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### Feeling Doctrine: Religious Meanings of Emotion in Sixteenth-Century German Literature

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Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures

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Feeling Doctrine: Religious Meanings of Emotion in Sixteenth-Century German Literature

by  
Georgia Anna Leeper

A dissertation presented to the  
Graduate School of Arts & Sciences  
of Washington University in  
partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree  
of Doctor of Philosophy

December 2014  
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One lesson that I have learned from pastoral care writing is that we can damn ourselves quite well on our own, but we are only saved in community. To that end, I would like to state that, while anything worthwhile in this project is a result of the support and help of many, all mistakes are my own.

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother, Georgia Booth Leeper, who read to me endlessly, then taught me to read myself, and to Susan Berry, my high school language arts teacher, who introduced me to some wonderful books and told me to take German.

## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Feeling Doctrine: Religious Meanings of Emotion in Sixteenth-Century German Literature

by

Georgia Anna Leeper

Doctor of Philosophy in Germanic Languages and Literatures

Washington University in St. Louis, 2014

Professor Gerhild Scholz Williams, Chair

This dissertation explores the intersections of emotion and Protestant theology in late-16th-century German literature. The project demonstrates the availability of even secular texts to confessional readings through the analysis of representations of emotions. Post-Reformation texts practice an emotional exemplarity that highlights the effects - including the spiritual effects - which emotional experiences have on the individual. I argue that narrative representations of emotions at this moment reflect anxieties about the nebulous nature of faith, and its central role in Protestant salvation. Close readings of widely-read texts such as the 1587 *Faustbuch*, *Melusine*, and Hans Sach's *Judith: ein Comedi*, among others support this claim.

## Introduction

Die weil es an ein merklich und schrecklich Exempel ist/darin man nicht allein des Teufels neit/Betrug und Grausamkeit gegen dem menschlichen Geschlecht/sehen/ sondern auch augenscheinlich spüren kann/wohin die Sicherheit/Vermessenheit und Fürwitz letztlich einen Menschen treibe.

*(Die Historia von D. Johann Fausten 3-4)*

Human audacity and diabolical tricks are the targets of Frankfurt publisher Johann Spies's (1540-1623) warnings in the front matter of the famous 1587 *Faustbuch*. Life writing was not the obvious vehicle for such warnings: many sixteenth-century authors preferred the treatise, the anecdote, or the report to spread the word about the dangers presented by diabolical pacts. Yet the tales of Faustus's picaresque and episodic travels consistently convey two important themes: salvation and damnation. In his conversations with Mephistopheles, the sorcerer repeatedly returns to the following questions: what is the experience of blessedness? Of damnation? These questions are not asked for the sake of being doctrinaire, or establishing information. They are invested questions, posed in fear. Spies's focus on the value of specifically Faustus's story and the fear that it can induce also indicates that he is promoting a way of reading that does not follow the model of past Faustus versions – entertainment and news. Nor does he talk about the demonic in terms of catalogs, or even instructionally, as Luther did. Rather, he wants his reader to behold human hardheartedness and satanic deceit, and be moved.

Based on Spies's emphasis on emotional response in the front matter, as well as the narration in the text itself, we can see that perseverance in the faith, at least here, involves a certain kind of affectivity in response to reading. For this reason, fear is highlighted in the *Historia*: fear that leads to faith, fear that obstructs faith; fear in the text, fear of the text, and fear



induced by the text. Moreover, fear highlights the important issues in the text. The mechanism by which Faustus's story does its spiritual work is that of feeling. The reader is to not only see the terribleness of what happens to Faustus, Spies invites an "augenscheinlich spüren" as well. Thus, Faustus's and the reader's salvation is, to some extent, a matter of feeling and affective response.

If Faustus's damnation is difficult to place theologically, the fourteenth-century prose romance *Melusine* offers a kind of salvation as fantastic as the serpentine spirit at its center. The water spirit, Melusine, appears in human form in order to marry a Christian and gain a blessed soul. However, her plan goes awry when her husband rejects her. She eventually gains a soul by exercising exemplary maternal love, even after being cast from court. Part of another 1587 Frankfurt publication, *Melusine* appears alongside several other prose romances in a folio-sized volume entitled *Das Buch der Liebe*. Sigismund Feyerabend (1528-1590), its publisher, was, like Spies, a committed Lutheran. While he had published significantly more secular material than did Spies, his religious publications were staunchly confessional in nature.<sup>1</sup> Feyerabend's lengthy dedication, which followed the fourteen romances, also dealt with the spiritual well-being of Christians, especially young Christians, and the problems that lust and lovesickness posed to faith. At the same time, however, resistance to romantic love is, for Feyerabend, of equal danger to faith, especially for women. *Melusine* offers an example of the importance of maternal love for salvation, but the significance of romantic, marital, and maternal love for a woman's spiritual health is highlighted throughout the collection.

In both of these cases, publishers frame texts that had not been confessional, or even very religious, in terms of Lutheran salvation. As they thematize salvation, they are not only talking

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<sup>1</sup> See Frank Baron's *Faustus on Trial* (1988), pages 16-19 for Spies's confessional commitments and his publishing record. Thomas Veitschegger notes the wide range of publications that Feyerabend produced, with a majority consisting of Latin juridical texts (4). However, a search of the V16 also shows that he published several editions by the entire Wittenberg Circle, as well as Hans Sachs.

about the moment of conversion (though that is often present), they focus on perseverance in the faith, and spiritual health. Salvation is a lifelong process in which one, by grace, can continue, or from which one can stray.<sup>2</sup> Spies and Feyerabend highlight the role that emotion has to play in this process. The tales themselves illustrate the ways in which certain emotion experiences support faith and others obstruct it.

As they relate characters' remarkable spiritual lives, both publications facilitate an exploration of exactly what salvation does and does not require, and how to recognize it. After the Protestant rejection of most of the sacraments and good works as effectors of salvation, the answer to these questions becomes simple: *sola fide!* Whence this *fide?* – *sola gratia!* Yet the questions remain difficult and unclear. Salvation, like emotion, is an inward state with outward signs. However, the signs of salvation are complicated and can be feigned, requiring the believer to exercise vigilance over his or her own emotional state as a measure of spiritual health and illness. Representation of emotion in narrative provides an image against which readers can determine the spiritual meanings of their inner experience. In the *Historia von D. Johann Fausten*, the romances in Feyerabend's *Buch der Liebe*, and other sixteenth century works, characters provides a kind of emotional exemplarity, serving as a reference point that does not proscribe (*do as I do*), but diagnoses (*If you feel as I do, then . . .*).

In the present study, I explore the potential that literature has to convey the experience of theological change. In tracing emotions such as fear, love, and anger in three groups of sixteenth-

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<sup>2</sup> The processual understanding of salvation is related to the theological debate regarding the perseverance of the saints. Lutherans remained faithful to the traditional Christian view according to which Christians who rejected the faith could fall. This rejection, in Luther's view, consisted of unbelief, of dependence on one's own works for salvation. By the late sixteenth century, Reformed (Calvinist and Zwinglian) thinkers challenged this view replacing it with their doctrine in which no true Christian could commit apostasy. See chapter eleven in Demerast's *The Cross and Salvation*. All of the texts that I read in this project, especially the Faustus novels, make it clear that all Christians not only accept Christianity by faith through grace, but that they maintain true faith through grace and are in constant danger of losing faith.

century publications, I argue that, after the Protestant Reformation, these narrative texts helped people to adjust to the new theology by acknowledging affective realities and their complexities in ways that doctrinal texts ignore and pastoral care texts oversimplify.<sup>3</sup> For Lutherans specifically, the publications that I examine articulate uncertainties and unsettling questions about Protestant salvation, while still affirming its message.

Literature is one of humanity's most important tools for educating and enculturating individuals about emotion norms and experience. The means by which this occurs is, of course, not merely a question of information transfer. One of the main ways in which narrative works is by using emotion to communicate what is important in the world of the text, and to indicate what should be important to the reader. Narrative instructs about the nature of emotional life and the meanings of emotion. Keith Oatley makes this claim in *Understanding Emotion*: "written narrative literature, from ancient times to the present, concentrates on our emotional lives and their problematics – as if storytelling and story listening have always been attempts to understand these matters."<sup>4</sup>

The decades immediately following the Lutheran Reformation are no exception. With the rapid Reformation of northern German cities and the movement of texts and people between

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<sup>3</sup> Churches and other interested institutions often produce narratives from which it is difficult to construct unintended meanings. Ute Lotz-Heumann and Matthias Pohlig examine the "applicability of the concept of confessionalization to the history of literature," identifying three kinds of relationships between literature and confessionalization. One kind has no relationship to confessional churches and institutions, another is what they term 'confessionalized literature,' which "was generally produced close to the church and the confessional state." In between these two categories lies a less defined sort, which contained "other discourses and contexts which were influenced by the confessionalization process but could not be confessionally controlled." When thinking about the relationship between literature and theological change, I would like to emphasize not only the narratives themselves, but how they are presented and the kinds of readings that these narratives, in the specificity of their presentation, enable. For example, the courtly romances in *Das Buch der Liebe* bear no relationship to confessionalization, but their selection and the way in which the publisher Sigmund Feyerabend frames them, moves these stories into this last category.

<sup>4</sup> Oatley 369

them, a kind of invisible community developed alongside confessional identity.<sup>5</sup> Publishers responded to and cultivated this sense of identity and community with texts that addressed religious questions directly, and also with texts that addressed a new kind of interiority that resulted from Protestant salvation and the accompanying sets of feelings and their meanings.

Writing addressed to the clergy and laity alike responded to theological controversies current in Lutheran parts of the German-speaking lands during the post-Reformation period (the last half of the sixteenth century). These controversies raised questions such as whether faith is a choice that can be willed, how much doubt a Christian can have and still persevere in the faith, and how one could be certain of salvation.<sup>6</sup> Consolation letters and other kinds of pastoral care texts respond to questions about spiritual struggle (*Anfechtung*), dying well, spiritual doubt, and predestination, bearing witness to these issues as lay concerns arising from these controversies manifest in pastoral responses.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> The term ‘confessionalization’ (*Konfessionalisierung*) refers to the thesis that the early modern state was developed, in part, by the creation and careful definition of the three main Christian confessions in Europe (Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed). This careful definition of the confessions was brought about by the introduction of confession-specific creeds, rituals, and educational processes which gave rise to distinct confessional cultures. The confessionalization paradigm was coined by Heinz Schilling and has proven to be one of the most influential, if at times controversial, concepts in Reformation historiography.

<sup>6</sup> Bernd Hamm’s “Naher Zorn und Nahe Gnade” outlines Luther’s processual model of salvation as opposed to a ‘turning point’ model which emphasizes a conversion experience. As a result, assurance of one’s salvation (*Heilsgewissheit*) plays an important role in continuing in the process of being saved. This assurance is cultivated by continual focusing and re-focusing on the salvific work of Christ. Important for my project is that emotions can support or endanger *Heilsgewissheit*, thus spurring along or obstructing the salvation process.

<sup>7</sup> While she notes that the entire area of Lutheran pastoral care has been inadequately researched, Ute Mennecke-Haustein’s work concentrates on Luther’s letters of consolation and she emphasizes Luther’s conviction that the gospel is a comforting message and when received in faith will inevitably result in the resolution of emotions such as fear, anxiety, and sadness (*Luthers Trostbriefe* 13. 19-26). Gerhard Ebeling, likewise, focuses exclusively on Luther’s letters, but he attends to the ways in which Luther practiced *Seelsorge*. Bitzel’s work on the writings of pastor Sigismund Scherertz suggests that the ultimate goal of pastoral care literature was to return the reader to a state of comfort. Usually texts accomplished this by outlining a variety of strategies for creating this equilibrium within the self: meditation on Christ’s death, reading Scripture and engaging in community life. Johan Anselm Steiger alone gives considerable attention to tracts and other non-epistolary pastoral care writings.

Catholic believers had the same concerns as their Lutheran counterparts.<sup>8</sup> However, lay movements emphasized regular communion, confession, and absolution which helped to assuage these anxieties. Additionally, late medieval and early modern Catholic culture offered concrete sources of spiritual assurance, such as saints' charms and, of course, the Eucharist. Lutheran clergy actively rejected almost all of these tangible signs of salvation. Despite this, historians such as Susan Karant-Nunn and Robert Kolb<sup>9</sup> show that these clergymen's parishioners often sought replacements for familiar aspects of Catholicism. Early Lutheranism was full of passionate response to the development of new relationships to Scripture and God, as well as the loss of the rituals of mediation that rendered those relationships visible. For this reason, the study of sixteenth-century representations of emotion yields as much insight into current questions in cultural history and the relationship between text and reader affect, as the many inquiries that focus on *devotio moderna* or pietist writings.

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<sup>8</sup> In *The Reformation of Faith in the Context of Late Medieval Theology and Piety*, Berndt Hamm emphasizes the continuities between late-medieval piety and Lutheran pious practices. Even though Scott Dixon rightly counters Hamm's arguments with the observation that Luther rejected much of late-medieval pious practice, I find that Hamm's argument is ultimately borne out by the devotional practices suggested in many pastoral care texts, as well as Luther's change of position on confession and absolution. In both cases, similar practices were seen as crucial for spiritual well-being, if for different reasons.

<sup>9</sup> Caroline Walker Bynum's work has consistently demonstrated the role of the material in medieval Christian practice, most recently in her 2011 monograph entitled *Christian Materiality*. When we look at Bynum's evidence gleaned from ritual practice and religious art in connection to Susan Karant-Nunn's work on changes in ritual after the Protestant Reformation, we see that the ways in which the laity appropriate and adjust rituals directed by Protestant clergy, they incorporate materiality and values that had been present in late medieval ecclesiastical and para-ecclesiastical ritual.

Indeed, some of the underlying assumptions of this project consist of major aspects of Karant-Nunn's conclusion to *Reformation of Ritual*. She points out the risk that Protestantism ran of "rendering the sacred so diffuse that it could easily dissipate in the emerging capitalist and rationalist atmosphere" (201) and throughout the book she highlights the tension between the concessions that the laity (often reluctantly) made to changes in some rituals and the disappearance of others, and laypeople's creativity in practicing "ritual substitution" (200), whereby they transformed rituals handed down by Protestant clergy into practices that were embedded in the reality of their own lives. These transformed practices, in many cases "favored forms of belief and piety that took worldly and material aspects into account" (Eva Labouvie, quoted in *Reformation of Ritual* 200).

This fits with Robert Kolb's work on saint veneration among Lutherans. He writes that, for clergy, Scripture reading and preaching replaced the cult of the saints, but he shows the ways in which the laity made saints out of the Reformers, by incorporating miracles into their biographies and by imbuing charms with their images upon them with protective powers (*For All the Saints* 148-150).

Pastoral care literature is the genre of writing that deals most directly with the intersection of spiritual wellbeing and emotion. Lutheran clergy wrote letters directly to individual parishioners and congregations as well as tracts designed to address common situations such as prolonged illness, the loss of a child, or the loss of a home in wartime. Johann Anselm Steiger has examined several representative examples of Lutheran pastoral care (*Seelsorge*) publications written for a general audience and noted the prominent role that dietetics play in these texts for the maintenance of emotional equilibrium and spiritual health. Gerhard Ebeling shows how the practice of specifically Lutheran consolation grew out of Luther's own life experience, starting with a letter exchange with Melancthon during a period of melancholy in the late 1520s. From that time forward, Luther and other first-generation Lutheran pastors developed the tradition of writing quasi-public letters written to individuals and congregations.<sup>10</sup> These letters supported new Protestants in times of spiritual difficulty. Rather than expound on doctrine, pastoral letters often addressed the emotional experiences around spiritual life: fear that accompanies uncertainty of salvation, melancholy that threatens faith, sadness over grave sin, the cultivation of spiritual joy through earthly pleasure. Luther's letters assume a relationship between feeling experiences and spiritual health. Ute Menecke-Hausteins' work shows that these consolation letters formed the basis for Lutheran pastoral care writing through the seventeenth century and beyond. In these texts, which first appear in the 1640s, authors address the same questions dealt with in the consolation letters. However, the advice here is more general and suggests attempts at theorizing the meanings of emotions for spiritual life.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> How public they were varied, but almost all of Luther's letters were published within a decade of his death. (Menecke-Haustein 12)

<sup>11</sup> Johann Anselm Steiger makes sections of these tracts available in a modern edition in *Melancholie, Diätetik und Trost* (1997) and *Medizinische Theologie: Christus Medicus* (2005). For scholarship on pastoral care writing aimed at specific groups of people, see *Poetry and Parental Bereavement in Early Modern Lutheran Germany*, Anna

Consolation and pastoral care writing have been on the margins of scholarship on sixteenth-century Lutheranism. However, written and face-to-face practices of pastoral care were the duties of every clergyman, and would remain an ongoing project, not a temporary one, as was the establishment of church doctrine. In his preface to his *Luther's Consolation Letters*, George Talbert convincingly argues that, for Luther, this kind of writing, and not theological argument stood at the center of Lutheran clergy's callings.<sup>12</sup> Marcel Nieden's work on Rostock pastor and professor David Chytraeus (1530-1600) confirms this.<sup>13</sup> Chytraeus led an effort to write curriculum for training Lutheran clergy. Central to the project was the preparation of pastors to help parishioners to persevere in the faith in the face of difficulty. The threat for Chytraeus (and he follows Luther and other *Seelsorge* authors in this) is the feeling-state of the individual, not what happened to them. Writers of pastoral care tracts join Chytraeus in this conviction.<sup>14</sup> It is sadness, melancholy, or even overabundance of joy that threaten faith, not the outward events which may have precipitated these feelings.

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Linton. Here Linton examines poetry in the context of Lutheran funeral booklets along with other verse written to console bereaved parents for what it reveals about the depiction of children and parent-child relationships in early modern Europe.

<sup>12</sup> See "Introduction" in Talbert, especially page xi.

<sup>13</sup> Nieden 90-91

<sup>14</sup> Here, I am thinking especially of Sigismund Scherertz and Simon Musäus. Scherertz (1584-1639), a Bohemian pastor and theologian, exiled to northern Germany wrote *Trostschriften* that addressed the spiritual struggles of Lutherans experiencing the perils of war, displacement, along with more familial sufferings, such as the death of a child. He emphasizes the need to obtain comfort by proper means (engagement with Christian community, prayer, and above all, Scripture) as the sadness and fear that accompany such experiences can cause one to lose faith. He is not concerned with how one acts in difficult situations, but with how one feels. For more on Scherertz, see Andreas Bitzel's *Anfechtung und Trost bei Sigismund Scherertz. Ein lutherischer Theologe im dreißigjährigen Krieg*. Simon Musäus (1521-1576), a Mansfeld pastor, suggests more external cures, such as walks, good food, and company to those struggling spiritually. However, like Scherertz, his advice is aimed at creating comfort to manage the intense feelings that accompany troubles in the world and spiritual doubt, so that these feelings do not place the individual's salvation in peril.

In consolation and pastoral care writing, I find a source for Lutheran standards regarding emotions and a key with which I can unlock the meanings of the feelings in literary texts. I find that these standards are also followed in narrative as well. The texts I examine work in concert with confessional *Seelsorge* in order to inculcate Lutheran norms around feeling and spirituality. In doing so, these narratives play a unique role: they are meant to be read at any time as they do not address the specific circumstances of the reader (as does pastoral care writing), thus the kind of reading that they facilitate is broad and non-goal-directed. Such texts present models and pleasure which offer pedagogical and transformational possibilities. As suggested by the prefaces of the *Historia*, such possibilities include some uncertainty and moral jeopardy. Yet this danger is also part of the value of narrative: the risk involved in the reading experience mimics that of faith. In the world of textual showing and telling, as well as in the spiritual reality of believers, feelings become indicators of faith.

In her introduction to the edited volume, Ingrid Kasten identifies key questions for the research of emotions of the pre- and early modern past. She articulates the primary problem with working with emotions of the past as “. . . wo und wie die Grenzen zwischen Universalien und Variablen zu ziehen sind.”<sup>15</sup> She also articulates issues such as the function of emotions in the context of their medial representation and the variation of models of feeling present at any given time, as well as their development over years.<sup>16</sup>

Kasten, along with Ingrid Bennewitz, Claudia Benthien, and Jutta Eming have marked the study of emotion in pre- and early modern German literature with an emphasis on performance theory and (to a lesser extent, in the case of Eming) Freudian psychoanalysis. Their

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<sup>15</sup> Kasten xiv

<sup>16</sup> “Einleitung” xiv-xv



work has deepened the project initiated by Gerd Althoff's article on the performance of kingly anger in an eighth century Carolingian context, entitled "Ira Regis: a Prolegomena to the History of Royal Anger" and, by articulating the meanings of performance for medieval people, they have touched on important similarities between emotion and Lutheran faith, exploding the dualities that modern readers often assume, but that are not true for sixteenth century audiences. Performance theory is strongly represented in (mostly German-language) scholarship on emotions in medieval literature.<sup>17</sup> As Kasten, Althoff, and others quite rightly claim, we only know how emotions are performed in texts, not how people experienced them. I'd like to approach the performance of emotions in a way that emphasizes the collapse of the external and internal, not that relegates emotions to the surfaces of the subject. Not only does this honor pre- and early-modern conceptions, but it also recognizes the way in which works and faith were never separate. What we do with our bodies affects, creates, and transforms our interior attitudes and beliefs.

Another influential approach that scholars of pre- and early-modern emotion have taken is the use of contemporary theories, especially humoral theory, which, developed by Galen (129-216 AD), remained influential through the middle ages and was revived by Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499) in the fifteenth century. This approach, most notably followed by Michael Schoenfeldt and Gail Kern Paster, has the strength of addressing emotions as medical phenomena, which for some experiences, like melancholy and lovesickness, is especially fruitful.

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<sup>17</sup> This may be due to the influence of Gerd Althoff's oft-cited essay, which interprets representations of kingly anger "as part of a personally grounded system of rulership based on a range of unwritten laws" and as "how one staged . . . the king" (59). Another cause for the emphasis on performativity may be institutional: many of the scholars involved in the Sonderforschungsbereich "Kulturen des Performativen" were also involved in programs organized by the Exzellenzcluster "Languages of Emotion."

This deconstructs another dualism, often assumed by post-Enlightenment people, but unknown to early moderns: that of body and soul.

Gail Kern Paster, in particular, marked the study of pre- and early modern literary emotions with her groundbreaking *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England*. Here, and in her later *Humoring the Body* (2004), as well as in most of the essays in her edited volume, *Reading the Early Modern Passions* (2004), humoral theory provides the lens through which authors interpret emotions in early modern texts. One particular value of her work is in highlighting the lack of dualism in early modern thinking about the subject and its emotions, and the ways in which modern ontologies “tend not to imagine the emotions as part of the fabric of the body.”<sup>18</sup> For my project, her recognition of the “urgent practical character” of the emotions for early modern people and their “overarching theological significance” are insights that form the cornerstone of my project.<sup>19</sup> By turning to the body, Paster addresses Kasten’s questions regarding the cultural specificity versus the universality of feeling. Bodies are historical and cultural universals, along with the experience of feeling in them. However, the ways in which we conceive of feelings as bodily experiences (is anger hot or cold, for example), and the metaphors for emotion that we draw from them develop within historical contexts<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> *Humoring the Body* 5

<sup>19</sup> *Humoring the Body* 7

<sup>20</sup> Paster herself is working within the model of historical phenomenology: In 2000, Bruce Smith published an influential article in PMLA called “Pre-modern Sexualities” in which he outlined a new critical approach called “historical phenomenology.” Smith and Paster characterize historical phenomenology, as the study of sense experience during a specific historical past. There are two important premises at work in historical phenomenology. First, that feeling and sensing have a history and that feeling and sensing are not historical artifacts in the same way that we might argue a book, a building, or even an event is. Feeling and sensing are embodied, subjective processes that resist objectification because they are always partially inside us even as they also depend upon social and material environments to occur. Historical phenomenology, therefore, embraces the dynamism and nebulosity of

One limitation that an exclusive focus on humoral theory as the interpretive mechanism for emotion in early modern literature presents is that this approach does not account for the plurality of conceptions about emotions present within any given period and culture. These conceptions will be combined and shaped in different contexts and to different purposes. Indeed, the dependence on a physical and medical model for explaining early modern emotions almost seems to exclude the possibility of a variety of models employed in different situations. In order to address this issue, some historians have explicitly distanced their analyses from the “hydraulics of emotion” and the metaphors that they represent. To this end, Barbara Rosenwein has developed the concept of emotional communities, which can be delineated in terms of emotional standards and norms. Drawing on Peter and Carol Stearns’ work on emotionologies in nineteenth-century America,<sup>21</sup> and William Reddy’s emotives,<sup>22</sup> Rosenwein is interested, not in

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feeling and sensation by thinking in terms of ecologies rather than artifacts, experiences rather than objects, and by abandoning neat distinctions between persons, things, and forces.

By emphasizing how meaning accrues from the way sensing bodies experienced and perceived objects, historical phenomenology responds to other approaches in emotions studies in ways particularly sensitive to pre- and early modern cultures. In the case of cognition studies, with which it shares an interest in the nature of the mind, historical phenomenology reminds us of the limitations of applying a contemporary branch of brain research to early modern texts as it chooses instead to ground its inquiry in pre-modern accounts of human physiology.

Thus, historical phenomenology has the capability of underscoring the differences between current and earlier conceptions of emotion. However, it seems that Paster and most of her fellow-travelers, are interested in the similarities, as they unearth the hidden or real emotional conceptions of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, deposits of Galenic physiology in modern language use. Moreover, we cannot separate this approaches attention to the body when thinking about emotion, and seeing emotion as emanating from the body, from our current concern with neuroscience and the relationship between affect and the brain as a physical entity. Thus a turn to the humoral, when considering early modern texts is not necessarily a movement away from current conceptions regarding feeling.

<sup>21</sup> In their influential work “Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards” (1985), Peter and Carol Stearns develop the concept of emotionologies, which they define as “the attitudes or standards that a society, or a definable group within a society, maintains toward basic emotions and their appropriate expression; ways that institutions reflect and encourage these attitudes in human conduct” (813). In this article and in their 1986 monograph *Anger: the Struggle for Control in America’s History*, Peter and Carol Stearns shift the focus of historical emotion studies onto the values attached to emotions in a given place and time and the conditions that give rise to those values.

the question of how emotion is experienced, even historically, but in how certain emotions are valued, and the meanings attached to them: "No one is born knowing appropriate modes of expression, or whether to privilege or disregard an emotion. These things make up the 'feeling rules' that societies impart. Putting social constructionism and the cognitive view together, we may say that if emotions are assessments based on experience and goals, the norms of the individual's social context provide the framework in which such evaluations take place and derive their meaning."<sup>23</sup>

However, unlike Stearns and Reddy, Rosenwein does not seek to determine values and models of emotionality during specific time periods, rather, she identifies the ways in which communities define themselves in terms of feeling. These community definitions may be at variance with prevailing cultural values around emotions and many emotional communities exist at any given time.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, individuals may belong to more than one emotional community, the values of which may be in conflict. Particularly relevant in the case of the texts I examine is

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<sup>22</sup> Historian William Reddy has introduced two important concepts to emotion studies: emotives and emotional regimes. Emotives describe the process by which emotions are managed and shaped, not only by society and its expectations but also by individuals themselves as they seek to express the inexpressible, namely how they "feel" (see "Worrying about Emotions in History") In "Emotional Liberty: History and Anthropology in the Politics of Emotion" (1999), Reddy compares emotives to performatives in speech act theory. Emotives are utterances that do things to feeling: they intensify, hide, build, or change feeling. These feelings, altered by emotives, manifest themselves as interpersonally, or socially visible emotions. Thus, emotives, and not inner feeling experience construct social reality.

When individually constructed emotives are assigned value and codified within a given culture, "emotional regimes" arise. Emotional regimes monitor and encourage certain types of emotional expression. Individuals can master their emotions to fit into these regimes through their own efforts and can even over time act in such ways as to change the regimes. This is Reddy's mechanism as he accounts for the variation of emotional expression between cultures and also for changes in the way that emotions are expressed over time. In the first section of *The Navigation of Feeling* (2001), Reddy develops a variety of cognitivism that applies to large groups over time, he claims that "the ethnographic data routinely contain traces of collective shaping of emotional effort and collective elaboration of emotional ideals" (56). When an individual succeeds in living up to these ideals, they are encouraged and admired. Indeed, such successful emotional control may become a source of power for that individual.

<sup>23</sup> Rosenwein 15

<sup>24</sup> Rosenwein 23

the idea that members of emotional communities need not be in physical proximity to one another: such communities can be created by texts. Indeed, texts can be important creators, as well as records, of emotional communities: "created and reinforced by ideologies, teachings, and common presuppositions. With their very vocabulary, texts offer exemplars of emotions belittled and valorized."<sup>25</sup>

Rosenwein's work is especially useful for these Lutheran texts, as pastoral care literature is communal in nature, and the publishers of the literary texts that constitute the objects of my study explicitly draw on the Lutheran community as they frame these texts. As we will see articulated in pastoral care literature and modeled in narrative, emotions are not individual experiences, but communal affairs, and Rosenwein's emphasis on "the social and relational nature of emotions and some people's adaptability to different sorts of emotional conventions as they move from one group to another"<sup>26</sup> has much to offer as we analyze specifically Lutheran emotion values shaped by doctrine, and also the experiences of conversion, church community, and persecution.

Working within Kasten's framework of questioning, I am guided by Johann Anselm Steiger's attention to pastoral care (*Seelsorge*) texts as a source for early modern feeling, but I contextualize them in terms of Rosenwein's emotional community. Both Paster and Steiger focus on bodies as the sites for emotions, suggesting an emphasis on the feeling individual.<sup>27</sup> However,

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<sup>25</sup> Rosenwein 25

<sup>26</sup> Rosenwein 25

<sup>27</sup> Since the mid-nineties, Johann Anselm Steiger has published editions and criticism on the topic of piety, the intersections of medical and spiritual health, as well as emotions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The most notable of his projects in these areas include *Melancholie, Diatätik, und Trost* (1996), *Christus als Medicus* (2005), and the two-volume collection of essays on emotion in early modern culture entitled *Affect, Leidenschaft, Gefühl* (2007).

I would like to challenge this implication by thinking about bodies in a community as being affected collectively, and collectively making meaning about their affectedness. One of the paradoxes that we will find in our analysis of emotion and spiritual life in these texts, is that, while the Protestant doctrine of justification describes salvation in terms of an interaction between God and the individual, the salvation process, as it unfolds within the believer's life narrative, always involves community. The same is true for the feelings that are part of the salvation process: they are made visually manifest and performed through individual bodies, but in my view, the performance aspect is secondary. The language of emotion suggests that the primary activity here, does not occur within the body – it is not the change of color, or a movement of humors- rather the movement is that of the feeling itself, reaching out for the body of the human subject.

Early modern descriptions of emotional experience focus on change. The state of the subject is moved in some way. Timothy Hampton finds alteration to be a key metaphor for feeling in early modern Europe. Here, too, feeling originates outside the psyche, rather than being created by it. While literary scholars have tended to focus on humoral theory as a key to unraveling the language of sixteenth-century emotion, linguist Anna Wierzbicka has shown that medical, religious and folk discourses all play a role in shaping how early modern people described feeling, resulting in a mixture of conflicting concepts and metaphors for feeling.<sup>28</sup> Sixteenth-century Lutherans drew on this rich mixture in order to make spiritual meanings for emotions which supported the development of their confessional culture. I find that, in literary and pastoral care texts, there is a parallel between the experience of feeling and the experience of faith: emotion and faith lie outside oneself and neither can be obtained or created by humans.

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<sup>28</sup> See the introduction to her book *Emotions across Languages and Cultures: Diversity and Universals*.

They are a gift to be received, the free, undeserved gift, upon which Protestants insisted. But it seems that the individual must cultivate receptivity. This cultivation of receptivity stands in conflict with a salvation that cannot be earned through good works. Central to my thinking about emotion as the site at which problems with Protestant salvation appear, is the idea of the subject's permeability, and what it means to be open to some feelings and to resist others, as well as the extent to which one is affected by the intensity of feeling. It is the permeability of the subject that determines how he or she experiences feeling and whether that experience is salvific or damning.

This language in which feeling lights (*entzündet*), grabs (*ergreift*), or attacks (*ueberfaellt*) the individual resonates with phenomenologist Hermann Schmitz's conception of *Atmosphären*, or feeling-atmospheres. These atmospheres, which are experienced individually but are not created by individuals, are useful for considering pre-Cartesian representations of emotional experience. Moreover, for the Lutheran context, the lack of control, along with the possibility of cultivation that Schmitz's theory of feeling implies, has parallels in discourses about the nature of faith: it is a gift from God, yet there seems to be a way in which people can be open to, or harden themselves against that gift, without being able to take credit for receiving it. For Schmitz, feelings are above all, forces: "Gefühle sind räumlich ortlos ergossene, leiblich ergreifende Atmosphären, vergleichbar dem Wetter . . ." <sup>29</sup> Human subjects experience this "weather" by means of the body, though feelings are not generated by the body, but are "in den spurbaren Leib eingreifenden Mächten, die nicht selbst leibliche Regungen sind, aber nur am eigenen Leib, wenn auch manchmal als Widersacher, gespürt werden." <sup>30</sup> Such an account of

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<sup>29</sup> "Verwaltung der Gefühle" 42

<sup>30</sup> "Verwaltung der Gefühle" 42

feeling experience in the body fits well with the physicality of the descriptions of emotional experience that I will discuss.<sup>31</sup> Doris Croome, one of Schmitz's commentators, speaks to the way in which feeling-atmospheres relate to the subject's permeability in the felt body (*Leib*): "Alle Verbindung mit der Umwelt hat eine leibliche Basis. Gefühle, die als Quasigegegenstände objektiv im Raum vorhanden sind, werden zu subjektiven, in dem sie das Subjekt ergreifen, seine Befindlichkeit modifizieren."<sup>32</sup> Feelings, then, connect us to the world. They constitute our investment in it.

Feeling as investment in the world characterizes another of Schmitz's concepts, that I find to be particularly salient for understanding feeling in early modern texts: *affektives Betroffensein*, or affective involvement<sup>33</sup>. As mentioned above, Schmitz's view of feeling is based on an elaboration of the Husserlian differentiation between the material body (*Körper*) and the felt body (*Leib*). In Schmitz's system, the *Leib* includes the material body and the space around it, all of which is held in *affektives Betroffensein*, an immediate, pre-reflective, not yet articulated self-consciousness. This, according to Schmitz is the most authentic stance towards life, a stance that allows the fullest experience and awareness of the energies and impulses available in the environment, without suffocating them, or being destructive with them by identifying with them. In his article "Entseelung der Gefühle," Schmitz presents "Bewusstsein ohne Identifizierung" as the mode in which true relating and experiencing can occur.

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<sup>31</sup> However, because of the diagnostic role that emotion plays in these early modern texts, we will see that Schmitz's understanding of emotions as an external force does not necessarily remove emotions from the discourses of reward and punishment. Indeed, the power of emotion to indicate the spiritual state of the person experiencing it shifts judgment away from what one does, and towards what one is.

<sup>32</sup> Croome 193

<sup>33</sup> The Duden lists *Betroffenheit* and *Betroffensein* as near synonyms and Schmitz is taking Heidegger's use of *Betroffenheit* as *Anteilnahme* (giving the noun its additional meaning from the participle *betroffen*) and laying it over *Betroffensein* in reference to Heidegger's *Betroffenheit vom Sein* concept. In response to Schmitz's usage, Jan Slaby translates this term as 'affective involvement' in his 2011 translation of "Entseelung der Gefühle" (entitled "Emotions outside the Box" in *Phenomenology and the Cognitive Sciences*, 10:2, 241-259).



*Affektives Betroffensein* as a way of living has important parallels to Lutheran faith. It is the state of being necessary for authentic declarations of love and confessions of sin. For these speech acts, one must be fully invested in the communication in a way that precludes analysis and the third person. One must say “I repent, forgive me” – not “\_\_\_\_\_ repents, forgive \_\_\_\_\_.” One declares: “I love you, will you marry me,” not “\_\_\_\_\_ loves you, will you marry \_\_\_\_\_.” Schmitz terms this quality of *affektives Betroffensein* as “die Adresse des Meinigen”<sup>34</sup> which denotes a declaration stemming from immediate experience that precedes and is separate from the ascription of that declaration as a fact in the world. This stance is very similar to Luther’s *pro me*, which entails a personal and immediate engagement with the gospel and the narrative of Christ’s death and resurrection, without which, knowledge of these religious ideas is possible, but salvation is not. If we view Lutheran salvation through the lens of Schmitz’s *affektives Betroffensein*, it becomes clear that the state of being that allows for salvation is a state of being-in-feeling.

The perspective on emotion presented in these texts, when looked at from this point of view, shows that early Lutherans were making important philosophical contributions to self-management discourses, ones which anticipate neo-stoicism. I am interested in integrating texts that have been marginalized because of their confessionality and temporal and geographical separation from Europe’s canon into the important and lasting discourses of early modern Europe.

In each of the three chapters of this dissertation, I read texts in clusters. In the case of the Faustus-biographies, Reformer biographies, and Judith plays, I follow Joachim Bumke by reading adaptations as versions of a single text, “versions . . . in several divergent forms that

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<sup>34</sup> “Entseelung der Gefühle” 23

correspond to one another literally to such an extent that one can speak of one and the same work but which, however, differ from one another in the form of the extant text and/or in the sequence of the text and/or in the formulations within the text so strongly that the differences cannot have come into being coincidentally.”<sup>35</sup> The fluidity that Bumke proposes for courtly epic also reflects the ways in which sixteenth-century readers would have been familiar with texts: individually, but also in relation to other, similar texts. It also responds to the ways in which the stories respond to one another. In the case of the two Faustus-biographies, that are the focus of the first chapter, the existence of George Widmann’s 1599 version is a response to Spies’s publication. Widmann claims to correct and expand the 1587 prose novel. Spies’s version was popular two decades after its initial publication, and Widmann’s remarks ensure that readers were well aware of the connection. Seventeenth-century reprints of the Widmann version quote large sections of the first Faustus biography in the notes, comparing the two and assuming reader familiarity with both texts. Likewise, the Reformer biographies that I read as a counterpoint to the Faustus texts refer to one another, were written by authors who traveled in the same circles, and likely shared many readers. The texts at the center of the second chapter are four of the thirteen courtly tales included in the 1587 entitled *Das Buch der Liebe (The Book of Love)*. These courtly narratives, many of which are adaptations of medieval romances, would have been read together, not only by owners of the collection, but by those who enjoyed courtly romances, as most of the stories had been sold individually, and reprinted several times in cheap editions.<sup>36</sup> While the three Judith plays were not necessarily read or seen by the same audiences, the logic of this grouping is based

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<sup>35</sup> Bumke 105

<sup>36</sup> Veitschegger 35. His *Das Buch der Liebe (1587): ein Beitrag zur Buch- und Verlagsgeschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts* is one of the few pieces of secondary literature and the only monography to examine Feyerabend’s collection.

on the Judith legend that they all handle, as well as the different ways in which they all deal with the emotional experience of the crowd, as they are challenged to trust God while under siege.

In chapter one, I demonstrate that the Faustus-biographies participate in a Lutheran discourse of godly versus diabolical emotions and real versus counterfeit emotions. The moral binary suggested here is complicated in lived experience: the godliness or diabolical nature of feeling is only revealed in its resolution and cannot necessarily be deduced by the quality of the feeling itself. This complication brings much of the energy and interest to the Faustus-biographies. Here I discuss the links between fear, comfort, and salvation in two versions of the Faustus story. I outline Luther's thinking about feeling and his innovation upon Augustine and Aquinas' thought on emotions in that he frames the morality of emotions, not in terms of sinful emotions (anger, for example) versus virtuous emotions (love), but godly and ungodly versions of each kind of emotion. In many cases the godliness of a feeling could only be assessed in terms of the role it plays in the individual's spiritual health. Faustus experiences acute fear at several points in both biographies. At all of these moments, Faustus's fear has the potential to lead him to salvation: he need only fear the right things and accept the right comfort. Faustus's ups and downs regarding fear and comfort provide information about how Lutherans imagined the inner workings of damnation. Movement toward one's spiritual destination is not a straightforward journey in which the end is always clear: grace can intervene and change the story's direction at any moment. At several moments and especially towards the end, Faustus seems to be poised on the border between damnation and salvation. Indeed, the first Spies version does not provide a clear conclusion at all – a flaw roundly criticized by contemporaries and connected in Georg Widmann's 1599 re-write and expansion. The Faustus-biographies demonstrate Luther's conception of emotion and spiritual life in that they show the importance of emotions for faith

and also that the spiritual meanings of emotions can be best judged in hindsight. That is, they can be evaluated in the context of a life's narrative. Therein lies the role of narratives like the Faustus-biographies. Viewing the inner experience of damnation in its entirety supports readers as they give spiritual meaning to and negotiate their emotional presents.

The representation of emotion in the Faustus-biographies and, to a lesser extent, the Reformer biographies to which I compare them, draws attention to the breakdowns and decouplings that inevitably happen among the elements necessary for Protestant salvation. Against this background, responding spiritually to an open-ended narrative calls for faith in Christ rather than a faith in doctrine and reading becomes a kind of exercise in faith.

The texts included in the *Buch der Liebe* are not religious texts, either in the way that these narratives emerged, or in their adaptations, translations, and their late-sixteenth century receptions. However, I demonstrate that these texts are open to confessional readings. My analysis addresses two questions regarding *Das Buch der Liebe*. The first deals with the attraction of courtly romances for an urban, Protestant readership; the second with the ethical vision enabled by a variety of images, rather than a single ideal. These two questions, one of reception and one of interpretation, are related in that exploring them requires a return to the slippages that occur where Protestant theology meets emotion. Woman and men are identical in the eyes of God. But in this standardization of grace and faith, the rise of Lutheranism abolished forms of specifically female spirituality. Yet the salvation process under the Protestant regime is gender-specific, as are the kinds of inner states that spur spiritual growth.

Literature that employs a courtly milieu and courtly love themes had long been used to educate and train young women. In the case of *Das Buch der Liebe*, it seems that may have

played a role in the development of a specifically female variety of personal piety that is centered on marriage and motherhood, and so may have supported German Lutherans interested in replacing Catholic opportunities for female piety available in Marian veneration and cloistered life. In order to think about the ways in which courtly literature addressed female piety in the sixteenth century, my readings highlight the relationship between marital and maternal love, and salvation. In these texts, love is often coded in ways similar to faith. I explain the presence of a variety of love stories and female biographies by making a case for Feyerabend's interest in providing many ideals and images for reader empathy, and as models for the female reader. I conclude with a reading of the dedication to Lady Hedwig, Countess of Hesse, in which Feyerabend articulates his own theory of love and its relationship to spirituality, and the role of pleasurable narrative in supporting lovers as they experience love and meet the demands of love in a community.

In keeping with the theme of reading related texts together, I gather three mid-sixteenth century dramatic versions of the Judith story in the third chapter. Like its fellow apocryphal book, Susanna, the story offers the value of spiritual truth and sensual beauty rolled into one – with a heady dose of salacious violence to boot. Hans Sachs, Sixt Birck, and Joachim Greff, the writers of the plays I have chosen, must negotiate the difficulty of presenting this biblical story and its attendant lessons about God's faithfulness and the importance of prayer alongside the opportunities for distraction that the plot elements entail. Following the patterns of removing the emotive aspects of ritual and spiritual practice that Susan Karant-Nunn identifies in early

Lutheran culture, these dramatists actively tone down the passionate aspects of the story, such as Judith's beauty, and the scene in Holofernes' camp.<sup>37</sup>

Alongside this dispassionate rendering of the Judith tale, exists an emphasis upon what I term anti-emotions – states of being that dampen the intensity of feeling. Patience, one such anti-emotion, emerges in these plays as an affective state beneficial to faith and piety. Judith's patience is contrasted with that of the Bethulians, as she insists on waiting for salvation, rather than treating with the Assyrians. I find that the discussions of patience and perseverance in the Judith story and pastoral care anticipate later philosophical discussions regarding the importance of patience for good living initiated by Justus Lipsius' *De Constantia in malis publicis*.<sup>38</sup>

I articulate the differences and similarities between Lipsius's reinterpretation of the classical concept of *Constantia* and ideas about the importance of patience and perseverance promoted by Lutheran writers and demonstrate how these Judith plays, two school plays and one festival play, articulate both the confessional and neostoic approaches to affect in ways that link sixteenth-century drama to Baroque drama. In using the treatment of passion and its antidotes in confessionally-interested drama to connect it to more mainstream impulses in early-

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<sup>37</sup> In her sweeping study of the emotional aspects of sixteenth-century confessional culture, Susan Karant-Nunn argues that the Reformation movement sought not only to modify people's doctrinal convictions and their behavior but to root these changes in altered sentiment. She finds evidence for this thesis in sermons, catechetical materials, the decoration of sanctuaries, and hymns. In the case of Lutheranism, she focuses especially on the content of preaching on the Passion during Holy Week, tracing the emergence of Lutheran restraint and emphasis on the accomplished atonement of Christ for human sin. Sorrow must be present, but quickly gives way to the consolation of God's love. The Reformed preachers (Zwinglian and Calvinist), however, while agreeing that Christ's suffering benefited all of the elect, enjoined self-condemnation on all their hearers - the recognition that no one deserved God's gratuitous gift of eternal life. Karant-Nunn looks at the awareness of preachers from all three groups of the emotional difference that set them apart from the others.

<sup>38</sup> Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) was a Belgian philologist and philosopher who revived interest in classical Stoicism and reinterpreted in ways that made it compatible with a Christian worldview and which addressed the concerns of the early-modern state. The work with which I am primarily concerned here (and for which Lipsius is most famous), *de Constantia in malis publicis*, was published in Latin in 1583.

modern Europe, anti-emotions emerge as the key to answering my larger questions regarding the relationship between emotions and Protestant faith. The marking of space as godly or ungodly, and the delineation between these kinds of spaces (exemplified by the town of Bethulia and the Assyrian army's camp) parallels Herman Schmitz's conceptions of space as marked by feeling. Following Luther's ideas about the spiritual ramifications of feeling and extending this to spaces (as the plays suggest), yields the explanation that cultivation of feeling is not a good work, whose efficacy for salvation Luther rejected, but a product of grace and part of faith as one passively forms a spiritually beneficial permeability through hearing God's word, the influence of righteous people, and also through reading and watching narratives such as these. Of course, the individual can choose to not resist this formation, and can also position him or herself to experience it. However, one cannot do anything to ensure that this salvific transformation takes place. This permeability directs, but does not determine the way in which the individual is affected by the feeling present in the world. One's permeability is what allows for the incorporation of facts (in this case, feeling atmospheres) existing in the external world into the self. Subjective permeability to feeling mirrors the process of faith in that true faith is what allows a person to not only believe that Christ died, but to appropriate that fact as applicable to her- or himself.

It is often assumed that representations of emotions in popular texts are rote, or formulaic, and thus unworthy of careful reading and interpretation. One of my goals in this dissertation is to loosen the connection between reading popular texts instrumentally, and recognizing the work that they do socially. I interpret these widely-read texts as the locations at which questions about Protestant salvation are articulated and allowed to remain open. The existence of these questions is already indicated in the pastoral-care literature of the period. I am

arguing for the potential that texts with religious and secular themes have to address theological issues and represent the emotional experiences created by doctrinal and religious change.



## Chapter One: Scaring the Devil Out of You: Fear, Comfort, and Salvation in Sixteenth-Century Faustus Narratives

By 1587, when Johann Spies published *Die Historia von D. Johann Fausten*, diabolical pacts had already seen a confused and contradictory life in the public imagination of German-speaking Europe. Even as the motifs of the pact and pact maker are rooted in medieval hagiography, and the idea of trafficking with the devil echoes descriptions of witch trials, authors often presented reports of diabolical pacts in amazingly quotidian terms.<sup>39</sup> Thus, the pact had become simultaneously a forgivable, even common, sin and the ultimate apostasy. When Spies adopts the Faustus story, and with it the pact motif, he must find a way to convey the seriousness of this sin, but also to affirm the Lutheran insistence on grace, faith, and the forgiveness of all transgression. The Frankfurt publisher responds to and maintains the contradictory nature of the pact motif by presenting the Faustus story in a way that highlights the complexities of Lutheran salvation.<sup>40</sup>

Not surprisingly, critics of the *Historia* target its spiritual ambiguity.<sup>41</sup> One of the critical responses to the *Historia* took the form of a heavily annotated re-writing of the text by Georg

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<sup>39</sup> Frank Baron and Carl Binz both discuss Herman Witikind's characterization of diabolical pact-making as a common, and even social problem amongst youth (*Faustus on Trial* 58 and Binz xiv)

<sup>40</sup> Over the course of the late-nineteenth century, there has been much speculation regarding the authorship of Spies's *Historia* and the origin of the differences between that text and the Woffenbüttler Handschrift. Stephen Füssel's introduction to the 1996 Reclam edition of *Die Historia von D. Johann Fausten* provides an excellent account of this discussion. This dissertation assumes Frank Baron's widely-accepted claim that Spies framed *Historia* to fulfill confession-driven devotional purposes and that the text be understood as a kind of lay contribution to confessional and devotional literature (*Faustus on Trial* 2-4, 16)

<sup>41</sup> In his commentary in the 1597 edition of *Christlich bedencken an der Zauberey*, Herman Witikind, under the pseudonym Augustin Lercheimer (1522 - 1603), criticizes the *Historia* for portraying the Faustus story inaccurately and maligning Lutheranism by situating Faustus in Wittenberg. Witikind is also critical of the ending in which Faustus asks for grace.

Widmann, published in Hamburg in 1599.<sup>42</sup> Widmann's text, however, does not manage to escape the problematic bind presented by Protestant salvation theology and the diabolical pact. He simply frames the narrative more heavily and proscribes reader response in the commentaries, termed *Erinnerungen*, or reminders, that follow each chapter. However, the narrative itself, despite Faustus's unambiguous damnation, creates new gaps between the emotional norms to which the text seems to appeal, and the emotional experiences that the text represents. This raises problems for a text meant to be a corrective to Spies' project. Widmann's decision to guide interpretation by framing the text, rather than making a simpler text that is less open to mis-interpretation suggests a perceived value in the ambiguity of complex narrative as well as possibilities for his Faustus-biography beyond the warning and educative goals explicated in the prefaces of both sixteenth-century *Faustbücher*.

As we read these texts in concert, we find that boundaries are repeatedly blurred, not only in the relationship between the Faustus-biographies, but also within the texts and between entities that one would expect to remain distinct. For example, the Spies version's Preface ("Vorrede an den christlichen Leser") and the Dedication are unclear regarding the groups that

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<sup>42</sup> Widmann's printed marginalia, explicitly points out some areas in which his version departs from the *Historia*. The first, in which Widmann identifies Faustus's birthplace as Sontwedel in Saxony (Salzwedel, according to Johannes Scheible – 215) rather than Roth, as Spies writes starts with an emphatic "Merck das . . .," assuming that readers would be familiar with and perhaps have access to a copy of the *Historia* for comparison. Moments such as these lend a more critical cast to the words in the preface, which claim that the only available accounts are "sagens" ("Ob nun aber/ wohlgeborner gnediger Herr/ die geschichten und Historien/ des verwegenen und gottlosen Manns Doctoris Johannis Fausti/ sich vor vielen jahren zugetragen und begaben haben/davon auch viel sagens bey den Leuten gewest/ so sindt doch dieselben noch biß daher noch nicht recht fuerhanden" – "Vorrede"). In an atmosphere in which the *Historia* was extremely successful, this is a clear insult to its worth as a version of the Faustus story, which both authors find to be a crucial one for warning Christians. If we read Widmann's claims to have held an "Original," written by Faustus' servant Wagner in his own hands, and his verbatim inclusions of eyewitness accounts, alongside Witikind's critiques of inaccuracy, then Widmann's *Ärgerliche Leben und schreckliche Ende des vielberüchtigten Erz-Schwarzkünstlers Johannis Fausti* and its presentation to the public is best understood as the presentation of a countering version to that of Spies.

The textual relationship between the 1587 and 1599 *Faustbücher* is unclear: Spies's Frankfurt *Historia* or the Wolfenbüttler Handschrift could have been the source for Widmann's *Das Ärgerliche Leben*. Certain is that the two printed Faustus-biographies share a source as some chapters are identical in the two texts and others are very similar (Henning 55). Also, the first and third sections of both narratives follow almost the exact same pattern

their warnings address. There is no clear delineation between believers and non-believers, for example. Each has the potential to become the other. The text's dual address marks this dynamism is the dual address of the text's front matter. The title page of Johann Spies's *Historia* specifically addresses "allen hochtragenden/ fuerwitzigen vnd gottlosen Menschen," offering this group a "treuhertzige Warnung." In the several page long *Widmung* ("Dedication"), Spies says that he is presenting the "schreckliche Geschicht . . . der ganzen Christenheit zur warnung"(883). One could legitimately interpret this double address as representing an attempt to highlight the wide-ranging moral value of the Faustus story in the service of advertisement. Yet, the fact that diabolical pacts pose the same spiritual danger to both groups suggests that they may not be as separate as one might assume.

The preface itself is indeed a "Vorred an den christlichen Leser." At the same time, the majority of the discussion that expresses horror over a diabolical pact refers to the 'Mensch' in a general sense. In the *Vorred*, the author asks: "Ist es aber nicht ein grewlicher vnd erschrecklicher Handel/ daß ein *vernuenfftiger Mensch/ der von Got zu seinem Ebenbild erschaffen/ vnd am Leib und Seel so hoch geehret vnd reichlich begabet/ demselbigen einzigen waren Gott vnnd Schoepffer/ dem er all Ehr vnnd Gehorsam sein Lebenlang schuldig ist/ so schaendtlich verlassen . . .*" (838 - italics mine). Attributes of this 'Mensch' belong to all humans, regardless of the conditions of their souls. Indeed, Luther emphasizes how worthless human reason is in matters of the spirit.<sup>43</sup> When describing the threat posed by Satan, Spies invokes humanity in its entirety speaking in terms of "dem Menschlichen Geschlecht" (838).

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<sup>43</sup> "Die Vernunft ist die höchste Hur, die der Teufel hat" (WA 51, 126) is one of Luther's pithiest and most famous sayings regarding the role of reason in faith, and he consistently repeats the idea that trust in one's intellect to divine spiritual truth is an obstacle to salvation.

The author extends responsibility for avoiding diabolical pacts and vulnerability to both Christians and non-believers by emphasizing that human weakness cannot be blamed for making pacts with Satan, stating rather that “recht Teuffelische Boßheit/ ein muhtwillige Vnsinnigkeit vnd grewliche Verstockung/ die mit Gedancken nimmermehr ergruendet” (840).<sup>44</sup> This would seem to negate the possibility that true Christians could commit such a sin, suggesting that diabolical temptation could serve as a litmus test for salvation. However, towards the end of the *Vorred*, Christians are addressed again: when a Christian even thinks of diabolical pacts, he must “sich von Herten entsetzen vnd erschrecken” (840), and “Fromme Christen aber werden sich fuer solchen Verfuehrungen vnd Blendungen deß Teuffels wissen zuhueten” (840). The fear and need for protection mentioned suggests that Christians as well as non-believers are vulnerable to Satan’s temptations, but that true Christians have the advantage of being able to protect themselves. One tool for protection is the story of Faust’s damnation and the fear that it elicits.

This complex muddling makes sense in terms of early modern Lutheran theology: Christians and sinners may not be entirely discrete groups. Christians are still subject to sin, and as we see in the prefaces to the *Historia*, the categories of ‘sinners’ and ‘Christian’ are fluid ones for late sixteenth century Lutherans. Salvation had to be lived out day by day, and one could easily fall back into being a sinner and even being damned.<sup>45</sup> Sorcery and trafficking with the Devil pose particular dangers, as the author assures readers that the end result of trafficking with the Devil is punishment on earth and in the hereafter. However, even this is uncertain, as the

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<sup>44</sup> in this he takes a strikingly different stance from that of Augustin Lercheimer (Hermann Wittekind), author of *Christlich Bedencken an die Zauberey* (1587), who found diabolical pacts to be a rather commonplace occurrence

<sup>45</sup>“Luther versteht unter der Rechtfertigung des Mensch vor Gott durchgängig die gerechterklärung des Menschen durch Gott deren Aneignung im Glauben unter Rückbezug auf die in der Taufe zugeeignete Verheißung sich als ein das ganze Leben des Menschen durchziehender Prozeß vollzieht und mit der Verwandlung und Erneuerung des Menschen einhergeht.” (Nüssel. 49)

speaker in the *Historia* mentions twice over the course of the narrative that repentance and salvation are possible, even for Faustus.<sup>46</sup>

The prefaces' clear address to two overlapping groups gives cause to examine the speaker in the prefaces to the *Historia*. Johann Spies is clearly the publisher, speaking directly to the reader in the dedication. The source of the sermonic voice in the preface is unclear, but most scholars believe it to be written by Spies<sup>47</sup>. The part of the dedication that creates a separate group with a separate role is Spies's politic note to Caspar Kolln and Hieronymus Hoff, both officials in the courts of local nobility. Joining them are the "gelehrte und verstendige Leute" Spies consulted when he became interested in reliable accounts of Faustus's life. Included in the groups of those who are endorsing this text is also Spies's unnamed friend in Speyer, who gave Spies the *Historia*. This entire group, however, is included in the warning. Perhaps they are situated at the center of the warning's intended audience, as they know how to take Faustus's example to heart.

Dieweil ich dann die Historien des Fausti/ aus vorangezogenen und andern erhablichen  
Christlichen ursachen werth geachtet habe/ das sie in Truck muecht verfertigt werden/ als  
habe ichs im namen Gotts wagen und mich hierein gebrauchen lassen wollen/ der  
hoffnung/ das die / so das gute daraus betrachten/ wol werden judizieren/ was guts ich  
damit beger zusuchen. (Spies 5)

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<sup>46</sup> This occurs for the first time after Faustus's response to the tale of the fallen angels and the narrator remarks that had Faustus repented to God and connected with the Christian community, and resisted Satan, his soul would have been spared, if not his body (867). The theological possibility of Faustus's salvation is also suggested after Faustus and Mephistopheles discuss how devils possess humans, when Faustus grows pensive, a mental state which the narrator says could have brought him to a realization of his lost salvation, and thus to repentance (871).

<sup>47</sup> See Frank Baron. *Faustus on Trial: The Origins of Johann Spies's "Historia" in an Age of Witch Hunting.*, 166-167.

Again, we find an affirmation of the universal, if differentiated, usefulness of the Faustus narrative, and the mixing of givers and receivers echoes the ambiguity of the categories of Christian and non-Christian. The message seems to be that everyone is vulnerable to diabolical attack, and that everyone needs grace, and that while some are blessed and some are damned, it is difficult to draw those lines with certainty. However, terror or fear constitute not only possible subjective responses to Faustus's life and death, rather his pact-making and his death are fearful in nature.

The linguistic anthropologist Anna Wierzbicka develops the notion of 'narrative emotions,' claiming that each basic emotion is inextricably linked to a given narrative, and that even though the language of emotion is culturally and linguistically determined, that the narratives behind basic emotions are almost universal. The narrative that she connects with fear, for example, is "something important is perhaps lost forever."<sup>48</sup> This helps to explain the tight linking of Faustus's sin and damnation with emotions rather than with a moral judgment (blasphemous, for example). This connection places the loss of the human soul and the experience of contemplating that loss at the center of the both the Spies and Widmann Faustus-biographies. *Erschrecken* stands in for damnation, and at the same time it has the potential for helping one to avoid it. This mirrors sixteenth-century Lutheran rhetoric about comfort (arguably fear's inverse) as a stand-in for Christ or the Gospel. If we extend Wierzbicka's model, damnation is the foundational fear narrative, and salvation is the foundational comfort narrative. The prospect of either is so fundamental that it leaps over discursive thought and directly to the emotion, thus making the emotional into the spiritual state and vice versa. For the reader observing spiritual experience in narrative, discursiveness is required, yet as I will repeatedly

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<sup>48</sup> Wierzbicka 72

echo throughout this dissertation, emotion *is* narrative and emotions in life and literature are the events that occur, because they are tailored to the occurrences which give rise to them, and they are inevitable once certain beliefs are held. Therefore, the emotion is the location at which occurrences coalesce making the emotion itself the event.

In this first consideration of Spies's prefatory material, my major concerns have already emerged. Firstly, the language of salvation is the language of emotion – damnation is *grewlich*, salvation is *Trost*, and experience towards either point in the spiritual spectrum is marked by *Anfechtung*. Additionally, the *Faustbücher* exploit both the ambiguity of emotion and the ambiguity of narrative in order to not only issue a warning about the dangers of sorcery, but also to tell readers something about the nature of the Christian life – that while salvation is uncertain, one can monitor one's inner experience and seek signs of salvation in hopefulness. For the Christian, maintaining spiritual health by maintaining emotional health is imperative to standing firm through tribulation. Because of this intentional work with ambiguity, I argue that both Faustus-biographies are examples of literary or pleasurable texts that play an important role in transmitting confessional values, without being an example of Pöhlig and Lotz-Heumann's confessionalized literature, and that the ambiguity of narrative, at least in the Lutheran case, is not a liability but an advantage in successfully addressing a Protestant salvation that is also uncertain and somewhat ambiguous.

This chapter has three parts. The first is a discussion of the concepts of fear and comfort in sixteenth century Lutheranism and a relation of that to these themes in two major versions of the Faustus legend printed in the sixteenth century. In the second section, I look at the scholarly tradition of interpreting the 1587 as a saint's life (sometimes as an inverted one, and sometimes as a sinner's legend), and argue that we should consider these post-Reformation texts in terms of

Reformer biography. Then I look at three mid-sixteenth century Reformer biographies and show how emotions work in similar ways to the way they do in the *Faustbücher*. In both kinds of texts, emotions tell us something about spiritual health or illness, but in a way ambiguous enough to avoid the problem of works salvation. In the third section, I articulate the role that bodies play in salvation, as the Faustus-biographies present it. Bodies constitute the location of spiritually beneficial emotions, as well as that which Faustus must be willing to risk in order to be saved.

### **Sixteenth-century Lutheranism and Emotional Community**

Terror and comfort, along with their attendant emotional experience, *Anfechtung*, are central motifs in these two Faustus-biographies. By focusing on emotional experience as a representative of spiritual experience, these versions of the Faustus narrative signal their connection with the values and norms that Lutheran writers had developed around emotional experience. In examining the emotions portrayed in the Faustus-texts, it is useful to consider the cultural use of emotions in early modern Lutheranism. One model for understanding this is that of the emotional community.<sup>49</sup> Modes of emotional expression function as signifiers of group belonging. In the Faustus-biographies as well as biographies of Luther and Melanchthon, which we will consider later, shared assumptions about what the meanings of emotions signify membership in a Lutheran emotional community.

Suggesting the affinity of Barbara Rosenwein's paradigm with the materials that I am working with, are the tropes of personal relationships and ties to family and religious community that operate in these texts. All of the biographies – both the Faustus-biographies and the

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<sup>49</sup> In *Emotional Communities of the Middle Ages*. Rosenwein defines an emotional community as a group that is larger than a family, and can be defined by having a given 'emotional style' - that is similar values, attitudes and ways of talking about emotions (25).



Reformer biographies -- suggest a tension between a loved community and an imagined one. Johann Krafft and Johann Mathesius emphasize their friendships with Melanchthon and Luther the respective objects of their biographies. They mention other people whom they know and who are writing on similar subjects, for example, Krafft describes the friendship between Joachim Camerarius, who published another biography of Melanchthon in 1566 (Krafft Eiiiir-Eiiiiv) and bids the reader to take advantage of any other biographies that others might write in the near future (Eiiiiv). In a similar vein, Widmann and Spies indicate relationships with those who have provided the source material for their narratives.

The two Faustus publishers/compiler also point to a world in which Lutheran leaders were judged in terms of their relationships. This is especially evident in Widmann's description of the scene immediately following Faustus's death. Those present were required to write a report for the university to explain their innocence, despite an association with a practicing sorcerer. Writers of sixteenth-century Reformer biographies posit a world in which the Lutheran community was bound together by personal relationships as well as common texts and beliefs, and the Faustus-biographies suggest that Faustus lived in a similarly connected world.<sup>50</sup> These texts can be understood to have belonged to a community which consisted of a web of personal relationships and shared geographies.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> The focus on emotions in the text also invites the very late sixteenth century reader into this world of personal relationships which contrasts with the fractured Lutheran world that has developed. The problems, notions and techniques of pastoral care to which the text points, are ideas and practices recognizable to all Lutherans and invite the Lutheran reader into commonly-held ways of managing the spiritual life through the management of emotions.

<sup>51</sup> It is useful to think of an emotional style as a tool with which one of Benedict Anderson's imagined communities could maintain coherence. However, I want to emphasize the 'real' relationships that constitute this community. Indeed, the Lutheran church is at a turning point after the deaths of Luther and Melanchthon - the church is growing and on the verge of division and is arguably transitioning from being a community constructed by a web of relationships to one that is 'imagined'. We will see that, especially in the case of the Reformer biographies, the authors are making a strong effort to remind their audiences of the web of personal relationships that make up the

Suggesting an early Lutheran emotional style, Johann Anselm Steiger's work emphasizes Luther's recommendations for physical pleasure and company as a support for persevering through inner difficulty.<sup>52</sup> He also points out Simon Musäus' division of therapies into 'geistliche' and 'äußerliche' cures<sup>53</sup>. The latter category includes conversation, company and exercise. The model and specific practices of "Psychohygiene" are consciously borrowed from Antiquity and the works of Plutarch, Galen and others<sup>54</sup>. The problem of isolation for Faustus's melancholy and fear is a reoccurring one in both biographies. Widmann addresses the issue directly in an *Erinnerung*. The marginalia in this section of the commentary reads:

"Angefochtene oder verzweifelte Leute sollen nicht allein seyn."; and "Wo man sich einsam lest/ geschicht oft viel suend und schande/ oder seltsame gedancken" (2:47). The main text describes loneliness as a tool of Satan. This *Erinnerung* also reflects Musäus' double cure for *Anfechtung*: "Darumb soll man fleissig beten/ dass man nicht in anfechtung unnd trawrigkeit falle/ da aber ja trawrigkeit fuerfallet/ so soll man sich zu den Leuten halten/ und ergetzung bey ihnen suchen" (2:49). The Faustus -biographies narrate and include common ideas regarding the relationship between spiritual tribulation (*Anfechtung*), fear and the uses of comfort. Using the theme of fear in Spies's prefaces as a starting point, my examination of fear and comfort in Lutheran writing and in the Widmann and Spies texts offers insight into how literary texts

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Lutheran church and they utilize emotions to draw audience members into that web, as a way to maintain a coherent community even as personal ties grow ever looser, and enmities develop).

<sup>52</sup> See Steiger's *Melancholie, Diatätik und Trost* 16, 20. . While the question of melancholy is an important one for the Faustus character, I think that fear is the more operative emotional experience for the narrative in that it is evoked for the reader and emphasized in Faustus's life. In both the *Historia* and *Das Ärgerliche Leben*, fear is the state of unrest, risk and salvific potential that requires the equilibrium of *Trost*, be it godly or diabolical.

<sup>53</sup> *Melancholie, Diatätik und Trost* 27

<sup>54</sup> *Melancholie, Diatätik und Trost* 28-29

incorporated theological ideas and emphases and in how such texts played a role in expanding and sustaining the emotional values of sixteenth-century Lutheranism.

### Fear in Sixteenth-Century Lutheranism

Because the prefaces signal the importance of the reader's experience of fear in the *Historia*, the role of fear in both the Spies and Widmann texts deserves special attention. In declaring that he omitted the conjuring spells, the narrator in the Spies preface posits that the reader's soul is in a precarious position, and is able, at every moment, to fall into or further cement its damnation. This heightened sense of danger and fear is part of the reading experience throughout the narrative: not only is Faustus's spiritual wellbeing threatened during his encounters with Mephistopheles, the readers' spiritual health is also enveloped in their response to Faustus's story. That the *Vorred* speaker takes the potential of this story seriously, is evident in his presentation of the text, and in how he prepares the readers to respond to it. The delicate balance between edification and stumbling-block that publishing this book represents echoes the troubled position that the soul faced in a world filled with diabolical influence.

Luther's 1519 *Sermon von der Bereitung zum Sterben* was included in fourteen of the sixteen editions of the *Betbüchlein* published between 1525 and 1543.<sup>55</sup> In it, he discusses the fruit that godly fear can bear in the life of the Christian.<sup>56</sup> Fear of death, when one is far from

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<sup>55</sup> Reinis 48

<sup>56</sup> In her study of German words that cover the semantic ground of the English word fear and of the ways in which Luther employs them, Anna Wierzbicka notes Luther's exclusive use of the word *Furcht* in translating the Latin *timor* or *phobos*, and for expressing the idea of fearing God (i.e. *Gottesfurcht*). While Luther's vocabulary of fear includes the word *Furcht* – quite analogous to the English 'fear,' and *Angst*, which during most of the sixteenth century covered much of the semantic ground that *Furcht* does, but can also mean affliction or distress. It can also be expressed in the plural form, denoting concrete things of which to be afraid or about which to worry in a way that *Furcht* cannot. *Erschrecken* and its adjectival relatives are used far more frequently than *Furcht* and *Angst* (though these words appear too). The use of *Erschrecken*, *Schrecken*, *erschrecklich* and *schrecklich* enables a focus on the sense of the moment, along with the connotation of moral peril, that is perhaps present in *furchtbar*, but certainly absent in *beängstigend*. Something is *schrecklich*, not only because

death, can bear good fruit, as it often encourages right belief and a holy life. But at the time of death, “die schwache Natur zur Furcht vor dem Tode und zur Liebe zum Leben und zur Sorge um es treibe, wodurch der Mensch, zu sehr beladen mit solchen Gedanken, Gott vergesse, den Tod fliehe und hasse und so schließlich Gott ungehorsam erfunden werde und bleibe” (WA 15. 65). Here, Luther hints at two kinds of fear, one that is useful and one that is damaging and is brought by the Devil.

Luther refines his theory of fear in his “Consolation Letter to the Miltenberg Congregation,” in which two kinds of fear emerge – godly fear and diabolical fear. Godly fear should bring one to righteous action and faith, and in the end is resolved by God’s comfort. Luther urges his readers to learn to differentiate between godly and diabolical fear:

Darumb mustu hie gar weit von einander scheiden Christi und des Teuffels schrecken,  
Denn ob gleich Christus anseheth zu schrecken, so bringt er doch gewislich *Trost* mit sich  
und wil dich niht darin bleiben lassen, Der Teuffel aber kan nicht abe lassen noch  
auffhoeren zu schrecken, ob er auch gleich erstlich trostet und suesse machete. Dies muse  
in Christen wissen und den teuffel so kennen lernen, sonderlich in hohen anfechtungen,

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it frightens, but because it should frighten. Therefore, this semantic field is ideal for not only expressing the fear of the reader and main character, but for clearly stating what is important in the world of this text – the health of the soul.

Showing the ways in which Luther uses *Angst* to translate the Latin words *pressura*, *angustia* and *tribulatio*, and the Greek words *stenoxoria*, *tlipsis* and *synokhē*, Wierzbicka makes the argument that “. . . Luther constitutes a turning point in a shift from a meaning close to distress and essentially unrelated to “fear” (or *Furcht*) to a meaning much closer to *Furcht*, though still different from it and bearing distinct traces of the earlier meaning.”

Perhaps a systematic study of the words used for translating or glossing Latin and Greek affliction and distress words into Early New High German would bear out Wierzbicka’s conclusion. However, the varying ways in which *Trost*, or comfort was used during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries suggest the possibility that *Angst*, too, might have had different meanings in different kinds of writing.

wenn er schrecken und angst fuelet, das er dencke, Es musse nicht eitel schrecken  
bleiben, sondern auch auffhoeren und wider trost folgen<sup>57</sup>

Christ always leaves the responsive heart joyful and comforted, while, Satan leaves those he frightens afraid and confused. Later in the text, Luther also makes clear that the reason for fear and terror brought by Christ is clear, whereas diabolical terror is confusing and without a clear object or solution.<sup>58</sup>

### Comfort in Sixteenth-Century Lutheranism

Ute Mennecke-Haustein identifies two uses for the word *Trost*. One is abstract, and the other refers to a concrete mystical experience. Ute Mennecke-Haustein notes that in many sermons and theological tracts, *Trost* was associated with words like *Zuversicht* (confidence), *Vertrauen* (assurance) and *Festigkeit* (steadfastness). In these contexts, *Trost* is associated with emotion because it is placed in opposition to fear, and functions as fear's antidote and inverse.<sup>59</sup> The use of *Trost* as something more concrete and less emotional in sermons and theological tracts is somewhat analogous to the pre-Luther meaning identified by Wierzbicka. *Trost*, like fear however, is an intangible interior experience

that plays a role in salvation, damnation and spiritual development.

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<sup>57</sup> WA 21.246

<sup>58</sup> "Obgleich der Teuffel all Sprueche herfueret, so in der Biblien sind, das jertz zu schrecken, Wenn ers zu viel machete nd nicht auch trost hernach gibt, So ist es gewislich der teuffel. . . Das ist aber der Teuffel selbs, der dich angreiffet mit schrecken und lesst nicht abe, bi ser dich in verzweifelung bringe." (WA 21 245)

<sup>59</sup> Mennecke-Haustein 26

As an important feeling experience for spiritual health, one duty of pastors would be to cultivate *Trost*, to console people. Luther popularized the practice of consolation writing in Protestant communities in German speaking areas, and other Reformers such as Calvin and Heinrich Bucer also adopted the practice.<sup>60</sup> Luther's own *Trostbriefe*, which he faithfully wrote to friends during times of trouble as well as to Lutheran communities that were suffering persecutions, were high in demand. According to Ute Mennecke-Haustein, Luther's *Trostbriefe* were collected and published in volumes of varying size and composition five times during the first half of the sixteenth century.<sup>61</sup> On the level of individual believers and congregations, Luther's letters of consolation were anticipated after an episode of persecution, for encouragement after collective trauma, and were exchanged, transcribed and disseminated, with these texts reaching far beyond the communities to whom they were written directly. *Trostbriefe* garnered more attention than any other epistolary genre in the sixteenth century.<sup>62</sup>

Luther opens his consolation letter to the Miltenberg congregation by referencing the biblical admonition in I Corinthians 1:3-5 for Christians to comfort one another with the comfort that God has given them. After explicating the verses in Corinthians that contain this command, Luther begins to differentiate between godly comfort and the "falsche schendliche *Trost* wizu meyden, wilchen sucht und gibt die Welt, fleysch und der teuffel auch, da durch aller nutz und frucht dess leydens und creutzes erderbet und verhyndert wird" (WA 15.64). Appropriate for a kind of Christianity that finds salvation through faith alone, Luther's concept of godly comfort

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<sup>60</sup> Arnold 373-374

<sup>61</sup> Mennecke-Haustein 13-14

<sup>62</sup> Mennecke-Haustein, 12

echoes St. Paul's definition of true faith as the "evidence of things not seen."<sup>63</sup> Luther understands godly comfort as something unattached to the tangible, something that remains unaffected by circumstance. He contrasts this with the "Weltlicher Trost stehet darnach, das er sehe und fuele, was der betrubte begerd, und will der gedult nicht haben." (WA 15.65). Luther does not spend a lot of time addressing fear directly in this consolation letter, but he does suggest that proper and godly fear cooperates with godly comfort to teach the Christian about the faithfulness of God and has an important role to play in spiritual growth.

Fear and comfort were important themes for Luther even outside of what can be officially termed as 'consolation writing.' Twenty-five years later in 1544, a commentary on Luke 25 clearly articulates two kinds of fear and comfort and the ways in which they present themselves and interact with one another. Here diabolical comfort is described as "sweet," but it is short-lived and in the end "einen stanck hinder sich lesst, da bey man sihet, das er da gewesen sey" (WA 21.244). Fear brought by Satan, is described as a "delusion" that turns the world into a narrow and threatening place, making it difficult for the person assaulted by it to think or make a sound judgment as to whether the fear comes from God or from Satan.<sup>64</sup> Most importantly, this kind of fear confuses, and makes one incapable of concrete action that would resolve the fear, much like the fear of death experienced on the deathbed in his 1519 sermon.<sup>65</sup>

If we consider the Luther texts examined here and the Faustus-biographies in terms of Rosenwein's emotional community, one can certainly identify common emotional norms, at least in reference to the emotion of fear, and its inverse, the experience of comfort. These readings of

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<sup>63</sup> Hebrews 11:1

<sup>64</sup> WA 21.244-245

<sup>65</sup> WA 21.246

Luther and the *Historia* yield a continuity of thinking regarding, not only what emotions are, but how emotions work in relationship to spiritual life. Here the nature and definitions of the emotions themselves are far less important than the role they play in Christian living. It also seems that the rightness or wrongness of the emotion is determined not by its source, but by its fruit – for example, fear that leads to confusion as opposed to fear that leads to insight. Lutheran comfort also seems to be a function of community. Mennecke-Haustein emphasizes the role of the late-medieval tradition of consolation writing in Luther’s *Trostbriefe*. In this tradition, comfort was primarily given through writing by individuals within and across cloistered communities.

When considering Luther’s life, it makes sense that he should conceive of comfort as an essential function of Christian community. Luther was “well-acquainted with . . . a life in a half-monastic fellowship oriented towards inwardness”<sup>66</sup> that characterized his school experience as well as with cloistered life as an Augustinian monk. While he railed against celibacy and the monastic ideal<sup>67</sup>, Luther had a strong vision for communal life in the contexts of congregation and family, which Bernhard Lohse attributes to the fact that between his school and university years in a *bursa* (a community of students in which spiritual and personal life was highly regimented) and his monastic years, Luther lived most of his life within a kind of spiritual community.<sup>68</sup> From these experiences, as well as from biblical tradition, Luther developed the notion of comfort as a communal practice and integrated it into the larger Lutheran tradition.

### **Fear and Comfort in the Faustus-Biographies**

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<sup>66</sup> Lohse 30.

<sup>67</sup> Lohse 139

<sup>68</sup> Lohse 28-33



The ways in which terror and comfort function in this late-sixteenth century chapbook fall along the same lines as those in the texts by Luther that I have just discussed. It is important to be clear that there are two levels on which terror operates in the *Historia*. The first level is the fear that the reader is to experience: this fear is mediated by the speakers in the two forwards and the narrator in the main part of the text and is a godly one, as it has the clear goal of keeping the reader from making a pact with Satan, and encouraging faith in God. The terrors and comforts that Faustus experiences, however, are varied and worth considering in greater detail.

Even after Faustus signs a pact with Mephistopheles, exchanging twenty-four years of demonic service for his own body and soul, he experiences what, according to Luther's model, we can interpret as godly fear. After Mephistopheles gives a true, if biased, account of how Satan was cast into hell:

“D. Faustus . . . gieng auch also darauff stillschweigendt vom geist in seine Kammer/leget sich auff sein Beth/hub an bitterlich zu weinen und seufftzen/und in seinem Herten zu schreyen/Betrachtete auff diese erzehlung deß Geistes/wie der Rauffel und verstossene Engel/von GOtt so herrlich gezierdt war/und wenn er nit so Trotzig und Hohmuetig wider Gott gewesen/wie er ein ewiges Himmlisches wesen unnd wohnung gehabt hette/ und aber jetzunder von GOtt ewig verstossen seye/ und sprach: Oweh mir jmmer wehe/also wirt es mir auch gehen/den ich bin gleich so wol ein Geschoepff Gotes/und mein uermuetig Fleisch und Blut hat mich an Leib und Seel/in Verdammlicheit gebracht/Mich mit meiner Vernunfft und Sinn gereitzt/daß ich als ein Geschoepff Gottes von jme gewichen bin/ und mich en Tauffel bereden lassen/daß ich mich ihme mit Leib und Seele ergeben/ und verkauft habe“ (*Historia* 30)

Here, Faustus experiences fear in response to the truth. It is clear to him why he should be afraid. The clarity and appropriateness of his fear are markers of a godly fear. However, as he does not respond to it, the fear is not followed by godly comfort. In another scene however, Faust grows sad and fearful (and in this case, the word ‘*Angst*’ is used), thinking of what Mephistopheles service will cost him. However, the demon is present and Faust shares these concerns with him. Mephistopheles is able, then, to counter this godly fear with diabolical comfort. This comfort, does not address the fear, but simply distracts him by offering to grant him a wish, turning his attention to his desire, and away from his true spiritual condition.

This strategy of distraction as a form of diabolical comfort occurs several times in the text. Repeatedly, Faustus experiences fear, after which the spirit comforts him, immediately followed by Mephistopheles offering to take Faustus somewhere or to bring him something. In the twenty-fourth year, at the end of his life, when Faustus grows afraid, Mephistopheles stops offering comfort, and instead mocks him and his fear.<sup>69</sup> This echoes Luther’s assertion that fear of death at the end of life, when little can be done, is not from God, as the Christian should only experience comfort then.<sup>70</sup> At Faustus’s end, he receives no comfort, not even that of distraction, rather scorn.

We also find examples of diabolical fear in the *Historia*. Upon pondering his future, Faustus requests a tour of hell. Mephistopheles claims to take him there, and Faustus experiences a great deal of noise and harsh lights which frighten him. After he returns he puts his experience to paper right away. The narrator claims that Faustus’s manuscript is the source for this description: “Aber in der Luft herab schossen auff D. Fausten widerumb. Aber in der

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<sup>69</sup> *Historia* 115

<sup>70</sup> WA 2. 684

Lufft herab schossen auff D. Faustum so viel Straal und Blitzen/ daß der Keckest/ wil geschweigen D. Faustes/ Erschrecken und zittern muessen...” (*Historia* 54). This is the unprofitable kind of terror that Luther discusses in the 1544 commentary, which leaves one frightened and without comfort or insight.<sup>71</sup> Unlike the fear that Faustus experienced upon hearing the story of Satan’s fall, what frightens is probably a cheap illusion. The next day, he is left with little memory of the episode except for some light and noise, and he wonders if he was even in hell at all.<sup>72</sup>

In addition to the concepts of godly and diabolical fear and comfort that these texts share, there is also an association between genuine comfort and genuine fear, which stem from love, and counterfeit fear and comfort, which follow an economy of desire and aversion. Luther draws upon the Augustinian tradition as he connects godly fear and love. In the *City of God*, Augustine conceives of all emotions, including *timor*, as a kind of love. For Augustine, fear is the natural outworking of love for something that is endangered. Thus, fear for one’s soul is essentially love for the legitimately endangered soul.<sup>73</sup> So, in addition to, but following the same lines as the distinction between godly and diabolical emotion, there are also real emotions, which are just versions of love, and counterfeit ones. For Luther and the author of the *Historia*, these counterfeit versions of fear and comfort are functions of desire and its opposite, aversion. We see this in Luther’s discussions of diabolical comfort, which has to do with the satisfaction of worldly desires, and of diabolical fear, which may have to do with fear for one’s soul, but is disconnected from love for God or self, as this kind of fear does not lead to concrete action and is

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<sup>71</sup> WA 21.246

<sup>72</sup> *Historia*, 55

<sup>73</sup> Newmark 63

a result of aversion for the discomforts of damnation. This distinction appears in the *Historia* as well. This relates to the above-mentioned strategy of distraction that Mephistopheles uses to ‘comfort’ Faustus – this is a comfort that is about feeding desire and has nothing to do with love. In this sense, for Luther and in the *Historia*, this comfort is a counterfeit comfort. The fear that Mephistopheles arouses in Faustus by creating the illusion of a storm as he was considering repentance is a fear that is counterfeit on two levels in that has to do with aversion towards material discomfort, and also in that the object of the fear was itself not real (Spies 28). It is fitting that the devil should counterfeit emotions. Tradition holds Satan to be a deceiver, and in the chapbook alone, Mephistopheles typically fulfills Faustus’s wishes by means of counterfeit gold, wine and women.

### ***Anfechtung* in Early Modern Lutheranism**

*Anfechtung* is the signature experience of Lutheran Christianity. The Lutheran understanding of *Anfechtung* has been derived from Luther’s writing on his and others’ spiritual experiences. Even though seventeenth and eighteenth - century thinkers isolate *Anfechtung* and link the term with inner spiritual struggle (rather than the concrete usage, and even Luther’s usage of *Anfechtung* as simply struggle or fight in the broadest sense), *Anfechtung* does operate in sixteenth century texts as a spiritual phenomenon similar to the *Anfechtung* that scholars later describe. It is generally agreed that the German word *Anfechtung* is a translation of the Latin *tentatio*. In religious or spiritual contexts, *Anfechtung* is translated into English as affliction, temptation or tribulation.<sup>74</sup> Indeed, in early Lutheran writing, synonyms include *Verkehrung*,

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<sup>74</sup> Scaer 15

*Versuchung* and *Anfechtung*, but as the sixteenth century progressed, *Anfechtung* generally refers to crises of faith.<sup>75</sup>

Luther's discussions of his own *Anfechtungen*, as well the way in which the word is used in the longer Lutheran tradition, the experience highlight the distinctly personal and interior character of *Anfechtung*. Even when his *Anfechtungen* are triggered by a physical or external factor, such as illness, the *Anfechtung* itself turns on the spiritual struggle that the external event causes. Perhaps in response to the various ways in which *Anfechtung* is used by early Lutheran writers, Lutheran scholarship has divided *Anfechtungen* into types, based on their causes and cures. The 'niedrige *Anfechtungen*' seem to be temptations that mobilize external threats and pleasures in order to tempt people to question God, while the 'hohe *Anfechtungen*' - are for those " . . . die des Glaubens wenn einer sich nicht traut, selig zu werden."<sup>76</sup> Scholars also differentiate between "*Anfechtung* durch Unglück in der man in Zorn, Ungeduld und Unglauben gereizt wird"<sup>77</sup> and "*Anfechtung* durch Glück," which is the more dangerous of the two in that the person is less likely to notice that they are being tempted. This kind of *Anfechtung* reminds of the distractions that Mephistopheles used to hinder Faustus from repenting.

Paul Buehler shows that, in Luther's writings, *Anfechtung* is associated with a number of emotional states: "es sind Traurigkeit und Schwermut des Geists, Schrecken und Zagen vor Gottes Zorn, Gericht und ewigem Tod und dergleichen vergifteten Pfeile des ledigen Sathans."<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> See Bühler 4. The term can also include the spiritual effects of illness, persecution and other life trials that can lead one to doubt or despair. In his survey of the pastoral care writings of Sigismund Scherertz (1584-1639), Alexander Bitzel notes the use of the word *Anfechtung* in relationship to the collective experience of a congregation that has lost its pastor (100). This conception of *Anfechtung* was already reflected in the addressees of many of Luther's own *Trostbriefe*, which were often aimed at entire congregations.

<sup>76</sup> Buehler 3-5

<sup>77</sup> Buehler 3

<sup>78</sup> Buehler 5

Johann Anselm Steiger also draws a connection between *Anfechtung* and specific emotions such as sadness (*Traurigkeit*). In his analysis, it is the amount of emotion, not the type, that one experiences that is key to whether the *Anfechtung* has served to lead the person away from faith in God. Sadness can stimulate longing for God, but overwhelming sadness leads to despair.<sup>79</sup>

Bühler and Steiger are unique in that they attend to the inner experience of sixteenth-century *Anfechtung* as well as its spiritual function. Such a treatment of *Anfechtung* resonates with Alexander Bitzel's observation that sixteenth and seventeenth century writers make no clear line between theology and pastoral care and that *Anfechtung* was an inner experience and implicated in theological questions such as predestination and the perseverance of the saints at the same time.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, many Lutheran pastors followed Luther in his conviction that true theology is the product of *Anfechtung*, and the experience of grace in struggle. Marcus Niden describes *Anfechtung* as "... ein wesentliches Agens der Theologie Martin Luthers gewesen,"<sup>81</sup> as he explores the spiritual cycle of *oratio, meditatio, tentatio*. *Anfechtung* or *tentatio*, in Luther's 1539 introduction to a collection aimed at new and aspiring ministers, is a normal, necessary and reoccurring feature of the Christian life, even as its experience poses a risk to faith.

Even though *Anfechtung* was an important part of the vocabulary of a theologically-involved pastoral care, doctrinal statements neither discuss nor define *Anfechtung* as they do fundamental terms of the faith such as *Gnade* or *Rechtfertigung*. It seems to be an experience that marks the space between lived faith and theological truth – a space that was not supposed to

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<sup>79</sup> *Melancholie, Diatätik und Trost* 23

<sup>80</sup> Bitzel 102

<sup>81</sup> Niden 83

exist. However, as is apparent in the case of Aegidius Hunnius (1550-1603), champion of Lutheran Orthodoxy and author of numerous books on the training of clergy,<sup>82</sup> sixteenth century believers, especially those writing or thinking intensively on matters of faith, concerned themselves with the position of *Anfechtung* in the Christian life. Hunnius's and Scherertz's work also affirm the experience of *Anfechtung* as an emotional one, marked by fear and comfort. This tallies with Niden's description of the emotional aspect of *Anfechtung* as a *Doppelerfahrung*, which begins in terror and resolves in comfort.

### **The 'anti-emotions' of *Verstockung* and *Unsinnigkeit***

The obstacle to Faustus's salvation is not an external agreement, a contract that can make claims on the Christian soul even beyond the grave; rather the hindrance is internal. It is a state of *Verstockung* and *Sicherheit*, states of the soul that do not allow humans to experience the kinds of fear, comfort, and other emotions that lead to the remorse (*Reue*) and repentance (*Buße*) necessary for reconciliation with God and a Christian life. Repeatedly, the narrator mentions the *erschrecklich* nature of this kind of sin, and the response of the true Christian to merely hearing about such a sin ("sich von Herten entsetzen vnd erschrecken . . ." 840).

It is clear that actually committing such an abomination is not due to "Menschliche Schwachheit/Thorheit vnd vergeßlichkeit" and it cannot be blamed on "Menschliche Versuchung." The pursuit of sorcery requires "Teuffelische Boßheit/ein muhtwillige Vnsinnigkeit vnd grewliche Verstockung" (840). It is notable that the narrator sets up an opposition between sin that is *menschlich* and sin that is *teuffelisch*. On the *teuffelische* side, there is "grewliche Verstockung." *Grewlich*, derived from the sixteenth-century *Grewel*, like much of

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<sup>82</sup> See Markus Mattias' article "Die Rechtfertigungslehre bei Agidius Hunnius."

affective language, denotes not only an emotional experience, but also a moral quality. If something is *grewlich*, especially if it is *grewlich* to the soul, then that thing threatens or endangers it, and must be evil. Because *grewlich* describes the experience of certain threat, then it is closely connected to fear. The narrator points out to the reader that neither Satan nor diabolical pacts are to be feared, but *Verstockung*, a state of hardness and rigidity of the soul that does not allow for the experience and recognition of spiritual *Grewel* that stands directly before it.

Further characterizing the soul capable of aligning itself with Satan is its “muhtwillige Vnsinnigkeit” (840) – yet another suggestion of the insensitivity of this spiritual condition. Yet the word *Vnsinnigkeit* also connotes logic and reason, or their lack. Feeling and thinking are on the same side here. *Verstockung* is not a state of pure reason and outside of feeling. Rather it is a stiffness (The biblical Hebrew expression, translated into German as *Verstockung*, is translated into English as *stiff-necked* which, despite sounding somewhat humorous, denotes a dire spiritual condition) that resists both reasoned thought and right feeling. *Verstockung* and *Vnsinnigkeit* combine in a state “die mit Gedancken nimmermehr ergruendet . . . kan” (840). The narrator makes a similar point at the beginning of the preface when he fearfully marvels at the ability of a „vernuenftiger Mensch” to abandon the worship of God for idols. Williams speaks to this when she writes of “ein todbringender Sprach- und Verständnisverlus” that accompanies the pact.<sup>83</sup> The result of this is that “die Sprache der göttlichen Gnade wird zwar noch gesprochen, aber sie dringt nicht mehr in die Herzen.”<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Williams 130

<sup>84</sup> Williams 130



The speaker affirms the Lutheran teaching that reason cannot effect salvation, and that it can even be used for sinful means. However, it does seem that *Vernunft* and *Gedancken* are *menschlich* and that *Verstockung* and *Vnsinnigkeit* are *teuffelich*, and beyond the normal, human range of sins that can be dealt with by means of remorse and repentance. If, in accordance with Lutheran teaching, the narrator does not allow for the *Teuffelsbündner*'s rescue by means of a great Christian he does posit the idea of a sinner who is particularly impervious to grace and incapable of faith. The narrator clearly intends to leave no doubt in the mind of the reader regarding Faustus's damnation.

Over the course of its critical history, the *Faustbücher*, with their piecemeal structures, have failed to impress those who would evaluate them in terms of their novelistic qualities. Marguerite de Huszar Allen has rightly pointed to the *Historia*'s "reception as truth rather than as fiction"<sup>85</sup> as reason to look to other genres for useful conceptual categories with which to evaluate Spies's project. I would argue that the same could be said for Widmann's lesser-known work. Drawing upon scholarship from the 1930s, Allen makes a convincing case for reading the *Historia* as a kind of hagiography, and more particularly, a saint's legend that features an anti-saint.<sup>86</sup> By comparing the narrative structures of *vitae* and the *Historia*, Allen shows that "The Faust formula does not change this pattern; it merely inverts it" (588). Typically, the saint weaves his or her way through a series of (often highly entertaining) episodes, and consistently emerges victorious. Such legends conclude with a thick description of the saint's blessed death. The parallels to Faustus's story are obvious: information is given regarding his background,

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<sup>85</sup> Allen 585

<sup>86</sup> Allen 586

upbringing and education followed by a series of anecdotes, in which he is generally victorious. Ultimately, as an exemplary sinner, he dies and is damned.

Reading the *Historia* as a *vita* allows for a great deal of interpretive flexibility, because “we need no longer choose between a hypothetical unique novel and a haphazard compilation of no literary value, because the Faust formula can be read simultaneously as both an organic aesthetic whole and as a compilation of anecdotes.”<sup>87</sup> Additionally, I extend the reading possibilities for which Allen’s interpretive strategy allows. Saint’s legends and formulaic fiction enable not only the movement between whole and parts that Allen describes, but also movement between versions and the reading of features of one version onto the other.

Marina Münkler revisits Allen’s approach twenty years later. She, however, is interested less in the formal similarities between the *Historia* and saint’s legends than in the ways in which Spies and Widmann’s Faustus versions reference the kinds of figures that appear in different kinds of vitae. Münkler focuses on the Spies and Widman’s challenge of reintegrating Faustus, a character that has a highly developed individuality through sinfulness, into spiritual and moral normativity, despite a ‘normality’ which, according to numerous reports, seems to be increasingly characterized by witchcraft and diabolical pact-making.<sup>88</sup> Faustus’s hagiographic counterparts sin excessively then repent and become saints. However, Faustus neither seeks nor receives absolution.

Partially addressing this departure, I expand upon Allen and Münkler’s lines of argument by demonstrating that Spies and Widmann are writing the Faustus-biographies with reference

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<sup>87</sup> Allen 588

<sup>88</sup> Writers such as Hermann Witekind seem to view pacts with the devil as a growing problem, one to which young men (and other classes of the spiritually weak) are especially vulnerable (Gryczan 145-146).

primarily to Protestant hagiographical practices that had been developed in the middle of the century. In my analysis, these Faustus-biographies occupy the position of the sinner's legend<sup>89</sup> and in which the story of a sinner's life is told as an example of how not to live. These sinners always stand in opposition to a specific saint. Faustus stands in opposition to the great Lutheran saint, Martin Luther and the narration of Faustus's story have parallels to the ways in which Luther and Melanchthon's lives were narrated in the biographies published soon after their deaths. Relevant to my larger argument about the role of emotions in salvation, the Reformer biographies demonstrate how feelings not only reveal the Reformers' spiritual health (especially at the time of their deaths), but they show that feelings have a role in maintaining their faith. The Reformers experience and cure negative emotions as related to *Anfechtung* in ways consistent with pastoral care proscriptions. The representation of the inner experience of salvation in the Reformer biographies, highlights the ways in which the Widmann and Spies Faustus versions are representations of the inner experience of damnation.

The ways in which Reformer biographers represent Luther and Melanchthon's lives are consistent with prescriptions developed by Georg Major, and approved by Luther, as he developed approaches to writing saints' lives that accorded with Protestant doctrine.<sup>90</sup> While

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<sup>89</sup> Marina Münkler describes the medieval genre of the 'Vita des Sündners' (29). Most of these Vitae describe the sinful life of someone who would later repent, but there were exceptions to this rule. Simon Magus-Vitae and Judas Vitae were the first among these, though according to Münkler, they were meant to function as foils to Peter and Matthew legends, with which people were already quite familiar. The presentation of Faustus in both the Widmann and the Spies iterations suggests a lineage of magicians and betrayers of the Christian faith who stood in direct opposition to the righteous men of their time. This unholy genealogy parallels those chosen by God to lead the Church. These two lineages include Judas, who stood opposite to Jesus, and St. Matthew and Simon Magus, who opposed St. Peter. Faustus's membership in the same category as Judas and Simon Magus is suggested by Faustus's greed for riches and his two suicide attempts. The image of these two opposing lineages fits with Regelinde's Rhein's observation that in the late medieval and early modern periods, "die Heilsgeschichte wird verstanden als die Geschichte eines dauernden Kampfes zwischen Gott und seinem Widersacher Satan" (Rhein 89).

<sup>90</sup> Much of the history of Reformation culture is written in terms of change and opposition to medieval tradition. More recent work emphasizes continuities in practice and even doctrine. This is also true of historiography dealing

Luther firmly opposed cults of saints, his eventual position on hagiography was nuanced and he endorsed certain Protestant hagiographical projects. George Major, another member of the Wittenberg circle, developed a collection of *vita* appropriate for Lutherans and articulates his selection criteria in a lengthy introduction to his work. Timothy Weiss believes that Major's remarks "laid a basis for a revised hagiography within the Lutheran confession."<sup>91</sup> In his selection, Major writes that he evaluated *vitae* based on historicity and quality of sources.<sup>92</sup> Indicating the closeness of Major's project to Lutheran confessionalization, Luther himself has written a preface to the collection in which he emphasizes that the value in the *vita* stems from the repeated illustration of salvation by grace and faith and not through the actions of the individual saints. In so doing, Luther posits an 'imperfect' saint, whose life serves to show the mercy and graciousness of God, and which can encourage the imperfect saints still living.

Thus saints (in a broad sense) remain necessary as a role, but a role that can be played by any Christian's life. In the context of reforming hagiography, Faustus's character takes the role of a sinner in a sinner's legend. The Widmann and Spies accounts do the work that Major and Luther say a *vita* should. Faustus's life illustrates God's patience and justice even as he refuses to repent. Faustus may be extraordinary in the kind of sin he commits, but he is ordinary and exemplary in that he is a sinner. His life is equally able to stimulate contemplation, godly fear, and repentance, all of which leads to the comfort of God's mercy.

The specifics of the ways in which Faustus's life is able to promote spiritual health is illustrated by means of a comparison of the Widmann and Spies versions with three mid-century

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with Lutheran attitudes towards saints and hagiography. Timothy Weiss and Irene Backus have been examples of scholars focusing on continuities in the area of Protestant saints and life writing.

<sup>91</sup> Weiss 183

<sup>92</sup> Weiss 182 and Schnyder 78

Reformer biographies. These biographies are not technically hagiography, but they are narrated in ways that satisfy Luther and Major's criteria for Protestant hagiography. Moreover, by the deaths of Luther and Melancthon, popular legend-building practices flourished, which resembled those of which they were critical. Even in the early years of the Reformation, depictions of Luther include the iconography of medieval sainthood.<sup>93</sup> From the mid-to-late sixteenth century, Luther is depicted on altarpieces and pulpits, holding the Bible over his head as he leads the people.<sup>94</sup> Here, Luther is no mere example, but an icon associated with given poses and objects, just like a saint.

As Robert Kolb follows the discourses around Luther's image and their relationship to the process of confessionalization, he finds that Luther becomes a miraculous 'Wunderman' in the popular imagination almost immediately. As early as the 1520s, pamphlets appear with report the burning of Luther's texts and claim that images of him remained incombustible.<sup>95</sup> Similar reports persist into the eighteenth century. Kolb recognizes that "such reports show unmistakable traces of the Catholic cult of the saints. Not only were the saints held to be incombustible, but so were their relics" (43). This early 'canonization' intensifies upon his death. Immediately following his death, coins with Luther's image were milled and sold. The owners of these coins often kept them "aus Andacht" but the practice of keeping images on one's person is very similar to saint veneration.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> In *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, Robert Scribner describes pamphlets from the twenties which include images of a haloed Luther and others, written by Haug Marschalck in which Luther, along with Andreas Karlstadt and Phillip Melancthon figure as the three women who sought Christ after his resurrection and are told by the angel to proclaim the good news far and wide ( 21).

<sup>94</sup> See Kolb's *For All the Saints: Sainthood and Martyrdom*

<sup>95</sup> "The Incombustible Luther" 39

<sup>96</sup> Schnell 14-15

Thus, in my analysis, the Faustus character in the Spies and Widmann biographies serve as the sinful foils to Luther and Melanchthon in the Reformer biographies that I examine. Some textual evidence speaks to this positioning: in both versions, Faustus lives and teaches in Wittenberg.<sup>97</sup> He travels with Mephistopheles, but maintains a group of students, as did Luther. The 1587 text relates a short account of Faustus's early years. Faustus leaves peasant parents in a rural area to obtain a theological education. A relative in Wittenberg finances this education. Over time, Faustus strays from this (Catholic and scholastic) theological training and develops an interest in sorcery, eventually changing his official course of study from theology to medicine. This represents the inverse of Luther's biographical path. He was established in a commerce-oriented path by his parents and relatives and then moved toward a study of Catholic theology, and from there to Protestant conviction.<sup>98</sup> Both Luther and Faustus stand outside of moral normality, which for a late-sixteenth century reader looking back at the early sixteenth century would be represented by the Church. For Luther, this normality was the threshold to evangelical revelation, but for Faustus, it was the gateway to the greatest evil.

These Faustus-biographies, then, emerge not as much among a swarm of late-sixteenth century prose novels, as take their place within a group of texts that represent Lutheran lives for the purpose forwarding the spiritual well-being of Lutheran believers. Many of these texts offer

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<sup>97</sup> The presenters of both Faustus-biographies place him firmly in time and space and make clear that he is a contemporary of Luther and Melanchthon. Spies locates Faustus in Wittenberg and he visits the court of Charles the Fourth. In the 1593 edition of his anti-witchcraft tract *Christliche Bedencken an der Zauberey*, Witekind criticizes the lack of accuracy and accuses Spies of maligning the Reformers by having Faustus living and working in the epicenter of the Reformation. Widmann seems to respond directly to the issues Witekind raises by asserting that Faustus does, indeed, live in Wittenberg, noting many witnesses to this fact (26-32).

<sup>98</sup> Heiko Obermann writes of how Luther's mother had wealthy connections in Magdeburg, who helped to facilitate his entrance into the school there – as Faustus's relative supported his studies (97).

rich information regarding feeling and its spiritual implications. This is true of the Faustus-biographies, as well as the Reformer biographies that I discuss.

As products of the emotional community that produced the Faustus-biographies, Reformation biographies give weight to the same emotions that Widmann and Spies do. The representation of the Reformers' experiences of *Anfechtung*, fear and comfort provide examples for how believers can manage their emotional lives. Moreover, this avoids the problem of inordinately emphasizing outward signs and then falling into the theological error of an earned salvation -- this is also why the anti-example of Faustus is so useful. In order to avoid this pitfall in Krafft's 1560 report on Melanchthon's death, the text relies on indications of Melanchthon's inner state such as mood, ability to sleep, spontaneous emotional expression and 'unconscious' signs of Melanchthon's blessedness such as dreams. This follows Melanchthon's own thinking regarding emotions, in that he claims that one cannot control one's emotions, rather they are indications of the soul's state.<sup>99</sup>

Luther had periods of tribulation, which he himself referred to as *Anfechtung* several times over the course of his life. The periods experienced in 1521 and 1527-1528 are particularly well documented in his letters to Melanchthon and other friends.<sup>100</sup> However, at least by the middle of the sixteenth century Luther's spiritual struggles were common knowledge. Both the Mathesius and Gloccer texts refer to them, and Mathesius spends significant amounts of time focusing on Luther's experiences of *Anfechtung*. Mathesius' description of Luther's experience affirms the connection between *Anfechtung* and *Angst*. In this moment, emotional response and spiritual transformation are tightly woven, even on the level of Mathesius' syntax: "sein angst

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<sup>99</sup> *Loci Theologici* 269

<sup>100</sup> Ebeling 365

und hertzliche seufftzer/ unnd sehnliche threnen/ und hertzliche bekentnuß/ und Vetterliche  
fuersorg fuer die betruete Christenheit" (59b).

Widmann's Erinnerungen show his own familiarity with Luther's *Anfechtungen*: "Und Doctor Luther sagt/ er fichtet mich selbs offtmals so gewaltig an/ und uberfellet mich so hefftig/ mit schweren un trawrigen gedanken/ dz ich meines liebe HERRn Christi gar vergesse/ oder ihn ja viel anders ansehe/ denn er anzusehen ist" (2:19-20). This quote or paraphrase undergirds the connection between fear, sadness, melancholy and the experience of spiritual tribulation, showing that the acedia, which was once the sin of the monk or scholar, represents a necessary part of Christian life.<sup>101</sup> The discussion of Luther's *Anfechtungen* directly follows the episode in which a godly man tries to convert Faustus, and is plagued by the devil afterwards. Widmann is arguing that all pious Christians must contend with diabolical *Anfechtungen*. We see a further discussion of Christians and *Anfechtung* in the description of the Apostle Paul's experience:

Das sindt die hohe Geistliche Anfechtungen/ die kein Papist verstanden hat/ die groben ungeschickten unversuchte Leut/ haben von keinen andern Anfechtungen gewuest/ dann von der boesen neigung unnd lust des fleisches/ daher sie die wort S. Pauli (mir ist gegeben ein pfal ins fleisch) gedeudet haben/ von der unordentlichen liebe Pauli/ damit er solte entbrandt sein gewest gegen die Tecla/ aber der teuffel hat ihm so hart zugesetzt/ das er der Fleischlichen lust und unzucht wol hat vergessen koennen. (1:251).

Here we can detect a similar division between high and low varieties of *Anfechtung* to that of Buehler. Widmann's contrast of Paul's experience with that of "der boesen neigung unnd lust

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<sup>101</sup> Obermann's comments on Luther's exegese of the sixth request in the Lord's Prayer ("and lead us not into temptation . . .") reflect the 'democratization' of acedia: "Luther vermittelt in der Katechismuserklärung ein Stück mittelalterlicher Klosterweisheit, das schon ein Jahrhundert zuvor aus den Mönchszellen in die Pfarreien gelangt. Anfechtung wird jetzt aber reformatorisch neu degeudet und allen Gläubigen als unausweichlich eingepägt." (186)



des fleisches” reminds of the moments in Faustus’s story when desire overtakes him and frustrates him and leads him into further association with the diabolical. In the *Historia*, desire for pleasure is linked to *Anfechtung* through fear. When Faustus begins his new experiences with Mephistopheles, he is motivated by desire, not delight or wonder, and this is followed by frightening dreams and anxieties about the nature of hell. In order to assuage his fears, Beelzubub, a new devil is sent to grant Faustus whatever he wants (Spies 51-52). Here we have novelty and wish fulfillment as a false resolution to the problem of *Anfechtung*. In this case, not only do we have a false resolution to a legitimate fear, but the fear that is triggered by a desire to know all realms of existence and motivated by concern for the fate of the body, is easily sidetracked by pleasure.

If this is an example of a ‘low’ *Anfechtung*, then this moment in the *Historia* suggests its opposite in terms of the relationship that those suffering from ‘high’ *Anfechtungen* have with their bodies. In Mathesius’ account, Luther also suffered “Hellenangst/todskaempff/ unnd innerliche unnd hertzliche Anfechtung” (183b), and Mathesius labels the devil and the world as the source of these tribulations. However, the body was also deeply and painfully affected: “Sonst gedacht er offtmals/wie in der Teufel innerlich geplagt/ und das gebrante leid anethan hette/ welchs im das marck auß den beinen/ und krafft auß seim gantzen leib gezogen/ doch hat mich mein gott/ sagt er/ bißweilen ein augenblick verlassen/ unnd inn todes gedancken gesencket” (183b). The experience of *Anfechtung* encompasses the spirit, mind and body, and faithfully overcoming it requires a willingness to suffer and be destroyed physically -- thus Paul’s ‘thorn in the flesh’ mentioned by Widmann. Only then can one be “mit grossen gnaden wider auffgesamlet/ unnd reichlich getroestet/” (184b).

Luther’s *Anfechtungen* are connected to the well-being of the Church and are recorded to

be of comfort and encouragement of believers. Part of his suffering is “Veterlice fuersorg fuer die betruete Christenheit” and Luther is counted among the *Angefochten* who are, in Mathesius’ view, God’s “grosse Merterer auff Erden.” (59b-60a). Johann Krafft does not describe Melanchthon as *angefochten* in his report of the Reformer’s death, however, if we understand *Anfechtung* to not only be characterized by fear, but also by “Zweifel, Mißtrauen, Sorgen, Furcht, Ängste, Irrtümer, und Fehler in Rat und Tat, Empfindungen von Gottes Zorn und Strafen, etc.”<sup>102</sup> as David Chytraeus of Rostock (1530-1600) did, then we can understand the repeated bouts of anger that Melanchthon displays regarding the divisions in the Church as a higher *Anfechtung* as well.

The Reformers’ *Anfechtung* experiences are recorded and shared to help and encourage. Mathesius says that Luther wrote about his difficult moments because “/ hat er zwar willens gehabt/andern leuten zu Trost auffzuschreiben” (183b), and he quotes what seems to be a letter in which Luther relates his tribulations and states:” Diß erwehne ich/lieben freund damit ihr sehet/ gott hab seinen diener auch inn die wuesten gefueret” (184b). Likewise, the entire report of Melanchthon’s death was written “damit die Jugent nicht vereumet/ und aus dieser veterlichen fuersorg und fleis hoffnung gewinnen koendte/ wes sie sich zu denen/ die gott gnediglichen nachgelassen/ versehen und vertroesten/ auch was fuer frucht sie ihnen bey den selbigen zu schaffen getrawen moechten” (Krafft Aiiir-Aiiiv).

If we are to develop a model of *Anfechtung* based on Widmann, Mathesius and Krafft’s representations of Luther and Melanchthon’s *Anfechtung* experiences we see that higher *Anfechtungen* involves physical suffering, and arises for the sake of the Church and that their representation is unquestionably useful to believers. Faustus’s *Anfechtungen* seem to stand in

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<sup>102</sup> Qtd. in Nieden 90

direct opposition to this model of Christian tribulation. Still even in his spiritual struggles, Faustus is unwilling to let his body suffer – he either indulges or destroys it, as in the case of his suicide attempt which is relayed in both the Widmann and Spies versions.<sup>103</sup> We cannot exactly differentiate his *Anfechtungen* from those of the Reformers according to the scholastic model that traces all tribulation to either the flesh, Satan or the world, as Faustus is often plagued by devils.<sup>104</sup> However, he summons those devils as a means for satisfying the desires of his flesh. We cannot clearly assign positive motivations to the writing down of his experiences. Indeed, the enormous amount of work that both Spies and Widmann do to convince the reader that the Faustus story is helpful to Christians and not harmful and the amount of editing work they must do to render Faustus's story so, suggests the opposite.

Faustus's *Anfechtungen* increase and cultivate corporeal desire. However, at certain points, especially in his moments of melancholy, his *Anfechtungen* seem to be with the devil and they seem to be spiritual in nature. For example, Faustus's *Anfechtungen* regarding predestination: "Doctor Faustus hat sich widerumb ein mahl starck wider den Teuffel gelegt. Dann ihm ward das alte und Neuw Testament in die handt gegeben/ darin er sich alles *Trostes* ersuchen konte." (3:37). They seem to represent a moment of potential in which it seems entirely possible that Faustus could repent. Readers of the prefaces in Spies or the *Erinnerungen* in

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<sup>103</sup> Widmann 3:47 - The immediately following Erinnerung suggests that there is a diatetic to address this – avoidance of loneliness: " Dann es auch ja war und am tag ist/ wo man allein ist und einsam/ das ist viel und offft geschicht/ das man in groessers Suende fellt/ dann wan man un den Leuten wohnet" (3:47) and in the printed Marginalia: "Angefochtene der verzeifelte Leute sollen nicht allein seyn."; "Wo man sich einsam lelt/ geschicht offft viel suend und schande/ oder seltzame gedanken" (3:47). Faustus's *Anfechtung* contrasts with that of the Reformers in that he refuses the comforting company of others, unlike the representations of Luther, whose experiences of *Anfechtung* had witnesses (59b-60a) and Melancthon, who had many visitors, and took meals with others when he was dying (Krafft Eiii v; Eiv v-Fi v).

<sup>104</sup> "Das Mittelalter hat vor allem zwei Schemata zur systematischen Behandlung des Themas hervorgebracht: Einerseits gibt es die nach den verursachenden Mächten geordnete Anfechtungsreihe caro-mundus-diabolus, in der der Teufel, obwohl er der eigentliche Urheber aller Anfechtungen ist, vor allem für die Anfechtungen verantwortlich gemacht wird, die direct die religiöse Existenz des Menschen betreffen." (Mennecke-Haustein 134)

Widmann know that he will not. However, part of the interest and suspense of these moments lies in Faustus's readiness to repent, as signaled by his emotions. In sixteenth-century Lutheran thought, emotional experience, especially pain and fear, function to translate doctrine into experience.<sup>105</sup> The Faustus-biographies draw on this concept to emphasize the importance of Faustus's emotions. Narrator comment enables this suspense by reminding the reader that he could repent, which only heightens curiosity about how he does not. Indeed, there is a certain *diabolus ex machina* quality to the moments in which Mephistopheles appears and threatens Faustus away from repentance.

Faustus's experience with *Anfechtung* was hardly a clear-cut, regarding its type or potential for salvation. *Anfechtung* in all of its incarnations complicate the line between the saved and the damned. Widmann's commentary reflects this as he discusses the question of doubters and their burial.<sup>106</sup> According to Widmann, there are scholars who say that *verzweiffelte Leute* shouldn't be buried with other faithful Christians. Widmann, however promotes a generous interpretation of the doubter's final spiritual state:

Es sey dem wie es wolle/ so sehen wir dannoch viel unnd augenscheilich/ das der  
Teuffel/ so es ihm GOTT verhengt/ mit mancherley griff die Menschen anfechtet/  
hinrichtet und die helfe abbricht. Wann nun solches geschiehet an den jenigen/ so zuvor  
Gott gefuerchtet und Christlich gelebet haben/ wie es dann wol geschiehet/ als die

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<sup>105</sup> Niden 97

<sup>106</sup> Widmann makes clear, however, that Faustus" als unbußfertige Zaeuberer" does not fall into the category of doubter, along with others such as: ". . . veraechter des Worts Gottes und seiner Sacrament/ auch Sectirer unnd Rotten/ als Papisten/ Sacramentirer/ Widerteuffer/und andere/ so contumeliose unnd Gotteslesterlich wider den Sohn Gottes reden/ weil von denen nicht mueglich zu hoffen/ sas auff iren ignominiosam mortem, oder uehrlichen schendtlichen todtsfall. eine gloriosa resurrectio oder herliche aufferstehung folgen werde/ sollen wir uns ja wol fuersehen/ das wir umb frendschaft oder anderer ursachen halben/ sie gleich den gottsaligen/ mit Kirchengesengen sonderlich/ zur erden bestetigen.(3:187)

erfahrenheit lehret/ sollen wir uns derselben/ wann sie dahin seyn/ annemen/ und helffen sie städtlich begraben (187).

Here Widmann extends comfort and Christian community to once-faithful Christians who die in a state of spiritual confusion, emphasizing God's providential role in such an occurrence.<sup>107</sup>

This complex portrayal of *Anfechtung* offers hope for Christians in the midst of tribulation. It also reflects the experiences of believers, who might find it difficult to judge whether their *Anfechtungen* are 'higher' or 'lower,' urging all Christians to faithful living and continual repentance. Faustus's emotional experience with *Anfechtungen* answers questions regarding *Prädestinationsängste* in a way that avoids arrogant *Sicherheit* on the one hand and despair on the other. *Anfechtungen* that bear a strong resemblance to the kinds of tribulations that God brings to Christians to demonstrate their faith, are not to be received in a spirit of certain pride, but humbly and with *Buß und Besserung*, for as in Faustus's case, they could lead one further from God. Likewise, when one is 'angestochen' by sinful desire, as was Faustus, the narrative voice reminds us that repentance, Scripture and Christian community are still the remedies, and that all is not lost.

It is in this point that the Faustus-biographies can address believers' experiences in ways that the Reformer biographies and much pastoral care literature does not. Spies and Widmann portray a sinner's life, using the intensive, frequent, and nuanced representation of his emotional experience, drawing attention to the relationship between emotional experience and spiritual life.

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<sup>107</sup> Judging by the Reformer biographies, however, death without *Anfechtung* seems to be a sure indication of salvation. Mathesius writes: "Als unser Doctor sich zu Schmalkalden seines lebens gantz und gar verwogen/ sagt er/ es haben ihn endluc alle todesschrecken und Anfechtung verlassen/ und sey in Christo sehr wol zu frieden gewesen/ unnd habe sich von hertzen zum abschied gefrewet/ er wolte auch mit lust unnd freud eingeschlaffen sein" (172a-172b). Krafft is careful to maintain that many good Christians are angefochten in death and Widmann offers this caveat of burial. This encourages the dying and their relatives to maintain an attitude of hope in the face of a difficult death.

Additionally, the novel cultivates the kind of contemplation of one's own emotions and spirituality that supports hope in God, and a commitment to regular repentance, Scripture-reading and Christian fellowship. Readers of both kinds of biographies can view the inner experience of the characters and shape their own by means of dietetic practices referred to in the biographies and advocated by pastors. The emotional exemplarity that these texts offer returns a measure of spiritual agency to believers in the face of debates over predestination. This maintenance of hopeful emotions against those leading to despair is not a contradiction of *sola gratia*, but a practice of faith.

### **Bodies**

Even as emotions primarily reference inner life, they are written on the body, narrated through the body, and manipulated through corporeal practices. Now and in the past, we read the emotions of others through facial expression and posture. Cross-culturally, emotion language relies on metaphors of the body that are not only culturally constructed, but are partially based in human physiology.<sup>108</sup> Along with the emergence of emotions as a central part of salvation comes the body. This is the case for several reasons. The most obvious is that Christ's body stands at the center of the Christian salvation story and the representation and understanding of that body was at stake in much of the confessional disagreement of the period. As the location and creator of spiritually beneficial and detrimental emotions, the believer's body also played a significant role in the salvation process. Reflecting this emphasis on the corporeal, the destruction of Faustus's body serves as one sign of his damnation. However, as the body's role in salvation bears recognition, doing so requires that it valued less than the soul. Part of Faustus's damnation lies in his unwillingness to value his soul over his body. But even the subordination of the body

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<sup>108</sup> Paster 17

to the soul ultimately affirms the role of the believer's body in the salvation process, as Faustus's unwillingness to risk physical destruction indicates a lack of confidence in a future and bodily resurrection, an important part of a saving faith.

For early modern Lutherans, emotional experience is physical and spiritual at once. Emotions defy post-Cartesian mind/body dualisms and point to the importance of the body in matters of salvation and damnation. In this section, I will explore some of the ways in which Christ's body and emotions intersect in Lutheran thought, then turn to the body of the Christian, and its fraught role as the domain of Satan, but also the means by which saving faith is revealed to the community. Finally, I discuss the ways in which readers are encouraged to have certain emotional experiences as they encounter bodies within the Faustus texts.

As they delineated the center and margins of their confessional culture, sixteenth-century Lutherans struggled with how to represent and engage with Christ's crucified body and the feeling that it induced. In the Passion-week sermons of Lutheran pastors, Susan Karant-Nunn identifies two major streams of thought regarding feeling and the representation of Christ's body. She notes that "Luther's chief response to the Passion is gratitude and that its degree is not supposed to be slight"<sup>109</sup> and that for the Reformer, Lenten sermons are part of the "cultivation of heartfelt appreciation for the Passion as a divine measure of reconciliation between God and humans" and "the preacher's role in crafting this thankfulness is central."<sup>110</sup> While Luther and other evangelical preachers rejected the Catholic practice of moving the congregation to sadness and repentance "by means of a vividly retold and partly embellished, or at least not biblical,

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<sup>109</sup> *The Reformation of Feeling* 96

<sup>110</sup> *The Reformation of Feeling* 96

description of every blow meted out to the son of God,"<sup>111</sup> wide variation in the uses of descriptions of Christ's death remains apparent. Luther himself did not dwell on the physical details of Christ's crucifixion, focusing instead on what his sacrifice represented for believers.<sup>112</sup> As a result, Luther's Passion sermons make use of corporeal metaphors such as the cleansing power of Christ's blood, but give relatively little attention to Christ's broken body, or even his psychological suffering.<sup>113</sup>

Some of Luther's followers, however, took a more feeling-laden approach to describing Christ's death. Johannes Brenz, a Swabian theologian and pastor whom Luther admired, emphasized Christ's psychological torment in Gethsemane and its physical manifestations, such as trembling and bloody sweat.<sup>114</sup> This sermon is followed by others in which Brenz details the Crucifixion, and while Brenz's narration remains close to Scripture and departs from the typical Catholic telling,<sup>115</sup> Karant-Nunn reports that "as a rhetorician, he deliberately seeks to maintain a level of negative sentiment in his listeners," particularly in his focus on the culpability of the Jews.<sup>116</sup> The hope is that by using affective rhetoric to expound upon the Passion, Brenz's hearers will be moved to repent and to change.<sup>117</sup>

Lutheran sermon-givers eschewed the Catholic use of Christ's body as the focal point for spiritually-beneficial affect, even as affect remained an important part of the spiritual experience

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<sup>111</sup> *The Reformation of Feeling* 96

<sup>112</sup> *The Reformation of Feeling* 79

<sup>113</sup> *The Reformation of Feeling* 80

<sup>114</sup> *The Reformation of Feeling* 85

<sup>115</sup> *The Reformation of Feeling* 85

<sup>116</sup> *The Reformation of Feeling* 86

<sup>117</sup> *The Reformation of Feeling* 87



offered by the evangelical Passion sermons. As we continue to read the Faustus-biographies as a kind of lay theology, we can broaden the spectrum of Lutheran approaches to bodies and affect-cultivation in the sixteenth century and chart continuities with pre-Reformation practices in this area as well. Both Spies and Widmann focus on Faustus's corporeality in relationship to his emotions and as a visible sign and aspect of his spiritual damnation. References to Faustus's pact with the devil emphasize that he has given himself 'Leib und Seele' to Satan. Salvation and damnation are clearly not exclusively matters of the soul here. The damning effects of giving over his soul and his body to Satan can only be reversed by Faustus being willing to lose his temporary body. The only way to counter this terrifying prospect is with the comforting thought of Christ's resurrection and a faith in the resurrection of the body. So, while the body is spiritually significant, Faustus must be willing to risk its destruction in order to be saved.

The role that his body plays in fulfilling the pact points to the corresponding importance of his body for salvation. Faustus's word is not enough to finalize the agreement. The contract must be written in Faustus's blood. In both the Widmann and Spies versions, Faustus opens a vein in his hand with a quill knife and drains some blood into a dish. As he begins this first act of giving his body to the Devil, a warning message appears directly upon his hand: "O homo fuge,<sup>118</sup>" written in "ein[er] gegrabne[n] vnnd blutige[n] Schrifft" (854). In this moment, Faustus's body becomes a locus for spiritual conflict as God marks Faustus's body for his own, warning him through this physical manifestation.

In the pact as a physical object, Faustus's body and soul (as represented by his words and blood) converge, symbolizing the oft-repeated phrase that Faust belongs to Satan "Leib und

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<sup>118</sup> Slight, but interesting variation in Widmann: "O homo fuge, id es, O Mensch flihe vor disem gewel/ und thue recht." (Widmann 1:60)

Seele.” Throughout the *Historia*, Mephistopheles threatens Faustus with physical destruction whenever Faustus considers breaking his pact.<sup>119</sup> The possibility of killing him quickly and sending him directly to hell does not seem to hold much purchase for either Faustus or Mephistopheles. This is not just short-sightedness on the parts of the sorcerer and his demon-servant: the bodies of humans are highly important to Satan. They represent sites upon which he can display his power and status as ‘Lord of this world.’ Souls in hell are a display of God’s power and judgment, not Satan’s might. Therefore, Satan must glorify himself through the destroyed and tortured bodies of those on earth.<sup>120</sup> While Faustus does not show the classical signs of demon possession, it is clear that Mephistopheles knows and manipulates his thoughts and feelings, which in turn, influence his spiritual state. Even as we recognize this, it is clear that Faustus not possessed by the devil, but by fear.

Widmann's turn of phrase at the pact-signing also indicates the value of human bodies to Satan: the blood used to write the pact is conceived of as the *Pfand* for his body (Widmann 1:69). Repeatedly, Faustus’s arrangement with the Devil is described as *Leibeigenschaft* and he is *leibeigen* to Satan (Widmann 1:250; 2:5; 2:50; 3:99). This is, of course, highly ironic considering that Faustus’s original intent in signing a pact was for Mephistopheles to be *his* vassel on earth and that his side of the bargain would be fulfilled with his soul, and only after death. In a discussion about the powers of the Devil and his servants, it dawns on Faustus that he did not reach out to Satan entirely of his own will. Surprised he asks: “So hastu mich auch Besessen? Lieber sage mir die Wahrheit?” (Spies 869). The damnation of his

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<sup>119</sup> Spies 861, 955

<sup>120</sup> Nancy Caciola's work on discerning between holy and unholy spirits in twelfth and thirteenth-century theological texts and Lenten sermons supports the association of diabolical spirits with the body. She demonstrates “that divine possession occurred when the Holy Spirit entered the heart and replaced, or joined with, the human spirit; whereas demonic possession occurred when a demon entered the physical body itself – from which vantage point it could disrupt the spiritual system in some ways” (Caciola 35).

soul resulted only superficially from his agreement to give his soul to Satan. It was, in the end, the natural result of giving his body to Satan. Damnation was God's requirement all along, and so Faustus's body represents the only net gain for the Devil.

What Faustus failed to grasp gives us insight into the specifics of his damnation. Faustus signs and remains faithful to the diabolical pact because he values physical wholeness and comfort over spiritual well-being. In one scene relayed in both Faustus-biographies, he is anguished over the prospect of suffering in hell and he allows himself to be deceived and comforted with the admonition: ". . . . dencke an die verheissung des Teuffels/ der dir versprochen hat / erwolle dir staehlin Leib unnd Seele geben/ unnd sollest nicht leyden/ wie die andere verdambten" (Widmann 3:103). Here he is able to imagine a body in hell and physical suffering there and accepts, at least for the moment, the comfort of a diabolical resurrection, based on the promise and special dispensation of Satan. He does this after having denied Christ's resurrection and the possibility of a resurrection to a life in heaven - an elevated physicality for which it is worth enduring temporary corporeal destruction.

In both the Widmann and the Spies versions, Faustus dares to marry, even though marriage would represent a violation of this pact. The way that he gets the courage to do this is by focusing on his sensual life and becoming an atheist.<sup>121</sup> "Doctor Faustus lebt also im Epicurischen Leben Tag und Nacht/ glaubet nit dass ein GOTt/ Hell oder Teuffel were/ vermeinet Leib vnd Seele steurbe miteinander . . ." (860; analogous scene in Widmann, 2:124). Mephistopheles threatens and frightens Faustus into not marrying and into accepting a lewd compromise (861-862). In the narrator's aside immediately before Faustus writes the pact,

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<sup>121</sup> This scene's chapter and its subsequent note in Widmann repeated refers to Faust as an atheist and the note discusses the problem of atheism amongst scholars. Widmann, like other early modern writers, links atheism to the rejection of miracles, including resurrection, and less to a disbelief in God.

Faustus is said to have the same attitude “wie jenes Fuersten der auff dem Reichßtag Anno 1530 gesagt hat/ himmel hin himmel her sagen die Lutherischen ich nehme hie das meinig/mit dem ich mich erlußtige und laß Himmel Himmel sein wer weis/ ob die Aufferstehung der todten war seye” (Widmann 2:58). Faustus’s refusal to believe in the resurrection plays a significant role in his particular damnation: it fuels his attachment to his body and his intense emotional reaction to its destruction.

By keeping the integrity of his body his primary concern, Faustus does not just make the mistake of trading the eternal for the temporal, he essentially agrees with Satan rather than God about what is important. In the early years of his pact-relationship, Faustus troubles himself over the condition of his soul, even recognizing its primary importance. He ponders the possibility of repenting, re-joining the Christian community, and in so doing he will have “dem Teuffel einen widerstand gethan/ ob er jm schon den Leib hie hette lassen muessen/ so were dennoch die Seele noch erhalten worden/” (Spies 867). However he does not persist in this sentiment and, according to the narrator, “wardt in allen seinen *opinionibus* vnnd Meynungen zweiffelhafftig / vnglaeubig vnd keiner Hoffnung” (Spies 867). Faustus’s continued allegiance to Satan is expressed through his allegiance to his earthly body.

This allegiance is underscored by the way in which Faustus allows his attention to be easily averted to sensual pleasures whenever he grows sad about his spiritual state. Towards the end of Faustus’s life, he has several bouts of agitation regarding his fate and Mephistopheles chides him for ungratefulness: „Was sagt man von einem gesunden Leibe? das mustu bekennen/ so lang du in unserm bundnus gestanden/ hat dich im weinigen keine eintzige krankheit berueret/ noch ist dir etwas in den geringsten gliedern wiederfahrn . . .” (Widmann 3:50). Faustus accepts this and does not challenge the notion that a healthy body is worth more than a healthy

soul. During Faustus's last night, his students ask him why he never repented, and he offers Mephistopheles physical threats as a valid excuse (977).

Tracing the contours of Faustus's particular path to damnation hints at what his salvation could have been. By taking the reader down Faustus's twisting path, the text suggests what salvation would have meant for Faustus, during the different parts of his journey. One aspect of the Faust-biographies' warning function is to demonstrate how an obsession with sensual pleasure makes it difficult to receive grace that's available in every moment. This difficulty seems to compound to the point where it becomes practically, if not theologically impossible to repent.

It is evident that salvation also requires Faustus to take a particular hope in Christ's resurrection, enough to willingly agree for his temporal body to be destroyed. He must follow Christ and choose to suffer pain and death in the hope of a resurrection. The pious people and theologians who come to Faustus emphasize the importance of the resurrection in the prayers they model for him (Widmann 2:36; 2:47). The position in which Faustus finds himself requires extreme but basic faith, similar to that described by Bernhard Hamm as he discusses Johannes Staupitz's mentoring of Luther during his own periods of *Anfechtung*: "Durch Staupitz vernahm Luther, dass im Anblick des leidenden angefochtenen, für uns bitter büßenden Christus die demütigende Erfahrung der Gottesferne als besondere Nähe des rettenden Gottes zu deuten sei und dass er sich damit gerade als Angefochtener in einer innigen Verbundenheit mit Christus wissen dürfe."<sup>122</sup> The language used here is visual and affective at once – the guilt-ridden Luther is to look to a dying Christ, to place all of his hope in that image as a way to banish his shame

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<sup>122</sup> Hamm 143

and fear about predestination. Faustus, however, requires a slightly different prescription: he needs to look to the risen Christ and lose his fear of physical disintegration.

Faustus, however, does not take this good medicine. He engages in an affective contemplation of the wrong body. He attends, imaginatively and emotionally, to the pleasures of his own earthly body and, as a result, cultivates a deep attachment to its pleasures and a terror of its (inevitable in every case) demise. Faustus's affective exercise is the opposite of that described by Karant-Nunn and which was the desired result of Lutheran Passion sermons. Sermon-hearers were to consider Christ's ordeal on the cross, have a natural fear-reaction that is relieved by gratitude, as they remember God's grace and the Resurrection. This is how "faith will reveal itself as a sensation in 'the heart.'" <sup>123</sup>

Readers are also forced to confront the experience of fear in relation to disintegrated bodies. Both the Widmann and Spies biographies construct a readerly gaze in regards to corpses by detailing their destruction and repeatedly representing the dismembered bodies of sorcerers. Thus, even before the first-time reader knows that they are viewing pre-figurations of his death, the Faustus-biographies sensitize the audience to the issue of Faustus's body and its wholeness (or lack thereof). This is evident in one of the anecdotes in the Spies biography. Faustus borrows money from a Jewish lender. To avoid having to repay the loan, Faustus makes an offer: "so wil ich mir ein Gliedt/ es seye ein Arm oder Schenckel /abschneyden/ vnd dir zum Vnderpfandt lassen/ doch mit dem außtruecklichen Geding/ so ferrn ich zu Gelt komme/ vnnd dich wierumb bezahlen wuerde/ daß du mir mein Glied widerumb zustellen woellest" (933).<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> *The Reformation of Feeling* 83

<sup>124</sup> This business deal is reminiscent of that in the Merchant of Venice. Shakespeare's play was written between 1596 and 1598, but derives from an fourteenth-century Italian tale by Giovanni Fiorentine which also shares the 'pound of flesh' motif, and was translated into English in 1566 by William Painter. I have not been able to find information on a German translation, however.

When Faustus takes his leg off, the speaker lets us know that it was a matter of “lauter Verblendung” and it is emphasized that “er [Faustus] jhm [the Jewish money-lender] sein Schenckel wider zustellen solte/ Er wolt jm denselben wol wider ansetzen,” so that all parties, the reader included, are focused on this exact leg. The money-lender discards the leg, saying to himself: “trage ich es heym/ so wirdt es stinckendt/ so ist es auch mißlich wieder anzuheylen” (933). Later it is discovered that Faustus still has his leg, of course, but the anecdote is related so that the reader's attention is trained on that leg and what to do with it.

In the following episode, Faustus cheats a horse trader. When the trader attacks him in revenge Faustus escapes by creating the illusion that his leg detached from his hip. Faustus then cries “Mordio” and the horse trader runs horrified with the leg. These anecdotes are included in the first book of the Widmann version as well. Here, however, in addition to the focus on Faustus’s separated limb, Widmann contributes added detail regarding the thoughts, feelings and motivations of the parties involved.<sup>125</sup> Perhaps it is the factual nature of the commentary inserted between the chapters that allows Widmann to delve more deeply into the pleasures that fiction-writing can afford, while still informing the reader about the activities and phenomena of sorcery. He does just this in the commentary following the horse trader anecdote, when he relates Andreas Hondorffer's account of a sorcerer who was hanged and survived, and then was stretched, but did not appear to feel pain (1:174).

Another example of the “unheil” nature of sorcerers' bodies can be found in the accounts of the four Frankfurt magicians, who are able to remove and replace their heads for haircuts and shaves. Widmann’s commentary following this anecdote includes a report of the thirteenth-

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<sup>125</sup> For example, in the horse trader anecdote, it is clear that Faustus “thete als wenn er schlieff unnd schnarchete” (1:171), while one must infer Faustus’s dissembling from the Spies text.

century sorcerer Johannes Teutonicus decapitating a priest, placing his head into a dish of distilled water and to the horror of witnesses, the priest's head and Teutonicus proceed to enjoy a drink and conversation (1:325-326). Faustus is jealous of these sorcerers who, unlike him, seem to be able to perform 'real magic' and not just illusions. Widmann makes it clear that the leading sorcerer's fate was God's judgment enacted through Faustus (1:323).

There are two different kinds of gazes implied in these tales of partitioned sorcerer bodies. One of these is that of the reader, who experiences surprise, amusement, and some horror as limbs and heads pop on and off of bodies. More importantly for my purposes is that the reader gaze encompasses a second gaze – that of the witnesses to these bodies. We, with the help of our guiding narrators, watch and judge as characters react to bodies in the texts. In the commentary to the chapter containing the story of the Jew and Faustus's leg, Widmann claims that in order to be deceived by the *Verblendungen* of Faustus and other sorcerers, one must have given oneself over to Satan in some way (Widmann 1:172). Those who are strong in faith see these tricks for what they are and are neither frightened nor pleased. The bodies of the sorcerers consistently defy the natural order and induce the diabolical affect-pairing of fear and pleasure, which only serves to draw them further away from faith in God. Thus their bodies serve to damn themselves and others through feeling. Additionally, the visual contemplation of diabolical bodies as a catalyst for infidelitous affect-processes (**fear** → **pleasure** or **fear** → **despair** rather than **fear** → **gratitude**) suggests the opposite kind of spiritual and visionary contemplation of Christ's body – an emphatically whole body – that the Lutherans believed to cultivate spiritually beneficial affect.

Indeed, the portrayal of the damned bodies in Faustus have much in common with some portrayals of Christ's body in late medieval Passion sermons. There we encounter sorcerers'



bodies in pieces and the bodies of sinners as they suffer in hell are dismembered as they are described piece-by-piece. Mephistopheles tells how the damned “werden Klagen mit weinenden Augen/ Knirschen der Zaenen/ Stanck der Nasen/ Jaemmern der Stimme/ Erschreckung der Ohren/ Zittern der Haend vnd/ Fuß “ (876). Each body part has its own torment. Their bodies resurrected to damnation have no nervous systems; pains are specific and limited to anatomical territories. Susan Karant-Nunn shows the ways in which late- medieval preachers described Christ's suffering in order to soften the hearts of the hearers and lead them through compassion and sorrow at the mental image of the Passion to repentance. Part of one of Martin von Cocem's sermons that follow this pattern:

All of a sudden his members began to tremble, and all the strength of his soul is terrified. His knees banged against each other, his blood vessels contracted, his bones shook, his blood became motionless, his face grew pale and his lips blue. His hair stood up, and his chest contracted such that his breathing grew shallow. His eyes collapsed (fielen ein), and his heart pounded violently. (Karant-Nunn 56)

Here we see a similar catalog of physical suffering. Pain and suffering dismembers Christ's body and each of his parts suffers uniquely and in isolation. In Spies's *Historia*, Faustus's response to physical pain, and the anatomical dismantling that accompanies it, was to leave “gantz Melancholisch” and to grow “Verwirret vnd Zweifelhafftig” (876). Because this picture of hell is not offered along with the comfort of the Gospel, Faustus comforts himself with physical pleasure after hearing this, only cementing his damnation further.

Faustus's turn to pleasure here highlights some of the danger that Luther saw in melancholy and sadness (*Traurigkeit*), along with reasons why Lutheran sermon-givers rejected

late-medieval methods of affect-cultivation in Passion sermons. Melancholy and sadness turn the subjects' focus inward on the self, and the motion of salvation is a movement outward, godward. The late-medieval sermon-hearer was encouraged to feel sadness for Christ's suffering and be moved to consider their sins and repent. Repentance is, of course, important for Lutheran salvation as well, however Luther warns against *Schwermutigkeit*, and Johann Anselm Steiger describes the spiritual morass that it can represent as “die Schwermut zieht den Menschen in die Lethargie hinein und schaltet die Sinne aus . . .” quoting Luther, he continues :“Die Anfechtung macht einen Menschen ganz schläfrig und faul wie die Jünger im Garten waren. Die Traurigkeit absorbiert alle Sinne.”<sup>126</sup> Sadness and melancholy, along with fear can all be parts of an *Anfechtung*-experience that God uses to bring about repentance and improvement. However, as is illustrated in the case of Faustus, these emotions are spiritually perilous.<sup>127</sup> They encourage a focus on one's own sinfulness rather than God's grace and can result in despair. Ultimately, *Anfechtung* originates with the Devil and its associated emotions are not to be cultivated, but contended with in hope and faith. The imagery of Lutheran Passion sermons was designed to help Christians remain in hope and faith, and the imagery of damned bodies-in-parts offered in the Faustus-biographies illustrates the dangers of the wrong kinds of contemplation of the body.

This concern with the proper contemplation of damnation and the damned body continues into the scene in which Faustus's students find his remains. The Faustus-biographies give their exemplary sinner an unambiguously gruesome death, yet deny the reader of a complete view of

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<sup>126</sup> *Melancholie, Diätetik und Trost* 15-16

<sup>127</sup> Here I think it is important to differentiate between the horror (*schrecken/ Erschrecken*) that the text cultivates and the kind of fear that Faustus experiences. Faustus fear is a chronic state, is directed towards the condition of his own soul and is never resolved properly. It is closely related to the *acedia* included amongst the seven deadly sins. The horror that the texts cultivate include an element of moral aversion, so that the fear is externalized and it is embedded in a narrative that presents a solution – clinging to Christ, faith and the Scriptures and rejection of Satan and his works.

his body. In both biographies, the condition of the room paints a picture of Faustus's death, with body parts and viscera clinging to the walls. The fact that Satan plays with and abandons Faustus's body in the manner of an overfed cat with a rodent, illustrates the centrality of the body in his quest to dominate and destroy humans.

In the Widmann account, the speaker attempts to reconstruct a visual experience of Faustus's death that begins with sound and the deprivation of an image. The students did not sleep, "zu dem wolten sie den schrecklichen aussgang des Fausti anhoeren/ unn auffmerckung haben" (Widmann 3:151) and, with them, the reader also hears "In solchem schrecken hoerten sie ein gros Polter im hauß/ darob sie sich entsatzten" (Widmann 3:151). The "auffmerckung" remains incomplete until they enter the room the next morning, and see the results of the violent struggle.

The Spies *Historia* also begins with sound and movement, bereft of an image and emphasizes the readers' and students' common visual experience of Faustus's corpse in the title of the sixty-seventh chapter: "Folget nun von D. Fausti greuwlichem vnd erschreckliche Ende/ ab welchem sich jedes Christen Mensch gnugsam zu spiegeln/vnd darfuer zu hueten hat" (973). Anticipation builds further, as the house shakes during Faustus's destruction. There is not only *Gepolter* but a "grewliches Pfeiffen und Zischen/ als ob das Hauß voller Schlangen/ Natern vnnd anderer schaedlicher Wuerme were" (978). The focus shifts from confusion and terrifying experience to indications of what is happening to Faustus. Any desire for information is disappointed, however, as the speaker introduces imagery of "Schlangen" and "Natern" rather than helping the reader to imagine Faustus in the chamber more explicitly. This shift to bestial imagery evokes the earlier scenes in which Mephistopheles displays his power and that were also filled with loud sounds and animals and orchestrated by devils. This gesture towards the

beginning of Faustus's diabolical dealings reminds the reader this truly horrific moment's longer history. Unique to the Spies *Historia* is that after the sound and serpent imagery, the door to Faustus's room offers the first visual cue; it swings open unaided, inviting (daring?) the readers and the students to complete their imaginative experience of Faustus's end by actually witnessing it visually. The students decline, however, and with them we depend on hearing, as Faustus whispers "Mordio" and "Hulff" (978).

The promise of a complete visual image that would correspond to the sense experiences of the previous night is disappointed. Perhaps mocking Faustus for denying the resurrection, the absence of his corpse in the room facilitates a bitter parody of Christ's disciples at his empty tomb. Faustus is nowhere to be found - "unnd wo Doctor Faustus seyn moechte/ sie sahen ihn aber nicht mehr" (Widmann 3:153), but Faustus's students find proof of his fate on the bloody walls, and so in Spies "da huben die Studenten an jn zubeklagen vnd zubeweynen/ vnd suchten jn allenthalben" (978). Widmann fills out the description a bit further: Dar war eine entsetzung/ furcht/ grawsen/ schreyen undn weynen bey den studenten/ sie suchten ihn auch hin unnd wider (3:153). This gruesome 'He is not here' does not resolve into a 'He is risen,' but in the discovery of a dismembered and weirdly quivering body laying on a manure pile (Spies 978; Widmann 3:153).

Because of the attention brought to Faustus's body throughout both biographies, and the sounds of the night before, readers share the students' fearful anticipation of the students as they "giengen . . . in die Stuben/ dem grewlichen Spectakel zusehen" (Widmann 3:153). After they enter the room, more time is spent relating the condition of the room, rather than at looking directly at his corpse – the blood on the walls and the teeth and brains left it so that "man kondte augenscheinlich abnehmen/ wie ihn der Teuffel von einer wandt zur andern geschlagen unnd

zerschmettert hette” (Widmann 3:153). Both biographies leave the reader with a body that due to its horror, is difficult to contemplate.

The Faustus-biographies highlight the 'unholiness' of his death through evoking Christ's death and simultaneously disallowing a direct view of Faustus's death. The portrayal of Faustus's body in death hinders prolonged contemplation and a pleasure/fear reaction to the image. The development of suspense and the revelation of a body-in-parts (a body that both is and is not 'there') underscore the simultaneous vanity and importance of the body, a major concern throughout the text. The state of Faustus's body also serves to make Faustus's damnation clear and it encourages consideration of the eternal state of bodies and souls resurrected to damnation.<sup>128</sup> Rather than facilitating a fear that leads to sadness, this is a horror designed to be relieved by the knowledge of God's grace and salvation and enhance the Christian reader's experience of gratitude. At the same time, it serves as a carefully-articulated warning for unbelievers which offers insight into the nature of damnation, and the road that leads to it.

### **Conclusion: Faustus's Ambiguous Damnation**

Faustus's uncertain damnation is compounded by the fact that his story may be the first pact-maker tale that does not end in repentance and salvation. Just two years before the *Historia's* publication, Augustin Lercheimer published the first edition of his *Bedencken an die Zauberey*. Incidentally, Lercheimer mentions the Faust legend, but he also discusses the issue of diabolical pacts as a general problem facing scholars and students, relating scenes in which Martin Luther

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<sup>128</sup> As Widmann discusses bodies, deaths and spiritual health, he seeks to complicate the relationship between a whole-body and salvation. After describing Faustus's death, Widmann writes, "Es sey dem wie es wolle/ so sehen wir dannoch viel unnd augenscheilich/ das der Teuffel/ so es ihm GOTT verhengt/ mit mancherley griff die Menschen anfechtet/ hinrichtet und die helfe abbricht. Wann nun solches geschiehet an den jenigen/ so zuvor Gott gefuerchtet und Christlich gelebet haben/ wie es dann wol geschiehet/ als die erfahrungheit lehret/ sollen wir uns derselben/ wann sie dahin seyn/ annemen/ und helfen sie stadtlich begraben" (3:187).

himself gathered his students round and warned them against contracts with devils. He relates the stories of people who, even after making such a pact, are able to repent and be saved. In the case of one “zauberer oder schwartzkünstler,” who had a pact with the devil and who “wider zu Gott bekert und deßen eine gute Christliche bekantnuß und aneigung gethan hat” but whose body was still found in a state similar to that of Faustus’s.<sup>129</sup>

The incongruence between Faustus’s emotions and the situation prod one to question his damnation. The pact-maker has a peace beyond understanding in the hours immediately before his death and seems to reconnect with mankind enough to warn his students to avoid the path that he himself took. This new brotherhood that seems to arise at the last moment (he refers to his students as brothers and greets them *bruederlich* and *freundtlich* is significant because part of Faustus’s pact was that he would shun the fellowship of God *and* of Christian people (Spies 20, 120) Indeed, Faustus begins to sound a lot like Spies does in the forward, when he mentions that they will find a written account of his life and as he admonishes them “laßt euch mein grewlich Ende euwer Lebtage ein fuerbildt vnd erjnnung seyn/ daß jr woellet Gott vor Augen haben/ jhn bitten/ daß er euch vor des Teuffels trug vnnd List behueten“ (*Historia* 120). In this scene, Faustus’s role is collapsed with that of the speaker in the second foreword and it echoes that of Martin Luther in Lercheimer’s tract. Thus, he is coded as the Christian scholar who has the knowledge and/or experience to warn his students. For Protestants, salvation involves repentance, faith and good deeds. Which of these elements are the components of salvation and which are merely its indications -- that is -- the difference between the requirements and the signs of salvation is thematized in Faustus’s last hours.

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<sup>129</sup> Lercheimer 45<sup>r</sup>

Faustus is conscious of this problem and addresses it directly, when he states that he will die as “ein boeser und ein guter Christ,” elaborating on his “herzliche Reuwe” and that he “im Herten jimmer umb Gnade bitte” (121). Here he calls himself a Christian, addresses a Christian community as such, and seems to be making the interior motions required of salvation. He admits, however, that he cannot bring himself to pray for forgiveness (122). This hurdle between the heart and the mouth is not one that Faustus is able to overcome. While one typically does need to pray for salvation, this represents a gray area within the context of a Lutheran rhetoric of salvation by faith alone.

Tracing the *Erschrecken* through the *Historia* is one way of accessing the uncertainties in the text that bring unsettling questions about the nature of salvation, as Protestants understood it to function, into consciousness. Positing a situation in which the main character commits what is traditionally thought of as an unforgivable sin, facilitates an exploration of exactly what salvation requires, and what it does not, and how we are to recognize it. Salvation, like emotion, is an inward state with outward signs. However, unlike much of the emotion in *Prosaromanen*, the signs of salvation can be both complicated and feigned.

The Faustus-biographies, and as we have seen, the fear and comfort represented in them, participate in a Lutheran discourse of godly versus diabolical emotions and real versus counterfeit emotions. The moral binary suggested here is complicated in lived experience – the godliness or diabolical nature of feeling is revealed in its resolution. This complication is what brings much of the energy and interest to the Faustus-biographies. Faustus’s damnation was no foregone conclusion.<sup>130</sup> Every moment of *Anfechtung* could have become the *Doppelerfahrung*

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<sup>130</sup> One of the most popular pact-making tales of the medieval and early modern periods was that of Theophilus, a priest who sells his soul for money and a bishopric. This story, told in various forms throughout the German lands

resulting in his salvation, and as the narrative progresses towards his death, his moments of fear seem to hold ever more potential. In Faustus's damnation, the reader receives a glimpse of the exact anatomy of a failed *Anfechtung*.

The Reformer biographies deepen this analysis as they throw Faustus's downward spiritual spiral into relief. The figures of Melancthon and Luther offer a positive emotional exemplarity, which suggests an emotional experience of salvation. When we read the Faustus-biographies as anti-Reformer biographies in the way that others have read them as anti-saint legends, we see that the narratives constantly point to the experience of blessedness through the experience of its inverse.

Because emotions are seen and, to a large extent, experienced through the body, it is no surprise that both Faustus-biographies emphasize the importance of the body in spiritual life. It seems that a large part of Faustus's damnation was a failure to give his body and its pleasures their proper place and to recognize the role that the body plays in salvation. This emphasis on the body as one of the sites of salvation is also reflected in much sixteenth-century Lutheran pastoral care literature, which discusses the manipulation of spiritually-significant emotions such as sadness or fear through corporeal practice.

Narratives such as the Faustus-biographies allow one to faithfully sit with uncertainties, even as works of doctrine or pastoral care cultivate certainty.<sup>131</sup> This is not an anti-doctrine, or anti-orthodoxy project. Indeed, the strategy of effecting spiritual change through narrative, especially

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always concluded with an appeal to the Virgin Mary and Theophilus' subsequent salvation (Schnyder 289-293; 336-337).

<sup>131</sup> In his readings of sixteenth century pastoral care literature, Bernd Moeller finds a repeated emphasis on "die überwältigende Erfahrung der göttlichen Heilstatt, der Gunst Gottes und der verzogenen Sünde, und dazu die neu erlernte Gewißheit des Glaubenswegs überdecken all realen Widrigkeiten," suggesting a cultivation of certainty in the face of tribulation (268).



narratives of death, lies at the heart of Christianity. It is through hearing or reading - and most importantly – taking the story of Christ’s death and resurrection *personally* that the Christian can have faith and be saved. In an increasingly literate culture that sees a proliferation of personal devotionals and prayer books, it is clear that spiritual growth is often a question of reader response. In the case of narrative and its multitude of possible interpretations, however, this is a tricky business. Yet the very indeterminability of reading narrative mirrors the lived experience of salvation and damnation and it is only within this ambiguity that an affected (*betreffene*) and invested reading – the kind that produces repentance and change – can be fostered. The Faustus-biographies and, to a lesser extent, the Reformer biographies draw attention to the breakdowns and decouplings that inevitably happen among the elements necessary for Protestant salvation. Against this background, responding spiritually to an open-ended narrative calls for faith in Christ, rather than a faith in doctrine. Late sixteenth-century narrators of spiritual experience – the compilers of the Faustus-biographies, the writers of Reformer biographies, the authors of the imperfect lives of saints remain confessionally-committed, yet make a highly ecumenical gesture decades before the emergence of Pietist thought

## Chapter Two: “Notwithstanding she shall be saved in childbearing”: Women, Love, and Salvation in *Das Buch der Liebe*

Eine unsterbliche Seele, warum denn? Ein ganz torichter Wunsch! Es ist viel beruhigender, zu wissen, daß man nach dem Tode zu Schaum auf dem Meere wird, wie es der Kleinen von Natur wegen zukommt. Eine ordentliche Nixe hätte diesen Hohlkopf von Prinzen, der sie garnicht zu schätzen weiß und vor ihren Augen eine Andere heiratet, an den Marmorstufen seines Schlosses verführt, ihn ins Wasser gezogen und ihn zärtlich ertränkt, statt ihr Schicksal von seiner Dummheit abhängig zu machen, wie sie es tut; Wahrscheinlich hätte er sie mit dem angeborenen Fischeschwanz viel leidenschaftlicher geliebt, als mit den schmerzhaften Menschenbeinen.

(Mann 458)

Adrian Leverkühn, the Faustus-figure in Thomas Mann’s *Doktor Faustus* finds a certain amount of commonality with the water-nixie, or undine, of Hans Christian Andersen’s tale in that he values the suffering that she undergoes. She, too, embodies a striving to have something other than that which nature has given. The conclusion of *The Little Mermaid* contains a gracious cosmic surprise, much like that in Goethe’s *Faust I*, in which the protagonist has an opportunity to be saved in ways which exist outside of the recognized paths to salvation.

The pact-maker and the undine are two long-standing figures in German culture, and in *Doktor Faustus* Thomas Mann finds a connection point in the suffering and striving common to both characters. However, the novel also recognizes that their motivations run counter to one another. The undine reaches out for eternal life, and the Faustian pact-maker denies its existence, or at least its value. The sixteenth-century iterations of these characters, the Faust of

the prose novels discussed in the last chapter, and Melusine, the undine at the center of Thüring von Ringolthingen's novel composed in 1456, but which found a large, urban audience in the sixteenth century by means of numerous reprints, are linked by the same near-miss (or barely-gaining?) of salvation, and reveal a strangeness and defiance of logic that salvific grace and faith seem to entail. In the cases of both characters, the ambiguity of their salvation or damnation is a question of feeling. We saw that Faustus experiences the wrong kinds of fear and comfort. Melusine, on the other hand, fails to attain a Christian soul in the normal sense of the word, but the love that she has for her children confers a kind of alternative blessedness in which she becomes a Christian woman, if only in the minds of readers.

*Melusine* is the most famous tale contained in a collection of thirteen prose love stories entitled *Das Buch der Liebe* (the *Book of Love*). Sigmund Feyerabend's very successful publishing house unveiled this folio at Frankfurt's fall book fair in 1587.<sup>132</sup> The volume is a collection of thirteen tales of varying length, authorship, and origin. The courtly milieu in which the plots unfold connects the tales, and love's joys and difficulties serve as a common theme for all of the stories. When Feyerabend published this large and expensive book, he was working with material that had already been widely disseminated in popular culture. With the exception of one story (*Emperor Octavian*), all of the narratives had been published and reprinted prior to their inclusion in the 1587 collection. Feyerabend's work in compiling, editing, and publishing

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<sup>132</sup> Sigmund Feyerabend was the most significant publisher in sixteenth-century Frankfurt, with a large and thematically wide-ranging program. He never possessed a printer, but as a prolific and successful editor and typesetter, he was an important client for the printers that he patronized, and thus played an important economic role in the publishing scene. The primary reach of his work was within the Rhine-Main-Danube Triangle, see Veitschegger 3-4.

*Das Buch der Liebe* appears to be similar to Spies's purported task -- curating popular materials, and making them acceptable and useful to the educated classes.<sup>133</sup>

Feyerabend's business instincts proved correct. *Das Buch der Liebe* sold well.<sup>134</sup>

However, questions remain regarding the interest that a Protestant, urban society, increasingly organized around commerce, would have in tales set in a courtly and Catholic milieu. Arguably, the kinds of love possible between the idealized characters of lady and knight would have little to do with the love relationships that even wealthy men and women in the late sixteenth century would have had. Perhaps unexpectedly, we find that many of the values that courtly love texts (and especially those included in *Das Buch der Liebe*) espouse, resonate with the values of late-sixteenth-century Lutheran society. Moreover, because the early-modern version of these values responds to the culture's growing confessionalism, they bring religious readings to courtly narratives. Thus the courtly love tradition which many scholars have read as representing a secularization of medieval culture, propagates confessional values in its sixteenth-century reception.<sup>135</sup> The texts included in the *Buch der Liebe* are not religious texts, neither in the way that these narratives emerged, nor in their adaptations, translations, and their late-sixteenth

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<sup>133</sup> Feyerabend's interest in the recovery of these popular texts for consumption of the elite is evident in the dedication to Lady Hedwig, Countess of Hesse. In this dedication, which appears in twelve of the nineteen extant copies of *Das Buch der Liebe*, the publisher defends his choice of materials against detractors who claim that such tales of "anders nichts denn Lieb und Bulschafften" tempt youth into lusty behaviors ("wollüsten und Leichtfertigkeiten"). Feyerabend counters this criticism with the information that texts were carefully chosen following the advice of others, and that, for the reader who reads "recht und nicht mit schelen Augen," the stories chosen are particularly useful and pleasurable, see the "Widmung" in Veitschegger 248-249.

<sup>134</sup> Veitschegger estimates that between nine hundred and one thousand copies of *Das Buch der Liebe* were printed, and by 1597, only six copies remained in storage, see Veitschegger 9.

<sup>135</sup> The courtly love tradition, which emerged in the twelfth century is often understood to represent a secular turn in culture because of its emphasis on earthly love, and the pleasures of the material world (Krueger 4). However, the fervor and images of the courtly love tradition imbue love with an affective charge previously reserved for the spiritual. Kay notes that "Love in courtly romances may be represented as simultaneously sensual and spiritual, normative and transgressive, secret and known" -- these features, along with the religious imagery that courtly love texts invoke invites comparison with religious texts, and makes what were once secular texts useful for religious purposes (Kay 2).

century receptions, but I will demonstrate the availability of these texts to a confessional reading in the way that Feyrerabend exploits this availability in his afterword and dedication.

In this chapter, I examine four of the collection's thirteen texts: *Ritter Galmy*, *Die Schoene Magelona*, *Emperor Octavian*, and *Melusine*. My analysis addresses two questions regarding *Das Buch der Liebe*: the attraction of courtly tales for an urban, Protestant readership; and the ethical vision that a variety of images, rather than a single ideal, promotes. These two questions, one of reception and one of interpretation, are related in that exploring them requires a return to the slippages that occur where Protestant theology meets emotion. Woman and men are equal in the eyes of God and the rise of Lutheranism abolished particular forms of female spirituality. Yet as I show, the salvation process under the Protestant regime is gender-specific, along with the kinds of inner states that spur spiritual growth. Literature that employs a courtly milieu and courtly love themes may have played a role in the development of a specifically female variety of personal piety centered on marriage and motherhood, and appropriate for German Lutherans interested in suitable alternatives to the Catholic expressions of female piety available in Marian veneration and cloistered life.<sup>136</sup>

Considering similarities between sixteenth-century love and marriage ideals, and ideals represented in courtly love texts will aid in exploring the post-Reformation reception of the courtly love tradition and the ways in which, for sixteenth-century readers, the institution of the court may have been a stand-in for the artisan household. The dismantling of celibate forms of spiritual life in Protestant areas accompanied a renewed emphasis on marriage as part of the individual's biography, as well as a focus on the married couple as the foundation of society, and

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<sup>136</sup> While many historians insist that female forms of piety disappeared in Protestant areas, In her book *The Holy Household*, Lyndal Roper postulates the development of a kind of female piety that is centered on marriage and maternity (265).

the affirmation of the role that women play in the lives of men. Joel Harrington relates the sixteenth-century's emphasis on the couple to courtly representation. He writes: "both he [Calvin] and Luther, in fact, considered the couple (not the family) as the smallest natural unit of society – in some senses, an innovative enhancement of the twelfth-century ideal of marriage"<sup>137</sup>. Courtly texts typically represent complications in love as a microcosm of complications in the larger social world of the text. What had been a representational relationship in the courtly setting becomes a relationship of interdependence in the Lutheran social vision that emphasizes independent and godly social units working in cooperation. The most basic of these units is the married couple: couples head craft households, and heads of craft households form the commercial and political leadership of a city. In turn, godly, well-ordered, and independent cities engage in trade with one another. Whether the relationship between the couple and society is predicated on representation or interdependence, the health of society is implicated in the health of the married couple, and vice versa.

Because this social vision requires the involvement of women and because celibacy was no longer an acceptable form of Christian life, women emerged as valuable members of Lutheran communal life. Steven Ozment describes pro-marriage movements within Lutheranism as anti-misogyny movements as well.<sup>138</sup> Husband and wife formed the cornerstone of godly society, and therefore woman – and in this ideal all women are wives – was elevated to a position similar to that of female protagonists in courtly narratives. The courtly representations in *Das Buch der Liebe* affirm sixteenth-century ideas about the centrality of godly wifehood to moral and social order.

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<sup>137</sup> Harrington 71

<sup>138</sup> Ozment 50-52

The organization and content of *Das Buch der Liebe* responds to the culture's emphasis on good wives. Feyerabend offers little in the way of preface or commentary to what, with its size and 378 images (ninety-eight unique images), was a costly volume to print and to buy.<sup>139</sup> An elaborate title page, printed in red and black, advertises the excitement and variety that the volume offers, lauding the value of the good examples of certain characters in the stories. It highlights female characters - Emperor Octavian's wife, the Princess Magelona, and the British Duchess. The title page mentions one recurring theme in the text: God's faithfulness in the midst of fortune's unpredictability. Feyerabend implies a female reading audience, noting that the tales are useful and pleasurable for everyone, especially for women.<sup>140</sup> Moreover, he juxtaposes the theme of female love with that of trust in God – a connection made repeatedly throughout the tales.

The connection of married life to godliness for sixteenth-century Lutherans did not preclude the importance of emotions in marriage. Several of the reforms introduced by Lutherans involved the Church's approach to marriage. One important aspect of marriage reforms was the insistence that young people choose their own mates and discussions surrounding this reform in particular emphasized the value of warmth and affection in the marriage relationship.<sup>141</sup> It would

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<sup>139</sup> Veitschegger 184

<sup>140</sup> "frawen und Jungfrawen"

<sup>141</sup> Stephen Ozment writes of Bucer and the goodness of marriage as an affectionately shared life (84). Merry E. Wiesner discusses the various grounds upon which Lutheran couples could divorce (73) and Luther's published letters which depicted and promoted marriages of affection were a touchstone for Lutheran culture after his death. In *Sexualität und Emotionalität*, Rüdiger Schnell paints a somewhat conflicted picture of the period's attitude towards marital affection. He notes the concern evident in marriage discourse for the threat that romantic affection could pose for the hierarchy in marriage (109), at the same time, thinkers recognized the helpfulness of friendly feeling for harmonious marriages: "Die Idealisierung einer emotional beglückenden ehelichen Gemeinschaft sollte möglicherweise den Ausschluß sexuellen Begehrens aus dem ordnungspolitischen Ehediskurs kompensieren. Jedenfalls sind die Popularisierung und Idealisierung eines emotionalen Glück in den Ehetexten anzutreffen, die aus politisch-staatlichen Überlegungen heraus an einer ehelichen Harmonie interessiert sind." (118)

be inappropriate to think about sixteenth-century feelings in marriage in terms of romantic love as understood by Westerners since the early nineteenth-century. Still, we can say that the eleventh-century shift that Georges Duby, Jacqueline Murray, and many others have described, in which love amongst the nobility moves from being a contribution to a passion, shares enough features with changes in attitudes about family in urban early modern society, that we can talk about readers finding inspiration from courtly romance for the new direction that their marriages were taking.<sup>142</sup> In his classic study of courtly literature, C.S. Lewis describes the role of love in courtly society: “only the courteous can love, but it is love that makes him courteous.”<sup>143</sup> The 1587 reception of courtly love invites readers of *Das Buch der Liebe* to replace “courteous” with “pious.” The conflation of love with piety for sixteenth-century women allows Lewis’ formula to hold true in a post-Reformation world.

Turning to Hermann Schmitz, founder of The New Phenomenology, we find that he identifies love as an emotion, which fits well with courtly ideas of love as a unique passion. When talking about love, Schmitz invokes *Amor*, or *Cupido* from ancient Rome, which categorizes passionate, sexual, and what twenty-first-century culture calls romantic love together.<sup>144</sup> This echoes some courtly writers' use of Cupid and his arrows as an image in love narratives. A comparison of courtly love texts with Schmitz's ideas challenges the twenty-first-

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<sup>142</sup> Duby’s *The Knight, the Lady, and the Priest: the Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France* remains a classic history of that first courtly turn towards sentiment in marital relationships. Stephanie Coontz’s recent, and very popular *Marriage, a History: How Love Conquered Marriage* uses Duby and others’ work to make a similar argument that focuses on the last two centuries. Murray’s reader *Love, Marriage, and Family in the Middle Ages* seeks to focus on continuities rather than disruptions in that history, but still notes this eleventh-century change, which originated in France (though recent work suggests that this was inspired by earlier Arabic sources).

<sup>143</sup> Lewis 2

<sup>144</sup>“ Die Verwaltung der Gefühle” 57



century reader to avoid dividing courtly characters' emotional experiences into sexual, romantic, and social loves. For Schmitz and for Feyerabend's *Buch der Liebe*, there is but a single love.

The form that this love takes -- whether that love, in the language of courtly romance, is *zuechtig*, *unzuechtig*, or *buehlerisch* (civilized, uncivilized, or lusty) -- has to do with its application, not its essence. In this case, application may be taken in the more concrete sense of the word. The object, or exact expression of love is less important than its spatial concentration and dynamism. Like air, or a wind, or the other weather-related features, the healthfulness and joyful pleasure of love depends on its constant movement and its ability to move into many large and different spaces. When love, or winds are trapped, they become stagnant at best, and fatally destructive at worst. The similarities between love and weather recalls Schmitz's theory of the *Atmosphäre*, which I will refer to as a 'feeling-atmosphere' for the sake of clarity. This concept proves particularly helpful for analyzing the prose novels that Feyerabend brings together. Many of the experiences that we call emotions, including love, are the embodiment of external forces.

These atmospheres affect what Schmitz terms our *Leiber* (bodies). Not to be confused with our bodies in the usual sense, the term *Leib*, or felt body, designates the interplay between the sensation of our bodies and other objects or atmospheres in the world. They take up the space that includes, but also encompasses the bounds of our skin. *Leiber* involve human materiality and sense experience. Sense experience here includes knowing that someone is looking at us, even when we face the opposite direction. It also includes the physical sensation of emotions. Schmitz's *Leiber* and *Atmosphäre* account for the way that love (and other emotions, especially rage) occupies the body and soul without being entirely personal in scope. These texts also corroborate Schmitz's discontent with the equation of the personal and private with the authentic. In *Das Buch der Liebe*, love deepens as it diffuses and becomes less personal, even as

it continues to be intensely experienced in the bodies and minds of individuals. This is especially evident in the instances of lovesickness represented. Love that remains hidden and unexpressed disorders the body, and can barely be recognized as love. Relief comes as the love is extended to the other person in a pair, but even then, until the feeling is generalized, and allowed to indiscriminately affect those outside of the loving couple, it remains destructive and unsustainable.

Schmitz develops a cultural history of emotion, arguing that before the fifth century A.D., emotions were understood to reside outside of the individual. Since then, Western culture's understanding of experience has grown increasingly psychological and reductionist.<sup>145</sup> Because so much of emotional life is difficult to reduce and psychologize, much of it remains unacknowledged. It is experienced as aspects of our inner life interjected into life as we and our culture construct and acknowledge it.<sup>146</sup> Thus the experience of emotion is an individualized one. According to Schmitz, this conceptualization of experience became dominant in Western culture, and that only one significant hold-out of the earlier, more authentic concept of experience remained -- the love-narrative. However, according to Schmitz, the interiorization of emotion in Western culture is completed with Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan*, which represents a turn to the psychological account of experience even in love narrative.<sup>147</sup> Since then, representations of love project an ideal inner state which creates ideal social relations. In contrast to Schmitz's chronology, I would suggest that in the *Das Buch der Liebe* (which is representative of a tradition that was to have a long life), we still see love operating as a feeling-atmosphere.

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<sup>145</sup> "Die Verwaltung der Gefühle" 43

<sup>146</sup> "Die Verwaltung der Gefühle" 44-46

<sup>147</sup> "Die Verwaltung der Gefühle" 58

However, rather than an ideal being projected onto the love-atmosphere, demands are made upon one's participation in love. These demands, such as sociability and perseverance, enhance the non-individual, social, and atmospheric nature of the love experience. They make love more authentic, not less.

In both Schmitz's account of love as atmosphere, and the representation of love in medieval texts, love emerges from outside the self, yet deeply intertwines with the body; it is interpersonal and social. This social aspect is not to be confused with the social performance of emotion as described by Gerd Althoff. He conceives of emotion as a narrative sequence that only has meaning insofar as it is witnessed, with little relationship to inward experience. Schmitz's understanding of love, and my model for analyzing love in these four prose novels is part of a range of dynamic experiences which includes the social and personal, interior and exterior, physical and mental.<sup>148</sup>

### **Civilized Love in *Ritter Galmy***

Conforming to the prefatory remarks on the title page of the *Buch der Liebe*, civilized love (*zuechtige Liebe*) is a central term in *Ritter Galmy*, the second text appearing in the collection.<sup>149</sup> A brief description foregrounds the eponymous character and his "*zuechtige Liebe*" for the Duchess. The initial focus on the main character's emotional experience, without

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<sup>148</sup> See : "Prologomena to a History of Royal Anger" in *Anger's Past*, edited by Barbara Rosenwein. Althoff posits anger as the opposite of favor, suggesting that it is a political situation, and not a personal experience. The king invokes this state through word and gesture, and this invocation defines the relationships that the king and subjects have with one another. Schmitz's atmosphere, including the atmosphere of anger, is also external, and not personal, in the sense of being individual. However, atmospheres are experienced personally, but the individual's relationship to this is a passive one; they cannot be invoked.

<sup>149</sup> *Ritter Galmy* is one of the two works in the collection that were written by Jörg Wickram, and originally written in German. Published in 1539, it is uncertain whether the work is based on already-existing material, or if it was Wickram's original composition. It was probably quite popular, as it the works saw at least seven editions between the years of 1539 and 1564.

attempting to associate him with a well-known court is remarkable. Many courtly narratives justify their retelling of a love story by connecting it with a famous court or framing it as an explanation of well-known historical or political events.<sup>150</sup> The narrator announces that Galmy would become a powerful duke. However, this revelation of a future beyond the narrative differs from the analogous moments in the beginning of *Melusine*, as *Ritter Galmy* does not claim to be historical narrative. The court is located at Vannes, but information about the new duke's progeny is missing. The events portrayed in *Ritter Galmy* are removed from time and space. The absence of agenda-setting detail and narrator remark bring the focus of the tale on love, and the exploration of true and civilized love through word and action.

At the opening of the narrative, the knight Galmy is lovesick, but reluctant to talk about his malady to his loyal friend Friderich. When Friderich does convince him to talk, Galmy insists that his love is "kein unordentliche Liebe" (Liii<sup>v</sup>) and, mindful of the difference in status between himself and his beloved, Galmy contrasts the social impropriety of his love with its virtue: ". . . mir auch nit gebuert/ein solche Fraw lieb zu haben/ noch viel weniger ihr meine Lieb zu oeffnen/wiewol mich kein unehrliche Lieb gegen ihr nie angefochten hat" (Liii<sup>f</sup>). Galmy's social status, on the one hand, and the Duchess's marital status, on the other, mark this love relationship as potentially unchaste, destructive, and thus opposed to civility. However, the text uses these purported obstacles as opportunities to explore the nature of civilized love, and to show its social value.

Galmy describes his love as a painful "*Kranckheit*." His suffering is caused by having to keep his love secret from the Duchess; her gracious acceptance of his love is the cure (Mi<sup>f</sup>).

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<sup>150</sup> For example, Parival and Tristan's connections to Arthur's court. Melusine's story is an explanatory tale for the rise of the noble dynasty at Lusignan.

Galmy finds relief when the Duchess listens to his confession and returns his love. Galmy describes this experience as a healing, exclaiming: "Moechtest du wissen/wie mich alle sorg/schmerz unnd angst/ so gar verlassen hett" (Mi<sup>r</sup>). Demonstrating the connection between his physical and emotional states, Galmy eats heartily for the first time in two months. He believes that this relief marks the end of his troubles. Galmy dreams of the Duchess, telling her "wie moecht ich immermehr trawrig werden. Ihr habet mich auß einem brennendem Feuer in einen lustbaren kuelen Schatten gefuehret/ ihr habt mir die Bande / damit mein trostloß Hertz gebunden war/ mit euern kuesen und edlen trost auffgeloestet" (Mii<sup>r</sup>-Mii<sup>v</sup>). In the midst of this rapid change in Galmy's health, fortune, and state of mind, however, Friderich wisely warns Galmy that love is not a state of rest and comfort. Rather it is an experience of "sorg und angst," which causes "ein unruhiges Herz" (Mii<sup>v</sup>). According to Friderich, the anxiety is created by the lovers' faulty expectations, namely, they think that once in love, everything will go their way.<sup>151</sup> Therefore, they are unprepared for even minor disappointments.<sup>152</sup> Love is marked by a special vulnerability to loss. The lover is at constant risk of abandonment or being forgotten. According to Friderich, awareness of this vulnerability makes love a "schwere dienstbarkeit" and the lover a "leibeygene Knecht" (Mii<sup>v</sup>).

The idea of love as suffering and sickness has a long history in European literature and thought. *Ritter Galmy's* representation of lovesickness is typical for courtly literature. However, *Ritter Galmy* was composed in 1539, frequently re-printed throughout the century, and included in a 1587 anthology of texts that participate in the courtly love tradition. It is then useful to

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<sup>151</sup> "alle sach nach irem gefallen zu end gehen"(Mii<sup>v</sup>)

<sup>152</sup> Dann wo eins fuer das ander gehet/ sich nicht gleich froelich erzeiget/ von stundan das ander sorg unnd schmerz umbgeben thut/ jetzt denckt es seinem Lieb etwas widerdriß begegnet seyn/ oder meynt vielleicht sein Lieb zorn gegen im trage"

imagine readers who do not simply accept lovesickness as a motif from the past, but who read with both distance and closeness, observing the various parts of the lovers' experiences, and relating them to features of their own cultural world. Pursuing this thought, I will highlight the resonances between love in *Ritter Galmy* and the sixteenth-century pastoral descriptions of *Anfechtung* that I examined in chapter one.

A prime symptom of spiritual *Anfechtung* is melancholy.<sup>153</sup> The physical symptoms of Galmy's illness are typical for sixteenth-century melancholy.<sup>154</sup> Galmy intends to stay in bed until death delivers him from suffering (Lii<sup>v</sup>). His pain is centered in his heart and is related to sadness – he has a “weynendes Herz” (Liii<sup>f</sup>). Galmy rejects food, drink, and the company of others (Liii<sup>f</sup>). For both Galmy and Faustus melancholy is less an emotion, than a life stance. Melancholy forms when one believes the object of fear to be inescapable and refuses to accept this predicament. In Galmy's case, this belief is accurate: all lovers risk loss. However, all lovers, indeed all humans, must learn to accept the inevitability of loss and remain joyful. Failure to maintain this acceptance is an indication of blasphemy and irreligion. This is especially clear in Faustus's refusal to repent or to accept God's judgment, thus making himself vulnerable to constant melancholy. Deduced from these early-modern examples, melancholy lies on the threshold of despair, and represents a spiritual threat.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> As discussed in the previous chapter, the term *Anfechtung* can refer to trials as wide-ranging as illness, war, and spiritual doubt. However, any of these troubles can result in spiritual tribulation, and part of that experience involves melancholy.

<sup>154</sup> Gail Kern Paster examines the Galenic language of early modern references to the passions, making a case for taking the metaphors, especially the corporeal metaphors for emotion, literally. She notes that early modern emotions are part of the fabric of the body. For that reason, when a sixteenth-century character is said to almost die of love, their lives are truly in danger, and action must be taken (*Humoring the Body* 5-7).

<sup>155</sup> This is especially obvious in Faustus's case, but the similarities between Galmy's state and Faustus's state reiterate the importance of loving well for a pious life and the soul's health.

In keeping with the advice in contemporary *Seelsorge* literature, Galmy finds relief through closeness of another. He tells Friderich of his suffering, who advises Galmy to find comfort by talking to the Duchess.<sup>156</sup> In Friderich's view, declaration of love to the beloved is the only way to protect his masculinity in the face of love.<sup>157</sup> *Anfechtung* operates in a similar way. In Lutheran pastoral works, *Anfechtung* involves a period of fear and melancholy that either resolves itself in comfort and hope, or ends in despair. For both the lover and the Christian, hopeful reaching out to the beloved is the cure. Galmy's experience of comfort when the Duchess returns his love is reminiscent of Luther's description of receiving comfort through the Gospel. The assurance of the Duchess's love does not, however, bring a lasting comfort. As Friderich predicts, this emotional equilibrium will be disturbed by the fear of forgetfulness and loss. When Friderich discloses Wernhardt's plot to destroy Galmy and advises Galmy to leave Britain for his own sake and that of the Duchess, Galmy initially resists his friend's suggestion because he finds the loss of the Duchess's love and the risk of being forgotten unbearable (Qi<sup>f</sup>). However, Galmy recognizes that his willingness to die for love will allow him to endure the pain of separation (Piii<sup>v</sup> and Qi<sup>f</sup>).

The Duchess's reaction to Galmy's wound represents another example of love's *Anfechtung*. Several months after his appointment as the Duchess's seneschal, Galmy badly cuts his thumb, while assisting the Duchess at table. The reader follows the Duchess's gaze to Galmy's face, drained of blood, "mehr einem todten/ denn einem lebendigen Menschen/sich vergleicht"(Pii<sup>f</sup>-Pii<sup>v</sup>), and then to his blood spurting onto her hand. Despite the superficiality of his injury, intimations of Galmy's death overcome the Duchess. She faints, exhibiting the

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<sup>156</sup> Liii<sup>v</sup>

<sup>157</sup> Liii<sup>v</sup>

physical alteration that stems from her inner perturbation.<sup>158</sup> Watching her deadly-pale face as she falls, Galmy is terrified and forgets to bind his wound. This scene reminds us that, even when lovers are not separated by hostile plots, death is an ever-present threat to their joy.

The Duchess fears oblivion in the heart of her beloved as well. When she asks for Galmy's help, she expresses the fear that he has forgotten her. She experiences her own *Anfechtung*, not only because she is imprisoned and falsely accused, but because, if Galmy does not rescue her, her crisis will reveal that he has forgotten her – a lover's deepest fear. His affirmation of their love, she writes, would be "ein trost und einzige zuflucht meines heyls" (Si<sup>r</sup>). The Duchess's use of the word "heyl" shows that an *Anfechtung* experience threatens love, but is also constitutive of "wahre," "rechte," and "zuechtige" love, even as spiritual *Anfechtung* constitutes lived faith, as discussed in the previous chapter. True love, like true faith is required to persist in the face of peril.

Because of the omnipresence of death, Galmy and the Duchess will continue to experience *Anfechtung*, and their hearts, which the Duchess describes as "unwanckelbar," must persist in the face of "das wanckelmuetige glueck" (Si<sup>r</sup>). As in the case of spiritual *Anfechtung*, love's tribulations cannot be withstood in isolation, or even within the pair. Both Galmy and the Duchess need the advice and encouragement of Friderich in order to not lose heart. Throughout the narrative, he provides the good counsel that pastoral texts recommend for the melancholic

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<sup>158</sup> "ihre schoenen Rosenfarben Waenglin in ein gantz toedtlliche farb verkeret wurden"(Pii<sup>v</sup>); This moment illustrates the notion of 'alteration' in early modern medicine, which is a change that is both psychological and physiological at the same time. In literature, this event can "describe a crucial moment of imbalance or change in the self . . . shorthand for the manifestation of the passions on the body, for the way disease becomes legible" (Hampton 273). Hampton reads the notion of alteration in early modern French and Spanish texts as a way in which disparate phenomena of the body are brought into ethical discourses, and become "indices of the soul" (272-273). Here, the Herzogin's alteration brings her into the discourse of passionate women, prompting the reader to pose certain ethical questions of the text, and attend to aspects of the noblewoman's character that have to do with moderation and faithfulness.



and *angefochten*. Despite the private, personal nature of the journeys of love and faith, virtuous community is crucial for a good end.

The difference between *zuechtige Liebe* and its lusty counterparts emerges when we compare Andolosa's love for the King's daughter in *Fortunatus* (1509).<sup>159</sup> Andolosa experiences lovesickness that is similar to Galmy's. However, his love is an appetite that is satisfied by attentions of the princess. Analyzing this love in relationship to *Anfechtung*, we find that it corresponds to *Anfechtung* dismissed through distraction, rather than worked out through struggle, as Galmy's and the Duchess's love is. An additional distinction emerges in the dependence of Andolosa's love upon sense stimulation: he is especially ill when in the presence of his beloved. Galmy's love, on the other hand, is motivated by the Duchess's "schoene und zuechtige Person," and the effects of his illness do not require her physical presence, but are fueled by the idea of her. His love has a spiritual quality that Andolosa's does not. Both of the lovers' hearts are "enzuendt," but Galmy's flame is more closely related to that burning in the hearts of the mystics.<sup>160</sup>

It is certain that Galmy's love for the Herzogin supports the well-being of the court and has spiritual value. However, the Duchess's feelings for Galmy prompt questions regarding her love for her husband. Is it possible for her to love Galmy as passionately as she does and still love her husband as is appropriate? How can any love that a married woman bears towards a non-related male be chaste? Examples such as Guinevere, Tristan and Isolde, and Parcival cast

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<sup>159</sup> *Fortunatus* is not courtly literature, but it makes use of the court as a milieu in places. It is worth noting that even though much of the prose novel is set in cities and the world of tradesmen, when love and marriage come to the fore, this setting shifts to that of a royal court.

<sup>160</sup> In *The Secret Wound*, Marion Wells discusses not only the well-known similarities between the language of mystical experience and love, but also the role of love melancholy in mystical experience (47)

chastity among such couples into doubt. The Duchess addresses these questions directly as she expresses her longing for the absent Galmy. Because honor guides her (“wiewohl mich die ehrbarkeit dahin weißt”), she places her husband above all in her affections (Ni<sup>f</sup>). She insists that her love is measured and not out of control: “noch hat mich Galmy mit seiner zuechtigen Lieb dermassen gefangen/daß ich nit wol wissen mag/welcher mir unter inen beyden der liebest sey”(Ni<sup>f</sup>). Addressing these complications, Ann-Marie Rasmussen points to the role that chaste affairs played in educating men and women about love, ethics, and morality. She views narratives about chaste loves as exercises in both ethics and aesthetics that affirm the fundamental goodness of women and love.<sup>161</sup> Rasmussen’s observations can be applied to Galmy and the Duchess as they struggle with their relationship and the difficulties it brings.

Galmy and the Duke’s friendship further indicates that Galmy and the Duchess’s relationship is compatible with the noble couple’s marriage. The Duke is pleased with Galmy’s jousting success, showing that the knight is an honorable member of the court who is subsequently promoted to the rank of seneschal. The Duke seems to recognize and support his wife’s affection for Galmy. When he learns of the Duchess’s fainting episode, he tells Galmy that he must take better care of himself showing no jealousy in response to his wife’s affections. He is grateful to Galmy for preventing the execution of the Duchess, encouraging her not to be angry with the seemingly-absent knight. The Duchess’s husband and lover work together to ensure her well-being, pointing to the social value of this chaste affair.

The narrator affirms the Duchess’s affection for her husband in a direct address to the reader. After the Duchess writes a passionate letter to Galmy, the narrator anticipates the reader’s question: “Nun moecht einer fragen/ob die Hertzogin ihren Herren auch von Herten lieb gehabt

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<sup>161</sup> *Mothers and Daughters* 102

hat?“ (Niv<sup>v</sup>). We are assured that she loves her husband “vom ganzten Hertzen,” yet it is not easy to accept this assurance since the narrator describes their love as that between brother and sister. It is difficult to reconcile a filial account of Galmy and the Duchess’s love with their reactions to their respective illnesses. Their psyches are so profoundly joined that their bodies respond to one another without touching. There is no indication of a similar intensity between the Duke and Duchess.

Further preventing us from trusting the narrator’s and the Duchess’s claims is the second half of the Duchess’s speech to Friderich about the place of the Duke in her affections. Following her claim that she knows who is dearest to her (meaning her husband), she reports nightly dreams of Galmy that are so vivid, she believes herself to be awake and that her heart defies the limits of space by sensing how he fares (Ni<sup>f</sup>). Galmy’s restoration of the Duke and Duchess’s marriage as well as his service to the Duke indicate that their love is chaste and that it contributes to the good order of the court. However, the tradition of chaste love, and the contradiction between the intensity of feeling and what is stated about the Duchess and Galmy’s *zuechtige Liebe* suggest that while these lovers remain chaste, *zuechtige Liebe* is an unstable entity which can save or destroy a kingdom. The tale’s conclusion suggests that, ultimately, this instability makes chaste affairs undesirable. One does not love chastely for life; any *zuechtige Liebe* either ends in a legitimate and sexual marriage relationship, or it threatens noble marriages and social stability.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Jan-Dirk Müller observes that the problem of Galmy and the Herzogin’s love is solved through the Duke’s death: “Im Galmy ergibt sich eine Lösung buchstäblich erst in letzter Minute, weil der Ehemann der Geliebten plötzlich ‘inn ein schwere krankheit fiel’ und ohne weitere Umstände ‘ zu letst von diser welt verschied’ “ (“Jörg Wickram zu Liebe und Ehe” 31).

The chapbook *Ritter Galmy* presents *zuechtige Liebe* as a state of intense feeling that is characterized by a deep and rational wisdom. Indeed, it may be wiser and more rational than the married love presented in these texts.<sup>163</sup> The Duchess tests Galmy's love by asking careful questions of Friderich, who comes to her on behalf of his friend. She suspects betrayal or deception (Liv<sup>r</sup>) and tells Friderich directly: "wo aber Galmy der ritter der unehren an mich muten oder langen wolt/ er mich in grossen ungnaden gegen im finden wuerde" (Liv<sup>r</sup>). However, despite her concerns, she agrees to see Galmy in the company of her servants because she "ihn allzeit fuer ein zuechtigen und schamhaften Juengling gehalten hab" (Liv<sup>r</sup>). Only when she sees his extreme shame-facedness and speechlessness does she receive him alone.

The Duchess guards her honor by carefully testing and questioning love – as intense a passion as it is – to ensure that it is proper. This wisdom allows her to receive love, yet remain true to her husband. It also allows her to discern the dishonorable nature of the Marshall's affection. In the beginning, the Marshall's request is the same as Galmy's: He wants to love and serve her. However, rather than approaching her humbly and unable to speak, the Marshall emphasizes his power.<sup>164</sup> The setting in which he meets with the Duchess also signals his dishonorable intentions. He waits until the Duke is away from court to declare his love, and he speaks to the Duchess in the absence of her ladies-in-waiting. This secrecy is no accident: the Marshall attempts to persuade with the claim that no one will know.<sup>165</sup> This marks the difference

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<sup>163</sup> Rüdiger Schnell finds that married love is consistently represented as irrational and jealous in early modern texts ("Liebesdiskurs und Ehediskurs im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert" 89-90).

<sup>164</sup> Woellet mich euwere Liebe auch lassenerwerben/dieweil wir doch solches ohn alle sorge vollbringen moeget/ es wirdt euch auch kein Mensch darinne verdencken/ den maenniglich wissen mag/ daß ihr von dem hertzoge befohlen seyt zu bewaren. Darumb allerliebste Fraw/ schlaget zuruck all sorge unnd angst/ und gebt meinem willen statt/ wil ich mich hinfort in euwern Dienst unnd Liebe/ dieweil ich lebe verpflichten. (Qiii<sup>r</sup>)

<sup>165</sup> Q iii<sup>r</sup>

between the Marshall's "Dienst und Liebe" and that of Galmy's. The Duke knows of the relationship between his wife and Galmy, as does everyone at court. Their alliance is visible and contributes to the joy of the court.

The Duchess knows the difference between *zuechtige* and *buehlerische Liebe*. She does not make choices based on passion, even though she feels with intensity. This contrasts with her husband's love for her. The intensity of his passion causes him to make life and death decisions from a place of rage. The Duke's return illustrates this well. As soon as he hears of the Marshall's lie, he experiences a change in affect, and physical language is used to describe his growing rage: "das herz in seinem Leibe sich umkehrt"(Rii<sup>v</sup>). The Duke's emotion is one-dimensional, consisting of rage unmarked by tenderness or rational reflection. He does not mourn his wife's behavior or question the Marshall further. Rather, he immediately blames the Marshall for delaying the Duchess's execution until his return (Rii<sup>v</sup>). Furthermore, the Duke's unwillingness to hear his wife's side of the story shows that his conjugal, legal love was too out of control to grant her justice. The blinding effect of the Duke's love is illustrated by his refusal to listen to the Count von P's reasonable suggestion that the matter be investigated (Rii<sup>v</sup>). The Duke's love involves rage that makes him less open to the truth and sure that he knows everything – much like the *Sicherheit* and *Verstockung* against which the *Faustbücher* warned.

### **Immature Love – *Die Schoene Magelona***

There are important parallels between faith and marital love in *Die schoene Magelona*, though they differ from those in *Ritter Galmy*.<sup>166</sup> We find little emphasis on the relationship between love and melancholy, as in the prose novel just discussed. However, *Die schoene*

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<sup>166</sup> The "Schöne Magelona" that is printed in *Das Buch der Liebe* is Veit Warbeck's 1527 adaptation of a French prose novel of unknown authorship that appeared in the mid-fifteenth century. Warbeck's work was highly popular in German-speaking lands, seeing sixteen separate printings before 1587 (Veitschegger 35).

*Magelona* reviews faith, love, and marriage in the context of Lutheranism as presented by sixteenth-century writers. The experience of love in this chapbook is similar to the experience of faith. The validity of both inner phenomena is not clear from the outset, but must be carefully (yet hopefully) monitored and tested; only the end result provides certainty about the social value of love, and the truth of faith. At the same time, society in general, and good Christians in particular are asked to look for indications of love's civility and faith's reality. God's guidance and *Magelona*'s prayer further emphasize the similarities between faith and love. Praying, *Magelona* asks for God's grace so that the couple's love may persevere: "hilff daß wir nicht also verloren umbziehen in dieser Welt/hilff daß unser treuwe Liebe nicht also verloren werd" (Kii<sup>r</sup>).

In the beginning of the narrative, the quality of *Magelona* and Peter's love is uncertain. *Magelona*'s impatience and willingness to run away with Peter, as well as his opening her bodice, suggests that lust endangers the legitimacy of their love. Yet, *Magelona*'s prayers after the couple's separation indicates that their love is not false or *schendlich*, but has the potential to be purified through tribulation. In her first prayer, *Magelona* accepts the separation from Peter to be a diabolical trick, intended to destroy her and Peter's love. The couple and their love resemble Job and his faith in this part of *Magelona*'s prayer: "diese wider wertigkeit hat uns geben der boese Geist/ dieweil unsere Lieb nicht ist gewesen unorddentich/ un dieweil wir nicht haben woellen bewilligen in seine boese *Anfechtung*" (Kii<sup>r</sup>). Here, the use of the word "*Anfechtung*," like the Duchess's use of "heyl," brings the love discourse into the language of religion.

*Magelona*'s second prayer proves that development of the couple's love is necessary for her spiritual health. *Magelona* travels to Rome dressed as a pilgrim. On the way, she repents of her sins, while remaining certain that her and Peter's love is *ordentlich*. The focus on personal

sinfulness responds to conventional pilgrimage practices. Readers familiar with the *devotio moderna* movement and evangelical personal piety would notice her repentance and that her request for mercy is grounded in Christ's death and merciful life.<sup>167</sup> In their direct appeal to Christ in the last half of the prayer, Magelona's words reflect a personal relationship ("O guetiger Christe/ ich bitte dich/du woellest diese deine Tochter troesten" – Kii<sup>f</sup>), and an inner state that suggests saving faith as Protestants would recognize it, even in a Catholic setting ("den ich wende mich zu dir auß gutem hertzen unnd Willen" – Kii<sup>f</sup>). The prayer concludes with a request not for the preservation of Magelona's faith, but for the preservation of the couple's love and union. The end goal on earth is not only a peaceful death, but for life to end "in guetem fried/ unnd treuwen sacrament der ehe" (Kii<sup>f</sup>).

The maturation of Magelona's piety indicates the maturation of her love. When she goes to Rome, she undergoes a conversion marked by her repentant prayers and change of dress. She borrows the clothing of a female pilgrim which makes her unrecognizable to her parents whom she accidentally encounters in a church in Rome and to Peter when they are reunited. The fact that Rome is her first destination signals a change of heart, in that she does not seek Peter, but attends to her spiritual life. Magelona recognizes that what has happened in love relates to her faith. She never gives up hope of marriage to Peter. It is a sign of her hope and her piety that she serves, caring for sick pilgrims and building a church in Peter's name. Once she reaches the "Heyden Insel," her personal practice becomes strict and she is hard-working (Kii<sup>v</sup>). At this point, her conversion is so complete that she is known only as the *Spitalerin*, and is referred to as

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<sup>167</sup> *Devotio Moderna*, a fourteenth-century religious movement founded by Gerte Groote and Jean Gerson that focused on the inner life and pious practices of the individual and emphasized the need for conversion and re-conversion as part of the Christian life. *Devotio Moderna* flourished during the 14th and 15th centuries and many of its aspects were incorporated in both the Protestant and Catholic Reformations, see Wakefield 113-114.

such by the narrator. She becomes Magelona again only after she removes her pilgrim garb and changes into courtly attire.

While Magelona and Peter do not recognize one another at first, Magelona knows him once he tells his story. Peter only sees her as “ein heylige Person” (Kiv<sup>v</sup>). However, the text emphasizes that both before and after Magelona recognizes her husband, she treats him with the utmost care – the same care she extends to everyone at the refuge. The development of Magelona’s faith has informed love and resulted in a loss of subjectivity: at this moment the identity of both lovers as individuals becomes secondary. The faith and love are there to benefit all. This spiritual state contrasts with the dissolution of the self at the beginning of Magelona and Peter’s affair, where both lovers are so enveloped by love that they do not know where they are.<sup>168</sup>

The narrative’s focus on the female protagonist as the converging point for heterosexual love and faith, and the moments at which the practice of love is coded as the practice of faith resonate with what sixteenth-century Lutherans valued about women and marriage. Protestant and Catholic writers took different positions regarding marriage law and the role of parents in young people’s marriages. However, both confessions were supportive of the increasingly affective bonds between engaged and married couples. Lutheran positions on divorce suggest that the faithful believed in the idea of marital compatibility.<sup>169</sup> Moreover, with the abolition of

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<sup>168</sup> Albrecht Classen’s observation that in courtly literature love is the ultimate transgression of the self further undergirds the suitability of romantic love for spiritual change within pre- and early modern contexts. (26)

<sup>169</sup> Luther disapproves of divorce, but is ambivalent regarding its lawfulness, even as he admits that it is occasionally necessary for well-functioning families (Hendrix 173)



convents in Protestant lands, married life was the only life-path available to godly women.<sup>170</sup> For wealthier, urban women (the women who would have access to *Das Buch der Liebe*), almost the entirety of their lives and work resided in the relationships and matters of the household. The marital relationship and conjugal love were central to Lutheran female life. It makes sense, then, that female spiritual development would be inseparable from the quest for married love.

Because of this sensitivity to marital matters, some of the themes elaborated in *Die schoene Magelona* might have stood out to sixteenth-century Lutheran readers because of their actuality in civic and religious discourse. These aspects include the role of parental consent and community in marriage agreements, the privileging of married life over single life, and the wife's role in controlling affect. Writers such as Heinrich Bucer and Johannes Brenz spoke against clandestine marriages, often going so far as to label them "diabolical."<sup>171</sup> Indeed, an important aspect of the legal reformation of marriage was to require parental consent and involve the courts and clergy more deeply in the process of marrying than had previously been the case. Peter and Magelona marry without clerical assistance or parental consent. The validity of their marriage is clearly based on Catholic law, but would be invalid in a Lutheran society.<sup>172</sup> They agree to marry

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<sup>170</sup> There were, in actuality, notable exceptions to the rule of the married woman. A few evangelical cloisters existed in Brunswick-Lüneberg. Also, tax records show that a surprising percentage of households were headed by self-supporting women, some of whom seem to have never been married ("Having Her Own Smoke" 193-195). However, it is significant that these women were repeatedly made invisible in pastoral and moral addresses to women that spoke exclusively in terms of married living.

<sup>171</sup> See Harrington 29 on Bucer and other Reformers. Müller quotes Brenz: "Hieraus so zwo junge person/Heimlich on wissen und willen der elter/ jnn ungehorsam/ in unverständener jugend/ inn einer trunkenen weis/durch ergen mutwillen . . . sich zusammen Ehelich verbunden wer wolt nicht sagen/ das solch verbündnis mehr von den Satan/ dann von unserm Herrn Gott geschehen were" (qtd in "Jörg Wickram zu Liebe und Ehe" 38).

<sup>172</sup> Protestant Reformers emphasized the connection between private household order and public order. By honoring the marriages of children who elope, many critics claimed that the Church was contributing to institutional anarchy and ignoring the social nature of marriage. As the counter-Reformation progressed, many Catholic writers would take similar positions (Harrington 27-29; Ozment 25). One of the last sessions of the Council of Trent, held in December of 1563, would require more clerical and civic involvement in marriage contracts, including publishing banns. However, it took some decades for this requirement to come into regular practice and Protestants continued to associate Catholics with clandestine marriages (Gottlieb 72-23)

and run away together in a way that mirrors the popular warnings about clandestine marriage that appeared in broadsheet form during the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>173</sup>

While the narrative begins with Peter and Magelona's clandestine marriage, *Die schoene Magelon*, primarily thematizes the reintegration of the couple and their *Wildehe* into society. This process proves the civilized (and civilizing) nature of their love, and the social value of their union. After running away together, the couple is separated. In their trials, they turn to God, the Church, and Peter's parents. For both Peter and Magelona the learning process must continue before they can be together. Peter's training is martial and courtly, though in exile at the Sultan's court. Magelona's creates bonds with Peter's family and cultivates a charitable love to replace the lusty love that was solely directed towards Peter.

Lutheran insistence upon parental and community involvement reflects the importance that sixteenth-century writers placed on marriage within the individual biography and society. The resonances between the courtly *zuechtige Liebe* and the Lutheran social ideal of married love make this text relevant for Feyerabend's readership, despite differences between a fictional courtly world, and a real world of urban artisans and merchants. Lyndal Roper has argued that sixteenth-century Lutheran teaching on family life is based on the artisan household. Such a household included not only the master, his wife, and their children, but also household servants, and apprentices at varying stages of their training.<sup>174</sup> The legal codes and guild rules of cities such as Augsburg and Nuremberg made the status of master in a workshop synonymous with

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<sup>173</sup> Georg Widman includes one such tale in one of his *Erinnerungen*. In the text he speaks of a young couple of which he heard, but the story he relates bears a strong resemblance to his own tragic clandestine marriage, undertaken when he was sixteen (2:40-41; Wunder 35)

<sup>174</sup> Roper 5-9

marriage: masters had to be married and one could not marry before becoming a master. Indeed wedding celebrations often coincided with celebrations of the successful completion of an apprenticeship.<sup>175</sup>

The relationship of the couple heading this craft household reached far beyond the couple itself. Obviously, the couple produced and raised Christian citizens and functioned as a social ideal for future householders and masters in the trade. The *Hausvater* was responsible for the spiritual education and well-being of all members of his household, while the *Hausmutter* played a crucial supporting role in religious education along with her primary responsibilities for running the household. Since *Stadträte* (city councils) consisted of masters, then the artisan marriage was central to the society that Lutheran thinking envisioned. It was the lynchpin of economic, religious and political order as well as of cultural continuity. Thus, the ideal of the artisan marriage in sixteenth-century Lutheran cities bears a strong resemblance to that of the noble marriage in courtly culture. The noble marriage stood for social order. Not only did the marriage itself need to be well-ordered – with the husband as ruler and wife as obedient support– but the match had to be made in a way that affirmed social order.

Therefore, readers of *Die schoene Magelona* as it appeared in the 1587 collection would recognize the problems that clandestine marriage posed for this social vision. Witnessing the intensity of the lovers' feeling as their hopes are frustrated and then the joy of their reunion and reentry into courtly society allows the reader to experience the reformation of an immature love into a godly love that affirms community and authority. The choice of *Die schoene Magelona*, as a story of clandestine marriage redeemed, points to the fact that even though Lutherans insisted on parental consent, there was no condemnation of the love match *per se*. Lutherans generally

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<sup>175</sup> Roper 19, 31

forbade parents to force their children to marry against their will. Children who could not obtain parental consent for a chosen partner were encouraged to take the matter to clergy and even to local courts. The primary concern lay not with whom one married, but how one married, and whether the marriage would fulfill the social expectation. For Feyerabend's readers, Peter and Magelona's ordeal proved that their union affirmed community and hierarchy.

The intermingled relationship between the outward and the inward, when discussing early modern emotion, is evident in the dependence that social order has on the ability of the wife to control her affect, along with that of her family. One of the ways Magelona signals her readiness to take up her role as *Hausmutter* is the way she manages her own affective life and that of those around her. Jan-Dirk Müller writes of the godly *Ehefrau* who controls household affectivity. We observe Magelona's transformation into the wife Müller describes as the narrative progresses. In the beginning, Magelona's body is in turmoil because of love-sickness, though she is proactive when dealing with her love-melancholy. Unlike Galmy, she recognizes her own symptoms and seeks out a cure. This is noteworthy for a tradition which presents female love-melancholy as hysteria.<sup>176</sup> Further demonstrating Magelona's reasonable approach to love is that her violent passion to leads her to learn more about Peter's suitability as a husband. However, Magelona does lose control of herself after her maid (*Amme*) expresses concern, implying that "die Lieb hett sie uberfallen unnd umbgeben/daß sie ihr selbst nicht mehr maechtig war" (Hiii<sup>v</sup>). While still at her parents' court, Magelona repeatedly fails at controlling her affect, even though her indiscretions put her maid, Peter, and herself at risk. When she discovers, however, that Peter has

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<sup>176</sup> " . . . the illness of love-melancholy is associated not only with women but in particular with female sexuality, whose dangerous lability was a feature of much earlier classical depiction of female madness as well as later accounts of 'hysteria' " (Wells 103). While hysteria is a term normally associated with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Laurinda S. Dixon's work traces Western European representations of specifically female illnesses of temperament, including the problem of the wandering womb from the thirteenth through the eighteenth centuries in *Perilous Chastity: Women and Illness in Pre-Enlightenment Art and Medicine*.

left her alone in the woods, she approaches the situation more reasonably after learning that he did not willingly abandon her (Ki<sup>f</sup>). We begin to see a change in her after the separation as Magelona prays to God that he protect her sanity: "behalt and behuete mir meine sinn/mein verstandt unnd vernunfft/damit ich nicht verliere Leib und Seel," drawing on God as "ein Liecht aller ungetroesten und verlassenen" (Ki<sup>f</sup>). Her concern with the state of her mind continues in her penitent prayer on the road to Rome when she asks: "laß mich nicht also betruedt ire umbgehen in dieser Welt"(Kii<sup>f</sup>). Reason and equanimity emerge as the prevailing inner states when Magelona determines to go to Provence, Peter's home region and wait for him. She builds a refuge for pilgrims on an island off the French coast, serving God and maintaining her virginity.

Peter's parents, a Count and Countess, visit Magelona's church to pray for Peter. They tell the *Spitalerin* – Magelona's new persona– about him, and she cries with them. Touched by her empathy, the parents, especially Peter's mother, visit often, seeking Magelona's comfort. Magelona is at her most emotionally skillful when the Count and Countess find Peter's rings in a fish's mouth and conclude that he is dead. The Countess is disconsolate, and her husband offers her the biblically and doctrinally sound admonition to accept her son's death as God's will (Kiii<sup>f</sup>). This fails to calm his wife and she seeks comfort from Magelona. She listens and prays for the Countess and quite reasonably offers an alternative, hopeful explanation for the discovery of Peter's rings in the fish's mouth: perhaps Peter lost or gave the rings away. At this point the narrator calls Magelona a "tuegentreiche und weise Tochter/ die ire hoffnung in Gott allein setzt"(Kiii<sup>f</sup>). She offers hopeful and spiritual comfort which encourages family to maintain faith. She does this even as she controls her own emotions: "wiewol ir schmerzen nit weniger war den der Graeffin/ sie wer auch wol nottuerfftiger troestens gewesen"(Kiii<sup>f</sup>). Her affectivity has

transformed from one that was unmanaged, disconnected from reason and religion and only focused on herself to that of the righteous spouse. This community-affirming emotionality goes beyond individual interest and maintains the spiritual health of the family. When Peter returns, she initially conceals her joy at seeing him alive in order to comfort him, remind him of God's past goodness, and encourage him to hope. Magelona has developed the ability to control her emotional expression consistently and manage the intense emotions of others in a godly way, indicating that she is ready to be a proper wife and *Hausmutter*.

In many courtly texts, when lovers confess their love, the first question regards civility. Such is Friderich's concern in *Ritter Galmy*, and it is the *Amme's* as well, when she questions both Peter and Magelona. The love in *Ritter Galmy* is clearly civilized, though its nature is uncertain in *Die schoene Magelona*. Indeed, the couple's disrespect of Magelona's parents and court would seem to brand their love as *schendlich*. Magelona thinks herself somewhat *geschandet*, as she is afraid to return to her family. Peter's desire is also out of control. In the wood, Peter takes pleasure from gazing upon Magelona's sleeping face. But, desiring more, he unlaces her bodice. The progression seems inevitable: Peter sees her face, then needs to see her breasts, then needs to see the necklace between her breasts. In a scene characterized by the unquenchable insistence on more – typical of an overly isolated love, disconnected from social values, the reader is left to wonder what would have happened had the bird not stolen the jewelry.

Peter's inner state, along with his behavior is cause for concern: he was "in der Liebe ganz entzundet/redt und gedauchte ihn er were im Himmel /gedachte auch unglueck moecht in nicht schaden"(Ji<sup>v</sup>). Here the love is not only out of bounds and anti-social, but it involves a hubristic insanity. As an experience, it seems to be the opposite of the kind of love-melancholy

that promotes introspection and can foster spiritual growth. The love has developed to such a state that God intervenes to teach Peter that “in dieser Welt keine freude were/sondern trawrigkeit” and to help him to learn patience (Jii<sup>v</sup>). Considering how far astray this love has gone, what categories can we use to understand it? Is it *unzuechtige Liebe*, reformed through trial? Should we perhaps be suspicious of the couple’s love at the end, knowing its unsavory beginnings?

In seeking the answers to this question, it is helpful to analyze the love in *Die schoene Magelona* as an entity separate from either Peter or Magelona, an “atmosphere,” following Schmitz’s approach. Love relates to bodies, even as bodies determine how permeable they are to the atmosphere. In doing so, they also change the nature of the feeling-atmosphere. The language of the text lends itself to such an analysis. “Liebe” resides in the world and the subject stands inside of it. The first mentions of love in the text identify love as a depersonalized entity: “Also war er entzuetet in ihrer Liebe” (Hiii<sup>f</sup>). This comment appears after Peter has seen Magelona for the first time and immediately before she saw and loved him. Thus the “ihrer” refers to the love directed towards her, but not “her” love. Magelona is affected similarly, “denn die Lieb hett sie ueberfallen unnd umgeben” (Hiii<sup>v</sup>). This way of talking about love recalls Schmitz’s description of love as an “ansteckendes Gefuehl” (*Die Liebe* 31), and as a unity “statt zweier “Lieben” in zwei Seelen” (*Die Liebe* 33). Romantic love, in Schmitz’s view, has a *Verdichtungspunkt* (an object). But unlike the emotions of platonic love or anger, it has no *Verankerungspunkt* (reason or motivation). This fits well with the simultaneity of both partners’ experience in the text. Romantic love’s independence from motivation is especially evident in Magelona’s case: she falls in love, and then seeks explanations of Peter’s suitability for her.

If we return to that important scene in the woods, we observe the ability of love to confound one's sense of location as Peter gazes upon Magelona and does not know where he is or from whence he came. *Liebe* continues this pattern by defying attempts to differentiate the ways in which Peter and Magelona love. In fact, the verb *lieben* rarely appears in this text. More common is *Liebe*, the noun. Magelona describes love as "zwischen uns" (Kii<sup>f</sup>), and prays that love not be lost, not for the strength to continue loving (Kii<sup>f</sup>). Upon the couple's reunion, the narrator describes their affection: "un thet sie freundlich kuessen/ in rechter guter lieb/ unnd fiengen beyde an vor frewden zu weynen. In solcher Lieb bleiben sie bey einander" (Li<sup>f</sup>). This is more literal and more linguistically pervasive than when contemporary people say "I am in love." This representation of love is an example of Orest Ranum's reading of love in early modern European culture. He claims that "the power of love comes from outside the individual, from heaven or some more funereal place, and disturbs the equilibrium of the bodily fluids" (244). Love's intensity permeates the couple's minds and bodies, spreading to the wider circle of humanity. However, in the beginning Peter and Magelona are enclosed in an intense world of feeling which isolates them from the rest of the court. This love appears as a raw energy that takes practice to experience and control. *Zuechtige Liebe* does not just appear; it has to be cultivated – civilized.

I hesitate to use the term *unzuechtig* to characterize Peter and Magelona's love at the beginning of the narrative. This label does not explain the restraint shown even before they leave court. Despite his love, Peter remains courtly until he allows Magelona to leave with him. He participates in tournaments, and he wins. He makes honorable choices, refusing to fight someone to whom he owes a favor, even if he has to humble himself. His filial piety prompts



him to visit his parents, even if he must leave Magelona. However, all of his ethical intentions leave him when he is alone in the woods with Magelona – and “die Liebe.”

In order to explain this inconsistent, chaotic love, I suggest that this is an immature love, neither *zuechtig*, nor *unzuechtig*. Magelona explains the constancy of her love, suggesting its civility at an early stage: “Das wirdt mein Glueck seyn/und kan nichts anders werden/Denn ich wil unnd beger in zu haben und kein gedancken sol mir in mein Hertz steigen noch kommen einen andern zu lieben unnd begeren/ den allein ihn/ den von anbegin/als ich ihn am ersten ersahe/ergab sich mein hertz ihm allein” (Hiv<sup>r</sup>). However, as is the case with faith, there is no way to determine its true nature until we see its fruit.<sup>177</sup>

*Die schoene Magelona* represents the civilization process in love. At the outset of the tale, there is an intense, disorienting atmosphere that promises lasting affection. It concludes with a restrained, integrated, and ordered union. The atmosphere has diffused into a love that benefits not only the couple, but the family, the court, and, through Magelona’s charity, the world. This evolution occurs in concert with Magelona’s spiritual development. As I have suggested above, she undergoes a radical character change as a result of her experiences. Her maturing faith civilizes the love between herself and Peter.

It is significant that Peter does not undergo a transformation similar to Magelona’s. The tale begins with his decision to leave home. Before the separation, the narrator tells us that God brought the ordeal to Peter to teach him about patience and suffering. However, unlike

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<sup>177</sup> The difficulty of discerning the ethics of love was a topic of concern before the Reformation. Orest Ranum writes, regarding the late Middle Ages, that “since the physical manifestations of sacred love were the same as those of profane love, a religious authority was needed to distinguish the spiritual from the carnal path” (240). Some fifteenth-century writers compared tedious spiritual languor (*acedia*) and love-melancholy, but I argue that the language used among sixteenth-century Protestants for determining the testing personal faith is particularly apt for thinking about the rightness of love and that these parallels partially explain the popularity of courtly stories which center on testing love in post-Reformation contexts (Ramun 241).

Magelona, Peter experiences little spiritual change. As he heads towards his homeland, it is clear that his mental state has deteriorated. During the journey to Provence, he prays for death. He wanders around and refuses to eat, showing little faith and no connection to others. Upon reaching Magelona's refuge, he tells of his hopelessness and reiterates his desire to die. Peter's state of mind suggests that he has not been waiting in hope, as Magelona has learned to do, and has encouraged the Countess to do. Yet he is clearly ready to participate in a courtly, civilized love with Magelona. Spiritual life and love are not intertwined for Peter in the way that they seem to be for Magelona.

If the couple's love has become civilized and mature, it is due to Magelona's emotional maturation, not Peter's experience abroad.<sup>178</sup> We see this in the reintegration of the couple into the court. After Magelona reveals herself to Peter, she insists that they sleep in different beds on the night before Peter's return is known to all – a stark contrast with Peter's impatient lust on the night of their clandestine marriage. Magelona introduces social values into their life as a couple. Much of her joy on the night of their reunion is related to the joy that his parents will experience. She orchestrates the reunion with his parents. The hierarchy in their marriage and the state is established when Peter takes the lead and introduces Magelona to the court at Provence.

### **Marriage and Salvation – Mircebilla in *Keyser Octavian***

The story of Mircebilla,, the Turkish Princess in *Emperor Octavian*,<sup>179</sup> shows that love brings not only spiritual growth for the Christian woman, but salvation for the non-Christian

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<sup>178</sup> The text does emphasize that Peter has proven himself abroad and made himself more honorable as a knight, However, this development has little connection on their love or on spiritual life.

<sup>179</sup> *Kaiser Octavian* is a translation of the Fench prose novel entitled *L'histoire de Florent et Lyon, enfants de l'empereur de Rome*. The German translation appeared in Paris in 1534 and was attributed to a Wilhelm Saltzmann.

woman. The heroine of this subplot experiences union with her lover and salvation almost simultaneously. Moreover, the development of Mircebilla's love for Florens, the Emperor and Empress's lost twin child, bears resemblances to the development of faith in Protestant thinking. As discussed in the last chapter, Protestant salvation is an ongoing process of inner transformation that has outward signs, including the confession of faith in Christ. That confession, while vital to the individual and community, is necessary, but only part of salvation. This model of salvation has parallels to the model of marriage Protestant leaders were promoting. Righteous marriage must be public, even as it signals the inner affection and respect that developed before public contracts were drawn, and that should continue to grow after the marriage ceremony.

This initial inner movement towards marriage and faith is, in my reading, the impetus for Mircebilla's insistence that she accompany her father to the battlefields in Europe. Her initiative and insistence on choosing violates family hierarchy, yet the first experience of love quickly integrates her into an ordered gender hierarchy. The volition and self-determination that Mircebilla demonstrates in her behavior at the Turkish court disappears as she falls in love in a passive manner. Florens' love for her is contagious: "dan der Edele Florens hatte sie zu hart mit dem Pfeil der Liebe geschossen" (Div<sup>f</sup>). The princess experiences the lovesickness that all the other lovers discussed here experience, but she alone does not know the cause of her troubles. When her ladies-in-waiting ask her why she is unwell, she replies: "Bey dem Gott Mahon/ ich weyß selber nit/ was mich fuer eine Kranckheit so hart beladen hat" (Div<sup>f</sup>). Because of the strength of her will, when she enters into the narrative, Mircebilla requires an experience of love that prepares her to submit to God and her husband.

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Between its first printing and its appearance in *Das Buch der Liebe*, there is evidence for ten separate printings of the prose novel.

A hint of the doctrine of election seems to be present as the text indicates that she is a particularly likely candidate for both love and for Christianity, even before she met Florens. The first time she sees Florens, her future lover and one of the twin princes, she recognizes his nobility despite his rusty armor, and she pities him when he is hurt in a fight with a giant. She is sympathetic, according to the narrator, “dann sie war den Christen nicht sehr feindt” (Cii<sup>v</sup>). Another indication of her receptiveness to marital love, and through that, Christianity, is that she is a pious Muslim. She prays to Mohammad as she realizes that she is in love with Florens (Div<sup>r</sup>). At this point she is committed to marrying one of her coreligionists – a sign of her prioritizing communal commitments over personal desires. Her prayer indicates the conflict caused by a chance meeting, as well as her steadfast piety:

Ach Gott Mahon/warumb hast du in nicht in unserem Glauben lassen geborn werden?  
Was hast du gezeichnet/daß du in in dem verdampften Glauben erschaffen hast/ Unnd  
fuerwar/ wenn er jetzt zugegen were/ so wolte ich ihm meine Liebe vor allen Maennern  
auff Erden geben und von hertzen goennen/ Wiewol mich kein Christen Mann muß noch  
sol beruehren außgenommen der Ritter/ unangesehen/ daß er so rostig ist/ Aber er muß  
unsern Gott Mahon anbeten/ darmit so mag her mir vertrauet werden. (Div<sup>r</sup>)

It is typically the case that love brings conflict between equally legitimate claims. Mircebilla's prayer allows Christian readers to empathize with the Muslim princess. They can admire her faith and chastity, thus reflecting upon their own religion from the imagined perspective of an Islamic opponent. However, these readers anticipate Mircebilla's conversion and union with Florens because, from the perspective of a sixteenth-century Christian, Islam holds no legitimate claim upon its followers. Eventually, Mircebilla aligns herself with Florens. She sets up her tent on the banks of the Seine, with the opening facing the enemy camp, and publically prays to

Mohammed for his safety (Eiii<sup>v</sup>, Fi<sup>t</sup>) Florens notices this action and his love for her is strengthened.

This gesture also precipitates Mircebilla's break with her father and Islam, preparing the way for her union with Florens and her conversion to Christianity. Florens puts Mircebilla and her entourage on a ship for safekeeping, as the French defeat the Sultan. While Mircebilla is alone on the ship with Florens, she rejects Islam and converts to Christianity:

Die Jungfraw Mircebilla befahle Florentzen mit grossen seufftzen dem Allmaechtigen Gott/ dem sie dienet/ denn irem vorigen Gott Mahon wol sie nie mehr dienen/ sondern fuer iren feindt halten/ Dann in dem Florens mit ir auff dem Schiff in die Statt Pariß gefahren war/ hette er sie under anderem freundtlichem Gespraech aud deß Christlichen Glaubens eins theils unterrichtet. (Fiv<sup>t</sup>)

The princess is brought to the Christian god through her husband and her conjugal affection. There is a spiritual intimacy to this moment that occurs in isolation; it is a wedding night that is not quite a wedding night, and that would normally be suspect, were it not for its religious result. This encounter, this abduction, is more ambivalent than that in *Die schoene Magelona*. In both situations, an aristocratic father and court are dishonored. However, in *Die schoene Magelona*, that breach requires an ordeal, a pilgrimage, to achieve reintegration into courtly society. In the end, the greater good – marital love – is served, but for it to function in an orderly, public way, the transgressions must be punished. In Mircebilla's case, a non-Christian king is dishonored and even betrayed (the Sultan is captured with Mircebilla's help), but this dishonor appears to be the natural result of Mircebilla's movement towards a Christian man, a Christian court, and the Christian religion. This process contributes to the long-term benefit of everyone. King

Dagobertus shows mercy to the Sultan, endowing him with a territory. Moreover, the Sultan and his court convert. The woman's love for her husband is conflated with her salvation in such a way that both marital love and faith emerge as gifts of grace and result in eternal, communal good.

Both young noblewomen, Magelona and Mircebilla, embark on quests that lead them to spiritual transformation and marriage. Magelona's corresponds to an "*Anfechtung*-experience." She sins and, through grace and repentance, she follows a path of suffering that leads to growth and restoration. Mircebilla chooses to leave the Ottoman Empire and move towards Christian Europe, without intending to move towards a Christian prince. Love is the plot device, the narrative surprise that operates as seemingly irrationally as Fortuna and *wanckelmuertiges Glueck*, in many early modern narratives. Because of her conversion, however, it is clear that it is not only love at work, and it is certainly not luck. Grace prompts Mircebilla to leave the Ottoman court. By falling in love with Florens and following that love, Mircebilla responds to grace with faith. Since Mircebilla's wanderings end in conversion, the text employs a narrative tradition where readers experience wonder at the unpredictability of fortune to illustrate the incalculability of divine grace, resulting in a spiritual appropriation of the more secular focus on fortune. Love and Providence work in concert to move people and events through conflict and suffering to ends that are ultimately and communally beneficial.

In addition, Mircebilla experiences a change in temperament through her experience of love. Before her conversion, Mircebilla's love for Florens is lustful and hotheaded. She perpetually swings between desire and rage. Her prayer evidences her anger at Florens' Christian faith as she threatens to burn him to death herself if Florens does not convert to Islam (Fi<sup>r</sup>). At the couple's first encounter, Florens arrogantly kisses her. This kiss makes him lovesick in a way

that might be cured. He declares, “moecht ich nur drey Kueß haben/ so were mein Hertz gesundt unnd wer kein froelicher Mann auff erden dann ich” (Fi<sup>i</sup>). In contrast, the desire that the kiss stokes in Mircebilla is insatiable to the point that she prays an exclamatory prayer: “O Gott Mahon/ daz ich den Ritter in meiner Zelte hette/ er mueßte mir mein taegliche seufftzen zu frieden stellen/den ich leide grosse Pein/ seint dem Kuß her/ den er mir gegeben hat/ daß ich mich nicht an im rechen mag/ das bringet mir schwere Pein” (Eiii<sup>v</sup>). Such intensity of affect – especially rage and lust – is unfitting for a noble woman. It usually suggests a point of instability that will affect her fate. However, Mircebilla transitions without incident into a more stable love and affection for Florens, praying and crying for his safety. The obvious interpretation is that lust and anger are the traits of non-Christian women. Once Mircebilla is a Christian, she is cured of such affective excess. Yet this uncomplicated transition can also be understood to communicate the essential unity between the intense sufferings, desires, and passions of love and the communal benefits of married love. When lovers quickly move into community and family, as Mircebilla and Florens do, and they are not allowed to isolate themselves in their emotions, both of these affective experiences represent worthy expressions of sexual and conjugal love. The social value of romantic love is thematized in courtly texts of the late middle ages and is declared part of the good life for every adult Christian by sixteenth-century Protestant writers.

### **Maternal Love – the Empress and Melusine**

Mircebilla is only one of the three main characters in the prose novel *Emperor Octavian*. The other two – the Empress and the burgher wife of Clemens – are wives and mothers. Mother love, in contrast to romantic love, is not a common theme in courtly literature. Recent discussions have questioned the ways in which modern culture privileges the affective

experience of romantic love over that of parental love.<sup>180</sup> Schmitz includes mother love in, but excludes filial love from his atmospheres.<sup>181</sup> Certainly, sudden onset and irresistibility are features common to both maternal and romantic love, whereas development and choice are valued when people reflect on the experience of love in friendship. Though they rarely address the affect of motherhood, most Lutheran commentators agreed with Augustine that children, together with loyalty and love, were the purpose of marriage.<sup>182</sup> Less positively, many writers emphasized the avoidance of sexual sin as one of marriage's key functions.<sup>183</sup>

Luther and other Protestant ministers continued to insist on the emotional and moral weakness of women and the female tendency to succumb to temptation. In his commentary on St. Paul's I Timothy, 2:11 commanding that women be silent in church, Luther supports this restriction by pointing to the supposed innate weakness of women. He also responds to later verses about the importance of young widows marrying and bearing more children, exhorting congregations to help women do this.<sup>184</sup> St. Paul's justifications for his opinion that young

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<sup>180</sup> Robert Solomon's *Love: Emotion, Myth and Metaphor*, Daphe de Marneffe's *Maternal Desire* and Laura Kipnis's *Against Love* are a few examples of an ongoing cultural discussion questioning the reification of romantic love as the most profound, passionate and defining emotional experience, to the neglect of parental (often, unfortunately, labeled "maternal") love, which is more universal, can have similar characteristics and (for Kipnis), does not perpetuate gender inequality.

<sup>181</sup> *Die Liebe* 37

<sup>182</sup> Hendrix 172

<sup>183</sup> Early Modern Protestants had varying (sometimes with themselves!) views on the righteousness of sex and sexual desire in marriage. There was consensus that celibacy and singlehood were to be avoided, because then the temptation for illicit sex would be stronger than most could bear. However, some writers like Luther and Bucer saw sex in marriage as good, because it increases the affective bond within the couple. Others found it suspect and merely a tolerable remedy for human weakness (Harrington 34, 67; Wiesner-Hanks and Karant-Nunn – *Luther on Women : a Sourcebook* 137)

<sup>184</sup> This also speaks to the importance of reproduction in marriage for Luther. He heavily criticized unions that were unlikely to result in children and also couples who do not want children (WA 42: 89, 22-30). Lyndal Roper discusses and includes facsimiles of mid-sixteenth-century pamphlets warning of the dangers of the single young widow or the young widow who marries and older man (thus entering what will likely be an non-reproductive



widows should marry and Luther's comments center on a belief in female weakness and the rationale that children make women less vulnerable to Satanic influence.<sup>185</sup>

As Luther advocates for the silence of women in church, he is curiously silent on I Timothy 2:15, which states that women are saved through childbearing.<sup>186</sup> However, his advice to women who are afraid of childbirth possibly suggests his interpretation of this verse. In a 1531 sermon, Luther likens the uncertainty of childbirth to the uncertainty inherent in experiences of *Anfechtung*. One cannot know how long either will last or how difficult it will be, but in either case the Christian maintains confidence that one will know God in the end, regardless of the outcome.<sup>187</sup> In his commentary on Genesis, Luther calls the punishment of childbirth (for Eve's sin), happy and joyful, because, for the Christian, it carries the hope of resurrection.<sup>188</sup> The pain and danger of childbirth is an *Anfechtung* – a tribulation resulting from Original Sin – like other

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union), tying concerns about young widows into the interests of guilds in widows losing ownership of their late husbands' workshops (15, 255).

<sup>185</sup> I Tim 5:14 (*Lutherbibel* 1556) SO wil ich nu / das die jungen Widwen freien / Kinder zeugen / haushalten / dem Widersacher keine vrsache geben zu schelten

<sup>186</sup> I Timothy 2:15 (*Lutherbibel* 1556) “ Sie wird aber selig werden durch Kinderzeugen, so sie bleiben im Glauben und in der Liebe und in der Heiligung samt der Zucht.”

<sup>187</sup> “Nulla mulier poest dicere: Ich byns gewiß felicis partus, sed cogitate: Gott helff, berath, Ich stehe yn gotes gewalt, und syndt was wol bey yr, das Eva kan das wortlein ‘Modicum’ nicht finden, sed sthet ynn der hoffnung, wartung, obs 1, 2, 3 tag weren u. et tamen kompt sie von der schmertz, quia loquitur de pariente. Ipsa kan das ‘Modicum’ nicht hin zu setzen, quia videtis modicum laborare et postea liberari u. Sic vos. Nos habemus hic promissionem, quod mulieres non habent, ipsae alioqui non tristarentur. Ideo mus sie trawren et amen incerta, an liberanda, Sed hic ex exemplo facit promissionem, das uns nicht feilen kan und uber das habemus zusag. Sucut mulier in schmerzen w. et ubi peperit, habent gaudiam, sed Euch sols nicht feylen”.(WA 34, I p 351-52)

<sup>188</sup> Luther discusses not only childbirth, but the difficulties of the entire pregnancy. For him this particularly female suffering “inflicts punishment on the woman, and yet it leaves the hope of resurrection and of eternal life.” It’s important to note that Luther does not see woman as uniquely punished. Before this remark, he writes that “whatever is inflicted on the human race is bearable, provided this hope remains unshaken.” The punishment of childbirth is part of humankind’s punishment (“Lectures on Genesis”, LW I, p 198/WA 42, 110).

*Anfechtungen*. Thus childbirth is part of salvation. Because all women are called to marriage and childbirth,<sup>189</sup> these aspects of life are integral to female salvation.

The idea that women's salvation differs from men's arises from a cultural tradition in which gender is binary, and genders are assigned rigid social roles. Traditional Christian salvation is masculine in nature.<sup>190</sup> In a late-fifteenth-century dialogue between a nun, Schwester Katrei, and her confessor, the sister wants to intensify her spiritual experience by becoming a hermit. Her confessor's response is "Nitt enim dich des an! Es ist frowen nitt gegeben." Katrei replies: "Ich weis wol, das kein frow nümer zu himelrich mag komen, sie müssent all e man werden"(*Schwester Katrei*, lines 68-70). While Katrei does continue to say that every woman can spiritually become a man by engaging in difficult, manly deeds, her language suggests that living out one's salvation is a fundamentally masculine pursuit.<sup>191</sup> Augustine's discussions are the source of much discussion about spirituality and the sexes. Woman, in Augustine's view, constitutes the image of God only when she lives in union with a man. Alone, she does not reflect God's image. Men, on the other hand, are made in the image of God with or without a woman.<sup>192</sup>

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<sup>189</sup> "In addition to remembering what Luther said about bearing children in a narrow sense, we must also consider his teaching on 'vocation.' Based on the Latin word *vocare* (to call), the term designates not something that a person chooses but what God has called her to be. The German word *Beruf* (vocation) has the same connotation, based as it is, on the verb *rufen* (to call). Luther was certain that women were not called to preach, teach, or govern, but to "bear fruit" . . . Women's vocation was to be mothers" (*Luther on Women* 171).

<sup>190</sup> Here I am thinking of popular, church, and scholarly movements in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that reimagine the Christian God as female and develop feminist reinterpretations of doctrine, starting with Elizabeth Cady Stanton's *Women's Bible*, Mary Daly's work, Merlin Stone's *When God was a Woman*, and the Christian Feminist ReImagining Conference.

<sup>191</sup> *Schwester Katrei* 71-73

<sup>192</sup> "Women together with man is the image of God, so that the whole substance is one image. But when she has the role of helpmate, which pertains to her alone, she is not the image of God. But with regard to man alone, he is I the image of God, just as fully and completely as he is joined with the woman into one." (*De trinitate* 12.7.10)

E. Ann Matter reviews aspects of medieval culture which emphasized women's spirituality, including female mystics, Marian cults, and spiritual metaphors associated with female embodiment, arguing that the Middle Ages understood Augustine as insisting that women are equal to men in their creation as humans. For this reason, women can be saved and baptized. However, in their femininity, women lose the image of God. In Matter's observation, this medieval belief encouraged women to seek union with God in a variety of ways and maintained a model of male superiority and misogyny at the same time.<sup>193</sup> Luther upholds some aspects of this tradition. For example, he insists on female spiritual and intellectual weakness, as well as the association of women with the body, and men with intellect and spirit, echoing Augustine's insistence on the spiritual inadequacy of women. Rejecting the institutions and images that affirmed female piety in medieval Europe, Luther emphasizes the part of the Augustine's teaching that women form the image of God *together with a man*.<sup>194</sup> The authentic Christian life for a woman is married life. Taking into account Luther's writings on childbirth, and the biblical associations between childbirth and salvation, we can conclude that in Protestant areas of sixteenth-century Germany, childbearing and child-raising were the means by which women were sanctified. Perseverance in those tasks was what it meant for a woman to persevere in faith.

This thinking about motherhood and spirituality is reflected in the character of the Empress in *Emperor Octavian*. Courtly love does not lie at the center of this narrative (though it

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<sup>193</sup> Matter 44-45

<sup>194</sup> Scholarship is somewhat divided on whether Luther's Reformation improved the lot of sixteenth-century women. Stephen Ozment emphasizes the rejection of misogyny that is inherent in Luther's affirmation of the goodness of marriage and sex, as well as Protestant emphasis on compatibility in marriage. Other scholars, Susan Karant-Nunn and Lyndal Roper among them, contend that by making unmarried female life almost impossible and rejecting rituals and spaces that affirmed female community and forms of piety, the Reformation contributed heavily to the deterioration of the quality of women's lives in sixteenth-century Europe. Ann Conrad takes the middle road by noting that not all evangelical women saw the dissolution of the cloisters as liberation, but that the responsibility of teaching religious subjects to their children gave women an opportunity to affect the public sphere through their work in the home (Conrad 17, 19)

is present in its subplots), but courtly family. Here, the dynastic family appears in place of the couple. Following the trope of the separated and reunited couple, common to love novels since Late Antiquity, the family is separated, and at the conclusion of the tale, the family is reunited. Marriage is central to the family, of course: a false accusation of the wife (the Empress) and her husband's jealous rage divides the family. However, the Empress is a mature woman, and her mastery of marital love is clear from her response to her husband's banishment. Her love for her children is the means by which her faith is tested. This test is symbolized by her travels from Rome to Jerusalem, and then again to France to be reunited with her family.

The opening of the narrative foregrounds questions of maternity and piety. The noble couple is childless, and the Emperor wonders what sin might lie behind their barrenness. The Empress, is certain that sin does not keep them from parenthood (Ai<sup>v</sup>). Experience and pastoral care teaching would support the Empress's claim for most sixteenth-century readers. However, the narrator undermines our confidence in the Empress's innocence by referring to her childlessness as "ein mangel an irem Wesen" (Ai<sup>v</sup>). Concerns raised are put to rest by the news that she will become pregnant with twins. But a sense of conflict is revived by foreshadowing the suffering that motherhood would bring her. This echoes the reminders of love's suffering at the moment of its fulfillment which appear in several *Buch der Liebe* texts. Sixteenth-century Christians, even those who rejected Marian veneration, would be reminded of the warning that Mary received from Simeon (Ai<sup>v</sup>). The Empresses's long-time childlessness is not a sign of a character weakness, rather it is a portent of the *Anfechtung* she is to experience as a mother. Outward signs and inward states continue to be at play in the description of the boys' conception: "Der Keyser in grossen freu=den der Keyserin beywohnet/ wie den zwey Eheleute einander liebhaben sollen/ vnd auß grosser inbruenstiger Liebe ward die Keyserin in derselbigen Nacht

zweyer Soene schwanger” (Ai<sup>v</sup>). The couple’s childlessness is not a sign of inner moral failure and the intensity of their feelings creates two children. The true meaning of twins – the intensity of love – is distorted by the lies of Emperor’s mother, when she claims that the babies signify an excess of lust on the part of the Empress.

Here, the affective aspect of mother-love is not marked by the stock terms and phrases such as “entzundt in der Liebe” which accompany the feelings of romantic love in *Das Buch der Liebe*. The affective aspect of mother-love is directed toward the children.<sup>195</sup> They are the object of much of the Empress’s emotion. When she awakes to the Emperor standing over her with a sword, she immediately reaches for her children. Suggesting the connection between her maternal emotions and her piety, she is never so distraught that she loses her mind: in situations where reason cannot help she depends on God, for example when she prays in the woods after her banishment. Another example of her virtuous maternal affect, is that even in one of her darkest moments – the night in the woods after her banishment – she still takes pleasure in her children (Aiii<sup>v</sup>).

Though virtuous, pious, and a dedicated mother, the Empress lacks the protection of her lord and husband. Maintenance of the validity of the familial hierarchy requires that the abandoned mother’s attentiveness and protection be ineffectual. Her care is reduced to a practice of faithful, pious motherhood that demonstrates her spirituality, but does not keep her children from harm. The Empress bears witness to this in her parting speech to the council:

Ir lieben Herrn/ Gott se mit euch alen/ Ach Lieben guesset mir doch meinen lieben

Herrn/ den Keyser/noch einmal zuletzt/ und saget im/ Er werde mich minnermehr sehen/

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<sup>195</sup> At this particular point, the nature of parental love seems to be better suited to Schmitz’s account of love than romantic love does. For most parents, the Verankerungspunkt of their love is moving and ultimately irrelevant.

und auch daß ich seine zween Soene mit mir trage/ welche warlich sein Fleisch und Blut  
seyn/ Aber ob Gott will/ so wil ich sie tugentlich ernehren/ Gott und seine wuerdige  
Mutter woelle uns beystaendig seyn/ und Krafft geben/ daß wir vor allen wilden Thieren  
und Moerdern behuetet werde. (Aiii<sup>v</sup>)

The Empress continues to mother in faith even after the loss of one child, and risks her life seeking her child after the temporary loss of her second baby. Even though her care is inadequate for protecting her children in the absence of a male figure, the text suggests that grace and her faith, represented by her mothering and her prayers, allow both her children to survive. Moreover, protecting her children leads to the reunion of her family. She finds her way out of the woods by chasing after the lioness who takes her second child (Av<sup>r</sup>). She does not despair, but she acts in hope. When she believes that she has lost both children, she moves towards the Holy Land – and towards deeper piety.

As she journeys, cultivating a pilgrim-like existence, similar to that of Magelona, the Empress becomes something of a saint in her maternal love and her faith. Her ship casts anchor at the island where the lioness took the baby. When the Empress sees the lioness in her den, playing with the baby, she refuses to leave the island until she manages to rescue the child, calling herself “ungetrew” – the language of marriage and romantic love – should she do otherwise (Avi<sup>r</sup>). Her faithfulness and determination influence the entire company of pilgrims to confess and pray.

When commanding the lioness to move away from her child, the Empress invokes all that is holy,<sup>196</sup> affirming the human/ animal hierarchy. The lioness bows to the Empress and allows her to take the child.<sup>197</sup> This access to divine protection places the Empress in a precarious position. Her fellow pilgrims see that she can command the lioness and when the animal follows her to the ship, the Empress would have to protect everyone from the lioness or be drowned as a witch. Many *Buch der Liebe* readers would recognize that the noblewoman had done what Christ said any Christian could do, and what Daniel in the lions' den did.<sup>198</sup> The lioness protects the Empress from rape, providing a visible sign to the reader, and others who encounter the noblewoman, of her chastity (Avi<sup>v</sup>). Upon disembarking, everyone hails her as a saint and requests her blessing.

The Empress's motherhood is associated with the saintly and otherworldly, a spirituality even beyond Magelona's maturation through love. The mothering of the animals in the text harkens both backwards to an edenic unity, and forward to paradisaical restoration. The ape who abducts Florens, the first twin son, plays with him, smiles at him, and loses her life protecting him. She exhibits the same pleasure and sacrificial behavior that the Empress does. The lioness, who carries off the second twin, remains a tender, but a ferociously protective maternal figure throughout Lyon's life, suggesting a future paradise when a child leads a lion. The examples of

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<sup>196</sup> "Ich beschwere dich bey Gott dem All maechtigen/ un durch seine Goettliche krafft/ und bey den Goettlichen Worten die er gesprochen hat am Stamme deß H. Creutzes auch durch seine Goettliche und wunderbarliche Werck die e runs in dieser Welt geofenbaret hat/ un durch seinen bitterm Todt unnd Sterben/ durch die vier Evangelisten/ auch bey allen seinen Heyligen/ die bey ihm im Himmel sind/ daß du weder krafft noch macht ber nicht habest" (Avi<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>197</sup> The lioness's posture indicates an animal's recognition of God's power and a restoration of the natural order: "Als bald die Keyserin diese Wort geschprach/ kniet die Loewin fuer das Kind/ und schloß ihren Wadel untersich/ erzeiget sich gleich einem gehorsamen und unterthaenigen Thier (Avi<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>198</sup> Jealous Babylonian courtiers hatch a plot in order to force the Hebrew court official to choose between fidelity to God and obedience to the king. As a result of Daniel's piety, he is punished by being thrown into a den of lions. His righteousness is rewarded by an angel who prevents the lions from harming him (*Book of Daniel*, Chapter 6).

the animals give the sense of a maternal feeling present throughout creation and which cancels the effects of the Fall.

The ape is of special interest, even though we see her but briefly. Writers since Antiquity have been interested in the position of apes on the Great Chain of Being, discussing them in gendered terms, for example, by praising the modesty of female apes.<sup>199</sup> This representation of an ape in *Das Buch der Liebe* would soon be followed by the writings and illustrations of naturalist authors who, in searching for the differences between humans and anthropoid apes, “ascribed to females the modesty they were hoping to find in their wives and daughters.”

<sup>200</sup> *Keyser Octavian* suggests that female animals, rather than human females, reflect ideal motherhood. The ape and lioness are the only females who approach the Empress’s extraordinary example.

*Keyser Octavian* presents ideal motherhood as saintly, edenic, and paradisaical, making a case for a maternity that is mysterious to and unfathomable by men. The Emperor does not see that his wife’s devoted motherhood spoke for her innocence. The righteous knight who encounters the ape does not recognize her kindness to the baby, mistaking her smile for a grimace. Everyone is afraid of the lioness, but the Empress recognizes her devotion to her baby, however the sailors and pilgrims do not. This treatment of maternity and maternal devotion as an exclusively feminine domain that is partially illegible to men represents the opposite of the culture of motherhood cultivated by sixteenth-century Protestants. Susan Karant-Nunn discusses the changing ritual of churching which, along with other childbed practices, was being

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<sup>199</sup> Schiebinger 13, 425.

<sup>200</sup> Schiebinger 417



eliminated in the reformation of churches and everyday life.<sup>201</sup> These changes worked to extend the authority of the father and the male clergy into the childbed. Likewise, Luther's discussions of pain in childbirth does not defer to the idea that he knew nothing of it. Indeed, he places himself in the middle of it, telling the young mother what she should feel and think in the midst of labor.<sup>202</sup>

Clemens' wife was likely a more familiar figure to the collection's readers than the noblewomen that dominate the tales. She is the mother at the center of the artisan nuclear family that adopts Florens, the lost twin. Clemens' wife is not named, and is not part of the narrative for long. However, she represents the ideal bourgeois wife who carefully manages the household, cares for her children, and maintains a good reputation.<sup>203</sup> Even though the family and community assume that Florens was the product of Clemens' infidelity, she shows no anger towards her husband, and takes in the child. When it is time for both sons to choose a livelihood, she considers their temperaments and decides what apprenticeships they should follow – suggesting the kind of submissive partnership of the craft wife that urban Lutheran culture idealized (Bii<sup>f</sup>).<sup>204</sup> Like the mature Magelona, Clemens' wife manages the affectivity of her household, calming Clemens' anger and preventing him from beating Florens (Biii<sup>f</sup>).

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<sup>201</sup> "Churching A Woman's Rite" 72-90

<sup>202</sup> "Darum soll man die Weiber ermahnen, daß sie in solcher Noth aufs stärkste helfen und arbeiten, daß sie der Frucht und Kindlins los werden und genesen, ob sie gleich darüber sterben sollten. Doch daß man hierinne Maß halte und sie nicht zu gar ubertreibe. Denn etliche Weiber pflegen mehr ihnen selbs zu rathen und helfen den der Frucht, weil sie besorgen und fürchten, daß sie möchten sterben oder große Schmerzen und Wehe haben." (WA TR VI 6764 p. 173)

<sup>203</sup> "Clemens saß uber Tisch bey siener Haußfrawen/ welche in allen dingen gromb un gerecht war/ Auch war ir Florens ja so lieb als ihr eygener Son Claudius/ Desgleichen war sie auch weiß und fuersichtig/ derhalben ward sie auch von allen Buergern lieb und wehrt gehalten" (Bii<sup>f</sup>).

<sup>204</sup> Lyndal Roper and Sigrid Brauner discuss the ideal of the urban post-Reformation household as centered on a marriage that is a working partnership in which roles are complementary and often quite different. The hierarchy is

Both mothers in *Emperor Octavian* are visibly virtuous. Clemens' wife has a good reputation and everyone (except the Emperor) has a sense of the Empress's innocence. Everyone who sees her sons sees that they are noble. The mere sight of the Empress during her trial moved people to pity. Her story is a case of inner truth having outward signs perceptible to those not blinded by passion. The Emperor's paternal, conjugal, and moral failures do not invalidate his worth as a Christian or a nobleman (this is also true for Peter in *Die schoene Magelona*, and the Count in *Ritter Galmy*). However, the Empress's maternal virtue saves herself, and her children, and restores her to her position and her family after a false accusation.

Melusine is the third and final mother in my analysis of maternity in *Das Buch der Liebe*. For the *Meerfrau*-queen at the center of Thüring von Ringoltingen's prose novel, both marital and marital love are connected to female salvation.<sup>205</sup> Marriage to a mortal is necessary for her to become a Christian; but in the absence of a sustained marriage, Melusine is able to redeem herself in the eyes of the reader through her maternal love. Melusine's background includes a family curse that makes her and her sisters not-quite-human, and ineligible for salvation. Yet she longs for salvation which she can only attain through death in a Christian marriage.<sup>206</sup> This very literal understanding of marriage as a salvific sacrament recalls Magelona's prayer to end her life in a married state, countering the Lutheran rejection of marriage as a sacrament. However, when

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male-defined, so that the wife may exercise a great deal of authority, but only as it is given to her by her husband (Brauner 185, Roper 40, 54). Steven Ozment emphasized the restraint of the husband that was valued in this model, pointing to the *Hausväterliteratur* that urged moderation and even temper to husbands and the wife's role of responsibility as household manager (50, 64). Luther's own marriage was exemplary of this: it was well-known that Katharina was in charge of the family finances, but only at Martin Luther's behest.

<sup>205</sup> The prose novel is a German adaptation of a fifteenth-century French verse novel (Coudrette's *Le roman de Lusignan ou de Parthenay*). Thüring von Ringoltingen's 1456 publication saw twenty-four editions before the novel's inclusion in *Das Buch der Liebe*, fifteen of them appearing during the sixteenth century (Veitschegger 96-97).

<sup>206</sup> *Defining Dominion* 30

applied exclusively to women and reproductive marriage, this perspective fits well with the Lutheran conflation of female piety with marriage and maternity which, in turn, supplies the bedrock for Christian society.<sup>207</sup>

Because Melusine is unable to become a mortal by finishing her life in a Christian marriage, she does not attain salvation in the end. However, her damnation, like Faustus's is an ambiguous one. Points in the text invite comparison with the *Historia*. When Melusine and Reymund meet at the fountain, she assures him that she believes in God, and has faith in Christ. Before she leaves the court, she also makes the same confession of faith that any Christian woman would. However, at the end of the prose novel, she remains a preternatural being and so her faith is inadequate for salvation. Melusine's story of salvation denied suggests that salvation is not only enacted in heaven, but has earthly contingencies. As in Faustus's case, her example points to some of the complications of Protestant salvation. Melusine's inability to become a Christian recalls the controversies surrounding Predestination that were active in early modern Protestant circles – Melusine is created in such a way that salvation is available to her under very limited conditions, none of which has to do with grace, faith, or Scripture. These limited and gendered conditions, namely marriage and childbearing, speak to the particular theological difficulties that women may have experienced in an early modern Protestant culture. If a fruitful marriage was the primary sign of a Christian woman's salvation, limited control over bearing and raising children posed problems beyond the familial and social, representing a uniquely female variety of *Anfechtung*.

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<sup>207</sup> “Wolan, wenn man dies Geschlecht, das Weibervolk, nicht hätte, so fiele die Haushaltung und Alles, was dazu gehöret, läge gar darnieder; darnach das weltliche Regiment, Städte und die Polizey” (WA TR 2 no 1658, p 166).

Because of her maternal devotion, Melusine is redeemed in the eyes of her *Buch der Liebe* readers, and not in actuality. Melusine is the righteous mother of a noble lineage, though over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, she is increasingly interpreted as evil.<sup>208</sup> Luther refers to her as a “Schlangenweib” and “ein solcher Succubus und Teufel.”<sup>209</sup> Thüring von Ringolthingen presents her character in 1456 as wondrous and an example of the variety and mystery of God’s creation. However, even before the Enlightenment, the desire for order in society and the natural world made a female character who could not be integrated into the natural or social order especially suspect.<sup>210</sup>

In the context of the other female characters discussed in the *Buch der Liebe*, Melusine represents the integrating function of pious maternity, and its power to bring the “wild” elements of the world into a righteous social order. Even though she could not settle herself into a functioning, well-ordered family, she established a noble dynasty and her love for husband and family had social and spiritual value. In response to losing his wife, Reymund reclaims an acceptable mode of masculine life, that of the knightly pilgrim.<sup>211</sup> By producing male children and noble lineages she moves away from the female-centered reproduction that had marked her family.

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<sup>208</sup> Steinkämper 126

<sup>209</sup> WA TR 5, 9. 276

<sup>210</sup> Feyerabend omitted Ringolthingen’s prologue which emphasized Melusine’s wondrous nature. Perhaps this choice was a response to the turn toward order and integration.

<sup>211</sup> It could be argued that Reymund suffers from uxoriousness, in the way that Hartmann von Aue’s Erec and also Peter did. He is not the head of his household, and he does not leave the court to fight. His last moment of knightliness occurs at a joust before his marriage. The married Reymund is jealous and obsessed with Melusine and the children – too deeply caught up in the private to take a properly masculine role. After Melusine leaves the court, he is able to develop an appropriately public role.

Melusine belongs to the tradition of falsely accused courtly women. Like the others, she remains constant in her love for her husband and her children, and does not blame her husband for his betrayal. Unlike the Empress and the Duchess, she cannot be rescued. But she is redeemed in the eyes of readers by her return to her youngest children to nurse them, thus showing that her maternal love supersedes the desires and goals she had for married life and maternity. She continues to *be* a Christian woman, even if she cannot receive salvation. The relationship between maternity, piety and salvation visible in the characters of Melusine and the Empress indicates that, after rejecting the Catholic spaces and spiritual practices that sacralized female life, early modern Protestants were still interested in constructing a practice and culture of piety that addressed the lived experiences of Christian women. Such a practice and culture would focus on women's roles as wives and mothers and encourage women to seek spiritual growth through the experiences of the maternal life cycle, such as the pain of childbirth, or the loss and illness of one's children. *Das Buch der Liebe* though its texts are neither devotional nor pastoral, presents a variety of women who model the Protestant ideal of female spiritual growth through marital and maternal experience.

### **Typing Women – *Das Frauentrachtenbuch* and Text Selection in *Das Buch der Liebe***

Thomas Veitschegger's and John Flood's works represent the major contributions to the small amount of scholarship that focuses on *Das Buch der Liebe* as a collection.<sup>212</sup> Both scholars address the question of selection and order in *Das Buch der Liebe*. However, rather than following John Flood's arguments for a lack of selection criteria for the collection's texts,

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<sup>212</sup> Texts included in *Das Buch der Liebe*, such as "Melusine" or "Die Schöne Magelone" have certainly received a great deal of scholarly attention. However, there has been very little work that considers these, or other *Buch der Liebe* texts without modern editions, in relationship to the collection as a whole, or that examines *Das Buch der Liebe* as an entirety.

Veitschegger finds “Anhaltspunkte” for thinking about Feyerabend’s motives for the collection.<sup>213</sup> Flood reaches his conclusion by analyzing *Das Buch der Liebe* in terms of Feyerabend’s 1583 collection of *Amadis* tales.<sup>214</sup> By comparing the single tradition inspiring the *Amadis* texts with the diversity in forms and aesthetic value present in *Das Buch der Liebe*, Flood concludes that little intentionality can be imputed to the development of this expensive collection of stories that was marketed to the elite and included with a lengthy dedication to a countess.<sup>215</sup>

I am challenging Flood’s claim that Feyerabend’s selection of the texts in *Das Buch der Liebe* was based primarily on convenience by analyzing the collection in relationship to Feyerabend’s other publications, and in terms of content, not genre.<sup>216</sup> While the *Amadis* texts and *Das Buch der Liebe* bear generic similarities, it may be worthwhile to think about Feyerabend’s compilation methods in terms of subject and goals rather than genre. By doing so, Feyerabend’s long-term concerns and strategies emerge: concerns that *Das Buch der Liebe*

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<sup>213</sup> Veitschegger 194-195

<sup>214</sup> Flood 205

<sup>215</sup> Flood 206-207; “Bei der Auswahl der Texte und der Zusammenstellung des ‘Buchs der Liebe’ ließ sich Feyerabend wohl kaum von hochtrabenden literarästhetischen Überlegungen leiten – ihm genügte es, daß die dreizehn Erzählungen durch die Liebesthematik in ritterlich-höfischem Milieu miteinander verbunden waren -, sonst ließ er sich von rein praktischen Interessen beeinflussen” (206). Flood’s division of possible motives into aesthetic ones and practical ones and his neglect of ethical motivations accounts neither for Feyerabend’s stated goals in compiling the *Buch der Liebe*, nor for the differences in literary priorities between twentieth-century readers and sixteenth-century readers. Moreover the texts’ courtly setting, as I have been arguing, should not be dismissed, as it is an important part of Feyerabend’s moral agenda.

<sup>216</sup> Sarah Westphal describes genre as “simultaneously the most productive and the most inhibiting” framework for understanding premodern systems of collection (8). Continuing her discussion on the difficulties of genre, she notes that “From the standpoint of genre, most manuscripts look like neutral or rather patchy structures, odd mixes of anything the passive scribes could get their hands on, texts being presumably scarce” (9). This echoes Flood’s attitude towards the early modern collection, despite the plethora of texts available to sixteenth-century publishers. Following Westphal’s approach to medieval codicology, I am cautious about privileging genre as an organizing principle even in early modern compilations. Similar to Ann Marie Rasmussen’s claim for gender as a compilational practice, I argue for a consistent approach to gender and ethics as a way to discover the intentionality of Feyerabend’s compilational choices (Rasmussen 100). Flood’s focus on genre renders the importance of gender in *Amadis* and in *Das Buch der Liebe* invisible (106).

addresses and a strategy that explains the textual diversity represented in *Das Buch der Liebe*. My analysis proves that the publisher used a strategy of providing a mixture of examples, both good and bad in order to teach useful lessons about love. Moreover, despite the differences between the texts, they exhibit important commonalities. Love relationships rather than quests are at the center of all of the texts. Many of the texts have themes of conversion. Magical and exotic elements, while present, receive less attention than ethical and social questions. Without being moralistic, Feyerabend's choice signals a commitment to reaching a burgher audience with tales about how it feels to love and especially to love as a woman.

Considering *Das Buch der Liebe* next to *Das Frauentrachtenbuch*, Feyerabend's 1586 project, suggests a lasting interest in a variety of positive female models as a method for teaching moral lessons. *Das Frauentrachtenbuch* consists of images of women wearing what is supposed to be the native dress of regions all over the known world. An eight-line poem that addresses the attire and character of the women that the image represents accompanies each image. The text presents itself as an education about the customs and character of women around the world. However, the purported goal is belied by the repetition of images. The same image stands in for women as different as an Ottoman princess and an English lady. Readers would recognize that, even though Feyerabend's remarks relate to the depicted woman's origins and culture, the text's primary goal is not to relay factual information about the cultures referenced, but to show the great variety of ways in which femininity can manifest in the world and the common values that govern good women despite this variation.

In his *Vorrede* to the *Frauentrachtenbuch*, Feyerabend encourages the love and appreciation of good women. He affirms the pleasure and joy that men take in their wives by invoking scenes in Genesis in which God gives Eve to Adam and by using images of verses

about contemporary women to show that the great women in the Bible and the tales of the past have early modern counterparts. While the title page states that “dergleich ist nie abgegangen,” Feyerabend settles the *Frauentrachtenbuch* into a tradition of women-focused texts: “In was Ehren, Wuerden und Reputation/ weibliche Zucht/Ehr/ Keuschheit und Tugend bey den alten gewesen/ unnd gehalten worden darff niemand viel nachfragens/dieweil dasselbige allenthalben in Goettlichen und Weltlichen historiis haufenweiß beschreiben und zu finden ist” (*Frauentrachtenbuch, Vorrede*). Feyerabend recognizes the value of past models of female virtue for the present; and highlights positive female models in the face of what many believed to be a crisis of the traditional family, to which many responded with misogynistic “böser Weib” representations.<sup>217</sup> This strategy is also visible in the compilation of *Das Buch der Liebe*. *Das Frauentrachtenbuch* and *Das Buch der Liebe* represent Feyerabend’s unique response to late-sixteenth-century anxieties about family morality.

The *Frauentrachtenbuch* takes the opposite approach to representing women than does *Das Buch der Liebe*. The former focuses on the exterior and superficial as an entrée to the moral and spiritual, whereas the latter starts with emotion. Feyerabend insists on the value of making a connection between a woman’s good character and her practice of dressing in a way that is appropriate to her social position. This makes sense, but raises questions for readers familiar with the *Schein* versus *Sein* problematic present at all levels of Western European culture since the Middle Ages. Answering this problem, Feyerabend clarifies that not all women who dress appropriately are of good character.

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<sup>217</sup> Harrington describes the late sixteenth century as a time in which marriage was perceived to be in crisis for several reasons, including promiscuity, clandestine marriage, and a growing number of unmarried women and men (25, 29). Inversion of the proper hierarchy within marriage was seen as a source of marital degradation that would have destructive effects on other social institutions. Female characters that embodied disorder within marriage included the “restless woman” who was never content with her husband’s provision, and often drank or ate excessively, and the “böser Weib,” who had a bad temper, and abused her husband and children physically and verbally (Harrington 27 and Roper 170).



*Ein unzüchtig Weib zu Rom* illustrates the gap present between appearances and reality. This unchaste woman dresses similarly to other Italian women, but is one of many women who “ohne schew/unzüchtig und schändlich leben.” According to the writer, Roman prostitutes are not marked as such, for they “tags auf der Gassen gahn/so siht man sie fuer fromb Leuth an” (101). Thus, their moral failure is twofold: they engage in sexual immorality and they fail to mark their profession through dress. The failing of the *unzüchtig Weib* is the same as that repeated leveled against the maidservants featured in the *Frauentrachtenbuch*. The *Mägde* are criticized for dressing in clothing too fancy for their social station. Their activities make their status clear to observers, but the mismatch between dress and position reliably indicates their bad character.

The importance of social hierarchy is integral to the structure of the *Frauentrachtenbuch* as well as its moral lessons. The Empress appears in the first image, followed by the queens of large European nations. The women of the Holy Roman Empire are presented by region, with the German-speaking areas presented first. Following the women of the Holy Roman Empire are lower nobility and common people of France and the Italian city-states. Two to three typically represent each region and the noblewomen’s images appear first. Reflecting a sense of global hierarchy, European nations appear first, then representatives of non-European areas. Representatives of several religious orders appear almost as an appendix, suggesting the international nature of religious life.

With notable exceptions, the appraisals of the women portrayed are overwhelmingly positive. The praise for the women centers on the appropriateness of their clothing to their social position and activities. Though most women presented exercise modesty and restraint in dress, the *Königin in Hispanien*’s finery is explicitly justified: “Mit dieser Hispanischen Tracht/ Treibt

sie ein sonderlichen Pracht/ Doch kan es nicht seyn gar unrecht/Unterm Koniglichem Geschlecht”(Frauentrachtenbuch 4). The *Teutsche Graeffin*’s poem focuses on status and clothing. It is important that she dresses well, “dann sie sind nur umb einen Grad/Geringer als der Fuerstlich Stad” (FTB 8, lines 3-4). The *Teutsche Fuerstin* is praised in practical terms. Her clothing is “ohn allen sonderlichen Pracht”– 7, 3), but she pays close attention to household economy so that her husband does not have to worry for a lack of wealth. Women belonging to lower estates – the *Weiber* – have equal access to honor through appropriate dress. Their clothing is more closely linked to the work they do, rather than differentiation from other classes or personal means. The clothing of the humble woman brings *Schein* and *Sein* the closest together. *Eins Fraenckischen gemeinen Burgers Weib* wears boots and “ruestet sich gleich wie ein Mann” (45, 5) in order to work in the vineyards. Such dress proves that she lives as she ought. Lack of ornament indicates virtue in the case of the *Schwaebin zu Hall* and it is emphasized that her plainness pleases her husband.

The variety of positive examples reveals commonalities that are central to virtuous female life. These commonalities are shared by the women in *Das Buch der Liebe* and are connected with the condition of marriage. Brides at all levels of society are included in the images. The queens dress as they do because they are married to kings. Virgins are often on their way to weddings, where it is predicted that they will meet a husband. The woman in mourning mourns her husband. When the speaker finds the clothing to be strange he concedes that it pleases their husbands and is thus appropriate. The good women in this text have some relationship to the institution of marriage.

Most women represented are wives and have wifely virtues. A good example of this is the Austrian woman’s obedience to her husband (24). The *Edelfrau in Lotheringen* has a good

reputation: “Ihr Tugend/Zucht und Ehrbarkeit/Ist lengst bekannt weit und breit” (75 7-8). The Burger’s wife in Heidelberg and the Parisian noblewoman were both praised for their piety and most of the women are praised for their virtue. The *Leiptzische Matron* provides the fullest model of the good wife. The forty-year-old woman is upright in all aspects of her being: she is “noch ziemlich wol gestalt,” and faithful in “Haußhaltung/Religion/und Kinderzucht.” Her spiritual life is in order as she “hoffet von Gott mit Gedult/Verzeihung aller ihrer Schuld” (19).

The portrayal of women living outside of marriage or the hope of marriage highlights the connection that the *Frauentrachtenbuch* makes between virtue and marriage. The nuns are generally viewed favorably and praised for the same virtues for which the married women are praised.<sup>218</sup> However, Feyerabend repeatedly muses on what good wives the nuns would make and how their virtues would bless a home or that they value marriage even though they are not married. The housemaids represent a minority among the one hundred twenty-two models. All six of them receive ambivalent or negative commentary. In addition to the criticism directed at their dress, they are suspected of sexual immorality and dishonesty. These women live outside of the institution of marriage and cannot be virtuous, just as the non-Christian cannot be virtuous because he or she lives outside of Christianity.

This examination of the *Frauentrachtenbuch* shows that typing women in largely positive terms was one of Feyerabend’s strategies for transmitting values about female morality. In the *Frauentrachtenbuch*, the types are represented through images and in *Das Buch der Liebe* the types are the life trajectories of the female characters. In both cases, the variation focuses the reader on a norm, preparing him or her to meet the diversity that the world offers without moral

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<sup>218</sup> The comment on the nuns is overwhelmingly positive and absent from the rhetoric of promiscuity and infanticide that many Protestant writers used when talking about nuns. However, the last two lines of the poem for the member of the Order of St. Brigitte claim that there are many members who fail to live up to St. Brigitte’s chaste example (117).

confusion. Feyerabend elaborates upon the use of this strategy in *Das Buch der Liebe* in the dedication to Lady Hedwig of Hesse.

### **Conclusion – *Widmung an Hedwig, Landgräfin zu Hessen***

Addressing female readers – “zuechtige Frawen und Jungfrawen,” the specific mention of female characters on the title page, and the dedication to the Countess of Hesse – signals Feyerabend’s concern with instructing women as to how they should love and the relationship that love has to their spiritual lives. In his lengthy dedication, Feyerabend explicates his theory of love as it is reflected in the tales chosen for the collection. First, he proclaims love’s universality. Not only do all people, “ungeacht ires wesens/Standts und wiriden,” experience love, but animals as well (“Widmung” in Veitschegger 250). However, only humans are accountable for how they participate in this universal phenomenon. Love is not simply a matter of the heart or social relations, but one of spiritual life and death. Those who love dishonorably will experience an end that Feyerabend describes in language similar to that used to describe Faustus. Blasphemers in love and doctrine will meet “einem bösen Außgang und erschrecklichem end” (“Widmung” in Veitschegger 251). By the same token, those who fulfill their love in marriage please God and a long marriage contributes to a blessed end.<sup>219</sup> Feyerabend’s description of true love is the opposite of Schmitz’s atmospheres of feeling. For the Frankfurt publisher, “recht, christliche Lieb” is no “fliegende lust,” but it has a definite source – “Tugendt und innerlichen schöne.” Most of all, like faith, love must be “stät” and “in letzten seufftzer zu Wehren” (252), echoing the representation of love in the tales.

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<sup>219</sup> “Widmung” in Veitschegger 251

Feyerabend references Cupid and Amor, making clear that he is interested in romantic, reproductive love. He uses the image of a childish Cupid to emphasize the lack of *Vernunft* that, in his view, inheres in love. Such love is an involuntary, whole-body experience that cannot be approached rationally. For this reason, proper love has to be cultivated through beauty and the pleasure of good examples: "Weil aber alle Liebhabende Personen irer vernunft so viel nicht mächtig/ daß sie ihr bestes selbst ersehen und dem nachkommen köndten/ zu dem fast aller treuwer Raht an ihnen geminlich nicht viel zu verfahren pflegt." Those who want to help perplexed lovers have "einen andern weg erfunden/ und solch ire lehren Exempels weiß in schöne Historien und Gedicht verfasset"(252). Only story, image, and metaphor can address the tension between the experience of love as Schmitz describes it, as characters experience it, and as Feyerabend affirms it. Accordingly, when describing love, Feyerabend employs the same terms used to describe the characters' experience – a fire that is "unlöslich verzerrend" and "Brandfackeln"(250). He also uses paradoxical imagery based in the senses such as "ein liebliches Leid und leidige Lieb/ ein frölichs trauren und traurige Freud/ ein süsser schmerz und Gallberttere Süssigkeit/ in Summa ein lebendiger Todt und todtes Leben" (250). This language makes clear that love is experienced in mind and body. Feyerabend states that Cupid's arrows pierce "nicht allein den Leib/ sondern auch die Seel/ Marck und Beine" (250).

This emphasis on experience as Feyerabend describes life in "dem mächtiger Reich der Lieb" (250), accords with Schmitz's contention that feelings such as anger and love do not arise from the body, but are experienced through it. Feyerabend affirms Schmitz's understanding of pre-fifth-century love. But unlike him, Feyerabend does not see a contradiction between that and the "zuechtige Liebe" with its objects, reasons, and methods. This is the kind of love which, according to Schmitz, holds hegemonic sway in the love and erotic narrative after Gottfried von

Strassburg to the detriment of human freedom and authentic experience. As Feyerabend constructs it, love is a constant state of psychic and physical vulnerability: Galmy and the Duchess maintain a *zuechtige liebe*, but they also suffer from love as an external force. However, Feyerabend insists that moral behavior and social integration mark love that lasts and is true. Dealing with love is not so much a question of *Gefühlsverwaltung*, as Schmitz calls it, but a mild self-soothing that enables a heightened attention to the perturbations of mind and body that are part of love. This self-soothing occurs through narrative-induced empathy.

Feyerabend describes *Das Buch der Liebe* as a mirror. But unlike the mimetic methods used by the Mirrors of Princes to teach their lessons, this “Spiegel der Liebe” helps those disturbed by love to recognize themselves and, in so doing, discover love’s pleasures. This discovery encourages them and defends against melancholy. The Frankfurt publisher likens his collection of tales to a mother who takes her child to a mirror, so that it can connect with its own emotional experience and take pleasure in its joy or be disturbed by the angry baby scowling at it.<sup>220</sup> In these stories, the struggling lover sees both faces, reminding him or her of the full range of the experience of love, thus avoiding the loss of perspective that pleasure or the pain can bring. Feyerabend constructs two models of pedagogy. The first is one of empathy, which he associates with mothers, and the second is one of mimesis, which he associates with fathers. In his opinion, the example to be followed is ineffective for those in love, because they lack the rationality necessary for recognizing direct analogs, which is the process by which mimetic learning functions. Lovers are, however, open to different experiences of love, and can be “moved” (here we have the external force again!) by the atmospheres of love wafting from the pages of a beautiful book.

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<sup>220</sup> “Widmung” Veitschegger 255

## **Chapter Three: The Patience of Judith: recovering feeling's lack in**

### **Lutheran Judith plays**

The Faustus-biographies and *Das Buch der Liebe* have demonstrated the spiritual benefit that strong feeling can effect. However, three sixteenth-century Judith plays seem to demonstrate that the opposite is true. The striking lack of emotion present in the story's dramatic versions contrasts not only with the above-mentioned texts, but also with medieval and early modern material and visual representations of the Judith story. The passion-filled imagery of Italian Renaissance painting aside, German and Low Country painters and engravers loved the striking image of the woman holding an upright sword and boldly meeting the viewers' gaze (Lukas Cranach's 1530 *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*). Equally beloved was the depiction of Judith and her maidservant Abra, making their way back to the walled Israelite city, with Holofernes's head perched on one of the women's shoulders, a staring sight of horror.<sup>221</sup>

The tradition of Judith representations, characterized by intense feeling, sets the expectation that the story's dramatic representations would be equally filled with excitement. However, most sixteenth-century dramatic renditions of the apocryphal story do little to exploit the dramatic potential of its motifs. I argue that the absence of feeling present in these texts is due to the importance of patience, constancy, and stubbornness and their relationship to spiritual health or illness. Additionally, the portrayal of salvation and community in these works challenges the idea of Luther's "lone bible-reader" and salvation as the result of an individual faith that is unaffected by human institutions. These issues are pertinent to my overall project of

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<sup>221</sup> Hans Sebald Beham's 1531 engraving, Sandro Botticelli's 1470 painting *The Return of Judith to Bethulia*, and Il Garfalo's (Benvenuto Tisi) 1559 painting are just a few examples of this portrayal.

looking at the ways in which the imaginative writing of this period addresses complications in the Protestant salvation message through representations of emotions.

Protestant versions of the Judith story are particularly useful objects for studying these questions because of the special status that Luther granted to the Judith narrative, along with other apocryphal books. He excluded the *Book of Judith* from the scriptural canon because of blatant historical inaccuracies. However, Luther argued that the book, in its beauty, did offer a poetic truth with spiritual value.<sup>222</sup> This treatment of Judith contradicts Luther's criteria for the lives of saints. When proscribing the dissemination of these narratives, Luther emphasized historical accuracy and literal truth as criteria for selection so that the tales would be useful for historical education and easily accessible for reader identification. Luther's endorsement of Judith's poetic approach to truth complicates the Wittenberg circles' values regarding identification and exemplarity in narrative.<sup>223</sup>

Henrike Lähnemann relates Luther's regard for apocryphal texts as examples to his interest in drama as a didactic tool (307). In the foreword to his translation of *Tobias and the*

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<sup>222</sup> ETliche wollen / Es sey kein Geschicht / sondern ein geistlich schön Geticht / eines heiligen geistreichen Mans / der darin hab wollen malen vnd furbilden / des gantzen Jüdischen volcks Glück vnd Sieg /wider alle jre Feinde / von Gott alle zeit wunderbarlich verliehen. Gleich wie Salomo / in seinem Hohenliede / auch von einer Braut tichtet vnd singet / vnd doch damit keine Person noch Geschicht / sondern das gantze volck Jsrael meinet. Vnd wie S. Johannes in Apocalypsi / vnd Daniel / viel Bilder vnd Thiere malen / damit sie doch nicht solche Personen / sondern die gantzen Christlichen Kirchen / vnd Königreiche meinen. Vnd Christus vnser HErr selbst gern mit Gleichnissen vnd solchen Getichten [156b] vmbgehet im Euangelio / vnd vergleicht das Himelreich zehen Jungfrawen. Jtem / einem Kauffman vnd Perlen / einer Beckerin/ einem Senffkorn / Jtem den Fisschern vnd Netzen. Jtem / den Hirten vnd Schafen / vnd so fort mehr.

SOLche meinung gefellet mir fast wol / Vnd dencke / das der Tichter wissentlich vnd mit vleis den jrthum der gezeit vnd Namen drein gesetzt hat / Den Leser zu vermanen / das ers fur ein solch geistlich /heilig Geticht halten vnd verstehen solte. "Vorrede auf das Buch Judith" in Bornkamm

<sup>223</sup> In his discussions with pastor and pedagogue Georg Major about Major's project of reforming hagiography, Luther emphasized that all saints' lives useful for Christians, must be historically accurate and he rejected the examples of invented saints (Heming 60-61). James Parente offers a useful summary of Luther's approach to drama, tracing his support for Christian productions of classical material as a way to recover the sacred truth embedded in the culture of pagan Antiquity. The Reformer's later championed the development of religious drama as a continuation of what he imagines to be the Jewish practice of dramatic truth-telling as reflected in the *Book of Judith* (26-29).



*Angel*, Luther makes the case for Tobias and Judith as plays that had perhaps been performed by the Jews on feast days. He believes these books to be the models for Greek drama, surmising a biblical origin for classical Antiquity. Consequently, for Christians who adopted and adapted humanistic values, these apocryphal books provided an ideal example for sixteenth-century creative works. Luther saw drama as a form of communication well-suited for educating the the evangelical community. By re-writing the history of drama and making a claim for a religious, rather than secular Greek origin, Luther participates in the Wittenberg version of humanistic practice and facilitates his goals of identifying a biblical foundation for university education and school curriculum. Drawing on Luther's reception of the Judith story, Lähnemann views the it as a key text underlying the Lutheran Reformation's cultural agenda (310).

At first glance, the character and tale of Judith would seem to be ill-suited for confessional purposes. This is no simple narrative, well suited to unambiguous interpretation. A beautiful Jewish widow presents herself to, deceives, and murders a heathen warrior. *The Book of Judith* is a tale is rife with allusions to sensuality and opportunities for developing motifs that distract from its moral and spiritual message. Dramatic representations of the Judith story bear a particularly strong witness to the difficulty of handling the Judith figure and her story. The Lutheran dramatists whose work I discuss use several strategies in order to evade the difficulties of the Judith story, while still reaping its spiritual benefits. Authors actively tone down the story's emotionality, emphasize Judith's piety, and downplay her beauty. Additionally, they present her as an example for the community as a whole and not one upon which individuals should model their actions.

After examining the ways in which Lutheran dramatists negotiate the problems of the Judith story, I will discuss the value of patience and perseverance in the salvation process,

broadly understood. I argue that the cultivation of the audience's patience and equanimity motivates the choices that the dramatists made in each of their retellings. We will see the ways in which the authors reinforce the importance of subdued affect in relationship to the Judith narrative by emphasizing the virtues of patience and perseverance and the role that these inner states play in the spiritual lives of the individual characters and Bethulia, the Israelite community at the center of the story. As I consider *Geduld* and *Beständigkeit* as emotional states supportive of salvation, I attend to the rise of Christian neostoicism in the last decade of the sixteenth century with a reading of Justus Lipsius' treatise *De Constantia in malis publicis*.<sup>224</sup> By comparing Lipsius's reinterpretation of the classical concept of *Constantia* with ideas about the importance of patience and perseverance promoted by Lutheran writers of anti-melancholy texts, I make a case for the inclusion of confessionally oriented *Seelsorge* texts in the history of the literature of self-management. Additionally, I show how the Judith plays handle both approaches to these similar affects and sets of affective values in ways that connect them with the Baroque drama of the seventeenth century. Towards the end of the chapter, I examine the affinities that the descriptions of space in the Judith plays have with Herman Schmitz's conceptions of space and feeling and conclude that certain kinds of subjective permeability and their relationship to patience holds a possible explanation for how cultivation of feeling is not one of the good works, whose efficacy for salvation Luther rejected, but a product of grace and part of faith. This permeability controls the way in which the individual is affected by the feeling present in the world. One's permeability is what allows for the incorporation of facts (in this case, feeling atmospheres) existing in the external world into the self. Subjective permeability mirrors the

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<sup>224</sup> Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) was a Belgian philologist and philosopher who revived interest in classical stoicism and reinterpreted in ways that made it compatible with a Christian worldview and which addressed the concerns of the early-modern state. The work with which I am primarily concerned here (and for which Lipsius is most famous), *de Constantia in malis publicis*, was published in Latin in 1583.

process of faith in that true faith is what allows a person to not only believe that Christ died, but to appropriate that fact as applicable to them: Luther's famous *pro me* (*The Genius of Lutheran Theology* 97). A faculty developed through spiritual and moral practice, permeability is also part of the process of faith. It allows one to be more susceptible to some kinds of feeling experiences, and less so to others. Thus, in the context of my argument – that emotional experience affects spiritual well-being – cultivating certain kinds of permeability is a precondition, though not a determinant, for spiritual health.

As the above discussion of permeability to feeling atmospheres suggests, I find Schmitz's work to be a fruitful lens through which we can read the Judith dramas. His concern with bringing to consciousness experiences that have been ignored because they do not fit into post-Cartesian reductionism highlights what these plays say about the threat of patience's loss and how they work to maintain the patience of the readers and the community. They offer a model of preserving a certain kind of patience in the face of competing models, which view patience as static. The plays, then essentially affirm Schmitz's claims as they emphasize a communal, space-based patience that relies on a certain kind of permeability of the subject. By cultivating fear, this feeling evoked by threat of loss alive, dramatists aid readers' spiritual health, in an act which parallels Schmitz's practice of scrutinizing those aspects of the human experience under threat of disappearance by reductionistic worldviews. For Schmitz and sixteenth-century Lutherans alike, recovering certain kinds of emotional experiences enhance our individual and collective lives. Additionally, *affektive Betroffenheit* and feeling atmospheres suggest a mechanism by which spiritually beneficial feelings can intersect with permeable subjects in ways which can be influenced by the individual's behavior, but is not under his or her control. This mechanism addresses, though does not resolve the difficulties raised by Lutheran salvation, which requires

divine grace and human faith, but rejects all human effort. Using Schmitz's work to interpret certain aspects of the Judith plays shows their remarkable ability to recognize and deal with the complications of Lutheran salvation.

I have chosen three sixteenth-century Judith plays written by Lutherans. Sixt Birck, Joachim Greff and Hans Sachs's plays set the tone for later Protestant Judith drama, in that later versions dramatic of the Judith story were primarily re-writes of the above-mentioned authors' work.<sup>225</sup> Sixt Birck's school drama (German 1534; Latin 1539) was penned during his years as rector of pedagogy at the St. Anna school in Augsburg. He had already written several plays for the school stage, including a version of the Susanna story. The German version of Birck's *Judith* was written a few months before Luther's translation of the apocryphal book had been published. While he used Leo Jud's translation as the basis for his play, his concerns and goals are similar to Luther's: Birck had been in correspondence with the influential pastor and pedagogue George Major about the use of drama as a didactic instrument in Lutheran schools and paid attention to the lively debate on school theater that was current among Lutheran pastors and schoolmasters in the third and fourth decades of the sixteenth century and primarily in Saxony. However, his adoption of the act-less model indicates the influence of the religious *Festspiele* local to Basel, where he had studied and spend his first years as a teacher. Birck had long been interested in a Christian theater tradition, and it is likely that Luther's positioning of Judith at the origin of the dramatic tradition only encouraged his work.

Before the famous Baroque drama of the Silesian schools emerged in the seventeenth century, Saxony had already developed a distinctive school theater tradition. Driving this cultural production was the first generation of teachers at boys' schools who used drama to teach

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<sup>225</sup> Lähnemann 313

schoolchildren Latin and German grammar, declamation, as well as morality and religion. School drama was not the solely the domain of Protestant schools – Jesuits also had a vibrant tradition of school theater in Latin - but Lutherans made use of this genre to educate not only children but the general public (sixteenth-century school theater attracted audiences beyond the school community) about Protestant doctrine.<sup>226</sup> Joachim Greff was one such schoolteacher, and he fulfilled these goals in a most straightforward way: his play is essentially a paraphrase of the apocryphal book. The structure of Greff's version focuses on the Israelite community at Bethulia and spends relatively little time in Holofernes' camp, revealing the dramatist's adherence to Terence's admonition to have villains say as little as possible so that every small quote within the play supports the moral growth of the pupils who memorize them (Parente 27 and Lähnemann 313).

Joachim Greff taught in Wittenberg, Magdeburg, and Dessau, writing biblical drama throughout his career. He wrote *Judith* in 1536 in Dessau, after having written several other biblical plays for school performances. These plays, including *Die Tragoedia des Buchs Judith*, are essentially paraphrases of the scriptural text. As a result, critics often judge his work to be inelegant and redundant.<sup>227</sup> As is typical for school plays, we have no record of performances of Greff's *Judith* play. However, his correspondence suggests that it was performed in the Saxon court before the end of the decade.<sup>228</sup> Greff's *Judith* responds to Luther's intentions for drama after the Reformation. The prologue quotes sections of Luther's forward, justifying some

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<sup>226</sup> Wolfgang F. Michael's *Das Deutsche Drama der Reformationszeit* (1984) remains one of the best overviews of the practice of the sixteenth-century stage and theater production in the German lands, see especially pages 51-60.

<sup>227</sup> Walker 14

<sup>228</sup> Ronald Walker gives an excellent overview of nineteenth and twentieth-century receptions of Greff's work in his introduction to his (the only modern, edited) edition of *Die Tragoedia des Buchs Judith*.

scholars' reference to the play as 'Luther Versifikation,' but, more significantly, signaling that he takes the *Book of Judith* as seriously as canonical Scripture and trusts its power to transmit doctrine on its own. Drawing criticism, Greff took his commitment to the illustration of doctrine via drama further than most by dramatizing New Testament material, including the story of Lazarus.<sup>229</sup>

Hans Sachs differs from Greff and Birck in important ways. He writes in the tradition of the *Festspiel* and not for the schools. He is interested in religious and moral education, but for the general public and his work is designed to be performed in an open space. The greater simplicity of his Judith play, shorter than the school plays, indicates this difference in goals. It has only sixteen speaking parts in comparison to Birck's fifty-nine and Greff's thirty-three.<sup>230</sup> Another important difference is that Sachs had worked as a poet, dramatist, and *Meistersinger* before the Reformation. After his conversion to Protestantism, he became committed to demonstrating the suitability of traditional forms of lay religious expression for spreading a Lutheran gospel. Sachs's *Judith: ein Comedi* was written and performed in 1551, years after the school plays had been printed and widely circulated. Because of the play's length and Sachs's dedication to the apocryphal book, treating it as Scripture, as does Greff, Sachs does not seem to have any particular themes or goals for his Judith other than that of telling the story. However, we see that, despite the loyalty to Luther's translation, Sachs makes choices in his adaptation that

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<sup>229</sup> Glenn Ehrstine relates the controversy surrounding Greff's 1538 production of an Osterfestspiel (203). Luther defends Greff's decision to dramatically portray New Testament themes, including the Passion. Writing Georg Major about Greff: "When produced with good intentions and out of zeal for the extension of gospel truth, such dramatic presentations - done, I repeat, in an earnest and temperate spirit - are by no means to be condemned" (WA, Br, X 284-286). Note Luther's emphasis on the sobriety of feeling here. This may explain Greff's rather straight-forward approach, or Greff's approach may have drawn Luther's approval. This writing clarifies Luther's stance on Passion plays: he had no problem with representing Christ's death, he opposed the stimulation of excess and spiritually detrimental feeling.

<sup>230</sup> There are very practical reasons for this difference as well: the school masters would have been interested in giving as many boys speaking parts as possible, whereas Sachs would have wanted to pay as few actors as possible.

are not entirely ecumenical, and which mirror those of the school masters. Like they, he reduces the role of Judith's beauty in the plot and along with Greff, Sachs emphasizes the role of contained emotion over that of involuntary feeling to the point of omitting Achior's fainting scene.

Each in their own way, all three authors write at the center of the confessionalization process. However, even this unquestionably confessional literature employs narratives whose meanings cannot be entirely controlled, especially when we take their treatments of emotions into account. These adaptations of the Judith story, again, suggest the problem of women and salvation, as well as the role of institutions and community leadership in a salvation process that should occur on an individual basis. At the same time, these adaptations of the Judith story, much like the Faustus-biographies and the tales in *Das Buch der Liebe*, model the experience of faith through narrative suspense and the disconnection between action and outcome. Even though the dramatists, in their reception of Judith as Scripture, may overstate Luther's estimation of the book, the problems that their adaptations create actually make more room for the narrative truth and ability of literary beauty to carry theological truth that Luther grants to the *Book of Judith*.

Judith herself has long been an ambiguous figure. On the one hand, she is a seductress and man-killer; on the other hand she is a pious instrument of God and the savior of her people.<sup>231</sup> For this reason, retellings of her story have required careful representations of Judith's character, so that the intended message is clear. In the cases of the Protestant dramatists, this

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<sup>231</sup> With a focus on the visual art of the Italian Renaissance, Diane Apostolos-Cappadona writes that Judith becomes a symbol of faith, chastity, and virtue for Christians and Jews alike. While some claim that her female status "enhances her story, her faith," it must also be recognized that during the same periods, the early modern included, Judith's sex posed a liability (89).

involved a heightened sobriety in the telling. While all three writers remained faithful to the apocryphal text, their works deemphasize and even avoid details that evoke Judith's beauty or the sexual desire upon which the events of the story depend.<sup>232</sup> Thus the authors control the story's meanings and distill them into themes of salvation, piety, and community leadership. The authors eliminate much of the feeling in a narrative that consistently inspired passionate treatment in the painting, poetry, and, in the case of Hille Feicken, even deeds of the sixteenth century. As the intensity of feeling in the Judith story is reduced, other states of feeling and their spiritual ramifications move to the fore. Because these inner states serve to modulate intense feeling, I refer to patience, constancy, and stubbornness as anti-emotions. These antidotes to the effects of feeling can be beneficial or detrimental to spiritual health and they are key to understanding the vision of salvation offered in these plays.

Protestant writers were not the first to be anxious about Judith's beauty, femininity, and effect on the gender hierarchy. In one of the first Christian commentaries on the *Book of Judith*, Jerome, the third-century Church Father, develops a "fetishistic vision"<sup>233</sup> that is at once beautiful, erotic, and morally complex, reporting, "I see her hand armed with a sword and stained with blood, I recognize the head of Holofernes carried in triumph from the midst of the enemy. A woman conquers men, chastity beheads lust . . ." (Letter LIV, 243, p19). Jerome's startling and strongly sexualized image bypasses the significance of her action and returns to the violence of "her victorious squalor, a squalor finer than all the pomp of this world" (Letter LIV, 243, p19), demonstrating the uneasy vision of Judith in the Christian tradition. While Judith remains an

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<sup>232</sup> The rather ginger handling of Judith is not an innovation of Protestant writers. One Anglo-Saxon narrative completely removes any description of Judith in Holofernes's camp. In this version, she simply leaves Bethulia and returns with the general's head (Belanoff 248-249)!

<sup>233</sup> Stocker 1



instrument of God, the violence and sexuality necessary to the Israelite community's salvation creates a mixed reception of her character, echoing that of Eve whose sexuality allowed her to be the mother of humanity and of its Fall.<sup>234</sup> In Judith's case, however, her sexuality propels the plot forward: her beauty incites Holofernes's desire, giving her access to his camp and tent. Moreover, Judith risks her chastity in order to execute her plan. Moving through the full range of female archetypes, Judith also resembles the Virgin Mary because of her chastity, which is emphasized in commentary, and because of the salvation that she brings about. Thinking further about this image of woman as the instigator and the reverser of humanity's fallen state, we can see that Judith redeems female sexuality in a way that, by coopting it for community survival, ultimately degrades it. Here female sexuality is just as dangerous as in the Garden of Eden, and its use accompanies murder, suggesting that a woman's desirability is socially useful only in exceptional situations.

This image of Judith's sexuality poses quandries for Protestant writers. On the one hand, the early Church Father's view of female sexuality as fundamentally destructive, even when integrated into a pious Christian life, is quite different from the more nuanced images of female desire and desirability that we saw in *Das Buch der Liebe*. Many sixteenth-century Germans (including Catholics) were developing positive associations with female beauty and sexuality when connected to wife- and motherhood. Yet Judith is no longer a wife, and her beauty and actions are presented independently from the context of a nuclear family. Birck seems to anticipate qualms about Judith's beauty in the moment in which she intentionally sets her

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<sup>234</sup> In her reading of the Judith reception amongst the Church Fathers, including Jerome, Marguerite Stocker finds that the link between Judith's beauty and death is as straightforward as that of Eve's – as she makes her case Stocker notes especially the defacement of her beauty with ashes as Judith mourns for her husband.(3-4) These early modern works, however, suggest a positive place for female beauty as constrained and controlled by male authority as this space may be.

attractiveness as a trap. He highlights the moral complexity of the situation alongside Judith's extraordinary piety by means of her prayer in which she requests that God do the work of snaring Holofernes, "Schaff Herr das der feind nemb den werd/das er mit seinem aigen schwert/Umbkumb und fall dann in die strick/ der lieb/ als bald der mich anblick/ Das ich in durch der Liebe kuß/ ertoedten moeg/ und machen uß" (Birck lines 1461-1466). Here, Judith adopts the posture of many successful early modern women, who evade accusations of pride and wrongdoing by crediting the effects of their actions to God.

Birck also avoids the problem of Judith's sexuality by de-gendering her. Birck's Ozias repeatedly refers to her in masculine terms. This is particularly striking since Judith's act was one that only an attractive woman could have undertaken. In this version, Ozias is the true hero of the city. He alone has the moral authority to trouble Judith's gender, thus limiting the damage of her act to both the Bethulians' and the audience's established gender relations. Upon Judith's return, the head of the city council praises her, declaring, "Fraw Judith sol kain vortail han/ sy ist kain fraw/sy ist ain man" (Birck 161, lines 2541-2542). Uncertainty about Judith's gender and nature disrupts the inevitable associations that Holofernes's beheading has with emasculation.

Judith has two identities with highly-proscribed codes of behavior – that of woman and, through Ozias' comparisons at the end of the play, that of knight. Ozias describes her action as one born of "weiblicher Hand" and "männlicher Tat" (144). However, one of the thirsting Israelite women offers an analysis of Judith's gender that belies such easy categorization. For her, Judith belongs to the community of women, who can take pride in her act and feel honored by association; at the same time she insists that Judith is "kain weib" and she has "ain helden leib" (Birck 154, lines 359-2360). Deeds unacceptable in the value system of one identity, are rendered heroic in the other. Judith's conflicting identities indicate that her actions are too

complex for easy moral evaluation. Complicating her gender, a primary condition for moral evaluation, may not narrow possible interpretations of her story and deeds, but it does evade the most disconcerting ones Judith herself frames her actions in terms of knighthood. Before she departs Bethulia, she prays, describing her plan to God, and revealing it to the audience. After her description of murder by “der liebe kuß” (Birck 115, line 1465), she supplicates: “O Herr verleich mir mut und krafft/ das ich begang ain Ritterschafft” (lines 1467-1468). In associating Judith with terms of male warrior hood, Birck obscures the literalness of her action with archetype, thus removing the anxiety that beheading a prospective lover would evoke.<sup>235</sup> Such de-gendering directs attention away from Judith’s desirability and shocking actions, from which emotion in the Judith character and story stemmed.

Birck’s play emphasizes Judith’s Christian *Ritterschaft*. Not only does Ozias refer to her as a knight, but the armor that she receives as booty figures her as a Christian soldier with sword and helmet. Kai Bremer explicates this image by demonstrating the popularity of the verses in the biblical book of Ephesians, which describe the Christian soldier. Bremer also notes that the Latin version of the play gives Judith a different set of armor as booty. This set includes oriental weapons, with which the audience would be less familiar and which hold less biblical resonance. He writes, “die Ausstattung Judiths mit den Insignien des miles christianus ist zunächst von zentraler theatersemiotischer Qualität,” noting that Birck is relating Judith’s figure to that of the Christian soldier (324). The invocation of this discourse primarily functions to link the situation of Protestant communities during the Ottoman wars to that of the Israelites. It also presents the preservation of Christian community as a fundamentally masculine task. Women

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<sup>235</sup> Gabrijela Zaragoza offers an additional, useful explanation - that Judith “muss zum Mannweib mutieren,” because Zwinglian Basel had no place for a young widow who remains celibate and participates in community life (108, 115).

who wish to participate in it may do so under limited conditions and only after taking on some kind of masculinization, semiotic or otherwise.

Another strategy employed by the dramatists is to focus on the arbitrary choice of Judith as a savior. This unlikeliness amplifies God's glory and goodness. The fact that a woman saved Bethulia shows that salvation comes from God. By the same token, a woman's questioning of Ozias' decree shows that insight comes from God. The use of female effectiveness as a cipher for divine power is embedded into the original tale – Holofernes dies, not through victory in combat, but through his own arrogance and loss of control. Judith was clever and lucky enough to take advantage of the general's weaknesses, but her plan would have been almost certain to fail, had it not been divinely inspired. In the three dramatic versions, Judith describes herself as an *armer* or *blöder Weib* through whom God brought salvation because he willed it so (Greff 113-114, lines 135-136; Sachs 59, line 5; Birck line 1471). After she speaks to the elders about the blasphemy of testing God, they pronounce her wise and well-spoken (Birck 1415 -16), likewise, Holofernes recognizes her wisdom and intelligence (Birck 1775). Ozias characterizes these traits as masculine, musing "warumb ist sy nit ain man" (Birck 1417). Judith is "ain armes Instrument" (Birck 167), and a peculiar one. The mismatch between her gender, character, and deeds indicates that, ultimately, salvation and insight are granted according to God's unfathomable will. Here dramatists are arguing for a passive reception of Judith in which readers are encouraged to take heart, but not take action.

The strategies of de-gendering Judith and minimizing her role as God's arbitrary choice as ways of taking the passion out of the Judith story do not preclude the strategy of focusing on Judith's piety. Despite the masculine language used in reference to Judith, her piety remains a distinctly female one. It is expressed in her practice of regular prayer, and her submissiveness to

community authority, and her personal fidelity to Jewish law. This piety qualifies her to do the work that God gives her.

In the apocryphal version of the story Judith is well known for her piety. When she approaches the city elders in the plays, they already know her to be “heilig” and “gott-forchtig” (Greff 165). Judith’s piety is also evident in her regular prayer. In the *Book of Judith*, she prays after speaking with Ozias, right before she beheads Holofernes, and she offers a communal prayer of praise when she returns to Bethulia. Her pious practice lies in her obedience to the law. The *Book of Judith* and the plays all highlight the fact that she brings her own food, thus observing dietary laws. This is reminiscent of Daniel, who, when at the Babylonian court, only drank water and ate vegetables. Even though her plan involves trickery, Judith avoids the sin of lying when she approaches Holofernes. She does not say to him that God will deliver Israel into his hands. Rather she recounts Israel’s history which included disobedience and subsequent submission to foreign powers (Sachs 71, 59).

The relationship between Judith’s plan and her prayers deserves closer attention as it illustrates the heartfelt nature of her piety, but also the way that is coupled with her independence of mind. She does not ask God or anyone what she should do. Rather, in all versions, she crafts a rival plan to that of the city leaders. In Sachs’s version, Judith uses prayer to request blessing for her plan (Sachs 69, 6-22). The prayer itself communicates that Judith seeks no glory for herself but only values her role in Israel’s deliverance because it will bring more glory to God. In Greff, she tests whether the scheme comes from God and whether he will bless it through concentrated prayer. The two approaches to prayer suggest different ways of constituting Judith’s personal piety. Sachs brings Judith’s risk and, through that, her faith, to the fore. Judith does not actually know whether her plan is from God and she cannot be assured of its success. Because of Israel’s

history, she is certain that the community must not test God. This knowledge can give her the hope of being the righteous remnant that saves, but she may also be included in God's punishment of the impious community. Judith's decision to act prayerfully in the face of uncertainty suggests a Lutheran conception of faith in which faith and certainty are opposed, and hopeful action overcomes the gap between the two anti-emotions. Sachs is careful to connect Judith's piety in observance of Judaic law to a faithful attitude of the heart, which Protestants would recognize to be personal righteousness. Greff, on the other hand, highlights a more personal relationship to the divine. Judith carefully checks her plans through prayer, trusting that God would guide her actions. In both plays, Judith's piety is not just a matter of deeds, but also involves a certain kind of inner life – a life that Judith has carefully cultivated through regular prayer.

Through prayer and unfolding events, the community sees that Judith's plan is better than that of the city leaders (Greff 165, lines 1195-1202). Thus, she manages to be submissive to the city leaders while also leading her community in a godly course of action. In the view of the city leaders, Judith's piety gives her the authority to pray for the community when she is concerned about Bethulia's plan to surrender. Ozias affords her this right, declaring that "Drumb weil du Gott bist angenem,/So bitt für uns, das Gott auch ebn / Uns diesen irrthum wöl verbebn, Weil du fromb und gottsförchtig bist (Sachs 68, 6-10). Greff even arranges it so that Judith prays for Israel and for an alternative to testing God at Ozias' behest (166, lines 1210-1222). Another indication of Judith's piety exercised within the bounds of male authority is the similarity

between Judith's victory song and that of the prophetess Deborah's. Both emphasize being a willing instrument of God by supporting community leadership.<sup>236</sup>

It is important that Judith's story be one of great deeds rooted in personal piety. Yet at the same time, Judith's piety is not only personal – it is useful to the community. This is important in the context of a culture that is deeply suspicious of young widows, and also of women who devote themselves to religious life to the exclusion of family. Despite her devoted prayer life, Judith's piety cannot be compared to that of the female mystics. Her prayers and piety have a communal purpose. In Sach's rendition of her prayer at the beheading of Holofernes, Judith's goals reach beyond Bethulia to the entire world in references to Nebuchanezzar's empire, but also to the universally salvific potential of miracles – a potential that is realized in the character of Achior, the Amalekite general who acts in faith and joins the Bethulian community.<sup>237</sup>

Judith's piety is central to the case that all three dramatists make for her as a legitimate and praiseworthy instrument of God's salvation. Judith must be a pious Jew (as Protestant Christians would understand Jewish piety) and also a pious Jewish woman. Paradoxically, Judith's success at female piety must be established before all three texts strip her of her femininity as they make her into an acceptable hero.

The focus on Judith's piety explains the sixteenth-century preference for the apocryphal character over her canonical counterpart Jaël.<sup>238</sup> Despite the numerous representations of the

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<sup>236</sup> Judges 5 and Judith 16 are both chapter-long prayers that call the people of Israel to praise, then narrate a story of divine deliverance by means of a righteous woman.

<sup>237</sup> In Sach's version, Abra (Judith's maidservant) prays immediately before Judith acts, asking for victory on behalf of the many peoples who had been unjustly killed or taken into captivity (Sachs 76, 4-17).

<sup>238</sup> Jael's story is related in chapters four and five of the Book of Judges. She killed the enemy general Sisera by nailing a tent stake through his temple when he fell asleep in her tent after a meal.

Judith story and the clear parallels between the two narratives, there are only two well-known sixteenth-century paintings of the Jaël story and no literary versions of it.<sup>239</sup> This is particularly puzzling when considering the general Protestant interest in dramatizing biblical lives, especially on the school stage. In the Bible, Jaël's story appears to be an almost truncated version of Judith. Her role is brief, taking up two verses, and the role of national heroine is left to the prophetess Deborah. According to Margaret Stocker, "Between them [Jaël and Deborah] they divide the functions that Judith performs entirely by herself, from doctrinal instruction and strategic planning through to murder."<sup>240</sup> This results in a narrative with characters whose morality is easier to digest. "Deborah is not morally ambivalent like Judith," Stocker continues, "because Jael does the dirty work for her, and Jael is not the prophetess-heroine precisely because she does the dirty work."<sup>241</sup> Therefore, Deborah can be praised, and Jaël discarded from the tradition of biblical representation. Stocker locates the preference for Judith in her ambiguity and "resistance to stereotype,"<sup>242</sup> arguing that these qualities generally energize myth. However, at least in the early modern period, Judith's piety and her detachability from her act is key to the value that writers find in her character. These qualities and narrative possibilities are absent from the Jaël story. Also, Judith's action is easier to integrate into the social hierarchy because she embarks upon it with the blessing of Bethulia's elders, while Jaël acts individually and privately.

Judith's rigorous pious practice affords her a place in a stable moral universe and allows her character, that of a woman who enacts violence, to serve as a Christian example. In Sachs's

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<sup>239</sup> Sidonie Ann White traces the similarities between the biblical versions of the two tales, including the less-obvious similarities in the structure of Judith's song in Jerusalem and Deborah's song about Jaël. White also notes a key difference: Jaël's motivation remains unarticulated (6-7).

<sup>240</sup> Stocker 14

<sup>241</sup> Stocker 14

<sup>242</sup> Stocker 14



version, she seems to recognize the problematic nature of her method for delivering her people. Before requesting success, she asks God to preserve her chastity, indicating that Judith has not forgotten the virtues most appropriate to women (Sachs 73 lines 10-19). Similarly, when she returns with Holofernes's head, Judith closes her narrative with the lines "[Gott] mir auch hat behüt mein ehr/ In der gottlosen fende heer" (Sachs 77 lines 23-24). Judith's exchanges with the city elders indicate that Judith spends much of her time praying, and that her action represents an exception. If she is to be imitated, such depictions tell their audiences, then she is to be imitated through constant prayer.

The question of imitation is significant in all three plays. Even though Luther's comments on Judith say nothing about imitation, Protestant hagiographic practices insisted that the lives of God-fearing people of the past be written not to inspire awe, but to be useful to the average Christian.<sup>243</sup> In the Judith plays, encouragement to imitation occurs on two levels. In Sachs's drama, the imitation is invited on the level of the community. The play addresses the audience as a group, encouraging it to not fear the enemies of Christian community, be they Roman Catholic or Turkish, and to trust God to maintain the life and integrity of Christendom. Sachs refers to his play as a "tröstlicher spiegel" for the Christian audience, so that they remain steadfast in faith when confronted with threats from the Turks, for example (83, line 35 – 84, lines 1-4). Greff addresses both the example that the Judith story provides for the community as well as the individual. In the dedication to three Saxon lords, Greff encourages readers to imagine the Christian community in the position of the Bethulians and do expect both suffering and salvation.<sup>244</sup> In fashioning Judith's exemplarity, Greff organizes her qualities in terms of the

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<sup>243</sup> Backus 12

<sup>244</sup> "Erstlich/weil E.F.G. wissen hoeren und sehen wie es jtzund ein lange zeit daher nicht viel anders jnn der Christenheit zugangen ist/ dann eben gleich/ wie es jnn diesem Buch beschrieben stehet/ Nemlich/ das der liebe

Christian values of faith, hope and love, citing her “festen/ rechtschaffnen glaubens/ starker hoffnung gegen Gott/ und rechtschaffner trewer liebe gegen jrem nehisten” (103, lines 33-35) and exhorting the audience to be ready to do as Judith did (line 38).

Birck narrows the scope of Judith’s exemplarity by thinking of her as an example for women. Hydrophilia, a character from a chorus-like scene, speaks to Judith’s virtue and the inability of women to accept her as a model because of their impatience and lack of faith. She argues that, while women are quick to identify with women after their success, they would have repudiated her as she executed her risky plan.<sup>245</sup> In his introduction to a collection of sixteenth-century Judith images, Marion Kobelt-Groch notes that a careful interpretation of Judith’s story is required before she can serve as an example.<sup>246</sup> Indeed, Birck salvages the possibility for female imitation of Judith in the epilogue by radically re-defining her role in the story. The speaker at the end encourages women to support the authority of the men in their lives as Judith supported Ozias (Birck 164, lines 2647-2650). Broadening the applicability of Judith’s example, the speaker in the epilogue also encourages the “gemein mann” to embrace Judith’s example without shame, despite the fact that she is a woman (Birck 164, lines 2627-2629).

The need to manage the ways in which people follow in Judith’s footsteps was not only rooted in authors’ imaginary fears of ‘women gone wild.’ The Judith narrative seemed to invoke a longing for its embodiment in sixteenth-century women. They claimed the biblical promise

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Gott die seinen / nufast ein gute lange weil/ vnter mancherley Tyranny/vmb seines lieben worts willen/ auch so hat leiden lassen/ wie der lieben Iudith und den Iueden” (104, lines 56-63).

<sup>245</sup> “Wir hettend sy vermaledyt/ so sich zutragen hat die zeyt/ Das ir die sach gelungen hat die mainung bey uns allen stat/Es sey gar herrlich ghrichtet auß” (Birck 154, lines 2371-2375).

<sup>246</sup> Kobelt-Groch 18

that God uses the “weak things of this world<sup>247</sup>” and applied it to the claim of the female sex as the weaker, thus embracing the role as the primary instrument of God’s salvation. Towards the end of the city of Münster’s brief period as an Anabaptist city, the city was held under siege by Franz van Waldeck, the Bishop of Münster, Osnabrück, and Minden. Hille Feicken, a Dutch Anabaptist, attempted to liberate the city by entering the bishop’s palace with the intention of killing him. According to testimony which she gave after her arrest, she planned the assassination in response to visions in which God told her to become like Judith.<sup>248</sup> As Judith did, she garnered the approval of the city elders. This sixteenth-century Judith, did not count on the bishop sleeping next to a sword, dressed up and took a beautifully embroidered, poisoned shirt as her gift, perhaps planning to appeal to the bishop’s vanity, if not his lust. Feicken was tortured and executed for this act.

Sybilla Schwarz, a young woman from Greifswald imagines herself as the Abra to her friend Judith Tanck’s Judith, in a poem written on the occasion of the latter’s birthday. With an eye to the events of the Thirty Years War, Schwarz longs for “ein Weibsbildt, die Waffen kuennen binden” and urges her friend: “O Freundin thu du auch / was Judith vor gethan / Nimb / nechst dem Nahmen / auch der Judith Thaten an!” This exhortation stands in direct contradiction to the abundance of Judith-literature that encourages women to follow Judith in character or spirit, but not in her actions. Schwarz takes the theme of God using the weak one step further by shifting the instigation of the plan from the prosperous widow Judith to her handmaiden Abra: here Abra does not simply follow orders, but takes the initiative in enacting God’s salvation by speaking for all of the Bethulians and calling on Judith to save the city, “O Judith/ Judith/ komb/

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<sup>247</sup> This is a reference to I Corinthians 1:27 – “But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty.”

<sup>248</sup> Schnyder and Hecht 292

und hilf uns ietzt auß Noete/ Weil Holofernes Haer uns gaentzlich fast will toetten!/ Komb/ uns verlangt nach dier” (Schwarz lines 1-3). She hatches the rudiments of a plan by invoking a drunken Holofernes and his sword ( Schwarz lines 7-8). Schwarz associates herself with the Judith story in the statement “ich wil Abra sein” (line 8), a startling move as the identity of the speaker is revealed immediately after the image of the sword.

As we have seen, laywomen imagined the merging of their identities with that of Judith to rather radical results. When male clergy engaged in similar imaginings, however, the resulting images remain congruent with gender and social norms. Johann Benedict Carpzov (1639-1699), professor of theology and pastor St. Thomas in Leipzig, wrote a 1682 funeral sermon that relates the life of Judith Boerings, the widow of a city council member and merchant, in terms of the apocryphal Judith’s life. Pastor Carpzov finds that “alles/was von jener Judith das buechlein angefuehret/ and unserer seligen frau Judith in allen puncten und clausulen eintrifft” (Carpzov 159). However, delineating the limits of Judith’s exemplarity, Carpzov notes that the young Mrs. Boering’s own death just three months after that of her husband was to her credit, despite the departure from Judith’s example that it represented (Carpzov 159). Moreover, Carpzov is quick to emphasize that Judith Boering would not have been able to behead an enemy because “sie war zart” (160). Carpzov makes clear that women are to follow Judith in her character, not her behavior.

While part of God’s salvation, Judith’s life has no place within the normal social order. Her prayers either take place outside of the city walls or, in Birck, hidden in an upper room in sack cloth and ashes, suggesting the impossibility of social integration that her way of life and spiritual practice represent. Moreover, there is no epilogue at the end of the plays indicating Judith’s return to a normal, or any other kind of life after her return from Jerusalem. In the *Book*

*of Judith*, she returns as an honored citizen and remains a widow until her death at one hundred and five. This independent and prolonged widowhood, along with her act of setting her maid Abra free, did not fit well with Protestant values that equated virtuous femininity with marriage and encouraged widows to marry and bear children. Therefore, in her sixteenth-century life, Judith is an unattached woman who emerges from the mass of Bethulians and then disappears, not just back into that mass, but altogether, once she has served as God's instrument. While divinely bestowed triumph over enemies could be expected by both the Israelite and Christian communities, the delivery of that triumph through the visionary and decisive action of a woman was to remain in the realm of allegory and poetic lesson.

Written discourses around the Judith narrative seem to conflict with their contemporary visual counterparts. Indeed, the three Protestant plays work within contemporary trends of depicting Judith as much as they respond to the Judith tradition. Many sixteenth-century pamphlets, poems and devotional books use a similar strategy to that of the dramatists, focusing on her character, rather than her deeds. By the time Carpov praises Judith Boering for following Judith in character, but not action in 1682, he is working in a well-established tradition in which the Israelite heroine is held up for imitation, but quite often her actions are not mentioned, only her virtue. The list of virtues that the Leipzig pastor attributes to the ancient and seventeenth-century Judiths are often narrowed down to one in devotional and pamphlet literature – namely “Mäßigkeit.” By emphasizing moderation, these texts point to the second of two major modes of interpretation of the *Book of Judith*. The first is God's faithfulness in saving his people, and the second is the moderation of Judith in contrast to Holofernes's avarice.

Hans Sachs's first work dealing with the Judith material is a 1531 verse entitled “Judith, die messig”. The poem focuses on Judith's *Messigkeyt* as the protector of her honor. While the

city was being besieged, she fasted (line 4). Alluding to the clothing and jewelry that she wore to meet Holofernes, Sachs writes that Judith was “Geschmucket inn der messigkeyt” (line 5), even as Holofernes burned with love for her (line 6). Using a play on words, Sachs reminds us that “Die messig ihn das haupt abschneydt,” offering a more direct explanation for how *Messigkeyt* can protect a woman’s chastity. The verse ends with an admonishment to all women to exercise moderation “In kleydung, speyß und tranck noch mehr!” as they strive to protect their own honor. Thus, Sachs reduces the applicability of Judith’s story to vigilant control over the body and its appetites.

Jörg Wickram pursues the same goal by different means in his 1555 verse narrative *Der trunkene Holofernes*. Instead of focusing on Judith’s moderation, he focuses on Holofernes’s concupiscence, elaborating on the ways in which his inordinate desire for power, lust for women, and thirst for wine result in his downfall. Judith herself is a minor character in this piece, described as “zart” and who piously she prays “Das er [God] ir stercken wolt ir hand” (Wickram 72). Both of these shorter pieces eliminate the larger salvation aspect of the tale. In doing so, they remove the suspense and exoticism, perhaps making Judith’s story more useful for personal character development and devotional practice.

This sobering found in written versions of the Judith story, and especially in the plays, forms the crux of the duality in early modern representations of Judith that can roughly be divided between written and visual art. Written work focuses on her character and piety, often downplaying her beauty. Artworks of this period emphasize her beauty. Hieronymus Oertl brings these two approaches to Judith representation together in his *Gebetbuch für Frauen*, in which he offers examples of biblical women. Two panels are assigned to each page. One consists of an image, and the other is a prayer based on the story and character of the female exemplar.

The heading over the Judith section reads: “Die Mäßige”. The prayer thanks God for his protection and the destruction of tyrants, noting Holofernes as an example. The prayer refers to Judith as *Gott-Forchtig*. In contrast to the sparse handling of Judith herself in the prayer, Judith dominates the accompanying image. She carries the sword and Holofernes’s head. She is dressed in beautiful clothing, including armor on her torso, the breastplate of which is designed to bare her breasts. In the middle ground of the engraving, there is a depiction of the beheading. This image does exactly what Protestant writing about Judith, including the prayer directly across from it, worked hard to avoid. It emphasizes her deed, and her beauty, particularly her desirability.

Indeed, the emphasis in written versions of the story on Judith’s character or piety rather than her actions and appearance may be read as a rejection of the attention that visual depictions attracted through the depiction of a beautiful Judith and the more shocking parts of the story. For Protestant writers, who treated the Judith story as if it were Scripture or history, the ways in which Judith was represented in visual art would have undermined the true value of the narrative. In late –medieval and early modern representations, Judith is always a beautiful woman, often dressed in feminine versions of a Roman soldier’s garb. Two scenes traditionally appear in sixteenth-century painting. The first is the act of the beheading, exemplified by Artemisia Gentileschi’s famous painting. Judith and Abra’s stances lend these images tension and energy. The second is Judith carrying Holofernes’s head back to Bethulia, holding it by the hair. An image more popular among artists north of the Alps, this moment does not exist in the apocryphal telling of the story. There, Judith hands the head to Abra, who puts it into a sack. This slight revision is understandable: much of the image’s charge comes from the horror of the head without the body and from the resonances that the image has with the story of Salome and

St. John the Baptist. Late-medieval and early modern painting emphasizes Judith's deed and its horror, contrasting that horror with Judith and sometimes Abra's beauty.

Different from the above-mentioned visual depictions, the dramatists work to be as faithful to the *Book of Judith* as possible, and to counteract the excitement and pleasure cultivated by other media in their representations of Judith. According to Lähnemann, the image of Judith (a woman holding a sword and/or a head), had a greater presence in sixteenth-century culture than the *Book of Judith* itself.<sup>249</sup> Based on Sachs, Greff, and Birck's commitment to the original text and their emphasis on God's providence and Judith's character, it seems that these authors are redeeming the Judith story by detaching it from the erotic violence linked to its imagery and early commentary.

Despite the conflict around Judith's beauty, the plays cannot just eliminate it. Regardless of how great her piety may have been, Judith's piety alone did not allow her to save Israel. Any version of her story must come to terms with her beauty. This was not only a problem for sixteenth-century Protestants: several translations of the apocryphal book omit the verse in which Judith's beauty is described.<sup>250</sup> Luther's translation includes the description. However, the dramatists construct an opposition between Judith's beauty and her wisdom and piety, while the *Book of Judith* allows readers to marvel at her beauty and be encouraged by her piety. In both of the school plays, Ozias and the other Bethulian elders briefly remark on her beauty when Judith rebukes them for testing God. In both plays, her beauty is attributed to God's will, reminding the audience that it is part of a holy purpose and does exist for enjoyment. The emphasis on the

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<sup>249</sup> 299

<sup>250</sup> Stocker 3. Indicating that Judith's beauty was certainly also a sixteenth-century problem is the omission of these verses in Leo Jud's translation – the German translation of the Bible that preceded Luther's and which remained popular amongst Protestants in southwestern Germany and Switzerland.



utility of Judith's beauty is significant because it marks one of the few discrepancies between the apocryphal text and the school plays. This discrepancy is a matter of omission. The scene in which Judith dresses to meet Holofernes is missing from all of the plays, including Sachs's version. The *Book of Judith* provides a detailed description of her cosmetic preparations for Holofernes's camp. In Greff's version, Judith briefly refers to this scene in her song of praise after she returns to Bethulia. However, we hear of "schone kleider" and her braided hair only in relation to Israel's salvation, while the apocryphal account richly describes her appearance before the reader knows of its purpose.

In general, however, the plays remain faithful to the *Book of Judith*. They avoid the scene common to visual portrayals of the story, that of Judith carrying the head of Holofernes. Instead, the emotional weight of the story is balanced towards Holofernes's camp. The most intense scene of horror occurs when the general's men find their leader's headless body. In Greff, the realization that a woman accomplished the demise of the great general was the primary source of fear. Holofernes's man Tarthan cries, "O zetter zetter ach wech und ach/ Das hat ein einigs weib gemacht" (Greff 208, lines 1925-26). Sachs and Birck set this scene in the midst of a state of already-heightened excitement. Judith has instructed the Bethulians to arm themselves and make noise as if they were leaving the city to attack. Despite the unquestionable superiority of Holofernes's forces, Periander (in Sachs), refers to the Bethulian fighters thought to be coming as "ein unzelicher hauff" (Sachs 80, line 22), suggesting that there was already an excitability present in Holofernes' camp. When Holofernes's body is discovered, this state is heightened and shifts to fear. Pagoas, Holofernes's chief man-at-arms, also uses words such as "zetter," "mordio," and "ach weh" as he takes in the sight. In Birck, Holofernes's head contains the courage of his men, as Vagao cries "er hat kain Haupt/ ich hab kain muet" (150, line 2288). This

image of a dismembered leader surrounded by his terrified followers is reminiscent of the morning after Faustus's death. In both situations, the destruction of the leader's body represents the dispersal of a community. At the same time, the unthinking terror exposes the false nature of the group's earlier confidence and certainty. Unlike Faustus's students who may have learned from their teacher's overweening confidence, Holofernes's men do not seem to profit from the loss of a false god – they do not follow Achior's example and repent, thus joining and strengthening the Israelite community. Their community disperses and ceases to exist, and spiritually useless feeling is banished from the scene.

The plays respond to the plethora of words and images regarding Judith and demand faithfulness to the text as a safe way to deal with the Judith material, even though her story is neither history nor canon. By confusing Judith's gender, framing her acts in terms of the arbitrary will of God, emphasizing her piety, and minimizing the role of her beauty, the sixteenth-century Protestant dramatists offer a counter-weight to the more salacious and passion-laden images that dominated Judith reception in the early modern, as well as the tension of the scene in Holofernes's camp.

According to the speaker in Greff's prologue, beneficiaries of divine help not only love and fear God as they live their lives, but they also petition him with "gedult und die gute zuversicht" (139). As in the cases of courtly love tales and the Faustus novels, Greff's Judith play invites the reader to imagine a narrative that cultivates attitudes of the heart supportive of salvation. Yet the specific attitudes cultivated represent a departure from the texts mentioned above. The fear evoked by Faustus's dismembered body and the suffering love of the women in *Das Buch der Liebe* represent emotions that are necessary to the salvation experience. In the case of Judith, however, the story promotes a *lack* of emotion in the service of spiritual health.

As discussed in the first section of this chapter, the reformation-era plays reduce the emotional intensity of the Judith material. In addition, the plays themselves emphasize inner states that resist the overflow of feeling. Thus, blocking or controlling emotional response occurs not only in the way in which the Judith material is adapted and presented to the audience but also in the lives of the characters. If, as we have seen in the other texts, strong emotions play important roles in the salvation experience, what value can there be in resisting such emotions?

Following this line of inquiry, I move from a discussion about the dramatists' presentational choices to exploring the significance of *Geduld* and *Beständigkeit* in the Judith plays. By placing these virtues at the center of the godly affective life, these plays anticipate Justus Lipsius' melding of stoic philosophy and Christianity. Because of its confessional commitments, sixteenth-century German drama in general is often dismissed as objects of philosophical and aesthetic interest. Yet the confessionally influenced affective values of these plays link them to broad and long-lived discussions about how individuals and communities can manage their inner lives in the context of mortal danger and political upheaval. Not only does this connection support my larger claim that the development of certain affective values and emotional regimes were meant to be a central and sustained aspect of Protestant practice, but it also makes a case for the reevaluation of the Judith plays examined here and sixteenth-century drama, in general. Additionally, I use the resonances between sixteenth century Lutheran values and neostoic thought to draw attention to continuities between the so-called confessional drama of the sixteenth century and seventeenth-century Baroque drama.<sup>251</sup> Andreas Gryphius' plays, for example, invest Lipsian neostoicism with Lutheran emotional values. By drawing on the strengths of both sets of values regarding feeling, the Silesian playwright makes a bolder case for

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<sup>251</sup> In referring to confessional drama, I am drawing again on Ute Lotz-Heumann and Matthias Pohlig's terminology of confessionalization literature.

the passions in spiritual life than do any of the sixteenth-century dramatists make and takes a position closer to that of Luther, Musäus and other Lutheran writers of anti-melancholy literature.

*Geduld*, or patience, is not a feeling in and of itself but, like comfort and *Verstockung* (hard-heartedness, stubbornness), it is characterized by a lack of emotional perturbation. For this reason, I call these states of mind (or, as sixteenth-century Christians would think of them, attitudes of the heart) *anti-emotions*. We have already seen that comfort is a sign of salvation in the Faustus books and Luther's pastoral writing, and that *Verstockung* functions to resist the kinds of emotions that support salvation. In many sixteenth-century Lutheran texts, *Geduld* is a willingness to suffer and wait for salvation, trusting that it will come.

*Geduld*, along with *Beständigkeit*, *Glaube*, and *Hoffnung*, forms a conceptual cluster of inner states necessary for salvation in the Judith plays. The inclusion of *Geduld* in this larger network of concepts is not unique to the Judith story – this cluster is understood to be a part of the Christian life well lived. Hans Sachs, credited by contemporaries and later critics alike with bringing the teachings of the Reformation into popular art forms, addresses the role of *Geduld* in a 1553 poem entitled “Die Christliche Gedult.” This one hundred and twenty-five-line poem, consisting mostly of rhymed couplets, is divided into three sections. After promising to provide “Eyn gantz klare Contrafactur/der waren Christlichen gedult,” Sachs describes earthly life as precarious and full of constant struggle for everyone. In the second section, Sachs describes the state of the person who “uebet sich in ungedult.” This person focuses only on his suffering (“Wo es nur auff das Creutze sicht”), and tries to use his reason (*vernunfft*) to avoid suffering. Because of his approach to life, this person suffers all the more (“Und wird noch schwerer mit beladn”), and loses his way in life (“Und wird von ydem windt geriebn/Leychtlich hin und auch her

getriebln"). True to the promise made at the beginning of the verse, most of the poem is devoted to describing the "Christlich Seel." The Christian's suffering is equal to that of the impatient soul, however, its attention is focused differently: "Wann inn all irer angst und not/ hebt sie ir augen auff zu Got." This patient Christian soul thinks of its suffering as a means of divine purification. Therefore, hope is the attitude with which he approaches his life as he "hat innwendig guten fried/ Inn Christo/der auch fuer sie lied/Und hofft inn Got/der hoffnung ancker."

The last element which constitutes this Christian's faith is *Beständigkeit*, or perseverance: "Wie uebel und es ir immer geht/Sie frey inn der Gedult besteht/ Stanthafftigleich inn irer prob." The Christian soul perseveres – and perseverance is a necessary component of salvation – through patience. The adverb "stanthafftigleich," which describes how the patient Christian behaves under pressure is related to "bestehen," the verb that precedes it. *Stanthafftigleich* also evokes the impatient soul's state after being buffeted by life's troubles which was described earlier in the poem as "unsthanfft." All three states seem to be important to having faith, but at least in this Sachs poem and in the Judith plays, *Geduld* serves as the foundational state which makes *Hoffnung* and *Beständigkeit* possible.

The central image that Sachs employs in "Die Christliche Gedult" connects his poem to the Judith plays more closely. It is that of the *miles christianus*. As mentioned in the last section, Birck's representation of Judith's armor and the use of *Ritterlichkeit* to describe Judith's deeds invoke the biblical image of the Christian soldier. Sachs's poem helps us to unravel the implications of *Ritterlichkeit* in the Judith plays. The poem presents faith as a shield that protects the Christian soul against attacks from death, Satan and the world. Thus, for the Christian, suffering becomes "zu gantz heylsamer Ertzeney" which equips him "fleysch und blut ritterlich

zu dempffn/Das stet wider den Geyst thut kempffn.” When the Christian undergoes a trial, he passes it with valor– “Gelieget ritterlichen ob.” By using the image of the Christian soldier, this poem and the Judith plays activate *Geduld*. Patience here is not only an inner state that must be consciously cultivated, but an actor upon the difficult emotions that suffering brings, effectively disarming them and preventing spiritual damage.

As an anti-emotion, *Christliche Geduld* is crucial to the Christian’s battles because the enemies that endanger him are not life’s difficulties, but destructive cognitive responses to them (a focus on the suffering rather than on God, for example), and the feelings which manifest those responses. The beginning of “Die Christliche Gedult” expresses this well when describing the soul as a ship on a stormy sea. Threatening the ship is not Satan, but “fleysch und blut/Das wirdt verzaget und kleynmuetic.” The list of troubles that the “jamer Meer” represents consists primarily of inner states, not external trials, including “unerzelter angst,” “truebsal,” “kummer,” “anfechtung,” “forchten,” and “schrecken.” The Judith plays illustrate the danger of such emotions that Sachs has expressed here. The scenes in which the Bethulians complain and the city’s leadership responds foreground the dangers that emotions can pose to spiritual health and salvation.

Greff recognizes in Judith “ein gros beispil der gedult/ dardurch wir von Gott erlangen huld” (108-109). Patience in adversity marks the godly person’s bid for divine help, and Judith’s patience provides an important and nuanced example. Towards the end of the prologue, the speaker lists patience alongside the fear and love of God as qualities that Christians must possess in difficult times, if they want to maintain their faith (138-142). Greff brings the question of *Geduld* to the fore again in the second act when slingers (*Fundibularii*) Nathan and Joach patrol outside the city walls. Because the enemy is so close, Nathan has given up hope, assuming that

punishment for the community's sins is inevitable (Greff 2.1, 589). The only certainty that he takes to heart is that the community will die of thirst: "Denn mues wir alle durst sterben/Das ist gewis und all verderbn"(2.1, 597-598). Joach, in contrast, represents a point of view rooted in patience and trust in God. He recognizes that Bethulia is endangered by the blocking of the well, but he hopes nonetheless (607).

The location of one's certainty is an important aspect of faithful patience. For this reason, it is instructive to note the different ways in which Nathan and Joach use the word "gewiss." For Nathan, the thing that is *gewiss* is the conclusion that he draws based on what he sees. For Joach, the thing for which he hopes is *gewiss* – "Doch hoff ich gwis und zweifel nicht/ Alle sachn werd'n noch bessern sich" (2.1 607). Faith is the substance of things hoped for. This certainty is Joach's faith. What makes Joach's hope "gwiss" is that it is converted into action. The verb "kompt" immediately follows his declaration of hope as he exhorts Nathan to stop standing around "vergebens." Joach readies himself and his companion for action, suggesting that they survey the area further, and search for an opportunity to fight (2.1, 610-612). He also encourages an inner readiness which will prepare them for fighting and God's salvation: "Last uns selbs machn ein freien mut/Es wird noch alls wol werden gut" (2.1, 613). Nathan responds agrees to look at the situation at the well and prepare to shoot at the Assyrians (2.1, 617-624). Here we see the willingness to persist in uncertain hope and act in confidence. This depicts perseverance in faith which requires patience. The potential that one person's patience has to affect another anticipates Judith's patient action which will spread her faith to the rest of the community and participate in its salvation.

The actions of Judith and Joach extend into the space of the performance or reading. The prologue urges hearers and readers to "bilden ins hertz ein" the Judith story, along with all of the

other tales that illustrate God's help to his people. This work of the imagination is part of the process of learning to trust in God's word (Prologue 161). The task of "right watching" ("recht betracht"), learning trust through narrative, then bringing those lessons into action requires intention and diligence.<sup>252</sup> By the same token, there is value in composing such narratives "Gott zu lob/dem nechsten zu nutz" (Prologue 169). In sharing his imagining of this particular salvation story with others, the author serves a similar function to that of Judith herself – that of a conduit of contagious faith.

*Ungeduld* spreads as easily as *Geduld* and endangers the community. After the water to the city has been cut off, Greff presents a scene in which Israel, a representative for all Israelite men, makes an utilitarian argument for surrendering to the Assyrians: "Es ist ja besser mercket mich/Das wir leben und sterbn nicht/Und also muegen loben Gott/Denn das wir wuerden schlagen todt/Und solten umbkommn hie auff erden/ Fur aller welt zu schanden werdn" (2.5, lines 1035-1041). However, the survival that he posits is not the survival of a godly community. His argumentation is rooted in bitter hopelessness, as he no longer waits for salvation from God. His suggested course of action is not one of readiness for deliverance, but of negotiating with God's enemies for protection. Moreover, when he is concerned about the community's destruction being the scandal of the world, the citizen Israel is not referring to God's glory, as seen through his chosen people's preservation, but he is concerned about having to come to terms with death: "Auch zumal lieber uns geben wolln/Denn das wir alle sehen wolln/ Fur unsern augen fur unsern fuessn/Das unser weib und kind so jemmerlich sterbn muessen" (2.5, 1040-1044). At this moment, Israel remains convinced of God's punishment, but neither prays

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<sup>252</sup> Greff expresses this with a fantastic pun on the word "Spiel" – "Wird niemand scheldn ders recht betracht/Gotts wort traun lern man nur mit leis/Und wens auch gleich wehr spielweis/Ob mans (sag ich) gleich inn solch spiel bringt" (Prologue 160-163)



nor hopes for mercy.<sup>253</sup> Sara, the embodiment of Israelite women, does not comment on God at all as she complains, rather she rails against the Bethulian leadership for not having made a peace with Holofernes. We see here that the breakdown in male faith precedes problems with the gender hierarchy in the community. Two other Bethulian citizens have short parts in which they bemoan their thirst and briefly ask for God's mercy. One citizen, Abdon, prays directly to God, remembering that He is "stetzt barmhertzig" (2.5, 1080) and concerned with his reputation among the Assyrians (2.5, 1085-1088), suggesting that while the community attitude is precarious, it is not completely given over to despair.

Ozias reads the mood of the crowd, as represented by these four speaking parts. Rather than try to leverage the faith shown by some Bethulians in order to encourage the entire community to faith and patience, Ozias proposes a compromised patience, indicative of conditional faith. The stage directions say that the head of the city is speaking through tears ("Haec lachrimans loquitur") as he addresses the Bethulians. He urges the crowd "Habt doch gedult noch fuenff tag" (2.5, 1092). He is still hoping for God's salvation, but only within the time frame that he deems appropriate. Doubt riddles the language of his justification for this strategy: "*Wer weis wies nich hat ein gestalt/Ob er uns gnad erzeigen wold/Und seinen namen herlich machen/Vielleicht wirdts besser mit unsern sachn*" (2.5, 1093-1096, italics mine). While some community members were still willing to petition God for salvation, bitterness about the situation is expressed by characters with the names Israel and Sara – names that in the German tradition mark Jews as a type. Moreover, the political leadership also doubts, and so the attitudes of community's leaders and representatives suggest a collective mood of impatience towards God.

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<sup>253</sup> "Fur himel und erd bezeug wir heut/Darzu fur unser Vetter Gott/Der uns jtz strafft inn dieser not/ um unser sund willen" (2.5, 1046-1049).

Greff's *Judith* sends the clear message that the community's *Ungeduld* does not merely signify human weakness, but damning sin. When Judith confronts the city leadership – Ozias, Chambri, and Charmbri – regarding their decision to give God's salvation a five-day deadline, she relates Israel's history of oppression by foreign powers. This moment participates in a pattern seen throughout the Judith story – that of re-telling Israel's history and trusting, based on the past, that salvation would come in this situation. Judith's narration focuses on the times in which the Israelites were disobedient and idolatrous. In these cases, the people of Israel were taken into captivity. This version of the community's history offered a sort of negative certainty: that if Israel lacked patience and faith, it would be given over to the Assyrians. The example of the grumbling Israelites in the desert illustrate this: “Die andern aber die do nicht/Zu Gott habn ghabt ir zuversicht/ Welche die truebsal nicht wolten/ Annemn mit Gotts forcht wie sie wol soltetn/ Sondern mit ungedult murreten widr Gott/ Und lesterten in/ die quamn inn die Not/ Ir sund und bosheit hat gemacht/ Das sie vom verderber und von schlagen wuerden umbbracht” (3.1, 1171-1178). Willingness to sit hopefully with future uncertainty, however, allows for the possibility of divine salvation. Thus Judith exhorts the city leaders: “last uns inn diesm leidn nicht/Ungedultig werden” (1179-1180). In taking this approach, Judith is not making a calculated wager and weighing certain doom against possible success. Underlying her choice is a total dependence on God's will and the confidence that His punishment is ultimately merciful and for the community's good.<sup>254</sup> Thus, regardless of how the situation should resolve, “mit demut/Huelff und trost warten” is preferable to preserving life through unfaithfulness (3.1, 1142-1143).

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<sup>254</sup> Judith states: “Sondern last uns bekennen frey/Das allein ein straff von Gott sey/ Ia dennoch gringer den unser sund sind/ Wir hettn wol ein grossers verdint” (3.1, 1181-1183).

In contrast to Greff's version, Sachs's *Comedi* allows for no grievous moral failings on Bethulian side. Ozias does not seem to be the coward, bending to the complaints of his people as he does in the other plays. Rather, it is because of compassion that he implements the five-day compromise: "Mein hertz will mir vor leyd versicken,/ Wen ich hör weynen weib und kinder." At first glance, it seems that Ozias and the other Bethulian leadership respond righteously to the situation. As soon as they discover Holofernes' plan, they pray and fast for God's will. However, this point of empathetic suffering and unwillingness to bear the people's suffering patiently (and teach them to do the same) supercedes Ozias' hope for salvation and leads to a melancholy that becomes a collective despair. After identifying with the people's suffering, Ozias sketches out a scenario in which there is no way to escape destruction. He places the people of Israel in the position formerly held by the Egyptians: "Ich fürcht, gott werd von hauß zu hauß/ In der statt alle tilgen auß,/ Weil an uns half kein lehr noch straff,/ Biß gottes plag uns grimmig traff." He does not take into account that the Jews are God's chosen people and may repent. Ozias looks back at Israel's history to find a way to interpret the current situation. But unlike Achior, he does not see all of the ways in which God has preserved the Israelite community. He only sees God's judgment for sin.

The community, represented by Simon appearing before Ozias to plead for the people, has a similar focus on their sins. Simon, too, believes that the community's sins are too great for salvation and suggests that the city be given up to the Assyrians. The people are "versaget und erlegen" and presumably beyond forgiveness and salvation. For this reason they commit the greater sin of believing that their enemies will exercise more mercy than God, "Weil wir noch gnad bein feiden finden./Ob wir gleich geben tribute und zinßt/ Unangesehen unsern gottsdienst" (66, 33-35). Though not explicitly stated, there appears to be an even greater blasphemy in the

people's search for mercy from the Assyrians: they believe that they can escape God's judgment when they are part of Nebuchanezzar's empire. They have, in effect, already responded to Nebuchanezzar's wish to be revered as the great god among his conquered peoples.<sup>255</sup>

By fearing for their lives and doubting God's help, the Bethulians have already succumbed to Nebuchanezzar. Nebuchanezzar's modus operandi is disturbance. In the first speech of the play, he states that his goal is to frighten the peoples whom he wishes to conquer so that they will not resist him.<sup>256</sup> Significantly, Ozias does not address his people's faulty thinking. Rather, his own lack of hope and faithless reading of history guides the entire community towards the wrong attitudes and course of action. The resulting melancholy is linked then to Ozias and the people's failure to cultivate patience. This failure resembles Faustus's in that the focus on sin, and the unwillingness to suffer physically leads to anxiety regarding spiritual (or in the case of Bethulia, communal) salvation. This impatience reflects a collective failure, for which Ozias is primarily responsible.

Through the interaction between Ozias and the people as represented by Simon, we see the process by which an unwillingness to tolerate suffering leads to impatience which leads to melancholy, which in turn, endangers the spiritual health of the community. Judith saves Bethulia by interrupting this process and introducing patience and hope to Ozias' thinking. When she admonishes Ozias for testing God, she also invokes the history of the Israelites in Egypt. But she relates this history to the current situation in a hopeful manner. She aligns the Assyrians with the Egyptians, and counts on God to deliver Israel as he had done in the past. Moreover, she

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<sup>255</sup> In the opening scene of the play, Nebuchanezzar calls for the total destruction of the religions of his conquered peoples: "Das schlag, und auch ir götzen-hauß/Verbrnn und reuth ir g:otter auß,/Das kein ott se auff erden gar,/Denn ich, könig Nebucadensar,/Den man anbet zu reverentz" (58 36-27 – 59 1-3).

<sup>256</sup> "Dieser sieg solt erschrecken billich / Die völcker, das sie uns gutwillig/Zu einem herrn nemmen on" (Sachs 57, lines 22-24)

considers the Jews' past suffering and delivery to be God's discipline and a sign of his faithfulness.<sup>257</sup> Because she views the Bethulians' present thirst in these terms, she trusts in salvation and encourages Ozias to do the same: "Derhalb erwartet mit geduld/Götlicher hülf, genad und huld!" (Sachs 68, 1-2).

Sachs further associates *Ungeduld* with damnation by emphasizing the fear, panic, and *Ungeduld* of Holofernes' camp. The soldiers' panic is beyond logic: the army numbers one hundred and twenty thousand soldiers. They could have easily captured Bethulia without Holofernes. However, they abandon their camp upon hearing the Bethulians' loud shout and the simultaneous discovery of Holofernes' headless body. They run because they recognize the supernatural power protecting the Bethulians. But this knowledge of God represents the kind of knowledge that damned Faustus and threatened to damn the Bethulians – it is knowledge without faith or obedience. The soldiers could have followed Achior's example by joining the community. In their unwillingness to face their loss they are scattered.

Birck also presents *Ungeduld* as a perennial problem by emphasizing the Jews' history as one of repeated impatience, punishment, and redemption. Judith recounts the story of Israel, contrasting the patriarchs' (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob) steadfastness, with the Israelites in the desert, who were impatient and complained, losing God's favor (Birck 1361-1374). She reminds Ozias of the consequences of communal impatience: "Wann sy durch undult gmumlet hand/ so hat Gott inen plag gesandt" (Birck 1370). In the military camp, Judith presents Jewish history as one riddled with punishment for impatience, allowing Holofernes to envision himself as God's victorious scourge. This is a repetition of the narrative for which Achior was banished, but at this

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<sup>257</sup> "Die straff ist ein vätterlich zucht,/ Darmit sein kinder er heim sucht./Abraham, Isaac und Jcob/ Hat er auch versucht mit der prob. /Doch ist osch straff seiner gemein/ Ringer, wenn unser sünde sein" (Sachs 67, 29-337).

moment, Judith has chosen to tell only one side of the story – that of human sin. This half-story, ignores God’s grace, and thus has no salvific potential. For the sixteenth-century Christian, the Israelite community’s pattern of impatience, educative punishment, and blessing would have reminded of the *Anfechtung* experience, characterized by anxiety and suffering which resolves in joy.

Birck positions the Bethulians’ situation as a repetition of Israel’s history by portraying the common Bethulian citizen as fundamentally impatient. This impatience is linked to disruptions in the civic hierarchy. In response to Judith’s questions regarding the leadership’s decision to surrender, Chambri centers the problem on a lack of trust between the ordinary citizen and the government, not a problem with trusting in God. Charmi makes a case for patience, or equanimity, which he labels “bestendigkait.” Charmi describes this trait as “des glaubens aigenschafft/ das er in angst erzaigt sein krafft/ Also will ich euch hon ermandt/ so wir die hertzen zamen hand” (Birck 92, 842-846). *Beständigkeit* is an important concept within Reformation theology. *Bestehen*, or to persevere, is necessary for a Christian’s salvation. Charmi recognizes this when he relates *Beständigkeit* to faith. Charmi also suggests that *Beständigkeit* is related to one’s emotional state when he encourages the council to tame their hearts, in order to develop this important trait which characterizes faith.

*Beständigkeit*, or *Constantia* and *Geduld* or *patientia* are inner states also prized by neostoicism, as philosophical movement introduced to German culture in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.<sup>258</sup> *Constantia* and *patientia* were long championed by classical stoics such as Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius and the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries

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<sup>258</sup> Saunders xiv

saw a revival of those values and their new application to Christian life. I identify two strands of thought that contribute to what will eventually prove to be an inseparable connection between the well-lived Christian life and the anti-emotions *patientia* and *Constantia*, as exemplified in Andreas Gryphius's *Catharina von Georgien* (1657). The Judith plays of the mid-sixteenth century provide early illustrations of this Lutheran version of Lipsius's *Constantia*. A closer examination of early modern neostoic thought reveals that Lipsius and authors of Lutheran pastoral care shared the same sets of emphases, imagery and concerns. However, key differences emerge between them regarding the role of reason, and the nature of constancy itself.

Following this line of inquiry, I turn to Flemish philosopher Justus Lipsius and his dialogue *de Constantia in publicis malis*, which played a significant role in the revival of Stoic philosophy as a practical antidote to public evils. This fictional dialogue between Lipsius and his friend Langius (Charles de Langhe, Canon of Liège) enjoyed immediate success and was published in numerous Latin and vernacular editions.<sup>259</sup> In the dialogue, Lipsius reflects upon the nature of public evils and is guided to his conclusions by Langius, his older and wiser friend.

Lipsius' conclusions do not deny the severity of public calamity. Rather, he urges his readers to develop equanimity towards it, as he lists a long series of divinely sanctioned disasters meant to illustrate the reality of divine punishment and to demonstrate that evils such as earthquakes, pestilence, war, and tyranny are intrinsic to the human condition and, as such, are God's plan for the preservation and improvement of humanity. Additionally, he reminds that all

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<sup>259</sup> Going through more than eighty editions between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, over forty in the original Latin and the rest in translations into a wide range of modern European languages, the treatise, which embodied elements of militant Calvinism together with arguments on free will used by the Jesuits, became common cultural property during the seventeenth century, influencing scholarship, poetry and art up to the Enlightenment (Young and Gloner iv).

times and places suffer in similar amounts, viewing this as a consolation, for, “Just as work becomes easier if shared by more people, so too does sorrow” (*De Constantia* II.26).

For Lipsius it is a mark of wisdom to accept the evil that is in the world with steadfastness and mental fortitude, thus cultivating *Constantia*, “the upright and immovable mental strength, which is neither lifted up nor depressed by external or accidental circumstances” (*De Constantia* I.4). The origin of this constancy is patience, which he says is governed by reason. Drawing from Lipsius’s wider work, John Sellars concludes that the philosopher believed that “reason— as opposed to false opinions — is nothing other than a true judgment concerning things both human and divine” (27). This adherence to reason involves an internal transformation that results in freedom from the emotions, patience in adversity, and submission to God’s will. These virtues make it possible to live contentedly amid the inevitable decay and turmoil of the world.

In the dialogue, Lipsius’ old friend Langius is cast in the role of the Stoic *sapiens*, who had achieved mastery over his emotions by reason. The form and style of *De Constantia* establishes constancy as the chief virtue, providing readers with a simpler and more practical guide to life than did contemporary philosophy, which Lipsius criticized for its excessive subtlety. The full title of Lipsius’ treatise is *De Constantia in malis publicis*, this text is interested in the relationship between the inner experience of individual and political acts. It should not be read as a systematic treatment of the subject of consolation literature focusing on Stoic ethics. Yet because of the text’s focus on managing inner states, *De Constantia* can function as a manual of practical psychology in the tradition of Epictetus’s discourse *On Constancy* or Galen’s *De Anima*.



Many Lutheran *Seelsorge* texts that borrow from Stoic thinkers predate Lipsius's work by several decades. Luther's insistence on a connection between emotional well-being and physical health is clearly reminiscent of Galen, and his successors in the Lutheran anti-melancholic tradition work even more heavily with stoic ideas and remedies.<sup>260</sup> When taken as a body of work, *Seelsorge* texts display a rather vexed relationship to Antiquity and the undeniable influence of Stoicism. Some writers proudly link their anti-melancholy therapeutics to the ancients, and others denounce the practice of turning to pagan wisdom for Christian practice, even as they recommend the same remedies and emphasize a similar style of self-management.

Simon Musäus and Lucas Osiander represent two ends of the spectrum on opinions held by anti-melancholic writers. Simon Musäus quotes Plutarch and uses passages from Scripture to forge connections between the pastoral care mode and the pagan dietetic tradition. This particularly Lutheran mix of humanist values and practical Christian living is evident in the *Hausväterliteratur* of the mid-sixteenth century, which reinvigorated the reception of the classical tradition amongst the German burghers.<sup>261</sup> Lucas Osiander (1534-1604), perhaps in response to the emerging neostoicism, wanted to separate Stoic philosophy from a Christian account of comfort. For Osiander, consolation cannot be found in the commonplace nature of suffering – a perspective also shared by Melanchthon.<sup>262</sup> For this reason, philosophical approaches to feeling have limited use for the cultivation of Christian joy. Osiander promoted

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<sup>260</sup> Galen's thought is not, when taken as a whole, categorizable with stoicism. Indeed, he made several famous criticisms of Stoic psychology. However, Christopher Gill has shown that, when examined more broadly, Galen's conceptions of a physically based psychology and cures for ailments of the soul had much in common with the Stoics. This is especially relevant when thinking about early-modern neostoicism, the writings of which tend to either follow the thinking of Seneca (in Lipsius's case) or Epictetus (in Guillaume de Vair's case), but which generally tend to reference Galen, which talking about (what we would call today) psychological difficulties.

<sup>261</sup> *Melancholie, Diätetik und Trost* 27

<sup>262</sup> *Melancholie, Diätetik und Trost* 29

not individual *Constantia*, but a communal comfort available to the Christian by means of biblical examples of sin and forgiveness. God's comfort emerges as the saving element: "Diesen göttlichen trost ergreift und macht sich der Mensch zu eigen, in dem er der Verheißung Glauben schenkt und seine Hofnung auf sie setzt."<sup>263</sup> Yet even Osiander's gospel-centered cure for melancholy suggests practical remedies shared by Galen, such as walks with wise friends and staying busy. Between Musäus's and Osiander's philosophies of comfort lie a broad spectrum of engagements with pagan philosophy which offer Christian cures for the experience of melancholy.<sup>264</sup>

Lutheran discomfort with Classical Antiquity fades by the mid-seventeenth century and we see Andreas Gryphius unproblematically draw upon Lipsius's sources as well as his concern with the relationship between personal self-management and that of the state. At the same time, Gryphius's portrayal of Catherine of Georgia bears the marks of the early Reformation anti-melancholy literature which continued to be printed and emulated throughout the seventeenth century. Gryphius's work represents an important point along the continuity that I would like to suggest between early-sixteenth-century *Seelsorge*, Lipsius's neostoicism, and the later reception of both modes of thought in German-speaking lands.

In Gryphius's drama, constancy of will, or *Constantia*, represents the only viable spiritual position in the face of a troubled and changing world. The importance of this concept is reflected in *Catharina von Georgien*'s manuscript subtitle: *Bewehrte Beständigkeit*. Martyr drama, as a

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<sup>263</sup> *Melancholie, Diätetik und Trost* 55

<sup>264</sup> For example, Naumburg pastor Johann Mühlmann (1573-1613) wrote his *Flagellum Antimelancholicum*, first published in 1618 after his death, and, though this was a collection of sermons, Mühlmann emphasizes the humoral and medical causes and cures for melancholy that stem entirely from medicine, especially ancient medicine. Many other writers comfortably use ideas from and quote classical writers though they rarely explicitly state that they are borrowing from Antiquity.

genre, has its roots in Senecan stoicism, which preceded and influenced Justus Lipsius's thought.<sup>265</sup> Yet Brent Spahr identifies a difference between aspects of stoicism and the Christian tradition of martyrdom: "stoicism teaches the passive acceptance of the misfortunes of this world," while the Christian in martyr drama actively uses suffering as a test for which the martyr gains an eternal reward.<sup>266</sup> However, Lipsius's interpretation of stoicism, casts the maintenance of *Constantia* as an active, conscious and dynamic pursuit, which strengthens the soul and builds upon itself.<sup>267</sup> This does not support Spahr's dichotomy as he describes it. The neostoic cultivation of *Constantia* is a secular, or at least ecumenical, version of the narrative of the Christian soul which becomes increasingly holy and fit for heaven through suffering.

Earlier forms of stoic thought confirm Spahr's views: Seneca presents his readers with a rather indifferent, female-gendered Virtue, who watches as evil men prepare implements of torture meant for her. Seneca's Virtue has steeled herself against terror and suffering, she takes a posture of unaffectedness.<sup>268</sup> However, Lipsius's constant soul, as indicated by the sea metaphors employed to describe it, is liquid in character, continually shifting, smoothing and straightening – moved by external forces, but never to the point of overflow. This imagery bears a resemblance to Hans Sachs's patient heart. It also corresponds to the constant effort and vigilance, which Lutheran *Seelsorge* writers claim to describe the state of the godly soul. Representing a merging point of these two traditions, Catharina provides an example of the

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<sup>265</sup> Spahr 81

<sup>266</sup> Spahr 82

<sup>267</sup> I say this because of the close relationship between Constancy and Reason ("But Constancy is a mate always matched with Reason" - Lipsius 46), and the way in which Lipsius describes Constancy as "an even balance" in the face of passions that "hinder this upright poise and evenness" (Lipsius 42). This kind of poise and balance is an active, not a passive posture.

<sup>268</sup> Seneca 28

neostoic virtuous soul, whose stance towards suffering is marked by *Constantia*, but is not indifferent.

The torture scene at the end of Gryphius's play will define the role of feeling in the life of the constant soul. In Hans-Jürgen Schings' reading of *Catharina von Georgien*, torture functions as a metaphor for the pain of life in the world. In the prologue, Eternity implores the audience: "Schaut Arme! schaut was ist diß Thraenental?/Ein Folter-Hauß/da man mit Strang und Pfahl/Vnd Tode schertzt" (*Catharina von Georgien* 127). Instead of the usual trope of life as a stage, the torture scene stands for life in its entirety. Even the Shah Abbas, who initially appears to control pain and torture and be immune to its effects, is actually tortured by love himself. When describing his love to Catharina, his language eerily prefigures the physical torture that she will soon suffer: "Die Libe steckt diß Hertz mit heissen Flammen an/" (*Catharina von Georgien* 152). He uses a similar rhetoric of love's suffering as a sharp implement of torture with his advisor Seinelcan: "Ach leider! Du verstehst die Hertzens Wunde nicht/Es sind weit schaerffer Klauen/Die durch dies Brust biß in das Hertz gehauen. Es ist ein ander Feind der dise Seele plagt/Der disen Leib zerfleischt und an den Glidern nagt" (*Catharina von Georgien* 156). Later, the Shah blames Catharina more directly for his suffering, again using metaphors for the torture that his soul suffers which match the literal devices of torture that will be used on the queen: "Gefangne [Catharina], die uns fing! Die uns in Ketten schlaegt! . . .doch hast du unser Hertz (Rach ueber Rach!)verbran't!" (*Catharina von Georgien* 157). In both conversations, the Shah is admonished to counter his experience of passion with *Constantia*. Catharina reminds him: "Er [God] schafft der Libe nicht die keinen Herren kent" and that "Sie [die Liebe] laest sich durch Vernunfft auff rechte weg lencke" (*Catharina von Georgien* 152). The audience is directed towards the ideal Christian response in the face of this counter-example.

When Catharina is sentenced to torture and death, she echoes Ewigkeit's sentiments from the prologue: "Last aus dem Jammerthale/Last aus der Hell' uns gehen! Was sind die Thraenen noth!/Was macht ihr?" (*Catharina von Georgien* 201-202).<sup>269</sup> In the *Reyen* immediately following the queen's sentencing, the Virtues, *Tod* und *Libe* discuss the nature of life, death and salvation. *Tod* declares to humankind: "Hass't ihr dises Thraenenthal/Bitet mir die Hand./ Ich fuehr aus dem Folter-Sal/In das Vaterland" (*Catharina von Georgien* 205). *Libe* replies, underscoring the kind of *Lust* that marks the end of Gryphius' tragedies: "Eilt ihr in das Reich der Lust" (*Catharina von Georgien* 205).

Gryphius employs both sets of ideas, suggesting that Justus Lipsius's work and that of the Lutheran pastors must not be seen as entirely separate endeavors, despite significant differences between the two. The difficulties of peregrination and political upheaval represent a red thread connecting the two modes of writing, a red thread that ties Gryphius's own Thirty Years' War experience of wandering throughout Silesia to that of his sixteenth-century counterparts. The question of whether or not to move from place to place is an important one in Lipsius's *de Constantia*. The wise speaker Langius criticizes those who constantly move to escape threatening political situations. The younger interlocutor is himself traveling to avoid upheaval and realizes that the upheaval within continues. Lipsius creates several textual links between himself and the younger man and was no stranger to peregrination due to political turmoil. Because of his loss of property in the Spanish occupation of what is now Belgium (then the Burgundian Netherlands), Lipsius took a post at Jena, but as a Roman Catholic, he could not thrive in the politics of this Lutheran university, necessitating a move, two years after his appointment, to Cologne and then to Louvain. Having lost his property to raiding troops for a

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<sup>269</sup> Hans-Jürgen Schings notes that Catharina takes the role of Ewigkeit in physical form once the action of the play begins (Schings 40)

second time, Lipsius moved to Leiden, where he resided for thirteen years and wrote *De Constantia*.<sup>270</sup>

Early Lutheran writers were also concerned with the question of whether and how to escape political persecution. Simon Musäus was forced to flee ten times and, as the instigator of the anti-melancholy strain of pastoral care literature, his pastoral concerns reflected his life experience. Osiander was likewise forced to move several times, mostly prompted by doctrinal controversy within the Lutheran confession.

Luther himself moved about a great deal as a result of controversy, and, in the midst of Silesian reform efforts, Johann Hess, the pastor who reformed Breslau (Wrocław,) writes to the Reformer for his opinion on pastors who flee plague and persecution. Two years after Hess's initial request, Luther responds with an open letter, addressing the more general question of Christians fleeing death. In answering, Luther directs the reader's attention to social ties, communal obligations, the preservation of social order, and the well-being of those left behind. Once these considerations have been responsibly addressed, the Christian is encouraged to honestly assess the strength of his or her own faith. Would staying strengthen the individual's faith through adversity, or would he or she become "kleinmuetig" as a result of the experience and lose their focus on God? The wise Christian should not risk his or her spiritual well-being in order to suffer for the faith. At the same time, Luther suggests that repeated flights, with their accompanying losses of community and upheaval, may propose as many difficulties for the soul as suffering in the familiar home amongst friends. Johann Krafft's 1577 edition of the letter includes a lengthy preface in which the publisher recommends Luther's text as a warning against

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<sup>270</sup> The introduction to Jason Saunderson's *Justus Lipsius: the Philosophy of Renaissance Stoicism* has a useful discussion of the ties between Lipsius's biography and his philosophy.

flight resulting from reactionary melancholy and terror as well as a warning against the opposite excess of imprudent confidence in the face of mortal danger.<sup>271</sup>

For the sixteenth century Lutheran pastors, Lipsius, and Gryphius, peregrination presented profound challenges to maintaining inner equanimity. This preoccupation with movement and stasis and their ramifications for inner life is a central theme in the Judith plays. The Bethulians are forced to stay put and their spiritual task as a community is to maintain their faith within the city walls. Creating movement by opening their doors to the Assyrians will not afford the relief that they seek. Rather, it would send them into exile and diaspora, intensifying their unrest. The community's must find a sustainable consolation within the city walls. Judith has found this consolation and cultivated *Constantia* through prayer. Because of this, she is able to move beyond the city walls with purpose, saving herself and her people.

Exploring the intersections between the sets of emotional values associated with Lutheran *Seelsorge* and neostoicism also requires attention to their differences. I find that these differences show that Gryphius employs Lutheran ideas about consolation to further Lipsius's project of combining Stoic and Christian thought. Additionally, we see that while the Judith plays use the language of Lutheran *Seelsorge*, they aspire to Lipsius's ideal of *Constantia*, despite important conflicts with Lutheran perspectives on emotion.

*De Constantia* treats Stoic *apatheia* (emotionlessness) as an appropriate antidote to contemporary religious and political passions. In the first twelve chapters of Book I, Lipsius

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<sup>271</sup> Johann Krafft's 1577 introduction invokes much of Luther's language regarding the management of feeling, characterizing the appropriate inner life as a 'Mittestrass' as he summarizes Luther's argument: "Dieweil denn die Leut in diesem allem guten unterrichts beduerffen/damit sie lerne/ wie sie fein Christenlich auff der einen seinen die frecheit und sicherheit des Fleisches/auff der andern aber das missvertrawen gegen Gott/und kleinmuetigkeit fliehen/ und die Mittelstrass gehen sollen/ das sie fuersichtiglich/ als die Weisen/nach dem willen Gottes wandeln." (Krafft, "Vorrede").

promotes the virtue of constancy as a remedy for the turmoil of the times and urges readers to detach themselves completely from all feelings which might lead to any sort of emotional involvement in the political and religious wars which were raging around them. Emotions, for Lipsius, intensify opinions and hinder their scrutiny by reason. Summarizing Lipsius' attitudes towards emotions, Sellars writes, “. . . . we must never stop attempting to conquer our passions and emotions. Not only do emotions disturb the equilibrium of the soul and assail constancy, they are false and dangerous, since they can upset the detachment needed for wisdom” (41).

As discussed in chapter one, emotions play a crucial role in spiritual growth for Lutheran writers. Luther's emphasis on the heart that recognizes and believes demonstrates the feeling components of faith. The heart was understood to be “das geistliche Erkenntnisorgan des Menschens.”<sup>272</sup> In it, thought and feeling live in a symbiotic, not oppositional, relationship with one another. Joy and comfort are signs of spiritual health. Anxiety and sadness, while spiritually risky, are the necessary instigators of spiritual growth. Moreover, Luther encourages affective attachments to the person of Christ and to Scripture as a means for maintaining patience, hope, and ultimately faith.

Lipsius's insistence on the primacy of reason within the human heart and its ability to move individuals to wise opinions poses an even greater problem for Lutherans than his rejection of emotions. Luther firmly rejected any ability of reason (*Vernunft*) to aid spiritual health.<sup>273</sup> Indeed, *Vernunft* posed a problem for salvation. The faculties that Luther was interested in were those of recognition and understanding (*Erkenntnis* und *Verstand*). By means of these, Christians

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<sup>272</sup> *Rhetorik des Herzens* 50

<sup>273</sup> Loehse, Oberman, Stolt, and others attest to Luther's rejection of *Vernunft* as valuable in and of itself for salvation or spiritual growth. Yet only Stolt attends to the tension that arises from Luther's valuation of “vernunftiges Handeln” and also his emphasis on *Verstand*.



understood God's truth and followed it. There is also a passive, receptive quality to *Verstand* and *Erkenntnis* that emphasizes the role of grace in salvation and spiritual growth, as opposed to *Vernunft*, which involves active thought, deducing the truth, and study. Recognition and understanding are achieved by a variety of means, including affective experience. Birgit Stolt articulates this in her study of emotions in Luther's preface to and translation of the Psalms: "Auf das Herz also kommt es an, die durchlebte Erfahrung im Glauben, die an die Tiefen der eigenen Existenz rührt."<sup>274</sup> Her observations highlight the aspect of the salvation process where the acceptance of the Gospel must occur by faith and not as an intellectual exercise aimed at determining objective truth.

Luther differentiates between *Verstand* and *Vernunft* and privileges *Verstand* as a means for comprehending the Gospel. This contrasts with Lipsius' vision for human thriving by means of a *Constantia* cultivated by reason. The dichotomy present in Lipsius' and Luther's conceptions of emotion echoes Schmitz's account of the reductionism of post-Cartesian approaches to experience which only admit intersubjective, repeatable experience as contributing to knowledge. Lipsius appeals to reason, formulating arguments that should lead every individual to the conclusion that *Constantia* is the best human stance towards the vicissitudes of life. By contrast, Luther, in his Holy Week sermons and consolation letters, invites readers to shift their attention to Scripture, the image of Christ on the Cross, and the Gospel. He trusts that recognition and understanding will be given. While the experience of salvation has markers recognized by the Christian community, the trajectory of the salvation process varies and is subjective in nature. The role of fellow Christians, including pastors, in discerning an individual's spiritual well-being is one of relationship and interpersonal understanding, not

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<sup>274</sup> *Rhetorik des Herzens* 55

intersubjective and empirically ascertained knowledge. For Luther, truth of the salvation experience is valid in its recognition. Reason, when used appropriately, takes the recognition (*Verstand*) as its starting point and interprets it through Scripture.

Another indication that Lipsius participates in reductionism, as characterized by Schmitz, is the absence of the body in *De Constantia*. The practice of cultivating *Constantia* one of Socratic dialogue, a process entirely divorced from the body. For Luther, the resolution of fear and melancholy is akin to curing a disease: cures are attempted and their success or failure is experienced. While prayer and regular Bible reading remain important, many of these cures are directed at the body. Moreover, the process of cure is variable and subjective. Lutheran dietetics embrace the life of the body, mind and spirit and assume an integrated, if permeable, human subject. Integration and permeability provide a convincing starting-point for addressing the problem of feeling, which has, even in Lipsius's estimation, corporeal aspects.

In order to discuss the role of permeability in early modern emotion discourses, we will have to consider the term alteration. In addition to sensation (*Gefühl*, feeling), the metaphors of movement and alteration govern the ways in which Europeans wrote about emotions. The Latin words *motio* and *affectus*, along with German words used to narrate emotions, for example the verb *bewegen* and *erregen* indicate the centrality of movement and change in emotion discourse. Timothy Hampton traces the term alteration from its origins in Galenic medicine to its use in early modern French and Spanish literature as a category under which physical manifestations are organized into syndromes that indicate the state of the soul. Echoing the Lutheran problematic of faith, Hampton finds that "alteration seems to be a term which holds in tension the experiences of outside and inside, the 'physical' and the 'psychological'" (280). Resembling the feelings in Lutheran *Seelsorge* texts, Hampton's alteration occurs in response to aesthetic

experience and seems to have spiritual potential: "alteration is . . . the movement that the soul makes to satisfy and transform itself and is . . . a redemptive rebalancing in the movement toward God."<sup>275</sup> In the *Buch der Liebe*, the words *Alteration* and *Verwandlung* describe changes in facial expression or sensations in the body which indicate strong emotions.<sup>276</sup> In the *Faustbücher* and *das Buch der Liebe*, the subject is *ergriffen* by anger, fear, or love. Guided by the language used in the narrative texts under consideration here, it seems that the idea of emotions as external forces that act upon and alter the subject was embedded into sixteenth-century thinking about feeling alongside, if differently from, 'hydrolic' models such as humoral theory and other paradigms that situate emotion inside of the subject.<sup>277</sup>

In the face of metaphors that insist on the bridging of inner and outer phenomena, the concept of permeability emerges as a guiding metric for a spiritually beneficial relationship between the self and feeling. Schmitz's feeling atmospheres - external entities which touch upon and affect the subject - already imply that human subjects are permeable. The variety of ways in which people experience a feeling atmosphere suggests a variety of permeabilities. Michael Schoenfeldt has already posited the early modern subject as "defined through the very strategies of discipline through which the body and the psyche are held in balance" (7) and it is just such strategies that cultivate the Lutheran individual's permeability to spiritually beneficial or detrimental feeling. While the Judith plays do not offer the commentary of a narrator who can describe character's feelings in term of engulfment or alteration, they do present Judith as an example of someone who cultivates an appropriate permeability to the people's fear by means of

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<sup>275</sup> Hampton 282

<sup>277</sup> The use of this kind of language, when viewed through the lens of Lutheran discussions on emotions and spirituality, both corroborates and challenges Schmitz's claims. It troubles his strangely teleological account of emotions in history, by suggesting not only the persistence of remnants of older ways of thinking about emotions, but the reinvention and return to them through language and imaginative narrative.

regular prayer and adherence to Jewish dietary laws. This righteous permeability appears in her simultaneous compassion and steadfast position vis a vis Holofernes' threats – that is, her patience.

As previously mentioned, I have termed *Geduld* and *Verstockung* anti-emotions in order to indicate that both of these affective states involve making the self resistant to feeling. In the case of *Geduld*, or patience, this resistance is selective and nuanced. *Geduld* is an active agent, which not only resists feeling, but transforms it. *Verstockung*, on the other hand, involves a hardening of the self that forces one to indiscriminately resist feeling. Faustus, for example, is not able to love because he has resisted the fear that would lead him to repentance. Following Luther's division of emotions into their godly and ungodly versions, *Verstockung* emerges as the ungodly version of *Geduld*.

Gryphius articulates the difference between these two varieties of impermeability in ways that illuminate what the Judith plays were attempting as they dealt with the relationship between strong feeling and patience. In clarifying his conception of *Constantia*, Gryphius presents its analogous vice, *Verstockung* in the characters of his tyrants. Thus he differentiates between maintaining a steadfast approach to suffering and lacking positive affective traits such as empathy and kindness. Catharina shows how kindness and *Constantia* merge when she convinces her handmaid, Selene, to remain alive and not die with her. However, Shah Abbas does not understand Catharina's ability to feel and remain guided only by ethics and reason. In expressing his frustration at the queen's refusal to Seinelcan, his advisor, he mistakes her *Constantia* for *Verstockung* when he says: "Was kan verstockter seyn als ein hartnaeckicht Weib?" As he does not practice reining in his passions, he does not understand the difference between the two.

The fourth act of *Carolus Stuardus* is a meditation on the tension between spiritually beneficial affectedness and the resistance to feeling that makes up the complex permeability of the constant state. After the king is sentenced to death, he receives a letter from his son and is saddened to think that he must tell his son of his own impending death. He cries out: “Mein hochbetriebter Printz! Mein Sohn! Wie fern von dir! Wie fern! Wie fern von dir!” (*Carolus Stuardus* 518). But he quickly regains the inner equilibrium that marks Lipsius’ *Constantia*. Juxton, the Bishop of London, reminds the king that life is short and that he will meet his son in eternity. Carolus regains his composure. Considering how he might preserve his *Constantia* until death, he decides to return his letter, unopened. His explanation: “Vnnoetig daß ein Briff durch schnertzen vollen Wahn/ Durch jammerreiche Wort und neue Seelenhibe/Vns aus geschoepffter Ruh’ erweck’ und mehr betriebe” (*Carolus Stuardus* 519). This language reminds us of Lipsius’ descriptions of affects as forces that push and puff and lift the soul, and *Constantia* which keeps the soul level and smooth, like a calm sea. Carolus’ reply also removes doubts regarding the compatibility of Christian tradition and neo-stoic *Constantia*.

Returning to the Judith plays, we see that the problems that arise from refusing to suffer demonstrate that permeability to feeling must find a golden mean. Holofernes’ inability to be moved by feeling, his *Verstockung*, lies at the root of his sin. In his opening speech in Greff’s Judith play, Holofernes presents himself as having nothing to fear, as he is on the side of Nebuchanezzar, who is, in Holofernes’ estimation, the only power to be feared. His hubris is manifest in a resistance to feeling, or *Verstockung*. The relationship between the word *Verstockung*, with its implication of immoveability, and impermeability becomes clear when we compare Holofernes to Faustus and Achior. Holofernes’ attitude is similar to Faustus’ unwillingness to accept suffering and possible physical alteration as part of salvation.

Holofernes' *Verstockung* is apparent in his imperviousness to the Bethulians' suffering and in his unshakable certainty in an Assyrian victory. The other side of this certainty is the refusal to be moved by the smallest amount of fear in response to Israel's remarkable history of victory against would-be captors. Holofernes declares his lack of sympathy for the Bethulians' suffering in Birck when he parleys with Ozias at the city wall: "es soll kain heülen noch kain bitt/Bewegen nun fürhin mein hertz. dann wirt auch jammer, dann wirt schmerz . . ." (Birck 908-910). Greff's play makes a similar point in Holofernes's first speech, which is the essence of the *Sicherheit* or *Securität*, against which Johann Spies writes in the 1587 preface of the *Historia*, and which is the byproduct of *Verstockung*. The Assyrian general is used to being the object of fear, and never experiencing fear or uncertainty himself. News of the Bethulians' refusal to surrender is initially destabilizing for him, causing him to marvel (line 283). This astonishment is what leads him to ask his generals for information about the Israelites. However, the mere suggestion that Holofernes might be defeated results in the recovery of his stubborn stance and he banishes Achior. The general's rejection of even cautious, practical fear is reflected in the speech of another officer, Tarthan, who chides any of the officers who might have responded to the information offered by Achior, exhorting them to resist all manner of fear (lines 445-451). Holofernes is the only character who consistently resists feeling, suggesting the extreme spiritual peril that *Verstockung* represents. Even in the moment of death, he does not experience terror. Wine causes his stupor, but his lack of awareness during this most significant of existential transitions suggests that he has no hope for, or interest in salvation.

Achior's openness to affect provides an alternative to Holofernes's drunken love for Judith and his imperviousness to fear and compassion. Indeed, the inner aspect of Achior's salvation, however, is indicated by his intense response to the sight of Holofernes's head. The

privileging of this moment as the sign of Achior's affected faith may provide a key to thinking about the role of involuntary emotion even within a state of patience and further highlight the problem of *Verstockung* as a misguided preservation of a false self in the refusal to experience the transformation that the feeling hails. In Birck's version, Judith addresses Achior directly, as she presents the people with Holofernes's head. Achior faints in response (this fainting is narrated in the stage directions). When Achior comes to, he declares that Judith's defeat of Holofernes illustrates God's power and goodness to Israel.

Neither Greff nor Sachs mentions Achior's fainting episode. In Sachs's case this can be attributed to the brevity of the play and the need to condense material. Greff's omission, however, is puzzling and requires some attention. Here, Judith addresses Achior as well, declaring victory and showing the head. However, there is no indication of fainting, in this otherwise scrupulously faithful adaptation of the apocryphal story. Instead, Achior replies to Judith with a kind of *Magnificat*. After Judith commands the head of the fallen general to be displayed on the city walls, Achior declares his formal conversion. The change that Greff introduces suggests a different attitude towards the potential of involuntary, overwhelming feeling than Birck's version evinces.

While the plays narrate Achior's salvation and its relation to his joining the Israelite community differently, they all present his salvation and his response to seeing Holofernes' head as related events. From the beginning, it is clear that Achior intends to convert and join the Bethulian community. When he is found tied to the tree he plans to be circumcised after the Bethulian's deliverance. However, there seems to be a subtle distinction between Achior's readiness to convert (upon condition), and the actual moment in which conversion takes place, which is marked by his response to the sight of Holofernes' head.

The account of Achior's fainting spell is brief in the *Book of Judith*. There he sees the head and faints. But after he is revived, he praises Judith's deeds with a song and proceeds to be circumcised. One could argue, as did Gerd Althoff, that there is no feeling found in this text, rather the performance reflecting the changed power dynamics in politics and Achior's own life.<sup>278</sup> However, applying Althoff's evaluation to sixteenth century perceptions of the fainting episode would ignore the distinction present in early modern culture between emotions expressed voluntarily and involuntarily, and the role that the body plays in manifesting feeling and betraying inner experience to the outer world. During second half of the sixteenth century several competing models for emotional experience were available to the imaginations of readers and authors. While emotional performance was still important, especially in political life, in personal relationships, expressions of feeling were increasingly expected to reflect inner experience, as well as to articulate social relationships. This reminds us of the Reformer biographies' privileging of feelings expressed during feverish comas and dreams. These involuntarily expressed feelings were viewed as indications of the soul's true state.

Schmitz differentiates feelings from the experience of them. Feelings exist in the world. Sometimes they attach themselves to objects (a happy valley, for example). However, our experience of them, in Schmitz's thinking, is a corporeal phenomenon that is the result of an encounter. Therefore, what we term emotions, are the narrations of our affectedness by the atmospheric Gefühle present in the world. In further explaining the encounter between feeling atmospheres and our bodies, Kerstin Andermann, one of Schmitz's former students, uses metaphors of illness and immunity: "Die affektive Betroffenheit ist also eine Frage der leiblichen und der personalen Voraussetzungen und der Empfänglichkeit in unterschiedlichen Situationen"

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<sup>278</sup> Althoff's article "The King's Anger" has proven influential to thinking about premodern emotion. In it, he argues that in texts produced by premodern cultures, the representation of what we call feeling does not correspond with an inner experience. Rather it is a performance that changes the relationship between people and entities.



(92). Another way of imagining this affectedness of subjects by feeling atmospheres is that of the variably permeable self. Certain kinds of permeabilities allow for certain kinds of transformation. Achior is in just such a vulnerable position. He has lost his home and people, then his position under Holofernes. Rather than try to recover himself a second time either by plotting his own revenge or escaping the area, he aligns himself with a community that is almost certain to be destroyed. Achior effectively weakens the immune system of his life by waiting with the Bethulians, and it is this weakened position of waiting without plan or recourse that allows him to be affected by the feelings that will bring about his salvation. Achior's complete lack of control over his shock, terror and joy and the manifestation of those feelings in his loss of consciousness and collapse indicate his readiness for both faith and feeling. He has stopped working for his safety and thus has invited the possibilities of both divine salvation and utter ruin.

Often treated by critics as a subplot of the central Judith story, Greff dedicates almost half of his version to the Achior episode, moving this story of individual salvation into the center of the narrative and highlighting the parallels between salvation of the community and salvation of the individual. In all of the versions, Achior's faith is presented in relation to Israel's history of salvation as a community. In the beginning of the plays, Achior uses Israel's history of divine punishment as information for planning the Assyrian army's engagement with Bethulia. By the end of the plays, Achior retells the story in confidence that, regardless of what would happen, the community would survive with God's help. This shift in the way that Achior engages with history alludes to Luther's insistence that, when searching for assurance of salvation, believers and congregations should not focus inwardly on their belief and the state of their faith as their contribution to the salvation process. Rather they should re-orient their attention on the

faithfulness of God and on Christ's death and resurrection. This shift in focus, when repeated continually, maintains the Christian's salvation and avoids the trap of despair which the focus on the self creates.

In light of the different versions of involuntary feeling presented in the scene where Achior views Holofernes's head, it seems that Birck presents the most coherent perspective on the relationship between *Geduld* and feeling— one that resonates with pastoral care literature and which resembles Gryphius. Greff and Sachs seem to prize the dispassionate response. The shared terms and emphases show the influence of Lutheran *Seelsorge* in all of these Judith plays. However, in the plays' emphasis on the dispassionate response, they anticipate Lipsius's neo-stoicism as much as they adopt a Lutheran emotionology. Gryphius's martyr drama, on the other hand, demonstrates possibilities for integrating both sets of values about emotions which, despite sharing a common language and genealogy, operate according to different definitions of *Geduld* and values about reason.

Spiritual peril is not only effected by impermeability, but too much permeability, or the wrong kind. Ozias's response to the people's fear demonstrates the need for a specific kind of receptiveness to feeling. My discussion of *Geduld* has already suggested that the complaining crowd, rather than the threatening Holofernes, is Bethulia's primary problem. In all of the versions, as well as in the apocryphal text, it is the crowd's complaining that prompts the city's leadership to implement a five-day deadline for God's deliverance. In Birck, the people's complaint unfolds in two stages. First, they are anxious in response to the encampment of Assyrian troops outside the city walls. When Ozias confronts Holofernes regarding this threat, the general claims that Ozias is responsible for the people's panic because he is unwilling to surrender. At this phase, Ozias focuses on God's gift of the land to the Israelites :”Wir hond ain

Gott/ wir hond ain land/ darein seind wir von Gott gesandt/ Das er uns selbs versprochen hatt/ uns geben bund und diese statt” (Birck lines 630-633). However, when the people had been without water for twenty days and send a representative to tell Ozias of their plight, Ozias and the council decide to compromise between waiting and surrendering. Meseech, the delegate, implies that the city leadership refuses to surrender out of hardheartedness when he says that he approaches the council out of “barmung und barmhertzigkeit” (line 1057). He continues, describing the people’s thirst in detail and making the argument that God has already given the Bethulians over to Holofernes, and concluding that the only reasonable course of action is to reduce their suffering (lines 1075-1076).

Ozias does not decide immediately, but takes the case to the city council. Birck’s portrayal of city government is more detailed than that of the other dramatists. Rather than a single leader or triumvirate of leaders, as we find in the *Book of Judith* and in Greff, Birck gives each council member a name and a distinct argument. In addition to maximizing the number of speaking roles for his students, this demonstrates Birck’s interest in the role of orderly Christian government. The question of whether to wait or surrender is articulated through the councilmembers’ speeches, each of whom lays out a reasonable, nuanced argument for a favored course of action. Ozias rests his initial decision to remain within the city walls upon the opinions of those councilmembers who based their arguments on Israel’s history. His change of heart, however, occurs independently of his council’s advice. Ozias’ compromise, the choice to surrender in five days, as politic and reasonable as it may seem, was not guided by thoughtful argument, but the people’s panic. Here, Ozias, who in the face of his councilmembers’ arguments, managed to stay faithful to God’s covenant with Israel, is too receptive to the feelings of the people. By allowing himself to be affected, altered, permeated by the people’s fear, Ozias

loses touch with his charge to keep the community faithful. As the spiritual leader of the community, he needs to remain impervious to their fear so that he could act upon it and comfort the people.<sup>279</sup>

Greff's Ozias is moved to tears by the testimony of several Bethulian citizens. This crowd, because it is represented by more than one voice, is more nuanced in its approach to the situation, taking a role that allows readers and viewers to contemplate the predicament and serving a similar function to that of Birck's city council. The description of their thirst, and the conviction of some that God has abandoned them moves Ozias to tears. It is in response to the people's unhappiness that he forms the five-day plan. The crowd that confronts Greff's Ozias is made of five representatives of the Bethulian citizenry who express a mixture of open rebellion, ambivalent complaint, and trust, indicating the potential that the Bethulians have for both godly and ungodly emotional responses to their suffering.<sup>280</sup> All of these responses come from the same feelings – sadness and fear. Greff's presentation of the Bethulian crowd and Ozias's affectedness suggests a combination of Schmitz's atmospheres of feeling, available for experience via the *Leib* (the lived body), and Luther's claim that emotions are experienced in godly and ungodly ways and can result in spiritual health or illness. Proponents of opposing courses of action experience the same feelings, however Ozias's permeability leads him to

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<sup>279</sup> It is important to stress here that simply using reason to wade through the councilmembers' arguments is not presented as the answer here. Several councilmembers' made well-reasoned arguments for embarking on exactly Ozias' course of action. Ozias' response to the people's panic simply shows that feeling separated from faith can also lead one astray.

<sup>280</sup> The first and most emphatic of these citizens is Israel. In his speech he claims that Ozias is the people's actual enemy: "Gott sey richter nu zwischen euch/ Vnd uns/ das ir so jemmerlich/Das jr uns bringt inn solche not . . . Ir wehret uns/ und wolt uns nit it den Assyrierern lassn machn frid" (Greff II, 5 1017-1019; 1023-1024). He proposes rebellion, suggesting that a group gather and surrender to Holofernes (1031-1033). Sara's complaint is similar in tone to that of Israel, but she undermines Ozias' authority more indirectly: "Ir hets doch mit diesen sachen/ Viel besser und anders koennen machn" (1057-1058). Two Bethulians, Malchos and Rahel, simply complain about their thirst, and the last, Abdon, models the righteous response to the situation. He confesses the community's sins and expresses trust in God's judgment and hope that the pagan troops will see God's work (Greff II, 5 1077-1086).

transmute those feelings into actions which endanger the spiritual well-being of the community.<sup>281</sup>

Sachs's rendition of the scene departs from the other (including the apocryphal) versions in that Carmi, Ozias' second in command, initiates the five-day plan. His plan is a reaction to Simon's words. There is no deliberation, and no consulting with others. The pronouncement comes in a fit of pique: "Ir burger, seidt nit so abscheuch!" Carmi scolds, then pronounces: "Last uns verziehen noch fünff tag/Auff gott, der noch wol helffen mag!" Thus, the five-day plan is the rash result of frustration and temper, rather than tearful compromise, as we see in Ozias' case. However, regardless of the feelings from which the plan proceeds, the crowd's complaints prompt the development of the compromise.

Permeability and the contagious nature of emotions mark the reach of Judith's communally useful piety. Judith recognizes, but does to participate in the people's panic. Instead, she takes a leadership role in managing community emotions when she returns from Holofernes' camp. In order to give the downcast Bethulians the courage to wake Holofernes' army with their shouts, she encourages them to look to Holofernes' head on the city wall and imagine the impending scene in the enemy camp. The Bethulians immediately take pleasure and comfort in thinking about the fear their oppressors would experience (Birck 146). Similarly, Judith brings collective joy to Jerusalem when she, along with Ozias and Pagoas, travels there to offer a thanksgiving sacrifice (Birck 158). One of the priests describes this change in group affect brought on by the Bethulians' change in fortune: "Ewr kummer bracht in Israel/den

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<sup>281</sup> Conventional, twentieth and twenty-first-century thought assumes a separation between feeling and action, and argue that Ozias's emotional response is a separate, and not necessarily problematic, phenomenon from his bad action, his decision to compromise. However, Luther ties feelings to the actions that result from them. Godly fear leads to repentance, and ungodly fear leads to concupiscence and despair. Drawing on this way of thinking, it is Ozias's feelings pose the problem, and his action is an inevitable result of the way in which his permeability to feeling is constructed.

frummen allen grossen quel/Nun aber froewt sich mengklich hoch/das von euch ist das schwaere joch” (Birck 158, lines 2449-2452). While the priest does not attribute this change to Judith explicitly, as the instrument of the Bethulians’ salvation, she has also taken part in lifting the burden on the inhabitants of Jerusalem. This gladness also has repercussions for their spiritual well-being as a community. Because Bethulia stood in the mountain pass as the gateway city to the rest of Israel, in fearing for Bethulia, Jerusalem feared for itself and stood in danger of losing trust in God’s providence. Thus, Bethulia functioned as the permeable membrane for the entire nation. The righteousness of its permeability to feelings such as fear held consequences for all of Israel.

At times, feeling can mark not only crowds, but community space. The organization of space plays an important role in delineating community and righteousness in all three *Judith* plays. The plays negotiate the narrative’s four locations in different ways: Bethulia, the fictional Israelite town, Holofernes’s military encampment, the space between Bethulia and the encampment, and Jerusalem. In his preface to the translation of the *Book of Judith*, Luther argues that the fictionality of Bethulia proves the intentional presentation of Judith as an allegorical tale. Continuing in this allegorical mode of interpretation, we can draw a connection between the marginal position of Bethulia which stood outside of the spiritual center of the world, Jerusalem, and the “Sonderstellung des Buchs am Rande des biblischen Kanons.”<sup>282</sup> All of the plays conclude with a journey to Jerusalem, where Judith and the Israelite elders present sacrifices in the temple, affirming the reality of the truth that the story illustrates, if not the facts of the story itself.

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<sup>282</sup> Lähnemann 16

In keeping with Birck's interest in the righteous city as a self-contained political and moral unit, his play locates as much of the action of the play in Bethulia as possible, relating conversations that occur in Nebuchanezzar's palace or in Holofernes's camp either through messengers within Bethulia's city walls, or Israelite city council members.<sup>283</sup> Birck also emphasizes the integrity of the city by featuring the city walls as an important part of the city. He relays conversations among watchmen on duty, and between Ozias, the head of the city council and Holofernes from the top of the wall, and through its gates. Another way in which Birck highlights the importance of the city as a civic unit is by the focus on the city's standard (in German: *das Banner* or *das Zeichen*). When Ozias first speaks to Holofernes, he insists on remaining "bey dem Banner." In the uncertain situation in which Holofernes's men are gathered outside the walls, Ozias commands the Bethulians to stay close to the city's *zaychen*. The good governance of the city, according to sixteenth-century Lutheran standards, is demonstrated when Ozias refuses to make any decisions about Holofernes's offer on his own, but "beruefft die Rhattsfreund von dem zeychen in ainen Rhat," stating "Doch bin ich knecht/ ich bin nit Herr/ich will in ainem rhat das mehr/ Erkunden/dir das zaigen an/ auff das du moegst ain antwort han" (85, stage directions; lines 637-640). Here Ozias models servant-leadership which contrasts with the hubristic despotism that Nebuchadnezzar represents and invites the confidence of the audience in his ability to be a spiritual leader of a community, even though he does temporarily make the bad decision to test God. By keeping the action within the city until Judith goes to Holofernes's camp, Birck develops an image of community that is well-ordered, so that all is contained and kept in balance, including the city council's initial spiritual error and the anxiety of the crowd. Indicating that Judith's figure has no place in such a well-ordered society is the fact that she leaves the city gates in order to pray for the people and to know God's will. Birck

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<sup>283</sup> Lähnemann 419

situates Judith's prayers outside of the city gates, indicating that while Judith's inspiration and acts are to be praised and are the work of God, they, like miracles, do not belong to the regular and social order of things and should not be normalized.

The city of Bethulia, its walls, and its symbols maintain the righteous life and feeling of the community in Birck's *Judith*. This contrasts with the distinct lack of communal signs in Holofernes' army. Despite military traditions of collectivity, this community seems to have no markers of its own. No banner is mentioned. While individual Jews are recognizable as members of that community by insiders and outsiders alike, the scouts who are examining the water source are not identified as part of Holofernes' army by those at the spring. The movable, amorphous community space of Holofernes' army is marked by the rich description of Holofernes' tent. The pillows and tapestries, and rugs that make up this interior – the only interior space in the play -- serve as the sole representation of a community that centers around the glory of Holofernes and not the life of a community.

Sachs's "geistliche Comedi" moves back and forth from Nebuchadnezzar's throne room to Holofernes's camp to Bethulia, ending in Jerusalem. However, there is little to mark each space. In fact, the locations seem to merge in Sachs's piece. There is no mention of city walls, though Carmi does find Achior, the rejected Ammonite general, in the fields, suggesting a delineation between the city and its environs. However, little is made of this boundary. In Sachs's play, the locations appear to be even more diffuse and changeable than in Birck's.

The locations that hold the most moral valance in this text and that function as points of orientation to one another, Holofernes's camp and Bethulia, are constituted by Judith's entrance into them, and the emotions that that her presence and actions evoke. When she enters the



military encampment and speaks to Holofernes, her beauty and wisdom win over the camp. There is little in the camp itself to mark it as Assyrian territory – there are none of the exotic furnishings and elaborate feasts described in Birck’s version. What constitutes this place is that it is a place peopled by those enthralled with Judith and who, later, will be struck by grief and terror at the decapitation of their leader. Likewise, Bethulia is unmarked as a location – there are scenes such as the one in which the Israelite Simon, as a representative of the community, comes to Ozias and tells him that the people are thirsty. We safely assume that this exchange takes place in Bethulia, but neither dialogue, nor stage directions mark the place as such. This contrasts with the Bethulia that emerges when Judith returns with the head of Holofernes. Achior, Carmi and Ozias – the largest grouping of Bethulians on stage at once up to this point – are gathered, when Ozias hears the sound of knocking on the city gate. This is the first mention of the city gate, or the city as a unit: “Wer klopfet an der statt?” Carmi announces Judith’s arrival, and the first line following this information is “das sind wir all wol erfreyd,” spoken by Ozias. Judith continues the theme of joy at her return with “freudt euch in gott!” and the admonition to thank God “mit frölichem geist!” (Sachs IV 25). Still, there is not the collective rejoicing at the end as seen in the Birck and Greff plays. The communities of Bethulia and the Assyrian camp are ephemeral, and ultimately less important for their own sake. In Judith’s prayer, she mentions Jerusalem and that the fall of Bethulia would ultimately mean the fall of Jerusalem – therefore Bethulia only emerges as important in the context of the Israelite nation. Moreover, when she is in Holofernes’s tent, she says that her act is not only for the Bethulians, but for the entire world. It is unclear whether she simply means that by killing Nebuchadnezzar’s head general, she was freeing all of the peoples who had been subjugated to the Assyrian king, or if she was speaking

in an allegorical sense of how God enacts salvation by using the weak in order to defeat the strong.

Overall, location and emotion are far less important themes in Sachs's play than in the other two plays I examine. However, Sachs's treatment of these topics is interesting for my analysis because of the way in which feeling creates and delineates space is similar to Schmitz's writing on the relationship between *Gefühl* as *Atmosphäre* and *Raum*. Panic and joy both seem to inhabit the space shared by the Bethulians and the Assyrians and the different groups become susceptible to both feelings at different points in the narrative.

In order to think about the parallels between the spaces and collective feelings presented in Sachs's play and Schmitz's concepts of *Raum* and *Atmosphäre*, I turn to his commentators, who have articulated his insights further. Gernot Böhme collapses the two concepts by likening feeling atmospheres to weather, noting that both have the ability to delineate space. Weather patterns create spaces over time by creating and marking geographic features. For example, fog can settle into a valley, or rain and wind patterns can enable spaces delineated by different kinds of vegetation. In a similar fashion, Böhme argues, feeling atmospheres can mark and divide space. Doris Croome offers insight into how these spaces are experienced through the *Leib*, or the 'felt body': "Alle Verbindung mit der Umwelt hat eine leibliche Basis. Gefühle, die als Quasigegegenstände objektiv im Raum vorhanden sind, werden zu subjektiven, in dem sie das Subjekt ergreifen, seine Befindlichkeit modifizieren." Even as Croome at this juncture refers to feeling as subjective, its simultaneous objective existence points to Schmitz's claim that atmospheres are intersubjective experiences, experiences not felt in the same way by everyone, but shared beyond the individual. Moreover, the *Leiber*, or lived bodies, of the sensing subject map out space via a collective participation in available feeling. As I have shown, Sachs's

*Comedi* follows a similar logic of space and feeling. Here, space is not so much defined and delineated, as given a central point, marked by feeling atmospheres, the intensities of which move and vary. For this reason, territories expand and contract, as the joy of the Bethulians spreads to Holofernes' camp enveloping it into Israelite territory. Assyrian space, on the other hand, contracts and dissipates by means of fear.

By looking at these plays via Schmitz's work, we find some room in the tension between the Lutheran insistence on a universally available salvation brought about by divine grace and acquired by individual faith, but for which humans cannot effectively strive. If feeling is part of the cultivation of faith, and feeling lies outside of the subject, then it is not as much a matter of personal merit or moral effort. Its experience is a question of location and permeability. Schmitz locates the management of this permeability in aesthetic experience.<sup>284</sup> This fits well with Luther's divisions of emotions into their godly and ungodly versions and the role that our authors have given to representation in managing feeling. The nature of the permeability affects the version of the feeling, but the subject's location within an affective landscape determines the kinds of feelings it encounters and along with this, the kind of spiritual insight available. Both location and permeability are contingent, but not dependent upon individual effort and are imbricated in community. These are characteristics of Lutheran salvation by grace and faith, mediated by the community.

The dramatists' efforts at dampening the strong feeling that often accompanies the Judith story, build *Geduld* and *Beständigkeit* into the structure of the drama, and these virtues are heralded in its characters as well. For the sixteenth-century reader these plays represent the

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<sup>284</sup> "Die Kunst ist eine unter den Richtungen menschlicher Tätigkeit, die dazu dienen, die Menschen ein haltbares Verhältnis zu ihrer Betroffenheit finden zu lassen. (*Der Leib, der Raum, und die Gefühle* 91)

struggle and gift of perseverance in patience as an experience that is both individual and communal. Such a representation addresses the problem of works and faith, upon which Luther commented pithily, but never thoroughly articulated.<sup>285</sup> Perhaps it is due to narrative's ability to impress images that are truer than discursive statements that made Luther such a champion of drama for relaying religious truth. By experiencing narrative, which is received individually, but only fully experienced in community, the reader develops his or her permeability, susceptibility, to feeling atmospheres otherwise lost to experience. This practice is a continual recovery of a feeling, which like melancholy in Harré and Finlay-Jones' estimation, is threatened by failures in leadership and spiritual practice.<sup>286</sup> For sixteenth-century Lutherans, patience's loss and recovery have spiritual implications for individuals and communities. This is apparent in the Judith plays, where a precarious patience must be maintained by prayer, moral discipline and godly communal order, the conditions of which are divine gifts. This dynamic way of feeling and being can be cultivated, but not through independent effort: it is also a gift. Sometimes its cultivation results in the gift, sometimes the gift allows for its cultivation. Causes and effects regarding patience, hope, and other feelings with salvific potential elude in the Judith plays, echoing the slipperiness inherent in the relationship between divine grace and human faith in Lutheran doctrine. In this sense, these narratives practice good theology by living it as they maintain this liquid model of

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<sup>285</sup> In her 1982 study of Luther's conception of conversion, Marilyn Harran notes that "While he affirms that God comes to people in need of grace and mercy, not to those who suppose that they are righteous, Luther does not explicate the extent of the individual's responsibility for realizing his need and thus standing before God in humility" (152). This fits with the Wittenberg Circle's general claim that theology can only be expressed fully in living, and not in words.

<sup>286</sup> In their often-cited 1984 article "Emotion Talk Across Times," Ron Harré and Robert Finley-Jones claim that the concept of melancholy has been lost to modern Westerners as a result of the shrinking of the influence of monastic communities. They argue that recovering past categories of emotion offers moderns the opportunity to better understand those experiences of their own which do not fit the medicalized model of the self which has come into predominance over the last century.

patience, rather than fleeing with certainty (i.e. *Sicherheit* and its accompanying spiritual detriments) to models of patience and perseverance as static inner experiences.

## Conclusion

Pastoral care publications and letters demonstrate my dissertation's central assumption: theological change, and Protestant salvation specifically, present individuals with certain challenges and emotions. This is clearly evident in the pastoral care publications and letters discussed here. While there are many examples of the particularly devout, who had experienced doubt and despair (St. Augustine and St. Theresa of Avila come to mind), the Protestant abandonment of tangible rituals which offered assurance, such as the Eucharist, resulted in the extension of these scruples and their accompanying feelings of melancholy and fear, even in the face of the comfort implied by the doctrine of *sola fide*. In order to maintain faith, God's gift, the inner experience of belief must be cultivated and sustained. This cultivation and sustaining of faith involved, at least to some extent, the experience of some feelings and the avoidance of others. Yet individuals do not always have control over their inner states. Thus faith beyond works can be difficult to recognize, and certainty of one's salvation proves elusive. What results is a recognition of the logic of cause and effect and, at the same time, a deconstruction of causal relations. One must have faith to be saved, but the ways in which faith come about are to some extent (yet importantly – not entirely), a mystery. This decoupling of cause and effect is essential, not accidental to Protestant soteriology. A total commitment to God's saving grace must include some decoupling of cause and effect, which results in a blurring of the lines between spiritually significant entities, such as the saved and the lost.

I find that narrative manages to mediate the difficult relations described above by presenting relationships between characters and emotions that can be characterized in terms of permeability – a state that allows the subject to be affected by the feelings available in the world in varying ways. The individual can cultivate certain kinds of permeability, and remain open to

certain feeling experiences, and less open to others, but he or she cannot choose the feeling-atmospheres that surround him. For example, at the end of his life, Faustus believes as a Christian, but he is subject to the wrong kind of fear. On the one hand, he has positioned himself to experience this damning affect, on the other hand, he does not benefit from the same last-minute-savior from the sky as did his pact-making predecessors.

Achior and Mircebilla must change geographical location before they can encounter salvific feeling-atmospheres. In Achior's case, we can interpret his captivity in the no-mans-land between Bethulia and the Assyrian camp as the result of his own movements towards righteousness. However, Mircebilla is motivated by lust and stubbornness as she travels with her father and moves her tent. We can now view these affects – the resistance of her willfulness and the openness of her desire – as providential. But the causes lead to results via an uncertain path that defies logic and points to divine grace.

Lutheran pastoral care assigns norms and meanings for emotions, and the narrative texts that I examine corroborate and extend these meanings. Additionally, the nature of literary narrative itself follows that of faith, in that a damned or blessed end colors the meanings of prior occurrences. The stories in *Das Buch der Liebe* narrate the experience of love, as well as the characters' journey from separation to union with the beloved. In all cases, love and family are products of a gracious surprise, which means that they are constantly under threat and, at the same time, an eternal inevitability.

Moreover, in these texts, feeling functions similarly to faith in its communicability. Faith can spread from one believer to another as it is realized in the context of community. Spirituality, like love in Feyerabend's collection, and constancy in the Judith plays, is an individual and social phenomenon, full of contingencies linked to worldly authority and social order.

For this reason, the idea of feeling-atmospheres, as articulated by Herman Schmitz and other proponents of the New Phenomenology can be seen as a constructive way to theorize the representations of feeling in these narratives, as well as to think about the parallels between feelings and Protestant faith. Characters – Faustus and the lovers in *Das Buch der Liebe*, especially – are gripped and transformed by feeling -- external forces present in a providentially designed world. As these feelings have moral and spiritual significance, the territories marked out by them are, as we see in the Judith plays, spaces of salvation and damnation for their inhabitants. Therefore, it can be said that feeling-atmospheres graph for us a landscape imbued by salvific faith or damnation, awaiting the encounter with the individual and producing affective moments that either strengthen or weaken faith. This idea of affect as encounter echoes Melissa Gregg and Gregory Siegworth’s classic image of affect as a shimmer of bodily intensities and cognitive activity that arise from encounters between bodies (human and non-human, sensing and non-sensing, alike) and suggests the potential for the selective use of affect theory for thinking about early modern literature.<sup>287</sup>

Going beyond the themes explored in the previous pages, I would like to consider an area for extending and enriching my argument. Not only do these texts represent the inner experiences of salvation and damnation, but they encourage affective experiences that are conducive to faith. These narratives aim to transform audiences, not only by means of their message and the opportunities for identification which they afford, but also by the experience of reading them. The impulse towards spiritual transformation by reading stands in possible opposition to transformation by hearing, as it is suggested in Paul’s letter to the Romans,<sup>288</sup> or by

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<sup>287</sup> “Introduction” in *The Affect Reader*

<sup>288</sup> “So then faith cometh by hearing and hearing by the Word of God” (Romans 10:17, KJV)



engaging in ritual, as medieval Christians could, and represents a fascinating development in the context of Protestantism and the Reformation period.

In some ways, Lutheran confessional culture placed a premium upon hearing. Sermons replaced the Eucharist as the central activity of the church service.<sup>289</sup> Congregations paid attention to them and many believers attended up to four sermons a week.<sup>290</sup> Yet, while sermons were communally heard, they represented a hybrid form in that they were widely published and circulated to be read as part of individual devotion. In addition to sermons published for individual reading, the proliferation of texts designed to aid in individual devotion and guide pious practice (i.e. prayers in which the reader is encouraged to insert their own name) increased during this period for Christians of all confessions. So, on the one hand, the clergy's primary task was to prepare the truth of theology and Scripture to be heard by Christians and thereby to effect transformation for individuals in the context of community. At the same time, pastors wrote texts suitable for individual devotional practice.<sup>291</sup> Underscoring this individuality is the fact that such texts were often aimed at the readers' situation and demographic.<sup>292</sup> Here the reading and spiritual transformation is effected within the mind of the lone Christian.

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<sup>289</sup> See Chapter 14 in O.C. Edwards' *A History of Preaching*.

<sup>290</sup> The Reformation period brought changes to the role played by the sermon in the services of all three confessions. Edwards contrasts the situation of late-medieval sermon-hearing to that after the Reformation. While late-medieval service attendees stood and milled about during the sermon, and were even allowed to talk with one another, sitting on benches, silence, and careful listening characterized Lutheran and Reformed sermon-hearing (147-152).

<sup>291</sup> Ronald K. Rittgers' *Reformation of Suffering* offers an excellent account of how the late medieval German Church sought to offer consolation. He finds that most texts are aimed at clergy and instruct them in how to personally support suffering laypeople (15). While we find similar texts aimed at Protestant clergy, these tracts and letters tend to be aimed at the sufferer or at congregations experiencing difficulty (Rittgers 125-137).

<sup>292</sup> A cursory examination of the catalog of the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel yields titles such as: *Witwen Trost . . .* (1598), *Trost der Eltern, wenn die Kinder kranck sind und in den Herren entschlaffen* (1559), and *Hertzlabung Und Trost für alle Hochbetrübtte Christen in diesen Pestilentz und Sterbenszeiten* (1598), to name but a few.

We could say that this development corroborates Schmitz's trajectory, in that the sermon, spoken in emotive tones into a space and heard by a group could be said to create a kind of atmosphere, whereas reading is the act of bring static words on a page into the psyche (Schmitz's objections to introjection come to mind) of the individual reader. However, if we consider Rosenwein's emotional community that is created by texts, as well as the large numbers of printings, we find that these devotional publications created a kind of atmosphere to which the individual can make him or herself permeable or resistant in various ways. Moreover, as we have seen, the mid-century texts refer to people, places, and connections in such a way, that relays the sense of a community held together by certain affective ties. Moreover, the reader is invited to participate in feeling atmospheres that are external and surround the subject, but are not contiguous in space. Individuals access such atmospheres by reading certain texts and responding to the characters and communities represented in them.

What I want to highlight here is the nexus of reading, hearing and faith as it evolved after the Reformation. The connection between lone reading and moral or spiritual transformation did not originate in the early modern: Paul Saenger writes of the rise of silent reading, beginning already in the seventh century and becoming the predominant reading practice in the late middle ages. He describes the ways in which silent reading afforded readers privacy in their spiritual and erotic lives. Like the increased vigilance devoted to the inner life, silent reading existed before the sixteenth century, but was more widely experienced by the development of print culture and the emphases of Protestant confessional cultures. Connecting feeling with practices of silent and solitary reading, Saenger also notes that "isolated, private reading and prayer as the pathway to salvation, in turn, may have fostered insecurities about the

worthiness of each individual's faith and devotion and stimulated zeal for religious reform,"<sup>293</sup> encouraging readers to consider some seventh-century origins for early modern reformations.

If we apply Saenger's work to the reader addressed by consolation writing, or to our analysis of Faustus as a reader, we see that individual reading could contribute to the kinds of affect that would lead to despair. However, the narratives I read seem to offer their audiences an antidote to despair by offering hope and, in the case of the *Faustbücher*, a chance to see the spiritual effects of certain feelings at a distance. This raises questions for further exploration into how people understood the religious value of reading, rather than hearing, to what extent audiences experienced these modes as transformative, and to what extent authors hoped these modes would be transformative.

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<sup>293</sup> Saenger 276

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*ME=LANCHTHON sein Leben hie auff Erden ge=endet/ und gantz Christlich beschlossen hat/ Mit kurzter erzehlung/ was sich etliche tage zuvor mit Im in siener Schwacheit zuge=tragen hat.* Wittenberg:Johann Krafft. 1560.

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----- *Zweiter Theil der Warhafftigen Historien von den gewlichen und abschewlichen Sünden und Lastern auch von vielen wunderbarlichen und seltsamen ebentheuren, so D. Johanne Faustus Ein weitberufener Schwartzkünstler und Ertzzäuberer/durch seine Schwartzkunst/ biß and seinen erschrecklichen end hat getrieben* Hamburg: Hermann Möller. 1599.

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-----"Having Her own Smoke: Employment and Independence for Single Women in Germany, 1400-1575." *Single Women in the European Past, 1250-1750*. Eds. Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide, 1998. 192-213.

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-----"Interdikte und Verträge in Jean d'Arras' Prosaroman Mélusine." *Existentielle Vergeblichkeit: Verträge in der Mélusine, im Eulenspiegel und im Dr. Faustus*. Eds. Gerhild Scholz Williams and Alexander Schwarz . Berlin: E. Schmidt, 2003. 35-66.

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## EDUCATION

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*Washington University, St. Louis, MO*

**Ph.D. in German Studies, Certificate in Translation Studies** **2014**

Dissertation: ***Feeling Doctrine: Religious Meanings of Emotion in Sixteenth-Century German Literature***

**Committee:** Gerhild Scholz Williams (chair), Lynne Tatlock, Matt Erlin

*Washington University, St. Louis, MO*

**M.A. in German Studies** **2007**

*University of Memphis, Memphis, TN*

**B.A. Honors in English and German** **2003**

*Catholic University of Eichstätt, Germany*

**Study Abroad** **2001-2002**

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## RESEARCH & TEACHING INTERESTS

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- Emotion and Affect Theories
  - Early Modern Studies
  - Translation Studies
  - Religion in Culture
  - Digital Humanities
  - German-language Comics
  - Adaptations of Mythology and Folk Tales
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## TEACHING EXPERIENCE

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**FACULTY FELLOW IN GERMAN** at Beloit College, Beloit, WI

**2013-present**

**Basic German Core Courses**

Designed first-year courses using Chavez and Lovik's *Vorsprung* with supplemental materials.

**The History of German Film**

Taught in English

**Faustus Remixed: Adaptations of a Legend**

English-language course with a German discussion section

**Jugendliteratur und soziale Identität in Deutschland**

Advanced German-language course.

**One Ring to Rule them All: Tolkien's Germanic Roots**

Freshmen seminar, taught in English

**GRADUATE INSTRUCTOR** at Washington University, St. Louis, MO

**2006-2012**

**Basic and Intermediate German Core Courses**

Designed lesson plans and assessment materials. Administered all grades.

**Advanced German**

Designed lesson plans, assignments, and assessment materials. Administered all grades.

**University College German II**

Course geared towards non-traditional students. Designed lesson plans and assessment materials. Created and maintained a class blog. Administered all grades.

**German for Reading Knowledge**

Course for Humanities Graduate Students. Chose and created materials based on student goals. Designed lesson plans, assignments, and assessment materials. Administered all grades.

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CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS AND ORGANIZATION

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<b>"Spaces of Melancholy and Fear: confining feeling in Lutheran pastoral writing and early modern lyric,"</b> German Studies Association Conference Denver, CO	<b>10/2013</b> <b>11/2012</b>
<b>"Love, Rage, and Salvation in <i>Das Buch der Liebe</i>,"</b> South Central Modern Language Association, San Antonio, TX	
<b>"Spiritual Transformation through Emotional Experience in Gryphius' Tragedies,"</b> Midwest Modern Language Association, St. Louis, MO	<b>11/2011</b>
<b>"Of Childhood and Deep Terror: Object-Relations Theory and Play in Elisabeth Langgässer's <i>Proserpina</i>,"</b> South Central Modern Language Association, Hot Springs, AR	<b>10/2011</b>
<b>"Speaking in Tongues: Bilingual Education in the Elementary School Classroom,"</b> Foreign Language Association of Missouri, St. Louis, MO	<b>10/2011</b>
<b>"Posturing Emotion in Hug Schapler, <i>Fortunatus and Melusine</i>,"</b> South Central Modern Language Association, Baton Rouge, LA,	<b>11/2009</b>
<b>"Magic, Money and Family Ties in <i>Fortunatus and Melusine</i>,"</b> Interdisciplinary German Studies Conference, Berkeley, CA	<b>3/2009</b>
<b>"The Conflation of Art, Religion and Community: The Nazarenes and Early Romanticism,"</b> South Central Modern Language Association Conference, San Antonio, TX	<b>10/2008</b>

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<b>Panel Chair:</b> "German Literature and Culture before 1700." South Central Modern Language Association, San Antonio, TX	<b>11/2012</b>
<b>Panel Chair:</b> "German Women Poets." Midwest Modern Language Association, St. Louis, MO	<b>11/2011</b>
<b>Panel Secretary:</b> "German Literature and Culture before 1700." South Central Modern Language Association, Hot Springs, AR	<b>10/2011</b>
<b>Panel Chair:</b> "German Literature and Culture: 1700-1890." South Central Modern Language Association, St. Louis, MO	<b>10/2011</b>
<b>Panel Secretary:</b> "German Literature and Culture: 1700-1890." South Central Modern Language Association, Baton Rouge, LA,	<b>11/2009</b>

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AWARDS & FELLOWSHIPS

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Dean's Dissertation Fellowship	<b>2012-2013</b>
German Department Award for Teaching Excellence	<b>2012</b>
DAAD Graduate Research Fellowship, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Germany	<b>2010-2011</b>
Washington University Humanities Digital Workshop Summer Fellowship	<b>2010</b>
Piper Fellowship for Graduate Study	<b>2005-2006</b>
Bosch Foundation Tutor Fellowship, Magdeburg, Germany	<b>2004-2005</b>

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LANGUAGES

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German – near-native fluency  
French – basic speaking and reading  
Latin- reading  
Spanish – reading

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MEMBERSHIPS

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Modern Language Association  
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REFERENCES

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