

Defiled Trades and Social Outcasts

This book presents a social and cultural history of "dishonorable people" (*unehrliche Leute*), an outcast group in early modern Germany. Executioners, skinners, grave-diggers, shepherds, barber-surgeons, millers, linen-weavers, sow-gelders, latrine-cleaners, and bailiffs were among the "dishonorable" by virtue of their trades. This dishonor was either inherited, often through several generations, or it arose from ritual pollution whereby honorable citizens could become dishonorable by coming into casual contact with members of the outcast group.

The dishonorable milieu of the city of Augsburg from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century is reconstructed, to show the extent to which dishonor determined the life-chances and self-identity of dishonorable people. The book then approaches the study of honor from the outside in, by investigating how honorable estates interacted with dishonorable people, and how the pollution anxieties of early modern Germans structured social and political relations within honorable society.

KATHY STUART is Assistant Professor of History, University of California, Davis.



CAMBRIDGE STUDIES IN EARLY MODERN HISTORY

Edited by Professor Sir John Elliott, University of Oxford Professor Olmen Hufton, University of Oxford Professor H. G. Koenigsberger, University of London Dr. H. M. Scott, University of St. Andrews

The idea of an "early modern" period of European history from the fifteenth to the late eighteenth century is now widely accepted among historians. The purpose of Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History is to publish monographs and studies which illuminate the character of the period as a whole, and in particular focus attention on a dominant theme within it, the interplay of continuity and change as they are presented by the continuity of medieval ideas, political and social organization, and by the impact of new ideas, new methods, and new demands on the traditional structure.

For a list of titles published in the series, please see end of the book



Defiled Trades and Social Outcasts

Honor and Ritual Pollution in Early Modern Germany

KATHY STUART





PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK http://www.cup.cam.ac.uk 40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA http://www.cup.org 10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia

© Kathy Stuart 1999

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1999

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

Typeset in Ehrhardt 10/12pt [VN]

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress cataloguing in publication data

Stuart, Kathy.

Defiled trades and social outcasts: honor and ritual pollution in early modern Germany / Kathy Stuart.

cm. – (Cambridge studies in early modern history)
 Includes bibliographical references and index.

I. Social classes – Germany – History. 2. Occupations – Germany – History. 1. Title. II. Series.

HN460.s6s78 1999
305.5'0943 – dc21 98–53585 CIP.

ISBN 0 521 65239 1 hardback



Contents

	List of illustrations	page vi
	Acknowledgments	vii
	List of abbreviations	ix
	Glossary	X
	Introduction: defiled trades	I
$\mathbf{P}A$	ART I THE MEANING OF DISHONOR IN EARLY MODERN SOCIETY	
I	Medieval versus early modern dishonor	23
2	Honor, status, and pollution	33
\mathbf{P}^{A}	ART II THE DISHONORABLE MILIEU	
3	The status of executioners and skinners, 1500-1700	69
4	Living on the periphery of dishonor	94
\mathbf{P}^{A}	ART III PARADOXICAL DISHONOR: PUNISHMENT AND HEALING	
5	The infamous fur coat, or the unintended consequences of social discipline	121
6	•	121
U	The executioner's healing touch: health and honor in early modern German medical practice	149
$\mathbf{P}A$	ART IV ARTISANAL HONOR AND URBAN POLITICS	
7	Guardians of honor: artisans versus magistrates	189
8	Honor and dishonor in the eighteenth century	222
C	onclusion: dishonor and the society of orders	253
	Selected bibliography	261
	Index	281

 \mathbf{v}



Illustrations

I	Bird's eye view of Augsburg in the sixteenth century. SStBA	
	Graph 31/71A.	page 34
2	Mid-eighteenth-century illustration of crowd assembled as a death	
	sentence is proclaimed. StadtAA, Strafamt: Samuel Valentin,	
	End-Urthel und Verruf Aller derjenigen Manns- und Weibs-Persohnen,	
	so von Einem Hoche-Edlen Rath, des H. R. Reichs Freyen Stadt	
	Augsburg Von Anno 1649 bis Anno 1759 vom Leben zum Tod condemniere	t
	und justifizieret worden Augsburg, n.d.	122
3	Drawing of a hanged corpse. StadtAA, RP 80, fo. 224, July 10, 1677.	123
4	Drawing of pillory and neck ring. StadtAA, RP 80, fo. 430, July 14,	
	1678.	128
5	Drawing of rope and switches. StadtAA, RP 80, fo. 353, February 8,	
	1678.	132
6	Illustration from execution pamphlet. SStBA, Graphik, Verbrecher,	
	29/128d.	174
7	Execution in 1768. SStBA, Graphik, Verbrecher, 29/128.	176
8	The holy executioner, St. Apollinaris. Jacob Schmid, S.J. Trauben der	
	Heiligkeit aus den Dörnern der Bösheit, oder verwunderliche Bekehrungen	
	allerhand Mördern, Räubern, Zauberern, auch viler zum Tod verurtheilten	!
	Übeltatern Augsburg, 1752.	178



Acknowledgments

Finally, to the great relief of everyone involved, this book is finished! Over the years I have benefited from the generous intellectual and moral support of teachers, friends, and colleagues. Among my longsuffering teachers I would like to thank Paul Bushkovitch, Jon Butler, and Alice Kessler-Harris. Klaus Tenfelde welcomed me in his Colloquium at the University of Innsbruck. I enjoyed many exchanges over lunch with Erik Midelfort at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – and he took me on a pilgrimage! Bernd Roeck first introduced me to the untold treasures of the Stadtarchiv Augsburg.

My archival research in Augsburg has been a very fun and exciting part of this project. For that I would like to thank my fellow researchers and archive companions B. Ann Tlusty, Hans-Jörg Künast, Lyndal Roper, Susanne Eser, Georg Feuerer, Beth Plummer, Benedikt Mauer, Christoph Böhm, Doris Pfister, and Claudia Stein. We were all exploring different aspects of Augsburg's past, but we developed a spirit of cooperation and intellectual exchange that made our individual research projects all the more exciting. This feeling of intellectual community was greatly enhanced by our regular Thursday night Archiv *Stammtisch*!

The helpful staff at the Stadtarchiv are another reason why research there is so enjoyable. Special thanks go to the indefatigable Alois Senser and Peter Weiss, who (almost) never tired of bringing me meters of archival documents. I would also like to thank the archivists Wolfram Baer, Wolfgang Wüst, and Josef Mancal. The Staatsbibliothek Augsburg was also a very congenial place to work. This was due to the professional expertise of Wolfgang Meyer (a mainstay of the *Archiv Stammtisch*!), and to Ekkehard Nowak's zany sense of humor. I would also like to thank Direktor Helmut Gier for many valuable tips.

This project would never have come to fruition without the support of my friends and colleagues at UC Davis. Special thanks go to Bill Hagen (!), Ted Margadant, Joan Cadden, Mike Saler, Norma Landau, Michael Smith, Cathy Kudlick, Bob Borgen, Paul Teller, Peter Schaeffer, Winfried Schleiner, and Adrienne Martin. My graduate students Michael Clouse, Celeste Chamberland, Katherine Bell, Tracy Miller, and Kathleen Whalen provided helpful feedback. Within the University of California, I have enjoyed brainstorming with David Sabean, Tom Brady, Herman Ooms, Peter Reill, and Randy Head. I have benefited



Acknowledgments

from conversations with Terry McIntosh, Christopher Friedrichs, Susan Karant-Nunn, Thomas Robisheaux, Natalie Zemon Davis, Mary Elizabeth Perry, Michael Schäfer, Wolfgang Behringer, Rolf Kießling, Johannes Burkhardt, and Wolfgang Weber. The incisive and constructive critiques of the editors of Cambridge Early Modern Studies, Sir John Elliott, Olwen Hufton, Helmut Koenigsberger, and Hamish Scott (to whom I owe special thanks for his rapid marathon reading of the manuscript!) helped strengthen the book considerably.

A variety of research grants helped keep body and soul together during the years of research and writing. I am grateful for the generous financial support of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, the Social Science Research Council, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), the Stiftung für Europäische Kulturgeschichte in Augsburg, and the UC Davis Humanities Institute.

Rosemary Shahan, Joanie Erikson, Gay Chung, Mary Francis Mullins, and Phyllis Jestice helped proofread. Pascaline Windand, Futoshi Schibayama, Richard Dinardo, and Jim Mavrikios provided comic relief. Schmuseli, Clyde, Sam, and Foghorn lay next to the computer as I typed. Throughout this enterprise my parents Ruth and John Arnott provided unflagging moral support, and so I dedicate this book to them.

Kathy Stuart University of California, Davis



Abbreviations

AHV Archiv des Historischen Vereins

CM Collegium Medicum

CM Prot. Protokolle des Collegium Medicum

EWA Evangelisches Wesensarchiv GRP Geheime Ratsprotokolle

HAP Hochzeitsamt, Hochzeitsamtsprotokolle

HDA Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens

HHuStA Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv (Vienna)

HWA Handwerkerakten

Restitutiones Restitutiones natalium ac legitimationes

RP Ratsprotokolle

StaatsAA Staatsarchiv Augsburg
StadtA Munich StadtAA Stadtarchiv Munich
StadtAA Stadtarchiv Augsburg
Stadtbed. Stadtbedienstete

SStBA Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg

Trauungsregister Trauungsregister

ZHVS Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Schwaben



Glossary

Achtbuch late medieval book of punishments

Bürgermeister mayor

Carnifex Latin: executioner

Ehelich legitimate

Ehrlich honorable

Ex opere operato Latin: by the act itself

Henkersknecht executioner's servant

Herrschaft lordship and domination

Malefizknecht, Malefizscherge police officer who deals with infamous prisoners

Nachtarbeiter "night-worker," i.e. latrine cleaner

Nachtkönig "night-king," i.e. chief latrine cleaner

Obrigkeit sovereign authorities

Pasquill insulting placard illegally displayed in a public place

Rechtlose lewte medieval outlaws

Sachsenspiegel mirror of the Saxons

Schwabenspiegel mirror of the Swabians

Stadtknecht bailiff

Stadtpir cone shaped civic symbol of Augsburg

Stadtrecht civic law code

Taubenreinheit "dove-like-purity"

Unehrliche Leute dishonorable people

Unehrlichkeit dishonor