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After the Peasants' War

An Anabaptist Fights for Her Property

Barbara (born Schweikart) von Fuchstein was a woman of low noble rank born into a branch of the knights of Westerried, a small castle near Kempten.¹ The Schweikarts were also patricians in the city of Kaufbeuren, an imperial city in the rolling hills of the Upper Allgäu northwest of Lake Constance and not far from the Alps. Barbara lived in Kaufbeuren in her own house with her husband, Sebastian von Fuchstein, a lawyer in the town's service. When the Peasants' War came to Kaufbeuren in 1525, she watched the city's councillors try to navigate a safe course through the rebellion, and she watched the conflict entangle her husband, encumbering both their reputations. Historians have known about Sebastian since the early nineteenth century, although he has sometimes been confused with Duke Ulrich of Württemberg's chancellor, Johann (or Hans) von Fuchstein, a key figure in the exiled duke's attempt to use the peasant turmoil to reclaim his duchy, and Sebastian was even erroneously named as the author of the Twelve Articles of Upper Swabia, that crucial manifesto in the largest uprising known to Europe up to that time.²

¹ For the Schweikart family (alias Schweighart, Schwithhart, Schwickert, etc.), Raimund Eirich, *Das Memminger Patriziat, 1347–1551. Genealogien – Stammbäume – Wappensbeschreibungen*, 3 vols. (Ottobeuren: Eirich Verlag, 2006), 3:41–44. Eirich's family tree has Barbara von Fuchstein as Ulrich's aunt. However, Barbara clearly identifies Ulrich Schweikart as a cousin, so the family tree should place Barbara as the daughter of Ulrich and her mother Barbara in Kaufbeuren. See note 39 below.

² Joseph Edmund Jörg, *Deutschland in der Revolutionsperiode von 1522 bis 1526* (Freiburg i. Briesgau: Herder, 1851), 178–183, takes the Kaufbeuren Fuchstein to be one and the same as Johann von Fuchstein, Ulrich's chancellor. Jörg alleges that Johann moved to Kaufbeuren when Ulrich's plans for an invasion of Württemberg during the Peasants' War fell apart, wrongly taking references to Kaufbeuren's "Dr. Fuchsteiner" as references to Johann. Arguing then from a pile of circumstantial evidence, he claims that Johann von Fuchstein was in fact the author of the Twelve Articles. Wilhelm Zimmermann picked up and embellished Jörg's misattribution, saying that Johann von Fuchstein came to Kaufbeuren as a preacher, writer, and chancellor of the peasants, gaining control of one of the city's church pulpits and preaching in German. Felix Stieve disambiguated the two

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Scholars have completely ignored Barbara, which is a shame.³ Sebastian died after the war, leaving Barbara to defend her estate, while her kinsman, Ulrich Schweikart, who had helped put down the revolt, tightened his grip on properties he had taken during and just after the conflict.

Historians are only beginning to appreciate fully the political and social impact of the aftermath of the German Peasants' War, when some nobility "reverted to feuding with a vengeance" and rich peasants tried to stabilize relations with nobles.⁴ As for women, research has tended to focus on town dwellers, nuns, women of high noble rank, or state-building, alternatively stressing the (often negative) impact of Protestant reform on women's economic participation and social freedom, their escape from patriarchy and cultural productivity in monasteries, their role in high politics to promote or resist Lutheran reform, the place of virginity and chastity in social discipline and state-building, and the constructs of gender related to these things.⁵ In all this, the tendency is to look

Fuchsteins, Sebastian and Johann, but he clung to the idea that a Fuchstein wrote the Twelve Articles: Sebastian von Fuchstein, he said, was the author of the articles' Bavarian version; Felix Stieve, *Die Reichsstadt Kaufbeuren und die bayerische Restaurationspolitik* (Munich: Mattheus Rieger, 1870), 7, n. 1, and Alfred Stern's review of this book in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 132 (1870): 386–390. For the actual origin of the Twelve Articles, see Peter Blickle, "Nochmals zur Entstehung der Zwölf Artikel im Bauernkrieg," *Bauer, Reich und Reformation*, ed. Peter Blickle (Stuttgart: Ulmer, 1982), 286–308, here 216, n. 17. Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer, "Persona non grata? Property Rights, the Defense of Marriage, and the Legal Standing of Nuns during the Early German Reformation," *Politics, Gender, and Belief: The Long-Term Impact of the Reformation. Essays in Memory of Robert Kingdon*, ed. Amy Nelson Burnett, Kathleen M. Comerford, and Karin Maag (Geneva: Droz, 2014), 209–236, identifies Hans (Johannes) as Sebastian's brother. See also the section "Material Religion" later in this chapter.

³ I pointed to her case in "Between the Old Faith and the New: Spiritual Loss in Reformation Germany," *Enduring Loss in Early Modern Germany: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Lynn Tatlock (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2010), 231–258, 234–235. I described her case in greater detail in "After the Peasants' War: Barbara (Schweikart) von Fuchstein Fights for Her Property," *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* 40 (2017): 141–159. Here I add additional details to Barbara's appearance before the Memmingen council in 1528 and to the property entanglements of the larger Schweikart family.

⁴ Hillay Zmora, *State and Nobility in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 105; Govind Sreenivasan, *The Peasants of Ottobeuren, 1487–1726* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 30–41. Peter Blickle called attention to the importance of the aftermath of the war in his own preliminary comments on that aftermath: Peter Blickle, *The Revolution of 1525: The German Peasants' War from a New Perspective*, trans. T. A. Brady and H. C. E. Midelfort (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 165–169.

⁵ From a spectacularly thriving field, I mention a small selection of notable and representative works relating to Germany. In general, Merry Wiesner-Hanks, "Reflections on a Quarter Century of Research on Women," *History Has Many Voices: Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies*, ed. Lee Palmer Wandel (Kirkville: Truman State University Press, 2003), 93–112, and most recently, calling attention to scholarship on the role of women in Catholic missions, Merry Wiesner-Hanks, "Women in the Cultural History of the Global Reformation," *The Cultural History of the Reformations: Theories and Applications*, eds. Susan C. Karant-Nunn and Ute Lotz-Heumann (Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 2021), 249–264; Anne Conrad, "Vom Evangelium zur Ehe. Frauen in der Zeit der Reformation," *Frauen und Reformation. Handlungsfelder –*

either up toward women of very high social rank, or inward toward women in religious vocations, or outward toward the social structures and conceptualizations that conditioned women's opportunities. However valuable all this clearly is, ordinary women responding to the religious controversy as they met everyday challenges have been largely ignored.

There have been important, illuminating exceptions to this tendency. Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer, in a study of the property disputes of former nuns, greatly expands lines of inquiry opened by Lyndal Roper over thirty years ago.⁶ On the strength of evidence drawn from all over Germany, she has shown the centrality of property in a woman's defense of her exit from a cloister and entrance into marriage.⁷ Theological argument and moral invective were used to pursue property claims by both nuns and former nuns, she shows, but women's monasteries enjoyed the more enduring capacity to exercise autonomously female power. By contrast, former nuns found their power to reclaim dowries or receive compensation increasingly controlled and limited by town councilmen and princely courts, leaving women who did not enter Lutheran marriage dangerously vulnerable to personal ruin. Tom Scott has pointed to the importance of studying laywomen in connection with religious problems, showing the decisive role played by groups of women physically defending local preachers in the early stages of the Peasants' War.⁸ Barbara von Fuchstein's case draws

Rollenmuster – Engagement, ed. Martina Schattkowsky (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2016), 39–53. For women in cities, Lyndal Roper, *Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); Merry Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1986). For women in monasticism, Ulrike Strasser, *State of Virginité: Gender, Religion, and Politics in an Early Modern Catholic State* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004); Corine Schleif and Volker Schier, *Katerina's Windows: Donation and Devotion, Art and Music as Heard and Seen through the Writings of a Brigittine Nun* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009); the chapters by Ral Frassek, Anke Fröhlich-Schauseil, Sabine Zinsmeyer, and Jasmin Irmgard Hoven-Hacker in *Frauen und Reformation*, 255–239; and the observations of Simone Laqua-O'Donnell, *Women and the Counter-Reformation in Early Modern Münster* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 20–22, for the study of early modern women's monasticism beyond Germany. For Protestant women, Kirsi Stjerna, *Women and the Reformation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2009); Antje Rüttgardt, *Klosteraustritte in der frühen Reformation* (Heidelberg: Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, 2007); Elsie Anne McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999); and the entire collection of essays in *Frauen und Reformation*, mentioned above. For the role that women of princely rank played in confessional state-building, stressing the especially autonomous role exercised by such women, see Heide Wunder, "Fürstinnen und Konfessionen im 16. Jahrhundert," *Fürstinnen und Konfession. Beiträge hochadliger Frauen zur Religionspolitik und Bekenntnisbildung*, ed. Daniel Gehrt and Vera von der Osten-Sacken (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2015), 15–34, and all the essays of this superb volume; and Jill Bepler, "Enduring Loss and Memorializing Women: The Cultural Role of Dynastic Widows in Early Modern Germany," *Enduring Loss in Early Modern Germany: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Lynn Tatlock (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2010), 133–160.

⁶ Roper, *Holy Household*, 206–251.

⁷ For this and the following, Plummer, "Persona non grata?," 209–236. See now also Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer, *Stripping the Veil: Convent Reform, Protestant Nuns, and Female Devotional Life in Sixteenth Century Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2022).

⁸ Tom Scott, "The Collective Response of Women to Early Reformation Preaching: Four Small Communities and Their Preachers Compared," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 102 (2011): 7–32,

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attention to a woman of middling or perhaps upper-middle social status, displaying her tenacity in the sequel to armed conflict. But she also shows the capacity of a laywoman to navigate a system of property transfer that privileged men, after she was swept into the ferment of German lay spiritualities appearing in the mid-1520s, in part by steering away from the religious controversy. Her case illustrates the flux of religious identities at ground level in the early Reformation, among people whose interest in religious debate was secondary to, perhaps inseparable from, family business. If we wish to understand the Reformation not only among its principal protagonists, who were in most instances clerical partisans in the debate over Luther and the papacy, the saints, and the Mass, but also among ordinary people, we must pay close attention to people like Barbara, who were deeply affected by the Luther affair without choosing to participate in it.

How the Revolt Came to Kaufbeuren

As in other cities, so in Kaufbeuren in early 1525, local religious unrest, encouraged by a city preacher, coincided with the peasant uprising.⁹ Jakob Lutzenberger, a chaplain in Kaufbeuren's Hospital of the Holy Spirit, had been preaching against the Mass for some months, when a sermon he gave in the parish church of St. Martin on the Feast of Epiphany (6 January) incited an armed mob to assemble before the town hall to demand a public disputation.¹⁰ After consulting with their peers in Augsburg, Kempten, and Memmingen, the council responded with strategic concession. They scheduled a disputation on religion later that month. Barbara's husband, Sebastian, and the Kaufbeuren physician, Ivo Stigl, were chosen to preside. It took place over two days from 31 January

reprinted in Tom Scott, *The Early Reformation in Germany: Between Secular Impact and Radical Vision* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), 117–141. For challenges to the study of women in the Peasants' War, see Franziska Neumann, "Der selektive Blick. Frauen im Bauernkrieg zwischen Frauen- und Geschlechtergeschichte," in *Frauen und Reformation*, 153–170.

⁹ Some two dozen cities allied with the peasants are conveniently noted in a map by Manfred Scheuch, *Historischer Atlas Deutschland* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1997), 55, and reproduced online by Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger (www.uni-muenster.de/FNZ-Online/politstrukturen/reformation/quellen/bauernkrieg.htm, accessed 5 September 2016). *The German Peasants' War: A History in Documents*, trans. and ed. Tom Scott and Robert Scribner (Amherst, NY: Humanities Press, 1991), 1–64, remains the best compact survey of the war in English, and for representative documents regarding cities and the uprising, see *ibid.*, 170–196.

¹⁰ Justus Maurer, *Prediger im Bauernkrieg* (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1979), 399–401; Peter Blicke, "Urteilen über den Glauben. Die Religionsgespräche in Kaufbeuren und Memmingen 1525," *Außenseiter zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Festschrift für Hans-Jürgen Goertz zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Nobert Fischer and Marion Kobelt-Groch (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997), 65–80; Christopher Close, *The Negotiated Reformation: Imperial Cities and the Politics of Urban Reform, 1525–1550* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 38–43; Gudrun Litz, *Die reformatorische Bilderfrage in den schwäbischen Reichsstädten* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 233–236; Thomas Pfundner, "Das Memminger und Kaufbeurer Religionsgespräch von 1525," *Memminger Geschichtsblätter* (1991–92): 23–66.

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to 1 February.¹¹ But when the proceedings opened, a priest from nearby Aitrang, Nikolaus Schwicker, quickly protested the city council's authority, noting that this business belonged to a general church council and the bishop of Augsburg's jurisdiction. He failed to scuttle the event and stormed out with several sympathizers. Lutzenberger, however, remained, offered a prayer, and then explained the seven articles he had proposed for the debate, followed by a point-by-point dialogue with the priests who had stayed.¹² Schwicker and his friends must have later felt railroaded. Lutzenberger's articles struck a decidedly Lutheran and Zwinglian tone. Yet the council remained cautious, and after the "debate" demanded that only the gospel, proved by Scripture, would be preached in the city. Individual laity could choose whether to visit Masses and vigils. No preacher or priest was to defame another.¹³ This outcome hardly counted as a resounding endorsement for followers of Luther or Zwingli. The appeal to gospel preaching was quite arguably consistent with the recess of the diet of Nuremberg in 1524.¹⁴ In the next months, Kaufbeuren requested theological advice on church practices from Constance, Ulm, and Augsburg (at a time when none of them had thrown their full weight against the priesthood), and then opted for the safest course and did nothing.¹⁵ Significantly, the city took no actions against the Mass or priests, in sharp contrast with the outcome of a similar disputation at Memmingen, which served as Kaufbeuren's immediate model.¹⁶ Memmingen's disputation ended with a temporary prohibition of the Mass and other ceremonies.¹⁷

When the revolting peasants arrived in Kaufbeuren's neighborhood, prevaricating got a lot trickier. In February 1525, peasants and town dwellers from communities across the Allgäu gathered in several popular assemblies to renegotiate their rights, rents, dues, tithes, taxes, and obligations with the abbot of Kempten and other lords. Villagers of Upper Swabia also assembled near Kaufbeuren on Candlemas (2 February) 1525 and presented eleven articles to the city council, demanding free fishing, hunting, and lumbering; freedom of movement; a release from certain feudal obligations; and other things fairly typical of grievances in that year and the years leading up to it. They were hoping to enlist the council for their cause.¹⁸ Rather than turn them down, the city council quickly sent a report to the

¹¹ For this and the following, Karl Alt, *Reformation und Gegenreformation in der freien Reichsstadt Kaufbeuren* (Munich: Christian Kaiser, 1932), 22–28; Pfundner, "Das Memminger und Kaufbeurer," 28–31; Blickle, "Urteilen," 76. Stieve, in *Die Reichsstadt Kaufbeuren* (6–7), gave the date incorrectly as 25 January 1525.

¹² For this and the following, Alt, *Reformation und Gegenreformation*, 25–26.

¹³ Alt, *Reformation und Gegenreformation*, 27–28.

¹⁴ *Deutsche Reichstagsakten, jüngere Reihe* (hereafter DRA) (Gotha: Perthes, 1893–2015), 21 vols., 4:603–605. DRA 5/6:55.

¹⁵ Alt, *Reformation und Gegenreformation*, 28; Stieve, *Die Reichsstadt Kaufbeuren*, 6–7.

¹⁶ Close, *Negotiated Reformation*, 42–43.

¹⁷ Pfundner, "Das Memminger und Kaufbeurer," 27.

¹⁸ The original articles, to my knowledge, do not survive. Wilhelm Zimmermann, *Geschichte des großen Bauernkrieges* (Naunhof and Leipzig: F. W. Hendel Verlag, 1939), 224, relied on Johann Christoph von Schmid's eighteenth-century transcriptions. These are likely to be found today in Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesarchiv, J 9 Bü 13 and Bü 13a, but I have not had opportunity to check them. Franz Ludwig Baumann, citing Zimmermann, believed the articles presupposed an appeal to divine law ("welche [Artikeln] unverkennbar das göttliche Recht voraussetzen . . ."), in *Die oberschwäbischen Bauern im März 1525 und die zwölf Artikel* (Kempten: Joseph Rösel, 1871), 6.

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Swabian League, documenting its predicament: that the council had to indulge peasants, who were free to go in and out of the community, in order to maintain peace within their small town, susceptible to internal unrest as it had just experienced only a few weeks before. The encamped peasants could easily disrupt the town's market and water supply. But the Swabian League was counting allies. It took a callous view of Kaufbeuren's problem. It concluded that the town was divided between the League and peasant supporters.¹⁹

Finding no relief from their princes, the peasants of Upper Swabia joined forces with bands from Lake Constance and Lower Swabia at Memmingen in early March to create a short-lived Christian Union (it was disbanded on 27 April), a formation parallel to a similar Christian Union formed in the Hegau to the west.²⁰ As in peasant risings elsewhere over the previous fall and winter, their combined forces included a small but noticeable number of priests, serving as both preachers and captains.²¹ A broad evangelicalism (appeals to the Word of God) buttressed their most startling request, that heritable bondage be abolished because it contradicted the freedom taught by Scripture, as the third of the famous Twelve Articles published by the Swabian peasants and copied by rebels all over Germany said.²² From March to July the southwest German peasant armies marched about the region, compelled villages and towns to join them, and destroyed and pillaged properties of princes, prelates, and monasteries. They were finally vanquished that summer in several bloodbaths by the Swabian League, whose troops were fortified by well-practiced veterans returning from the war between Charles V and Francis I, decommissioned in Italy at the end of February, just as the Upper Swabian peasants were beginning to organize themselves.

As soon as three Upper Swabian peasant armies confederated as the Christian Union at Memmingen in early March, it was said that some 700 peasants of the abbots of Irsee and Kempten, the bishop of Augsburg, and the Counts of Montfort made a pact at Kaufbeuren to withstand a Bavarian attack, at the first sound of church bells announcing war on the Bavarian side of the Lech River, just a few kilometers east of Kaufbeuren. The same report, by the duke of Bavaria's captain, alleged that a certain "Fursteiner erected a preachership in the church and wants to read out the Word of God in German."²³ Two weeks later, Doctor

But Baumann's own source, the report of Wolfgang Ludwig Hörmann's "Sammlung der fürnehmsten Merkwürdigkeiten," makes no allusion to divine law or Scripture; see Franz Ludwig Baumann, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Bauernkriegs in Oberschwaben* (Tübingen: Literarischer Verein, 1876), 359, with 365. Alt, citing Baumann, claims that the Eleven Articles "appeal to the divine law" (*Reformation und Gegenreformation*, 33). The Eleven Articles did not appeal to the Word of God or divine law, or discuss the congregation's right to appoint pastors – the most explicitly religious elements of the Twelve Articles.

¹⁹ Zimmermann, *Geschichte*, 224, from two letters of the council in the Kaufbeuren Archiv per Schmid.

²⁰ Scott and Scribner, 27, 128–135; Zimmermann, *Geschichte*, 217–233, as corrected by Günther Franz, *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg*, 8th ed. (Homburg: Herman Gentner, 1969), 127–140.

²¹ Claudia Ulbrich, "Geistliche im Widerstand? Versuch einer Quantifizierung am Beispiel des Sundgaus," *Zugänge zur bäuerlichen Reformation*, ed. Peter Blickle (Zurich: Chronos, 1987), 237–256.

²² Scott and Scribner, *German Peasants' War*, 254–255.

²³ Reported on 9 March 1525 by the Bavarian captain of Schongau, Sigmund von Pfeffenhausen (Jörg, *Deutschland in der Revolutionsperiode*, 178). All English translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

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“Fuchstainer” and the Kaufbeuren burgomaster Blasy Hannolt appeared among the ten mediators put forward by the Christian Union to negotiate with the Swabian League at Ulm.²⁴ As the intricate political maelstrom of that spring swirled close to Kaufbeuren, Fuchstein found himself near its center.

The mediation failed. Kaufbeuren then prepared for all eventualities at once.²⁵ They fortified the walls. They formed an urban militia (it was led by Fuchstein’s co-president of the January disputation, Ivo Strigel). They communicated constantly with the Swabian League, but they also negotiated with the Baldringen peasants’ army, encamped nearby at Matzensies and Angelberg, all this while both the Swabian League and the peasants threatened to attack the town.²⁶ They helped the abbot of Kempten try to recover properties lost to the peasants of Günzburg, and then they helped peasants try to leverage looted property for a truce of peasant armies with the Swabian League.²⁷ Soon after, the Bavarian duke’s forces were burning Buchloe and Widergeltingen, two villages just north of Kaufbeuren. The abbot and cloister of Isny, which the peasants had destroyed, took refuge in the city on 6 May. Kaufbeuren paid a hefty ransom of 130 gulden to the peasants to leave the Isny abbot, his monks, and the city itself unmolested.²⁸

Relief, if we can call it that, from this volatile, uncertain situation came in mid-May, when a regiment of the Swabian League’s infantry under Captain Hans Schnitzer took up quarters in Kaufbeuren for six weeks, through the month of June. This ended the town’s need to juggle a present threat of rebels with a future threat of retribution, but it also exposed other sensitivities. The town council now carefully avoided appearances of heresy and rebellion, and it prohibited all private assemblies.

That was about the time that, on the morning of the feast of Corpus Christi, as people were preparing for the annual procession, the new burgomaster, Matheis Klammer, received a disturbing report. A dozen burghers, he was told, had assembled at the home of Sebastian von Fuchstein; that is, in Barbara Schweikart’s house. Klammer stormed into the building and accused Fuchstein of planning an urban rebellion. That same day Klammer also warned the town’s two priests to preach *nichz aufrurigs*, “nothing rebellious,” in their feast-day sermons. By Klammer’s own account, the two priests complied, yet they ran from the city that evening. Fuchstein himself left town on the following Friday. And the city council prohibited any of them from returning, while also, for good measure,

²⁴ Wilhelm Vogt, “Die Correspondenz des schwäbischen Bundeshauptmanns Ulrich von Augsburg aus den Jahren 1524, 1525 und 1526,” *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg* 6 (1879), 280–404, 382 no. 140 (24 and 25 March 1525, Hauptmann Ulrich Artz to the burgomasters Ulrich Rehlinger and Hieronymus Imhof of Augsburg).

²⁵ An instructive comparison reflecting the general need to negotiate a path through such turmoil while preserving the city council’s authority, and the variety of approaches, is Lindau, which tried to channel its entanglement with peasant affairs through its hospital. Johannes Wolfart, “Why Was There Even a Reformation in Lindau? The Myth and Mystery of Lindau’s Conflict-Free Reformation,” *Renaissance and Reformation* 40 (2017): 43–72, here 64.

²⁶ Alt, *Reformation und Gegenreformation*, 36–37.

²⁷ Baumann, *Akten zur Geschichte*, 361–362. Alt, *Reformation und Gegenreformation*, 38–39, for this and the following.

²⁸ Alt, *Reformation und Gegenreformation*, 39–40.

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expelling the common-law wives (*köchene oder weiber*) of the two priests.²⁹ Fuchstein claimed that Kaufbeuren later readmitted him, and before the year was out he tried to clear his name before the Swabian League, claiming that the public shame of the accusation of rebellion had forced him to flee.³⁰ Barbara left with him. Whether they ever returned to Kaufbeuren is unknown. Soon after the war, Sebastian died, and Barbara took up residence in Memmingen.

We know that in Bavarian court circles, Fuchstein was considered a heretic and a peasant leader.³¹ But although it is clear that the religious controversy helped to shape an extraordinarily dynamic environment of discontent before and during the Peasants' War, Tom Scott rightly cautions the historian not to expect narrow correlations between doctrine and revolt.³² Nothing in the actions of Fuchstein or the city council of Kaufbeuren, some of which Fuchstein probably recommended, was wildly inconsistent with the recess of the Imperial Diet at Nuremberg in 1524, nor did it contravene an urban political culture that routinely, of necessity, preferred compromise to violent confrontation; "In a walled city, where there was no secure place of refuge from internal rebellion, it was probably not difficult to convince all but the most militant Catholics that to fail to yield some would mean to lose all."³³ Extraordinarily few cities had taken measures to end the Mass or reorganize church properties before the Peasants' War, which is to say that there was almost no such thing as an evangelical church, town, or territory when Barbara and her husband were expelled.

By mid-July, the captain of the Swabian League, Count Georg Truchsess von Waldburg, had put down all the rebellions of Upper Swabia. The disbursing, plundering soldiers brought a wave of refugees from nearby villages into Kaufbeuren.³⁴ The aftermath of the war had begun.

²⁹ Wilhelm Vogt, "Die Correspondenz des schwäbischen Bundeshauptmanns Ulrich von Augsburg aus den Jahren 1524, 1525 und 1526," *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg* 10 (1883): 1–300, 24–26 no. 529, 23 June 1525, Council of Kaufbeuren to Council of Augsburg.

³⁰ Vogt, "Die Correspondenz" (1883), 109–111, no. 702. On 10 December (1525), Dr. Sebastian von Fuchstein to the Swabian League complains that on Corpus Christi of that year he was apprehended by the Burgomaster Mathes Clammer in his wife's own home ("uß was bösen aber doch meinthalb unverdinten wilen weis ich nit") and on instruction of the League was accused of inciting certain citizens to revolt. Shamed by this, he left the city, but was then invited back. He now seeks safe passage to attend the next diet of the League to answer for himself.

³¹ Jörg, *Deutschland in der Revolutionsperiode*, 183.

³² The suggestion that sacramentarian doctrine was uniquely communitarian, or that Anabaptist doctrine was uniquely rebellious, must be measured against a lack of evidence of direct theological influence in the southwest. See Tom Scott, "Reformation and Peasants' War in Waldshut and Environs: A Structural Analysis," in Tom Scott, *Town, Country, and Regions in Reformation Germany* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2005), 3–56. Compare Heinrich R. Schmidt, "Die Häretisierung des Zwinglianismus im Reich seit 1525," *Zugänge zur bäuerlichen Reformation*, ed. Peter Blickle (Zurich: Chronos, 1987), 219–236.

³³ Thomas A. Brady, Jr., *Ruling Class, Regime and Reformation at Strasbourg, 1520–1555* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), 207.

³⁴ Peter Blickle, *Der Bauernjörg* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2015), 286.

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Politically, the war ended about where it started, with the Swabian League encouraging lords, cities, and peasants to negotiate peasant grievances.³⁵ The outcome of the war was complex, and not immediately clear. Peasant losses were eased by expanding liberties in some territories, while liberties were lost in others, the princes mostly walking away from the conflict much stronger than they were before.³⁶ In the aftermath, numerous states, including the county of the Swabian League's Georg Truchsess von Waldburg, lord of a relatively large territory in the western Allgäu, reduced burdens on their peasants, conceding to demands made during the conflict and negotiated by the survivors after it ended.³⁷ The abbot of Kempten, whose refusal early that year to grant any peasant demands helped to unify the Allgäu rebels, continued to take a hard line after the peasants' defeat. When negotiations in the Autumn faltered, the abbot ordered the knight Ulrich Schweikart and his deputies to arrest peasants in Obergünzburg, Thingau, Buchenberg, and Durach. They did so with evident pleasure, threatening and forcing peasants to watch as they smashed and plundered their homes.³⁸

Ulrich Schweikart was Barbara's cousin, the son of her father's brother. He was now to become, as Barbara later said, "my greatest and most faithless enemy."³⁹ After the war, Ulrich became an instrument of the abbot of Kempten's retribution. He and his deputies

³⁵ The Ten Articles formulated on 16 July 1525 at a place called Kohlenberg stipulated the conditions for the surrendered Allgäu army to return homage to overlords. They included a right for peasants to present grievances to the diets of the League. Otto Erhard, *Der Bauernkrieg in der gefürsteten Grafschaft Kempten* (Kempten and Munich: Joseph Kösel, 1909), 99.

³⁶ Franz, *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg*, 295–297.

³⁷ Other states making concessions after the war included several lordships of the Upper Rhine; Zurich, Bern, St. Gallen, and Graubünden; the territory of Kempten, the Tyrol, Hesse, and Salzburg. Blickle, *The Revolution of 1525, 171–180*.

³⁸ Scott and Scribner, *The German Peasants' War*, 209–312. City councils cooperated with lords trying to recover properties after the war, for example Lindau; Wolfart, "Why Was There Even a Reformation in Lindau," 60.

³⁹ He is named as "iren vetter" in the affidavit Barbara received from Memmingen city council on 30 September 1528, attesting to the appointment of Hieronymus Hawser as her agent empowered to handle all aspects of her complaint against Ulrich before the Imperial Chamber Court. Munich, Bayerische Hauptstaatsarchiv (BHSA), Reichskammergericht, F 2141 Bestellnr 5500 (1), dated Memmingen 30 September 1528. Barbara's (undated) twenty-seven-folio supplication to the Swabian League (1527 or 1528), which includes her account of the event, names Ulrich as "dem geblüt nach miner negsten gesupten vettern ainer, nemlich meus vatters brüders sune, aber der that halb an mir begangen mein hochster unnd unpetreuester veinde" ("my next of kin by blood, namely, my father's brother's son, but my greatest and most faithless enemy on account of what he did to me"). She identifies her father as Ulrich Schweikart the Elder. See Reichskammergericht F 2141 Bestellnr 5500 (46b), Barbara's petition to the Swabian League in twenty-seven folios: a first-person account, here f. 1r. The following narrative of the beginning of the conflict is based on folios 1r–4v. An overview of the Imperial Chamber Court materials for the case is available in *Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Reichskammergericht*, 12 vols. to date, ed. B. Gebhardt, M. Horner, et al. (Munich: Generaldirektion der staatlichen Archive Bayerns, 1994–present), 9:432–433 no. 3698.

12 AFTER THE PEASANTS' WAR

were soon threatening other families in Reinhardtsried, Obergünzburg, Albrechtsried, and Kraftsried, villages of the Allgäu's fertile heartland. A woman in Reinhardtsried was dragged from her sickbed and beaten with her husband and children. She died from her injuries.⁴⁰ Meanwhile, the League was trying to get peasants and lords to negotiate. It formed a commission of six mediators at its 11 November diet and ordered the abbot again to wait for a settlement. The abbot would do no such thing. While peasants imprisoned by Ulrich languished in the Neuenburg, one of the abbot's small castles near Durach, signs of a rekindling rebellion appeared: anticlerical incidents at Betzigau and Buchenberg, and peasants at various places withholding the payment of rents and fees. The cities of the Swabian League shepherded a treaty through the League's January 1526 diet, sealed by the cities of Memmingen and Kempten at the peasants' request, which required painful concessions from Abbot Sebastian von Breitenstein, regarding peasant marriages, taxes, protections against abuse by the abbot's officers, inheritance, and restrictions of movement. The treaty also confirmed a fine of twelve gulden payable to the abbot over twenty-four years, beginning in 1530, with restoration of grain and silver and gold plate over a stipulated period (two years for silver and four for gold). A six-gulden-per-household fine was to be paid to the League as compensation for the war.

The abbot ignored the treaty, imposing a slew of new taxes on fields and gardens, grain, hay, straw, and livestock. Further complaints brought matters to the League again in early 1527. In 1531, the peasants were still trying to keep their case alive, placing a collection of documents, including complaints and treaties, in the care of Kempten's town council.⁴¹ The residual conflict lingered well beyond the war.

This was Barbara's world, and when Sebastian died, if not already before, it became Barbara's abiding occupation. She claimed that several of the villages Ulrich Schweikart had stolen were her own fiefs: the one in Reinhardtsried, four farmsteads at Eichelschwang, property at Hauprechts, and the castle of Westerried, which he occupied.⁴²

To say Ulrich stole, of course, reflects Barbara's point of view. She came from their common grandfather's family branch that did *not* inherit the Westerried castle, although she and Sebastian seem to have lived there at least for a time, whereas Ulrich came from the branch that possessed the ancestor's fortress.⁴³ The cousins were primed for either collusion or competition. Ulrich had sold a farm and various rents to a family in the village of Kraftsried in 1516, a place that would later appear in the cousins' conflict, with the consent of his deceased father's second wife, Annaleya von Werdenstein.⁴⁴ Sebastian performed

⁴⁰ For this and the following, Erhard, *Der Bauernkrieg in der gefürsteten Grafschaft Kempten*, 100–108.

⁴¹ Erhard, *Der Bauernkrieg in der gefürsteten Grafschaft Kempten*, 100–108.

⁴² *Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Reichskammergericht*, 9:432–433 no. 3698.

⁴³ Eirich, *Das Memminger Patriziat*, 3:42. Sebastian von Fuchstein is identified as “of Kallenberg and Westerried” in a document of 1521. Bayerische Staatsarchiv Augsburg (BSAA), Fürststift Kempten, Lehenhof Urkunden 105, 10 July 1521.

⁴⁴ The purchaser, Ulrich Enßlin the Elder, with his wife and their seven named children, received the farm outright, with recognition of his heirs' right of bequest, and the deed includes stipulations for rents coming from a citizen of Kempten and matters involving a few others. BSAA, Fürststift Kempten, Archiv Urkunden 2028. Eirich's family tree has the variant name of “Amalie” von Werdenstein for the second wife of Hans Schweikart, our Ulrich's father. Eirich, *Das Memminger Patriziat*, 44.