

JAKOB FUGGER AND HIS INFLUENCE ON THE REFORMATION

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Jakob Fugger

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## JAKOB FUGGER AND HIS INFLUENCE ON THE REFORMATION

Er ist ain herliche, lange, rane, hipsche, lustige, freliche person gewesen und sich gegen reichen und armen fraindlich mit frelichem gemüt erzeigt, mit aller demietigkeit, er ist gewesen fraindlichs zusprechens on allen pröcht, eerenreich und milt mit gestungen und vil milter gegen hausarmen und andern armen. Er ist hoche verstands und vernufft gewesen und mit gutten sitten und gebert, auch allen tugetten geziert und all ander darmit übertraffen. Fremkait, erberkait, trau und glaub und krechtigkeit sind in seinem hertzen zu haus gewesen. Sein und seines bruders kind namen sind in allen kingreich und landen, auch in der haidenschaft bekandt gewesen. Kaiser, kinig, fürsten und herrn haben zu im ire botschafft geschicht. Der bapst hat in als sein liben sun griest und umfangen...er ist ain zier gewesen des gantzen teutschen lands, besunder der stat Augspurg.<sup>1</sup>

In little more than a century the name Fugger moved out of relative obscurity to become a common household expression. In at least four languages of the 16th century there existed sayings about wealth and rich people that referred to the Fuggers.<sup>2</sup> Jakob Fugger (March 6, 1459-December 30, 1525), the rich man of Augsburg, was primarily responsible for building and maintaining the financial dynasty that ruled Europe and was involved in virtually all her affairs -- economic, political and religious. To a great extent, Jakob's success in the financial arena can be attributed to the changing economic conditions of his time, which led to the downfall of many wealthy families. They were content to live off their fortunes and hand the power over to younger, more free-wheeling types. Not so Jakob Fugger. He didn't let the family business die out but rather guided it successfully into a new economic age. The Fugger family business became the forerunner of our modern banking system.

Little is known about the ancestry of Jakob Fugger. The tax rolls of the city of Augsburg read Fuocher advenit in 1368.<sup>3</sup> This must refer to Ullrich and his brother Hans, Jakob's grandfather. They moved from a small village outside Augsburg called Graben, where they had been farmers and had also done some weaving and dyeing.<sup>4</sup> Augsburg was changing rapidly. The guild system was flourishing and the newly introduced cotton and linen industry was overtaking the dying wool industry. Fortunes were made and lost quickly in Augsburg and we can witness this several times in the Fugger household. Ullrich soon fades from the pages of history. His name isn't found in any records after 1400. But his brother Hans is more successful. Through marriage he became a citizen of Augsburg and later the head of the Weaver's Guild. At his death in 1436 he had acquired a reputation and a family fortune which he passed on to his sons Andreas and Jakob (our Jakob's father). They successfully handled the family business together. At this time it was still a textile business and was becoming quite successful. The quality of Fugger cloth became known throughout Germany.

In 1454 Andreas and Jakob had some sort of clash. We don't know the reasons behind it, but Andreas took over the business. When he died in 1457, his sons took over the business and ran it successfully for a time. In 1462 they received a family crescent from Kaiser Friedrich III. It pictured a golden hart in a blue field. From that time this branch of the family was known as "die Fugger vom Reh."<sup>5</sup> Toward the end of the century

"die Fugger vom Reh" went bankrupt. The sons of Andreas had overextended themselves in their textile dealings in Venice.

Brother Jakob, called "der Erster" or "der Alte", married Barbara Bäsinger<sup>6</sup> and slowly built up his own business, a business that was to last over 200 years and influence all corners of the world. Jakob I began trading in textiles, concentrating on trade with Venice. Eventually he began dealing in silk, lace and tropical fruits. By his death, March 23, 1469, Jakob I was listed in the tax records as the 7th richest man in Augsburg.<sup>7</sup>

Jakob I had 11 children, seven boys and four girls. Hans and Andreas, the two oldest sons, died in Venice at some point during their apprenticeship. Ullrich, Peter and George took over the business and ran it under their mother's guidance. Markus and Jakob, the youngest sons, were packed off to school to become Geistlicher. Three of the daughters married merchants in Augsburg and the fourth became a nun at the St. Annaberg cloister.

We don't know very much about Jakob II's clerical training. From the records of the bishopric at Eichstadt we know that at 14 years he became a "Kanonikus" in the Kollegiatstift at Herrieden and received a prebend of four silver Marks.<sup>8</sup>

Under Ullrich, Peter and George's guidance, the business flourished. In 1473 this branch of the family also received a crescent from Kaiser Friedrich III -- a blue and a gold lily on a brown field. "Die Fugger von den Lilien" now also had imperial

backing. Their business, at this time, in contrast to the farflung enterprises of "die Fugger von Reh", was centered between Augsburg and Venice in the textile industry.

Peter died in 1473 and Markus followed him shortly thereafter. Ullrich and Georg began to be concerned about the continuation of the family business. They had agreed that only male members of the Fugger family could own and operate the business. Each would share equal responsibility in all aspects of the business, which was growing tremendously. Since Ullrich and Georg were unmarried, their concern for ancestors prompted them to call Jakob out of the monastery. They paid the appropriate fees<sup>9</sup> and sent Jakob to Venice to learn commerce. He stayed in Venice until 1480 at the Fondaco dei Tedeschi. The Fondaco was a large warehouse used by German merchants in Venice. Here Jakob got his commercial education. He learned bookkeeping alla veneziana (double-entry bookkeeping), the Italian language and the art of trading. Venice was the center of world trade. The young Jakob saw ships coming and going from all parts of the world. He met merchants and his eyes were opened to the ways of the world. He was gaining experience and insights into the merchant world that would benefit him later.

Jakob returned to Augsburg in 1480. The city, whose population stood at about 20,000, was blossoming incredibly. In 1500 it would stand at 60,000. Kardinal Aeneas Silvius -- later to be Pope Pius II -- remarked about Augsburg in a

travelogue, "Augsburg übertrifft an Reichtum alle übrigen Städte der Welt!"<sup>10</sup> Its location at the foot of the Alpine passes to the south brought trade through Augsburg. Augsburg became known as the richest city of Germany -- a capital for luxury living and the home of the biggest and richest merchant families. Luther said of Augsburg in his Tischreden, "Augsburg vermag in dreien wochen 30 Tonnen Goldes aufzubringen, das vermag der Kaiser nicht."

Ullrich, Georg and Jakob formed a Handelsgesellschaft in Augsburg in 1480. In the next 20 years their net worth increased by 1634%.<sup>12</sup> The weaving their fathers had done was decreasing. Their business switched to buying goods from the east in Venice and selling them throughout the Empire. Through their mother's family they had connections to mining interests in Tirol. Their grandfather on the Bäsinger side owned a mine in Schwatz and called upon the Fugger's to undertake transportation of his ores to Venice and Rome. There the silver or copper was shipped out or sold to mints and metal workers. Transporting large amounts of precious metals was no easy task. The hazards were great, at least as great as the chance for profit was small. Although they undertook the project hesitatingly, the Fuggers soon realized the large profit inherent in mining. They began taking control of mining rights throughout Tirol. In less than ten years, by taking mining rights in payment for transportation of metals, they established a mining empire as great as their trading empire.<sup>13</sup>

In 1499 Vasco da Gamma's return by sea from India sent shock waves through Augsburg. The trade in spices and fine cloth no longer would go exclusively overland to Alexandria and from there by ship to Venice. Lisbon became a major port and the merchants in Augsburg found themselves at a geographic disadvantage. To succeed it became necessary to trade in some product that hadn't traditionally been obtained in Venice.

The Fuggers had already acquired two things necessary for the development of a banking house. They had a well-developed, smoothly operating system of branches (Faktoreien) throughout Europe. By 1500 most of the family operations were overseen by Faktors -- men stationed in various cities who did the actual work while the Fugger brothers operated the books. Secondly they had amassed large sums of money from earlier trading, and lately from mining.

Society was changing rapidly. Communications and trade between areas was going on as never before. In that fast-changing world, Jakob Fugger was able to adapt his existing business to fill a newly formed need. And that need was first expressed by the Roman Church.

Despite the fact that the Roman curia was opposed to usury, it "hat die Geldwirtschaft früher durchgeführt als irgend ein Staat."<sup>14</sup> Because of its receipts of annates, servitien, sinecure, benefices, etc., the camera apostolica was popularly known as the "mater pecuniarum."<sup>15</sup> In the 14th and 15th centuries the banks of Toscana, Florence primarily, had a monopoly with the curia. Transactions in the area were often made directly through these banks. Exchanges with other out-



lying areas had to be made through traveling merchants in silver or gold. Not only was this dangerous and risky for the merchant, but he often fell prey to his own greed and simply absconded with the money. The postal system was only beginning in northern Italy and was used primarily for governmental purposes. There was a real need for a central company that could handle financial transactions.

Enter Jakob Fugger. He was in a very good position to deal with the curia since he already was transporting metal to the south from Tirol. For the Fuggers it was very advantageous to enter into contract with the curia. Although the Fuggers were constantly bringing metals into Rome, they were never sure if they would receive goods for them. The Vatican, although it collected gold and silver from the whole world, didn't produce any goods. Now the Fuggers actually became producers in a sense. They would collect money from the parties making payment to Rome and then pay Rome off in the metals that they were shipping to Rome anyway.

As indulgences became increasingly popular and the flow of money to Rome became even greater, the importance of the Fugger's business also grew.

But how did they get involved in Rome in the first place? The Faktorei in Rome was established in 1495 and Jacobus de Doffis was the Faktor. de Doffis was a Florentiner, a man that the papacy could trust. So at first it was only natural that the Fugger house, like that of the other Florentine houses,

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would handle some of the business of the curia. Later Johannes Zink, an Augsburg<sup>er</sup>, and Engelhard Schauer (Angelus Sauer), of Nürnberg, would run the Roman Faktorei.<sup>16</sup>

The Fugger's business soon snowballed and all areas of Europe were transacting their business with Rome on paper while Rome was receiving metals from the Tyrolean mines. Consider the annual report of the Fuggers from 1503/04. It shows the amount the Fuggers paid to the papacy from collections of their various Faktoreien:<sup>17</sup>

Gnesen	3,216	Dukaten
Bamberg	1,929	"
Siebenbürgen	964	"
Hildesheim	653	"
Krujavien	643	"
Ploch	643	"
Samland	514	"
Schwerin	429	"
Speyer	407	"

Added to these sums were amounts paid by individuals for personal benefices in Köln, Trier, Bonn, Meissen, Lignitz, Mainz, Würzberg, Bamberg, Regensburg, Passau, Salzburg, Strassbourg and Basel which totalled another 13,998 Dukaten. And this was only the beginning.

Indulgences began to appear everywhere. They were instituted by the Pope or sought after by bishops and princes to finance their relic collections or building projects. Already in the 14th century the Duke of Saxony began to collect relics for his church in Wittenberg. His most prized and holy relic was a thorn from the Lord's crown. In 1398 Pope Boniface IX granted the Duke the 'Portiuncula' indulgence for All Saint's Day. This was the first indulgence. Its later relative would be preached against by

Martin Luther.

Frederick the Wise rebuilt the chapel in Wittenberg from 1493-99 and it became the Castle Church. In 1503 he gave the church over into the hands of the newly-founded University. The University incidentally was supported by prebends to the Castle Church because many of the professors were from the 'Augustinereremitenkloster.'

Meanwhile Frederick continued his relic collection. In 1509 the total stood at 5,005 relics and by 1520 he had amassed 19,013. In 1516 the 'Portiuncula' indulgence was renewed and also extended to All Saint's Church in Wittenberg. This was the particular indulgence that Luther preached of one year before the 95 Theses.

Relic collections were becoming profitable affairs. In Halle, the Archbishop of Magdeburg also set up a collection and Halle and Wittenberg were becoming pilgrimage stops, backed by papal authority for indulgence. Indulgences were being granted in other areas (Konstanz, Fulda, Köln, Trier, for example) to fund building projects.<sup>18</sup>

This is the background for the story of Albrecht of Mainz.<sup>19</sup> If it hadn't been for his greed and that of the Pope, the indulgence affair may never have become a popular rallying point.

First we must consider the immediate history of the rebuilding of St. Peter's in Rome. Pope Julius II didn't have much respect for tradition and old things. St. Peter's had fallen into disrepair so he decided to build a new chapel. Actually it would

be a cathedral that was to stand as a prize of Christendom. So on February 12, 1507 he issued the Bull 'Salvator noster Jesus Christus.' This was a general indulgence for the building which didn't fare successfully and was followed by 'Etsi ex commisso nobis' on November 4, 1507. This indulgence was more pointed. It was issued to 25 provinces all over Europe according to specific cloisters and included certain cloisters in Saxony, viz, Brandenburg, Eisenach, Arnstedt, Zeitz, Weimar, Magdeburg, Chemnitz, Osterode and Eisleben.

The 24 year old Albrecht enters the scene on August 30, 1513 when he is postulated for the Archbishopric of Magdeburg. On September 9 he was also promoted to the Bishopric of Halberstadt. Albrecht was the brother of Joachim I of Brandenburg, so now both these positions would be in the hands of the Hohenzollerns. Since Albrecht was too young for such an ecclesiastical position, and because his election would consolidate two bishoprics under one person, a papal dispensation was needed for Albrecht to assume these titles.

Therefore a representative company went to Rome to seek papal dispensation for Albrecht. It was comprised of two clerics from Magdeburg, Joachim von Klitzing and Dr. Busso von Alvensleben, two from Halberstadt, Sebastian von Plotho and Dr. Levin von Veltheim, and a lay representative, the knight Eitelwolf von Stein, who was a friend of Ulrich von Hutten and Reuchlin. Leo X gave his permission in steps. On December 1 Albrecht received permission to assume the Bishopric

of Magdeburg on his 27th birthday. On December 16 he received permission for Halberstadt. On December 21 he was granted dispensation for his age in both cases. And finally on January 9 Leo decreed that Lübeck and Brandenburg should also turn over their Pallium to the Archbishop of Magdeburg. For these transactions the Fuggers turned over 1079 Dukaten in cash to the curia.

Meanwhile on February 9, 1513, Uriel von Gemmingen, the Archbishop of Mainz died. Mainz had lost three archbishops within ten years and the fees paid to Rome got larger every time. A struggle began for this important position. Kurfürst Ludwig von der Pfalz wanted any of his three brothers to get the position. Maximilian objected to this because he didn't want to see brothers allied on the Kurfürstkollegium. This could give them too much power at a diet. So Maximilian suggested either his nephew Ernst von Bayern or a cleric in Mainz, Wilhelm von Hohenstein.

Joachim and the Hohenzollerns capitalized on this infighting and finally on March 9, 1514 got Albrecht postulated. Holding three high offices concurrently was definitely unheard of and the forces behind Albrecht had to put pressure on Rome to get papal permission. The pressure was mostly monetary and on May 14 Albrecht became the Archbishop of Mainz at the cost of 21,000 Dukaten. Albrecht had already paid 10,000 Dukaten to Leo and now turned to Jakob Fugger for a loan of 21,000 Dukaten which Fugger promptly forwarded to him.

Leo X on March 31, 1515 now renewed the indulgence for St. Peter's, partly in order to help Albrecht out of his financial quandary. It was to be an indulgence in force for eight years and one half of the proceeds were to go to Albrecht and the other half to St. Peter's. No indulgence before this had been valid for such a long time span. It also negated other indulgences that were in effect in the area. These other indulgences were superseded by Leo's. Princes who had had indulgences for their relic collections or building projects no longer had the right to sell them, although some continued doing so. Dukes and princes who had the right to certain indulgences felt robbed. They thought Albrecht was dealing underhandedly. They didn't see that this new indulgence was doing very much for St. Peter's, but they fully realized Albrecht's gain.

German nobility was further angered at the exceptions Albrecht made to his rule. Notably, that the indulgences for building the Augsburger Dominikanerkloister and the Münster in Konstanz weren't invalidated by Leo's new indulgence. These were indulgences that were administered directly by the Fuggers. In light of Albrecht's outstanding debt to the Fuggers, it was better to let these indulgences untouched.

Calls of "unfair" spread throughout the land. Maximilian declared the indulgence good for only three years, not eight. Herzog Georg of Saxony wrote to the Dominicans in Leipzig on April 1:



expenses, ~~the representative~~ accounted half of the money to be given over to Rome and the other half was deducted from Albrecht's outstanding debt to the Fuggers. It is interesting to note that Albrecht didn't make out very well from this indulgence. In 1518 he still owed the Fuggers a considerable sum.<sup>24</sup>

Jakob Fugger, believing himself to be a loyal servant of the church, was hurt by the changes of usury that were being leveled at him. Slanderers were calling him greedy for receiving a percentage for taking care of financial transactions. Other bankers got into the picture, charging exorbitant interest rates. Their dealings began to be termed, in slang, "Fuggereien."<sup>25</sup> Canonical law declared that charging interest was not allowed and was certainly unchristian. But Jakob Fugger felt that because of the economic conditions of the day a 5% overall interest rate was necessary. Therefore he set up a series of debates in which Eck was to defend a 5% interest rate as permissible according to canon law. Interestingly, Jakob Fugger financed both sides of the debates, thereby determining their outcome.

Eck debated Dr. Speiser of St. Moritz in Augsburg. Shortly thereafter he debated Johannes Faber in Bologna. Faber was a humanist and still felt at this time that Luther was the man who could bring about a reformation within the structure of the Catholic Church. But Eck won the debate and the Fuggers presented Faber with a golden crucifix and a jeweled box to keep it in. Although debates were also held in Vienna and



Leipzig, public opinion was still against usury.<sup>26</sup>

The Fuggers were also very influential politically. Their system of Faktoreien became a postal system for money. It was set up much like the pony express system of the early days of this country. Special friends of the Fuggers could avail themselves of this messenger service for sending and receiving political news and messages. Even in Venice, Roman news came first from the Fugger riders. Jakob Fugger up in Germany received the latest news from his men and could use it or share it however he pleased. And he usually used it to his own financial benefit. The Fuggers were allied, at least financially, with the most powerful men in Europe. And those men recognized Jakob Fugger's power. When Francis I showed Charles V the crown jewels, Charles is reported to have replied, "In Augsburg ist ein Leineweber, der kann alles dieses mit börem Geld bezahlen."

Ullrich Fugger in 1473 made the family's first transaction with royalty when he sold some cloth to Kaiser Friedrich III. This was only the beginning. By the 16th century the economics of power had changed completely. The art of war was changing. Knights no longer fought for honor and booty, but armies had to be equipped and paid. Important positions were often gained by financial maneuvering rather than military might. Jakob Fugger was on the scene to provide anything, for a price, and many were willing to pay that price.

It was Jakob Fugger who supported the formation of the

Swiss Guard in Rome.<sup>27</sup> He not only paid over 1400 ducats to the families of the young men who were asked to serve, but he also paid the salaries and costs of these soldiers and also paid pensions (actually bribes) to important Swiss citizens who might have complained about papal politics.

Fugger further helped out the papal army in 1517 with huge deliveries of copper and tin to the captains of the papal navy and the papal artillery in Ancona and Rome respectively.

In August of 1511 Pope Julius II took sick and many thought his death was imminent. Maximilian thought, that since he was a widower, he could get the papal tiara to add to his imperial crown. Maximilian immediately sent out representatives to Rome to persuade the Cardinals to elect him as Pope. We don't know of his success, but it could have been great. He had asked for, and received, 300,000 Dukaten from Jakob Fugger for this purpose which he was liberally spreading around the Vatican. But Julius recovered.<sup>28</sup>

Jakob Fugger's hand can be felt in the affairs of 1519 when a new Emperor was to be selected. We all know the story of the bitter rivalries that went on, but what stood behind the success of a given candidate in this political battle was how much he could pay whom. Here is where Jakob Fugger played his big role. He could determine who would receive the money.

Jakob hielt in diesen Tagen die Entscheidung in der Hand, ob ein Valois, ein fran\_zö\_sischer Herrscher, oder ein Habsburger, ein Mann deutscher Abstammung, sich die deutsche Kaiserkrone aufs Haupt setzen sollte.<sup>29</sup>

As we know, Jakob Fugger supported Charles and he received the crown on June 28, 1519. According to the imperial account of 1520 made by the treasurer Johannes Lukas, 852,189 Goldgülden, 26 Kreizer, and 2 Pfennig were paid to various interests for Charles' victory. Of that amount 543,585 Goldgülden and 34 Kreuzer were paid by means of Jakob Fugger.

In 1521 it was Jakob Fugger who quietly aided Charles against Francis I. The Pope and Charles allied to try to get Milan back from Francis. War was looming and there was a desperate need for troops. Fugger advanced 200,000 ducats for the purpose of raising Swiss and German mercenary troops. It was agreed that the Pope and Charles would each repay 100,000 ducats. Fugger took it upon himself to pay off the appropriate parties in Switzerland and Germany through his factors. This task took almost five years to complete.<sup>30</sup>

Jakob Fugger built a business that was stronger and wealthier than kings and popes. His company affected and sometimes controlled European politics for over two generations. He aided the indulgence trade significantly and perhaps now we can understand more fully Luther's words to the German nobility:

Zuletzt hat der Papst zu all diesen edlen  
Handeln ein eigenes Kaufhaus aufgerichtet.....  
Es ist noch das Valet zurück, das muss ich  
auch geben. Da nun der unermessliche Geiz  
noch nicht genug hat an all diesen Schätzen,  
daran billig drei mächtige Könige sich  
begnügten, hebt der Papst nun an, solche  
seine Handel zu versetzen und dem Fugger von  
Augsburg zu verkaufen, so dass nun der Handel  
mit Bistümern und Lehen, das Tauschen und  
Kaufen...an den rechten Ort gekommen ist und  
nun aus geistlichen und weltlichen Gütern eine  
Hantierung geworden ist.

Nun möchte ich gern eine so hohe Vernunft  
hören, die erdenken möchte, was nun durch den  
römischen Geiz noch weiter geschehen könnte,  
das noch nicht geschehen, es wäre denn, daßs  
der Fugger seine beiden nun vereinigten  
Handelschaften auch versetzte und verkaufte.  
Ich meine, es sei ans Ende gekommen.31

ENDNOTES

1. Words of a contemporary of Jakob Fugger, the Benedictine monk and historian Clemens Sender (born 1475 in Lauingen), in E. Reinhardt, Jakob Fugger Der Reiche Aus Augsburg (Berlin: Struppe und Winckler, 1926), p. 4, and in Thomas Seelmann, Jakob Fugger (Stuttgart, 1909), p. 149.

2. Seelmann, p. 5.

3. Aloys Schulte, Die Fugger in Rome, 1495-1523 (Leipzig, 1904), p. 2.

4. The name "Fugger", which is spelled many different ways, comes from the word "fuccare", which means "färben" or "to dye."

5. Reinhardt p. 6.

6. Barbara was the daughter of the respected Münzmeister in Augsburg.

7. Reinhardt, p. 7.

8. For a thorough discussion on the siblings of Jakob Fugger, see Chapter One in Seelman.

9. A June 11, 1478 entrance in the books of St. Maria dell Anima in Rome shows that Ullrich and Georg paid off Jakob's prebend as Kanonicus in Herrieden (Reinhardt p. 10)

10. Seelmann, p. 35.

11. Reinhardt, p. 12.

12. Schulte, p. 3.

13. Reinhardt devotes almost a third of his book to the Fugger's mining interests in the Tirol.

14. Schulte, p. 6.

15. Schulte, p. 7.

16. Schulte, p. 28.

17. Seelman, p. 135.

18. Reinhardt discusses the matter of indulgences connected with relic collections on pp. 55-68. Kalkoff (Entscheidungs-jahre der Reformation) discusses indulgences in his first three chapters.

19. The various details for this story were culled from Reinhardt, Schulte, Schwiebert, and Seelmann, who agreed to the substance of the story except for some dates. See Reinhardt for the most complete discussion, pp. 68ff.

20. Reinhardt, p. 143.

21. Reinhardt, p. 145.

22. Myconius, Historia Reformationis, pp. 14-22. Schwiebert also reprints part of this on p. 310.

23. Reinhardt, pp. 146ff.

24. This account was taken from the Fugger records dated September, 1518.

Ausgabe der Fugger.

	fl. rh.	kr.	fl. rh.	kr.
In Rom den Oratores 21 000 Dukaten . . . . .	29 900	—		
Denselben auf ihre Obligation . . . . .	10 200	—		
Ebenso . . . . .	3 300	—		
Denselben zu ihrer Zehrung . . . . .	800	—		
Zu Rom Herrn Basso von Alvensleben 100 Dukaten . .	143	11		
An Domenico Jacovazzi auf Befehl Alvenslebens und Blankenfelds 60 Dukaten . . . . .	87	—		
Botenlohn, Zehrung der Fuggerschen Diener . . . . .	[190	41]		
			44 710	52
5 % Zins . . . . . [1726.45]			2 023	45
Agio für lübische lüneb. und geringe Gulden 247.— ] . . . . .			1 333	—
Von den Fuggern aufgerechnet und passiert . . . . .			88	48
Botenlohn für 7 Posten . . . . .			80	—
In Rom an Johann Bewer bezahlt 85 Duc. 3 sol. . . . .				
			Gesamtsumme	48 236 25

Einnahme der Fugger.

	fl. rh.	kr.	fl. rh.	kr.
Abzahlung: Leipzig Nov. 1514 . . . . .	17 900	—		
Nürnberg März 1515 . . . . .	5 000	—		
Leipzig . . . . .	5 500	—		
Frankfurt Fastenmesse 1516 . . . . .	5 000	—		
Leipzig Neujahrsmesse 1518 . . . . .	5 000	—		
Frankfurt Fastenmesse . . . . .	2 000	—		
			40 400	—
Gnadengeld: 1517 und 18, wie oben einzeln angegeben, Mainzer Provinz			1 643	45
			42 043	45
Verglichen mit Ausgabe	48 236	25		
Bleibt Schuld Abrechts	6 192	40		

25. Seelmann, p. 124.
26. Seelmann, pp. 145ff deals with the debates, as does Reinhardt, pp. 162ff.
27. Reinhardt, pp. 134-140, discusses Fugger's military connections.
28. Seelmann, p. 127.
29. Seelmann, p. 131.
30. Reinhardt, p. 136.
31. Martin Luther, An den Christlichen Adel deutscher Nation, WA 425-27.

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