Attending to Early Modern Women, 21–23 June 2012

Workshop:
Transfer and Translation:
Recovering/Representing/Rephrasing Early Modern Texts on and by Women

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Additional Reading:


Theory and Method?

“Two points of style should be noted. In general, translators seek the mean between literalism and paraphrase, or ‘stencil’ and ‘aureate’ forms of speech. The former is easy, the latter much more demanding. In Martyr’s case we have a Latin that is clear, the latter but dense and often convoluted. His writing bristles with connectives, superlatives, subordinate clauses, and the like—simple for literal translation but awkward when one seeks a modern and more colloquial rendering, Professor Donnelly provides helpful comments on the following in his translation of Martyr’s Dialogus (volume 2, xxiv-xxv), including the problem of verifying references. In correspondence he has also noted the problem of choosing proper terms for such common words as pius, impius, and ratio as well as homo, with its special problem of gathering identity, as noted below. Related to this is Martyr’s frequent use of the passive voice (which we often turn active) and his overuse of the connectives ergo, igitur, autem, praeterea, unde, nec, and the like. What this volume offers is a somewhat free translation that seeks to convey the sense of the original sentence-by-sentence rather than word-by-word. The attempt is not without its risks. Long ago Rufinus commented on Jerome’s translation of Origin’s De Principiis: “I find that he is so enamored of his own style that he pursues a still more ambitious objective, namely, that he should be the creator of the book, not merely its translator.” In Martyr’s case, my hope is that the actual body survives as quite recognizable but with added comeliness.¹

Joseph McLelland

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Translations Workshop


**Pierre de Rosteguy de Lancre** or **Pierre de l'Ancre**, Lord of De Lancre (1553 – 1631), French judge of Bordeaux who conducted a massive witch-hunt in Labourd (Basque region of France) in 1609. In 1582 he was named judge in Bordeaux, and in 1608 King Henry IV of France commanded him to put an end to the practice of witchcraft in Labourd, in the French part of the Basque Country. He wrote three books on witchcraft (the most important one the *Tableau*), analysing the Sabbath, lycanthropy, and the scientific, theological, and juridical aspects of demonology.


**Johannes Praetorius** (1630-1680), Leipzig journalist and polyhistor who wrote on all manner of social, scientific, and theological issues of his day, collecting his information mainly from vast compendia published by his contemporaries and predecessors, and from newspapers and broadsheets. He compiled voluminous tracts on demonology, strange people, the giant Rübezahl, on mysterious and wondrous phenomena of all kinds and on the lives of women. He was probably one of the first German authors, who made a living as a freelance writer.
On the Inconstancy of Witches

Pierre de Lancre's
Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons
(1612)

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whom they had deflowered and with whom they lived and frequented the sabbath and other scandalous places whenever they wanted, and she named these girls by their first and last names. In addition, the fact that we did not know Basque gave our interpreters the freedom to inform themselves about all the details of the matters, if they wanted, without our ever having known it.

4. Reasons why we very appropriately chose a priest as our translator and interpreter.

I believe that these reasons are very valid and that we would have believed that there was an impropriety committed if several circumstances had not persuaded us to choose a regular priest rather than someone else.

We could say of him what Cicero, speaking of his interpreter, meant to say in writing to Thermin: “During his [Cicero’s] term as proconsul in Sicily in a long period of travel he experienced the singular and almost unbelievable loyalty and honesty of his interpreter Marsilius.”

He [the interpreter] was faithful, prompt, clear, well versed in the language, and a good man who enjoyed an excellent reputation, and a member of a profession that comes closer to sainthood than any other. Also, people compare interpreters to angels and to saints, who translate faithfully to God all the prayers of mortal beings. And for this reason the Holy Scripture states that God the Father sent the Holy Spirit to his apostles as a language so as to instruct them in all things, thereby declaring them to be the true interpreters of divine will.6

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People will tell me that he [the interpreter] is more knowledgeable in his native language than in our French language, and that he can ask them questions better than he can translate their answers into French. But in fact the reverse is true, for there is nothing evil about him, and one could scarcely find someone in this country better qualified to perform this service. Given, moreover, that the deficiency originates in the language itself, we have to put up with it and do the best that we can and excuse the rest. We know that, although the Basque idiom is unlike the French, sometimes it is more expressive

5 “Se Proconsule in Sicilia, in longa peregrinatione, singularem et propre [sic] incredibilem interpretis sui Marsilii fidei cognovisse” (a loose rendering of Cicero, Epistle 252 to Q. Minutius Thermus).

6 “But the Advocate, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, will teach you everything” (John 14.26).
than our own language and sometimes less. Moreover, all languages lose their beauty and grace in translation. Thus we have to accept these inconveniences when they do not result from the actions of either the judges or the interpreters.

If he [the interpreter] conducts enthusiastic interrogations and if he tries to get at the truth, he inserts nothing of his own other than the affection and natural inclination that everyone brings to every subject that they encounter and that one sees in every action.

There is a significant difference between notaries and interpreters. Notaries have a more direct role to play in the cases they receive than the interpreters do, for the interpreter is mute without the judge, while the notary, on the other hand, speaks and specifies things on behalf of his absent client and in this way makes him speak even though he does not utter a word himself. Thus the notary actually obliges his client to do something even though he is not present.

To this I would add a reference to a famous sentence concerning a situation that seems even more convincing than our own. When the attorney Pierre Arnal, canon of the Saint André church in the city of Bordeaux, signed the sentences of the Tournelle chambre of the Parlement of Bordeaux in the absence of the court clerk Pontac, he was told that he had committed an impropriety. In fact his benefices were taken away, as he had signed several sentences condemning countless criminals to death, thereby contributing much more to the death of the condemned, even that of the witches, when he intervened in this way than our interpreter did. And it can be said that he really issued the death blow, since the last point of the sentences consists in their being signed. People said that the criminals, even though they were condemned, could not be executed unless the court clerk signed the sentences beforehand. [405] He said in fact that this was true, but that he did not act knowing the facts, that it was a work of his hands and not at all one of his understanding or his feelings, and that a child, indeed a person who could not read, provided that he knew how to sign, could have done the same thing, that this was nothing but a burden for him, that it was a necessary action and not one that he performed because he wanted to. The matter was never decided, for he came to an agreement with his accusers.

As for what the good Father Del Río says, he never knew the specific circumstances surrounding the female witches in the Labourd and those in lower Brittany, where translators and interpreters were necessary to conduct the trials. If he had known how scarce priests who know Basque are, he would have much preferred to allow our interpreter to serve as a confessor.
TABLEAU
DE L'INCONSTANCE
DES MAUVAIS ANGES
ET DEMONS,
OÙ IL EST AMPLEMENT TRAI-
ÉE des Sorciers & de la Sorcellerie.

LIVRE TRES-UTILE ET NECES-
saire, non seulement aux Iuges, mais à tous ceux
qui vivent sous les loix Chrestiennes.

AVEC
Un Discours contenant la Procedure faite par les Inquisiteurs d'Espagne
& de Navarre, à S. Magiciens, Apostats, Juifs, & Sorciers, en la ville
de Logroine en Castille, le 9. Novembre 1610. En laquelle on voit, com-
bien l'exercice de la Justice en France, est plus invidiquement traité, &
aussi de plus belles formes qu'en tous autres Empires, Royaumes, Republi-
gues & Etats.

PAR PIERRE DE LANCRE Conseiller du Roy au
Parlement de Bordeaux.

Malescios non patieris vivere. Exod. 22.

A PARIS,
Chez Jean Berjon, rue S. Jean de Beauvais, au Cheval
volant & en la boutique au Palais à la
gal дир le des prisionniers.

M. DC. XII:
AVEC PRIVILEGE DU ROY.
des Démons, Mag. et Sorc. Liv. VI. 403

res, frères, & autres parents, qui ont adultré en présence de leurs maris, voire qui ont baissé le Diable en toutes les plus faibles parties que la nature a formé en toutes formes de créatures, puis qui ont été cognues charnellement de Satan, exprimant si joyeusement & avec une telle gaité ces embraffements impudiques, la longueur, la largeur l'ag- reur des instrumens de la nature, que ces fales interrogatoires ne peuvent passer par leur bouche & par leurs chastes oreilles sans les offenser. D'avantage il y a en ces interrogatoires, quelque mauvais enseignement capable d'esfueiller les plus froids à la poursuite de la proie, qu'ils désignoyent assez par leurs réponses, même même une qui accusa nos Prestres sorciers, & leur dit qu'ils entretenoient chacun une belle fille qu'ils vouloient destorer, & avec laquelle ils habi- toyaient & au sabbat & aux fêtes scandaleusement, deuant tout le monde, quand bon leur semblait: les quelles filles elle nommoit par nom & sur-nom. Outre que la langue Basque à nous incogne donné liberté à nos Interpretes, de s'en informer plaine, tant que nous en eussions eu aucune connoissance.)

Je croy que ces raisons sont tres-veritables, & eussions creu qu'il y eut eu irregularité, si plusieurs circonstances ne nous eussions pres de choisir ce Prestre regulier plustost qu'un autre.

Nous pouvions dire de luy, ce que Cicéron parlant de son Interprete souloit dire escriuant à Termus. Se Proconsul in Sicilia, in longa peregrinatione, singularem & proprium incomptum interpre- tis sui Marsili js fidem cognouisse.

Il estoit fidele, prompt, clair, bien entendu en la langue, & homme entier & de bonne reputation, & d'une profession qui s'approche plus de la sainete que toute autre. Aussi on compare les Interpretes aux Anges & aux saincts, qui rendent fidèlement à Dieu toutes les prières des mortels, si bien que pour cette raison il est dit en l'Escriture la sainete, que Dieu le Peré envoya le S. Esprit à ses Apôtres en forme de l'angue, pour les instruire de toutes choses, les declarant par ce moyen, vrais Interpretes de la volonté de Dieu.
On me dira qu'il est plus scient qu'en son langage naturel qu'il n'entend notre langue Francoise, & qu'il les peut mieux interroger que nous rendre leurs responses en Francois. Mais parauanture au contraire, car il ne faut rien presumer de sinistre de luy, à peine aussi s'en trouveroit il vn-dans le pais plus suffisant pour cet office: joingit que le defaut venant de la langue, il le faut souffrir & faire tout autant qu'elle peut, & excuser le surplus. On sçait bien que l'idiome basque est dissemblable au francois: que par fois à certaines rencontres il est plus efficace que le nostre, & parfois moins: outre que toutes langues perdent de leur beauté & de leur grace au change. Ainsi il faut souffrir ces incommodeitez, quand elles ne viennent des Iuges ny des Interpretes.

Que s'il faict ses interrogatoires vigoureux, & qu'il tache d'en tirer la verité, il n'y contribue rien du sien, que cette affection & inclination naturelle que chacun porte à tout subie: et qu'il rencontre, & voir estre en quelque action.

Qu'il y a bien difference des Notaires & des Interpretes, ayans les Notaires plus de part es actes qu'ils recoiennent, que les Interpretes: car l'Interprete est muer sans l'inge, où au contraire le Notaire parle & stipule pour la partie absente, & la faict parler sans qu'elle die mor, & oblier, bien qu'elle n'y soit presente.

A quoy l'adiousteray vn Arrest notable sur vn faict, lequel semble estre encore en plus forts termes que le nostre: Maistre Pierre Arnal, Chanoine de l'Eglise fait Andre metropolitaine de Bourdeaux, signant les arrestes de la chaire de la Tournelle du Parlement de Bourdeaux, en l'assise du Greffier Pontac, on luy mit en auant qu'il auroit comet irregularité: & defaict on obtrin ses benefices, ayant signé plusieurs Arrests de condamnation de mort contre vne infinité de criminalz, enquery il c'otribuoi beaucoup plus à la mort des condamnez, voire des forciers quand il sen presentoit, que ne faisoit nostre Interprete: & pouoit on dire qu'il donoit rayemêt le coup de la mort, puisque le dernier point des Arrests estoit en la signature d'icteux: ne pouuas les criminalz quo que códanze estre executez, que pralle-
MOTHERING BABY: ON BEING A WOMAN IN EARLY MODERN GERMANY

Johannes Praetorius's Apocalypsis Mysteriorum Cybeles. Das ist Eine Schnakische Wochen-Comedie (1662)

Edited and translated by
GERHILD SCHOLZ WILLIAMS

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(Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies)
Tempe, Arizona
2010
APOCALYPSES
MYSTERIORUM CYBELES.
Das ist
Eine Schnäfsche
Hoch-Comedie
Oder
verplauderte
Stroh-Hochzeit.
Und
Wasch-hassete
KlöDeLeins KerMsf.
Im Jahre
Sechs Gänse im Haberstroh!
Die Kläs gen V Vahren froh!
Oder
Quando Complingens, Sanna, Sabina, Rosina,
sermones replicant & ab hoc, Velab haec, Velab Illa c.
AUORE
VVGANDO SEXVVOCHIO,
Bojemo.
1662


2. Umbs Edle Kraut zu hand/ Toback wird er genand/ welchs Fürsten und Herren brauchen/ das Weib loß unverschämt/ das Edle Kraut zu- namt/ drum der Mann sich mit ihr muß rauffen.

3. Das Weib sprach du loser Tropf/ steht dirsc Bier noch im Kopf/ versäffist das meine darneben/ alle mein Gut und Geld/ was ich hab in der Welt/ thust umb schlimmen Toback geben.

4. Der Mann spricht hör du Weib/ Toback erhält mein Leib/ stärckt mich die ganzte Wochen/ erspart viel Brodt und Fleisch/ manch schönes Eylein weiße/ darffist mir schier gar nichts kochen.

5. Die Frau sprach abermals/ du leugst in deinen Hals/di thoust hier nichts ersparen/ di ja dreymal mehr frißt/ Toback der sättigt nit/ drum laß das Schand-Kraut fahren.
[and scholars] leave nothing but books and children."45 Frau Anna: "Oh, be quiet, Frau Margarita. Your husband cannot possibly treat you as badly as mine does me. At least this way your husband keeps his earnings in the house. Mine takes all his money and wastes it on drink. Away from home he swills wine and beer, and at home he fills the whole house with so much tobacco smoke that I don't know what to do. And if I mention his smoking, he starts such yelling and fighting that I thank God when he finally shuts up. How many useless words and bitter pills I have to swallow because of his horrid smoking. Listen to what happened recently: This good-for-nothing jerk happened on a street peddler who sold him a little song about tobacco. My husband handed it to me and, hitting me several times, he ordered me to read it. And though I just as soon would have torn it into many pieces, I was not allowed to do so. I have kept the devilish song46 to this very day; [13] listen to it:

1. Listen to me, all of you! One recent morning early as I went for a walk, I heard a husband and wife getting into a fight

2. About the noble herb, called tobacco, used by princes and lords. The loose, shameless wife had taken the noble herb from her husband, which prompted a row between the two of them.

3. The wife said: "You good-for-nothing fool, you are [still] drunk; you guzzle away all our possessions and our money along with it. Whatever I have in the world, you spend on tobacco."

4. The husband replied: "Listen, woman, tobacco keeps me healthy and gives me strength throughout the week. It saves bread and meat, and many a pretty little white egg. You need hardly cook anything for me."

5. The wife replied: "You are lying through your teeth; far from saving money, you eat three times more. Tobacco does not fill you up [satisfy your hunger]. Do give up this weed of shame."

41 "Libros et Liberis."
46 "Teuffischen Pritzeister Gesang."


8. Der Mann sprach Tobacks Krafft/ hat diese Eygenschafft/ die Mannheit thut er stärcken/ wie ihr nächten im Bett/ von mir erfahren hätt/ wär’d ihr fromm könnt ihrs mercken.


10. Der Mann sprach an den Ort/ Weib du gibst böse Wort/ der Toback thut dich gheuen/ ich trinck Bier oder Wein/ muß er allzeit dabey seyn/ thut mir mein Herz erfreuen.


6. "I lustily drink tobacco. Especially when my chest feels tight do I appreciate its power. I snort it with gusto in winter and in summer to fortify my brain."

7. The wife once more retorts: "I am forced to notice all your ruined handkerchiefs. You act like a pig and wipe up all kinds of filth in them; I can't spare any more soap to wash them clean."

8. The husband replied: "Tobacco makes me a better man, strengthening my virility, as you would have noticed in bed at night, if you were smart enough to pay attention."

9. "Oh yes, tobacco makes you strong! It only strengthens your ability to sleep. You stink like a skunk; fart like an old horse; lie around like a lazy ass: that is what smoking does to you."

10. The husband promptly replied: "Woman, you speak unkind words; tobacco makes you angry. When I drink beer and wine, I need my tobacco; that is what makes me happy."

11. The wife responds: "You are all lushees, [14] tobacco snorters and boozers. No one can live with you, the smoke will drive them away; you are true stinky-pants."

12. "Tobacco is my purgative and laxative; I hold it as my treasure. It purges my liver and my lungs, and often crosses my tongue."

13. The wife replied: "You won't get old; tobacco will kill you. You already spit out your lungs and your liver, and in ten years you will be dead."

14. "I love tobacco; it serves me better than gold; I love it even more than money. It improves my health; that is why I hold it dear; it protects me from fever."

15. The wife: "Money and gold are honored in the world; [they are] much more beneficial than tobacco. I would not mind having lots of [wealth] when you finally become food for the crows. In fact, I won't mind when you are gone."

47 "Drinking" tobacco was the expression at the time, rather than "smoking."
48 "Wiedehopf": hoopoe.
really annoyed me with her sharp tongue. She suggested that I must have drunk a lot of brandy because my baby has such a fair face. And whatever else she had to say." Frau Pastor: "I thought so, that is why I asked. The silly goose should worry about herself. She thinks that because she always drinks a lot of brandy, everyone else does, too. She should watch that her daughters don’t hang out too much with the guys. They strike me as real whores, practically forcing [young men] to buy them favors. Recently one of them was seen hanging out at the fair at Pentecost. The other is said to have stayed out all night fooling around under the bushes with one of those whore-chasers. [51] Then, when she wanted to return to her tent, a firecracker supposedly got under her dress and singed the whole mess. Because of this, she began to scream so horribly that the whole bird pole—if it is true—is supposed to have shaken." Frau Secretary: "Serves her right; this devil’s brood will surely make a whorehouse out of it [the place of the bird pole]; these foolish girls offer themselves to the whole town." Frau Apothecary: "Oh, dear, and then the long pepper and unground saffron will be needed for that [to abort]; then the apothecaries will have something to sell; one little one after the other. It has been said that Frau Anna’s sweet young thing, the spoiled little bitch, aborted her ‘fruit’ this way." The young mother: "Frau Anna’s daughter? That’s the first I’ve heard about it! They say the mother is not much better than the daughter. This mean gossip also was here today running off at the mouth about everything. She can really go on about people. First she wondered about the stuff on my changing table; then this, then that caught her fancy; she was sticking her nose into everything where it did not belong." Frau Apothecary: "That’s the way she is! That is the only reason why she visits new mothers; so that she can gape at anything new and afterwards have something to blab about all over town. She has been a pain to me in the past; she is such a mean-spirited, conniving ass, who never knows if she should say hello or thank you." A boy screams. The young mother: "God in heaven have mercy! What is it now? It must be the devil upstairs beating my children again." The maid enters and says: "Oh, no, it is already five o’clock; the children have been out of school for a long time. The tutor just returned from the post office, where he picked up a love letter for the maid, Sybil, from her sweetheart over in Berlin. It was the father who just hit Friedrich so hard that he screamed." The young mother: [52] "What did the poor child do to deserve such hard blows? He [the father] whaled at him as if

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112 "Maulaffen feil halten": to hang out, stand around gaping.
113 "Vogelstange": high pole in the center of town to which a bird was fastened to be shot down at Vogelbisschen, an annual summer celebration.
114 Play on the word "vögeln, vögele": to screw.
116 "Sich um ungelegte Eier kümmern": worry about unplaid eggs = none of one’s business.
Women of Zurich (Rebecca Giselbrecht, University of Zurich)

My research is located in Zurich between 1520 and 1575, and my goal is to reconstruct the participation and testimonies of women during the social and theological transition of Zurich from ‘Roman’ to ‘Reformed’ and ‘Medieval’ to ‘Early Modern’. The arguments, teachings and correspondence of the Reformed male leaders from this time are well documented: Bullinger’s correspondence alone contains 12’000 surviving letters. Only 52 letters from women and 117 from Bullinger to women survive; there is only one extant letter from his wife Anna, which was written to their son (see below). Source material, court records, and narratives concerning the Anabaptist women in the struggle are also scant. Even the hitherto powerful Abbess of Zurich can only be accessed through traces. Yet, the material that does exist has never been collected nor compiled. In this context, letters are handwritten in either Latin or Early New High German, quotes of lost writings exist in 17th and 18th century High German, Latin, and French, usually in Gothic script, chronicles are politically tainted, and hagiography runs rampant. Given the circumstances: how can we remap the terrain of translation to recover the voices of early modern women and translate their writing, lives, and participation into a modern language?

Margaret Hottinger (Anabaptist): The judiciary records, existing historical narratives, and quotes, mostly in Early New High German and Latin, from and about Margaret Hottinger are my sources. Margaret is an Anabaptist woman—a member of the first Anabaptist congregation of Zollikon, Zurich. Margaret kept company with Conrad Grebel, Felix Manz, and George Blaurock.1 She was the daughter of Jakob Hottinger, a radical and outspoken commoner,2 her brothers were Jakob and Felix, and her uncle was the first Swiss Anabaptist to be martyred.3 Margaret’s father Jakob and her uncle Klaus openly challenged the Reformers—sometimes quite outrageously. It would seem that the Hottinger family was well established in the Zolliker Anabaptist congregation that met in the home of Felix Manz’ mother.4 Given that Margaret’s father and uncle were still living, and that Margaret was later tried as an adult, one may surmise that Margaret was between the age of 20 and 30 years when she was re-baptized in 1525,5 —after which she was arrested and tried together with numerous compatriots. Her first testimony appears in the Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer Schweiz directly following Blaurock’s on the 9 November 1525. Margaret Hottinger told her inquisitors, “that she holds infant baptism to be incorrect and rebaptism to be right. Likewise milords if you prove infant baptism to me; if you can prove to me that infant baptism is correct, then I will desist” (Early New High German). On the matter of her not attending church she reported being slandered from the chancel; also that Kienast and her father were not responsible for her not going to church. Margaret’s first testimony can be summarized as a confession of her re-baptism. 18 November 1525, Margaret was informed by the authorities that if she would repent, she would only be fined and released from prison, but they

2 Murtal and W. Schmid, Quellen Zur Geschichte Der Täufer in Der Schweiz 1. {=QGTS} (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag), 1952.
3 QGTS, 182-183.
threatened her with jail in the Wellenberg prison should she not obey.\textsuperscript{6} And 5 March 1526, her second testimony is recorded: “Margaret Hottinger will stay with her baptism, which she holds to be right and good; whoever is baptized will be saved, and whoever does not believe in it and opposes it, such a one is a child of the devil” (Early New High German).\textsuperscript{7} 5 March 1526, the entire known Zolliker community was sentenced guilty—and sent to prison. Weinbrot Fannweiler from St. Gallen was also sentenced to serve time in jail with Margaret. On 1 May 1526, after another 6 months in prison, Margaret recanted and was released.

Margaret appears again in \textit{Sabbata} (Latin), which are the records of the hobby chronologist Johannes Kessler from St. Gallen.\textsuperscript{8} Here it is difficult to decipher whether Margaret and the St. Gallen Anabaptist tale is myth, legend, or historical narrative. We can gather from other sources that the St. Gallen Anabaptists were known as spiritualists,\textsuperscript{9} and a manuscript of trial notes tells us that women were proselytizing for the movement.\textsuperscript{10} On top of this, Margaret Hottinger is called a prophetess.\textsuperscript{11} To quote the historian Emil Egli “In their movement, impressive mystical ways, dictatorial certainty of presence came together in their circle, supplied by a consciousness of their prophetic calling, secret revelations, and history” (High German). Margaret Hottinger and Weinbrot Fannwiler, who met in prison, were accused of “no longer praying” in a normal manner, namely, they were losing consciousness and saying strange things. At this point in Margaret’s narrative, the myth and memory of Margaret lose their contours, and her life takes on more of a fabulous nature, especially in the accounts of Kessler and Egli. Zimmerli-Witschi reiterates Kessler’s \textit{Sabbatha} and describes St. Gallen and the Spiritualist revival as a high-tower of ‘libertinism’ of partner sharing, polygamy, and liberal sex acts. A letter from Zwingli to the mayor of St Gallen, at the height of the conflict reads: “A messenger named Johannes Hess came to me and told me with his own mouth the following: The Anabaptists had started to develop polygamous behavior, that is, many were exchanging partners and having sex with the partners of others, and doing it right before the eyes of their own men or with permission from their wives.\textsuperscript{12} Indeed, I would like some information about something along this line, that is, concerning a women, who had been honorable and respected until now, who people are saying got naked on the street and put her hand on her own crotch, and was ranting religious dictums, such as: I have died to my own body and flesh and now live in the spirit, therefore, everyone can use me as they like … there were five of them who gave themselves to the devil in Appenzell, because they were having unnatural sexual relations with men” (Early New High German).\textsuperscript{13}

The charismatic revival that gripped ca. a third of St Gallen and Appenzell had gone beyond accepted measures of reform. One of the women was Wybrant Vonwylerin; the St. Gallen City Council threatened her with death on 26 April 1526, along with Fren Guldin and Magdalena Müller.\textsuperscript{14} Margaret Hottinger remained in St. Gallen until 1530 when she tried to escape to Moravia. Margaret Hottinger’s story ends with martyrdom. Both she and her father

\textsuperscript{6} QGTS, vol.1, 136.
\textsuperscript{7} QGTS, vol.1, 126.
\textsuperscript{8} Johannes Kessler, \textit{Sabbata: Chronik Der Jahre 1523-1539} (St. Gallen, 1866).
\textsuperscript{9} Emil Egli, \textit{Die St. Galler Täufer: Geschildert Im Rahmen Der Städtischen Reformationsgeschichte} (Druck und Verlag von Fredrich Schulthess, 1887).
\textsuperscript{10} QGTS, vol.1, doc.124, 126.
\textsuperscript{12} \textit{Huldrich Zwingli’s Briefe}, Uebersetzt von. Oskar Farner, Zweitier Band (Zürich, Rascher & Cie-Verlag, 1920).
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid, 70.
\textsuperscript{14} QGTS, vol.1, doc. 513.
were captured, tried and sentenced to death somewhere between St Gallen and their destination. Margaret was drowned and her father was decapitated. (Och ain frowenbild ertrecket, welches och uss gnaden nachmals zum widerr(ou)f uss demm wasser gezogen, aber kaines wegs wellen widerroufen; sol gesagt haben: Was zihend ir mich; das flaisch ist schier uberwunden gsin. Uff das ist die urtail mit ir volstreckt). Margaret is quoted here saying: “Why do you pull on me? The flesh is practically overcome. With this, your sentence against it is executed.”

15 In QGTS, vol. 2, 578-580, Johannes Rütiner reports on a conversation (in 1537) with Felix Hottinger, in which Felix describes the death of his father (Jakob) and sister (Margaret). In QGTS, vol. 2, pp. 586-87, Fridolin Sicher recounts the execution at Waldsee in 1530. Quote (587)
Zwingliana

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In the night of 20–21 November 1531, Christoffel and Pestalozzi say that Bullinger fled Bremgarten together with his father, his brother Johannes, and pastor Gervasius Schuler (ca. 1495–1563) to take refuge in Zurich, leaving Anna, Britta, the infant Anneli, and baby Margarethe behind.45 As the story goes, the Roman insurgents plundered Bullinger I’s home, but not so much the house of Bullinger II; however, thirty soldiers did move in with Anna, Britta, and the children. Anna was determined to join Bullinger in Zurich when she ordered her maid to serve the soldiers, before she headed toward the city gates, children in tow. The guards had sealed the gates, but with Amazonian vigor, Anna wrestled the keys from the guards, left the city, and walked twenty miles, carrying her girls to join Bullinger in Zurich. Pestalozzi reports: »Bullinger rejoiced heart fully to once again embrace Anna in his arms.«46 The 19th century myths are not included in Büsser’s Bullinger biography from 2004.47

5. A fruitful »Hausfrau«

After Bullinger’s installation in Grossmunster on 9 December 1531, the life-writing concerning Anna grows mundane, modeled especially after Psalm 128 as Bullinger had suggested in his letter of instruction, »your children like olive plants around your table.«48 Anna bore Heinrich eleven children in eighteen years. She gave birth to Anneli in 1530, Margarethe in 1531, Elisabeth 1532, Heinrich 1534, Hans Rudolf in 1536, Christof 1537, Hans in 1539 and Diethelm in 1541, but both died in 1541, Veritas 1543, Dorothea in 1545, and Felix who was born in 1547, died in 1553.49 Anna continued to be fruitful until she was forty-three

45 Pestalozzi, Heinrich Bullinger, 67; Christoffel, Heinrich Bullinger und seine Gattin, 54f.
46 Compare and note discrepancies between Pestalozzi, Heinrich Bullinger, 67; Christoffel, Heinrich Bullinger und seine Gattin, 54f.; Good, Famous Women; Felix von Orelli, [Anna Bullinger], Zurich 1860 (Neujahrsblatt der Zürcherischen Hülfsgesellschaft 60).
48 HBPS, 171.
49 Pestalozzi, Heinrich Bullinger, 68.
years old. She evidently embraced her role as a Hausfrau and followed Bullinger’s instructions to model herself after the virtuous woman of Proverb 31, who «rises also while it is still night and gives food to her household and portions to her maidens.»

The Bullinger’s kitchen table provided for orphans, students, persecuted reformers, and their families. Already living in the Bullinger household by 1536 were at least five of the Bullinger’s own children, Bullinger’s mother, the English student Nicholas Partridge, the maid Britta, Bullinger’s charge Rudolf Gwalther (1519–1585), and probably Anna Reinhart (1484–1538), Zwingli’s widow, and their two daughters Regula (1524–1565) and Anna born in 1530. Bullinger’s correspondence is graced with praise for Anna’s hospitality, including greetings to Anna from a long list of men and women. In April 1544, Johannes Gast’s (–1552) wife Apollonia sent Anna a pair of knives as a gesture of thanks for her kindness, and Pastor Heinrich Lüthi from Winterthur sent his greetings to Anna along with four roosters. Even Calvin was more than likely a guest at Anna’s table during his 1537 visit with Bullinger in Zurich. Both the Italian Secondo Curione (1503–1569) and the German Wolfgang Musculus (1497–1563), along with their large families, found refuge in Anna’s home for extended periods. Notwithstanding, the fragments of Bullinger’s bookkeeping going back to 1555, as well as bills and shopping lists from between 1561–1564, indicate that he controlled the finances, how much bread the family ate, and made sure that they drank good wine.

Bullinger called his family a joy. Logically, the daily care and responsibility for family functionality fell on Anna. She certainly experienced sorrow at the loss of her babies Hans, Diethelm, and Felix. While Anna was surly worried about her nephew Hans Adlischwylter, who was jailed for raping a girl – the news of which

50 HBBW 1, no. 28, 172.
51 Heinrich, Heinrich Bullinger’s privates Testament, 19.
52 Johannes Gast to Bullinger, HBBW 14, 172.
53 Heinrich Lüthi to Bullinger, HBBW 14, 437.
54 Zurich Staatsarchiv, E II 453, 205–239.
55 HBD, 77.
Myths and Reality about Heinrich Bullinger’s Wife Anna

killed his mother in 1544—Anna was anxious about her own children. On 20 December 1553, Bullinger wrote to their son:

»Your mother makes big eyes when you already speak of needing another pair of shoes for the winter. It is hardly fifteen weeks since you left us, when you took three pairs with you, the red, the gray, and black. At this rate, you will need six pairs a year. I have more than enough with two. Do not let your shoes go to pieces, but get them mended on time.«

Furthermore, along these same lines, the only surviving handwritten letter by Anna reads:

»My friendly greetings my dear, and know that it makes me completely happy that you are so well provided for. I ask you to be sound, hard working, and to clean yourself, fearing God, honorable toward God, and all people. I ask you to always think about why you are in a foreign place and to watch the time for doing what needs to be done, not being slothful, and praying without ceasing, loyally. And protect yourself from bad company and enjoy staying home. In addition to this, let me know how your clothing is, and if you have enough shirts or how they are being washed. They must be soaped or given to the woman again sometimes. It is so hot. Write it down, and greet her from me. And do not let your shoes fall apart, give them to be cleaned, and be domestic. May God not only protect you from suffering. From me. Anna Bullingerin. Your mom.«

At the end of Anna’s letter, there is an addendum in Bullinger’s handwriting:

»Greetings from daddy too.«

In 1564, the plague conquered Zurich; Bullinger was deathly ill when he called the church leaders together on 17 September, blessed them, told them to be longsuffering and loyal, and finally entrusted them with the church. A few days later, he wrote in his Diarium:

56 Hans Jakob Adliswyler to Bullinger, HBBW 2, no. 711, 37.
57 Translation from Good, Famous Women, 38. The final sentence of Good’s translation of this letter was also part of Pestalozzi’s text attributed to Anna, but in reality, it is text from Anna’s one and only letter melted together with Bullinger’s own. The phenomenon of opportunistic textual and historical license in recording historical narratives of 16th century women will be discussed in more detail in my forthcoming dissertation. Compare Zentralbibliothek Zurich Ms. F 59, 252 and Ms. F 59, 259.
58 Zentralbibliothek Zurich, Ms. F 59, 259.
That night the plague also took my beloved Hausfrau Annen Adlischwylerin. She was ill for nine days, called out faithfully to God, and died blessed. She was buried around noon the next day, Monday, 25 September, with wonderful participation of the town’s people, the good and honorable people of the entire city. She was carried to her grave and buried next to Mr. Hansen Escheren the city notary and Mr. Dr. Peter Martyr, at the place where you come into the choir and down the long stairs to the gate that closes the courtyard.«

The recovering Bullinger was too ill to attend the funeral of his Hausfrau who had attended to him for thirty-five years. The pest was relentless, killing his daughters Anna and Margareth as well as his maid Britta, in addition to many others. On 11 November 1564, he wrote to Ambrosius Blarer (1492–1564): »You know that the Lord has taken the staff of my old age, my loyal, chosen, and exquisitely godly wife. But the Lord is righteous and his judgment is righteous.«

Anna chose to marry Bullinger and to embody his scriptural ideal, and the olive plants around her table did grow to be powerful trees. Rudolf Gwalther, the orphan whom the Bullinger’s sponsored, married Regula Zwingli and became the pastor of St. Peter’s Church in Zurich. Huldrych Zwingli II, who married Anna Bullinger II, became the hospital pastor and a professor of theology; their children included Rudolf, Ulrich, Verena, Margareth and Regula. Josias Simler (1530–1576) married Elisabeth Bullinger and was professor of theology at Zurich. Ludwig Lavater married Margaretha Bullinger and became deacon at Grossmunster; their children were Felix, Heinrich, Anna, Katharina, and Regula. Heinrich Bullinger III married Anna Gwalther, the daughter of Rudolf Gwalther and Regula Zwingli, and was a preacher at Zollikon and St. Peter in Zurich. Dorothea Bullinger looked after her father until his death in 1575 and married Alexander Stockar in 1578. Anna can be compared to a tree that bore much fruit.

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59 HBD, 77.
60 HBD, 77.
62 See above footnote 48.
6. Myths, truths or reconstructing narratives?

Many 19th century historians enlarged on Anna’s life, her suffering, and her hospitality; thus, they created an Anna persona or myth. Christoffel refers to Anna as »an angel of comfort«.\(^{64}\) Pestalozzi is the originator of a quote from Anna that Christoffel also cites, in which Anna comforted her sister-in-law, but I have not found any original traces of it in the archives.\(^{65}\) In addition, Pestalozzi also, however, seems to have confused the letters from Anna Adlischwyl Bullinger and her daughter Anna Bullinger Zwingli.\(^{66}\)

Yet, it is no wonder that Christoffel featured Anna as a social model and moral construct in his 1875 history of Anna and Heinrich Bullinger, and that the Neujahrsblatt der Zürcherischen Hülffgesellschaft of 1860 was dedicated in its entirety to Frau Mutter and »The Mother of Zurich«, with a silverpoint portrait of Anna wearing a dress fashioned in 1860, three-hundred years after her death. This publication is definitely an example of hagiography that glorifies Anna, propaganda to the youth of Zurich, and useful for constructing gender roles.\(^{67}\)

Disconcerting, however, are the words in the Zürcher Taschenbuch of 1930 that dismiss Anna: »Heinrich Bullinger wrote nothing about his wife, except that she died.«\(^{68}\) More disturbing is that so little historiography includes analysis of the choices that Anna and other 16th century women made when they invested themselves in the Reformation and the people at their kitchen tables.

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Abstract: An attempt to reconstruct Anna Adlischwyl Bullinger’s 16th century biography, leaning heavily on contextual history, while taking Heinrich Bullinger’s correspondence, Diarium, Eheschriften, and Anna’s only handwritten letter into consideration. Identifying and including the elements of myth and hagiography that fill Anna’s

\(^{64}\) Christoffel, Heinrich Bullinger und seine Gattin, 58.

\(^{65}\) Compare: Pestalozzi, Heinrich Bullinger, 481–482; Christoffel, Heinrich Bullinger und seine Gattin, 100.

\(^{66}\) This confusion has carried to contemporary times, see HBBW 1, 126, n. 1.

\(^{67}\) Orelli, [Anna Bullinger].

\(^{68}\) Pestalozzi, Aus der Geschichte des Geschlechts der Bullinger, 24.
biographies from other centuries, although little can be traced to original sources, en-
ables a lively narrative about Anna Bullinger’s life with a window into the lives of
women in Reformation Zurich and a view of how historians perceived them.

Keywords: Anna Adlischwylur, Heinrich Bullinger, Zurich, Reformation, history of
women, Christian marriage, cultural history, narrative reconstruction
Anna Adlischwiler

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