauen, die einen Mönch verunglimpft haben, einen Monat bei Wasser und Brot einsperren."

elements of communal life, such as normal meals, with their families and friends, and they were threatened with permanent expulsion from the city.

Part of the city's concern about the introduction of the ideas of the Reformation in Cologne stemmed from a concern about the maintenance of order. The rebellion of 1525 had shown the residents of Cologne that rebellion was a danger in the climate of religious and political change sweeping Germany. Whether or not the rebels in Cologne were actually inspired by the evangelical rebels of southern Germany, the city officials thought that the rebels were in sympathy with the reformers. In August 1525, after the rebellion in the city had been defused by the council, the council and the archbishop discussed the measures that should be taken to preserve order in the community. The city council agreed that it would see to it that Lutheran books and the printed versions of the demands of the rebels were confiscated. The archbishop agreed to delegate a representative to help with the work of confiscation.<sup>129</sup>

Publication was not the only vehicle which brought unorthodox religious teaching into Cologne. The Reformation was driven in part by preaching. The demand of parishioners for gospel-based preaching, and the voices of evangelical preachers, demanding reformation of church and society, spread the Reformation across Germany. The new preaching, like the new pamphlets, created dissent, attracted a few adherents, and worried the authorities in Cologne. The city council responded to the new preaching and pamphlets by taking an increasing interest in the city's religious life.. The

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<sup>129</sup>Ibid., 242. July 19, 1525. Rpr. 6. "Der Rat will lutherische Schriften und Drucke der Artikel der Aufrührer beschlagnahmen lassen. Der Erzbischof möge dazu seinerseits einen Mann beauftragen."

council saw preaching as a powerful tool, which had to be controlled by the city government. The council sought expert theological opinion from the Dominicans and from archiepiscopal officials about Lutheran preaching.<sup>130</sup> In 1529, a chaplain of St. Jacob was drawing great crowds of people to his sermons. While the records do not indicate that the council suspected the chaplain of harboring Lutheran sympathies, the council did direct the Churchmaster of St. Jacob to be careful of the chaplain's preaching, and instructed the chaplain, in the presence of the pastor of St. Georg and representatives of the city's parishes, that he was not allowed to preach in Cologne without the permission of the city council.<sup>131</sup> The chaplain was apparently not amenable to these restrictions, because within a week, the council ordered that he be barred from the church and banished from the city.<sup>132</sup> In the same parish, residents who criticized an observant friar were ordered arrested and held for eight days on bread and water.<sup>133</sup> The city council then invited an approved preacher to preach in the parish.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>130</sup>*Ibid.*, 544. August 17, 1528. Rpr. 7. "Die Bürgermeister, Goedart Kannengiesser, die Inhibitienmeister, Tielman van Gommersbach, Herman Suyderman and Goedart Butscho sollen sich am Nachmittag von dem Dominikaner Johan v. Kirspe und dem Ketzermeister über die lutherischen Predigten unterrichten lassen."

<sup>131</sup>*Ibid.*, 628. June 30, 1529. Rpr. 7. "Die Kirchmeister von St. Jacob werden vorstellig wegen des Kaplans, dessen Predigten viel Volk anziehen. Die Bürgermeister und Stimmeister sollen ihm im Beisein des Dechanten und des Pfarrers von St. Georg sowie Vertretern des Kirchspiels verbieten, ohne Erlaubnis des Rates in Köln zu predigen."

<sup>132</sup>*Ibid.*, 629. July 5, 1529. Rpr. 7. "Die Stimmeister sollen dem Kaplan von St. Jacob das Betreten der Kirche und das Predigen verbieten. Jede, der sich ihm anschließt, macht sich strafbar. Er soll die Stadt bei Sonnenuntergang verlassen, sonst wollen ihn die Gewalttrichter festnehmen."

<sup>133</sup>*Ibid.*, 630. July 9, 1529. Rpr. 7. "Die Turmmeister sollen die Anwohner schelten, die den Observanten, der in St. Jakob gepredigt hat,

In spite of the perception that Catholic clergy were reactionary, and that Cologne's powerful clerics worked with the city council to stop the spread of the Reformation, it is dangerous to make blanket statements about the position of the clergy in Cologne. The spread of Lutheran teaching also influenced some of Cologne's clergy. The Cologne Augustinians were perhaps the most spectacular example of the spread of Lutheran sentiment within the institutions of the Catholic Church in Cologne. The city's religious houses were also at risk; throughout the 1520s, there was suspicion that the Augustinian canons were harboring adherents of Luther's teachings, and the brothers of Herrenleichenam were also investigated on suspicion of Lutheran leanings.<sup>135</sup> In 1524, the council expressed concern about monks who had turned from the Catholic faith to the new teaching, fled their convents, and came to Cologne. The council directed the masters of the city's prisons to eject the Lutheran ex-monks from the city.<sup>136</sup> The city council

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beschimpft haben. Derjenige, der deswegen festgenommen worden ist, soll 8 tage bei Wasser und Brot sitzen."

<sup>134</sup>Ibid., 630. July 9, 1529. Rpr. 7. "Johan Sevenich und Joergen van Altena sollen Herrn Cornelius bitten, am Sonntag in St. Jacob zu predigen."

<sup>135</sup>Ibid., 283. December 25, 1525. Rpr. 6. "Die Bürgermeister, Johan Huype und die Weinmeister sollen in Herrenleichenam nachforschen, wo einige die Lehre Luthers angenommen haben sollen." On the subject of the Augustinians, see Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 310-317. See also Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 3, 304. March 19, 1526. Rpr. 6. "Die Rentmeister sollen mit dem Vikar, der auf Bitten des Rates den Augustinerkonvent reformiert hat, sprechen und ihm 20 Gulden schenken."

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., 99. April 4, 1524. Rpr. 5. "Die Bürgermeister, Stimmeister und Dr. Bellinchusen sollen mit dem Domdechanten und dem kölnischen Kanzler sprechen wegen der entlaufenen, der Lehre Luthers zugewandten Mönche, die in die Stadt kommen;" 99. April 5, 1524. Rpr. 5. "Die Turmmeister sollen den Mönch, der Luthers Lehre vertritt, auffordern, die Stadt zu verlassen."

ordered the arrest of a Lutheran preacher who attempted to preach to the stonemasons' Gaffel.<sup>137</sup> At least one Cologne priest left the Catholic church and married. He did not, however, attempt to remain in the city or to preach there.<sup>138</sup>

Criticism of the Mass, of insufficient preaching or insufficient emphasis on the Gospel, criticism of the clergy, and criticism of Catholic sacramental ritual all found their way into the Cologne community in the early years of the Reformation. In serious cases of religious and civic disorder, the civic authorities worked with the ecclesiastical authorities to maintain order in the community. In August of 1528, a session of the city council, along with the forty-four additional representatives of the Gaffeln, noted that the cathedral chapter had banned thirteen residents of the city. The banned group had entered the cathedral during the Mass, and had disrupted the services. They were also accused of having injured a mentally-ill (geistesgestörten) priest. The city requested that the cathedral canons rescind the ban until the city had a chance to discuss the matter with the archbishop.<sup>139</sup>

In late September of 1528, more disruptions occurred in church services. The preacher of St. Peter's was dragged from the pulpit of the

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<sup>137</sup>Ibid., 283. December 25, 1525. Rpr. 6. "Der Lutheraner, der auf der Steinmetzgaffel predigt wollte, soll verhaftet werden."

<sup>138</sup>Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 193.

<sup>139</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 3., 542. August 7, 1528. Rpr. 7. "Mit allen Räten und Vierundvierzigern: Der Domherr Friedrich v. Rietberg hatte Johan v. Walde und seine 12 Nachbarn bannen lassen. Die Gebannten sind gestern in den Dom gezogen und haben den Gottesdienst gestört. Sie sollen auch ein geistesgestörten Priester verletzt haben. Die Inhibitionmeister und der Kanzler sollen die beiden Offiziale bitten, den Bann aufzuheben, bis der Rat mit dem Erzbischof über die Sache verhandelt hat."



church by force. The sketchy records of the incident do not make clear who dragged him from the pulpit, or why the attackers acted as they did. The council directed the city's police and prison officials to look into the attack, and delegated a committee to discuss the attack with the pastor and chaplain of St. Peters, to ensure that such a thing did not happen again.<sup>140</sup>

In spite of incidents of violence and protest against the Catholic church in Cologne, there did not appear to have been a significant groundswell of support for Reformation in Cologne. Some residents of the city criticized the clergy, and some were adherents of the new faith, but by and large, there seems to have been a lack of enthusiasm for the new teachings. Since advocates of the Reformation were active in the city in spite of the prohibitions of the council, the explanation that Cologne's residents would have adopted the Reformation if it had not been for the reactionary policies of the city council and of the clergy is not fully persuasive.

The clergy and the people of Cologne were faced with challenges to their beliefs in the 1520s. Religious and civic society were not separable; a challenge to one was in many ways a challenge to both. The responses of the city's people, its government, and its clergy were not always consistent. The early years of the Reformation were confusing times in Cologne. Sometimes the reactions of the civic and clerical establishments to the new teachings were violent and dramatic, as they were when the University burned

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<sup>140</sup>Ibid., 555. September 7, 1528. Rpr. 7. "Heute morgen ist in St. Peter der Prediger mit Gewalt vom Predigstuhl gedrängt worden. Die Turmmeister und Gewaltrichter sollen den Vorfall untersuchen; 556. Rpr. 7, September 23, 1528. Die Herren von der Schickung sollen sich um die Sache mit dem Pfarrer und Kaplan von St. Peter kümmern, damit weitere Auseinandersetzungen verhindert werden."

Luther's writings, or when the civic and religious authorities collaborated in the sentencing and execution of Clarenbach and Fliesteden.

More often, though, the city's response to the Reformation was measured. The council sought to control the dissemination of new ideas. It began to use the criminal law to defend the religious unity of the civic community, and to define Lutherans (and, eventually, other Protestants) as outsiders. It began to show concern about immigration, and to consider the effect of unorthodox immigrants on the city's political and social position. The residents of Cologne reinforced their sense of community, unity and religious identity by participating in civic and religious ceremonies, and by reaffirming their community membership by oath. They defined their collective identity by means of shared activities, ceremonies and beliefs, and they emphasized the communal nature of their identity by establishing punishments for dissent which emphasized separation from the community.

Although the 1520s were the years in which the Reformation spread rapidly across Germany, they saw only the beginning of Cologne's response to the Reformation. The challenge presented by the Reformation led to an increasing emphasis on Catholicism as a part of civic identity. The self-definition of the Cologne community continued to develop throughout the sixteenth century. By building on Cologne's civic and religious traditions, the city council guided the residents in maintaining a sense of civic and religious culture and a collective identity which were strongly linked to Catholicism.

## Chapter 4: Threats and Responses, 1530-1543: Anabaptists, Outsiders and the Archbishop

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During the 1530s, the people of Cologne faced continuing threats to the city's autonomy and its religious identification. The spread of the radical Reformation brought explicit threats to the political and social order, as radical reformers argued that the Christian community on earth should be a community of saints. The most notable of these threats were the initial victory and subsequent bloody defeat of the Anabaptists at Münster. Less radical but closer to home, the Archbishop of Cologne, who had formed an alliance with both Catholic and Protestant princes in the coalition which defeated the Münster Anabaptists, edged closer to the Protestant camp. He held a reform synod in 1536, which aimed at reform of the church within the limits of Catholic teaching. Later, he invited prominent Protestants, notably Philip Melanchthon and Martin Bucer, to preach at Bonn. By 1543, he had become a Lutheran. The archdiocese of Cologne, which surrounded the city of Cologne, became a safe haven for Protestant preaching, teaching and religious services. The presence of Protestants in the archdiocese presented new options to those members of the Cologne community who were interested in the new faith. It also prompted the city to take measures to link community membership to communal and public religious observance. Religious practice became a topic of increasing interest to the city council and to the city police.

Community membership was embodied in public religious and civic observances. People's participation in important rituals demonstrated their community membership and reinforced the public, civic, and religious foundation of the urban community. In addition to public processions and Masses, the city used burial as a ritual which defined the community. Burials marked a major transition in both the corporal and the spiritual lives of the people. Burials, like other rituals, took on a mixed significance during the age of the Reformation. They had both religious and civic meaning, and both religious and civic officials took steps to see that the rituals were properly carried out. Public religious observance and the public commemoration of death demonstrated people's membership in both the local community and the community of the church at large, which extended beyond life. Cologne's response to the threats presented by the Anabaptists and the archbishop in the 1530s emphasized Cologne's civic identity, its Catholicism, and the connection of the Cologne community to the Catholic community.

### Cologne's Response to Outside Threats

The mid-1530s were a tense time in Cologne because of the frightening success and even more frightening fall of the Anabaptists in nearby Münster. Sigrun Haude, who has studied the effects of the initial success and subsequent defeat of the Münster Anabaptists on the political and religious positions of surrounding cities and territories, including the city and the archdiocese of Cologne, argues that the victory of Protestants in Münster caused a change in the attitude of the Cologne council toward Protestants. Haude argues that the Cologne council was relatively tolerant of Protestants in the 1520s, and took action against them only when the peace and order of

the city were threatened. In 1532 and 1533, after the electoral victory of the Protestants in the regular Münster city council elections, the Cologne city council changed its policy, and began to promulgate decrees against Protestants generally, and to worry about the presence of Protestants even if they were not obviously disruptive.<sup>1</sup>

It is true that the Cologne city council demonstrated increasing concern with the threat posed by Lutherans in 1533 and 1534.<sup>2</sup> As Haude argues, the council's interest was probably a reaction to the victory and the increasing radicalization of the Protestants in nearby Münster. The activity of the Cologne city council in 1533, though, was not a temporary phenomenon, and the city did not lapse back into simple toleration based on concern for public order and public propriety after 1534.

The council's actions demonstrated the development of three themes, which governed the attitudes of the Cologne community, as defined by its leaders, throughout the sixteenth century. First, religious dissidents were, by definition, outsiders; either they came from outside the community, or their dissent placed them outside the community. Lutheranism was a foreign import, which disturbed the solidarity of the moral community as well as the political community. Second, the result of the definition of religious dissidents as outsiders was the development of a punishment which made

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<sup>1</sup>Sigrun Haude, "The Rule of Fear: The Impact of Anabaptist 'Terror', 1534-1535" (Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Arizona, 1993), 76-86.

<sup>2</sup>In the mid-sixteenth century, the Cologne city council used the term "Lutheran" as a synonym for religious dissenter. Some of the dissenters may well have been followers of Luther, but it is impossible to tell from the city council records exactly what sort of convictions the dissenters held. During the 1530s, the city council learned about Anabaptists ("Widertäufer") and sometimes used that term, rather than the more generic "Lutheran", to label religious dissenters.

the dissenters' separation from the community visible. Because people who adopted dissenting religious views placed themselves outside the community, banishment was an appropriate punishment for dissenters. Third, the city council became increasingly concerned with public affirmation of community membership. Proper, public, communal religious observance was an important indicator of community membership, and people who did not practice their religion in the company of their neighbors became suspect. The council members concerned themselves with the maintenance of community as well as with the maintenance of order. The maintenance of order was important to the authorities, but was not the only factor which motivated the city council in its dealings with religious issues in the 1530s. Protection of the community, which included, but was not limited to, the preservation of order, was the council's guiding principle.

### Religious Dissenters as Outsiders

In 1533, the city council demonstrated increasing concern with the presence of Lutherans in the city. Over the course of the year, it passed thirty resolutions dealing with the problem of Lutherans in the city. Eleven of the council's 1533 resolutions indicate only that the council discussed the topic of Lutherans in the city, without providing details about the discussion or about the measures taken. Some of these general resolutions linked the problem of Lutherans to the questions of identity and community membership. In March, 1533, the council directed innkeepers to turn foreign Lutherans out of their establishments. This decree served a dual purpose. On a practical level, it denied foreign Lutherans a foothold in the city. It also created a responsibility among property owners to guard the city's moral and religious

purity. On a symbolic level, it denied them hearth and home within Cologne.

The idea of each community member's responsibility for the faith of his neighbors was another characteristic of the council's concern. The council commanded all its members to set forth any information they possessed about Lutherans. All the residents of one house where a blasphemer resided were arrested in an effort to apprehend the blasphemer himself. In the Cologne community, people were responsible for the spiritual health of the whole community, and so were also responsible for reporting neighbors whose beliefs were not orthodox or whose behavior threatened the sacred community.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>For the general resolutions, see Manfred Groten, ed., Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln 1320-1550 (Düsseldorf:Droste Verlag, 1988), vol. 4, 1531-1540, (1) 149. January 20, 1533. Rpr. 8. "Die Ratsherren sollen den Stimmeistern alle diejenigen anzeigen, die Predigten halten oder sich zur lutherischen Lehre bekennen." (2) 157. February 26, 1533. Rpr. 8. "Die Bürgermeister, Rentmeister, Stimmeister, Turmmeister und Gewalttrichter sollen alle, denen lutherische Neigungen unterstellt werden, vorladen und sie verhören." (3) 158. March 3, 1533. Rpr. 8. "Arndt van Siegen [a council member from the fishseller's Gaffel] berichtet von seiner Gesandtschaft zum Erzbischof von Köln. Daraufhin wird beschlossen . . . Die Bürgermeister, Rentmeister, Stimmeister, Weinmeister, Turmmeister und Gewaltmeister sollen gegen die Lutheraner vorgehen, einige festnehmen lassen und den Wirten befehlen, Fremde, die Lutheraner sind, aus ihren Herbergen zu weisen. (4) 162. March 17, 1533. Rpr. 8. Die Schickung soll über eine besseren Modus für . . . das weitere Vorgehen gegen die Lutheraner [beraten]." (5) 169. Rpr. 8. Thonis van Fischenich und Thonis van Molheym [council members] sollen gegen einige Lutheraner ermitteln." (6) May 5, 1533. Rpr. 8. "Die Stimmeister, Gewalttrichter und Turmmeister sollen am Nachmittag über die Vertreibung der Lutheraner aus der Stadt beraten." (7) 179. June 13, 1533. Rpr. 8. "Arnt Bruwilre, Joergen van Altena [council members] und die Turmmeister sollen die Lutheraner festnehmen lassen." (8) 190. August 20, 1533. Rpr. 8. "Die Gewalttrichter sollen das fremde Gesindel, von dem Brandstiftung und lutherische Umtriebe zu erwarten sind, sowie die Dirnen streng überwachen." (9) 198. October 6, 1533. Rpr. 8. "Jeder Ratsherr soll alles anzeigen, was er über Lutheraner in Erfahrung bringen kann." (10) 200.

The question of the presence of Lutherans in the city was related to the city's public safety as well as to its moral standing. Outsiders, morally questionable folk, and religious dissidents presented threats of similar nature. In August 1533, the council directed the police officials to keep a close eye on the "foreign rabble, from whom arson and Lutheran intrigues are to be expected." In the same resolution, the council told the police to keep an eye on the prostitutes.<sup>4</sup> Foreigners, arsonists, Lutherans and prostitutes: is there a common concern linking these threats to the public good? The destruction of property, of the community's moral fiber, and of its sacred nature were possible if foreigners, Lutherans, and prostitutes were allowed free reign in the city. The combination of foreigners, arsonists, Lutherans and prostitutes makes sense because the city council saw its duty as the protection of all of the aspects of the city as a political, social, economic, physical, spiritual and moral community. The community's aspects were not separable.

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October 13, 1533. Rpr. 8. "Die Turmmeister sollen diejenigen ermitteln, die das Hl. Sakrament zu St. Maria Ablaß geschmäht und den Pfarrer am Vynckenmart bei der Predigt gestört haben. Jeder Ratsherr wird bevollmächtigt, Lutheraner festzunehmen, was sonst nur den Gewaltrichtern zusteht. Alle Einwohner des Hauses auf der Maximinenstraße, in den der Mann wohnt, der sich der Blasphemie schuldig gemacht hat, sollen festgenommen werden, damit der Täter ermittelt werden kann." (11) 200.  
 October 15, 1533. Rpr. 8. "Diejenigen, die aus dem Süden kommen und lutherische Parolen verbreiten, und auch alle anderen Lutheraner sollen festgenommen werden." For a specific instance of eviction of a suspected Lutheran from his residence, see *Ibid.*, 175. Beschluß of May 23, 1533. "Arndt van Siegen soll Heinrich Wyns untersagen, den Lutheraner aus Münster bei sich zu beherbergen, und Jan v. Deventer aus Münster auffordern, die Stadt bis Sonnenuntergang zu verlassen."

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 190. August 20, 1533. Rpr. 8. "Die Gewaltrichter sollen das fremde Gesindel, von dem Brandstiftung und lutherische Umbtriebe zu erwarten sind, sowie die Dirnen streng überwachen."



The problem of Lutherans could not be solved only by heightened scrutiny of foreigners. Sometimes the council took action against religious dissidents. It ordered arrests, imposed punishments, and promulgated statutes which made it more difficult for Lutherans to gain a foothold in the city. The council persisted in its view that the city would not tolerate Protestants in its midst. The authorities tried to protect the integrity and the unity of the community, and were, at least nominally, willing to suffer economic disadvantages stemming from banishment and refusal to rent rooms to foreigners in order to do so.

The city records contain no evidence to suggest that the general ordinances against Lutherans were strictly enforced, and the recurrence of ordinances of general banishment and eviction show that the council perceived the presence of Lutherans in the city as a persistent problem. Haude argues that the failure to enforce the regulations strictly constituted tacit tolerance for the presence of Lutherans in the city.<sup>5</sup> She suggests that the city's tolerance was evident in the failure to enforce the council's edicts, and in the lack of severity of punishments imposed by the council when it did move to punish religious dissenters.<sup>6</sup> While the city did not impose harsh physical punishments on religious dissidents, the punishments imposed by the council emphasized separation from the community. The actions of the city in prosecuting Lutherans it could identify show that toleration was not the order of the day, and that Lutherans whose activities or

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<sup>5</sup>Sigrun Haude, "Politics and Religion in Reformation Cologne," Paper presented at the annual Sixteenth Century Studies Conference, St. Louis, Missouri, December, 1993. Professor Haude graciously provided me with a copy of her unpublished paper.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, 4.

beliefs became apparent to the council suffered prosecution and banishment in the interest of protecting the sacred community in Cologne. The absence of police sweeps and strict enforcement of general eviction and banishment orders is a reflection of lack of manpower and technology, rather than an indicator of Cologne's nominal opposition and actual tolerance of Protestants in the urban community. Protestants who came to the attention of the authorities were investigated and often punished.

There was a difference between the council's treatment of anonymous, perhaps foreign Lutherans, of ordinary residents of Cologne who became Lutherans, and of a few prominent residents of the city who became Lutherans. Anonymous, foreign Lutherans were subject to arrest, eviction, and banishment. One of the general arrest orders directed that, "Those who come from the south and spread the Lutheran message, and all other Lutherans, shall be arrested."<sup>7</sup> In this resolution, the council once again indicated that the problem of Lutheranism in the city was linked (though not limited) to the presence of outsiders in the city. The records are silent as to whether there was any follow-up on this direction. It is difficult to know from the silence of the records whether the absence of large numbers of arrests and punishments reflected a tolerance for Protestants in the city, or a distinct lack of widespread enthusiasm among the people of Cologne for the teachings of the reformers. The records do show, however, that there were Protestants in Cologne and that the government considered the few who came to its attention to be threats to the community.

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 200. October 15, 1533. Rpr. 8. "Diejenigen, die aus dem Süden kommen und lutherische Parolen verbreiten, und auch alle anderen Lutheraner sollen festgenommen werden."

In addition to the council's general discussion of the problems of Protestants in the city and its issuance of general arrest orders for Protestants, the city council considered cases involving specific suspects of Protestantism whose names were known to the council. The first, the most notorious, and perhaps the most anomalous was the case of Dr. Westerburg. Dr. Westerburg, was the well-educated local preacher and theologian, whose arrest the council ordered on February 3, 1533. Westerburg, or "Dr. Feygfeuer" (Dr. Purgatory), had been a proponent of Lutheranism in the 1520s and had been investigated for heresy after the 1523 publication of his pamphlet attacking the doctrine of Purgatory. In the 1520s, the council had discussed the proper disposition of Dr. Westerburg's case at length. During the city council's investigation in the 1520s, Dr. Westerburg had resolved the problem by a two-step process. He agreed to live in Cologne quietly "as a good citizen," and apparently did so, as he disappeared from the city's records for several years. The resolution of the case against him in the 1520s was also assisted by his procurement of an imperial order of protection, which forbade the city from taking any action against him.<sup>8</sup> Paradoxically, the intervention of the imperial court protected a dissident in the community, when the city, left to its own devices, might have taken action against him.

With the rise of Anabaptist teachings in the lower Rhineland in the 1530s, the city renewed its interest in the activities of Dr. Westerburg and his relatives, including his wife, his brother, and his sister-in-law. The city officials suspected them at first of Lutheranism. During investigation of Anabaptist conventicles in Cologne, Anabaptists suspects identified

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<sup>8</sup>Leonard Ennen, ed., Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln (Köln: Druck und Verlag der L. Schwann'schen Verlagshandlung, 1873), vol. 1, 253-254.

Westerburg and his family as fellow believers. The Westerburgs were exiled from the city in 1534.<sup>9</sup> In the face of the threat posed by the Anabaptists--a threat to the political order, to the economic order, and to the spiritual order--even an imperial warrant was not enough to protect Dr. Westerburg. The threat to the Cologne community was too serious to tolerate, and the council banished Dr. Westerburg and his kin.

Less notorious religious suspects also faced exclusion from the civic community as the price of religious dissent. On March 3, 1533, Bruyn of Duytz was banished from the city for his "Lutheran convictions and for other reasons."<sup>10</sup> A man called von der Geyen was released from jail, required to recant his Lutheran beliefs, and expelled from the city.<sup>11</sup> Conradt Hundt was banished from the city temporarily, and told that he could return after one year if he recanted his Lutheran belief.<sup>12</sup> A hat maker named Hans Mey, who had been imprisoned, was released on the condition that he leave the city for two years. The council provided that if, after two years, he brought back evidence that he had lived according to the old religion during his exile, he could return to the city. If he returned early, however, he would be called to

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<sup>9</sup>On the complex history of Dr. Westerberg, see Ibid., 236-263; 335-358, and [?] Brecher, "Westerburg, Gerhard W.," in Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, (Leipzig:n.p., 1897),182-184.

<sup>10</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, 1320-1550, vol. 4, 159. March 5, 1533. Rpr. 8. "Die Bürgermeister und Stimmeister sollen Bruyn [Hunt] v. Duytz wegen seiner lutherischen Gesinnung und aus anderen Gründen auffordern, die Stadt zu verlassen."

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 195. September 19, 1533. Rpr. 8. "Die Turmmeister sollen den v. d. Geyen, der als Lutheraner festgenommen worden ist, gegen Urfehde freilassen. Er muß dem Luthertum abschwören und die Stadt verlassen."

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., 196. September 22, 1533. Rpr. 8. "Die Turmmeister dürfen sich mit Conradt Hundt über das Verpflegungsgeld einigen. Er muß der Stadt ein Jahr fernbleiben und dem Luthertum abschwören."

account for his crimes.<sup>13</sup> Hermann Hundt, who had been banished for a year and required to renounce his Lutheran beliefs, was re-arrested when he returned to Cologne before the term of his exile expired.<sup>14</sup>

The city council's handling of cases of religious dissent among city residents shows that their interest in the religious uniformity of the city went beyond the maintenance of political or police order. The city council's concern with the recantation of belief on the part of Lutherans, and with the provision of evidence that they lived according to the Catholic faith during their exile as a condition of return to Cologne, demonstrate the council's perception that religious dissenters presented a threat to the community. The threat was not a threat to order in the streets or even in the corridors of power; the 1533 resolutions do not link findings of religious dissent with findings of illegal preaching, teaching, or inciting to riot. The records do not suggest that the banished men did anything to create disorder, except hold dissenting religious beliefs. The order that religious dissenters threatened was cosmological order. The spiritual health of the city depended upon the proper religious beliefs of its residents. The council, which saw itself as the guardian of the city's physical and spiritual health, wanted to make sure that the disease of heresy did not spread throughout Cologne. Banishment of Lutherans was akin to quarantine; if at the end of the quarantine period, the

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 212. December 22, 1533. Rpr. 9. "Der Hutmacher Hans Mey muß nach seiner Freilassung Köln für 2 Jahre verlassen. Wenn er früher zurückkehrt, wird er für sein Vergehen zur Rechenschaft gezogen werden. Wenn er nach 2 Jahren ein Zeugnis beibringt, daß er der alten Religion gemäß lebt, darf er sich wieder in Köln niederlassen."

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 212. December 22, 1533. Rpr. 9. "Herman Hundt soll wieder festgenommen werden, weil er vor Ablauf des Jahres, das er als Buße für seine lutherische Gesinnung außerhalb der Stadt zubringen sollte, zurückgekehrt ist."

banished person could produce evidence that he was no longer infected with heretical beliefs, he could return to the community.

Proper religious observance was an indicator of proper religious belief. In the 1530s, the city council expressed increasing interest in participation in religious ritual as an element of civic duty. Participation in religious ritual, on the surface, was a public demonstration of membership in the religious and civic community.<sup>15</sup> For Christians, Catholic as well as Protestant, participation in the communion ceremony was a strong element in the construction and definition of the religious community. Cologne's officials, aware of the importance of proper observation of the communion ceremony, began to take an interest in the communion practices of the city residents.

The importance of the communion ceremony for membership in the Cologne community was so great that the interest of the council extended beyond the borders of the city. Membership in the Cologne community did not stop when city residents left the city for business trips or family visits. Their obligations traveled with them, and their actions, even at a distance from the walls of Cologne, could taint their community membership.

In 1533, the council considered the problem of residents of Cologne who took communion "as Lutherans" in Frankfurt.<sup>16</sup> One of the major demands of the Reformers was that the clergy offer communion under both

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<sup>15</sup>See David Warren Sabean, "Communion and Community: The Refusal to Attend the Lord's Supper in the Sixteenth Century," in Power in the Blood: Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany, ed. idem (Cambridge:Cambridge University Press, 1984), 37-60; John Bossy, "The Mass as a Social Institution, 1200-1700," Past and Present 100 (1983):29-61.

<sup>16</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 4, 197. September 29, 1533. Rpr. 8. "Die Turmmeister sollen Peter Hemelgeist u.a., die zu Frankfurt das Abendmahl als Lutheraner gehalten haben, verhören."

species--both the bread and the wine-- to the people.<sup>17</sup> Catholic practice was to offer only the bread to lay communicants; communion under both species was reserved for the clergy. Taking communion "in the Lutheran manner" indicated participation in a ceremony which embodied the reformers' teachings on Eucharistic theology and on the proper structure of the church and the Christian community. It was a powerful symbol of community, and it was a graphic demonstration of the different structure of the Protestant community.

Frankfurt was a major trading city, and Cologne's merchants traveled there on a regular basis. In Frankfurt, the city government had appointed two reformed pastors to preach in the city's churches after the city's 1525 uprising. The city abolished processions in 1529, and agreed to offer communion in both kinds in its churches in 1531. The city did not, however, accept the Reformation completely, and the city was neither completely Catholic nor completely Protestant in the late 1520s and early 1530s. In 1533, the city officially embraced the Reformation, and suspended the Catholic Mass.<sup>18</sup> Frankfurt's confessional change presented another threat to Cologne. The city's traders traveled there on business, and it was not practical to cut off contact with the city. Because it suspended the Mass and adopted Protestantism, though, it became a dangerous place for members of the Cologne community. Trade with Protestants did not offend the sensibilities

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<sup>17</sup>On the movement for communion in both species, see August Franzen, Die Kelchbewegung am Niederrhein im 16. Jahrhundert (Münster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1955).

<sup>18</sup>Gerald Strauss, "Frankfurt," in The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 135-136; Erich Keyser, "Frankfurt," in Hessisches Städtebuch, ed. idem (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1957), 145-146.

of the city councilors, but worshipping with Protestants was a different matter. Trade, almost by definition, took place with outsiders; worship could take place only with members of the same religious community.

Participation in Protestant ceremonies outside the boundaries of the city still did violence to the solidarity of the community, and the city council investigated and punished instances of incorrect worship.

At the end of September, 1533, city officials interrogated Peter Hemelgeist and several, unnamed others on charges of having taken communion as Lutherans in Frankfurt. The council required the suspect communion participants to report to jail in early October, and council discussions about the problem continued. On October 27 Hemelgeist, who was apparently in bad health, was allowed to go home, and to receive communion there, "if he was seriously ill."<sup>19</sup> While the council gave no reason for its mention of the sacraments, its willingness to provide them to Hemelgeist could well have been a test. If Hemelgeist were really a Lutheran, he would have refused to receive the sacraments from a Catholic priest, thereby demonstrating his heresy and his separation from the community. The records do not contain information about whether Hemelgeist was offered, or refused, communion while at home. On November 12, the council ordered Hemelgeist back to jail. On December 22, the council finally decided that Hemelgeist and the others should be punished with a fine for their improper participation in a Lutheran sacrament.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 202. October 27, 1533. Rpr. 9. "Die Turmmeister sollen für Mittwoch von den Inquisitoren den Spruch gegen die Lutheraner erbitten. Wenn Hemelgeist ernstlich krank wird, soll er in sein Haus geschafft und mit den Sakramenten versehen werden."

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., 205. November 12, 1533. Rpr. 9. "Hemelgeist soll wieder auf den Turm gehen und das Urteil [der Inquisitoren] erwarten;" 213. December



The council's concern with participation in the communion ceremony was important at two levels. First, it might have indicated acceptance of Lutheran teaching. It is not clear whether Hemelgeist and his companions were really under serious suspicion of being Lutherans. The council did not mention adherence to Lutheran teaching, Lutheranism, or Lutheran convictions, which it generally did mention in other records dealing with the problem of Lutherans in the city. On the other hand, the notations in the council's records refer to "Hemelgeist and the other Lutherans," and "the verdict against the Lutherans."<sup>21</sup> While the records are silent as to the council's reason for its punishment decision, the imposition of a fine, rather than banishment, may have reflected the council's decision that Hemelgeist's transgression was a matter only of practice, rather than of belief.

A transgression of practice, though, was not a matter to be taken lightly. The second problem with the people who took communion in Frankfurt was that they had participated in a communal ceremony outside the boundaries of Cologne's Catholic community. This breach of community required

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22, 1533. Rpr. 9. "Hemelgeist und die anderen Lutheraner sollen die Buße leisten, die ihnen die Ketzermeister auferlegt haben."

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 201. October 20, 1533. Rpr. 8. "Über die Lutheraner, die zu Frankfurt das Abendmahl gefeiert haben, soll demnächst weiter verhandelt werden;" 202. October 27, 1533. Rpr. 9. "Die Turmmeister sollen für Mittwoch von den Inquisitoren den Spruch gegen die Lutheraner erbitten. Wenn Hemelgeist ernstlich krank wird, soll er in sein Haus geschafft und mit den Sakramenten versehen werden;" 206. November 17, 1533. Rpr. 9. "Zur Urteilsverkündung gegen die Lutheraner soll die betreffende Schickung bei den Inquisitoren erscheinen;" 210. December 12, 1533. Rpr. 9. "Die Turmmeister sollen mit dem Fiskal sprechen, damit das Urteil gegen die Lutheraner vollstreckt werden kann;" 213. December 22, 1533. Rpr. 9. Hemelgeist und die andere Lutheraner sollen die Buße leisten, die Ihnen die Ketzermeister auferlegt haben."

investigation, punishment, and restitution.<sup>22</sup> The actions of the council show that the Catholic, civic community in Cologne could be injured by false religious belief or false religious practices, even if those practices took place at a distance from the city. If the breach were not too serious, it could be mended by payment of a fine. Hemelgeist's participation in a communion ceremony in Frankfurt took place physically outside the community, and does not appear to have been accompanied by incorrect belief. This was serious enough to warrant temporary imprisonment, investigation, and monetary punishment.<sup>23</sup>

It is particularly significant that Hemelgeist's participation in a Lutheran communion ceremony took place outside of Cologne. The city council's interest in what community members did when they were outside the boundaries of the city indicates that the council's interest went beyond the preservation of order within the city. Hemelgeist's participation in a Lutheran ceremony in Frankfurt was not, at first glance, comparable to preaching the Reformation message from a Cologne pulpit, or holding secret Anabaptist meetings in the city. His action was profoundly threatening to

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<sup>22</sup>There may also have been a plea bargain involved. On December 26, a man called "Hymmelgeist" and his wife were asked to identify others who had bothered or molested Observant friars. See Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 4, 214. December 26, 1533. Rpr. 9. "Hymmelgeist und seine Frau sollen diejenigen nennen, die dem Observanten belästigt haben."

<sup>23</sup>For a discussion of monetary penalties in Cologne's criminal law, see Gerd Schwerhoff, Köln im Kreuzverhör: Kriminalität, Herrschaft und Gesellschaft in einer frühneuzeitlichen Stadt (Bonn: Bouvier Verlag, 1991), 132-138. Schwerhoff, using data from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, argues that monetary penalties were imposed for offenses involving disobedience to authority, rather than for offenses involving violence. Furthermore, he argues that the city officials varied the level of the penalty according to the miscreant's ability to pay.

community, rather than to order, and the council's investigation and action against Hemelgeist shows its interest in protecting Cologne's Catholic community.

Persons such as Hans Mey, Conradt and Hermann Hundt, Bruyn of Duytz and Herr von der Geyen, who broke the city's communal, religious solidarity by adopting non-Catholic teachings had already removed themselves from the spiritual and political community; the council took steps to remove them physically from the community. If the problem was created by a straying community member, the community could be repaired. A time of exile, to impress upon the violator the consequences of the loss of community, was a logical punishment. The communal bond was strong enough to allow the re-acceptance of members who could establish that they had reformed. Outsiders presented a more serious threat to the community, and were dealt with by the council more harshly, and without any suggestion that expulsions were temporary.

The city council's interest in the presence of Lutherans and Anabaptists in the city continued. After 1533, as the danger of the Anabaptist reign in Münster became more pressing, the interests of the council shifted, and included explicit references to Anabaptists, as well as continued references to Lutherans. In January of 1534, the council directed the Gewaltrichter to arrest all of the Lutherans and Anabaptists they could catch.<sup>24</sup> The council also reminded its members of the threat presented by the rising number of sectarians in the vicinity of Cologne and ordered the councilors to be alert,

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<sup>24</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln 1320-1550, vol. 4, 226. February 27, 1534. Rpr. 9. "Die Gewaltrichter sollen alle Wiedertäufer und Lutheraner, denen sie habhaft werden können, festnehmen."

and to take care that no "sectarians" were accepted into or housed within the city.<sup>25</sup> Parishes, as smaller communities-within-a-community, also served as arms of the city council, in order to control the spread of Protestantism. In order to enforce its decree that no one should rent housing to outsiders, the city council mobilized the lay leadership of the parishes. The council directed that its decree be announced in all the city's parishes, and that all the lay church wardens should be advised of their duty to approve rentals to outsiders.<sup>26</sup> Concern with the influence of outside heretics continued in 1535, when the council directed the Gewaltrichter to investigate and arrest outsider Anabaptists and Lutherans.<sup>27</sup> The council continued to define the heresy problem as an import. The danger to the city came from increasing numbers of heretics in the lands surrounding Cologne. The city needed to protect itself from infiltration by dangerous outsiders. Even official messengers were suspect. Münster sent a messenger to Cologne in 1534, and the council ordered that, if he were a Lutheran, an Anabaptist, or any other

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., 227. March 2, 1534. Rpr. 9. "Die Zahl der Lutheraner und Wiedertäufer in den umliegenden Landen steigt bedrohlich an. Jeder Ratsherr wird angewiesen, darauf zu achten, daß Sektierer nirgendwo aufgenommen und beherbergt werden. Wiedertäufer müssen den Gewaltrichtern angezeigt werden."

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 269-270. September 23, 1534. Rpr. 9. "Niemand darf einem Auswärtigen ohne Zustimmung der Kirchmeister ein Haus vermeiden oder ihn bei sich wohnen lassen. Das soll allen Kirchmeistern und in allen Kirchspielen bekanntgemacht werden. Die Kirchmeister sollen diejenigen, die gegen diese Bestimmung verstoßen den unten genannten Herren anziehen, die sie dann festnehmen lassen können. Die Bestrafung ist Sache des Rates."

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 292. January 25, 1535. Rpr. 9. "Die Gewaltrichter sollen nach auswärtigen Wiedertäufern und Lutheraner fahnden. Sie sollen sie festnehmen und den Stimmeister anzeigen."

sort of heretic, he should be forbidden to enter the city.<sup>28</sup> Through official investigations, including interrogations of suspects under torture, the council discovered the presence of an Anabaptist congregation in the city.<sup>29</sup> The investigations under torture produced further lists of Anabaptists, whom the city officials, with the assistance of the archbishop's criminal court officials, proceeded to arrest and question.<sup>30</sup> Anabaptists were arrested throughout 1535. Both men and women were attracted by the teachings of the Anabaptists. In March, 1535, the council ruled that a pregnant woman, who belonged to the Anabaptists, should be held in less stringent confinement until the delivery of her child.<sup>31</sup> The investigation of the woman, along with other suspected Protestants, continued throughout 1534. The imprecision of the council's terminology for heretics is evident in her case; by December,

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., 228. March 9, 1534. Rpr. 9. "Die Turmmeister sollen Johan Thend (?) [sic], den Boten der Stadt Münster, freilassen und ihm das Betreten der Stadt verbieten, wenn er Wiedertäufer ist oder einer anderen Ketzerei anhängt. Die Sache soll aber genau untersucht werden. See also 229. Rpr. 9. March 13, 1534. "Die Turmmeister sollen den Boten aus Münster gegen Urfehde freilassen und ihm, wenn er Lutheraner ist, das Betreten der Stadt verbieten."

<sup>29</sup>See, e.g. Ibid., 278. October 31, 1534. Rpr. 9. "Es wird über die Gefangenen beraten, die unter der Folter gestanden haben, Wiedertäufer zu sein. Die Gewaltrichter und Turmmeister (nämlich Johan van Rindorp und Johan imme Tolhuys) sollen sie bis zum nächsten Sitzungstag gut bewachen lassen. Die Ratsherren sollen der Obrigkeit alle diejenigen anzeigen, die sie verdächtigen, Wiedertäufer oder Lutheraner zu sein."

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., 278. November 4, 1534. Rpr. 9. "Die Turmmeister sollen sich vom Greven oder seinem Schreiber eine Liste der Personen geben lassen, die die Wiedertäufer belastet haben. Alle sollen festgenommen werden." See also 285. December 7, 1534. Rpr. 9. "Die Aussagen der verbrannten Wiedertäufer Richart v. Richroide u. a. sollen den Gewaltrichtern in Kopie übergeben werden, damit sie belastete Personen festnehmen können."

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., 301. March 26, 1535. Rpr. 9. "Die Turmmeister sollen die Malersfrau, die zu den Wiedertäufern zählt, bis zur Niederkunft in leichter Haft halten."

1534, the council resolutions referred to the suspects' "Lutheran convictions," and did not mention suspicion of Anabaptism.<sup>32</sup>

Hans H. Th. Stiasny's detailed study of the criminal prosecution of Anabaptists in Cologne suggests that the Cologne Anabaptists, at least, did not expect to be tolerated by the city authorities. Although there were a series of Anabaptist groups in Cologne, beginning as early as the late 1520s, when the city council promulgated its first edict against Anabaptists, they remained secret organizations. The secrecy of the Cologne Anabaptists contrasted markedly with the open formation of Anabaptist congregations in Münster and in the principalities and cities of the lower Rhine.<sup>33</sup> The Anabaptist groups themselves left no documentation; most of our information about them comes from city criminal records, produced when city authorities apprehended and interrogated Anabaptists. The city's pronouncements, including city council resolutions and Morgensprache, the city's public declaration of policies, provides a rough index to the degree of official worry about Anabaptists, if not to actual Anabaptist presence in the city.

In 1534, three Anabaptists were executed by the authorities. Richard of Richrath died at the stake on November 7, 1534, while two others, Godhart Glaswörter and Johann Mey, were beheaded on November 9, 1534. During their interrogations under torture, the three men named forty other city residents as members of an Anabaptist congregation, including the well-

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 286. December 18, 1534. Rpr. 9. "Die Turmmeister sollen Johan Gierlachs, die Malersfrau und Bruyn Hunt über ihre lutherischen Überzeugungen verhören und mit den Gelehrten über ihre Aussagen beraten."

<sup>33</sup>Hans H. Th. Stiasny, Die Strafrechtliche Verfolgung der Täufer in der Freien Reichstadt Köln 1529 bis 1618 (Münster: Aschendorfsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1962), 7.

known Protestant sympathizer Gerhard Westerburg, his brother Arndt, and their wives.<sup>34</sup> While the city investigated the reports of the Anabaptist congregation, they imposed no massive punishments after the initial three executions. In 1534, some people identified as "Lutherans" or "noncatholics" were arrested and turned over to the archbishop's court, but no mention was made of Anabaptists. While the city council often used "Lutheran" as a generic term referring to Protestants, by 1534 it understood what Anabaptists were, and sometimes distinguished between Lutherans and Anabaptists.<sup>35</sup> The slim records about the Anabaptist community in Cologne during the 1530s indicate that although occasionally, citizens of Cologne or even prominent patricians showed interest in the Anabaptist movement, most of the Anabaptists in Cologne were not citizens, but outsiders to the Cologne community.<sup>36</sup> Stiasny further argues that the small number of persons implicated in Cologne's Anabaptist community indicates that Anabaptism, at least, was never really a popular movement in Cologne. "A comparison makes this clear: in 1535 the Anabaptist community in Amsterdam numbered 5,000 members, the city of Cologne had at the time about 40,000 residents; Cologne's Anabaptist community had a few dozen members."<sup>37</sup> If Anabaptism had been attractive to the people of Cologne, one would have anticipated the presence of a larger number of Anabaptists in the large urban community. Furthermore, while Cologne does not have extensive records about Anabaptists in the city, both Münster and the Netherlands have rich documentation about the Anabaptist communities in their territories, and

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 9-11.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., 16.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 20.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid, 20.

about their contacts with other Anabaptist communities. Stiasny's research shows that the Münster and Netherlands records do not mention Anabaptist communities in Cologne; they contain only scattered references to Cologne Anabaptists who fled persecution and went to the Netherlands or to Münster.<sup>38</sup> In Cologne, Anabaptism was a matter of concern to the government, but was not a belief adopted by large numbers of people. The city government was not able to insulate the city completely from the introduction of Anabaptist teaching, but neither was that teaching embraced by the residents of the city. The continual concern with the presence of Protestants suggests that it was impossible to seal the city against the threat posed by new religious teachings. In a city whose economy was based on trade, it was not possible to close off trade routes. Where goods traveled, information traveled also. Still, it is too strong to say that the city government tolerated the presence of Protestants in the city.

The fall of Münster in June, 1535 did not end the city's concern with the problem of religious deviants in the city. The number of cases involving Anabaptists and Lutherans declined between 1535 and 1542, but the council's concern with religious deviance and the maintenance of community remained. In 1535, the council directed that the Rentmeister release the painter Urban Besser from his city job, if it could be shown that Besser was a Lutheran or had housed Lutherans. The city was not in the business of subsidizing heretics.<sup>39</sup> In July, 1535, the council directed the Stimmeister to

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid., 22.

<sup>39</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 4, March 3, 1535. Rpr. 9. "Die Rentmeister sollen den Maler Urban Besser aus dem Dienst entlassen, wenn sich herausstellt, daß er Lutheraner ist oder solche beherbergt hat."



investigate Lutherans and Anabaptists, and to have suspects arrested.<sup>40</sup> One of the Lutherans expelled from the city in 1533 reappeared in the records in 1535; Bruyn of Deutz was wanted by the Cologne authorities, and proved very difficult to apprehend. He escaped from the city's prison in April, 1535 and the city council threatened the citizens with fines or imprisonment if they did not help to secure Bruyn's recapture.<sup>41</sup> In July, 1535, the city negotiated with the bailiff of Deutz about Bruyn. The bailiff agreed to require Bruyn to return to prison. He also agreed to assist the council by apprehending a thief who had stolen hosts from the church of Lesser St. Martin.<sup>42</sup>

The city continued to evict persons it suspected of Lutheranism. In February, 1536, the city banished an unnamed man, along with his wife and children, because of his Lutheranism.<sup>43</sup> In late 1536, rumors of the presence

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 321. July 14, 1535. Rpr. 9. "Die Stimmeister werden erneut angewiesen, nach Wiedertäufern und Lutheranern zu fahnden. Sie sollen Verdächtige von den Gewaltrichtern festnehmen lassen."

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 305. April 21, 1535. Rpr. 9. "Die Gewaltrichter und der frühere Turmmeister melden, daß Bruyn Hundt den Turm eigenmächtig verlassen hat. Die Bürger sollen ihn zur Rückkehr bewegen oder 500 Gulden zahlen bzw. zu Turm gehen."

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., 324. July 21, 1535. Rpr. 9. "Der Vogt von Deutz überreicht eine Supplik von Bruyn Hunt. Er soll Bruyn auffordern, sich wieder auf den Turm zu begeben, und seine Bürgern zu entlasten. Der Vogt soll auch dafür sorgen, daß derjenige, der zu Klein St. Martin das Hl. Sakrament gestohlen hat, vor Gericht gestellt wird." Deutz was under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Cologne. After the expulsion of the Jews from Cologne in 1424, many of them moved to Deutz, which tolerated them. During the age of the Reformation, Deutz also became home to a Protestant community, and in the seventeenth century, it accepted Protestants who were expelled from the city of Cologne. See P.J. Hasenberg, "Köln-Deutz," in Rheinisches Städtebuch, ed. Erich Keyser (Stuttgart:W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1956), 272-273.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., 370. February 14, 1536. Rpr. 9. "Arnd van Siegen [a council member] und die Turmmeister sollen den Lutheraner [ . . . ] mit Frau und

of Lutherans and Anabaptists in the city once again worried the council. Bruyn Hundt, Arndt Westerburch, the brother of the infamous Gerhard, and "other Lutherans and Anabaptists" were reported to be at large in the city. The council, in a secret resolution, directed the city's highest officials to work with the police officials to pursue the suspects "by day and by night" until they were apprehended.<sup>44</sup> Vendors of Lutheran books were also subject to banishment.<sup>45</sup> The city council acted protect the community from the dangerous ideas presented by people from outside the community. Persons who disseminated such dangerous ideas had no place in Cologne, and were expelled from the community. The council's position did not change after the defeat of the Münster Anabaptists; protection of the community remained a major theme in the deliberations of the city council.

#### Public Ritual and Public Religious Observance

The mid-1530s also saw the beginnings of the city council's preoccupation with the activities of secret groups. The Cologne Anabaptists were careful to keep themselves secret and separate; other adherents of

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Kindern unter Androhung von Turmhaft aus der Stadt weisen." (Ellipses in original.)

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., 429. November 27, 1536. Rpr. 9. "Bruyn Hundt, Arndt Westerburch [sic] und andere Lutheraner und Widertäufer sollen sich wieder in der Stadt aufhalten. Die Bürgermeister, Stimmeister, Turmmeister und Weinmeister sollen mit den Gewaltrichtern gegen diese Personen bei Tag und Nacht vorgehen und sie festnehmen. Der Beschluss soll geheim gehalten werden."

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., 552. July 10, 1538. Rpr. 10. "Ein Buchdrucker, der als Lutheraner verfolgt und nach Kassel entwichen ist, ist nach Köln zurückgekehrt. Die Turmmeister sollen ihm zum Verlassen der Stadt auffordern." See also *ibid.*, 696. September 8, 1540. Rpr. 10. "Die Turmmeister und Gewaltrichter sollen nach Verkäufern lutherischer Bücher fahnden. Sie sollen die Bücher beschlagnahmen und die Verkäufer aus der Stadt weisen."

Protestant belief did the same. The existence of secret, separate groups, engaging in secret, separate religious observances, created a problem for the leaders of the Cologne community, even if the secret meetings did not result in visible disorder. In November, 1534, two council members were delegated to investigate Lutherans who had secretly organized, and perhaps had formed conspiracies.<sup>46</sup> A basic premise of the civic community in Cologne was that people should engage in religious activity publicly, as members of the community. Attendance at parish churches, and the taking of sacraments in the parishes, was one way of maintaining communal and public religious unity. Laymen, elected in each parish as church wardens (Kirchmeister), helped to supervise the participation of parish residents in communal activities. The city council also used the parishes as vehicles for the announcement of civic policies. Announcements from the pulpit, mandated by the council, were presumed to give notice of city policy to all residents of the city. In 1536, the council mandated that the each member of the council should remind his Gaffel, and the parish priests should announce from the pulpit that Anabaptists and Lutherans were not to be tolerated in the city and that no one should shelter them or rent them houses or rooms.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid., 281. November 20, 1534. Rpr. 9. "Arndt van Siegen und Johan Starkenberg sollen die Sache mit den Lutheranern untersuchen, die sich heimlich organisiert (conspiracie gehalden) haben sollen."

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 392. June 14, 1536. Rpr. 9. "Das Schreiben des Erzbischofs mit beigefügter Kopie über die Lutheraner und Wiedertäufer wird verlesen. Jeder Ratsherr soll auf seiner Gaffel jeden davor warnen, einen Anhänger dieser Sekte zu beherbergen oder ihm ein Haus oder eine Wohnung zu vermieten. Solche Personen sind vielmehr anzuzeigen. Der Kanzler soll alle Pfarrer auffordern, die Bekanntmachung über die Lutheraner und Wiedertäufer noch einmal von den Kanzeln verlesen zu lassen." See also Stiasny, 19.

This resolution mobilized the city's local institutions in the defense of the city's Catholic identity. Cologne was a city made up of a group of smaller institutions. Residents and citizens of Cologne could be members of more than one of these local institutions. The guilds governed craft matters. The Gaffeln, which were built on the guild structure, but were more broadly-based, and included merchants as well as craftsmen, governed political participation in the city. The parishes governed religious observance. All of these local structures were part of the construction of the identity of individual residents of the city. The guilds, the Gaffeln and the parishes allowed the consciousness of community membership to permeate most facets of life in the city. Membership in these organizations defined residents' places in the web of social relationships that made up the urban community. The council used the guilds, Gaffeln and parishes to extend its influence in the community. The basic question of who should be allowed to occupy rooms in the city was linked to proper religious belief and practice, and the city's important social and political organizations were mobilized by the council in defense of the community.

In order to arrest, evict, or banish Protestants, city residents had to be able to identify Protestants. Some forms of behavior were linked with Protestant belief; secret Protestants could sometimes be discovered by means of examining public activities. The investigation of people who ate meat on fast days was a proxy for the investigation of Protestants. Investigation of persons who ate meat on fast days sometimes revealed ownership of

Lutheran books.<sup>48</sup> The city continued to arrest people who showed disregard or disrespect for the Holy Sacrament.<sup>49</sup> The neighbors of a sick man, who refused the Sacrament during his illness, reported his unwillingness to receive the Sacrament to the city council.<sup>50</sup> The refusal to receive the sacraments of the Catholic church was a mark of Protestantism, and also a mark of separation from the Cologne community. It was a matter of concern to the neighbors, and a matter of concern to the city council.

While some of these activities, such as public disrespect for the sacrament, could be characterized as issues of public order, others, such as the mere ownership of books, the eating of meat on fast days, and the refusal of sacraments during illness, are more difficult to understand in the context of preservation of order. If Cologne were disposed to tolerate quiet Lutherans, the eating of meat on fast days, the possession of Lutheran books, and the avoidance of the sacrament, without more overt evidence of threat to the public peace, would have been unlikely to attract attention. The city's concern with the reading and eating habits of its people reveals a more basic concern with the orthodoxy of religious belief, and the importance of both common belief and common practice.

Public participation in religious rituals could also be a method of demonstrating loyalty to the community and to orthodox belief. In 1538,

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<sup>48</sup>Ibid., 276. October 26, 1534. Rpr. 9. "Die Turmmeister und Jacob Nuwestat sollen nach denjenigen fahnden, die an verbotenen Tagen Fleisch gegessen haben und lutherische Bücher besitzen."

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., 265. September 4, 1534. Rpr. 9. "Die Gewalttrichter sollen Boenhout, der das hl. Sakrament geschmäht hat, festnehmen."

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., 654. January 2, 1540. Rpr. 10. "Die Nachbarn auf dem Eigelstein zeigen an, daß dort einem Kranken die Sakramente verweigert werden."

Gobbel Teschmecher, who had been imprisoned as a Lutheran, was released from prison as an act of mercy to his wife and children. The price of his freedom, though, was regular (though not frequent) public religious observance. Teschmecher was required to attend confession and communion annually, and to report on his attendance to his parish priest and to the city council. Failure to do so, according to the council's order, would result in a re-imposition of the criminal penalty from which Teschmecher had been excused.<sup>51</sup> The proper practice of Catholicism could heal the breach in the community caused by Protestant presence in the city. The city officials considered correct Catholic practice to be sufficient to re-integrate a religious suspect into the community. The rituals of the church helped to create the community, and they could also help to heal it. Catholicism became a more explicitly important element of good citizenship and community membership in the middle decades of the sixteenth century.

### The City and the Archbishop

In their effort to maintain a distinct, independent civic identity, the people of Cologne always had to take the position of the Archbishop of Cologne into consideration. For centuries, the city had defined its independence in terms of freedom from the territorial lordship of the archbishop. Aside from the tangled and elusive question of criminal jurisdiction, the city was increasingly independent of the archbishop's

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<sup>51</sup>Ibid., 529. March 22, 1538. Rpr. 10. "Gobbel Teschmecher, ein Lutheraner, wird aus der Haft vorgeführt. Ihm wird vorgehalten, daß der Rat ihn wegen seines Vergehens gegen die christliche Religion eigentlich bestrafen müßte. Mit Rücksicht auf Frau und Kinder wird er jedoch begnadigt. Er muß aber jedes Jahr zur Beichte und Kommunion gehen und davon seinen Pfarrer und den Rat unterreichen. Sonst wird er doch noch zur Rechenschaft gezogen."

overlordship. The dual role of the archbishop as prince of the church and territorial lord created difficulties for the people of Cologne. They had to reconcile religious compliance with the rule of the archbishop with political resistance to the encroachment of the territorial lord upon civic prerogative. The city's wariness of the archbishop's exercise of power led to suspicion of Archiepiscopal actions, even those which appeared to be directed at religious, rather than at political, problems. The city was committed to Catholicism, and did not embrace Protestantism as a method of distancing itself from the power of the clergy. On the other hand, it did not embrace all of the archbishop's attempts to exercise his leadership of the Catholic church in Cologne.

In the 1530s, Archbishop Hermann von Wied instituted a major Catholic reform effort. Hermann, who was Archbishop of Cologne from 1515 until 1547, was an important and somewhat puzzling figure in the history of the German Reformation. He was a younger son of a noble family and, although he was destined for a career in the church by virtue of his family's position, his education did not concentrate in theology. His lack of theological education did not delay his advancement in the church; he became a member of the cathedral chapter in Cologne in 1483, at the tender age of six. At fourteen, he became a canon in the cathedral chapter. He studied at the University of Cologne in 1493-1494, as a member of the law faculty rather than the theological faculty. His lack of theological sophistication did not prevent his advancement in the church hierarchy; he became a canon of St. Gereon, one of the four noble collegiate churches in Cologne, in 1514. In 1515, the cathedral chapter, in a unanimous vote, elected

him Archbishop of Cologne. His ordination as a deacon and a priest, by papal dispensation, followed his election as Archbishop.<sup>52</sup>

Hermann's rise in the church was a classic example of the dubious leadership about which reformers complained. His advancement was based on birth rather than on merit. His understanding of theology was questionable. Even his commitment to the Catholic church was suspect. His reaction to the early efforts of reformers was neither sympathetic nor rabidly hostile. He opposed Luther at the time of the Diet of Worms, and forbade the printing and distribution of his writings in the archdiocese in the 1520s. He urged the city council not to tolerate heretics in the city, and he participated in the celebrated executions of the Protestants Clarenbach and Fliesteden in 1529. In spite of Hermann's apparent loyalty to the Catholic cause, the papal legate Cameggio referred to him as a heathen, who did not know enough theology to be either Catholic or Protestant. An anonymous report from the Reichstag at Augsburg noted that the Archbishop of Cologne knew absolutely nothing about belief (Glauben).<sup>53</sup>

Hermann, an unlikely reformer, called a reform synod in 1536 to discuss the problems of the Catholic church in the archdiocese of Cologne. This synod, which met from March 7 until March 9, 1536, produced a series of reform statutes which, although they were never implemented, stand as one of the most important reform efforts in pre-Tridentine Germany.<sup>54</sup> The reform statutes of the 1536 synod provide a classic list of the abuses about

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<sup>52</sup>August Franzen, Bischof und Reformation: Erzbischof Hermann von Wied in Köln vor der Entscheidung zwischen Reform und Reformation 2nd ed., (Münster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1971), 11-19.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., 32.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., 3, 51-53.



which many of the sixteenth-century reformers, both Catholic and Protestant, complained. The synodal statutes were published in 1538 and went through 20 additional printings over the next twenty years, in printing centers such as Venice, Verona, Paris, and Antwerp, as well as Cologne. In spite of the failure of the archdiocese of Cologne to implement the reforms proposed by the synod, the statutes provide an index of the issues about which the Catholic clergy were concerned.

The Cologne synodal statutes of 1536 are divided into fourteen parts. Each of the parts deals with a particular area of church reform. The contents were a familiar list of areas of church life and administration which reformers, both Catholic and, more recently, Protestant, criticized. The parts include the functions of the bishop; the public and private duties of the various classes of clergy; the archiepiscopal court, the cathedral, and the collegiate churches, and their ministries; the duties of vicars in their parishes; the spiritual passages in the life of parishes; the preaching of the word of God; the administration of the sacraments; the manner of life of life in parishes; the laws and customs of the church; monastic life; hospitality and orphans; education; contested ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and visitation.<sup>55</sup> The synodal statutes were far from revolutionary; they urged proper pastoral care,

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<sup>55</sup>Georg Pfeilschifter, ed., Acta Reformationis catholicae ecclesiam germaniae concernentia saeculi XVI. Die Reformverhandlungen des deutschen Episkopats von 1520 bis 1570. (Regensburg:1960), 192-305. For a printed version of a German translation of some of the reform statutes, see Pfeilschifter, 305-318. The original published version of the statutes can be found in P. Hermann Scholl, S.J., ed., "Synodus Coloniensis Provincialis MDXXXVI," in Concilia Germaniae, Tomus VI, Ab Anno MD ad MDLXIV (Cologne: Joan Wilhelmi Krakamp et Haeredum Christiani Simonis, Bibliopolarum, 1765), 235-310.

attention to their duties by clerics, and proper behavior by people in every walk of life.

The concerns of the Cologne synod were not necessarily the concerns of the people of Cologne. The archbishop's officials sent an advance copy of the synodal statutes to the city council for their comments in early February, 1536. A late February, 1536 city council resolution directed the council to discuss the church reform proposals submitted by the archbishop. In March, 1536, the council wrote to the archbishop. The letter was a model of tact and evasion. The council did not commit itself to adopting the reform proposals, but allowed that they were "perhaps not in conflict with the holy scriptures and general councils."<sup>56</sup>

Neither the city council nor the people of Cologne were committed to the reform of the Catholic church under the leadership of the archbishop. Church reform was an aspect of the complex relationship between the city's clergy, the archbishop, who acted in the dual roles of territorial lord and prince of the church, and the city itself, which prided itself on its Catholicism but did not wish to be subject to the archbishop in temporal matters. The city's lack of enthusiasm for ecclesiastical reform did not imply the city's complete satisfaction with the conduct of the clergy, or the actions of ecclesiastical institutions in the city. The city council records show normal economic difficulties between the clergy and the city. Taxation was always a matter for contention. The city continued to take steps to prevent property from falling into the hands of the church, and therefore outside the city's tax base. Morality was also a concern. In a few civic cases, clergymen were

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<sup>56</sup>Pfeilschifter, *Acta Reformationis catholicae*, Band 2, 1532 bis 1542, 177-179, citing StK Briefbuch Nr. 59 fol 153f.

accused of taking liberties with decent wives and daughters of the city.<sup>57</sup> While a synodal statute forbade the cohabitation of clergy of any rank with "suspicious women," there is no indication that clerical concubinage concerned the people of Cologne.<sup>58</sup> Since no protocols or records of the 1536 synod survive, apart from the statutes themselves, it is impossible to tell what prompted Hermann von Wied to promulgate his statutes. He may have based his statutes on general criticisms of the church and of the clergy, without studying the archdiocese of Cologne in any particular detail. In the city of Cologne, at least, the archbishop addressed problems that did not appear to engage the concerns of the political leaders or the people. There was no outcry for church reform in the city, and the city council was unenthusiastic about accepting the archbishop's reform proposals.

The council's suspicion of the archbishop's reform proposals may have stemmed from several draft statutes which, although they were sent to the city council, were not included in the final draft of the statutes approved by the synod. These drafts included criticism of the use of excommunication as a punishment in civic matters, an attempt to impose a standard ritual form on all of the churches in the archdiocese, a statute requiring the explicit permission of the archbishop for any processions of relics or of the sacrament,

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<sup>57</sup>See, for example, Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 3, 730. August 22, 1530. Rpr. 8. "Die Turmmeister sollen nach dem Priester forschen, der sich mit einem Mädchen ungebührlich verhalten haben soll."

<sup>58</sup>Pfeilschifter, Acta Reformationis catholicae, Band 2, 1532 bis 1542, 224. Pars II Cap. XXVIII. "Suspecta mulierum cohabitatio clericis interdicta. Nicaeno concilio neque episcopo neque presbytero neque diacono neque ulli clericorum omnino habere secum mulierem extraneam permittitur, nisi forte mater aut soror aut avia vel amita vel matertera sit. Nos (si tamen haec tempora tantam severitatem pati non videntur) saltem suspectam cohabitationem prohibemus."

and an attempt to remove representations of unofficial saints and other improper images from the churches.<sup>59</sup> These statutes, which were deleted from the archbishop's proposals before the reform synod, regulated elements of church ceremony which the city had incorporated as part of its civic culture. Processions, veneration of saints, images of saints (especially the city's patron saints), and the adaptation of ritual to the needs of the urban community were all part of the dual religious and civic role of Catholic belief and Catholic ceremony in the maintenance of the sacred urban community of Cologne.

The use of excommunication as a punishment in civic or "bürgerlich" matters is a tantalizing hint of a further identity of the religious and civic community. The city council records do not record instances of the imposition of excommunication for civic matters; in fact, excommunication would have had to be imposed by an ecclesiastical authority, at the request of the civic authorities. It is not surprising that the city council, acting as a court, did not excommunicate citizens. The council recognized excommunication, though, as a reason to exclude people from participation in civic ceremonies. The archbishop's concern over the use of excommunication, a specifically religious method of casting people out of the community of faith, as a punishment in civic matters, reflected the increasing sense of the identity of

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<sup>59</sup>Ennen, *Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, vol. 1, 385. Ennen cites a manuscript copy of the synodal statutes found in the city archives. His citation is Mscr A.X, 46. I have not examined this manuscript, and I rely on Ennen's summary of the subject matter of the unprinted synodal statutes. The unprinted statutes were deleted after a conference held between representatives of the Archbishop and prominent theologians, prior to the opening of the 1536 synod but after the initial draft was sent to the city council.

the Catholic community and the civic community in Cologne. It also reflected the potential for power struggles between religious and civic authorities inherent in the strong identification of the civic community with the religious community. While it would be helpful to know whether the city and the city's clergy were, in fact, cooperating to impose excommunication as a penalty for civic crime, it is also helpful to know that the archbishop saw the possibility as real and worrisome.

Although we do not know whether the council used excommunication as a punishment in civic matters, the council used pilgrimage as a punishment. In October, 1538, the council sentenced a man called Simon, who had committed an unspecified religious violation, to undertake a pilgrimage to Einsiedeln, in central Switzerland, and to bring back a pilgrimage token as evidence that he had fulfilled the terms of the sentence. While the pilgrimage to Einsiedeln involved a substantial journey, other punishments fulfilled the same function without requiring the suspect to leave Cologne. In October, 1538, a stonemason and his wife, who had been convicted of an unspecified minor offense, were sentenced to perform a "Roman journey" (Römerfahrt). Under the terms of this sentence, they had to make a circuit of seven Cologne's churches. The Roman journey was a devotion modeled on pilgrimages to the seven major churches of Rome. In Cologne, the churches visited in the course of the Römerfahrt were St. Peter, St. Maria im Kapitol, St. Severin, St. Pantaleon, St. Aposteln, St. Gereon, and St. Kunibert. In some lists, St. Ursula was included. Generally, the Roman journey was a devotion practiced during Lent.<sup>60</sup> In this case, the city

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<sup>60</sup>Josef Klersch, Volkstum und Volksleben in Köln: Ein Beitrag zur historischen Soziologie der Stadt (Köln: J.P. Bachem Verlag, 1968), 157-158.

government used it as an imposition of penance for an offense against the civic government. The city officials linked penance and criminal punishment, and considered a pilgrimage or a devotional practice sufficient atonement for acts contrary to the common good. Because the city officials viewed the imposition of religious punishments as appropriate in the city's courts, the archbishop's attempt to limit the city's ability to do so was a threat to the city's autonomy.

The themes of the archbishop's reform statutes were, to some extent, similar to the concerns of the city council. Both the synodal statutes and the city council records reflect concern with the proper enactment of religious ceremonies. The city council, as leader of the Cologne community, wanted to be sure that religious ceremonies were performed properly within the city. Masses and sacraments of the church were a matter of public concern, since they were public representations of the piety of the community. Proper religious observance was a concern of the city authorities, as well as of the reform synod.

The reform synod's interest in the proper conduct of religious ceremonies responds, in slightly different fashion, to the same sorts of problems which the Protestant reformers addressed. The synodal reforms concentrated on the proper celebration of the Mass. The synod mandated that Masses should be read "clearly [and] distinctly," and everything should always be done in accordance with the canons, in order to help those who hear the

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For a discussion of station churches in Cologne, see Arnold Wolff, "Kirchenfamilie Köln: Von der Wahrung der geistlichen Einheit einer mittelalterlichen Bischofsstadt durch das Stationskirchenwesen," Colonia Romanica: Jahrbuch des Fördervereins Romanische Kirchen Köln 1 (1986):33-44.

sacred cause understand what they have heard and to excite piety."<sup>61</sup> The synod's concern for understanding was related to the Reformation criticism of priests who mumbled the Mass in Latin, a language which parishioners did not understand. While the synod did not adopt the Reformation position of offering Mass in the vernacular, it emphasized the importance of the proper conduct of religious ritual. Orthodox belief and ritual correctness were strongly linked.

The city's concern with the conduct of the Latin Mass was somewhat different than the concern of the archbishop or the concern of the Protestant reformers. The city council, committed to the support of Catholicism in the city, did not object to Latin Masses. The council worried instead about the innovation of vernacular church services, and searched out vernacular church services as a way of identifying sympathizers with the teachings of the reformers. In 1529, when the council heard reports that a Mass had been sung in German in the city, it instituted an investigation. The participants in the German Mass were workers on the city crane. This caused some consternation in the council, which ordered the participants in the German Mass dismissed from their posts. The incident may have come to the council's attention because of a matter more mundane than religious dissidence; the council also noted that the crane workers who sang the Mass in German also refused to pay their bills at the inn where they met.<sup>62</sup> The

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<sup>61</sup>Pfeilschifter, 219. "Pars II. Cap. XIII. Qui legit missam <cum reverenda modestia> clare, distincte et exerte [sic] legat omnia usque ad canonem, ut qui audiendi sacri causa astat, quod legitur, intelligat, atque ad pietatem excitetur>."

<sup>62</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 3, 607. March 26, 1529. Rpr. 7. "Der Gewalttrichter Kirstgen Born zeigt an: Gestern haben Kranknechte zur Cronen in der Trankgasse die Messe in Deutsch gesungen

concern about the proper conduct of Masses continued in 1530, when the council ordered an investigation of reports that a Lutheran Mass had been sung in the parish of St. Paul.<sup>63</sup> The council, though, reported no results of this investigation.

The council's interest in the suppression of improper, German-language Lutheran services was not only a matter of suppression of a threatening religious and political movement. It was accompanied by an interest in the maintenance of proper Catholic belief. The city's relationship with God was the business of the public authorities, and the sponsorship of proper Masses was as important as the suppression of improper religious services. In May of 1538, the city council directed the pastor of St. Albans parish to appoint a new chaplain for the Marspfortekapelle, the city council's chapel. The prior chaplain had sold off some of the chapel's treasures, and the city council wanted to be sure that the remaining church property would be protected and that services would not be neglected in the chapel.<sup>64</sup> The conduct of a sufficient number of properly-performed religious services was a

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und auch ihre Zeche nicht bezahlen wollen. Die Rentmeister sollen sie aus dem Dienst entlassen."

<sup>63</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 3, 730. August 20, 1530. Rpr. 8. "Die Turmmeister sollen nach den Evangelischen im Kirchspiel von St. Paul forschen, die dort eine lutheranische Messe singen."

<sup>64</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 4, 496. September 28, 1537. Rpr. 9. "Die Rentmeister sollen Morgen am Michaelstag die Marspfortenkapelle nicht öffnen, weil der Kaplan die Ausstattung (die ornamente und andere befieff) größtenteils entfernt und veräußert hat. Sie sollen über den Abbruch der Kapelle beraten, wenn nötig gemeinsam mit den Beisitzern;" *ibid.*, 541. May 17, 1538. Rpr. 10. "Die Rentmeister sollen zusammen mit dem Pfarrer von St. Alban die Marspfortenkapelle besichtigen und die Ausstattung inventarisieren. Der Pfarrer soll einen Kaplan bestellen, damit der Gottesdienst nicht vernachlässigt wird, wie es bisher geschehen ist. Zur Not sollen die Rentmeister an den Offizial und den Weihbischof (ordinarius) wenden."



matter of public interest. The Masses at the Marspfortekapelle helped to maintain the city's position as a holy city in the eyes of God. They also served as a corporeal, visible reminder of the city's piety and its commitment to Catholicism. While both the synod and the council were concerned with the proper procedure for saying Mass, the problems with which each group dealt were different. The city council wanted to maintain Catholic ceremonies in the city, and took action to stop groups which tried to institute Lutheran innovations, such as singing the Mass in German. The city also wanted to make sure that the clergy did not neglect the services in the city's churches and chapels. The synod was concerned with the ending of abuses in church ceremonies. Although, in the absence of more extensive synod records, it is impossible to know what the synod's sources of complaints about church services or about improper ceremonies were, the city of Cologne gave no evidence of providing a source for such complaints. The difference between the reform measures suggested by the archbishop's reform synod and the religious activities and interests of the people of Cologne, as reflected in the resolutions of the city council and the investigations and prosecutions undertaken by the city, shows that the people of Cologne had their own ideas of the way in which Catholicism and the urban community were integrated. The archbishop's synod, which promulgated the reform statutes, was concerned about very typical religious issues. While some of the clergy's concerns found echoes in the activities of the Cologne city council, for the most part, the city council used its own definitions of good religious belief and good religious practice, and did not merely enforce the religious decrees promulgated by the synod. In fact, the city council did not adopt the measures suggested by the synod. The reluctance of city officials to adopt reforms

suggested by the synod was related to the council's unwillingness to allow the archbishop to exercise jurisdiction over the life of the urban community.

The archbishop's participation in the criminal justice system was a constant reminder of the ambiguous relationship between the archbishop and the most important city in his territories. It was also an indication that the internal reform of the Catholic church, as suggested by the Cologne synod of 1536, was not a motivating force for the actions of the city council in its firm adherence to Catholicism. The city's adherence to Catholicism was a result of an idea of Catholic community formed by the residents of Cologne, not created by the Catholic clergy.

#### Funerals and Community Membership

Death rituals can be studied as sources of information about the social structure and the belief structure prevalent in a culture.<sup>65</sup> Death rituals can reveal details of religious belief, cosmology, social structure, and community membership. The sociologist Arnold Van Gennep pioneered the study of ritual as a tool of social analysis. Van Gennep studied rituals as rites of passage, which marked the change from one social status to another. Through ritual, societies marked the passages of the members from childhood to adulthood, from the single condition to marriage, and from life to death. Rituals, according to van Gennep, could also define community membership; outsiders who became members of social groups went through rituals of inclusion to create and to symbolize their bonds with the group. Conversely, people who broke the solidarity of the group could be expelled by the use of

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<sup>65</sup>Richard Huntington and Peter Metcalf, Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 8-20.

ritual.<sup>66</sup> In Cologne, the provision or denial of funeral rituals to people who died in the city reflected the decedent's status in the Cologne community. The city also regulated funeral rituals to protect the cosmological standing of the civic community. It was a civic duty to carry out the rituals of death which, like many of the rituals which made up the public life of the residents of Cologne, contained elements both sacred and secular. The city government's concern with burial ritual indicated that the civic authorities saw the civic community as an aspect of the sacred community. It was the responsibility of the city to ensure that only people who died in good standing with the civic community as well as in the Catholic faith received the proper burial ceremonies. Appropriate funeral and burial rites marked the passage of the people of Cologne into the next life. People who broke the unity of the community were not permitted to have complete death rituals. Their separation from the community persisted beyond life.<sup>67</sup> During the age of the Reformation, Protestants sometimes refused Catholic funeral rituals, including the sacrament of extreme unction. Refusal to participate in orthodox funeral rituals was also a mark of separation from the community.

The use of burial as a sign of community membership was not new in the 1530s. The major rituals and processions associated with the deaths of two mayors of Cologne in the fifteenth century shows that death and burial rituals helped to define the civic community, to smooth the passage of power,

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<sup>66</sup>Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, trans. Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee, ed. Solon T. Kimball (Chicago:The University of Chicago Press, 1960), 26-40.

<sup>67</sup>R.C. Finucane, "Sacred Corpse, Profane Carrion: Social Ideals and Death Rituals in the Later Middle Ages," in *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*, ed. Joachim Whaley (London:Europa Publications, Limited, 1981), 54-56.

and to maintain the city's spiritual health at the dangerous hour of death. It was not only the deaths of mayors, though, which attracted the attention of the authorities. Death attracted government attention when Cologne's society was unsettled or threatened. In 1526, Jacob von Biest, Ludwig von der Strassen, and Tilmann Waidmesser, who were among the leaders of the rebellion of 1525 in Cologne, were tried and executed for their part in the rebellion. The trouble caused by von Biest did not, however, end with his death. After the execution, the city faced the problem of the disposal of his body. On March 12, 1526, the city council ruled that von Biest's wife and her mother could not carry his body to the grave accompanied by the normal candles and the ringing of bells. Instead, "they may only in complete silence care for the salvation of his soul."<sup>68</sup> At the same time, the council forbade the Lungenbrüder, a religious order whose duties included providing mourners for funeral processions, from carrying the bodies of executed criminals into the city.<sup>69</sup> The Lungenbrüder occupied a quasi-official position in the city; the council had, in the 1428, taken the order under the council's protection in

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<sup>68</sup>Manfred Groten, ed., Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln 1320-1550 (Düsseldorf:Droste Verlag, 1988), vol. 3, 1523-1530, 302. March 12, 1526. Rpr. 6. "Die Schwiegermutter und Ehefrau Jacops v. Biest dürfen Jacop nicht mit Kerzen und Glockengeläut zu Grabe tragen lassen. Sie dürfen nur in aller Stille für sein Seelenheil Sorge tragen." Ennen reports that Ludwig von der Strassen's burial was handled in the same way that von Biest's was handled. Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 232.

<sup>69</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 3, 302. March 12, 1526. Rpr. 6. "Die Lungenbrüder dürfen die Leichen von Hingerichteten nicht in die Stadt tragen." The Lungenbrüdern began as an order of Beghards. During the fourteenth century, they became associated with the order of Celliten brothers in the fourteenth century. As Beghards, their mission had been the care of the sick and the mourning of the dead. They kept these tasks after taking order. See Leonard Ennen, Geschichte der Stadt Köln, meist aus den Quellen des Kölner Stadt-Archivs (Köln:L. Schwann'schen Verlagshandlung, 1869), vol. 3, 830-832.

return for their service to the city's sick and its dead. In 1487, the council had transferred a house to the order, in return for the brothers' acceptance of the duty

to practice works of mercy, to be, day and night, the willing Knechte and servants of the whole community, poor and rich, clerical and secular, in life and death, to care for the sick, and to carry the dead to their graves, to conduct themselves in virtue, to observe chastity, and to show themselves to be obedient to the holy church, but to support the clergy no farther than has, from ages past, been traditional."<sup>70</sup>

The city of Cologne subcontracted a mourner and funeral service, to make sure that all funerals in the city were conducted according to proper standards. Cases of normal burial were handled by the Lungenbrüder without notice by the city council. In times of unrest, or in cases in which the decedent's standing in the community was uncertain or in which the decedent was not in good standing, the city intervened in the manner of burial. In the case of von Biest, the decision to allow his body back into the city appears to have been controversial. The city, after resolving that von Biest's body could be brought into the city with minimal observances, rebuked the archbishop's officials for allowing the return of the body. The council directed the Greven and the Schöffen not to allow any more corpses of executed criminals to be brought into the city, "as happened with Jacob v. Biest."<sup>71</sup> The physical separation of enemies of the community continued after death, in a graphic demonstration of exclusion from the civic and the sacred community.

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<sup>70</sup>Ennen, Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 3, 832, quoting Mscr. A. II, 8, 310, from the Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., 302. March 21, 1526. Rpr. 6. "Greve und Schöffen sollen nicht mehr ohne Wissen des Rates Leichen von Hingerichteten in die Stadt bringen lassen, wie es jetzt mit Jacob v. Biest geschehen ist."

The use of percussion in burial ritual is a common feature in many cultures. Anthropologists have noted that drums, bells, gongs and other percussion instruments are often associated with transition between one status and another. In the context of funerary ritual, percussion marks the transition from membership in the community of the living to membership in the community of the dead.<sup>72</sup> In denying von Biest's family the opportunity to guide his body to the grave with the usual accompaniment of bells and candles, the city authorities made a distinction between von Biest and members in good standing of the community. The lights and bells, which guided people from the community of the living to the community of the dead, did not guide von Biest. Although his relatives were permitted to care for "the salvation of his soul," they had to do so in isolation and silence. The city did not deny his family the right to pray for him, but the council's action distinguished von Biest from Cologne's honored dead. People outside of his family were not reminded of his death, and did not stop to offer prayers when they heard the bells or the public mourning of the Lungenbrüder. The community maintained its solidarity, in death as in life. Jakob von Biest, along with other executed criminals, was excluded from the urban community by the omission of customary death rites. The ban on ritual observances in connection with his burial made clear the fact that his rebellion had set him apart from the community.

Burial normally took place in churches or churchyards, and the interment of the dead in the midst of the parish placed the community of the

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<sup>72</sup>Huntington and Metcalf, Celebrations of Death, 46-50.

living and the dead at the nexus of local religious and communal life.<sup>73</sup> Strangers to the community were not buried in the city's cemetery. There was always a problem with the disposal of the bodies of pilgrims and travelers who died in the city; in the seventeenth century, the city established the Elendfriedhof, where outsiders could be buried.

The city council's interest in funeral ritual presented a consistent view of the role of the civic government in the relationship between God and the city's people. In the fifteenth century, funerals of two mayors showed how the city treated its honored dead. The funerals included processions, Masses, bells, candles, official participation by present and former members of the government, and by members of the city's religious orders.<sup>74</sup> The contrast between the elaborate, public, participatory rituals, with symbols of light, the transformational use of sound, and the quiet, almost furtive burial of the rebel von Biest reveals the consistent connection the Kölner found between civic and religious virtue. The death of a political leader, such as a mayor, involved greater ceremony than the average citizen. The passage of political power, as well as the transition of the mayor from the community of the living to the community of the dead, was part of the elaborate ceremonies devised for the deaths of mayors. Jakob von Biest, though, before his participation in the rebellion of 1525, was a Gaffel member and city councilor. The degree of ceremony appropriate to a prominent citizen, if not that

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<sup>73</sup>See Gérald Chaix, "De la cité chrétienne à la métropole catholique: vie religieuse et conscience civique à Cologne au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle" (Thèse pour le Doctorat d'État, Université des Sciences Humaines de Strasbourg, 1994), 58-60, on the importance of the medieval expansion of the city's walled area, to include the old, extra-mural cemeteries and churches.

<sup>74</sup>See chapter 2, page 73-75 for a description of the funeral processions for the mayors in 1431 and 1471.

appropriate to a mayor, would be expected at his death. The lack of public ceremony after his execution as a criminal was striking evidence of his civic and religious exclusion.

The demonstration of separation between criminals and the community was even sharper in the cases of ordinary criminals, who had not been prominent in the city before their crimes. Their bodies could not even come within the walls after their executions. This separation between the outcast criminal and the urban community was important to the maintenance of civic authority and communal solidarity. On the other hand, a member of the community who died in good standing could not be denied the appropriate rituals of death, even if those rituals were physically dangerous to the survivors. In 1527, during an outbreak of plague, the council ordered the city's pastors to announce from the pulpit that "no one, who has died of the plague, may be buried without candles and cross."<sup>75</sup> The observance of proper religious ritual was a sign of community membership, and a duty which community members owed to each other. The council also decreed that the citizens should not be burdened with excessive funeral processions, although it is unclear how the city intended to enforce its decree. Ordinary burials were handled by the smaller communities within the civic community. Burial was among the responsibilities of the parishes in the city. In March, 1530, the city council ordered the parish officers to be sure that their gravediggers were digging graves deep enough, and were not opening graves

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<sup>75</sup>Ibid., 448. September 20, 1527. Rpr. 7. "Die 4 Türwachter sollen den Pfarrern auftragen, am Sonntag von der Kanzel zu verkündigen: Niemand, der an der Pest gestorben ist, darf ohne Kerzen und Kreuz begraben werden. Das Haus soll, wie von jeher üblich, an dem Tage geschlossen gehalten werden. Die Bürger sollen nicht durch Begängnisse und dergleichen belastet werden."



or stealing grave goods.<sup>76</sup> The use of parishes to regulate burials allowed the council to decentralize the responsibility for burials, and tied the city's interest in burial to neighborhood religious institutions. The ties between the council and the parish churches emphasized that the burial of the dead was a civic obligation as well as a spiritual one. The city, the parishes and the religious orders worked together in the city's civic and spiritual interest. During plague years, the burial of the dead was a particularly important issue. The city negotiated an agreement with the Lungenbrüder to provide appropriate burial for those who died of plague.<sup>77</sup> They also ordered that the masters of the city's hospitals should orchestrate the removal of sick people from the streets, "so that they did not lie there and die."<sup>78</sup>

The question of death, burial and funeral practices raised questions about the religious beliefs of the dying person and his or her family. In 1530, Gerhard Westerberg, one of Cologne's prominent Protestants (who was permitted to remain in the city as long as he created no disturbance, at least until he was tainted with suspicion of Anabaptism in 1533 and expelled from the city) became a topic of discussion in the city council once again. The council had shown no concern with him between 1526, when he maintained

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<sup>76</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 3, 692. March 18, 1530. Rpr. 7. "Alle Offermänner sollen ihre Totengräber anweisen, die Toten tief genug einzugraben, auch keine Gräber offen zu lassen oder Totenladen zu nehmen."

<sup>77</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 3, 73. November 17, 1531. Rpr. 8. "Goiswyn van Duysberg und Gerhart Bruwyler sollen den Lungenbrüdern den Beschluß (verdrach) über die Beerdigung der Pesttoten (im Kolumbakirchspiel) mitteilen."

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid.*, 692. March 18, 1530. Rpr. 7. "Die Hospitalmeister von St. Katharina und den anderen Hospitälern sollen die Kranken von der Straße liegenbleiben und sterben."

that all he wanted to do was to live in peace as a good citizen, and 1530, when the question of his orthodoxy arose again. In August of 1530, the council investigated reports that one of Westerberg's servants, who became ill with the plague, had died. Westerberg arranged for the man's care in a private home. The parish priest in the neighborhood, who heard of the presence of the ill servant, went to him and offered him extreme unction. The sick man refused the sacrament, saying that he had made his peace directly with God, and needed no sacrament. The priest complained to the council that Westerberg had influenced the sick man to refuse confession and extreme unction, in furtherance of his Lutheran beliefs. The council saw this as evidence of active Protestant proselytizing, and ordered the investigation of Westerberg, the servant, and the woman in whose house the sick man had been staying.<sup>79</sup> By the time the investigators came to visit, the servant had died. The question of burial became a problem, since the man had not died in the Catholic faith. The priest refused to bury him in consecrated ground, and the woman in whose house he died had to make other arrangements. She contracted secretly with gravediggers to take the body away by night and to bury it in a secret place. Unfortunately, the gravediggers did not bury the body very carefully or, indeed, very secretly. They buried it in the road, leaving the head to stick up out of the grave. This created still further problems for Westerberg, who was then suspected of arranging the improper burial in the public road. The council ordered investigation of Westerberg, and of the

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<sup>79</sup>Ibid., 726. August 3, 1530. Rpr. 8. "Die Gewalttrichter sollen den Knecht, der Dr. Westerbergs Diener gewesen ist, wenn er gesund ist, mitsamt seinen Gesellen festnehmen, sofern sie die Stadt nicht verlassen. Es sollen auch die Frauen, die bei ihm sind, als Lutheraner festgenommen werden." See also Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 262-263.

improper burial.<sup>80</sup> Since the investigation showed that the improper burial was the result of shoddy work (and improper placement) by the gravediggers, Westerberg escaped punishment. According to Westerberg, the corpse remained in the road until the evening, and then the gravediggers, under orders from the council, removed it from the road and buried it outside the city walls, in the field where dead animals were buried."<sup>81</sup>

The story of Westerberg's servant shows the concerns of the council. Protestants could not be permitted to spread their teachings in the city. They could not interfere with the communal duty to carry out the rituals of the Catholic church. The question of a dying man's receipt of the last rites of the Catholic church was a matter of community concern. Once the man died, his body could not be buried with those of the members of the community who died in the faith. On the other hand, something had to be done with the body. The woman in whose house the man died attempted to make secret arrangements for burial; the failure of the secret arrangements caused additional trouble.

Secrecy in burial created a problem for the city even when the problem was not as severe as the burial of a body, head up, in the city streets. An

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<sup>80</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 3, 727. August 8, 1530. Rpr. 8. "Die Turmmeister sollen die Sache mit dem verstorbenen Knecht von Dr. Westenberg [sic] oder Feigfuyr untersuchen. Später sollen sie diejenigen ausfindig machen, die ihn begraben haben, und sie anweisen, ihn im Feld zu begraben und dann zu Turm zu gehen."

<sup>81</sup>Gerhard Westerberg, Wie die Hochgelerten von Cölln, doctores in der Gottheit und Ketzermeister den Doctor Gerhard Westerburg des Fegfewers halber als einen ungläubigen verurtheilt und verdampt haben. Wie Doctor Johann Cocleus von Wendelstein wider D. Westerburg's Buch u.s.w., (Marpurch im Paradiß:Frantzen Rhodiß, 1533); quoted in Leonard Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1 (Köln:L. Schwann'schen Verlagshandlung, 1873), 262-263.

innkeeper and a woman, assisted by two sailors, buried a body in the churchyard of St. Martin. They buried the body in a closed coffin, and did not invite the participation of the Lungenbrüder or any other order, any priest, or her neighbors.<sup>82</sup> The soul of the deceased was in danger, as was the spiritual standing of the community. If the proper funeral services were not provided, in the company of neighbors as well as of clerics, the burial was not ritually correct. The coffin was closed; the identity of the deceased remained unclear. Was it a resident or a visitor? Was it a Catholic or a Protestant? Was there a nefarious reason for the secrecy of the burial? The city officials perceived the danger in the secret burial; they ordered the Turmmeister to investigate. The city council records do not report the outcome of the investigation. We can see only that the avoidance of proper ritual, and the secret observance of funeral rites, was dangerous to the spiritual and the civic communities.

Funerals, like processions and executions, could be occasions for disorder, as well as occasions of orderly transition. As the city prepared for the arrival of the Emperor in December of 1530, the authorities worried about the tension between appropriate ceremonies for the city's dead and appropriate quiet for the Emperor's rest. The council directed that the Lungenbrüder not house any sick people near the lodgings reserved for the Emperor. The council further exerted control over the time, place and manner of burials by ruling that the candlemakers could sell candles for funerals and funeral processions only with the permission of the council. Furthermore, parish officials were forbidden by the council to avoid this

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<sup>82</sup>Ibid., 153. February 10, 1533. Rpr. 8. "Die Turmmeister sollen den Wirt, die Frau und die beiden Schiffsknechte festnehmen lassen die einen Toten in einem geschlossenen Sarg ohne Brüder und Nachbarn oder Priester auf den Martinskirchhof gebracht und begraben haben."

restriction by taking candles from the parish churches. The ringing of the church bells for the dead was to be kept short, and the smaller bells, which accompanied the processions of the host, were not to be rung loudly.<sup>83</sup>

The fifteenth-century tradition of political funerals, such as those conducted for the deceased mayors, continued to find expression in the sixteenth century. The city used funerals to demonstrate sacred and secular alliances, and to show the city's political and religious support for its friends. In 1539, the city sponsored elaborate memorial services at the death of Duke Johann von Jülich-Kleve-Berg. Duke Johann had been an ally of the city in the war against the Münster Anabaptists in 1534, and was an important lord in the lower Rhine provinces of the Holy Roman Empire. The city, in its memorial service, emphasized the continuity of the alliance by referring back to services held at the death of the prior duke of Jülich-Kleve-Berg in 1511. One hundred and eighty priests took part in those services, and each received a stipend from the city for taking part. The expense was considerable.<sup>84</sup> The

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<sup>83</sup>Ibid., 752. December 12, 1530. Rpr. 8. "1. Die Lungenbrüder dürfen in der Nähe ihres Hauses und des Hofes des Kaisers Keine Kranken unterbringen. 2. Die Kerzenmacher dürfen nur mit Genehmigung der Bürgermeister Kerzen für Leichenbegängnisse verkaufen. 3. Die Offermänner dürfen für diesen Zweck keine Kerzen aus der Pfarrkirchen hergeben. Das Totenläuten darf nur kurz sein. Die Schellen dürfen bei der Austragung des Sakraments nicht zu heftig angeschlagen werden."

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., 603. March 31, 1539. Rpr. 10. "Herzog Johann v. Kleve-Jülich-Berg ist Anfang Februar [6. Februar] gestorben. Gerhard vamme Wasservas d.J. (Schwarzhaus) berichtet über die Vorbereitung der Exequien. Sie sollen von den Rentmeistern am Freitag nach Ostern [11. April] in St. Maria im Kapitol ausgerichtet werden. Jeder Ratsherr soll 6 Albus Präsenzgeld erhalten. Mit den Priestern und Jungfern im Chor soll es gehalten werden wie bei den Exequien für Herzog Wilhelm im Jahre [15]11. Damals hatte man 180 Priester, von denen jeder 1 Raderalbus (damals 2 Albus wert) erhielt." See also Ibid., 606. April 15, 1539. Rpr. 10. "Der Rat veranstaltet in St. Maria im Kapitol ein Begängnis für Herzog Johann von Kleve-Jülich-Berg."

city council's sponsorship of memorial services for Duke Johann met the demands of religious ritual, of sixteenth-century politics, and of civic tradition. The combination of civic, political, religious and traditional concerns informed the council's actions during the sixteenth century.

During the 1530s, the city of Cologne faced threats from the Anabaptists in Münster, from the Archbishop of Cologne, and from the dangerous influences of outsiders who attempted to import innovations into the city. The city's response was to use its civic institutions, its rituals, and its influence over the transitional rites of burial to emphasize the importance of community membership, and to demonstrate the price of dissent.

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## Chapter 5: City and Sacrament, 1543-1570

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Hermann von Wied's adoption of the Reformation in 1543 brought the political, social and religious conflicts produced by the advent of the new religious teaching into high relief in the city and archdiocese of Cologne. It also demonstrated a pattern of behavior in civic and religious matters which continued throughout the sixteenth century. When the city was threatened by new religious movements, by political rivals, or by swarms of immigrants, the officials took steps to protect the community by exerting control over outsiders. The ebb and flow of civic interest in religious belief and practice reflected the city's perception of threats to its identity and to its existence as an independent sacred and civic entity.

### Cologne and the Empire

In the 1540s, Protestantism was on the rise across Germany, and the Protestant principalities and cities were beginning to organize. The League of Schmalkalden, which had been formed by Protestant princes and cities in 1531, was growing, and Emperor Charles V saw it as a threat to his continued rule. In 1534, the duchy of Württemberg became Protestant. By the mid-1540s, there were bands of Protestant cities and territories in the far north, the northwest, and the south of the German lands of the Holy Roman Empire. Cities which had adopted the Reformation by the mid-1540s included Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock. Greifswald, Nuremberg, Magdeburg, Bremen, Braunschweig, Göttingen, Goslar, and Strasbourg. In political terms, the



adoption of the Reformation complicated the politics of the imperial cities. Although the emperor remained Catholic, and pressured the cities to remain Catholic as well, the cities which chose to adopt the Reformation did not automatically reject their role in the empire or their loyalty to the emperor.<sup>1</sup> It was not clear that the adoption of the Reformation automatically meant that a city decided to resist the rule of the emperor. Nuremberg, for example, adopted the Reformation in 1524-25, and thereafter maintained that it was a true subject of the emperor.<sup>2</sup> The experience of Nuremberg, like the experience of Cologne, suggests that the construction of a civic and religious identity within the context of membership in an empire is complex. Cologne's allegiance to the emperor is not sufficient to explain its adherence to Catholicism, since Nuremberg, which adopted the Reformation relatively early, also considered itself to be a loyal imperial city.

The Emperor Charles V was not convinced that Protestantism was compatible with imperial loyalty. The spread of the Reformation in the archdiocese of Cologne was particularly dangerous because the Archbishop of Cologne was one of the seven imperial electors. If a majority of the electors became Protestant, the next emperor could be a Protestant too. The electoral Archbishopric of Mainz was already under threat, because parts of the archbishopric, including the areas controlled by the bishops of Magdeburg and

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<sup>1</sup>See, e.g. Heinrich Richard Schmidt, Reichsstädte, Reich und Reformation (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1986), on the subject of the Protestant cities' participation in the politics of Empire.

<sup>2</sup>Gerald Strauss, Nuremberg in the Sixteenth Century: City Politics and Life Between Middle Ages and Modern Times Revised ed., (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), 182-184. See also Hajo Holborn, A History of Modern Germany: The Reformation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), 215-231.

Halberstadt, were safe havens for Lutherans, and the archdiocese of Mainz itself had Protestant administrators, although the archbishop himself remained Catholic.<sup>3</sup> In addition to its electoral significance, the city and archdiocese of Cologne were important to the emperor because they were an important political, economic and geographic link with the Habsburg territories in the Netherlands.<sup>4</sup> Charles V, faced with the growth of Protestant power throughout the German lands of the empire, and the threat of the success of the Reformation in the Netherlands, could not afford to allow the politically and geographically vital archbishopric of Cologne to slip from his control. His efforts to maintain his rule over the region centered on the city of Cologne. The city's pride at its status as an imperial city, and its strong sense of independence, honed in conflict with the Archbishop of Cologne over centuries, made the city a good ally for the emperor. When Hermann von Wied attempted to introduce the Reformation into the archdiocese of Cologne, the emperor used the city as a major element of his plan to stop the spread of the Reformation.

The emperor responded to Hermann von Wied's efforts to reform the archdiocese of Cologne by taking strong symbolic and political action. Hermann first took communion in the Lutheran manner in 1543, thereby casting his lot with the reformers. In 1544, Charles V visited Cologne on his return from his victory at the siege of Düren.<sup>5</sup> While in Cologne, he

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<sup>3</sup>Holborn, 220.

<sup>4</sup>Leonard Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln (Köln: Druck und Verlag der L. Schwann'schen Verlagshandlung, 1873), vol. 1, 482.

<sup>5</sup>Franz Lau and Ernst Bizer, A History of the Reformation in Germany to 1555 trans. Brian A. Hardy (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1969), 183-184.

participated in ceremonies which linked the city to the emperor and to the Catholic faith. He entered the city on January 13, 1544, and marched to the cathedral. There, he prayed at the shrine of the Three Kings in thanks for military victory in his lower Rhineland campaigns. He also donated a gold salver, with a design showing the adoration of the Magi, to the shrine. The emperor's actions were a visible sign of the linkages of community, religion, and political loyalty he wished to inspire. He appeared in Cologne in a triumphal march after a successful military campaign. He marched to the cathedral, which was the largest and most central locus of the city's religious life. Not coincidentally, it was also the ecclesiastical seat of the Archbishop of Cologne. The emperor directed his prayers and his largesse to the shrine of the Three Kings, who were the patron saints of the city. The emperor's actions demonstrated and reinforced the close ties between the civic community, the city's political ties to the empire, the Catholic identity of the city, the power of the city's patrons (both saintly and secular), and the military power of the empire. At the same time, he demonstrated imperial power on the archbishop's home ground, without granting the archbishop the dignity of a face-to-face confrontation. It was a potent symbolic action.

The emperor's visit to Cologne, in the face of the archbishop's adoption of Protestantism, was a social drama of the type described by the anthropologist Victor Turner, in his book, Dramas, Fields and Metaphors.<sup>6</sup> Hermann von Wied broke the social, religious and political order in the archdiocese of Cologne by adopting the Reformation. His action challenged

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<sup>6</sup>Victor Turner, Dramas, Fields and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), see especially Chapter 1, "Social Dramas and Ritual Metaphors," 23-59.

the secular authority of the emperor, and from the perspective of the Catholic emperor and the city of Cologne, endangered the spiritual health of the Catholic community. Charles, in his visit to the city, acted to avert the crisis of political order and faith. The emperor's visit to the city and its shrines was an attempt to strengthen the ties between the city, the empire, and the Catholic faith. In Turner's analytical framework, the visit was a redressive action, aimed at healing the breach caused by the archbishop before it spread to the city of Cologne. In this case, though, the emperor alone could not stem the threat to the city. Cologne's identity as an imperial city was only part of its self-perception. Independence and Catholic piety were equally important elements of the city's identity, and the city itself had to take redressive action to counter the archbishop's threat. The empire, the city's clergy, and the city council all recognized the importance of communal ritual in strengthening the Catholic identity of Cologne. After the archbishop's adoption of the Reformation, city officials began to integrate good Catholic belief and practice with the definition of good community membership. The city's actions in response to the archbishop's conversion show an attempt to reintegrate and to strengthen the civic community through increasing interest in Catholic rituals which defined the civic and sacred community.

Charles V did not depend on symbolism to demonstrate his concern about the loyalty and the orthodoxy of Cologne. After his brief but visible stop in Cologne, he began a campaign of letter-writing, designed to encourage the city government and the city's clergy to remain faithful to the Roman Catholic church, and to resist all attempts to introduce the Reformation into Cologne.<sup>7</sup> Representatives of the city's clerical establishment, including

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 459.

Johannes Gropper, an Erasmian theologian who had been an advisor to the archbishop before Hermann embraced the Reformation, and Johannes von Thiel, the Dominican rector of the University's theological faculty, wrote to the emperor, urging him to help the city to resist the innovations proposed by the archbishop.

...the impending total destruction of the old Religion can only be forestalled by an imperial Patent directed to all prelates, chapters, abbots, convents, pastors and curates, in short to the entire clergy, as well as to the counts, barons, nobles and all residents of the archdiocese, as well as to the council of the city of Cologne, in which your Majesty declares that it is on no account your intention to allow the archbishop [to institute] such [changes], and in which each and every person is specifically directed to abide, undisturbed, by the old religion, and that your Majesty will extend your protection to them . . .<sup>8</sup>

The emperor did as the Cologne clergy requested, and issued the patent urging the people of the city and archdiocese of Cologne to remain true to the Catholic faith, upon pain of the emperor's displeasure. The Cologne cathedral chapter distributed the emperor's edict throughout the parishes and ecclesiastical foundations in the city and archdiocese.<sup>9</sup> The emperor followed up his edict by sending his vice-chancellor to proclaim that everyone, "no matter who he may be," (Iemand, er sei wer er sei) must understand that the introduction of religious innovation in Cologne would not be tolerated.<sup>10</sup> In addition, the emperor wrote directly to the city council, encouraging the city's leaders to keep control over the city's pulpits, and not to allow new preachers to creep in and spread dissent. The emperor urged the maintenance of the

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<sup>8</sup>Brief im Stadtarchiv, (no date given), cited in Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 477.

<sup>9</sup>Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 477.

<sup>10</sup>Druckschrift im Stadtarchiv, cited in Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 478.

"old praiseworthy ceremonies" of the Catholic church, and urged the city to remove from office any cleric who urged that the old ceremonies be replaced with new ones which were in conflict with Christian teaching.<sup>11</sup> The emperor's interest in the maintenance of proper Christian ceremony has a double significance. The maintenance of proper Christian ceremonies was important because it kept the community in good spiritual standing. From a more practical point of view, it enabled the Catholic authorities to see who participated in the spiritual life of the community and who did not. Failure to take communion, to attend Mass, to attend orthodox sermons or to observe the local saints' days and fasts was a marker of religious deviation. People who did not worship publicly might well be Protestants. Furthermore, Catholic ceremonies reinforced the existence of a self-conscious Catholic community. They served as a positive means of constructing the Catholic civic community, as well as a means of discovering nonconformists within the community.

The Speier Reichstag of 1545 gave both the city officials and the emperor a chance to reiterate their commitment to the maintenance of a Catholic community in Cologne. At the Reichstag, the emperor worried that the city of Cologne was too tolerant of Protestants. Leonard Ennen, the nineteenth-century historian of Cologne, reports without citation that the emperor announced at the Reichstag that he had heard that there were many suspicious persons in Cologne, of all stations and conditions, and even among the scholars of the University.<sup>12</sup> The emperor, however, mentioned

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<sup>11</sup>Ennen, *Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, vol. 1, 478.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, 483.

no names, and simply urged the city council and the clergy to be more aggressive about searching out Protestants in their midst.

The city officials had not waited for imperial instructions to respond to the archbishop's reform proposal. Beginning in 1543, and continuing throughout the middle decades of the sixteenth century, even after Hermann von Wied had been deposed by the Pope and replaced with an orthodox Catholic bishop, Adolf von Schaumberg, the city government took an increasingly sacramental view of the requirements of membership in the Cologne community. The city's response to the archbishop's attempt at Reformation, and to the emperor's increased interest in the religious life of the city took familiar form. Before the emperor's visit, the Council had delegated subcommittees to investigate reports that people in the city had taken communion under both species, and to look into the question of adherents of "evil sects," who were reportedly meeting in the city.<sup>13</sup> The council also took action to stop preaching which it suspected of relating to Protestantism, and to prevent the printing and distribution of Protestant

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 141. April 16, 1543. Rpr. 11. "Die Schickung trägt vor, was sie über diejenigen, die unter beiderlei gestalt kommuniziert haben, beraten hat. es wird lange darüber beraten. Dann wird ein Termin für Morgen um 8 Uhr bei den Minoriten angesetzt zu dem geladen werden sollen: je 2 Vertreter der 4 Bettelorden, die Pfarrer von St. Kolumba, Klein St. Martin, St.. Laurenz und St. Alban, der Rektor Busco, der Weihbischof und Dr. de Clapis. Danach soll auch mit Vertretern des Domkapitels beraten werden. Zudem soll mit Dr. Oldendorpius und anderen Bürgern, die betroffen sind, verhandelt werden." Ibid., 141. April 16, 1543. Rpr. 11. "Goedart van Hyttorp, Peter Clemens und Bruyn Angelmecher sollen sich mit Nachdruck bei den Bürgermeistern nach den Anhängern der "bösen Sekte" erkundigen, die sich heimlich versammeln." See also 144. April 27, 1543. Rpr. 11. "Goedart van Hyttorp, Peter Clemens, und Peter Furstenberg sollen diejenigen vorladen, die unter beiderlei Gestalt kommunizieren, sie verhören und nach anderen fahnden."

literature.<sup>14</sup> In response to rumors that Protestants were gaining a foothold in Cologne, the city's representative to the Nuremberg Reichstag presented assurances that the council was taking sufficient steps to deal with the sacramentarians who threatened the city.<sup>15</sup>

In May, 1545, the representatives of the city council met with the city's clergy to discuss what should be done about the Protestant threat in the city. The city officials requested that the clergy provide Inquisitors to assist the city in the identification and examination of Protestants.<sup>16</sup> The identification of Protestants happened in a variety of ways. The city took advantage of the city's strong parish structure by using the parish churches as arms of the city administration. The council directed the parish priests and the Churchmasters, who were elected lay leaders in the city's parishes, to examine their parishes and to report strangers.<sup>17</sup> On the most basic level, the activities

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 137. March 21, 1543. Rpr. 11. "Die Turmmeister sollen alle Buchdruckern untersagen, Bücher ohne Genehmigung des Rates zu drucken." Ibid., 137. March 21, 1543. Rpr. 11. "Jeronimus Vederhenne und die Weinmeister sollen dem Pfarrer von St. Maria Lyskirchen bis auf weiteres das Predigen untersagen. Wenn sie ihn nicht antreffen, sollen sie den Beschluß dem Kaplan und dem Offerman mitteilen." Ibid., 154. June 15, 1543. Rpr. 11. "Die Rentmeister und die Provisoren der Universität machen auf ein Büchlein aufmerksam, das von Luther oder Bucer stammen soll und von der Messe und den Sakramenten handelt. Die Provisoren sollen deswegen morgen bei den Minoriten mit den Ordinarien und dem Rektor zu beraten." Ibid., 155. June 18, 1543. Rpr. 11. "Die Gewaltrichter sollen alle lutherischen und andere "unchristliche" Bücher geschlagnahmen, auch auf Anzeige der Bedelle und der Beauftragten der Universität."

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 145. May 9, 1543. Rpr. 11. Der Sekretär M. Johann Helman berichtet von Reichstag zu Nürnberg. Er hat den Rat hinsichtlich der Sakramentierer zur Zufriedenheit des Römischen Königs entschuldigt. Der König fordert den Rat auf, bei der guten alten Religion zu bleiben."

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., 484.

<sup>17</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 5, 304. May 27, 1545. Rpr. 12. "Alle Pfarrer sollen aufgefordert werden, den Turmmeistern alle Fremden zu melden, die sich in ihren Kirchspielen niederlassen."



identified by the city council as suspicious or dangerous were simply indications of Protestant belief. The form of communion, along with the acceptance of infant baptism, and the attendance at services with Protestant preaching were basic tenets of the teachings of the reformers. These practices were public badges of Protestantism. The importance of rituals of baptism, communion and Mass were not limited to their status as visible indications of Protestant leanings. Because Cologne maintained its character as a sacred community, baptism, communion, attendance at Mass (or, conversely, absence from Mass and attendance at secret services with Protestant preachers) were also rituals which re-created and reinforced the idea of Cologne as a Catholic community.

### The City and the Roman Catholic Church

The city council and its officials took the lead in maintaining the city's Catholic identity during the 1540s, but it was not the only source of reinforcement of Catholic belief in Cologne. The city's leaders worked with the clergy to counter the Protestant teachings of the archbishop. The alliance between the city and its clergy in opposition to the archbishop indicates that the relationship between the city and its clergy was not exclusively adversarial. The city continued to argue with the clergy about its economic privileges and its financial obligations to the city. In 1544, the city, as part of a policy of separating the city clergy from the authority of the archbishop, attempted to take over the power of taxation of the clergy from the

archbishop.<sup>18</sup> In Cologne, the city's long-term resistance to the encroachments of the archbishop did not result in general anticlericalism. While the city and the clergy disagreed over the terms of their financial relationship, the disagreements did not result in a movement to eliminate the special standing of the clergy within the community. The clergy provided important spiritual benefits to the city, and worked with the civic authorities to maintain good spiritual health.

Cologne also maintained contact with the Catholic hierarchy outside the city, even while the archbishop became involved with the reformers. In 1543, the Pope wrote to the council, urging the city to remain true to the Catholic faith.<sup>19</sup> The Pope also, in 1544, directed the cathedral chapter to resist Hermann's efforts at reform of the archdiocese. In April, 1546, the Pope excommunicated Hermann, and transferred the administration of the archdiocese to the co-adjutor, Count Adolf von Holstein-Schauenburg.<sup>20</sup> The papal deposition did not have immediate effect, because Hermann was a temporal lord as well as a spiritual lord, and his deposition also required action by the emperor. In early 1545, the emperor sent his representative, Vice-Chancellor Raves, to Cologne, to encourage the city council to maintain the city's Catholic faith and to assure the council of the emperor's continued protection.<sup>21</sup> The emperor also issued an edict freeing the city and the

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<sup>18</sup>On the city's attempt to tax the clergy, see Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 5, 200, April 2, 1544, Rpr. 11; 210, June 18, 1544, Rpr. 11; 216, July 14, 1544, Rpr. 12; 222-223, August 1, 1544, Rpr. 12.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, 145. May 4, 1543. Rpr. 11. "Ein päpstliches Breve über das Ausharren in der katholischen Religion wird verlesen. Es soll gut verwahrt werden."

<sup>20</sup>Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 519.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, 520-521.

archdiocese from all duty of obedience to the archbishop.<sup>22</sup> The city of Cologne remained firmly in the Catholic and imperial camp; other cities and territories in the archdiocese, including Neuß, Linz, Kempen, Andernach, Kaiserswerth and Bonn, adopted the archbishop's reform position. Throughout 1545, the archbishop continued to wrangle with the cathedral chapter over the question of allegiance, control over the archdiocese, and acceptance of the Reformation.<sup>23</sup> The tension over the questions of loyalty to the city, loyalty to the emperor, the power of the archbishop, and the position of the city's clergy was a dominant force in the political and social milieu of Cologne in the 1540s. The city council's perception of political and theological threats arising from the spread of the Reformation in the immediate neighborhood of Cologne led the city to take steps to guard its safety.

### The Sacraments and Collective Identity

The city council responded to the threat of an easily-available Protestant alternative as it had responded to the advent of Protestantism in the 1520s and the threat of the Anabaptists in the 1530s. It took measures to emphasize the unity of the community, to reinforce the relationship between Catholicism and Cologne, and to guard the religious orthodoxy of the city. The council and the clergy formed a powerful institutional alliance in

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., 521, citing "Druckschrift im Stadtarchiv."

<sup>23</sup>On the arguments theological arguments between the Archbishop and the cathedral chapter, see Manfred Wichelhaus, "Die erzbischöfliche Denkschrift und der Gegenbericht des Domkapitels zur Kölner Reformation 1543," Jahrbuch des kölnischen Geschichtsvereins 64 (1993):61-74 and Maria Barbara Rößner, "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der "Gegenberichtung" in der Auseinandersetzung um den Kölner Reformationsversuch Hermanns von Wied," Jahrbuch des kölnischen Geschichtsvereins 64 (1993): 79-103.

support of Catholicism in Cologne. The common city-clergy tensions over importation and economic rights never disappeared, and the city always took care to protect its economic and political rights against encroachment by the clergy. The willingness of city authorities to work with the city clergy to maintain Cologne's Catholicism in the face of Archbishop Hermann von Wied's Protestantism indicates that a simple analysis based on anti-clericalism, clerical conservatism, censorship of religious ideas, or opposition to "foreign" Roman-Catholicism is not sufficient to explain the city's adherence to Catholicism.

In June, 1545, the cathedral chapter, the university of Cologne, and the clergy requested permission from the papal nuncio to re-establish an inquisition in Cologne. The city council endorsed the request tentatively. The council was concerned with the maintenance of its own authority, and wanted to make sure that the clergy would not gain too much power through the establishment of the office of the inquisition.<sup>24</sup> From the 1540s on, both laymen, acting in their capacity as city officials, and clerical inquisitors participated in interrogations and investigations of religious suspects.

There were several different types of cases involving religious deviation in the middle decades of the sixteenth century. As in earlier decades, the city council sometimes promulgated general edicts against

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<sup>24</sup>Ennen, *Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, vol. 1, 530-531. See also Groten, *Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln*, vol. 5, 349. Rpr. 12, November 9, 1545. "Schon vor dem Wormser Reichstag wurde ein Vorstoß unternommen, eine neue Inquisition einzuführen. Der päpstliche Nuntius hat eine solche Inquisition gebilligt. Der Rat soll nun den Mandaten des Kaisers gehorsam zur Anwendung der neuen Inquisition Beistand leisten. Bedenken, daß diese Inquisition der Bürgerschaft zum Nachteil gereicht und Unruhe stiften könnte, sind unbegründet. . . .Über 2. [the matter of the establishment of an Inquisition] soll noch weiter beraten werden."

Lutherans, Anabaptists, or Sacramentarians. These declarations were statements of city policy, and the city council promulgated them without explaining why a new edict was necessary. A 1555 edict explicitly referred to "unchristian sectarians who have fled from other lands and cities . . . ." <sup>25</sup> The city authorities worried about these foreigners because they held forbidden conventicles and secret sermons (Winkelpredigen). The presence of these unchristian folk, who were prone to blasphemy against God and the sacraments, was a threat to the city because it could cause the wrath of God to descend on the city. Under the terms of the city's edict, Anabaptists were subject to death. Other religious dissidents, who did not accept Catholic teaching about communion, were subject to banishment from the community. After it dealt with punishment for rejecting the Catholic church's teachings about infant baptism and the Eucharist, the city authorities dealt with the punishment for blasphemy. The definition of blasphemy included those who uttered slander, "not only against God, but also against the authorities." <sup>26</sup> Cologne's lawmakers saw an attack on the Catholic church as equivalent to an attack on the city authorities. The criminal law embodied the identification of Catholicism and Cologne.

Promulgations dealing with Protestants resulted from rumors, arrests, or accusations leveled by suspects during interrogation. In some cases, the city council dealt with suspects by name; in other cases, the council dealt with reports of suspicious people who met at certain locations in the city. In the

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<sup>25</sup>Edikte 1, s. 166r, July 10, 1555.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 166r. " . . . und durch sollich beschwerlicheit übel/Got der Almechtiger nit allein gegen den Gots lesterern/sonder auch den Obrigkeite[n]/die sollichs zu wehren schuldig/ un gedulde[n]/zu den wercke[n] des zorns/und erschröcklicher zeithlicher und weiger straff bewegt wirt . . . ."

cases of rumors, reports and accusations, the council frequently ordered investigation. Only infrequently, though, were the results of investigations recorded.

Other city council cases involved persons living in Cologne whose behavior made their religious beliefs suspect. In these cases, the city council investigated the reported improper religious practices, and attempted to determine whether the residents' improper practice resulted from improper belief. In these cases, the city council again took actions that reflected its dual goal of maintaining the city's spiritual good health, and protecting the community. The ceremonies and sacraments of the Catholic church were important because, on the simplest possible level, they provided markers of unorthodox belief. On a deeper level, they marked membership in the urban community, and the laymen who ran the city used participation in proper Catholic ceremonies and sacraments to define membership in the urban community.

In April, 1543, the council, acting on information received from parish priests, formed a subcommittee to investigate reports that people in the city were receiving communion under both species. The council held repeated debates, and scheduled a special meeting to which it invited representatives of many of the city's ecclesiastical institutions, including the mendicant orders, four of the city's parishes, the University, the cathedral chapter, and the suffragan bishop.<sup>27</sup> The unity of the city's clergy in the face of the

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<sup>27</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 5, 139-141. April 4, 1543. Rpr. 11. "Die Supplik einiger Pfarrer betreffend Meynartzhagen wegen der Kommunion unter beiderlei Gestalt sollen die Weinmeister diesem vorhalten. Seine Antwort soll der Schickung oder dem Rat vorgelegt werden;" April 11, 1543. Rpr. 11. "Es wird über die gestrigen Beratungen in der Schickung berichtet. Die Shickung soll über die folgenden Punkte weiter

archbishop's adoption of Protestant teaching was a major concern. The council urged the clergy, especially the pastors and the confessors serving the city's cloisters, to maintain a firmly orthodox Catholic position. The presence of a Protestant stronghold within one of the city's convents or monasteries would have been especially dangerous. The Augustinians in particular had a record of sympathy with Lutheran teachings, and the council sought to avoid the spread of the Reformation within the city's cloisters. While the clergy were not citizens, and the cloisters were not technically under the jurisdiction of the city council, the cloisters' continued orthodoxy was a matter for civic concern. The council delegated the dealings with the cloisters to its most powerful members: the mayors, the chancellors, the Stimmeister, and the Weinmeister, with the at-large councilor Goedart van Hyttorp as the master of the subcommittee.<sup>28</sup> The council also created a subcommittee to look into the question of adherents of evil sects, who met together in secret.<sup>29</sup> Two

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beraten: Sakramentierer . . . "; 141-142. April 16, 1543. Rpr. 11. "Die Schickung trägt vor, was sie über diejenigen, die unter beiderlei Gestalt kommuniziert haben, beraten hat. Es wird lange darüber beraten. Dann wird ein Termin für morgen um 8 Uhr bei den Minoriten angesetzt zu dem geladen werden sollen: je 2 Vertreter der 4 Bettelorden, die Pfarrer von St. Kolumba, Klein St. Martin, St. Laurenz und St. Alban, der Rektor Busco, der Weihbischof und Dr. de Clapis. danach soll auch mit Vertretern des Domkapitels beraten werden. Zudem soll mit Dr. Oldendorpius und anderen Bürgern, die betroffen sind, verhandelt werden."

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., 142. April 18, 1543. Rpr. 11. "Die Bürgermeister und Rentmeister erstatten Bericht [ . . . Von den Bettelorden anwesend: jeweils der Prior und der Lesemeister der Dominikaner, Karmeliter und Augustiner sowie der Gardian und der Prokurator der Minoriten]. Es ist u.a. für gut erachtet worden, die Patres und Beichtiger von allen anderen Klöstern zu ermahnen, in dieser Sache eine einheitliche Haltung einzunehmen."

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., 141. April 16, 1543. Rpr. 11. "Goedart van Hyttorp, Peter Clemens, und Bruyn Angelmecher [all members of the council] sollen sich mit Nachdruck bei den Bürgermeistern nach den Anhängern der "bösen Sekte" erkundigen, die sich heimlich versammeln."

weeks later, yet another subcommittee, which also included von Hyttorp, began to question persons suspected of receiving communion under both species.<sup>30</sup>

In May, 1543, the council took action against two prominent suspects. Johan Meinartzhagen was a Minorite Lienztat who, along with the pastor of the parish church of St. Maria Lyskirchen, distributed communion in both kinds to the laity. Fifteen people received Easter communion from Meynartzhagen, and the attempt to bring communion in both kinds into the city caused the other city pastors to complain to the city council. After deliberation, and consultation with clerics from the city's parishes, the University, and several of the religious orders, including the Dominicans, the Frauenbrüder, the Minorites and the Augustinians, the council resolved that the traditional Catholic communion ceremony should be preserved in Cologne, and efforts at reform should be rejected.<sup>31</sup> Dr. Johann Oldendorp (called Oldendorpius in the council's records), who held a professorship in the University at Cologne, supported Meynartzhagen in his case. Oldendorp was Hamburg-born jurist, who had studied in Rostock, Cologne and Bologna. During the early years of the Reformation, he had worked in Rostock and Lübeck, where the citizens and governments were sympathetic to the cause of the reformers. He moved to Cologne in 1538, and took a post in the law faculty at the University.<sup>32</sup> The acceptance of Oldendorp by the University is

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid., 144. April 27, 1543. Rpr. 11. "Goeddart van Hyttorp, Peter Clemens und Peter Furstenberg [all at-large councilors] sollen diejenigen vorladen, die unter beiderlei Gestalt kommunizieren, sie verhören und nach anderen fahnden."

<sup>31</sup>Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 447-449.

<sup>32</sup>On Johann Oldendorp, see Ernst Landsberg, "Oldendorp, Johann O.," in Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, (Leipzig:n.p., 1887), 265-267.



notable, because the University faculty was generally very conservative in matters of faith. As a result of his work on behalf of Meynartzhagen, the council dismissed Oldendorp, whom it also suspected of Protestant sympathies, from his University post. The council announced that it was not disposed to tolerate "him and his kind" in the city.<sup>33</sup>

Dr. Oldendorp did not accept his dismissal quietly. Four days after the council ordered his dismissal, he appealed to the council. He maintained that he had never participated in any "secret conventicles," and that while he took communion in both kinds, he did so only upon the advice of his confessor. The council accepted Oldendorp's testimony, and restored him to his position, on the condition that he not adopt any religious innovations.<sup>34</sup> In

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<sup>33</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 5, 146. May 11, 1543. Rpr. 11. "Die Bürgermeister, Rentmeister, Her Peter Heimbach und Goeddart van Hyttorp berichten im Beisein beider Sekretäre über ihr Treffen mit den Gesandten der Universität gestern um 8 Uhr bei den Minoriten. die Universität hat Johan Meynartzhagen wegen der Kommunion unter beiderlei Gestalt vorgeladen und er hat dagegen appelliert. Dr. Johann Oldendorpius unterstützt ihn in dieser sache. Hinsichtlich Meynartzhagen sollen der Gardian und der Provinzial aufgefordert werden, sich der Sache gebührlich anzunehmen. Der Rat erbietet sich, ihnen dabei als Obrigkeit zu Hilfe zu kommen. Dr. Oldendorpius soll morgen aus dem Dienst entlassen werden. Der Rat ist nicht gewillt, ihn und seinesgleichen in der Stadt zu dulden. Die Gesandtschaft der Universität soll von den Beschlüssen des Rates in Kenntnis gesetzt werden."

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 147. May 14, 1543. Rpr. 11. "Die Schickung berichtet von ihrem Besuch bei Dr. Oldendorpius. Dr. Doktor hat erklärt: Er hat in seiner Vorlesung nichts vorgetragen, was ungehörig ist. Er hat an keiner heimlichen Versammlung teilgenommen, aber auf Anraten seines Beichtvaters unter beiderlei Gestalt kommuniziert und auf Bitten Meynartzhagens das Protestschreiben verfaßt. Der Rat hält die Aufkündigung von Schutz und Schirm nicht aufrecht. Die Weinmeister und der Sekretär Helman sollen dem Doktor erklären, daß der Rat ihm weiterhin Sicherheit gewährleistet, wenn er sich nicht in Neuerung einläßt. Den Minoriten ist erklärt worden, daß der Rat von ihnen die Bestrafung von

this matter, as in the matter of the orthodoxy of the convents and of the clergy in general, the city council worked with the ecclesiastical organizations within the city. The council also controlled the staffing decisions of the University. The general theological tenor of the University was strongly Catholic and strongly orthodox, but some members of the University found the teachings of the reformers attractive. When they came to the attention of the city council, the council was prepared to exercise its prerogative as the patron of the University and to release them from their employment. The council gave firm instructions to the mendicant orders, whose members did not fall within the council's jurisdiction, to discipline their own members, or to face sanction from the city. The council could and did use its political power to direct the religious life of the city, even when religious institutions within the walls fell outside the council's formal jurisdiction.

The council's concern with the question of communion, as well as the question of adherents of "evil sects" which met in secret demonstrated once again the council's concern with the maintenance of two things: the spiritual health of the city, and the Catholic identity of the civic community. On the surface, the concern with the taking of communion can be explained as a simple test of religious belief. People who believed in the teachings of the Protestant reformers took communion under both species, and declined to take communion with their neighbors in the local Catholic parish church. Good community members were good Catholics, and worshipped in the company of their friends and neighbors in the local parish churches. People

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Meynartzhagen und seinen Gesinnungsgenossen erwartet und nicht dulden wird, daß sich Patres mit solchen Menschen einlassen."

who met secretly for religious observance broke the solidarity of the community, and were dangerous to its health.

The case of the Longolius family provides a window on the world of Cologne in the dangerous period when Archbishop Hermann von Wied had taken communion in the Protestant manner, and encouraged Protestant pastors to hold Protestant services and sacraments in the archdiocese of Cologne. In May, 1543, Gisbert Longolius, who held a professorship in medicine at the University, died. Because he had taken communion under both species, and had been excommunicated for his participation in this Protestant Eucharist, his family was not allowed to bury him in consecrated ground in Cologne. Instead, his family took his body to Bonn, where Martin Bucer presided over his burial.<sup>35</sup> The council's refusal to allow Longolius's family to bury him within the city followed the familiar pattern of exclusion of religious dissidents from the community, even after death.

In spite of Longolius's posthumous exile from the city, his family remained in Cologne. In the spring of 1545, the city council investigated the case of the widow of Dr. Longolius. Her first appearance in the records occurred on April 10, 1545, when the council reported that she was reputed to be an adherent of Lutheranism and other sects. The council ordered her to leave the city within fourteen days, or face being turned over to the ecclesiastical authorities.<sup>36</sup> In response to the council's charge, the widow appeared before the council five days later. She maintained that she held to

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<sup>35</sup>Ennen, *Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, vol. 1, 452.

<sup>36</sup>Groten, *Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln*, vol. 5, 289. April 10, 1545. Rpr. 12. "Die Witwe von Dr. Longolius, die der "lutherischen und anderen Sekten" anhängen soll, soll die Stadt binnen 14 Tagen verlassen, sonst wird der Rat sie den Inquisitoren ausliefern."

the "old Catholic faith," and asked for mercy from the council's sentence of exile. The council took her testimony seriously, and ordered that further inquiries be made about Widow Longolius's religious standing. The civic authorities asked two pressing questions: did she attend Easter services, and did she take communion? The council resolved that if she had done those things, she could stay in the city.<sup>37</sup> Once again, a gap in the records makes it impossible to follow the precise course of the investigation, but the council recorded that it considered the matter again at length on April 27, 1545. On April 29, 1545, the council renewed its sentence of banishment.<sup>38</sup> The city did not take immediate steps to enforce the banishment order, but it maintained that the widow had to go. On May 11, the council reiterated that the Widow Longolius had to leave the city within three days or face arrest.<sup>39</sup> The council, in its firm determination that the widow should leave the city, mentioned its concern with the emperor's admonition that the city council should be attentive to its duty to maintain the Catholic religion. On May 13,

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid., 290. April 15, 1545. Rpr. 12. "Dr. Longolius' Witwe erklärt, daß sie sich zur alten katholischen Kirche hält und bittet, in der Stadt bleiben zu dürfen. Die Turmmeister u.a. sollen in einem Verhör prüfen, ob das zutrifft, vor allem ob sie zu Ostern die Sakramente empfangen hat. Wenn ja, darf sie bleiben."

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., 294. April 27, 1545. Rpr. 12. "Es wird lange beraten, wie man es mit der Witwe des Longolius halten soll. Die Frage wird an die Schickung verwiesen"; see also Ibid., 294. April 29, 1545. Rpr. 12. "Die Turmmeister sollen Dr. Longolius' Witwe auffordern, die Stadt unverzüglich zu verlassen."

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., 298. May 11, 1545. Rpr. 12. "Die Turmmeister und Gewalttrichter sollen Longolius' Witwe auffordern, die Stadt binnen 3 Tagen zu verlassen. Wenn sie nicht gehorcht, soll sie festgenommen werden. Weil der Kaiser den Rat gemahnt hat, sich der Religionssachen anzunehmen, sollen auch Johan v. Efferen und Joachim, der erzieher des Grafen von Hoya, ausgewiesen werden. Wenn sie nicht gehorchen, sollen sie in Haft genommen werden, bis ein Bescheid des Kaisers eintrifft."

1545, the widow Longolius asked the council for more time. The council refused and on May 15, it ordered the widow and Joachim Claudius, who had been arrested for taking communion under both species, to leave the city under threat of immediate arrest. The council warned that the members of the cathedral chapter, the city clergy and the University were ready to take the case under their jurisdiction, and warned that the two would be turned over if they did not leave the city.<sup>40</sup> At this point, the widow dropped out of the city's records. There are no indications that she was transferred to the ecclesiastical authorities, or that she had any further dealings with the city council.

The city authorities' interests in attendance at Mass (on Easter particularly) and in communion show that the city council was employing an increasingly sacramental definition of what it meant to be Catholic and, at the same time, what it meant to be a resident of Cologne. The assertion before the council that she was an adherent of the "old Catholic religion" was not enough to establish the Widow Longolius's Catholic bona fides. The council was interested in her actions as well as her beliefs, and the actions which counted were the sacramental ones. Mass on Easter was important because Easter was the central feast of the Christian year. The concern with Easter

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 299. May 13, 1545. Rpr. 12. "Johan v. Efferen verspricht in einer Supplik Abkehr und bittet um Gnade. Dr. Longolius' Frau bittet um Verlängerung der Frist, damit sie ihre Güter fortschaffen kann. Es bleibt bei dem früheren Beschluß. Wenn sie aber nach ihrem Auszug um Gnade bitten und Abkehr geloben, sollen sie angehört werden." See also 302. May 22, 1545. Rpr. 12. "Das Domstift, der Klerus und die Universität haben ihre Bereitschaft erklärt, sich der Sache der Religion anzunehmen und Strafen zu verhängen. Deshalb beschließt auch der Rat, Longolius' Witwe und Joachim, den Erzieher des Grafen von Hoya, aufzufordern, die Stadt noch heute zu verlassen. Wenn man sie morgen noch antrifft, sollen sie unweigerlich zu Turm gebracht werden."

suggests that, while there might be acceptable excuses for missing Mass on other occasions, there was no acceptable excuse for absence on Easter. The council established a minimalist definition of Catholic community membership, based on the taking of communion and attendance at Mass at least once a year, on Easter. Although there was a complicated and full schedule of religious holidays and observances in Cologne, the minimal definition of community membership did not involve active participation in all of the city's ceremonies. The city's willingness to accept participation in a few basic ceremonies as evidence of sufficient Catholicism and community membership helped to mitigate the potential burden of participation in all of the city's religious observances. Because it was fairly simple to demonstrate community membership and Catholicism, failure to take communion and to attend Mass at least at Easter were particularly suspicious omissions.

Attendance at Mass was important because it is the occasion of the celebration of the Eucharist, which embodied the Christian community. The taking of communion is important because it signifies membership in the body of Christ, and the location and method of communing is a sign of belief and of allegiance to the Catholic (or, dangerously, the Protestant) church. David Sabeau, in his essay, "Communion and Community," argued persuasively that communion defined and reinforced community in Protestant Württemberg. Württemberg visitation records from the 1580s established that people took the concept of peaceful community membership quite seriously, and refused to take communion if they were at odds with other members of the community.<sup>41</sup> In Sabeau's analysis, failure to attend

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<sup>41</sup>David Warren Sabeau, "Communion and Community: The Refusal to Attend the Lord's Supper in the Sixteenth Century," in Power in the Blood:

communion was an indication of the existence of conflict, hatred, or envy, and of the absence of the reconciliation required by the ritual.

In Cologne, the questions of attendance at Mass and acceptance of the sacrament were linked to the separation from the Catholic community, and by implication, from the civic community. Although the available records do not contain testimony about witnesses' reasons for abstention from communion or from attendance at Mass, the context in which the city council inquired into these issues supports the use of Catholic ritual to define and reinforce the civic, as well as the religious, community. The activities identified by the Cologne city council, in a variety of cases, as indicative of community membership were the baptism of children, public participation in religious ceremonies, attendance at Mass (at the very least on Easter), and sharing the sacrament of communion, as distributed in the Catholic tradition. As it had in the 1530s, the city council imposed the punishment of physical separation from the community for the crime of spiritual separation from the community.

Other incidents of investigation of and expulsion of city residents who received communion in both kinds occurred throughout the late 1540s. The city took action again when the pastor of St. Mary Lyskirchen, one of the parish churches, advocated reform and preached against the Mass and against Catholic ceremonies. In 1542, the city council appointed a delegation to consult with archiepiscopal authorities about the baptism and preaching provided by the pastor of St. Mary Lyskirchen.<sup>42</sup> In late 1544, the council

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Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany, ed. idem (Cambridge:Cambridge University Press, 1984), 37-60.

<sup>42</sup>Groten, Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, vol. 5. 65-66. March 1, 1542. Rpr. 11. "Die Stimmeister, Peter Heymbach and M. Jan Helman sollen

investigated the matter and ordered the pastor to stay away from the church.<sup>43</sup> The controversy over the pastor continued through 1545, and in December of that year the council expelled him from the city as a heretic.<sup>44</sup>

The presence of reformed preaching in the city, and the city council's reaction to it, supports Hans-Christoph Rublack's observation that the simple availability of Protestant preaching in a city was not sufficient to persuade the population to adopt the Reformation. Rublack argued that the strong, conservative institutions of Würzburg's government, which consisted of a Prince-Bishop and a powerful cathedral chapter, dominated the weak city council, and made the city unresponsive to currents of popular reform.<sup>45</sup> In Cologne, though, the city council was the strongest organ of civic government. It worked with the city's clergy, including the cathedral chapter, the monastic institutions, and the parish priests, to maintain a strong Catholic community. The city was not sealed off from the teachings of the Reformation, but the presence of a strong city council did not make the city more responsive to Protestant teaching. Instead, the council worked to maintain the solidarity of the religious community, and to expel people who

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mit dem kurkölnisch Kanzler reden: . . . über den Pfarrer von St. Maria Lyskirchen wegen seiner Predigten und Taufen."

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., 250. November 14, 1544. Rpr. 12. "Der Pfarrer von St. Maria Lyskirchen ist eindeutig als Schismatiker erwiesen. Die Gewaltrichter sollen ihn festnehmen. Zunächst soll ihm aber erklärt werden, daß der Rat ihn nicht in der Stadt dulden will und ihm das Betreten der Kirche verbietet."

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., 355. December 4, 1545. Rpr. 12. "Der Pfarrer von St. Maria Lyskirchen, der ein Ketzer ist, soll aufgefordert werden, die Stadt zu verlassen." December 7, 1545. Rpr. 12. "Dem Pfarrer von St. Maria Lyskirchen soll die Festnahme angedroht werden, wenn er die Stadt nicht verläßt."

<sup>45</sup>Hans-Christoph Rublack, Gescheiterte Reformation: Frühreformatorische und protestantische Bewegungen in süd- und westdeutschen geistlichen Residenzen (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1978), 6-9.



threatened that solidarity. Even the availability of Protestant preaching in a parish church did not lead to the development of a significant Protestant presence in the city. In this circumstance as well, the density of the city's religious institutions played a role. If one of the parish priests of the city preached reform and distributed communion in both kinds, there were eighteen other parish priests who maintained the Catholic tradition and who lobbied the city council to protect the city's spiritual standing. In a city with as many churches and chapels as Cologne had, the effect of preaching in any one church was diluted.

The taking of communion in both kinds was a sign of separation from the sacred community and therefore, also from the civic community. After 1547, when Adolph von Schaumberg replaced Hermann von Wied as Archbishop of Cologne and steered the archdiocese back on a Catholic course, the city's interest in people who took communion in both kinds waned. The council, though, retained its interest in the sacraments, and continued to investigate the communion practices and beliefs of the city's residents. Their interest in later years focused on abstention from communion. There are only a few cases of abstention from communion in the city council's records, but they, like the cases of communion in both kinds, show the city council's determination to reinforce sacred and civic kinship by means of common sacramental practice.

In 1546, a man called Karhans, who had not received the sacrament of communion in seven years, and who did not "behave properly within his

marriage," was arrested.<sup>46</sup> The records do not explain why the city suddenly noticed, after seven years, that Karhans absented himself from communion. In October, 1546, just over a month after the council issued its first arrest order, it mentioned him again in an order for the arrest of adulterers and persons suspected of lewdness.<sup>47</sup> The sketchy record of the case suggests that the city continued to react to threats to its peace, freedom and independence by concentrating on maintaining the spiritual health of the community. Karhans, by his absence from communion, in combination with his apparent disregard for the sanctity of marriage, became suspect in his beliefs and his behavior, and so became a danger to the community.

In 1546, the growth of Protestantism in the area surrounding the city threatened Cologne's religious integrity and possibly its political freedom. The concern with orthodoxy was also connected to the increasing religious turmoil in Germany. The impending Schmalkaldic War, the Reichstag at Regensburg in June, 1546, and the increasing likelihood of religious warfare in Germany made city officials increasingly conscious of their religious identity. In July 1546, the city consulted with the cathedral clergy about the possibility of holding special Masses because "the entire German nation finds

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid., 433. September 4, 1546. Rpr. 13. "Karhans, der 7 Jahre nicht das Sakrament empfangen hat und sich im Ehestand nicht recht hält, soll festgenommen werden."

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 449. October 27, 1546. Rpr. 13. "Die Turmmeister regen an, etliche Personen, die Ehebruch begangen haben, von den Gewalttrichtern festnehmen zu lassen. Das wird vom Rat beschlossen. Dabei wird auch beschlossen, Karhans bei sich bietender Gelegenheit festzunehmen. . . . Alle der Unzucht verdächtigen Personen, ob Geistliche oder Laien, sollen festgenommen werden."

itself in an uproar."<sup>48</sup> The following week, the council resolved that the lords of the city should take all of the steps "which, in these dangerous times, are necessary."<sup>49</sup> Some of the necessary steps were physical, such as the closing of the smaller and less frequently used city gates. The council directed innkeepers not to rent rooms to foreign soldiers, and to provide lists of overnight guests to the Stimmeister.<sup>50</sup>

Concern with the sacramental definition of community membership characterized the city's dealing with religious dissidents throughout the 1550s and 1560s. A major 1550s heresy case involved Mattheis and Laurenz Vorsbach, who challenged the city's firm Catholicism by public nonconformity. In February, 1551, Mattheis Vorsbach announced that he did not plan to have his new baby baptized until the child was old enough to understand baptism for himself.<sup>51</sup> The city ordered Vorsbach's arrest, and he went through a series of arrests and interrogations during the early 1550s. Vorsbach's family was also implicated in religious non-conformity. His brother Laurenz took communion in both kinds, and was fined 100 Gulden

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<sup>48</sup>Ibid., 416. July 19, 1546. Rpr. 12. "Weil sich die ganze deutsche Nation in Aufruhr befindet, soll mit dem Domkeppler über die Abhaltung von Bittmessen gesprochen werden."

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., 417. July 23, 1546. Rpr. 12. "Die Herren sollen alles veranlassen, was in diesen gefährlichen Zeiten notwendig ist."

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., 419. July 30, 1546. Rpr. 12. "Die Wirte sollen bei ihren Bürgereiden aufgefordert werden, kein fremdes Kriegsvolk über nacht zu beherbergen und jeden Abend ihre fremden Gästen den Stimmeistern zu melden."

<sup>51</sup>Rpr. 15, s. 165v, February 27, 1555. "Es ist en Rath furkommen das ein Burger sey Mattheis Vorsback der ein kindt habe das er nit wolle deuff lass es sej dan so alth das es verstendig, daruff ist den Hern Stymmeistern befolh denen fur sich zuerfordern und zufrag was er domit in meynung habe." See also Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 793.

and subsequently arrested.<sup>52</sup> Laurenz Vorsbach was also vocal about his disregard for the sacrament.<sup>53</sup> The Vorsbachs escaped from custody, and Laurenz managed to remain in the city, in spite of his public disagreements over the sacrament. Mattheis, however, was arrested in 1555 because he was "speaking calumnies and inciting uproars against the Honorable Council." The council considered Vorsbach's actions to be treason.<sup>54</sup> The council transferred Mattheis Vorsbach to the custody of the archbishop's court, and he died in custody at Brühl in 1557.

Other forms of disregard for the Catholic church caused problems in Cologne as well. The city continued to hold processions on a regular basis, and the council intended the processions to serve as symbols of the civic and sacred communities. In 1552, the council ordered that the city's gates be closed until the procession was finished.<sup>55</sup> The explicit exclusion of outsiders and potentially disruptive influences dramatized the importance of

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<sup>52</sup>Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 795.

<sup>53</sup>Rpr. 18, s. 47v, May 1, 1555. "Laurents Vorsbach hat seine Antwort und Bekandtnuß seins glaubens in Schrifft übergeben durauff befund wurt, das er nichts van dem hoch wirdigen Sacrament heldt und das fun einabgottisch dunck achtet Ist verdrag derhab als Morg die Schickung zuversameln mit Rath d Rechtsgelert zubedenck wie gegen den und den hornecker als die jenig welch hoenspraech und Blaßphemien uff das hochwürdige heilige Sacrament gedaen."

<sup>54</sup>Rpr. 18, s. 101v, August 19, 1555. "Meinen Hern ist vurkommen wie das der Mattheiß Vorsbach in des Breven Huiß gar Calumnioß und uffroerisch widder einen Ersame Rath gereth und gekrischen das gemein volck zu uffrur zu bewegen, deshalb beiden doctoren, befolh seine querelam gegen Inen zustellen. Puper crimine lese Maiestatis zustell damit ein Rath Inen vur Greff und Scheffen zubeklag." See also Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 797-799.

<sup>55</sup>Rpr. 16, s. 145v, May 15, 1552. "Uff heute hat man die procession mit d heilig sacrament und den heilig patronen uff d doim bys in S. Marienkirche gehalt ist deshalb befolh alle portzen zo zulass bis die procession beschehen ussgescheid dae es die notturft erfordert die strenger zueroffnen"

processions as the embodiment of community. The 1550s saw a series of arrests for the disruption of processions. The suspects, including Laurenz Vorsbach, disrupted processions with the Holy Sacrament, and proclaimed their disregard for the sacrament.<sup>56</sup>

During the 1550s, the city authorities once again feared the presence of an Anabaptist community within the city. As it had in the past, the council associated the Anabaptists with the failure to take communion.<sup>57</sup> The city mobilized the parishes to investigate the presence of Anabaptists in their midst, and announced Anabaptists who had been chased out of other places were sneaking into Cologne, and holding secret devotional meetings. In a 1554 decree, the city ordered that the Anabaptists be driven out of the city.<sup>58</sup> In 1556, the city officials were concerned with people who did not take communion. The city council, again relying on the parishes to take up the burden of determining whether Anabaptists were present in the city, directed

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<sup>56</sup>Rpr. 18, s. 45v, April 28, 1555. "Nachdem am vergangenen Fridage als die procession des hochwirdigen Sacraments gehald word, der hernecker ein seltzam geschreej an der Neinergassen gegen dem Heilig Sacrament und an vil orten gemacht und das hochwirdige Sacrament geschmeht, ist verdragen das er als balde wae er aubekomen under unse hern bracht werden soll." Rpr. 18, s. 45v. April 28, 1555. "Als auch offentlich gesehen worden, das Laurents Vorßbach in der Newergassen als das Heilige sacrament darlangs gedrag worden sein bereith uff gehalt, dem heilig Sacrament gar keine Ehre erzeugt, dergleich Archiepiscopo und seiner Obricheit, wie dar zu and'n Zeith mehe bestehen, ist befolh beiden Wynmeisternen Inen zugeschickt und zufrag was meinung er dorinne habe."

<sup>57</sup>Rpr. 15, s. 164r-164v, February 25, 1551. "Ein Erbarn Rathe is vurkommen das noch mehr Widderdeuffer dan am andern Rathsdags angezeigt in der Statt. Sich enthalt soll. Dergleich etliche die in vile Jare[n] nit zum heilig Sacrament gewesen und is d' Schiffma[n] Karhaus [164v] dorund' auch besumpt worden Doruff ist ein ernstlich befehl und verdrag bescheh alle die Jenige die ma[n] in sollich frem befundt hind' unse hern zubreng."

<sup>58</sup>Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 807-808.

that suspects be investigated.<sup>59</sup> During the middle decades of the sixteenth century, the city followed a familiar pattern. It identified a threat, such as Anabaptists, deniers of the efficacy of the sacraments, or blasphemers. The city authorities linked the non-conformists in the city to outsiders, who crept into the city and spread their disaffection in secret. It mobilized the local community structures, such as the parishes, the Gaffeln and the neighborhoods, to identify people who did not worship in company with their neighbors. Finally, it arrested, interrogated, and often expelled religious deviants. In spite of the problems created by immigration and by the continuing, although small-scale, interest in the teachings of the Reformation in Cologne, the city authorities tried to maintain a unified Catholic community.

The issue of control over strangers to the community continued to be a major concern of city authorities throughout the second half of the sixteenth century. After the abdication of Charles V in favor of his son Philip II, the religious situation in the Netherlands grew increasingly tense. Philip II attempted to encourage Catholicism and suppress Protestantism in the Netherlands. The outbreak of the war between the Dutch and the Habsburgs increased the Cologne's concern over the question of immigration, because people fleeing the armies of the Duke of Alba fled up the Rhine and many of them sought refuge in Cologne.<sup>60</sup> It is paradoxical that refugees from the

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<sup>59</sup>Rpr. 18, s. 206v, April 13, 1556. "Die Kirchmeister S. Cuniberts hab vurgeb das etliche in dem Kirspel sitzen welche nit zum heiligen sacrament gaen nac loblicher ge[hor]heit. Ist befehl Krebs Elaer und Weinhouen, die partheien zubeschrib, Daruff zuhoeren und nach befindung hieher zubring. Es ist Inen auch befelh die verdecktige huiser in Sanct Cuniberts Kirßpell wae die hern d Geweldrichtere darzu bedurffen sollen die Inen folgen."

<sup>60</sup> See, e.g., Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 828-848.

Habsburg attempt to reinforce Catholicism in the Netherlands came to Cologne, which was a strongly Catholic city. It was also a city which enjoyed important trade connections with the Netherlands, and it was the most accessible large city in which refugees might find work and disappear into a large population. The city of Cologne, was very sensitive to the danger presented by an influx of unknown and perhaps dangerous people. A city edict in 1566 forbade citizens or residents to take in foreigners and immigrants, unless the newcomers could produce documentation of the conditions under which they had left their previous residences. The council's reason for this concern was to prevent the introduction of all religious innovations (Neuerungen).<sup>61</sup>

The concern over the presence of strangers and foreigners, with their suspect religious beliefs, continued in the middle 1560s. The city surveyed the parishes, once again using the ecclesiastical organization of the city to serve the purposes of the civic administration. The survey results show the continuing relationship between outsiders and Protestantism. Some of the strangers were suspect because of their communion practices. One resident of St. Cunibert's parish reported that he and his companions received the sacrament "as the Lord had established."<sup>62</sup> The reference to the Biblical tradition of the Eucharist, and the presence of other adherents of the Augsburg Confession in the house suggest that the suspect, Wolff, and his

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<sup>61</sup>Reformationsaken 1, f. 75r-76v. This document is also printed in Ennen, Neuere Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1, 833-834.

<sup>62</sup>Reformationsakten 26. "Fremdenlisten der Kirchspiele, s. 5r. Cuniberti a<sup>o</sup> 68 den 28 Maj. Item auf dem Ortthen bei dem Putz vur s. Johan ein Mattheis Kleinen heusser wont ein Juncker mit namen Wolff mit seinem geseinde eins dem bergische lende sprechen sie entfengen das Sacrament wie es der Her hatt eigeseitt . . ."

comrades received communion in both kinds. In theological terms, the reception of communion in both kinds was no longer a sure indicator of Protestant sympathies. In 1564, Pope Pius IV had declared that communion in both kinds was permissible.<sup>63</sup> This high-level theological approval for the change in the method of administration of the sacrament of communion did not have an immediate effect on the beliefs and practices of the Catholics of Cologne. They continued to regard the taking of communion in both kinds as a mark of alien belief, and of separation from the sacred community of Cologne. Taking communion in both kinds rendered people suspect, even after the theological position of the Catholic church changed.

People in Cologne were also suspicious of those of their neighbors who did not believe in the sacraments at all. Residents cooperated with official investigations, and reported on those whose beliefs did not conform to the city's norm. Jan van Vuckell, a resident of St. Cunibert's parish, was listed as suspicious because he, his wife, and other members of his household did not believe in any sacrament.<sup>64</sup> One other suspicious man in St. Cunibert's parish was an adherent of the Augsburg confession, and several people from Deventer incurred suspicion because they did not go to church. Several more people were listed as "suspicious," but the list contained no record of the reason for the suspicion.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup>August Franzen, Die Kelchbewegung am Niederrhein im 16. Jahrhundert (Münster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1955), 12.

<sup>64</sup>Reformationsakten 26, s. 5r, May 28, 1568. " . . . der wontt . . . Jan van Vuckell mit seiner hausfrauwn und under will heiußgesinde die hailden wan geinen Sacrament."

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., 5r.



The sacramental problems and church-going problems encountered by the investigators in St. Cunibert's were also encountered by investigators in other parishes. In St. Peter's parish, there were sixteen people listed as suspect. The council listed specific reasons for suspicion in nine of the sixteen cases listed in the parish. The reasons included the refusal to baptize children, failure to go to church, failure to receive the sacrament, and in some cases, both failure to go to church and failure to receive the sacrament.<sup>66</sup>

Investigators for the council relied on the testimony of neighbors to determine whose belief and behavior accorded with community standards. In the parish of St. Johann Baptist, one household made the list because "neither any neighbor nor any person knew what they believed," and nobody had seen them in church.<sup>67</sup> In another house in the neighborhood, suspicion accrued because the inhabitants were "foreign folk," whom the neighbors suspected of sponsoring preaching in their home. The "foreign folk" also failed to come to the parish church.<sup>68</sup> Yet another household was suspect because its members were "foreign people" who were known neither to the neighbors nor to the church.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>66</sup>Ibid., 12r-12v.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., 23r. "wyssen geyne naber oder nymens wes glaubens gye synt man sycht sye aber yn unser kyrchen nummer oder yn anderen crystlychen kyrchen . . . ."

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., 23r. ". . . Item yn der grosser wytzgassen yn emmerichs koentzen huys wonet einer Gest Gert van Syttart dayr yst dagleich ein gegenge van frembden volck dat dye naber meyne man predich dayr kome[n] auch in uns kyrch nyt.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., 23r. It. yn dem drytten huys in der grosser wytzgassen beneven scyffer emmerich kontzen huy wonent auch frembde lude unser kyrchen nich yren naberem nycht kundich.

The city, in its continuing search for religious non-conformists, conducted another investigation and compiled a suspect list of twenty-nine people and one group listed as a household. The records contain two general lists of questions. Both lists of questions included questions about name, marital status, children, place of origin, the circumstances under which the person left his or her place of origin, and the length of time each person had lived in Cologne. The first list included one additional question, about whether there were any foreigners living in the household. The second list inquired whether the suspect believed in the Catholic religion, whether the person adhered to the Augsburg confession or to Calvinist beliefs, whether the person was a member of an Anabaptist or other forbidden sect, whether the person attended church in Cologne, in order to hear the word of God, and whether the person attended secret sermons in the city of Cologne, or went outside the city to hear preaching.<sup>70</sup> Many of the people investigated seem to have incurred suspicion because they were themselves immigrants or because they rented rooms to foreigners. David of Wierdt, one of the men investigated by the city, reported that he had lived in the city for nine years, and was a member of the weavers' Gaffel. He had not become a citizen, though, because he did not want to lose his citizenship in Wierdt. He was suspect in religious matters because the pastors of St. Johann and of St. Maria Lyskirchen reported that he did not go to church. Wierdt maintained that he took communion "with the holy assembly." His attendance was irregular because he traveled. He declared specifically that he had nothing to do with Calvinists, but when he was asked whose teachings he followed, he replied

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<sup>70</sup> The responses are not recorded in an orderly fashion; it appears that the suspects did not always answer all of the questions.

that he followed the teachings of Christ. The investigators reported that he did not want to explain more about his travels, his contacts, or his beliefs, but he gave them the impression that he did not think much of the religion of Cologne.<sup>71</sup>

Leonhart Kyfj, another suspect who belonged to the weavers' Gaffel, had come to the city from Hesse. He had married his wife in Cologne, and practiced weaving in the city. He told investigators that he had not received communion in several years, and that he and his wife both believed in the Augsburg Confession. Furthermore, they did not place any faith in the veneration of St. Alban, one of the city's major saints.<sup>72</sup> This case suggests that the presence of quiet Lutherans in the city was a constant, low-grade problem. Once again, the problem was linked to immigration; the weaver had come from Hesse, and married into a city family. His identification with

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<sup>71</sup>Ibid., 9. "David von Wierdt hatt 9 Jar hie gewonet, ist vereidt uf der Gewandtmecher Gaffelen ungefehr bynnen Jahr, ist darumb lange nicht burger worden, das er seine burgerschafft zu Wierdt nicht verlieren wolt, hat furohin zu Antwerpen gewont. Jetzo wone er in das besehers haus bon Lanstein, hatt niemandtz mehr dan sein gesinde, Ist sunst suspectus in Religion sagt das beide Pastorn zu St. Johan und Lyskirchen von wegen seins Wonhauß nitt eins, darumb gehe er in der kirchen keyne, sagt sunst das er Communicire mit der heiligen Versamblung da es recht und pillig, er reise aus und In, da er Ime alsdan im besten gelegen, da die heilige Versamblungen sey, da empfangen er die Sacramenta, sagt sunst das er mit den Sectarischen Calvinistischen nichtz zuthun, und da er weitters gefrage was Lehre er folge, sagt Christi, seine handlung sey sunst mit Enlischen Lacken die er uf Franckfurt verhandt. Wolt sich furere nit ercleren, gab Jedoch so viel zuverstaen, das er von d' Religion in dieser Statt give endlich nit viel halte."

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., 10. "Leonhart Kyfj sagt er sey uff der gewantmecher Gaffelen beeidt, hab her sein hausfrawe getraut. Item er sey ein inhartzen Weber, hab Johan honigs dochter, sunst sey er us dem Landt zu hessen gevoren, sagt das er in eynem Jare nit zum heyl. Sacrament gewesen, dan er sich sampt seiner hausfrawen gerne nach der Augspurgisch Confession halten wolte, Wohne in Oldendorps haus er hab negst darneben gewont, auch fur S. Alban begert kein vererung zumachen."

Cologne was not as strong as that of people who had lived there longer and had developed a stronger sense of Catholicism as a part of community membership. The fact that the weaver was a religious suspect indicates that members of the community were aware that he did not participate in the spiritual life of the city, and was therefore not fully integrated into the community.

Other suspects maintained that they only wanted to live and to believe as other good citizens of the city lived and believed. Jacob Heinot, who had moved to the city within the year, maintained that he intended to "conduct himself as other residents and obedient citizens" did. As for religion, his parents were "good pious people, who had raised him in the old, Catholic, apostolic religion." He intended to maintain his beliefs, and to "live and die" without introducing any innovations into the city.<sup>73</sup>

Adolff Herdt, an immigrant from Jülich, was a silk trader who lived in the city. He had not yet taken an oath of membership in a Gaffel. He explained this omission by claiming that it was very serious business, and he was still thinking about which Gaffel he should join. Meanwhile, he assured the investigators that he did not intend to introduce innovations to the city, and that he planned to behave like other people, and to be obedient in all

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<sup>73</sup>Ibid., s. 20. December 2, 1567. "Jacob Heinot zeigt an Er whone im haus zur Britzen in der Sterngassen, hab darIn gewont seither Gotzdracht, seins hadtwercks ein Seidt und Larniesen Ferber sie nich nirgendt vereidt, sie aber darzu gutwillig. Auch sich in dieser Stat gleich annderen Inwhonern und gehorsamen Burgern zuhalten. Sein Althern sin gute fromme leuthe und der alther Catholischer Apostolischer Religion hab Inen in derselben ufgezogen, wolle sich auch darnach halten, und dabei ohne einiche newerung lebe und sterben, wolle auch guten schein und beweis furprengen, da es je gefortertt das seine althern und Er bisher o bei sollicher Religion verblieben sein und Er noch zupleiben bedacht."

matters.<sup>74</sup> Other suspects echoed Herdt's promises of conformity, willingness to comply with the council's edicts about taking in foreigners, denial of any tendency toward innovation, and willingness to "be content with the religion held by the neighbors," and to behave as did other obedient citizens.<sup>75</sup> Johan Newekirchen, when asked about his religious beliefs and practices, explained that he lived in the parish of St. Alban, but went to church and received the sacrament in the parish of St. Peter. He did, however, attend preaching in St. Alban and St. Lupus. He emphasized that he was not interested in religious innovation. His wife held the same religious views.<sup>76</sup> This family, though, cast doubt on their neighbors' orthodoxy, by reporting that the neighbor family had themselves buried a child who had died, without recourse to the local clergy or officials. Furthermore, a young woman who had lived with the neighbor family had

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<sup>74</sup>Ibid., 10.-11. "Adolff Herdt im Krengin vor S. Laurenzt sagt Er sei noch unbestat, aus dem Landt von Gulich geboren, hab zwei Jahr her Inn der Statt gewhonet. Dreibe Kommerschafft mit seiden, hab das huis fur sich bestanden und ein par folcker bei sich Igekommen damit erh ettwas verlichterung am haus Zins haben mochte. Sei noch nirgendtz vereidt wolle sich auch bedencken, ob und wo er seinen eidt thun wolle. doruf er sich in eil nicht resolveren konne, wille sonst keine neuerung binnendieser Statt in einen oder anderen weg nicht anfang sonnder wie andere leuthe sich in allem gehorsam verhalt."

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., 18. Testimony of Johan von Poltzhem, ". . . sei mit der Religion wol zufriden, so seine Nachbarn haben . . ."; s. 13, testimony of Juncker Heinrich Beessell, "sei aber darzu gutwillig gedencke sich zuhalten als andere gehorsame Burgere dieser Stat. So wol in der Religion als andern sachen, ohne einfurung einicher neuerungen, woll in der Zeit gern und gehorsamlich wolln ziehen alle das Jenig Ime ein Erb. Rath so Ehr fur seine Obrikeit erkenne, befelh und uferlegen werde."

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., 17. Johan Newekirchenn Zimmerman zeigt an Er hab ettliche Jahre hie Inn Colln gewhonet Inn S. Albaen kirspell. Nun aber zwei oder drie Jahr inn S. Peters kirspell, da hab Er zu kirch gangen, unnd Predig gehort zu St. Alban, zu S. Lupus. Os emphange er auch das heilig Sacrament zu St. Peter wie er furohin Albain gedaen hab, wolle kein newerung machen."

also died, and they did not know where she was buried. In the opinion of Neuekirchenn's wife, the neighbors were pious (fromme), but Frau Neuekirchenn said she had no way of knowing what the neighbors actually believed about religion.<sup>77</sup>

The investigators went on to talk to the Korffmecher family about the suspicious burials. Heinrich Korffmecher, who spoke to the investigators, said that his father was traveling. He denied all connection to Anabaptists, and said that his two children had both been baptized in the parish of St. Peter.<sup>78</sup> Arndt Korffmecher's wife also testified in the investigation. She explained that the pastor (she did not say which pastor) did not want to bury her dead child in the churchyard, and so her husband took the child's body out to a field and buried it himself. This caused her great pain. The other young girl who died had lived with her family for some time, but died while away from the house, and Frau Korffmecher did not know where she was buried. In response to questions from the examiners, she denied that she was an Anabaptist, and declared herself satisfied with the baptism she had received. She attributed her frequent absences from church to the necessity of taking care of young children, and said that when she received communion,

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<sup>77</sup>Ibid., 18-19. " . . . und da sie gefragt des korfmechers halber negst bei Ir inn Iren haus wohnende, hat sie gesacht, das Er das lezte kindt so hastig gestorben, selbst begrabenn hette, buissen die Statt. Welchs kindt auch fur dreien Jahren getaufft. Sonst hette Ehr noch ein Medtgen bei Ime gehabt das gestorben wiste sie nicht wohin das begraben. Sie hielte dem Korffmecher und seine frawe fur fromme leuthe, wie sei aber in der Religion, das kondte sie nicht eigentlich weissen, sonder sie werdenn baldt vom hinnen ziehn wie sie vernommen hette . . . ."

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., 18.

she received it in St. Peter's. When asked about her husband's beliefs, she said that she knew nothing about them.<sup>79</sup>

Other subjects of investigation came under suspicion because they rented rooms to strangers or foreigners. A daughter of the family living in the Haus Langenstein, in the neighborhood of the cathedral, told investigators that her father, who was a citizen and a member of the Gaffel Schwarzhaus, was traveling outside the city, and her mother was ill. The investigators were interested in foreign tenants to whom the family rented rooms. The daughter explained that in the past, the family had rented rooms to journeymen, students and an organist from Antwerp, but at the moment they had no foreign tenants, and it was her father's intention not to rent rooms to foreigners without the consent of the authorities.<sup>80</sup> Other residents

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<sup>79</sup>Ibid., 38. "Sagt ferer sovil das kindt antrifft hette der Pastor nit wollen uff dem kirchoff haben, derwegen Ir man verursacht, das kindt selbst Inn das feldt zudragen und daselbst hyn zy begraben. Welchs Ir herzlich leidtt getnon, und were ein kindt vom iij Jahr gewest. sie helten auch dabavor ein Medtgen von Neuen Jahren bei sich gehabt, welchs Inen kranck worden, und buissen Iren hus gestorben. das were auch begraben. Sei wiste nicht wie. Und uf weiter befragen der Hern sagt sie und bekandte, das sie kein widerteufferin sei mit der empfangener dauft zufriden, Sovil Iren Man wisse sie nicht. Sie gahe zu Zeitenn zu kirch aber gleich wol vonn wegen das sie kleine kinder hab, konne sie nit fil außkommen zu Sanct Peter hab sie Ire Sacramenta empfangen. Sie sei nicht lang hie gewest."

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., 40-41. "Aus dem haus Langenstein under schszenheuser ist die dochter erschinen. Sagt Ir Vatter Lodovicus vam Ressel sei alhie ein Burger Ires wissens uf das Schwartzhaus vereidt sei ein Zeitlanck aus der Statt gewesen und noch Ire Moder lege daheim kranck und als sie umb ettliche Gesellen so außwendig und sie underhalt sollen fleissig befragt. Sagt sie, es sei wahr das die Ir benente Gesellen, so Studenten und ein Organist von Andtwerpenn gewesen hiebefor In ires vatters haus in Langenstein gewhont, Aber sein vorlengst Irer gelegenheit nach, der ein hieher der and' daher vertzogen wisse nicht wiehin, haben also jtzo kein frembdt folck in Irem haus habe auch von Irem Vatter verstanden, das Er einich auswendige Leutte, ohne fur wissen der Obrigkeit nicht innhemen wolle. . . ."

also provided information about their foreign tenants. Some acknowledged that they had foreign tenants; some said that they had, in the past, rented rooms to foreign tenants, and a few asserted that their tenants were completely orthodox—priests, students at the University, or students at the Jesuit school. Landlords assured investigators that they intended to comply with the council's rules about renting rooms to foreigners.<sup>81</sup> Public practice of religion and participation in the life of the neighborhood were linked in the eyes of the officials and of the residents of the parishes in Cologne. Catholicism was literally, as well as symbolically, a communal activity. The emphasis on people's knowledge of their neighbors' beliefs and behavior shows the extent to which the definition of Catholicism and community in Cologne were matters of local consensus. While the city was too large, too complex, and too dependent on trade to maintain complete homogeneity of belief and purity of doctrine, most of the people, led by the city council and the city's religious institutions, had a vision of themselves as a distinct group. They were aware of people who were outsiders, and considered them to be threats to the community.

The investigation reports, sketchy as they are, continue to link suspicious belief and behavior to people who came to Cologne from outside the community. Most of the religious suspects in the 1567 investigation were either immigrants themselves, or were suspected of renting rooms to foreigners. The concerns of the investigators, and the perceptions of the suspects, as revealed in their answers, show that the important issues included obedience to the city authorities, careful surveillance of outsiders, rejection of religious innovation, denial of membership in Anabaptist or

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<sup>81</sup>*Ibid.*, 41, testimony of Heinrich of Herfeldt.



Sacramentarians groups, and public practice of religion, including attendance at church, reception of the sacraments, and baptism of infants. The investigation also suggests that the concern for proper belief and behavior within the community were not only a matter of concern to the city council. It was important for people to know their neighbors. The lists of suspect households in the parishes came from members of the parish community, who cooperated with the investigators by identifying strangers in their midst. Proper Catholic belief and practice were important parts of the self-definition of the people of Cologne in the middle and late sixteenth century. Suspects repeatedly said that they intended to conduct themselves as their neighbors did, and as good citizens of Cologne did. The increase in immigration during that time threw the question of community membership into higher relief, and resulted in a renewal of the identification of religious dissidents with foreigners, strangers, and non-conformists.

The sacrament of baptism also played a role in the determination of community membership. Infant baptism, like the taking of communion and attendance at Mass, was a sign of Catholic belief. Refusal to have children baptized was suspicious because it could be a sign of adherence to the teachings of the Anabaptists or other radical groups who taught that the only valid baptism was believer's baptism. Baptism is also a sign of entrance into the sacred community and, in the context of early modern Cologne, into the civic community as well. The city's investigators looked into reports that residents failed to baptize their children in the same way that they looked into reports that residents failed to attend church or to receive communion. Like the reports of failure to comply with community standards of church-going and communion reception, reports of failure to baptize children emphasized

the connection between foreigners or strangers and religiously-suspect people. Neighbors directed particular suspicion at people who left home in order to deliver their babies in some secret place, and returned home only after the baby was born. On family of "foreigners . . . did not have the baby baptized according to Catholic ritual, and therefore moved away, and came home after the birth."<sup>82</sup> A marginal note on this record indicates that the woman Meltel von Rechartt, the wife of Derichs von Nuiß, claimed that her husband was a geborene Bürger, and that the family had lived in the city, according to "this religion," for six years. The case presents problems in classification. The neighbors identified the family as "foreign," but the woman claimed that her husband, at least, was entitled to citizenship in Cologne by right of birth. The neighbors also suspected the family of religious non-conformity, indicated by the family's choice to give birth to the baby elsewhere, and to return to the city after the birth. The wife, in contrast, claimed that she and her family had lived in accordance with the Catholic religion for the six years they had lived in Cologne.<sup>83</sup> The conflicting reports about this family illustrate the complicated aspects of community membership in Cologne. Birth, residence, relationship with neighbors, the perception of foreign origins, compliance with expectations about religious behavior and belief, and the participation in

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<sup>82</sup>Ibid., 26v. "Item uff S. Catharinen graben neben Petern Creistes Farbehaus sein auch fremden wonhafftich und als die fraw schwanger gewest, hat sie das kindt alhie ritu cahtolico nit tauffen lassen und derwegen ußgezogen und post partum widerumb heim kommen."

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., 26v. Miltel von Rechartt uxor Derichs von Nuiß sagt Ire Man sei nit Inheimich und hab fur secß Jahre alhie gewonet und sich dieser religion gemeß gehalt, Davon Ire uferlegt schein furzupreng aber Ire Man sei ein geborene burg."

local rituals of community membership within Cologne were all part of the construction of a Cologne identity.

During the middle decades of the sixteenth century, the city of Cologne responded to a series of challenges, including Hermann von Wied's attempt at introducing the Reformation, an influx of immigrants of uncertain religious standing, and a steady stream of interest in the Reformation among the residents of the city. In response to these challenges, city officials, using the local social structures of the city, especially the numerous parish churches and the communal consciousness of neighbors, constructed a collective identity with a strong basis in the sacraments of the Roman Catholic church. The use of sacraments to define membership in the civic community demonstrated the unity of Catholicism and civic identity in Cologne.

## Chapter 6: Conclusion

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The story of Cologne in the age of the Reformation did not end in 1570. The city faced more changes as the sixteenth century moved toward its end. In retrospect, we can see that the early 1570s saw the establishment of the first permanent settlement of Protestants in Cologne. While the people of Cologne could not see the future, and did not know that the Protestants who came to Cologne in the 1570s would stay, they were aware that the numbers and the persistence of the Protestants were increasing. In 1571, the city, for the first time, required new citizens to swear that they were members of the Catholic church. The inclusion of Catholicism in the citizenship oath changed the focus of the city's interest from protecting the Catholic nature of the wider community to protecting the Catholic nature of the political class.

The city did not abandon its efforts to maintain Cologne as a Catholic community. The time-honored methods of protection of the Catholic community continued. The city used the criminal law, the city's ritual life, and the Catholic sacraments to define community membership. It also continued to attempt to regulate immigration, and to require new immigrants to produce evidence that they were good Catholics in their old homes. The development of Cologne as a city with a strong Catholic community and a smaller, but acknowledged Protestant community, was slow.

The city underwent another express challenge to its Catholicism in 1583-1584, when the Archbishop of Cologne, Gerhard, Truchseß von Waldberg, attempted to introduce the Reformation in the archdiocese of Cologne. Gerhard was not a particularly pious man. During his tenure as archbishop, he began an affair with Agnes, Countess of Mansfeld, whom he reportedly saw for the first time during a procession in Cologne.<sup>1</sup> In late 1582, Gerhard decided that the best way to have both Agnes and the archbishopric was to adopt the Reformation, marry Agnes, and keep both his priesthood and his bishopric.<sup>2</sup> The archbishop's attempted conversion resulted in a brief war, which ended in 1584 with the archbishop's defeat. Once again, Cologne defeated an attempt to introduce the Reformation. The city remained Catholic, though the idea of a unified religious community was in the process of changing in practice, if not in the official rhetoric of the city.

Cologne guarded its image as the bulwark of Catholicism in northwest Germany. The fifteenth-century description of the character of the city—holy, imperial, free, lawful, and possessed of good customs—, remained accurate throughout the sixteenth century, and the city's view of itself as a city which was holy, free, imperial, subject to law, and faithful to tradition was a major factor in the city's political and religious policies. Cologne remained Catholic because the combination of these five factors allowed the city's people, led by the city council, to make decisions in favor of the "good old religion" and against the "innovations" of the Protestant Reformers. Cologne's holiness was related to its shrines and relics, to its strong sense of local religious

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<sup>1</sup>Leonard Ennen, Geschichte der Reformation im Bereich der alten Erzdiözese Köln (Köln:L. Schwann'sche Verlagshandlung, 1849), 256.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 266-272.

identification, and to its tradition as a holy city. The sainted archbishops of Cologne, whose relics formed an important part of the sacred capital of the city, linked the city to the Catholic church in a way that cities who venerated more universal saints were not linked. The dead archbishops formed a bridge between Catholic hierarchy and the city, as well as between the city of Cologne and God. The ritual life of the city, including processions in which the relics of the sainted archbishops had prominent places, emphasized the beneficial connection between Cologne and the Catholic church.

The density of the religious experience of Cologne also contributed to the people's sense of Cologne as a holy city. Cologne's nineteen parishes provided local religious sub-communities within the larger civic community. The city government used the parishes as arms of the city government, and relied on the city's pastors to teach both Catholic doctrine and civic duty. The city had some control over the appointment of parish priests. Some of them were appointed in connection with positions at the University, which the city council also controlled. Some of the parish priests were elected by the parishes themselves, often in consultation with the city's collegiate churches. Each parish had lay officials, who helped to organize the life of the parish, kept the property in order, and carried out duties assigned by the city council, including canvassing the parishes for religious dissenters. The parish structure of Cologne provided a mechanism for participation in the life of the church, and for linking the church and the civic community.

The status of the city as free and imperial was important because these elements of the city's character helped to determine the city's attitude to the archbishop of Cologne and to the emperor. The archbishop was the major threat to the freedom of the city. As lord of the archiepiscopal territory which

surrounded the city of Cologne, the archbishop was always interested in extending his power over the city of Cologne. Cologne's political and religious decisions were always influenced by the need to protect the city's independence from encroachment by the archbishop. The desire to protect the city from the archbishop, however, did not mean that the city embraced Protestantism. The city worked in cooperation with the clergy, and sometimes in cooperation with the archbishop, as long as the matters discussed related to the maintenance of Catholic belief and practice, and did not trespass upon the prerogatives of the city. City officials also used the archbishop as a safety device. When people demanded religious reforms, as they did during the uprising of 1525, the city council referred the demands which it did not wish to address to the archbishop, saying that it had no jurisdiction in religious matters. The city generally took religious jurisdiction when it wanted to exercise religious jurisdiction; it used the archbishop as a convenient focus for people who complained about its decisions. The city managed its relationship with the archbishop skillfully, and maintained its independence without abandoning its Catholic identity.

The status of Cologne as an imperial city was a weapon in the arsenal which protected Cologne from the archbishop, who sought to exercise temporal and spiritual control over the city. The city owed its allegiance to the emperor, and it used its imperial ties to escape other, local claims of authority. Cologne was a member of the Holy Roman Empire, but the Empire was important to Cologne mostly because Cologne's imperial allegiance provided a means of guaranteeing Cologne's independence. In this sense, both the autonomy of Cologne and its place in the Holy Roman Empire were important elements of the imagined community in Cologne.

The concept of Cologne as a city of laws explains the city's use of the criminal law to define and to protect the civic community. The arrest, interrogation, and punishment of dissidents was a proper function of a government of laws. The Verbundbrief, Cologne's basic constitutional document, provided the basis for an inclusive communal ideal, as well as a strong sense of governmental legitimacy. The city officials, backed by the residents of the city who cooperated in their investigations, used the criminal law to define the boundaries of the Cologne community. The application of the criminal law, especially the punishment of banishment, in religious cases shows that the definition of community membership in Cologne included Roman Catholic behavior and belief. As the Reformation progressed, the interest of the city council in maintaining a sacramental definition of community membership developed. Participation in the sacraments of the Catholic church became a test of community membership.

The importance of tradition in Cologne also helped to link civic identity to Roman Catholicism. The medieval reputation of Cologne as the "faithful daughter of the church of Rome," in combination with the locally-important saints and the deep roots of Catholicism in the history made Catholicism an important part of the city's myth and history. The strong connection between Catholicism and the history and imagery of Cologne gave legitimacy to the authorities' efforts to maintain Catholicism in the city, and helped to explain the lack of a strong grass-roots Protestant movement in the city. Catholicism was a part of what it meant to be a resident of Cologne.

The people of Cologne used these ideas about the character of their city to construct a collective identity in the age of the Reformation. The collective identity of the people of Cologne involved elements of all three types of



collective identities. Because Cologne citizenship could be acquired by birth, there Cologne's collective identity had a primordial component. The community was not limited, though, to those who were born into it. Community membership could be acquired by living according to the customs of the city. The emphasis in the city's investigations on living like one's neighbors, behaving as a good citizen, and worshipping in the company of one's neighbors shows that the civil component of collective identity was especially strong in Cologne. The emphasis on combined civic and religious ritual, including processions and masses, helped to fuse the city's Catholic identity with its civic identity. In the sixteenth century, in the face of challenges presented by the Protestant Reformation, the fusion of Catholicism and civic identity became more explicit.

Finally, the civic community of Cologne had a sacred component. The sacred component was derived from the common medieval idea of the city as a sacred community. The civic activities which defined the community also had a sacred significance: they helped to maintain the spiritual health of the community. The bonds of community membership could be established by the sacraments of the church, especially baptism and communion. The bonds also extended beyond death. The civic authorities regulated funeral procedures because the passage of souls into eternity was a civic function. The city had a duty to see that proper ceremonies were performed for its members and, conversely, had a duty to see that people who were not in good standing with the community could be mistaken for full members after their deaths.

The imagined community of Cologne was a complex social construct, which involved tradition, myth, history, imagery, ritual, coercion and willing

participation. Cologne's unique character, and its tradition of independence were also aspects of the imagined community. The tradition of independence, though, was not a tradition of isolation. Cologne's civic identity placed it firmly within the hierarchies of the Holy Roman Empire and the Roman Catholic church. Cologne's determination to maintain its civic identity, as well as its place in the Empire and the church, helps to explain the religious and political decisions the city made during the age of the Reformation. The imagined community in Cologne was not a static construct. It continued to develop throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as the people of Cologne responded to changes in the religious and political conditions of the Holy Roman Empire. In the face of the challenges presented in the age of the Reformation, Cologne remained Catholic because Catholicism was an integral part of the collective identity of the civic community.

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