

**Faith, Foes, Fear, and ‘The Bitter Scourge of
War’: Eyewitness Accounts of the Thirty Years
War and the Religious War Debate**

by

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B.A., Simon Fraser University, 2012

Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

in the

Department of History

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

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SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

Fall 2014

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Abstract

The Thirty Years War, one of the deadliest wars in history, caused great hardship for civilians living in the Holy Roman Empire. This thesis will address the religious war debate, which has dominated the historical narrative for centuries, and will demonstrate that individuals experienced the war in various ways. While faith played an important role in how some perceived the conflict, it was not the only way that individuals understood it. Nor was confessional allegiance the primary factor for how one determined who was their enemy. The only common experience was the fear felt by each individual. This thesis examines eyewitness accounts of the war, written by religious people: nuns, monks, priests, and pastors. Their stories demonstrate that the narrow label of religious war insufficiently describes what they believed to be the the “bitter scourge” of war.

Keywords: Thirty Years War, 1618-1648; Religious War; Personal Experience; Fear; Civilians in War; Eyewitness Accounts

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my senior supervisor, Dr. Hilmar Pabel, who not only inspired my love of the Early Modern Period, but also introduced me to the Thirty Years War. This thesis would not have been possible without his helpful feedback, constant encouragement, and immeasurable amount of time spent working with me on this project.

Furthermore, I wish to acknowledge the other members of my supervisory committee. Many thanks are due to Dr. Luke Clossey for his challenging questions and thoughtful comments, which no doubt have improved this thesis immensely. I would also like to thank Dr. Christopher Friedrichs, my external reader, for his thoughtful and engaging questions and for his participation in this process.

The History Department at SFU has been incredibly supportive at all levels. I would like to acknowledge Dr. John Craig, Dr. Emily O'Brien, Dr. Roxanne Panchasi, Dr. Paul Garfinkel, and Dr. Aaron Windel for the valuable advice and support that each has given me. I am also extremely appreciative of the wonderful staff in the department. In particular, I would like to thank Ruth Anderson, without whom no History thesis would ever be completed.

Thanks must also go to all of my fellow graduate students who have challenged me intellectually and supported me personally. In particular, I wish to thank Scott Eaton, Simone Hanebaum, and Sarah Inglis without whom I could never have completed this project and for whom I am so grateful. My experience in this program was made infinitely better because of you and I can never thank you enough.

Finally, I am so grateful for my wonderful friends who have put up with me these past two years. Thank you for not falling asleep anytime I started talking about this project and for your unconditional support and encouragement. I would also like to thank my godmother, Rebecca, for her unswaying belief in me. I love you dearly. Most importantly, I want to thank my parents, Karen and Grant. I would not be who I am without your support and could never have done this without you. Thank you so much.

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Preface



The Thirty Years War was a horrific and tragic event that claimed the lives of a significant portion of the population of the Holy Roman Empire. This thesis will examine the experiences of some of those who lived, and some who died, during the war. This etching by Hans Ulrich Franck depicts what many would have witnessed over the three decades of the war.

Scenes of War, Hans Ulrich Franck (1656), S.4934 © Trustees of the British Museum

Introduction

The Thirty Years War was not a religious war. Undoubtedly, religion contributed in some way to the outbreak and the prolongation of the conflict. The records of the individuals who experienced the war, however, do not support the generalization that it was a religious war, fought by belligerents over religious truth and supremacy.

Given the pedigree of the assertion that the Thirty Years War was a religious war, I have chosen my sources in its favour by exclusively examining the accounts of representatives of confessional identities in their communities: nuns, monks, priests, and pastors.¹ I have intentionally selected the accounts of professionally religious people for several reasons. First, there are a large number of these sources available because many clergymen were literate. Second, there are very few accounts written by women that have survived; nuns produced the majority of these accounts.² Thus, this thesis will be able to include the experiences of women, who are often underrepresented in the examination of the Thirty Years War. Finally, these people were the official religious representatives of their own communities so they likely influenced the religious outlook and spiritual practices of the people around them. If the war were a religious war, it is

¹ For a map showing the geographical location of each individual during the war, see Appendix A.

² For the surviving accounts written by nuns see Benigna von Krusenstjern, *Selbstzeugnisse der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997). She identifies six accounts by nuns: Sophia Albertz, 39; Juliana Ernst, 82; Maria Magdalena Haidenbucher, 110; Maria Anna Junius, 130; Verena Reiter, 193; Clara Staiger, 218–19. Elizabeth Herold also wrote about the war but she is not included in Krusenstjern's catalogue. Three Lutheran women authored the other sources produced by women: Anna Hoefel, the daughter of a merchant from Schweinfurt, 123; Anna Wolff, the daughter of a miller from Schwabach, 213–14; Sophia, Duchess of Mecklenburg, 243–44.

most likely that, of non-combatants, religious representatives in each confessional community would have interpreted it that way.

What this study will demonstrate, however, is that the examined individuals did not interpret the war as a religious conflict. Some did indicate that, to some extent, the war was fought for religious freedom or for the preservation of one's own faith. This interpretation, however, was not shared by many and, for some, changed as the war continued. There is no consistent pattern and no common religious narrative of the war.

I ground my analysis of the war in a varied sample of the approximately three hundred available personal narratives from the war. Each source, influenced by the experiences of the author, is unique in style, content, and purpose. The historical debate about the religious nature of the Thirty Years War has largely ignored these personal accounts. This study will endeavour to fill this void and to complicate the traditional narrative of the war.

In order to address the religious war debate, I will primarily explore three questions. Did individuals conceptualize the war confessionally? Did Protestants and Catholics tend to interpret the war differently? Did individuals, with comparable backgrounds and confessional beliefs, experience and understand the war in the same way? By addressing these questions, two central arguments emerge. First, experience had a greater effect on how people understood the war than confessional identity. Second, individuals interpreted the war in various ways, depending on their experiences. I argue that the Thirty Years War was not a religious war, not because individuals never conceptualized it as a religious conflict, but because the term "religious war" inadequately addresses what the war meant to the subjects of this study. Faith certainly was a major factor in the lives of those examined in this thesis, but the term ignores the multiplicity of narratives that emerge in the individual accounts. It also overlooks the effect that experience had on how individuals perceived the war. For them it could be a holy war, a secular war, a confessional war, a theological war, a war for survival, a war against foreign invaders, a "scourge" of God, a sign of the apocalypse, and a variety of other things. It was never, however, exclusively one of these categories of war nor was it ever experienced in unison by a significant group of people as one of these types of war. The only commonality among the accounts in this study was the feeling of fear.

The Thirty Years War was terrifying, chaotic, and disruptive for those examined in this study and, as this thesis will demonstrate, labels like religious war fail to sufficiently describe what it was because there was no substantial correlation between confessional identity and the conception of the war. Experience, not confessional allegiance, primarily dictated how an individual characterized the war.

Personal Experience in the Thirty Years War

Recently, scholars have begun to critically examine the accounts of individuals written during the Thirty Years War. This scholarship has benefited from Benigna von Krusenstjern's 1997 compilation of sources, *Selbstzeugnisse der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*, a catalogue of 232 printed personal accounts of the war. As a result, the experience of individuals has become more prominent in the scholarship of the Thirty Years War. Geoffrey Mortimer's monograph, *Eyewitness Accounts of the Thirty Years War 1618-1648* (2002), is an extensive study of many of the accounts mentioned by von Krusenstjern and has advanced the study of eyewitness accounts by trying to generalize about experience of the war.³ Otto Ulbricht examined the wartime experience of some pastors and soldiers, exclusively focusing on Protestant accounts. He argued that for pastors the war was inherently religious because they were often the primary targets of soldiers.⁴ A 2008 project at the University of Jena, headed by Hans Medick and Norbert Winnige, made four previously unpublished accounts of the war

³ Geoff Mortimer, *Eyewitness Accounts of the Thirty Years War: 1618–1648* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

⁴ Otto Ulbricht, "The Experience of Violence during the Thirty Years War," in *Power, Violence and Mass Death in Pre-Modern and Modern Times*, edited by Joseph Canning, Hartmut Lehmann, and Jay Winter (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 112–113.

freely available on the internet.⁵ The scholarship on eyewitness accounts continues to grow.

In 2013, Medick and Benjamin Marschke made select eyewitness accounts more accessible by publishing brief excerpts in *Experiencing the Thirty Years War: A Brief History with Documents*.⁶ This collection of documents, translated from the original German emphasizes the importance of eyewitness accounts. This source was the first to translate several abridged accounts into English for more wide-spread use, primarily for educational purposes.

Sigrun Haude offers a concise examination of personal experiences of the Thirty Years War. She identifies certain common experiences in accounts of the war: fear; “a profound sense of vulnerability and lack of protection;” “the instability and changeability of life during the conflict;” “the experience of disorder and disruption;” and psychological trauma.⁷ Although these general experiences are all negative, Haude notes that there were also positive experiences recorded in some of these accounts. She notes that, “while contemporaries tell us much about the agony of war, they also rejoice in a good harvest, a good wine, or times of companionship.”⁸ According to Haude: the fact that they articulated these facets of life suggests that the dismal experience of war did not invalidate the positive aspects of their life, and that they experienced light within darkness.⁹ This argument is supported by numerous primary sources and is one that scholars, generally, have not yet explored.

⁵ *Mitteldeutsche Selbstzeugnisse der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*. Thüringer Unisersitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena (2008). Accessible at <http://www.mdsz.thulb.uni-jena.de/sz/index.php>.

⁶ Hans Medick and Benjamin Marschke, *Experiencing the Thirty Years War: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2013).

⁷ Sigrun Haude, “The Experience of War,” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Thirty Years' War*, edited by Olaf Ansbach and Peter Schröder (Burlington, VT; Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2014), 259, 261, 264, 265,

⁸ *Ibid.*, 267.

⁹ Haude, “The Experience of War,” 267.

The available personal accounts of the war generally fall into three different genres: journal/diary, memoir, or chronicle. Journals or diaries (*Tagebücher*) were a prevalent form of contemporaneous accounts, while memoirs were a common form of reflective writing. In seventeenth-century Germany, however, Haude notes that “the lines between the literary forms of autobiographies, diaries, and other chronological accounts were fluid,” but these accounts “focused little on self-reflection or the construction of an individual personality.”¹⁰ Chronicles, written either contemporaneously or after the fact, were also popular, especially among the religious orders. Some accounts written after the war possess the characteristics of a memoir, but most of the sources in this study do not fit into this category. All of my sources are journals or chronicles except one, the memoir of Lutheran pastor Bartholomäus Dietwar. He began writing his account in 1648, at the end of the war.

Keeping contemporaneous notes about one’s life was becoming increasingly common even before the war. Mortimer explains that in the early seventeenth century many people were already using a calendar (*Schreibkalender*) which was “half calendar, half almanac, with spaces left in which the owner could write.”¹¹ Some people may have begun to record their thoughts in a diary during the war in order to remember what they deemed to be important. A baker from Ansbach named Dobel began his account only when troops entered his area.¹² Peter Hagendorf, a soldier, began writing his diary years before the war “when he set out for Italy as a young man.”¹³ Important life events, such as an appointment to a new position in the church or army, often prompted people to begin writing while others started to write later in life in response to the war.

¹⁰ Ibid., 258.

¹¹ Mortimer, *Eyewitness Accounts*, 179; Charlotte Woodford, *Nuns as Historians in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 111.

¹² Mortimer, *Eyewitness Accounts*, 180.

¹³ Ibid. For Hagendorf’s full account, see Jan Peters, *Ein Söldnerleben im Dreißigjährigen Krieg: Ein Quelle zur Sozialgeschichte* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag GmbH, 1993).

The chronicle was another common style for authors of personal accounts. Mortimer argues that the diary is “strongly author-centred” in contrast with the “impersonal but nevertheless eyewitness chronicle of events affecting a community.”¹⁴ A chronicle centers on something larger than one individual, usually focusing on a specific community. Most of the personal accounts selected for this study fall under the category of chronicle. Keeping records of the times, especially in chronicles, was prevalent among monks and nuns even before the war, and many regarded it “as almost a duty” to record events.¹⁵ Charlotte Woodford adds that it was especially common for “important figures of religious houses,” like a prioress, to keep an account of her time in office.¹⁶ Chronicles, whether written contemporaneously or not, were popular before the war and continued to be during the conflict.

Nuns and monks seemingly had more reasons to write than an average civilian. Woodford notes that times of change or upheaval, like the Reformation or the Peasants’ War, “prompted many nuns and monks to write an account of the events which they had witnessed.”¹⁷ The Thirty Years War was another one of these events. Nuns were already preoccupied with writing for future generations, either to describe for posterity what life was like in an earlier time or to justify their actions.¹⁸

Mortimer offers several reasons why people in general, amidst the death and destruction of the Thirty Years War, decided to write about their experiences. First, they wrote out of a desire to preserve their memory.¹⁹ The chaos of the war made it easy to forget and by keeping an account, individuals were able to remind themselves later of what seemed important to them at an earlier point in time. Second, individuals wrote to

¹⁴ Mortimer, *Eyewitness Accounts*, 17.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 181.

¹⁶ Woodford, *Nuns as Historians*, 111.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 106.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 112.

¹⁹ Mortimer, *Eyewitness Accounts*, 193.

inform and to be remembered for posterity.²⁰ Some fathers wrote family books that they passed on to their children.²¹ Martin Feilinger's son knew about his father's history and added a note at the end of it to indicate that his father, a Calvinist pastor, had died of plague. Third, writing was potentially a means of "exorcising the ghosts of past trauma."²² The war was traumatic for people on many levels. Friends and loved ones died as victims of plague, famine, and violence. Daily life in many areas was marked by unrest, and so, Mortimer posits, writing may have been a way to cope with these horrors.²³ Haude supports this claim and believes that "writing down occurrences was one way of coming to terms with them."²⁴ Finally, some of these accounts were intended to be a source for a funeral sermon, a draft of what they would like their priest or pastor to say upon their death. Mortimer notes that accounts written for funeral sermons were especially popular in Lutheran areas.²⁵ Many people wrote for many reasons. Susan Broomhall, analyzing documents about personal accounts of confessional violence in sixteenth-century France, simplifies the motivations of an author: "To narrate is inherently to order and to attempt to explain, and indeed this was necessary in order to achieve either personal meaning or engagement with other readers."²⁶ A desire to conceptualize and understand one's own position in the chaos of the war through a personal narrative led many to record their own experiences.

All of these accounts were not published until long after the war concluded and would have had a limited audience: a single town, a single convent or monastery, a single family, or even a single reader, the author alone. Mortimer notes that for most accounts, we are unaware of the transmission of the sources: "The history of the

²⁰ Ibid., 194.

²¹ Ibid., 182–83.

²² Ibid., 194.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Haude, "The Experience of War," 259.

²⁵ Mortimer, *Eyewitness Accounts*, 194.

²⁶ Susan Broomhall, "Reasons and Identities to Remember: Composing Personal Accounts of Religious Violence in Sixteenth-Century France," *French History* 27 (2013): 18.

manuscripts is unknown, and survival for many may have been largely a matter of chance.”²⁷ Undoubtedly, countless personal accounts have been lost. Without a significant interest in publishing many of the accounts of the war in the nineteenth century, even more would have been forgotten.

“Fictionalisation:” *The Fiction in the Fact or the Fact in the Fiction?*

Personal narratives are by no means entirely accurate about historical events. They include valuable information but simultaneously include elements of what Mortimer calls “fictionalisation,” whether intentionally, by including misinformation, or unintentionally, by including mistakes or misconceptions.²⁸ In his critique of Gustav Freytag and others who employed personal narratives, S. H. Steinberg argued that many of these sources presented an exaggerated description of the truth:

In truth, the sources which Freytag and many of his followers used – chronicles, annals, diaries, letters – chiefly show the events of the war as experienced by those who lost the most. For compilers of town chronicles, parish registers, family albums and personal diaries all belonged to the same class of educated, professional men – clerks, priests, officials, lawyers – who were hit hardest by the vicissitudes of the times. Whenever a place was sacked by the enemy, it was the ministers of religion whose persons and property were always the easiest targets.²⁹

He claimed that their accounts erroneously portray the war as particularly destructive because of what they lost and are not truly representative of how the illiterate masses experienced in the war:

Whatever may have befallen the citizens of a town and the peasants of a village, the men who wrote the town chronicles, the monastic annals, the

²⁷ Mortimer, *Eyewitness Accounts*, 188.

²⁸ Geoffrey Mortimer, “Style and Fictionalisation in Eyewitness Personal Accounts of the Thirty Years War,” *German Life and Letters* 54 (April 2001): 97.

²⁹ S. H. Steinberg, *The Thirty Years War and the Conflict for European hegemony 1600–1660* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996), 95.

parish registers, were those who had to tell a tale of personal grievance and personal loss; and it is not surprising that their unfortunate personal experiences should have coloured the whole account.³⁰

Steinberg is correct in identifying the authors of these sources as a special class of individual who was educated enough to read and write, but this does not necessarily imply that they held wealth or power that could be lost. A pastor in a small town, while in a position of some power, would have had little more to lose than many of his parishioners. It should also be noted that many of those who wrote, like Maria Anna Junius and Elizabeth Herold, - two nuns examined in Chapter 3 - did so at a very basic level. Nor would the accounts written by nuns fit into Steinberg's category of "educated, professional men."

Steinberg also asserted that documents from the time expressing extreme hardship intentionally exaggerated the horrors of the war. In his brief mention of a study conducted in 1652 in Württemberg, he questioned the "war damages" figure of 118,742,864 guilders. Steinberg asserted: "The most plausible explanation: the Württemberg Estates were the most powerful and most vocal institution of their kind in the whole of Germany; they would certainly not let pass an occasion for the most extravagant claims on the purse of their duke!"³¹ He further argued that "a feature common to annalists and journalists of all times is a preference for a singular startling event, to the exclusion of every-day occurrences not deemed worth mentioning."³² As this study will demonstrate, Steinberg's assertion is not entirely accurate, as seemingly mundane details about life, like the cost of food staples, descriptions of the weather, and reports about the annual harvest were common in personal accounts.

Some scholars challenge Steinberg's portrayal of the war. John Theibault acknowledges that "not all descriptions of war horrors should be accepted without

³⁰ Ibid.,95.

³¹ Steinberg, *The Thirty Years War*, 104.

³² Ibid.

question” but believes that Steinberg and Gerhard Benecke are “inclined to overcompensate for the potential bias of the sources by assuming that if damage cannot be proved, the claim must be false.”³³ Theibault defends the usefulness of these sources for scholarly research.³⁴ He challenges the assumption that eyewitness accounts are untrustworthy, arguing that by dismissing the sources, Steinberg “merely substitutes a presumption of dishonesty for a presumption of honesty in all reports.”³⁵ Mortimer has also extensively discussed this issue and continues to assert the importance of personal narratives because of the different perspective that they provide to scholars.³⁶ Rudolf Dekker similarly argues: “no literary critic would today maintain that there is a sharp dividing line between autobiography and the novel; no historian today would maintain that there is a clear dividing line between the ‘facts’ of a non-fictional text and the ‘fiction’ of a literary text.”³⁷

The fictionalization in personal narratives does not diminish their importance nor does it invalidate them as a part of the historical record. Peter Wilson argues that they are valuable not “as an accurate portrayal of events” but rather because they are able to illustrate “how the war was perceived and remembered.”³⁸ By examining what the authors included in their accounts, scholars, he claims, can understand which experiences had the greatest impact on the lives and the memories of the victims of the Thirty Years War.³⁹

³³ John C. Theibault, *German Village in Crisis: Rural Life in Hesse-Kassel and the Thirty Years' War, 1580–1720* (Boston: Humanities Press, 1995), 146.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 145–46.

³⁵ John C. Theibault. “The Rhetoric of Death and Destruction in the Thirty Years War,” *Journal of Social History* 27 (1993): 272.

³⁶ Mortimer, “Style and Fictionalisation,” 97–98.

³⁷ Rudolf Dekker, “Introduction,” in *Egodocuments and History: Autobiographical Writing in its Social Context since the Middle Ages*, edited by Rudolf Dekker (Hilversum: Verloren Publishers, 2002), 13.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 823.

³⁹ Peter Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy: A New History of the Thirty Years War* (London: Penguin, 2010), 824–25.

Personal accounts are not irrefutable representations of the past, but they remain an important part of the historical record. Broomhall recognizes that research into memory and personal accounts has often been dismissed as “a lesser form than archival history.”⁴⁰ She responds by claiming that personal accounts are “important historicizations of a violent past.”⁴¹ Personal accounts are not necessarily “a more accurate assessment of the past than public accounts or any other kind of historical record,” but they “offer individual eyewitness insights and experiences that are absent from printed accounts.”⁴²

Violence, while often impossible to verify as truth, had a significant impact on individuals and their experience of the war. Mortimer notes that most descriptions of violence are second-hand accounts and often came from an unidentified source.⁴³ Whether much of the reported violence and torture took place is suspect, but the inclusion of these second-hand accounts in a diary or memoir is significant in itself because the reported violence entered into the author’s perception and experience of the war. The author of an account often could not, or did not, verify the stories he or she heard and may have believed they were true. Thus, it is irrelevant within the context of this study whether the actual event of torture or violence took place because inevitably in a trivial way, but potentially in a substantial way, it shaped his or her experience and interpretation.

The Religious War Debate

In 1791, Friedrich Schiller began his *History of the Thirty Years War in Germany*, the first comprehensive history of the war, in this way:

⁴⁰ Broomhall, “Religious Violence,” 4.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid., 4–5.

⁴³ Mortimer, *Eyewitness Accounts*, 168–69.

From the beginning of the religious wars in Germany, to the peace of Münster, scarcely any thing great or remarkable occurred in the political world of Europe in which the Reformation had not an important share. All the events of this period, if they did not originate in, soon became mixed up with, the question of religion, and no state was either too great or too little to feel directly or indirectly more or less of its influence.⁴⁴

Although Schiller is most renowned for being a playwright, his history was a defining work that had an enduring impact on many later historians.⁴⁵ This is especially true in the context of the religious war debate. Wilson argues that Schiller's "romantic reinterpretation of the war established three elements that still shape writing today."⁴⁶ The third, and in his mind most significant of the three, was the narrative of the religious war, especially as it continued to emerge and "became enmeshed in the controversy surrounding German development after 1815."⁴⁷ Schiller's interpretation of the war as a "struggle for German liberty," according to Kevin Cramer, "led to a new appreciation of the work as one of the key texts influencing the creation of a national German history."⁴⁸ His history was one of the most significant works written about the war before the twentieth century. Schiller's emphasis on the role religion played in the war became one of the primary narratives historians employed to discuss the war. Largely due to Schiller's portrayal of the war, religious war became synonymous with the Thirty Years War.

The focus on religion as the primary motivation for the war intensified in the nineteenth century, especially in response to the German Question: if there was to be a unified German nation, who would dominate it, Catholic Austria or Protestant Prussia?

⁴⁴ Frederick Schiller, *History of the Thirty Years' War*, translated by A. J. W. Morrison (New York: John B. Alden, 1884), 7.

⁴⁵ *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, s.v. "Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von," accessed 14 March 2014, <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118607626.html>.

⁴⁶ Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 5.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁴⁸ Kevin Cramer, *The Thirty Years' War and German Memory in the Nineteenth Century* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 2.

At this time, confessional beliefs became especially important. According to Cramer, the “rediscovery of the Thirty Years’ War in the nineteenth century shaped a concept of German national development that, for all its secular nationalist trajectory, explicitly relied on confessional allegiance as the definitive criterion of what it meant to be German.”⁴⁹ Cramer also ascribes the emergence of the cult of Gustavus Adolphus among Protestants at this time to “the hopes and anxieties Germans had concerning the question of German unification.”⁵⁰ He argues: “historians, poets, playwrights, and novelists celebrated his crusade against imperial tyranny by reimagining his intervention in the Thirty Years’ War as a war of Protestant (and German) liberation.”⁵¹ Nineteenth-century Protestant historians advanced the idea that the Thirty Years War was a religious war. They believed it was fought against the Habsburgs who represented “a Jesuit tyranny directed from Rome and enforced by barbaric foreign mercenaries.”⁵² By blaming the Habsburgs, who still ruled Austria, they were arguing for a unified Germany ruled by the Protestant Prussians. Catholics, conversely, challenged the idea of religious war and instead framed the war as “a struggle to preserve, modernize, and expand the imperial constitutional state as the historically legitimate defender of German culture and civilization.”⁵³ If the war had not been religious when it took place in the seventeenth century, by the nineteenth century, for many Protestants, it most certainly was.

Over the centuries, various camps have emerged in the debate. The first is those who believe the Thirty Years War was entirely a religious war, at least until France entered the war in 1635. For them, the war was caused and prolonged by religious divisions in the Empire. The second, and most common group of scholars, believe the war was to some extent fought on religious grounds. This group tends to vary based on

⁴⁹ Cramer, *The Thirty Years’ War and German Memory*, 3.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁵¹ Cramer, *The Thirty Years’ War and German Memory*, 52.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 6.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

the extent to which they prioritize one factor or another, but all agree that religion was only one of the major contributors to the war. Finally, there are some scholars who reject religion as a major factor in the war.

Those who claim the war was a primarily a religious one provide several reasons for their position. J.V. Polisensky argues that it was a war between two ideologies: Protestant Humanism against Catholic Humanism.⁵⁴ Mark Konnert contends that the Thirty Years War, “the most destructive and pointless of the religious wars,” was in fact the last religious war.⁵⁵ Carl Friedrich claims that “Frederick, the unlucky Palatine, as well as Ferdinand, Tilly and Gustavus Adolphus, Maximilian of Bavaria and John George of Saxony, they all must be considered fools unless their religious motivation is understood as the quintessential core of their politics.”⁵⁶ Lauro Martines privileges religious causes as well: “The triggers of the Thirty Years War lay in religious belief, and first of all in the combative Catholicism of two princes: the Emperor Ferdinand II and Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria.”⁵⁷ Diarmaid MacCulloch describes the war as “the Catholic struggle to hold the line against Protestantism” that “brought thirty years of misery to millions of Europeans.”⁵⁸ He concludes that “religion, religious zeal and religious hatred were at the heart of the outbreak of the war in 1618, and both sides believed that they could effectively eliminate those who took a different view of the Christian message.”⁵⁹ MacCulloch and Martines do not specialize in the study of the Thirty Years War, but they represent how scholars who are not deeply familiar with the war propagate the idea that religion was the foremost cause of the war. This group of scholars tend to ascribe

⁵⁴ J.V. Polisensky, *The Thirty Years War* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971), 9.

⁵⁵ Mark Konnert, *Early Modern Europe: The Age of Religious Wars, 1559-1715* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2006), 12.

⁵⁶ Carl J. Friedrich, *The Age of the Baroque: 1610–1660* (New York: Harper and Row, 1952), 161.

⁵⁷ Lauro Martines, *Furies: War in Europe: 1450–1700* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013), 220.

⁵⁸ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe’s House Divided, 1490–700* (London: Penguin Books, 2004), 485.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

religious causes not only to the Thirty Years War, but also to the “Age of Religious Wars” (1517-1648) more generally.

Cornel Zwierlein similarly asserts that the Thirty Years War was a religious war, maintaining that “if there is something like a modern ‘war of religion / religious war’, the Thirty Years’ War has to be one – if not, which other war should match that definition?”⁶⁰ Zwierlein concedes, however, that, after 1635, when Catholic France entered the war against the Catholic, Habsburg Emperor, the Thirty Years War could no longer “be easily characterised” as a religious war.⁶¹

The most prominent historian who has emphasized the role of religion in the war is Robert Bireley.⁶² Bireley attributes the outbreak of the war to religious causes and argues that a significant portion of the war was exclusively fought for confessional reasons. He separates the war into three distinct periods: a religious phase (1618-1627), a simultaneously religious and holy phase (1627-1635) and a final phase (1635-1648), which was no longer a holy war and in which the “religious nature also diminished,” but was still a factor in the war.⁶³ In *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War*, Bireley successfully demonstrates that, at least for a limited group, the war was both a confessional and holy war. This was particularly true of Jesuits in the first half of the

⁶⁰ Cornel Zwierlein, “The Thirty Years’ War – A Religious War? Religion and Machiavellism at the Turning Point of 1635,” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Thirty Years’ War*, edited by Olaf Asbach and Peter Schröder (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2014), 231.

⁶¹ Zwierlein, “The Thirty Years’ War – A Religious War?”, 235.

⁶² See: Robert Bireley, “The Peace of Prague (1635) and the Counterreformation in Germany,” *The Journal of Modern History* 48 (1976): 31–70; *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War: Kings, Courts, and Confessors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); *Religion and the Politics in the Age of the Counter-Reformation: Emperor Ferdinand II, William Lamornaini, S.J., and the Formation of Imperial Policy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981); *Maximilian von Bayern, Adam Contzen, S.J., und die Gegen-reformation in Deutschland, 1624–1635*, Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 13 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1975).

⁶³ Robert Bireley, “The Thirty Years’ War as Germany’s Religious War,” in *Krieg und Politik 1618–1648: Europäische Probleme und Perspektiven*, edited by Konrad Repgen (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1988), 85–86.

Thirty Years War. Bireley examines a small group of Jesuits, the confessors of Emperor Ferdinand II, Ferdinand III, and Duke Maximilian of Bavaria as well as their superior general, Muzio Vitelleschi. The confessors were William Lamormaini, Adam Contzen, and Johannes Gans, respectively.

For these men and other Jesuits, the war, until the Peace of Prague in 1635, was a confessional and holy war. Vitelleschi, encouraged by Gregory XV's belief that the war was a religious war, characterized the war as a holy war and "joined many Jesuits in a conviction that Ferdinand enjoyed a special divine providence and call from God. Later, after the Battle of White Mountain (1620), this language began to be applied to Maximilian too."⁶⁴ Ferdinand II and Duke Maximilian of Bavaria became important figures for the Catholic narrative of a holy and religious war.

Bireley's study demonstrates that, at certain points of the war, for some people, the Thirty Years War was certainly confessional. Militant Jesuit confessors were able to influence Catholic princes like Ferdinand II and Maximilian, who miscalculated the extent of their power in 1629 by issuing the Edict of Restitution. The Edict, aimed at restoring Catholic lands lost to Protestants after 1555, was extreme and alienated many of their Protestant allies, most notably Saxony. The Edict charged Protestants with having taken Catholic lands after the Peace of Augsburg to which they were not entitled. Ferdinand II was determined to restore Catholic lands to Catholic rulers and threatened force against anyone who disputed the Edict of Restitution.⁶⁵ The rhetoric of holy war used by certain Jesuits convinced Maximilian and Ferdinand II to ignore their moderate advisors in 1629, ending any chance for compromise and prolonging the war for another nineteen years.

In stark contrast to Bireley, scholars such as S.H. Steinberg and N.M. Sutherland dismiss religion as a major cause of the war entirely. Steinberg asserts that the Thirty Years War "was only part of the prolonged Bourbon-Habsburg contest for European

⁶⁴ Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War*, 57, 61.

⁶⁵ Peter H. Wilson, *The Thirty Years War: A Sourcebook* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 117.

hegemony which underlay a period of intermittent warfare.” Instead, he represents the conflict as a war between the two dominant Catholic powers in Europe, the French Bourbon king against the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs.⁶⁶ He acknowledges that religious and secular thought was intertwined at the time but asserts that “all decisions of consequence were taken in the cool light of what at the time became known as *raison d'état*.”⁶⁷ Sutherland frames the Thirty Years War as a German civil war superimposed upon a larger conflict that was a “great anti-Habsburg struggle, spanning at least three centuries.”⁶⁸ Like Steinberg, the battle for European hegemony is a far more significant cause of the war for Sutherland than religious tensions in the Empire.

Most scholars argue that the Thirty Years War was caused, and prolonged, by a combination of religious conflict, territorial concerns, and the fear of Catholic Habsburg hegemony in the Empire.⁶⁹ They generally portray the war as some combination of both secular and religious motives. For example, Paul Douglas Lockhart argues that Christian IV, King of Denmark and a prince of one of the territorial estates in the Holy Roman Empire, was concerned with both the “constitutional and confessional tensions” in the Empire.⁷⁰ Other scholars emphasize that there were multiple causes to the war, and identify various reasons that led foreign states to intervene, transforming a local rebellion in Bohemia into a thirty-year war that affected the entire Empire and, indirectly, most of Europe. Myron P. Gutmann argues that foreign powers saw the conflict in the

⁶⁶ S.H. Steinberg, *The Thirty Years War*. N.M. Sutherland, “The Origins of the Thirty Years War and the Structure of European Politics,” *The English Historical Review* 107 (1992): 587–625.

⁶⁷ Steinberg, *The Thirty Years War*, 2.

⁶⁸ Sutherland, “The Origins of the Thirty Years War,” 589.

⁶⁹ Geoffrey Parker, *The Thirty Years War* (London: Routledge, 1984); C.V. Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years War* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961); Ronald G. Asch, *The Thirty Years War: The Holy Roman Empire and Europe, 1618–1648* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997); Heinz Schilling, “War and Peace at the Emergence of Modernity: Europe between state belligerence, religious wars, and the desire for peace,” in *1648: War and Peace in Europe*, edited by K. Bussmann and H. Schilling (Münster: S.N. Publishing Company, 1998), 13–22.

⁷⁰ Paul Douglas Lockhart, “Religion and Princely Liberties: Denmark’s Intervention in the Thirty Years War, 1618–1625,” *The International History Review* 17 (1995): 9–10.

Empire as an opportunity to pursue their own territorial goals.⁷¹ He also recognizes the internal political and confessional causes of the war and concludes: “the fear that a united Habsburg front would dominate Europe politically and religiously was the spark that triggered the war.”⁷² For these scholars, religion was a factor in the war, but not the sole, dominating factor.

Some scholars challenge the concept of a religious war, while still recognizing that it was one factor in the war. Eva Labouvie is critical of the classification because, at the lower levels of society, Germans did not experience the war as a religious one. She recognizes that for some of the “great men” of history, like secular rulers, bishops, or Jesuit confessors, it was possible to view the war as a religious war but this was not the case for civilians.⁷³ Labouvie contends that, since confessionalization in the Empire had proceeded extremely slowly and had been largely ineffective, the war was not perceived as religious by civilians.⁷⁴ She concludes that for soldiers and civilians, the war was not a religious war, but rather a “war of survival.”⁷⁵

Similarly, Joachim Whaley, recognized that confessional conflict was a factor in the war, but counters that “religion was never the sole motivating force.”⁷⁶ The conflict, according to Whaley, was “a religious one to the extent that any conflict in the Reich almost inevitably involved religion,” as the Peace of Augsburg had not truly resolved the

⁷¹ Myron P. Gutmann, “The Origins of the Thirty Years’ War,” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18 (1988): 749–750.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 768.

⁷³ Eva Labouvie, “Konfessionalisierung in der Praxis – oder: War der Dreißigjährigen Krieg ein Konfessionskrieg? Krieg, Bevölkerung und lutherische Konfession im Deutschen Reich und im heutigen Sachsen-Anhalt, “ in *Konfession, Krieg und Katastrophe: Magdeburgs Geschick im Dreißigjährigen Krieg*, edited by Margit Scholz and Christina Neuß (Magdeburg: Verein für Kirchengeschichte der Kirchenprovinz Sachsen, 2006), 70.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 92.

⁷⁶ Joachim Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire: From Maximilian I to the Peace of Westphalia, 1493–1648*, vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 568.

debate over ecclesiastical lands.⁷⁷ The war, however, was not a religious one. Instead, he argues that the struggle was one initially fought “to restore Habsburg control in Austria and Bohemia,” which transformed into a conflict over the “question of imperial authority.”⁷⁸ For Whaley, the political and territorial concerns of territorial rulers caused the war, religious tension only fuelled these further.

Peter Wilson is one of the most critical scholars of the “religious war” concept. He recognizes the problem of trying to “attach a single, defining, label to a phenomenon like the Thirty Years War that had multiple causes.”⁷⁹ He argues that “the war was religious only to the extent that faith guided all early modern public policy and private behaviour.”⁸⁰ Wilson challenges the role that religion played in the war by arguing that the establishment of clear, distinct confessional identities was unsuccessful before the war, that religion “played only a subordinate role in mobilizing the people and stirring them to violence,” and that “confession did not underpin alliances, either within the empire, or between its constituent elements and outside powers.”⁸¹ Although he does distinguish between “militant” and “moderate” Christians and recognizes that “‘militants’ influence was at times disproportionate to their numbers,” Wilson notes that “militants remained the minority” and argues that “this does not mean we should interpret the conflict through their eyes.”⁸²

What is a Religious War?

One major issue preventing a resolution of the religious war debate is the lack of a clear and consistent definition of what it means for a war to be religious. Wilson

⁷⁷ Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire*, 569.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Peter H. Wilson, “Dynasty, Constitution, and Confession: The Role of Religion in the Thirty Years War,” *The International History Review* 30 (2008): 481.

⁸⁰ Wilson, *Europe’s Tragedy*, 9.

⁸¹ Ibid., 483.

⁸² Ibid., 10.

proposes that a “religious war, as defined by church historians, is fought to defend or propagate the faith” but notes that secular historians feel the need to divide the category into two categories: religious and confessional.⁸³ In a different article, he divides the term further, distinguishing among religious, confessional, and holy wars. A “religious war,” according to Wilson, is a war “fought about religious truth and/or possession of church property.”⁸⁴ He contrasts this with a “confessional war,” which signifies a war between two different Christian confessions.⁸⁵ These two definitions are somewhat unclear since a war over church property, in the Holy Roman Empire, would typically be between members of different Christian confessions. In order to be consistent and as clear as possible, we can say that a religious war is one fought between two distinct religions, while a confessional war is fought between two distinct confessions. To distinguish a holy war from a religious war, Wilson maintains that the former is a conflict, “in which belligerents believe that God summons them directly to fight and promises them victory despite seemingly impossible odds.”⁸⁶ It is possible then for a war to be simultaneously religious and holy, or confessional and holy.

Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists fought in the Thirty Years War; thus, it was not a religious war, fought by belligerents of different religions over religious truth and supremacy, although it could possibly have been a confessional war. I will investigate whether non-combatants interpreted the war as a confessional war. However, the term “religious war” is the most commonly employed by scholars, and therefore it remains relevant. When addressing the religious war debate, I will, at times, use the term religious war in reference to arguments made by other scholars. I will endeavour, however, to primarily use the term confessional war, for it is more precise and more appropriate when examining confessional representatives, like those in this study.

⁸³ Peter H. Wilson, “The Causes of the Thirty Years War 1618–1648,” *The English Historical Review* 123 (2008): 575.

⁸⁴ Wilson, “Dynasty, Constitution, and Confession”, 475.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 479.

A confessional war, then, is a war fought between belligerents of two or more confessions over religious truth and supremacy, motivated primarily by confessional allegiance. Some of those who experienced the daily chaos of the war did ascribe confessional motivations to belligerents. Generally their recognition of religious motivations were attributed to enemy forces, an observation made by two of the nuns examined in this study.⁸⁷ However, the attribution of confessional beliefs as the catalyst for soldiers to fight, whether in reference to one's enemy or to one's local or regional troops, is uncommon. Even those who ascribed religious motivations to some belligerents did not always continue to do so throughout the war. If the war, for many, was not a confessional war, fought between belligerents over confession, what was it?

When Maurus Friesenegger, a Benedictine monk, wrote about the Thirty Years War, he described it as a "bitter scourge."⁸⁸ Indeed, the war tormented the individuals in this study in various ways and each person reacted to this scourge differently. This thesis will examine how they reacted to the war and their experiences to determine what the war was to them and what their primary concerns were on a daily basis. It will demonstrate that there was no uniform understanding of the war between individuals, and that, for some, the war evolved as it persisted in the Empire for thirty long years.

⁸⁷ See chapter 2 for the account of Juliana Ernst and chapter 3 for the account of Elizabeth Herold.

⁸⁸ Maurus Friesenegger, *Maurus Friesenegger: Tagebuch aus dem 30jährigen Krieg*, edited by Willibald Mathäser (Munich: Allitera Verlag, 2007), 65.

Chapter 1.

Experience and the Character of the War

There was no universal way in which civilians characterized the war. Even for the same person, the war was not always the same. For many, the war in 1618 was not the same as it was in 1648. Some saw the war in increasingly confessional terms while for others, confession became less important by the end of the war. Some did not view the war in confessional terms at all. Interactions with soldiers of various confessions affected how an author understood the nature of the war. The experience of plague, famine, and other horrors of war influenced this as well. Individual experiences determined how eyewitnesses interpreted the war.

This chapter will examine the accounts of three men: Bartholomäus Dietwar, a Lutheran pastor from Kitzingen; Maurus Friesenegger, a Bavarian monk from Erling; and Martin Feilinger, a Calvinist pastor from Schlüctern. Each man wrote a very different account, shaped by his own experiences. How Feilinger and Friesenegger interpreted the war underwent a noticeable change because they wrote during the war, recording events as they took place. Dietwar, by contrast, began to write his memoir in 1648, upon completion of the war, and his account represents a more static narrative.⁸⁹ None, however, understood the war in the same way.

⁸⁹ Krusenstjern, *Selbsetzeugnisse der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*, 71–72.

Bartholomäus Dietwar: A Static View of the War

Dietwar wrote about the entirety of the war, from 1618 until 1648. Instead of marking the Defenestration of Prague, on 23 May 1618, as the first event in the war, some contemporaries, like Dietwar, began their narratives with a different moment in time.⁹⁰ He commenced his reminiscences by writing: “in December [1618], a great, terrible comet was seen in the sky warning of the subsequent thirty years of misery.”⁹¹ He noted that almost immediately after the appearance of the comet, the war came to Kitzingen.⁹² The comets of 1618, seen throughout Europe and visible until January 1619, aroused anxieties about divine punishments.⁹³ Writing thirty years later, Dietwar interpreted the comet that he saw as a harbinger of the horrors of the Thirty Years War.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 262–3. See also Hans Medick, “The Thirty Years' War as Experience and Memory: Contemporary Perceptions of a Macro-historical Event,” in *Enduring Loss in Early Modern Germany: Cross Disciplinary Perspectives*, edited by Lynne Tatlock (Boston: Brill, 2010), 25–49.

⁹¹ Bartholomäus Dietwar, *Leben eines Evangelischen Pfarrers im Früheren Markgräflichen Amte Kitzingen von 1592–1670*, edited by Volkmar Wirth (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2010), 25.

⁹² Dietwar, *Leben eines Evangelischen Pfarrers*, 26.

⁹³ There were three comets seen across Europe in 1618: one in August, one in November, and what David L. Walter refers to as the “greatest comet” which was visible from later November 1618 until early January 1619. Dietwar was referring to this final comet. For more on the comet and commemorative medals of the comet, see David L. Walter, “Medallic Memorials of the Great Comets, and the Popular Superstitions Connected with their Appearance,” *American Journal of Numismatics and Bulletin of American Numismatic and Archaeological Societies* 23 (1888-9): 84–92.

⁹⁴ Dietwar was not alone in this assessment. Many civilians interpreted the comet as a warning of coming, or in Dietwar's case past, troubles. Tryntje Helfferich and Paul Sonnino, “Civilians in the Thirty Years' War,” in *Daily Lives of Civilians in Wartime Europe, 1618–1900*, edited by Linda S. Frey and Marsha L. Frey (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007), 23–58.

Dietwar's next entry about the war, after the comet, referred to 1619 when he reported "the Thirty Years War had already made itself noticeable in Kitzingen."⁹⁵ He described his first experience of soldiers:

Two companies of riders, one under Wilhellm von Gollstein with 130 horses and the other under Captain Daniel von Bernsack with 114 horses, and three companies of foot soldiers took their winter quarter in Kitzingen and stayed from 16 October 1619 until 14 February 1620. It cost the city 4198 Gulden.⁹⁶

The war, however, did not immediately bring violence and physical suffering. Dietwar first focused on the incursion of troops into the daily lives of civilians and the monetary cost of the war, two themes which persisted throughout his memoir.

Dietwar lived in a contentious area both before and during the war. The Lutheran town of Kitzingen was under the administration of the Catholic bishop of Würzburg. As a result, Dietwar and his family experienced discrimination because of their confessional affiliation. According to Marc Forster, Kitzingen had been a haven for about seven or eight hundred Lutherans who fled Würzburg in the late sixteenth century, avoiding the confessional policies of the bishop of Würzburg, Julius Ludwig Echter von Mespelbrunn (r. 1573-1617), a Counter-Reformation leader after whom others modelled themselves.⁹⁷ Some of these policies included visitations to assess the confessional compliance of communities, punishment of individuals who refused to participate in Catholic religious

⁹⁵ Dietwar, *Leben*, 26. Dietwar himself refers to the war as the Thirty Years War in his memoir which supports the argument made by Hans Medick that already in 1648 people labelled the war as the Thirty Years War. Hans Medick, "The Thirty Years' War as Experience and Memory," 25–49.

⁹⁶ Dietwar, *Leben*, 26. Given that in his Note on Currencies from *Europe's Tragedy* (xxii) Peter Wilson suggests that "7.5–10 florins [gulden] would buy enough grain to feed a person for a whole year in 1618," this was a large sum of money that the town lost. See Appendix B for a more detailed examination of currency values.

⁹⁷ Marc R. Forster, *Catholic Germany from the Reformation to the Enlightenment* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 42–43. *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, s.v. "Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn", accessed 30 May 2014, <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118528696.html>.

services, and expulsions of those who resisted re-Catholicization.⁹⁸ As early as 1609, Bartholomäus' father Elias, a renowned stained-glass artist, had often worried that the bishop would force him to convert to Catholicism, the "papist" religion.⁹⁹ Elias was not forced to convert before he died, but the troubles for the Dietwars and other Lutherans in Kitzingen persisted. On 18 February 1628, the persecution came to a head when the bishop of Würzburg, Philipp Adolf von Ehrenberg, issued the "Religion and Reformation mandate." Dietwar wrote that this mandate ordered that "all Protestants in the territories within the bishopric of Würzburg must within four weeks without fail either observe the Catholic religion, wives and children included, or, if they were unwilling, must sell their goods and emigrate."¹⁰⁰ Dietwar argued that, by this order, the bishop sought to force people to return to Catholicism.¹⁰¹ The persecution continued as pastors were harassed, threatened, and chased from towns in the area by representatives of the bishop of Würzburg to be replaced by Catholic priests.¹⁰² In June 1629, Dietwar fled to nearby Mainbernheim, a town on the other side of the Main River, about seven kilometers south-west of Kitzingen.¹⁰³

For Dietwar the war had confessional consequences and was, in some ways, a battle for confessional freedom. Catholic religious persecution came with the Imperial troops. Dietwar fled to Mainbernheim in exile when the Catholics occupied Kitzingen. After the Swedes captured the area in 1631, Dietwar was able to return to Kitzingen and

⁹⁸ Forster, *Catholic Germany*, 42.

⁹⁹ Dietwar, *Leben*, 8–9.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 45. The mandate was issued 18 February 1628. For more information see: Christoph Bauer, *Die Einführung der Reformation, Die Ausgestaltung des evangelischen Kirchenwesens und die Auswirkungen der Gegenreformation im Gebiet der Herren von Thüngen* (Neustadt/Aisch, 1985), 52, 53–64. See also Jürgen Emmert, "Kirche und Förmigkeit in der Würzburger Amtsstadt Karlstadt am Main vom Spätmittelalter bis zum Ende des 30jährigen Krieges (1400 bis 1648)" (PhD diss., Julius-Maximilians, Universität Würzburg, 2010), 250, accessed 27 August 2013 from <http://d-nb.info/1004223080/34>.

¹⁰¹ Dietwar, *Leben*, 46.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 46, 52–3.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 52, 72–5.

regained his position as town pastor in early 1632.¹⁰⁴ He went back into exile in 1634 when Catholic troops retook the area. The return of Catholic soldiers enabled the bishop of Würzburg to return to the area and to recommence his attacks on Protestantism. The bishop abolished Lutheran preaching, threatened pastors, and sent officials to confront preachers. All of this culminated in Dietwar's expulsion from Kitzingen again in 1634.¹⁰⁵ In Dietwar's case, the Catholic military did not itself impose limitations on the practice of Lutheran worship. Still, the war for souls coincided with the war for territory. The arrival of Protestant troops, such as the Swedes in 1631, allowed for the confessional freedom of Protestants, which was restricted when Imperial troops restored the bishop's authority. Dietwar understood that Protestant freedom of worship was inextricably linked to the fight against Imperial troops. He wrote that the presence of the Imperial General Altringer and Wallenstein's troops increased the re-Catholicization of Protestant areas, like his own.¹⁰⁶ The attempts made by the bishop of Würzburg and Jesuits to impose confessional conformity on the area were, in his opinion, a serious threat to the practice of his faith.¹⁰⁷

There are certain entries in Dietwar's account that demonstrate some level of confessional conflict. Many of his comments about the arrival of the Swedes and Gustavus Adolphus in 1631 are tinged with confessional animosity towards Catholicism. Dietwar wrote that, on 29 September 1631, Gustavus Adolphus obtained a "glorious victory through God's grace over Tilly" at Königshofen."¹⁰⁸ He used the term "glorious victory" again in 1631 to describe another one of Gustavus Adolphus' triumphs over "the Papist Liga."¹⁰⁹ Swedish soldiers shared his hostility towards Catholics and Catholicism. In the entry for 29 September 1631, he wrote that the Swedish soldiers often harassed

¹⁰⁴ Dietwar, *Leben*, 75.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 86–9.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 48.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 72.

¹⁰⁹ Dietwar, *Leben*, 71.

the priests and monks “because they were the reason for the war and they had persecuted Lutherans so brutally.”¹¹⁰

Dietwar’s remarks at the end of the war further indicate confessional animosity. Of the coming of peace in 1648 he wrote:

God compelled the Emperor and the Papists to accept the peace settlement. The sought-after peace that had for so long been wished for after so much blood, money and years – because the Swedes had caused much damage by fire in Bavaria (*weil die Schweden in Bayaern stark gebrannt hatten*) – was signed on 21 July of the old calendar in Osnabrück between the Emperor and the two crowns of Sweden and France, and was publicly proclaimed with supreme joy on 26 July. Thus may the name of the Lord be praised and extolled from now until eternity! Amen. – Hereafter on 14 October the peace in Münster and on 15 October the peace in Osnabrück was concluded having been signed and sealed. It was proclaimed with bell-ringing, a gun salute, fireworks, music, trumpets, and army drums.¹¹¹

The war was finally over and civilians celebrated the peace across the Empire. Dietwar gave thanks to God for finally ending the war and for compelling the Emperor to accept the peace terms. In this passage, he stated that God had forced the Catholics to accept the peace; God had not forced Protestants to stand down. For Dietwar, God was on the side of the Protestants. It is unclear why the only mention of devastation refers to the Catholic territory of Bavaria, but it is possible that Dietwar counted this as one of the reasons that the “Papists” were forced to accept the long-awaited peace. The financial and human costs of the war are also notable aspects in this passage, both of which were common themes in his memoir.

Confessional tensions, however, by no means dominate Dietwar’s memoir; he was particularly interested in the cost of the war and perceived it as a massive burden on his homeland. His account is different from others because of the meticulous

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 72.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 121–22.

contemporaneous notes he kept that later allowed him to record the cost of essential items. The three items that appear the most frequently in his account are wine, bread and grain. He recorded prices of grain most consistently. Dietwar's records demonstrate that, at least in his area, the "Kipper and Wipper" inflation had a noticeable impact on the cost of grain. The "Kipper and Wipper" inflation, which peaked in 1621 and 1622, is sometimes referred to as "the western world's first financial crisis."¹¹² It caused extreme hardship for the civilian population. According to Dietwar, in 1622, one malter of grain cost twenty gulden, more than ten times its normal price.¹¹³ Prices returned to normal by 1625 when the cost of grain approached pre-war levels, but they continued to fluctuate during the war. Certain years were especially difficult. In 1627, the cost was five times that of the previous year. After the harvest, however, prices dropped to only about double what they had been the year before.¹¹⁴

Charles Kindelberger confirms the huge variations in the price of basic necessities during the Kipper and Wipper inflation. A bushel of rye, which cost 787 pennies (approximately 3 florins) in 1618 Augsburg, cost 6516 pennies (approximately 25.5 florins) in 1622, more than eight times its prewar level.¹¹⁵ Kindelberger notes that while prices skyrocketed, wages fell. Between 1619 and 1621 they dropped by one half their original value.¹¹⁶ Having basic staples could be difficult as costs varied dramatically at times, and this narrative is prominent throughout Dietwar's memoir.

Along with the financial burden and lack of food, Dietwar also recorded the human cost associated with plague. He documented numerous episodes of plague in 1607, 1613, 1625, 1632, and two separate outbreaks in 1634.¹¹⁷ On one day alone, 22

¹¹² Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 795.

¹¹³ Dietwar, *Leben*, 28.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 44–5.

¹¹⁵ Charles P. Kindelberger, "The Economic Crisis of 1619 to 1623," *The Journal of Economic History* 51 (1991): 164. See Appendix B for a more detailed examination of currency values.

¹¹⁶ Kindelberger, "The Economic Crisis of 1619 to 1623," 164–5.

¹¹⁷ Dietwar, *Leben*, 17, 20, 37, 78, 85, 87.

August 1632, the citizens of Kitzingen buried fourteen people who had died from plague.¹¹⁸ He tabulated the number of deaths caused by the plague outbreaks in 1634: 68 deaths between 28 September and 5 October and 112 between 10 October and 19 October.¹¹⁹ The war took the lives of many civilians but plague, not violence, was the main culprit.¹²⁰ Although Dietwar recorded outbreaks that occurred before the war, he blamed later ones on the war. He believed that soldiers and camp followers brought the plague to his area in 1634.¹²¹ Yet, only once does he record in detail a death caused by soldiers.¹²² Dietwar was conscious of violence committed by soldiers, but he was more concerned with the loss of life caused by the plague.

Dietwar's memoir provides a fairly consistent narrative of the war. Inflation and plague are prevalent throughout. In some ways, the war was persistently confessional. The fear of religious persecution and the narrative of confessional exile are prominent in his memoir from beginning to end. These were all effects of the war that Dietwar experienced firsthand. Not surprisingly, Dietwar's narrative remains static. He began to write his account as the war ended in 1648. His personal experiences and financial and demographic records point to the nature of the war in his memoir. To say that the Thirty Years War was a confessional war would be misleading. For Dietwar, it was a confessional struggle at times, an inflationary catastrophe, a health crisis, and generally a disruptive and devastating experience.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 78.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 85.

¹²⁰ Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 790–5.

¹²¹ Dietwar, *Leben*, 78.

¹²² Ibid., 109–10.

Maurus Friesenegger and the Decreasingly Confessional War

Maurus Friesenegger was a Benedictine monk at the Heiligenberg monastery in Bavaria, just outside of Erling, a town located about forty kilometers south-west of Munich. Born in 1590, he was the son of a baker.¹²³ He took his solemn vows in 1614 and served as the parish priest of Erling from 1627 until 1638.¹²⁴ He simultaneously held the post of subprior for his monastery. On 28 September 1640, Friesenegger was elected abbot of Heiligenberg.¹²⁵ He died on 11 May 1655.¹²⁶ He described events in his monastic community and in the community of Erling rather than his personal experiences and feelings, although his thoughts and emotions are evident in some parts of his text.

Friesenegger did not begin his chronicle in 1618, nor was his first entry related to the Thirty Years War in any way. Instead, he began his account in the year 1627, the year he became the subprior of Heiligenberg and the priest for Erling, with the mundane circumstances in his area, describing both the “very unfriendly weather” of rain, wind, and snow as well as a fresh outbreak of plague.¹²⁷ His first discussion of the war does not occur until 1630 when he wrote that “the war was ever terrible, and seemed to come nearer to us; the entire diocese was urged to hold forty hours of prayers, which were spread out over the following Sundays and feast days.”¹²⁸ It is likely that this was an example of the Forty Hours Devotion, which seems to have originated in Milan around

¹²³ Willibald Mathäser, “Abt Maurus Friesenegger und sein Tagebuch aus dem 30jährigen Krieg,” in *Maurus Friesenegger: Tagebuch aus dem 30jährigen Krieg*, edited by Father Willibald Mathäser (Munich: Allitera Verlag, 2007), 108.

¹²⁴ Johannes Eckert, “Vorwort zur Neuausgabe von 2007,” in *Maurus Friesenegger: Tagebuch aus dem 30jährigen Krieg*, edited by Father Willibald Mathäser (Munich: Allitera Verlag, 2007), 7.

¹²⁵ Mathäser, “Abt Maurus Friesenegger,” 108.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ Friesenegger, *Tagebuch*, 11.

¹²⁸ Friesenegger, *Tagebuch*, 14.

1527.¹²⁹ The Forty Hours Devotion was “a ceremony at which the Eucharist is exposed to clergy and laymen for forty hours” and was “one of the most important liturgical services of the Counter-Reformation.”¹³⁰ Often this ceremony was held for “specific purposes such as the recovery of an important individual who was gravely ill or in thanksgiving for a major military victory.”¹³¹ Friesenegger and other Catholics in the diocese of Augsburg used prayer as a tool, this time hoping for a military victory rather than celebrating one that had already occurred. They hoped that God would side with, and intervene on behalf of, those who participated in these forty hours, the Catholics in his diocese. His interpretation of the war may not have been explicitly confessional in nature, but his response to it and his actions suggest that in the early years of the war his Catholic identity played a role in how he responded to it and how communities coped with it.

The war became less confessional for Friesenegger as the years passed. He used the word “heretic” exclusively in the early years of his account, in 1631 and 1632, around the time when the war came to his area.¹³² On one occasion, he called Gustavus Adolphus’ troops the “heretical army.”¹³³ He also wrote of French support for the “heretical party.”¹³⁴ After 1632, however, he refrained from using the term. This change can be explained by his experiences during the war. His chronicle is filled with examples of violence against his abbey and the surrounding areas, committed by troops from all confessions.

¹²⁹ *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Forty Hours Devotion,” accessed on *Gale Virtual Reference Library* 5 February 2014, http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CCX3407704214&v=2.1&u=sfu_z39&it=r&p=GVRL&sw=w&asid=49a9116f1173d80de5e9802ab8b68507.

¹³⁰ Mark S. Weil, “The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974): 218.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 218.

¹³² Friesenegger only uses the term in the years 1631 and 1632. He uses the term 3 times in 1631; *Tagebuch*, 14–5. He uses the term 3 times as well in 1632; *Tagebuch*, 18, 22.

¹³³ Friesenegger, *Tagebuch*, 22.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 15.

One instance in which Friesenegger used the term “heretic” demonstrates that he did not always use the word in an adversarial way, but sometimes employed it, without malice, to identify a Protestant. He described an event when the Swedish soldiers had turned the abbey church into a stable and had attempted to damage the interior of the church.¹³⁵ He depicted the miserable state of the church after the Swedish soldiers had evacuated the area, lamenting that it was “full of stench and horse droppings. At the altar there were remnants of fodder. The collection box had been completely broken, and the tomb of the founder had been opened.”¹³⁶ Outside the church, the monks found the image of St. Rasso covered in feces.¹³⁷ Despite all of the destruction, Friesenegger also identified what was not damaged, particularly, the church’s altar and altarpieces.¹³⁸ He then related the story of a “wonderous” event, when a Swedish colonel saved the church’s image of the Virgin Mary from destruction. Some Swedish soldiers had tried to remove it from its place above the high altar but had not succeeded. When their colonel had learned of what they were attempting to do, he intervened and forbade them from continuing, stating, according to Friesenegger, that their king, Gustavus Adolphus, “did not wish to conduct a holy war against images.”¹³⁹ Friesenegger then labels the colonel a “good heretic.”¹⁴⁰ As someone with a conspicuous Catholic identity it seems strange that he would describe a Protestant, Swedish soldier – a heretic – as a good person, but it is less surprising if the term was intended to identify the religion of the soldier, not to condemn him.

Besides recounting the bad behaviour of the Swedes, Friesenegger also described numerous occasions when Catholic soldiers plundered the surrounding villages. In his experience, the conduct of the Swedish troops and the Imperial troops

¹³⁵ Ibid., 17-18.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 17.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 18.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 17.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 18.

¹⁴⁰ Friesenegger, *Tagebuch*, 18.

was indistinguishable.¹⁴¹ In December 1632, some Catholic Croatian soldiers plundered a nearby Catholic town and then days later went to another town to celebrate Christmas Mass with the civilians.¹⁴² In 1633, Friesenegger noted the exorbitant contributions imposed upon his area by Croatian troops.¹⁴³ He also wrote about the “great fear” felt by those in his area because of oncoming Catholic Spanish troops. He noted that they were afraid that they would “lose everything, as we can easily assume, because of what we have experienced so far.”¹⁴⁴ He had often recorded occasions of soldiers plundering civilians and was afraid this new wave of soldiers would bring more of the same. Around the end of September of the same year, he documented acts of violence perpetrated by Croatian troops, who, according to Friesenegger, raided the area and massacred civilians.¹⁴⁵ In his experience, “the Croatians robbed more than the Swedes.”¹⁴⁶ Describing another event in November of 1633, he wrote that soldiers came to his area, and “everyone believed that they must have been Swedes.” He later discovered, however, that they were Imperial troops.¹⁴⁷ Already in late 1632, just before Friesenegger stopped using the word “heretic” to describe the Lutheran Swedes, he experienced fear and violence caused by Catholic troops.

As the war continued, so too did the violence. Friesenegger stated in 1646 that, “one could no longer distinguish between the enemy and friends, between French-Swedish pillagers (*Freibeuter*) and Imperial scouts, since those of the Emperor behaved worse than the Swedes.”¹⁴⁸ In 1648, when the armies of Bavaria, Sweden, France, and the Emperor were in his area, he wrote that “it was hard to determine which group was

¹⁴¹ Hermann Hörger, “Die Kriegsjahre 1632 bis 1634 im Tagebuch des P. Maurus Friesenegger, Nachmaligen Abts von Andechs (1640–1655),” *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 34 (1971): 867.

¹⁴² Friesenegger, *Tagebuch*, 23.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 30–31.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 31.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ Friesenegger, *Tagebuch*, 33.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 87.

worse. They came and went off again without our knowing who they were – friend or foe – and of course not without damage.”¹⁴⁹ The lines between friend and foe were unclear for Friesenegger, and neither confessional nor political loyalties guaranteed safety. Since he experienced violence and suffering from troops of all confessions, his understanding of the war changed. It was no longer a war between confessions or a fight against heretics. Instead, it became a fight for survival by civilians against soldiers of all confessions.

Friesenegger did not sympathize with states or armies based on confession. He often referred to French troops as the enemy, just as he did with Swedish troops.¹⁵⁰ In late November 1643, he wrote: “our enemy, the French Swedes or the Swedish French agreed on the destruction of Bavaria.”¹⁵¹ French Catholic troops were indistinguishable from Protestant Swedish troops. He recognized France as an enemy simply because it allied with Sweden and attacked Bavaria. Confession and religion were irrelevant to his interpretation of French intervention in the war. He did not construct his concept of the enemy confessionally.

Friesenegger scarcely presented inter-confessional violence in the later years of his chronicle. Instead, the fear and devastation caused by plunder, plague, and hunger were more significant to Friesenegger than confessional conflict. There are various causes for the fear that he and others felt, most of which were entirely unrelated to religion, and many not even related to violence.

Starvation certainly produced fear. Friesenegger described the horror of famine, exclaiming, “Heavens! One saw peasants and soldiers, only half clothed, pale with misery, emaciated by hunger, walking around in the worst cold with bare feet.”¹⁵² He remarked that some soldiers were so hungry that they were driven to eat cats and

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 103.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 76.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 77.

¹⁵² Friesenegger, *Tagebuch*, 36–37.

dogs.¹⁵³ According to Friesenegger, many died from hunger.¹⁵⁴ He noted that as a result of the famine, many peasants left the village and went south to Tirol while young men joined armies in search of food.¹⁵⁵ The plunder of their horses and cows exacerbated the already dire situation in the area caused by a poor harvest. Friesenegger consequently exclaimed: “Woe for the future!”¹⁵⁶ He feared the extreme hunger that he believed that he himself and those around him would suffer because of the war. Famine, unrelated to confession and suffered by individuals of all confessions, was one of the most devastating effects of the war and one of the most common themes in Friesenegger’s account.

Friesenegger’s chronicle proceeds from one tale of devastation to the next, and as soon as even a minor relief from famine emerged, the plague often reappeared to claim more lives.¹⁵⁷ The threat of the plague constantly loomed over his area. In February 1634, forty of the seventy people who fell ill with the plague died.¹⁵⁸ Later, in the summer of 1634, Friesenegger wrote again about the plague. He stated “there was no night when at least one, two or three people died without the proper ceremonies and were often buried in a pit.”¹⁵⁹ He lamented: “One cannot think, let alone write, about the troubles of this time without shuddering.”¹⁶⁰ His descriptions of plague and famine evoke a more horrific and devastating image than his narrative about soldiers. The plague was more dangerous and deadly for civilians than soldiers were and had no relationship to confessional identity.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 37.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 46.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 30.

¹⁵⁷ Friesenegger, *Tagebuch*, 52–53.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 45.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 53.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

By the end of the war, Friesenegger no longer could understand it in confessional terms. Instead, he wrote about his emotional response and that of others. Among the civilians, joy and relief abounded at war's end. On 12 November 1648, Friesenegger returned to Heiligenberg from Salzburg, shortly after the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia.¹⁶¹ He wrote: "I came back with such a joy that I could never before describe, with such all-round joy, especially because I brought the peace with me."¹⁶² Upon the conclusion of the peace, Friesenegger and the people in his community hoped that the war truly was at an end and that they no longer would suffer.¹⁶³ Unlike Dietwar, Friesenegger's reference to the coming of peace lacked confessional dimensions. The return of peace and stability was more important to him than waging a war against Protestantism. The war was not fought for the faith; it was a struggle for survival against soldiers, famine, and plague.

Friesenegger's experiences changed how he interpreted the war. Any confessional tone he had before the war came to Erling vanished as he endured years of plague, famine, and violence from soldiers of all confessions. Friesenegger saw the war through the lens of suffering, not through the lens of confession.

Martin Feilinger and the Increasingly Religious War

Unlike Friesenegger, Martin Feilinger, a Calvinist pastor in Schlüchtern, a town located about thirty kilometers south-west of Fulda, interpreted the war in increasingly

¹⁶¹ Friesenegger seems to have spent five months in Salzburg, staying at a local academic college, although he did not record which one. He rarely refers to himself in the text, and thus it is unclear why exactly he was there. His arrival in Salzburg, however, coincided with the flight of many prominent Bavarians, according to Friesenegger. On 8 June 1648, he indicated that the Duke of Bavaria and many notable people fled to Salzburg as "the enemy came once again across the Lech." He estimated that about 12,000 Bavarians had fled to the Salzburg area. It does not appear, however, that everyone in the abbey fled with him, since he included information about events taking place at the abbey while he was away. See Friesenegger, *Tagebuch*, 100.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 104.

¹⁶³ Friesenegger, *Tagebuch*, 104.

religious and apocalyptic ways. His year of birth is unknown. In 1605, he became pastor of Schlüchtern. It was in the church register of his parish that Feilinger kept contemporaneous notes about the war. Mortimer explains that Feilinger's "register is heavily annotated with a variety of non-official entries, many of which concern local or family matters, together with numerous Bible texts and other religious items."¹⁶⁴ The entries are short. They range from merely a few words to a paragraph, at most. His account is a hybrid of two different styles of writing, the chronicle and the journal. Charlotte Woodford's term "personal chronicle" seems appropriate.¹⁶⁵ Feilinger's account was written in a public document, in which he could expect no long-term privacy; subsequent pastors would have had access to the church register. Despite the public nature of the document, he included his own personal feelings, experiences, and fears. It was not a traditional chronicle, focused primarily on what was happening in his community and the Empire. It was also not exclusively a journal, since it included many chronicle-like entries recorded in a church register.

Initially, Feilinger's account focused on temporal rather than spiritual or ecclesiastical matters. Fear and uncertainty dominated. Feilinger frequently wrote that it was a "dangerous time" and that there were great "war preparations".¹⁶⁶ He repeated the idea of "war preparations" fifteen times in 1620-1623. Afterwards he made use of the term only seven times in his entries for the next twelve years. It is clear from Feilinger's continued use of the term until 1631 that the war required continuous attention and preparation.

In the first few years of his personal chronicle, he wrote about the futility of the war and its effects on the Germans as a whole. He lamented that "there is no salvation

¹⁶⁴ Mortimer, *Eyewitness Accounts*, 20–1.

¹⁶⁵ Woodford, *Nuns as Historians*, 109.

¹⁶⁶ Martin Feilinger, "Die Einwirkungen des 30jährigen Krieges auf die Stadt Schlüchtern und ihre Umgegend, aus Kircehnbüchern zusammengestellt," edited by Jakob Rullman, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde* 6 (1877): 201–50. Feilinger uses the term 22 times in total with the following uses: 6 occurrences in 1620, 3 in 1621, 3 in 1622, 3 in 1623, 2 in 1625, 2 in 1626, 1 in 1628, and 2 in 1631.

in war, peace rather to you all.”¹⁶⁷ He hoped for peace, not for a war against Catholics. He also believed that all Germans, regardless of faith, were to blame for the war. In 1623, he wrote: “O Germany! Germany! You were unable to recognize from other lands what a treasure peace is for the body and the soul.”¹⁶⁸ War was terrible and the first few years of his chronicle focused more on the suffering felt by all Germans, not just Protestants.

Like Dietwar, Feilinger was concerned with the financial burden of the war in the early years. In January 1622, he wrote about the “terrible inflation.”¹⁶⁹ He recorded the cost of grain in this year, noting that one malter of grain cost one Reichsthaler.¹⁷⁰ Other items like wine and cattle were costly.¹⁷¹ 1622 was an exceptionally expensive year.¹⁷²

Soldiers also occupied Feilinger’s attention. The civilians in his area were forced to quarter some unidentified soldiers who caused a significant disruption to normal life.¹⁷³ In the early years of the war, he did not identify to which army or confession the troops belonged. Instead, he often referred to them only as soldiers (*Kriegsvolk*). In 1624, he hoped for divine intervention against the soldiers, praying: “may God carry them off from this land.”¹⁷⁴ He wrote about the joy that he and others felt when the soldiers left after quartering in the area for the winter.¹⁷⁵ Then, in January 1625, he complained again about the soldiers, stating that “this winter was wonderful because it was a warm time, but it was unhappy because of the soldiers here and there.”¹⁷⁶ Later, in 1628, he

¹⁶⁷ Feilinger, “Die Einwirkungen des 30jährigen Krieges,” 225.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 222.

¹⁶⁹ Feilinger, “Die Einwirkungen des 30jährigen Krieges,” 218.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid., 218–222.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 222, 223, 225, 226.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 224.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 225.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 226.

expressed one of his principal criticisms of soldiers, quoting from John the Baptist's exchange with soldiers in Luke 3:14:

The soldiers also asked him a question saying: "What then should we do?" and John responded to them: "Do no one harm unjustly and let yourselves be content with your own gold."¹⁷⁷

He continued: "Many, however, did not follow this and thought that it was not wrong to exploit, strike, rob, or plunder people."¹⁷⁸ The actions of plundering and violence against civilians affected how Feilinger perceived soldiers and represented his main concern with armies in the early years of his wartime experience. They were a constant nuisance and a burden on civilians.

By 1627, his interpretation of the war became more confessionalized. Already in 1620, Feilinger had harshly criticized the Spanish. After they crossed the Rhine, he referred to them as a "new kind of horror."¹⁷⁹ He repeated this phrase when Spanish troops were quartered in Gundhelm, a town in Hesse east of Schlüchtern.¹⁸⁰ His negative comments about the Spanish, however, were not explicitly confessional. Although Spain was a Catholic state, he did not refer to it as a Catholic power. By 1627, however, his comments became overtly confessional. In February of that year, he wrote about the danger caused by the Catholic troops in Schlüchtern "for God's true servants because of the disgraceful, horrific people of the papacy from Würzburg".¹⁸¹

The contemptuous confessional language grew more pronounced as the years went on. In two entries from 1629, Feilinger referred to Catholics as Baalites, first invoking the term after describing the execution of some unknown deputies by the

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 231.

¹⁷⁸ Feilinger, "Die Einwirkungen des 30jährigen Krieges," 231.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 217.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 218.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 230, 233.

bishop of Würzburg.¹⁸² He did not elaborate on who these men were, nor did he provide any additional evidence that this event actually took place, but it seems to have had a significant impact on him. His discussion of the execution also relates to the larger context of re-Catholicization that he described in 1629, around the same time as the Edict of Restitution. The second reference to Baalites demonstrates Feilinger's interpretation of the attempt to restore Catholicism in the Empire. He criticized the "ungodly ways" of the papacy, believing that the papacy wanted to make everyone in the Empire worshipers of Baal.¹⁸³ The use of the term Baalites demonstrates a new level of confessional animosity. King Ahab of Israel established the cult of Baal.¹⁸⁴ The prophet Elijah opposed the idolatrous cult, and defeated 450 prophets of Baal in a cultic competition and killed all of them (1 Kings 18: 16-40). Josiah not only removed the "idolatrous priests" who "burned incense to Baal" from his kingdom, but he also violently destroyed altars associated with Baal and burned any objects associated with the cult (2 Kings 23:1-15). The cult of Baal earned the condemnation of other prophets, such as Amos and Jeremiah. God also told Jeremiah to go through the cities of Judah proclaiming that he was enraged with them because of their worship of Baal (Jeremiah 11:19-13). After the Reformation, both Catholics and Protestant made use of the term Baal or Baalites to describe each other, implying that the other was impious and following a false god.¹⁸⁵ Feilinger equated Catholics with idolatrous heathens upon whom God would take vengeance. He may have even intended to add a layer of veiled criticism of Catholics for their worship of saints, something that many Protestants

¹⁸² Ibid. 233. *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Baal," accessed on *Gale Virtual Reference Library* 19 December 2013, http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CCX3407701013&v=2.1&u=sfu_z39&it=r&p=GVRL&sw=w&asid=427501d1668ea77e63bd071daf1e2fe2.

¹⁸³ Feilinger, "Die Einwirkungen des 30jährigen Krieges," 233.

¹⁸⁴ *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Idolatry (in the Bible)," accessed on *Gale Virtual Reference Library* 12 March 2014, http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CCX3407705552&v=2.1&u=sfu_z39&it=r&p=GVRL&sw=w&asid=740592e1402ea4651799f68e505838b1; *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, "Baal."

¹⁸⁵ For examples, see Alexandra Walsham, "Miracles and the Counter-Reformation Mission to England," *The Historical Journal* 46 (2003): 791. Karen Bruhn, "Reforming Saint Peter: Protestant Constructions of Saint Peter the Apostle in Early Modern England," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 33 (2002): 40.

deemed to be idolatrous.¹⁸⁶ The pejorative term Baalites resonates with confessional antagonism. Important Protestants, like Calvin, Bucer, and Knox idealized Josiah as “an example of a prince leading religious reform” and emphasized his role in destroying sites dedicated to Baal.¹⁸⁷

As hostilities continued, Feilinger increasingly believed that participants in the war had confessional motivations. In his opinion, Gustavus Adolphus, the King of Sweden, intervened against “the enemies of the Gospel.”¹⁸⁸ On 4 March 1632, he wrote a prayer in his diary asking God, “the all-powerful Lord, to render his assistance” to Gustavus Adolphus.¹⁸⁹ Feilinger stated that God had sent Gustavus Adolphus from Sweden and had appointed him as the leader of the “Protestant Roman Empire.”¹⁹⁰ Feilinger believed that Gustavus Adolphus’ decision to enter the war was divinely inspired. God had intervened for the preservation of Protestantism in the Empire through the Swedish king, his “warlike Gideon,” the Old Testament judge who defeated the cult of Baal in Israel.¹⁹¹ Gideon destroyed an idolatrous, polytheistic sect, and Feilinger must have hoped the Swedish king would do the same with Catholics.

¹⁸⁶ Craig Harline, *Miracles at the Jesus Oak: Histories of the Supernatural in Reformation Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 83–4. See also Carlos Eire, *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Scribner, 1971), 62.

¹⁸⁷ Graeme Murdock, “The Importance of being Josiah: An Image of Calvinist Identity,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 29 (1998): 1052.

¹⁸⁸ Feilinger, “Die Einwirkungen des 30jährigen Krieges,” 242.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 240

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*; Judges 6: 11–35. (NRSV).; *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Gideon,” accessed on *Gale Virtual Reference Library* 27 August 2013, http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CCX3407704598&v=2.1&u=sfu_z39&it=r&p=GVRL&sw=w&asid=9ec4e4392d9932cbc0dcdb3d7612b732.

Eventually Feilinger interpreted the war as a sign of the end of the world. Twice, both times in Latin, he refers to “war, famine, and plague,” as signs of the apocalypse.¹⁹² These three horrors are described in the Book of Revelation:

When he opened the fourth seal, I heard the voice of the fourth living creature call out, ‘Come!’ I looked and there was a pale green horse! Its rider’s name was Death, and Hades followed with him; they were given authority over a fourth of the earth, to kill with sword, famine, and pestilence, and by the wild animals of the earth (Revelation 6: 7-8).

In 1629, he again used the phrase “war, famine, and plague,” when praying that God would “snatch up the pious and destroy the wicked.”¹⁹³ His request is similar to the following passage in the Book of Revelation:

The nations raged but your wrath has come, and the time for judging the dead, for rewarding your servants, the prophets and saints and all who fear your name, both small and great, and for destroying those who destroy the earth (Revelation 11:18).

Six years later, in 1635, he wrote: “now the three rods all went together: war, famine, plague.”¹⁹⁴

The world did indeed end for the Calvinist pastor in 1635. In the final entry, his son Jakob recorded that Martin had died—one of 474 people who succumbed to plague that year alone.¹⁹⁵ By March 1636, all three pastors in the town had died, each of them victims of the plague.¹⁹⁶ The inhabitants of Schlüctern had to rely on an unidentified pastor from Oberkalbach, a town located about fifteen kilometers northeast, to perform

¹⁹² Feilinger, “Die Einwirkungen des 30jährigen Krieges,” 234, 246. The first reference is in August 1629. The second appears in an entry in 1635, just a year before his death from plague.

¹⁹³ Feilinger, “Die Einwirkungen des 30jährigen Krieges,” 234.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 246.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 246–47.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 247.

their church services. The war may not have signified the end of the world as Martin Feilinger believed, but it did end the lives of 757 people in Schlüctern from plague alone between 1635-1638 and brought devastation to the town.¹⁹⁷

In some ways, the Thirty Years War was a confessional war for Feilinger, in others a holy war, and in others still it was a sign of the apocalypse. At the beginning of his account, however, none of these narratives were present. The war began as a worldly one. Once he began to experience the war and endure its devastation, only then did Feilinger begin to interpret it in increasingly religious terms.

Conclusion

Feilinger and Friesenegger manifested an inversely related trajectory of how they understood the war. Initially, Friesenegger had a more confessional view of the conflict. As the war continued, however, this significantly declined. Instead, the war became a struggle for survival in a battle against marauding soldiers, deadly plague outbreaks, and devastating periods of famine. Feilinger reacted in a different way to his experiences of the war. He began to see the war as a battle for the Protestant faith and saw it as a sign of the coming Armageddon. His understanding of the war became increasingly confessional and apocalyptic.

Beyond the feeling of fear, there is no general pattern of how individual interpretations of the war evolved. For Friesenegger and Feilinger the nature of the war evolved as it continued. It was not the same war in the 1630s as it had been in 1618; nor was it the same by 1648. Dietwar's conception of the war, however, remained static. The way that each person thought about the war was not uniform. Neither Dietwar, nor Feilinger, nor Friesenegger had the same experience and none had the same understanding of the war.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

Chapter 2.

Heroes and Enemies: The Identification of Allies and Adversaries in Personal Accounts

The clergy whom we have met thus far identified their enemy primarily in two distinct ways; the first type of enemy was either a hated adversary while the second was simply a member of the opposing side in a conflict, or the opposing side itself. Whichever of these two ways individuals identified their enemy, this enemy could refer to an entire nation, like Sweden or Spain, or an individual, like Gustavus Adolphus or General Tilly. Hated adversaries generally were members of another confessional community, while confessional animosity usually played no role in references to the second type of enemy, which generally were employed to delineate the difference between local or territorial troops and foreign or unfamiliar troops. Experience played an important role in how an individual came to understand the identity of an enemy.

The Adversarial Enemy

Juliana Ernst was one woman whose concept of enemy encompassed hatred, contempt, hostility, and often confessional antagonism. A Poor Clare, she became prioress in 1637 of St. Ursula's convent in Villingen, located about fifty kilometers east of Freiburg.¹⁹⁸ She had entered the convent in 1603 at the age of fourteen. The practice of writing a chronicle was established in her convent before she assumed her post as prioress. In 1623, she took over the chronicle from where her predecessor had

¹⁹⁸ Woodford, *Nuns as Historians*, 146.

concluded.¹⁹⁹ Her narrative of the war began not with the events in 1623, but with the invasion of Gustavus Adolphus in 1630.²⁰⁰

Ernst seems to have believed that the violent acts committed by the Swedish and Württemberg troops were confessionally motivated. When she and the other nuns in her convent were planning to flee their convent, their confessor Johannes Kneher and another priest advised them to find “worldly clothes” so that they would not be recognized as nuns, representatives of Catholicism. He worried that Protestants would treat them harshly because they were Catholic nuns.²⁰¹

Ernst implored divine intervention for protection from her enemy who was threatening her city. She was afraid of her city being consumed by a fire and asked that “our dear Lord and all the dear saints” not allow this.²⁰² Around this time, at the end of 1631, she wrote: “O you, Queen of Heaven, Mary, help us so that our enemy will not take pleasure in us.”²⁰³ It is likely that Ernst was asking for protection from sexual assault. Rape was a threat that some nuns feared more than death.²⁰⁴ Records of specific instances of rape in the Thirty Years War are rare, as noted by Geoff Mortimer, but rape still played a major role in how women experienced the war.²⁰⁵ Despite the lack of concrete proof of sexual violence, the threat of rape and the fear it created was in itself a torment of the war. On multiple occasions, Ernst asked for divine intervention specifically against her enemy, either for protection or vengeance, but not for peace. In

¹⁹⁹ Woodford, *Nuns as Historians*, 147.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Juliana Ernst, *Chronik des Bickenklosters zu Villingen: 1238 bis 1614*, edited by Karl Jordan Glatz (Tübingen: Gedruckt für den Litterarischen Verein in Stuttgart, 1881), 132.

²⁰² Ibid., 133.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Maria Anna Junius, “Bamberg im Schweden-Kriege,” edited by Friederich Karl Hümmer, *Bericht des Historischen Vereins für die Pflege der Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Bamberg* 52 (1890): 33. Medick and Marschke, *Experiencing the Thirty Years War*, 87–88.

²⁰⁵ Mortimer, *Eyewitness Accounts*, 70, 170.

1631, she “begged for the Lord to begin to take great retribution” against the Swedes.²⁰⁶ Her prayers, however, were not always explicitly about her enemy as on other occasions Ernst asked only for God to “have mercy” on the nuns and requested “God help us.”²⁰⁷

The Destruction of Magdeburg

In response to the horrific destruction of Magdeburg in 1631, an unidentified author wrote a defiant protest, “The Magdeburg Maiden”:

So the Lutheran Lucretia
Righteous German Constantia
Am I in eternal Gloria;

Before I recognise the Papist League
And call it master
I’d rather run into the blaze.

Refuse to dance with Charles the Fifth,
I’ll stand no more from Tilly too,
And chase the bloodhound through my fire.

Ancient German bravery
Arm yourself for valiant strife,
Earn the Crown of constancy.

Innocent chaste maiden I,
Tormented by the bloodhound dire,
Many a mother’s child roasted in the fire.²⁰⁸

On 20 May 1631, the “Magdeburg Maiden” burned. The renowned Lutheran bastion fell after having held out for months under full scale assault from the troops of both General Jean Tserclaes de Tilly, the leader of the Bavarian army, and later the Imperial army after 1630, and Count Gottfried Pappenheim, appointed the commander

²⁰⁶ Ernst, *Chronik des Bickenklosters*, 130.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 134.

²⁰⁸ Wilson, *Sourcebook*, 151.

of the Catholic League troops in Westphalia in 1630.²⁰⁹ The loss of life was so devastating that it has been labelled “the single greatest catastrophe of the Thirty Years War.”²¹⁰ The siege began at seven o’clock in the morning. Sometime around eight, after the Imperial troops had broken through the gates, a fire began. By ten o’clock, the entire city was engulfed in flames. Amid the fire and the fighting, approximately 20,000 people perished that day, only 300 of whom were the invaders.²¹¹

Magdeburg earned its defiant reputation for refusing to “dance with Charles the Fifth,” the Catholic Holy Roman Emperor and King of Spain (r. 1519-56) during the Reformation. The city came to symbolize a bastion of Lutheran resistance during the Schmalkaldic War when the citizens of Magdeburg “successfully defied the imperial declaration of proscription and the siege by the troops of Moritz of Saxony in 1550-51.”²¹² Medick asserts: “Magdeburg was considered ‘our Lord God’s chancellery’ – a rebellious centre of Lutheran Protestantism in the north of the Holy Roman Empire.”²¹³ For many Protestants, the destruction of Magdeburg in 1631 was a significant event that reinforced confessional animosity. Some Protestants used this tragic event to portray Tilly and his Catholic troops as monsters. According to Wilson, they “created the myth of the Magdeburg maiden who immolated herself rather than surrender, while others simply blamed the Catholic commanders.”²¹⁴ Medick and Marschke note that the event was “widely reported and contentiously discussed in more than two hundred pamphlets, more than forty broadsheets, and countless newspaper articles published in 1631 alone.”²¹⁵

²⁰⁹ Wilson, *Europe’s Tragedy*, 456–57, 468; Medick and Marschke, *Experiencing the Thirty Years War*, 132.

²¹⁰ Medick and Marschke, *Experiencing the Thirty Years War*, 132; Medick, “Historical Event and Contemporary Experience: the Capture and Destruction of Magdeburg in 1631,” *History Workshop Journal* 52 (2001): 23.

²¹¹ Wilson, *Europe’s Tragedy*, 468–70.

²¹² Medick and Marschke, *Experiencing the Thirty Years War*, 132.

²¹³ Medick, “Historical Event,” 23.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 469.

²¹⁵ Medick and Marschke, *Experiencing the Thirty Years War*, 132–33.

News of the event spread quickly and affected how some Protestants understood the war and identified their enemy.

Lorenz Wagener, a Calvinist pastor, initially did not identify an enemy in his observations of the war, but, after the events at Magdeburg and as the war continued, he increasingly came to interpret the Catholic Imperial army as his enemy. Wagener wrote chronicle notes in his parish's church book.²¹⁶ His account is short and contains few details about himself. After receiving his masters in theology in Marburg in 1617, he was appointed pastor and inspector of the parishes in the principality of Wittgenstein in 1625, and lived in Laasphe, located forty kilometers north-west of Marburg.²¹⁷ In 1638, he died of plague.²¹⁸

In the early years of the war, he was more concerned with important events in the Empire than confessional conflict. In the record of baptisms that he continued from his predecessors, Wagener inserted details about the war on a broad scale, including details about individual sieges and battles. He wrote about the deaths of prominent people like Ludwig of Hessen (d.1626), the bishop of Mainz (d. 1626), and the daughter of the Landgrave of Darmstadt, Amalie Ludowika (d.1627). He also recorded important events outside of the Empire, like a battle in 1627 between England and France, likely referring to the siege of the Île de Ré by the Duke of Buckingham.²¹⁹ Remarkable events also attracted Wagener's attention such as poor weather, earthquakes, and sightings of comets.²²⁰ These entries were short and generally no longer than one sentence.

²¹⁶ Krusenstjern, *Selbsetzeugnisse der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges* , 231.

²¹⁷ Lorenz Wagener, "Chronik des Pfarrers und Inspektors Magister Lorenz Wagener aus dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg (1625–1632)," edited by Gustav Bauer, *Wittgenstein: Blätter des Wittgensteiner Heimatsvereins* (1962): 113.

²¹⁸ Krusenstjern, *Selbsetzeugnisse der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges* , 231.

²¹⁹ Wagener, "Chronik," 115. Roger Lockyer, *Buckingham: The Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham 1592–1628* (London and New York: Longman, 1981), 369–404.

²²⁰ Wagener, "Chronik," 114–15.

Wagener devoted more space, however, to the destruction of Magdeburg. After the fall of the city, he wrote that Generals Tilly and Pappenheim stormed the “famous city of Magdeburg.” He first identified his enemy within the context of the siege; Tilly and the Imperial troops were “the enemy.” He related that numerous people were murdered, irrespective of age or sex and that the entire city was burned to the ground, comparing its destruction to the demise of Troy, Thebes, and Jerusalem.²²¹

The siege of Magdeburg was a defining moment for how Wagener interpreted the war and how he identified his enemy. This was the first time that he used “the enemy” in relation to the war.²²² He had employed the term only once before to describe Catholics as a theological enemy. In 1625, he wrote about the death of Johannes Piscator, a prominent Reformed theologian who, since 1583, had taught at the local college in Herborn, located about forty-five kilometers south-west of Marburg: “in this year the pious Johannes Piscator, Professor of Theology, died. He taught loyally for many years in the school and fought against the enemy in many of his works.”²²³ Up until the destruction of Magdeburg, however, Wagener had not described Catholics as a physical enemy. He continued to use the term to refer to the Catholic Imperial army. When reviewing the events of the Battle of Nuremberg in 1632, for example, he wrote that Gustavus Adolphus and others attacked the “enemy” camps.²²⁴

As Wagener continued to solidify his belief that Catholics were his enemy after the destruction of Magdeburg, it also became clearer to him whom he supported in the war. At the end of 1631, shortly after his description of the events in Magdeburg, he included in his chronicle a prayer for Gustavus Adolphus in the form of a quotation from Psalm 20:1-2:

²²¹ Ibid., 118. This comparison was made by others. See Hans Medick and Pamela Selwyn, “Historical Event and Contemporary Experience: The Capture and Destruction of Magdeburg in 1631,” *History Workshop Journal* 52 (2001): 23–48.

²²² Wagener, “Chronik,” 118.

²²³ Ibid., 114. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, s.v. “Piscator, Johannes,” accessed on 30 May 2014, <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118792342.html?anchor=adb>.

²²⁴ Wagener, “Chronik,” 120.

The Lord answer you in the day of trouble! The name of God of Jacob protect you! May he send you help from the sanctuary, and given you support from Zion. May he remember all your offerings, and regard with favour your burnt sacrifices.²²⁵

Wagener wanted God to protect the king and assure a Protestant victory. Gustavus Adolphus was Wagener's confessional hero. He did not include prayers for anyone else in his chronicle and entitled it "Prayer for the King." Wagener also hailed Gustavus Adolphus as Moses, implying that the Swedish King would liberate Protestants from the Empire.²²⁶

The destruction of Magdeburg was even more important to Christopherus Krause. He was born 12 July 1601 in Leipä, a town in Bohemia.²²⁷ In 1615, he began his studies in Zittau, about 80 kilometers east of Dresden. At the beginning of the war in 1618, however, Krause was in Hildesheim.²²⁸ In 1622, he returned to Bohemia from Leipzig to be with his family.²²⁹ Like Dietwar, Krause was exiled from his homeland for confessional reasons. Owing to the advance of Wallenstein and his Imperial troops, however, Krause left Bohemia, returning into exile and finally ending up in Magdeburg in 1625.²³⁰ He arrived in the city during an outbreak of the plague that claimed approximately 7000 lives.²³¹ There, he worked as a Lutheran pastor and "subscribed to the ministry of the Magdeburg Confession" on 16 June 1626.²³² After the destruction of

²²⁵ Wagener, "Chronik," 119.

²²⁶ Ibid., 120.

²²⁷ J.O. Opel, editor. "Denkwürdigkeiten des Gymasiallehrers und Pfarrers Christopherus Krause in Magdeburg," *Mittheilungen aus dem Gebeit historisch-antiquarischer Forschungen* 12 (1878): 317.

²²⁸ Christopherus Krause, "Denkwürdigkeiten des Gymasiallehrers und Pfarrers Christopherus Krause in Magdeburg," edited by Julius Otto Opel, in *Mittheilungen aus dem Gebeit historisch-antiquarischer Forschungen* 12 (1878): 318–19.

²²⁹ Ibid., 320.

²³⁰ Krause, "Denkwürdigkeiten," 320–21.

²³¹ Ibid., 321.

²³² Ibid.

Magdeburg, he fled to Eimersleben, Halberstadt, and Braunschweig until finally returning to Bohemia to see his parents in December 1631.²³³

Krause clearly identified his adversarial enemy in his house-book. The enemy were those people who had destroyed Magdeburg: Tilly and his troops.²³⁴ While the other accounts only briefly mention the siege and fall of Magdeburg, Krause comments on it at length, likely because he was a resident of the city and experienced it firsthand. Like other authors, he wrote about the violence of the siege, describing how, once they entered the city, Tilly's soldiers raped women and trampled children.²³⁵

Krause's discussion of the fall of Magdeburg takes on a millenarian tone: "With each great wind the Imperialists came into this land and, with great hope, this wind will drive them back out, and Magdeburg will be the Harmagedon." He cited Revelation 16:16, which states, "And they assembled at the place that in Hebrew is called Harmagedon." He equated the city of Magdeburg with Armageddon. The reference to the place Harmagedon likely referred to the Mount of Megiddo, a hill in ancient Palestine. During the time of the Old Testament, Megiddo became "a symbol and synonym for the battlefield where the final struggle between good and evil will take place" because of the numerous battles fought for the hill and the word Armageddon "is probably the Hebrew for 'the Mount of Megiddo.'"²³⁶ For Protestants, Magdeburg, like Megiddo, was the site of significant battles and represented the fight between good and evil. The war, for Krause, was not only a physical one fought against his enemy but also a sign of the end of days in which God would destroy Catholics.

Krause's discussion of the Counter Reformation in Bohemia also provides insight into his perception of the enemy as an adversary. His confessional animosity towards

²³³ Ibid., 327.

²³⁴ Ibid., 326–27.

²³⁵ Ibid., 382.

²³⁶ *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Megiddo," accessed on *Gale Virtual Reference Library* 10 September 2014, http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7C CX3407707394&v=2.1&u=sfu_z39&it=r&p=GURL&sw=w&asid=c7a5846a90da994d1fde019ed1cb76eb

Catholics appears when he wrote about the “priests’ concubines” or referred to Jesuits as *Jesuwider*, a play on words that meant opponents of Jesus.²³⁷ In his opinion, Jesuits targeted Lutheran children for conversion. He reported that the Jesuits slandered Lutheranism to children in their efforts to convert the children and he mentioned an occasion when a group of children had “escaped the Jesuits.”²³⁸ He also recorded occasions when Lutheran pastors were replaced by their Catholic counterparts. In one example, “Lutheran ministers” were removed from the abbey at Neumark, 100 kilometers south-east of Erfurt, and replaced with “papist monks.”²³⁹ In Bohemia, Krause noted, Catholics forbade the singing of Lutheran songs and burned Protestant catechisms, something which, according to Dietwar, took place in Kitzingen as well.²⁴⁰

The identity of Krause’s enemy is unmistakable. Catholics imposed their religion on his Bohemian homeland. Catholics forced him from his home in Bohemia. Catholics destroyed his adopted home of Magdeburg. Confessional allegiance determined Krause’s enemy.

The Enemy as Identifier and the Unidentified Enemy

Martin Franke used the word “enemy” exclusively to identify the difference between “his” troops, those that fought for his area, and others. Franke, a Lutheran, became a deacon at his church in Potsdam in 1616. Between 1617 and 1622, he was the pastor of the town church in Putlitz, a town located about forty kilometers north-west of Wittstock.²⁴¹ In 1622, he returned to Potsdam where he acquired a new position in

²³⁷ Krause, “Denkwürdigkeiten,” 332, 335.

²³⁸ Ibid., 331–32, 336.

²³⁹ Ibid., 324.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 332; Dietwar, *Leben*, 35.

²⁴¹ G. Sello, ed. “Ein Potsdamsche Pfarrchronik aus der Zeit des großen Krieges,” *Zeitschrift für Preussische Geschichte und Landeskunde* 20 (1883): 207.

the church.²⁴² In 1638, after the death of his wife, he converted to Catholicism along with both his son and daughter.²⁴³ He then became the parish priest for the town of Schönfeld, situated about thirty kilometers north of Dresden. He died two years later in June 1640.²⁴⁴ During his time as Lutheran pastor in Potsdam, he recorded his thoughts about the war in the town's church register.²⁴⁵ His chronicle covered the years 1623-1637.

Franke began his chronicle with notes about inflation and outbreaks of plague. In 1623, he devoted the entire entry for the year to inflation, a theme prevalent throughout the next few years. Potsdam endured a "very hard winter" in 1624 that no one had experienced in "their living memory," which damaged the harvest and worsened the inflation.²⁴⁶ Simultaneously, a plague decimated the livestock in the area. Oxen, cattle, and horses fell down dead "with feed still in their mouths."²⁴⁷ In some villages, he observed, "barely two or three horses survived and even fewer cattle."²⁴⁸ The next year brought an end to the inflation after the harvest, but a new outbreak of plague and "red dysentery" claimed many lives.²⁴⁹

Franke described Imperial gains in the early years of the war. In 1625, he remarked: "the danger of war approached closer every day, and it was in this year that the archbishopric of Magdeburg, Hall, and Halberstadt were taken by Wallenstein, and the rightful bishop was expelled from there."²⁵⁰ One of these "dangers," Albrecht von Wallenstein, was a controversial figure in the war. In 1625, he became the commander

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Martin Franke, "Ein Potsdamsche Pfarrchronik aus der Zeit des großen Krieges," ed. G. Sello, *Zeitschrift für Preussische Geschichte und Landeskunde* 20 (1883): 209.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Krusenstjern, *Selbsetzeugnisse der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*, 88.

²⁴⁶ Franke, "Pfarrchronik," 220.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Franke, "Pfarrchronik," 220.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 221.

²⁵⁰ Ibid..

of Ferdinand II's Imperial army.²⁵¹ Under pressure from the electors at Regensburg, Ferdinand II dismissed Wallenstein on 13 August 1630.²⁵² After facing some embarrassing defeats, Ferdinand recalled Wallenstein on 13 April 1632 and made him his general again.²⁵³ The chaotic saga ended on 24 February 1634, when, at the order of the Emperor, Wallenstein was assassinated.²⁵⁴ Wallenstein's victories in 1625 restored bishoprics like Halberstadt to Catholic hands. In 1627, Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, a Catholic and a member of the Habsburg family, became the bishop of Halberstadt.²⁵⁵

Franke did not identify his enemy confessionally. He continued his description of Wallenstein's advance, writing about the Imperial troops who caused "great troubles" and, in the town of Trebbin, about twenty-five kilometers south-west of Potsdam, "wreaked havoc" (*übel gehauset*).²⁵⁶ His first mention of the war, while lacking confessional animosity, portrayed the Catholic, Imperial troops as destructive and disruptive. In 1626, he wrote that soldiers "wreaked much havoc" (*hauseten sehr übel*) in the area, this time, however, referring to Protestant troops fighting for Mansfeld.²⁵⁷ He again repeated the phrase "wreak havoc" when discussing the quartering of Tilly's Bavarian troops in the area during the winter of 1626.²⁵⁸ Troops, regardless of affiliation or confession, "wreaked havoc" anywhere they went.

Franke's experience of the Swedes was far from pleasant. In 1631, he wrote: "the Swedish people came here on Easter (April 20) and did such great damage by plundering, robbing, and stealing that in many villages neither one head of cattle nor any

²⁵¹ Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 394.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, 454–55.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 492.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 539–40.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 386.

²⁵⁶ Franke, "Pfarrchronik," 221.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 222.

people remained.”²⁵⁹ His negative interactions with the Swedish troops made him unwilling to accept the narrative of Gustavus Adolphus and the Swedes as liberators of the Protestant faith. Being a Lutheran did him no favours in their eyes. Soldiers deliberately harmed civilians, and the war became one of survival, not one fought over confession. Thus, for Franke, soldiers, regardless of confessional allegiance, became the enemy.

Although he generally avoided using the term “enemy”, it does not appear that Dietwar even implicitly identified the enemy based on confessional allegiance. He did not call Ferdinand II his enemy despite stating that he was “an eager persecutor of the Evangelical church.”²⁶⁰ Certainly, Dietwar felt animosity towards Ferdinand II, especially since he was a Catholic oppressor of Lutherans, but he did not go so far as to label him as an enemy. Dietwar employed the word once to describe a nobleman from Wiesentheid, who was “a declared enemy” of Lutheranism.²⁶¹ He did not, however, provide any additional information about this individual whom he recognized as a confessional opponent, nor did he indicate to which confession this nobleman belonged. The nobleman could have been a Calvinist or a Catholic. He thought of armies not as Catholic, Lutheran or Calvinist troops but as units belonging to specific territories: Swedes, Croatians, Cossacks, Imperial, Lombards, French, and others.²⁶²

Other Protestant pastors identified armies by nationality, not their confession. Martin Feilinger did not refer to Spanish troops as Catholic troops, identifying them instead in relation to their commanders.²⁶³ It is possible that civilian observers made implicit assumptions about the confessional allegiances of soldiers based on the army to which they belonged. This is unlikely, however, since armies in the Thirty Years War were not confessionally homogenous, although civilians were not necessarily aware of

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 227.

²⁶⁰ Dietwar, *Leben*, 102.

²⁶¹ Dietwar, *Leben*, 72.

²⁶² Ibid., 34, 72, 85, 87, 106, 114.

²⁶³ Feilinger, “Die Einwirkungen des 30jährigen Krieges,” 217–8.

this fact. The sources in this study are silent on the matter. Wilson notes that not only did people of different confessions choose to join an army for various reasons, but soldiers taken in battle were generally incorporated into the army of their captors, regardless of confessional beliefs.²⁶⁴ Clergymen such as Dietwar and Feilinger may have been unaware of the confessional identities of individual soldiers and may have thought of armies more in relation to geographical origin than confessional allegiance.

Gustavus Adolphus: Protestant Hero or Catholic Villain?

Individuals interpreted Gustavus Adolphus, the King of Sweden, in different ways. For some, he was a hero. For others, he was a villain. For even more still, he was an important figure worthy of a brief comment in their accounts, but primarily a figure mentioned only in passing. He was one of the most conspicuous Protestants in the war, but this did not mean that observers of the war necessarily viewed him through a confessional lens.

On 6 July 1630, Gustavus Adolphus invaded Pomerania, a northern territory of the Holy Roman Empire on the Baltic Sea.²⁶⁵ Planning for the offensive, however, began years before. By 1628, Gustavus Adolphus and Swedish Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna already recognized that it would be impossible for Sweden not to intervene in the Empire. This was not out of “concern for the fate of the Protestants in Germany and the liberties of the German princes” but rather because of “the presence of a large imperial army on the coast of the Baltic in Mecklenburg and Pomerania.”²⁶⁶ In a May 1630 council meeting, Gustavus Adolphus made it clear that his primary concern was security.²⁶⁷ Ronald Asch argues that religion contributed to the decision to invade the

²⁶⁴ Wilson, “Dynasty, Constitution, and Confession,” 491–92; Labouvie, “Konfessionalisierung in der Praxis,” 87.

²⁶⁵ Wilson, *Europe’s Tragedy*, 459.

²⁶⁶ Asch, *The Thirty Years War*, 102.

²⁶⁷ Wilson, *Sourcebook*, 130.

Empire since secular security had become inseparable from religion because of the long-standing conflict over the Swedish crown between Gustavus Adolphus and his cousin, Sigismund Vasa, the Catholic king of Poland.²⁶⁸ In 1593, Gustavus' father Karl had "formally declared Sweden a Lutheran country" to prevent Sigismund from ascending to the throne.²⁶⁹ While Asch believes that religion was a factor in Gustavus Adolphus' decision to invade, Wilson dismisses religion as a motive: "Oxenstierna later admitted that religion was merely a pretext, while Gustavus said that if it had been the cause then he would have declared war on the pope."²⁷⁰ Both Asch and Wilson agree that religion was not the primary reason that Gustavus Adolphus and Oxenstierna decided to intervene.

The invasion of Gustavus Adolphus was significant for Protestants. The war seemed to be over in 1629. The Emperor had decisively defeated his enemies and had issued the Edict of Restitution. The harsh terms of the edict troubled and angered many Protestants, including Saxony, the Emperor's important ally, but, without the intervention of Sweden, the war likely would not have continued, much less for another nineteen years.²⁷¹ Many areas that had previously not been affected by the war, like Swabia and Bavaria, now became the centre of contention.

After the Swedish invasion, Gustavus Adolphus became an important figure in Protestant propaganda. Often portrayed as the "Lion of the North" in pamphlets and broadsheets, many Protestants viewed him as the liberator of Protestantism in the

²⁶⁸ Asch, *The Thirty Years War*, 104.

²⁶⁹ Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 180.

²⁷⁰ Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 462.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 448–49.

Empire.²⁷² According to Parker, he was also portrayed as Judas Maccabeus.²⁷³ In the Old Testament, the Maccabees “liberated Judea from oppression by the Syrian kings, restored religious freedom, and regained political independence for the Jewish people.”²⁷⁴ In print, he was a confessional figure, a Protestant hero. For some Protestant clergy, however, this confessionalized interpretation was not always so consistent.

Lorenz Wagener’s understanding of the war changed after the Destruction of Magdeburg. Prior to this, he did not view the Swedish King as a confessional figure. In 1628, he wrote: “the Swedish King defeated the Polish in a battle. He killed twelve thousand soldiers and captured six thousand.”²⁷⁵ Then, in 1630, he noted: “Gustav, the King of Sweden, came to Pomerania with a tremendous army, occupied Stettin, and had great luck in battle.”²⁷⁶ Neither of these entries disclosed confessional bias.

When in 1632 the king perished in battle at Lützen, Wagener was devastated. For him, Gustavus Adolphus had “inspired the liberation of our Evangelical church of God.”²⁷⁷ He described the Protestant church (*evangelische Kirche*) as being “full of

²⁷² Ibid., 462, 476. For more on Gustavus Adolphus as a figure in propaganda, see Carlos Gilly, “The ‘Midnight Lion,’ the ‘Eagle’ and the ‘Antichrist’: Political, religious and chiliastic propaganda in the pamphlets, illustrated broadsheets and ballads of the Thirty Years War,” *Dutch Review of Church History / Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 80 (2000): 46–77.; John Roger Pass, “The Changing Image of Gustavus Adolphus on German Broadshets, 1630–3,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 59 (1996): 205–44. For nineteenth-century interpretations, see Kevin Cramer, *The Thirty Years’ War and German Memory in the Nineteenth Century*.

²⁷³ Geoffrey Parker, *Global Crisis: War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2013), 41.

²⁷⁴ *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Maccabees, History of the,” accessed on *Gale Virtual Reference Library* 29 September 2014, http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CCX3407706969&v=2.1&u=sfu_z39&it=r&p=GURL&sw=w&asid=e6955801388f863254daab3d5ba02874.

²⁷⁵ Wagener, “Pfarrchronik,” 116.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 118.

²⁷⁷ Ibid., 120.

sorrow” over the loss of “such a king”.²⁷⁸ He claimed that misfortune never comes on its own, referring to the death of Frederick V of the Palatinate, “King of Bohemia.” Frederick V died of plague on 30 November 1632, fourteen days after the death of Gustavus Adolphus.²⁷⁹ Their deaths were particularly troubling to Wagener because of their religious significance. In the prayer concluding his journal, he likened Gustavus Adolphus and Frederick V to “our Moses and Josaphat.”²⁸⁰ He envisioned these two figures as the religious liberator and reformer of his time.²⁸¹ By the end of his chronicle, Wagener believed Gustavus Adolphus had intervened in the Thirty Years War for the well-being of the Protestant faith in the Holy Roman Empire. Despite living for another six years, Wagener never again wrote in his chronicle after the death of Gustavus Adolphus.

Martin Feilinger perceived the Swedish King confessionally and, like Wagener, portrayed him as a Protestant hero. On 4 March 1632, Feilinger prayed for Gustavus Adolphus’ success in the Empire.²⁸² Gustavus Adolphus, in Feilinger’s opinion, fought “the enemy of the Protestants” as the general of “the Protestant Roman Empire.”²⁸³ Feilinger, like Wagener, was distressed upon hearing about Gustavus Adolphus’ death. He felt that the empire was in turmoil. In his mind, there was no one left to unify Protestants and rally them to continue fighting.²⁸⁴ Feilinger memorialized Gustavus Adolphus in his account, portraying him as the liberator and protector of Protestantism.²⁸⁵

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Wilson, *Europe’s Tragedy*, 480, 508, 794.

²⁸⁰ Wagener, “Pfarrchronik,” 120.

²⁸¹ Gustavus Adolphus was portrayed as Moses in Protestant broadsheets as well. For example, one reference to Moses is included on a broadsheet from 1630 of the Swedish king’s landing in Pomerania by Georg Köler. See Wilson, *Europe’s Tragedy*, image 24.

²⁸² Feilinger, “Die Einwirkungen des 30jährigen Krieges,” 240.

²⁸³ Ibid., 240–42.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., 242.

²⁸⁵ Ibid., 240–42.

Franke's conception of Gustavus Adolphus, however, represents a stark contrast to the confessional hero portrayed by Feilinger and Wagener. Franke mentioned "the King of Sweden" twice in his account.²⁸⁶ Despite being a Lutheran, he felt no confessional allegiance to Gustavus Adolphus. The first reference to the king in 1630 is brief. He wrote: "the war continued again in this year, and the King of Sweden quickly came through all of Pomerania. How he approaches now with these troops, and what he has won through his successes will be reported by the chroniclers."²⁸⁷ The second, in 1632, discusses his death:

In this year, on 5 November, a battle took place between the imperial troops and those of the King of Sweden in the Meissen region near Lützen, and during it the king was shot dead with many bullets. What has preceded this and what will follow will be recorded and explained with all diligence by historians.²⁸⁸

Franke recognized the importance of Gustavus Adolphus in the war, both to contemporaries and to posterity. He did not, however, interpret the Swedish King as an important confessional figure, either in a negative or positive way. His encounters with the Swedes likely explain his lack of confessional allegiance to Gustavus Adolphus. Franke had negative experiences of the Swedish troops and felt no confessional allegiance to them. Their leader was neither Franke's hero, nor his enemy.

Some Catholics interpreted Gustavus Adolphus as their enemy, the villain of their narrative. Elizabeth Herold, a Catholic nun in Franconia, for example, depicted him and his troops as her enemy. She called them "godless people" and lamented their entry

²⁸⁶ Franke, "Pfarrchronik," 226, 229.

²⁸⁷ Franke, "Pfarrchronik," 226.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 229.

into the war.²⁸⁹ Juliana Ernst also regarded Gustavus Adolphus as an enemy, as she did with the troops from Sweden and Württemberg.²⁹⁰

For most Catholics, however, Gustavus Adolphus represented just another threat to their struggle to survive. Friesenegger recorded the death of Gustavus Adolphus, remarking: “on the 16 of November King Gustavus died in battle at Lützen along with our renowned General Pappenheim.” Friesenegger noted that the death of Gustavus Adolphus “caused great joy and hope for peace amongst Catholics.”²⁹¹ His first entry on Gustavus Adolphus did not indicate the king’s motivations for entering the war beyond capturing territory and plundering them. He noted no confessional causes for the intervention in the Empire.

Despite his strongly held confessional beliefs, Caspar Heinrich Marx, a Catholic priest, did not identify Gustavus Adolphus as the enemy, and in some ways viewed him as a protector. Marx was born in 1600. He was a priest and a professor of theology in Erfurt. On 27 November 1629, he achieved the title of doctor of theology.²⁹² He did not begin to write his chronicle until 1631, after Gustavus Adolphus invaded Pomerania. The first entry in his chronicle is about the Swedish King. Marx continued to write until 1635 when he, like many others, succumbed to the plague.

Erfurt was a contentious area for Catholics. By the beginning of the Thirty Years War, it was predominantly a Lutheran town, with a small Catholic population. There were only at most 2,000 Catholics living in Erfurt compared to about 17,000 Lutheran

²⁸⁹ Elizabeth Herold, *Kloster Oberschönenfeld: Die Chronik der Elisabeth Herold*, edited by Werner Schiedermaier (Lindenberg im Allgäu: Josef Fink, 2011), fol. 224v. For more on Herold, see Chapter 4.

²⁹⁰ Ernst, *Chronik des Bickenklosters* 130.

²⁹¹ Friesenegger, *Tagebuch*, 22.

²⁹² Holger Berg, “Das ‘Diarium Actorum’ des Caspar Heinrich Marx,” *Mitteldeutsche Selbstzeugnisse der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*, accessed 7 October, 2013, <http://www.mdsz.thulb.uni-jena.de/marx/erlaeuterungen.php>.

inhabitants.²⁹³ Shortly after the Reformation began, Erfurt adopted Lutheran practices.²⁹⁴ Owing to the chaos of the sixteenth century, when anti-Catholic riots broke out many times, the town council “took up the criticism that the Gospel was being used to justify tumult, and began to preach obedience to authority.”²⁹⁵ Civic order was most important and confessional strife was not to challenge it. While the Protestant town council was opposed to mob-like violence against Catholics, there still were occasions when confessional tensions sparked violent episodes, especially in the sixteenth century.²⁹⁶

Despite living in an area with marked confessional tensions, Marx’s depiction of Gustavus Adolphus is not nearly as critical as it might have been. In 1631, Gustavus Adolphus made the Catholics of Erfurt swear an oath of fealty to himself.²⁹⁷ According to Berg, the Swedish king had addressed the Lutheran city council at length about “his unselfish battle for the Evangelical cause” and had “encouraged listeners to contribute to the war efforts by appealing to their fears of Popery.”²⁹⁸ In the presence of the Catholic representatives of the town, like Marx, however, Gustavus Adolphus spoke “in much more conciliatory and legal terms of his rights and duties as conqueror.” In this meeting, Holger Berg notes that “he promised the clergy protection and the free exercise of religion, if only they recognized him as their superior.”²⁹⁹ In practice, Gustavus Adolphus’ actions tended to reflect the sentiments from his speech to the Catholics. Marx described the meeting with the king at which an agreement was reached: “His majesty would take all the citizens of Erfurt under his protection, without any

²⁹³ Berg, “Das ‘Diarium Actorum’.”

²⁹⁴ Robert Scribner, “Civic Unity and the Reformation in Erfurt,” *Past & Present* 66 (1975): 41.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁶ Berg, *Military Occupation*, 62–66.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 56, 62.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 62.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 62.

discrimination based on religion.”³⁰⁰ On 2 October 1631, Marx recorded that “the King of Sweden took the Abbey of St. Peter and the Jesuits under his protection.”³⁰¹

The treatment of Catholics affected how Marx viewed Gustavus Adolphus. The king had not taken away their religious freedom, and as a result Marx did not interpret him as his confessional enemy. When Marx wrote about him he always used the terms such as “his Majesty” or “the king of Sweden” rather than an antagonistic label like “enemy.”³⁰² His comments about the Swedish troops, however, were not always so restrained. He wrote about the “great insolence of soldiers and residents” who entered the church at St. Peter’s and went to its altar.³⁰³ He had a more negative view of the Swedish troops, but Gustavus Adolphus was not a villain in his eyes.

Conclusion

There is no one “correct” or “definitive” interpretation of Gustavus Adolphus. Catholics identified him in different ways. For Herold and Ernst the Swedish king was the enemy. Marx, who, because of his zealous beliefs and desire to protect Catholicism in Erfurt, should have detested the Swedish king, did not refer to him in this way and did not write harshly about him. Protestants also had different interpretations of Gustavus Adolphus. For the Calvinist Lorenz Wagener, the King was the German Protestants’ own Moses, sent by God to help free them from Catholic tyranny and oppression.³⁰⁴ Martin Franke, a Lutheran clergyman, however, saw Gustavus Adolphus as nothing more than “the King of Sweden” important in the context of history, but not sent by God

³⁰⁰ Caspar Heinrich Marx, *Diarium*, fol. 9r.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 10r.

³⁰² Caspar Heinrich Marx, *Diarium*, fols. 8v, 9r, 9v, 10r, 10v.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, fol. 9r.

³⁰⁴ Wagener, “Chronik,” 120.

to defeat Catholicism in the Empire.³⁰⁵ Confession did not always influence the interpretation of Gustavus Adolphus.

Similarly, confessional allegiance did not necessarily affect the construction of one's enemy in the Thirty Years War. Franke, a Lutheran, and Friesenegger, a Catholic, both identified soldiers as an enemy, regardless of confession. Swedes plundered Protestants, Imperialists plundered Catholics, and vice versa. Franke, however, did not identify his enemy as did his confessional coreligionist, Christopherus Krause, who believed that Catholics, and Jesuits in particular, were an adversarial enemy that threatened him both physically and spiritually. Personal experience determined how one identified one's enemy.

³⁰⁵ Franke, "Pfarrchronik," 226, 229.

Chapter 3.

A Case Study: The Experiences of Two Nuns in the Thirty Years War

On 23 April 1633, the feast day of St. George, Maria Anna Junius began to write her chronicle:

I began to write this little book on 23 April 1633, on the day of the holy and illustrious martyr, knight, and helper in time of need, Saint George, whom I have chosen to be our particular chief of war, hoping that he will intercede for us with God, to stop our enemy and obtain for us a blessed peace again.³⁰⁶

Asking for help from a saint like Saint George demonstrates Junius' inherent religious faith and her belief that God could influence her situation. She hoped God would help against "our enemy," which she identified as the Swedes.

From this short passage alone one could assume that Junius interpreted the war as a confessional one, portraying the Swedes as her enemy and asking for divine

³⁰⁶ Junius, "Bamberg im Schweden-Krieg," 7–8. *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. "George, St.". accessed on *Gale Virtual Reference Library* 27 March 2014, http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7C CX3407704521&v=2.1&u=sfu_z39&it=r&p=GVRL&sw=w&asid=75c8d7e02a6d01a5eea0057f554a0297. In Germany, Saint George was included in a group of saints called the Fourteen Holy Helpers (*Vierzehn heilige Nothelfer*). Junius used the word *Nothelfer* in her initial description of St. George. The Dominicans were the first to advocate for the veneration of this group of saints and Junius, as a Dominican, would have been familiar with it. For more see *New Catholic Encyclopedia* s.v. "Fourteen Holy Helpers," accessed on *Gale Virtual Reference Library* 18 April 2014, http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CCX3407704228&v=2.1&u=sfu_z39&it=r&p=GVRL&sw=w&asid=f5871894bff12196e8a36037069c33eb.

intervention to defeat them. The story that emerges in her extensive account, covering the war during the brief period between 1631 and 1634, is an entirely different tale from what one would expect to read after the opening invocation. It is a narrative of constant fear, disruptive chaos, and unexpected friendship with those who should have been the enemy.

This chapter will focus on a limited sample of two nuns to demonstrate that each individual had a unique wartime experience. It will compare the lives and perspectives of two seemingly similar women, Maria Anna Junius and Elizabeth Herold. Both women lived through comparable realities before the war, yet they had different understandings and impressions of the war because of their divergent experiences during the war.

Junius and Herold led similar lives before the war; after the invasion of the Swedes, however, their previously comparable experiences quickly began to diverge. Junius came to perceive the Swedes not as invaders, but as protectors. Herold, by contrast, continued to interpret them as her enemy who brought nothing but destruction. Their disparate experiences primarily explain why such similar women developed such divergent opinions of the Swedes.

The desire to preserve the history of her convent for posterity influenced Junius' decision to write her chronicle. According to Woodford, Junius wanted her account to be a "history book for her convent" and felt "a responsibility to record the exceptional events which she had experienced for later generations."³⁰⁷ She hoped it would teach others to be faithful to God. Her audience was primarily the convent's future sisters who did not experience the war, but she also wrote to provide an example of suffering to her contemporary nuns in order to "have an edifying effect on her readers' spiritual lives."³⁰⁸ Woodford argues that Junius wrote to create a "responsibility on the readership to

³⁰⁷ Woodford, *Nuns as Historians*, 119.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

preserve the memory of the War” and “to increase the reader’s faith in divine providence.”³⁰⁹

While Junius wrote about only a brief period during the war, Herold wrote a chronicle of her convent covering its entire history from its foundation in 1211 until Herold’s death in 1657. She included details about the period of 1618–1648 but provided more information about the years after the Swedish invasion in 1630. Unlike Junius, who wrote to harness the pedagogical potential of her chronicle to teach piety to future nuns, Herold chose to record the history of her convent to record and remember the splendour of its past, in order to restore its former glory. Herold noted important earlier events, such as the Reformation, that had adversely affected her convent. In her discussion of the reign of Abbess Agnes V von Burtenbach (r. 1553–78), Herold noted that under the previous abbess, Ursula II von Tanneck (r. 1522–52), twelve nuns had left the convent and by the end only two nuns and two novices (*Schueldechtern*) remained.³¹⁰ Herold blamed this exodus of nuns on the “wretched war and the rise of Luther.”³¹¹ Presumably she referred to the Schmalkaldic War (1546–7) and its aftermath, which led to the establishment of the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555). She did not explicitly explain the exodus of nuns, but by blaming Luther she implied that some of them may have left to convert to Lutheranism. Both war and Protestantism had previously harmed the viability of her convent and diminished its prestige, and Herold believed that this was happening again, although, this time, in a much more direct and destructive way.

³⁰⁹ Woodford, *Nuns as Historians*, 120.

³¹⁰ Herold, *Chronik*, fol. 173r. Herold introduced Von Burtenbach on fol.168r and Von Tanneck on fol. 147r.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 173r.

Experiences of the War

Before the Swedes

Herold and Junius were born into similar socio-economic backgrounds. They lived in southern Germany. Junius lived in the Franconian city of Bamberg. Herold lived in Oberschönenfeld, a town in Swabia located close to Augsburg, about 200 kilometers south of Bamberg. Herold was born in Ellingen in 1599.³¹² Junius was born sometime before 1610.³¹³ Herold entered the Cistercian convent of Oberschönenfeld in 1610 and took her final vows in 1615.³¹⁴ Junius entered the Dominican convent of Heiligen Grab in 1622.³¹⁵ Both were the children of middle to upper class families. Wealthy families founded many Dominican convents. Cistercian convents also were populated primarily by the daughters of the upper class and had only begun to accept middle-class women after the Reformation.³¹⁶ Families were often expected to continue to support their daughters financially, indicating a measure of wealth.³¹⁷ Herold was the daughter of Anna Maria Herold and Johann Jakob Herold, an administrator in Ellingen, located between Nuremberg and Ingolstadt.³¹⁸ Junius' father, Johannes, was a magistrate in Bamberg.³¹⁹ They came from comparable families, both entered the convent at a young age, and neither truly began to experience the effects of the war until 1632, after the invasion of Gustavus Adolphus.

³¹² Werner Shiedermaier, "Maria Elisabeth Herold: Äbtissin des Zisterzienserinnenklosters Oberschönenfeld von 1633–1657," *Kloster Oberschönenfeld – Die Chronik der Elisabeth Herold* (Lindenberg im Allgäu: Kunstverlag Josef Fink, 2011), 9; Woodford, *Nuns as Historians*, 167.

³¹³ Krusenstjern, *Selbsetzeugnisse der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*, 130–1.

³¹⁴ Shiedermaier, "Maria Elisabeth Herold," 9.

³¹⁵ Junius, "Bamberg im Schweden-Krieg," 7.

³¹⁶ Woodford, *Nuns as Historians*, 3.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

³¹⁸ Shiedermaier, "Maria Elisabeth Herold," 9.

³¹⁹ Woodford, *Nuns as Historians*, 117.

Herold assumed a position of power within her convent in 1633, when she became abbess. In the monastic community of a convent, women were able to hold positions of power, something that was not possible for the overwhelming majority of laywomen.³²⁰ According to Silvia Evangelisti, “convents allowed women to cover a whole range of monastic administrative and leadership positions, from abbess down to the many other lesser functions which nuns were called on to perform.”³²¹ While Junius did not hold the position of abbess or prioress, the production of her chronicle demonstrates her power within the convent, and the wider community. K.J.P. Lowe, examining Italian nuns’ accounts, argued that the ability to write history was itself an expression of agency.³²² Nuns were the authors of most of the extant accounts of the war written by women because they had the ability to read and write, and those in positions of power within the convent felt that it was their duty to record the convent’s history.³²³

When she wrote about the history of the convent before the arrival of the Swedes, Herold primarily focused on taxes that the convent paid to various entities, like the papacy. These sums were often quite high, indicating the wealth of the convent. In 1620 alone, the nuns paid their archbishop a total of fifteen hundred florins in taxes, providing him with a second payment of one thousand florins after he deemed the initial five hundred florins to be insufficient.³²⁴ The following year, the nuns gave a tithe of six hundred florins to the pope.³²⁵

³²⁰ Woodford, *Nuns as Historians*, 6.

³²¹ Silvia Evangelisti, *Nuns: A History of Convent Life 1450–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 19.

³²² K. J. P. Lowe, *Nuns’ Chronicles and Convent Culture in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 397.

³²³ For a complete list of the accounts written by women documented by Krusenstjern, refer back to note 2.

³²⁴ Herold, *Chronik*, fol. 217v.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*

Herold's opinions of her predecessors and her belief in the importance of good governance related to her convent's experience of the war. She devoted space in her chronicle to the death of abbess Susanna Willemayr and the election of Apollonia Wöhr, Herold's predecessor. Herold liked and respected Willemayr. Elected in 1603, Willemayr occupied the post of abbess for 20 years, until her death in 1624.³²⁶ She was abbess when Herold entered the convent. Herold described her as "venerable and religious" when writing about the election in 1603.³²⁷ She did not, however, show the same respect to Apollonia Wörl, who replaced Willemayer in 1624. When Herold wrote about the election in 1624, she used the same words, "venerable and religious," to describe Wörl but followed this statement with the judgment that the new abbess was "stupid and feeble," a sentiment she repeated again only one paragraph later.³²⁸ Her harsh judgement is unsurprising given the choices made by Wörl, particularly the choice to go into exile and abandon their convent. Herold, writing after 1633, had the luxury of hindsight to support her assertion.

The war was only an abstract thought for the nuns before 1632, and Herold rarely mentioned it in her chronicle before it came to her area. Other matters such as taxes or the election of a new abbess required more of her attention than the war. The nuns at Oberschönenfeld were not directly affected by the war until 1632.

Junius and the nuns at Heiligen Grab were also relatively unaffected by the war until 1632. Her primary concern in the early years of the war, like many other authors, was the "Kipper and Wipper" inflation due to the "bad gold" that was in circulation.³²⁹ She also wrote about the exceptional and unusual cold of 1626.³³⁰ High prices followed the harsh weather, and a great famine broke out so that "many people died of hunger

³²⁶ Ibid., fol. 191v.

³²⁷ Ibid., fol. 192v.

³²⁸ Ibid., fol. 220r.

³²⁹ Junius, "Bamberg im Schweden-Krieg," 9.

³³⁰ Ibid., 11.

because the poor did not have enough bread to eat.”³³¹ She did not connect this to the war but, rather, to the harsh weather.

Junius also included a brief examination of the witchcraft trials in Bamberg, likely because the event tested her commitment to her local bishop. In 1628, the bishop of Bamberg, Johann Georg Fuchs von Dornheim, executed many people during the witchcraft trial in Bamberg, regarded as one of the “most ferocious” witch-hunts in early modern Europe.³³² One of the victims was Maria Anna’s father, Johannes Junius.³³³ Johannes admitted to the charges against him on 5 July, but on 24 July he wrote a letter to his other daughter, Veronica, claiming that he had been forced to confess because of the horrible torture he had endured and explained how he and others, including those who testified against him, had been forced to lie under torture.³³⁴

As a Catholic nun under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Bamberg who had executed her father, Junius was in an uncomfortable position. In her chronicle she mentioned her father only briefly. She referenced the witch-trials that led to the execution of her father but never mentioned that her father was among those killed.³³⁵ She also doubted whether the victims of the trial were actually guilty, wondering how the “most stately and noblest people,” a group that included her father, could have been led to “the black cross” and stated that “whether everything occurred correctly, is known by

³³¹ *Ibid.*, 12.

³³² R. Po-Chia Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550–1750* (London: Routledge, 1992), 159–60.

³³³ Woodford, *Nuns as Historians*, 133–4. *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, s.v. “Johann Georg II. Fuchs von Dornheim,” accessed on 21 January 2014, <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118042114.html>.

³³⁴ “The Witch Persecution at Bamberg,” in *The Witch Persecutions in Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*, ed. George L. Burr, vol. 3, no. 4. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania History Department, 1898–1912), accessed 21 January 2014, <http://history.hanover.edu/texts/bamberg.html>. Maria Anna mentions her sister Veronica as it was the year she was married and that Maria Anna entered the convent. Junius, “Bamberg im Schweden-Krieg,” 8.

³³⁵ Junius, “Bamberg im Schweden-Krieg,” 12–3.

God alone.”³³⁶ The fear of persecution by the bishop of Bamberg would, however, quickly dissipate as a more terrifying force entered into her consciousness; the Swedish army was advancing.

The Swedes Approach

Even before the Swedish troops reached Bamberg, Junius and her fellow nuns were terrified of them. At the beginning of her description of the war, before she began to record specific dates, she wrote that the “King of Sweden” closed in on Bamberg.³³⁷ This caused her and her sisters to feel “great dread” because of what was to come.³³⁸ On 9 October, she wrote that news came that a “great army reached Königshofen,” a town located about 60 kilometers north-west of Bamberg.³³⁹ The enemy drew nearer. Junius described how Königshofen had been forced to surrender, since “no help was coming.”³⁴⁰ If help would not come for Königshofen, it seemed unlikely that it would for the nuns in Bamberg. More “bad news” came to Bamberg on 11 October, as “people said that the enemy left” the area around Königshofen. This information led Junius and others to believe that the Swedes were imminently headed towards Bamberg, triggering a new wave of fear.³⁴¹ On 14 October, the enemy, as Junius repeatedly referred to them, took Würzburg.³⁴² By late November, the Swedish army was only about fifteen kilometers north of Bamberg, plundering the town of Rattelsdorf.³⁴³ On 28 November,

³³⁶ Ibid., 13.

³³⁷ Ibid., 14.

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ Ibid., 15.

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴¹ Junius, “Bamberg im Schweden-Krieg,” 15–6.

³⁴² Ibid., 17–8.

³⁴³ Ibid., 21.

the enemy took the town of Zeil, located about twenty-five kilometers north-west of Bamberg.³⁴⁴

On 8 December, the enemy took Hallstadt, located less than five kilometers from Bamberg. The capture “brought terror to the hearts” of Junius and others.³⁴⁵ On the night of 24 December, as they were celebrating Christmas, the nuns heard “a mighty fuss and bother, with great cracks, like when it thunders, that filled our hearts with terror.”³⁴⁶ The Swedes had not yet taken over the city, but the constant fear remained, as they knew it could happen at any moment. On 11 February 1632, the city finally surrendered to the invading troops.³⁴⁷ As the nuns soon learned, their fear had been unfounded, since the invaders did not bring destruction but protection.

Unlike Junius and the nuns in Bamberg, Herold and her sisters escaped before the Swedes arrived. In April 1633, Herold and her nuns fled their convent out of fear of the invading Swedes and remained in exile in Tirol for the next two years.³⁴⁸ While dining with some guests on 14 April – the visiting abbot from Kaiserheim and Father Ernestes Schuster – Abbess Appollonia Wörl (r. 1624–1633) received some troubling news. The Swedes now had crossed the Danube and were closing in on the convent each day. She immediately decided that it was necessary for the nuns to abandon their convent.³⁴⁹ They left nearly everything behind, taking only the most valuable silverware, the most important documents, a barrel of wine, and some oats.³⁵⁰ Herold described the flight of the nuns and their journey to their temporary home. By 20 April, the nuns reached Bernbeuern, about 70 kilometers south of the convent. There, they ate lunch

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

³⁴⁷ Ibid., 30.

³⁴⁸ Shiedermaier, “Maria Elisabeth Herold,” 9. Woodford, *Nuns as Historians*, 169.

³⁴⁹ Herold, *Chronik*, fol. 226v.

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

and then proceeded to Füssen, about 20 kilometers further south, to spend the night.³⁵¹ Along the way, they were entirely dependent upon the kindness of individuals, like the wife of Hans Fukher who provided them with food and drink.³⁵² Finally, on 17 September 1632, the nuns arrived at their new temporary home, Schloss Thurnfeld located in the Tirolese town of Hall, about 10 kilometers east of Innsbruck, and more than 150 kilometers south of their home in Oberschönenfeld.³⁵³ From her castle in Hall she criticized Gustavus Adolphus and his troops calling them “godless people.”³⁵⁴

Interactions with the Swedes

Herold and her nuns were safe for the time being, at least from the Swedish troops. She would not have any interactions with the Swedes until after her return to Oberschönenfeld in 1635. In Tirol, the main aggressor at the time was plague, not the Swedish army. Herold wrote about an outbreak of plague in 1634 in Hall and other areas.³⁵⁵

Initially, after Bamberg was taken, the nuns at Heiligen Grab experienced some confessional tension, but this quickly dissipated. On 18 February 1632, Junius recorded that the invaders held a Lutheran service in the city’s cathedral and that the nuns were unable to have their own Mass there.³⁵⁶ This caused them great distress, but after the nuns begged for permission to hold Mass in their convent, the Swedish commanders granted their request.³⁵⁷ They held Mass two days later on Sunday 20 February.³⁵⁸ The invasion did not impede their freedom of worship.

³⁵¹ Ibid., fol. 227v.

³⁵² Ibid., fols. 231v–232r.

³⁵³ Ibid., fol. 234r.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., fol. 224v.

³⁵⁵ Ibid., fol. 242v.

³⁵⁶ Junius, “Bamberg im Schweden-Krieg,” 38.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., 39.

³⁵⁸ Ibid.

Around this same time, the nuns learned that a Swedish commander, Colonel Grel, and his wife wished to visit the convent.³⁵⁹ This request frightened the nuns. Questions abounded. What would happen? Would they be plundered, or worse, killed? Their fears were unfounded. When the colonel arrived with guests - two other colonels and all three of their wives - he attempted to calm the nuns by affirming that “the dignified nuns and sisters should not be afraid or alarmed” by the presence of the colonel and his guests. He assured them: “We have brought our wives along with us, and we come not as your enemy but rather as your good friend.”³⁶⁰ The nuns remained wary.³⁶¹ Only at the end of the visit that day did Junius finally believe that the colonel “wanted at all times to protect and help us.”³⁶²

The visit of Bernhard von Weimar, also referred to as Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, to Bamberg on 8 April 1634 demonstrated that the nuns often treated non-Catholic commanders with respect and hospitality.³⁶³ In 1631, Bernhard joined the Swedes.³⁶⁴ He and his brothers were educated at the Gnesio-Lutheran University of Jena, and, according to Wilson, “had a political and confessional agenda.”³⁶⁵ Parker describes the dukes of Saxe-Weimar, who included Bernhard, as the “implacable opponents of the Habsburgs and Electoral Saxony” and notes that the “radical professors” in Jena, for whom the dukes were the patrons, “declared their support” for the Bohemian rebels in 1619.³⁶⁶ After serving the Swedes, Bernhard switched to the French side in 1635. He commanded the troops in Swabia and Franconia.³⁶⁷ When he came to visit the nuns, they happily invited him into the convent. Junius wrote that he was very friendly with the

³⁵⁹ Ibid., 40.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 40–1.

³⁶¹ Ibid., 42.

³⁶² Ibid., 43.

³⁶³ Ibid., 182–4.

³⁶⁴ Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 466.

³⁶⁵ Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 330.

³⁶⁶ Parker, *The Thirty Years War*, 45.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 514–5.

nuns.³⁶⁸ As he was preparing to leave, Junius and the nuns offered him a bowl “full of delicious things” and repeatedly asked him “to take something out of the bowl” for his journey.³⁶⁹ Despite commanding “enemy” troops, Bernhard was accepted into the convent as a friend.

Over the course of the next few years, control of the town went back and forth between the Swedes and the Imperial troops. Junius reported on the reversals. Sometime in early March 1632, the Swedes retreated from the area as General Tilly’s troops approached.³⁷⁰ Then, in early February 1633, the Swedes returned.³⁷¹ As with the first occupation by the Swedes, the nuns received protection from the invaders against various threats and, on 10 February 1633, were able to negotiate a *salva guardia*, a guarantee of protection in return for a payment.³⁷²

Junius’ choice in April 1633 to invoke the intercession of St. George seems somewhat odd since, by this time, the nuns had experienced life with both Swedish and Imperial troops and had always escaped violence. It is possible that she was concerned about a new group of Swedish soldiers who were in the area around the same time. The nuns were unable to have their planned feast in honour of Saint Mark on 25 April out of fear of plunder.³⁷³ In the end, however, the nuns were not harmed in any way. Perhaps the most significant part of the invocation is the desire for peace, which seems like a fair request given the constant fear the nuns faced as a result of the war. Junius never knew whether the next group of soldiers would treat them like those before them, or if they would harm them. In this context, Junius’ plea for peace after suffering two years of constant warfare at their gates makes sense.

³⁶⁸ Junius, “Bamberg im Schweden-Krieg,” 183.

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

³⁷⁰ Ibid., 57–60.

³⁷¹ Ibid., 106.

³⁷² Ibid., 110–1. Wilson, *Europe’s Tragedy*, 402.

³⁷³ Junius, “Bamberg im Schweden-Krieg,” 135–6.

Junius ended her account in September 1634, even though the war continued for fifteen more years. She concluded her chronicle when the Swedes departed Bamberg.³⁷⁴ On 12 September, reiterating one of the reasons she began her account, she wrote: “when one wonders about what sort of danger we were in, one can find out by reading this little book.”³⁷⁵ In the final section of her chronicle Junius thanks God: “Thanks be to him for helping navigate us through a storm. I hope he will again grant us his holy peace.”³⁷⁶ She attributed the help from God to the faithfulness and chastity of the nuns.³⁷⁷ She also noted that the “enemy” had never “wounded” them and had always treated them respectfully.³⁷⁸ The war, in her eyes, was over.

Herold’s Return from Exile

Unlike Junius’ chronicle, Herold’s account did not end in 1634. In fact, her first-hand experience of the war and enemy troops did not begin until 1635. Two years after she was elected Abbess, she and her nuns returned to their convent in Oberschönenfeld.

The joy of returning to their convent in 1635 was tempered by shock at the state in which the Cistercian nuns found their beloved home. The convent was so ravaged that “no one would believe it without seeing it with their own eyes, since no image or sufficient description could make it clear.”³⁷⁹ Herold described the scene:

The entire convent was so thoroughly overrun with filth and disorder, completely covered, that it was necessary to cart out and carry away over 300 cartloads of debris. It was covered with nettles, thistles, thorns, and

³⁷⁴ Ibid., 222–3.

³⁷⁵ Ibid., 221.

³⁷⁶ Ibid., 223.

³⁷⁷ Ibid., 222.

³⁷⁸ Ibid., 221.

³⁷⁹ Herold, *Chronik*, fol. 243v.

other weeds ran wild and were overgrown as high as a person. It cost great effort, sweat, and labour to clear only a small part away by horse.³⁸⁰

The fear of the Swedes had forced the nuns from their home, and, in their absence, the convent was severely neglected and in disrepair. All Herold saw was destruction. Unlike Junius and the nuns at Heiligen Grab, Herold never had any first-hand contact with the Swedish army because she and her sisters had fled before their arrival.

The war, however, did not end for Herold once she and her nuns returned from exile to Oberschönenfeld. Herold continued to write her chronicle until her death in 1657. The next thirteen years had their troubles but provide a different perspective on the war than her observations before 1635. Whereas Herold had previously been overtly antagonistic towards the Swedes, who had occupied much of her attention and scorn, after 1635 more practical concerns prevailed. Herold's chronicle became more like those of Friesenegger and Junius. In these later years, and after the war, Herold wrote less about the "godless" Swedes. She saw this time as one of "fear and trouble because of the insecurity" caused by the war, but it was no longer predominantly about a fight against the Swedes.³⁸¹

Plague and hunger, two phenomena often described in personal narratives of the war, are prevalent themes in the years after the return to Oberschönenfeld. Already in 1635, not long after the nuns returned home, Herold began to write about deaths caused by plague and famine:

In this time, in the city of Augsburg and all of the surrounding area, in all the towns and villages and also in all of Germany, an unspeakable famine occurred, that killed many thousands of people from hunger but even more died from sickness and plague.³⁸²

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

³⁸¹ Herold, *Chronik*, fol. 251v.

³⁸² Ibid., fol. 244r.

The outbreak of plague in 1635 was extremely deadly, and many individuals, like Friesenegger, Feilinger, and Dietwar, felt the need to record it. Herold continued to describe the horrors of the plague and famine of 1635:

There were people that in such horrifying hunger ate all kinds of dreadful, abnormal things, like dogs, cats, chickadees, and horses. Leather was chopped off carriages, boiled and eaten, as was grass, nettles, and flax cakes. What was most horrible of all was that people ate dead bodies, and what is even worse, bodies of people who died from the sickness. Even those who had already been in a grave for a few days were exhumed and eaten out of hunger.³⁸³

Herold's narrative of famine and plague proceeds from one ghastly tale to the next, reminding us that soldiers were not the only cause of suffering during the war. One passage in particular demonstrates the devastation that occurred in her area. She recounted the story of one family:

There was a builder, who was known to be a good man by everyone in this convent. He had a wife and a fourteen-year-old daughter who was sick. Since this good man died, and since his wife and this good child were bereft, this godless wife, possibly out of great distress and hunger, struck this poor child in the head with an axe and stabbed her, and then the mother and others ate the girl.³⁸⁴

Horrible accounts like this indicate that the period after returning to the convent until the end of the war had a significant impact on Herold.

The nuns were not able to evade the famine entirely, although it seems that they were not as severely affected as others. Herold wrote that she and her nuns often suffered from "hunger and thirst," but did not record that they ate "dreadful, abnormal things."³⁸⁵ Either she was unwilling to record the unusual measures that they had to take

³⁸³ Ibid., fols. 244r–v.

³⁸⁴ Herold, *Chronik*, fol. 244v.

³⁸⁵ Ibid., fol. 245r.

to survive, which is possible since it could have tarnished the reputation of the convent, or, just as likely, the nuns were not in as dire a position as neighbouring civilians.

Herold, unlike her predecessor, chose to stay in the convent, even though she knew that encounters with soldiers were inevitable. Like Junius and the nuns in Bamberg, Herold was able to secure protection for her convent. She recorded her ability to negotiate a *salva guardia* from the Imperial Colonel Fugger, governor (*Statthalter*) of Augsburg.³⁸⁶ This protection, however, was not always as effective as the nuns would have hoped. She wrote about various experiences with soldiers who ignored the *salva guardia* and broke into the convent and took various things, including one of their cows.³⁸⁷ In 1637, some soldiers stole oxen from the nuns.³⁸⁸ Herold was afraid of soldiers, but she was also frustrated by the burden they became throughout the war, as they deprived the convent of its money, food, and livestock.³⁸⁹ Within a span of fourteen days in 1638, the nuns had to pay a total of 400 florins to one Colonel Springer, for whom there is no other information.³⁹⁰

After Herold's return, it is often unclear to which army she is referring in her chronicle. She rarely includes the affiliation of the troops whom she often harshly criticized for their shocking violence against civilians. She confirmed this violence perpetrated by soldiers by often insisting, "what I write, I saw with my own eyes."³⁹¹ The only troops mentioned around the time of these events were those from Franconia, Bavaria, and France but it is unclear which, if any, of these were responsible.³⁹²

³⁸⁶ Ibid., fols. 245v-246r. Herold is referring to Ottheinrich Fugger, an Imperial colonel who became Stattholder in 1635. *Neue Deutsche Biographie* s.v. "Fugger, Ottheinrich", accessed on 10 September 2014, <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd115732624.html>. See also Mark Häberlein, *The Fuggers of Augsburg: Pursuing Wealth and Honor in Renaissance Germany* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012).

³⁸⁷ Herold, *Chronik*, fol. 246r.

³⁸⁸ Ibid., fol. 251r.

³⁸⁹ Ibid., fols. 252r-253v.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., fol. 253v.

³⁹¹ Ibid., fols. 258r, 258v.

³⁹² Ibid., fol. 257r.

Complicating the identification of the soldiers is the somewhat scattered nature of her entries after Herold's return to Oberschönenfeld. After 1635, she abandoned her meticulous chronological method.

The Enemy

Despite the protection offered to her convent by the Swedes, Junius always distinguished between "our soldiers" and "the enemy." This distinction was not confessionally motivated.³⁹³ Her soldiers were her local troops, those who fought to protect her area, and the enemy always represented the invaders. This is not particularly surprising, and it is comparable to the use of the term in other accounts, like the chronicle of Maurus Friesenegger.³⁹⁴ Her references to "the enemy" and "our soldiers" did not bear positive or negative connotations. The distinction between Imperial and enemy soldiers seems to be a tool to differentiate between the sides rather than a way of indicating contempt or for condemning the enemy.

Junius did, however, record instances of aggression by the "enemy." In February 1633, she wrote that while quartering in Breitengüßbach, located about ten kilometers north of Bamberg, the enemy "started various great fires."³⁹⁵ The Swedes carried out attacks against towns near Bamberg, which Junius felt the need to record. Despite including Swedish violence, she did not write about these events in confessional terms, nor did she overtly condemn them.

Junius briefly commented on the death of Gustavus Adolphus, noting the death of Imperial General Pappenheim as well. On 16 November 1632, ten days after the two men died at the Battle of Lützen, Junius wrote about the losses, noting that thousands

³⁹³ Junius, "Bamberg im Schweden-Krieg," 58.

³⁹⁴ See chapter 2 for more on Friesenegger.

³⁹⁵ Junius, "Bamberg im Schweden-Krieg," 106.

had perished.³⁹⁶ When she wrote about Pappenheim, she thought of him as “our side’s general.”³⁹⁷ She did not use the term “enemy” to describe Gustavus Adolphus but did include a comment that those who followed him called him “their holy King.”³⁹⁸

Although, the sisters at Heiligen Grab were permitted to stay in their convent and protected by the Swedes, not all Catholics were so fortunate. Junius recorded that on 11 April 1634 “an entire troop” of Swedish soldiers broke into the Jesuit college in Bamberg only three days after Bernhard von Weimar had visited the nuns. The Swedes arrived during early morning Mass, extinguished the candles, relieved the Jesuits of their keys, and “plundered everything.” The rector of the college protested to Field Marshal Count Johann Philipp Cratz zu Scharffenstein, the Imperial general who had turned traitor by joining the Swedes, but in vain. On the following day, all sixteen Jesuits were compelled to leave Bamberg.³⁹⁹

Junius did not perceive the war as a confessional conflict because of her personal experience of the Swedes. Although she noted the plundering of other Catholics by the Swedes, they had been her protectors. She and her sisters often felt fear and uncertainty throughout the period, but they were able to survive the years 1632–1634 relatively unscathed. Despite her confessional identity, Junius had a favourable conception of the Swedish army.

Herold did not identify her enemy as Junius did. She began to write her chronicle following her election as abbess on 17 August 1633, after the nuns had already fled their

³⁹⁶ Ibid., 101.

³⁹⁷ Ibid.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

³⁹⁹ Junius, “Bamberg im Schweden-Krieg,” 184–85. On Cratz, see *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, s. v. “Craz, Johann Philipp,” accessed on 10 September 2014, [http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd137743254.html? anchor=adb](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd137743254.html?anchor=adb).

convent.⁴⁰⁰ Looking back to 1618, she commented on the beginning of the war, lamenting its destruction and devastation:

My quill is almost unwilling to write and my poor mind unable to comprehend, that in our dear fatherland great disorder arose. Peace and love, tolerance and fidelity had departed from our land, in cities and villages, among both clergy and laypeople, and took such a protracted pause, that there is no more hope for our times to see or to hear of these things, because they have completely vanished. The more powerful and violent, that is the lord and prince of the darkness [the devil], has taken up his position and occupied these places with discord, war, strife, quarrels, envy, hate, resentment, deception, falsehood, and similar evils.⁴⁰¹

As she continued to write about the beginning of the war, Herold's confessional animosity towards Lutherans became apparent. She blamed Lutherans for the war, asking, "who chased away the good and introduced the evil in our dear fatherland?" She answered: "cursed Lutheranism, the Lutheran faith and their followers."⁴⁰² Lutherans, and Gustavus Adolphus, their leader, were her enemy. Before 1635, she constantly referred to the Swedish army as "the enemy." Herold's contempt towards Gustavus Adolphus, his army, and German Lutherans, in general, is apparent in some of the phrases and words she used to describe them. He and his troops were "godless people."⁴⁰³ She believed that Gustavus Adolphus' invasion of the empire was confessionally motivated:

The king of Sweden, who with his army had been enticed by the godless heretics to leave his own kingdom, entered into this one, our own land. Thus, these godless people brought with them godless customs and evil changes and left them behind.⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰⁰ Herold, *Chronik*, fol. 241r.

⁴⁰¹ Herold, *Chronik*, fols. 224r–v.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, fol. 224v.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁴ Herold, *Chronik*, fol. 224v.

Although Herold believed that German Protestants had invited Gustavus Adolphus into the Empire, in reality, the king had been unable to “persuade any Germans other than the Stralsunders to request his help.”⁴⁰⁵ Protestant propaganda led Herold and other Catholics to believe erroneously that German Protestant princes had invited the Swedes into the Empire.⁴⁰⁶ According to Wilson, another nun, Juliana Ernst of Villingen, believed that “the duke of Württemberg and other Protestant princes had invited Gustavus ‘for help so that they could get the monasteries back again.’”⁴⁰⁷ Propaganda had affected how some Catholics perceived the king and had coloured Herold’s experience.

Herold labeled the main part of the conflict the “Swedish War,” marking its beginning when “the king of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, came to the German land.”⁴⁰⁸ Before he invaded and moved south in 1630, Swabia had suffered relatively little, since most of the fighting had taken place in Bohemia and the northern parts of the Holy Roman Empire. Catholic troops had decisively won most of the battles fought up to that point. All of that changed upon the arrival of the Swedish King. The Swedes rapidly marched south defeating the Imperial and Bavarian troops and conquering traditionally Catholic lands. After the invasion of Gustavus Adolphus, she wrote that “the enemy came again further and closer into our beloved fatherland. Everyone was in danger.”⁴⁰⁹

Although the French joined the war on the side of the Swedes, Herold continued to refer to the war as the “Swedish War” until its completion in 1648.⁴¹⁰ Despite including other combatants in her chronicle, like the French, she continued to think of the war in terms of her main enemy, the Swedes. Herold dated the beginning of the war to the invasion of the Swedes, not to 1618 when the Defenestration of Prague occurred. She

⁴⁰⁵ Wilson, *Europe’s Tragedy*, 463.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 462.

⁴⁰⁷ Wilson, *Europe’s Tragedy*, 462.

⁴⁰⁸ Herold, *Chronik*, fol. 225r.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 225v.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, fols. 263r, 266v, 267v, 269v, 272v.

focused on the years of suffering that she had endured instead of the larger narrative of the Thirty Years War. As the war continued, her narrative became decreasingly confessionally antagonistic, although some disdain for the Protestant Swedes remained throughout her chronicle.

Conclusion

Maria Anna Junius and Elizabeth Herold perceived the war differently. For Junius the Swedes were her protectors, while for Herold the Swedes brought destruction. Junius did not have a positive conception of these troops before they arrived: in fact, they terrified her. As she began to experience the war, the behaviour of the Swedes challenged her pre-conceived notions, since the troops did not attack her convent. Junius' fears about the Swedish invasion were unfounded, while Herold complained as her convent fell into disrepair during the Swedish occupation. Herold's experience reinforced her confessional pre-conceptions. After she and her sisters returned to their convent, the confessional animus diminished in her chronicle. The nuns constructed their divergent interpretations of the Swedes, and more generally of the war, through their experiences.

After 1633, Herold's account became more like Junius' chronicle. While in exile, Herold had a limited experience of the war. Upon her return to Oberschönenfeld, she had to confront the reality of the war. Swedes were bad, but the war itself was worse. The violence committed by soldiers was minor in comparison with plague, famine, and contributions paid to their own troops. Her understanding of the war changed as the years passed and as she experienced it firsthand, rather than through news from afar in a castle in Tirol.

Conclusion

At the beginning of his *History of the Thirty Years War*, Friedrich Schiller contrasted the “political inducements” that spurred the resistance of the German princes to the Austrian Habsburgs with the religious fervour that “roused the passions of the people” and sustained their enthusiasm for war. Schiller maintained:

What the most pressing danger of the state could not gain from the citizens, was effected by religious zeal. For the state, or for the prince, few would have drawn the sword; but for religion, the merchant, the artist, the peasant, all cheerfully flew to arms. For the state, or for the prince, even the smallest additional impost would have been avoided; but for religion the people readily staked at once life, fortune, and all earthly hopes.⁴¹¹

For Schiller, the Thirty Years War was a religious war.⁴¹² “Citizens” were willing to give up everything to fight for their faith. Without “religious zeal,” Schiller claimed few would have “drawn the sword.” His assumption is incorrect, as this study has demonstrated. Faith and religion helped people to endure the war on a personal level, but religious beliefs alone did not compel them to “cheerfully [fly] to arms.” The boundaries between enemy and ally were hazy throughout the war, and confessional allegiance rarely was the only factor that led to the formation of the concept of the enemy among the clergy and nuns whom I have studied.

Undoubtedly, religion and confession were major components of the Thirty Years War. Re-Catholicization was a reality for many Protestants before the invasion of the Gustavus Adolphus in 1630. Bartholomäus Dietwar related a story in his memoir about

⁴¹¹ Schiller, *Thirty Years' War*, 7.

⁴¹² Ibid.

the unwillingness that this re-Catholicization faced. After the expulsion of Lutheran pastors, like Dietwar, in Kitzingen, the bishop of Würzburg brought in Jesuits and other Catholic priests to reconvert the inhabitants. Dietwar recounted a story about the new priest of Etwashausen, a neighbourhood in Kitzingen. Father Zipffel asked a local youth how many sacraments there were, to which the youth responded nine, an odd answer for Catholics or Protestants. When asked to explain, the youth replied that the nine included the “two we had, and the seven you have brought along with you.”⁴¹³ Dietwar’s choice to record this anecdote is telling. In the paragraph before the story, he described how Zipffel – to whom Dietwar later refers as a “blasphemer” – gave the “first Papist sermon” on 8 March.⁴¹⁴ Immediately after the story, Dietwar wrote that “the first antichristian sermon” was held on 7 April in Hoheim.⁴¹⁵ The story about the youth demonstrates that confessional tensions were important to Dietwar during the war, and coloured his remembrance of it when he wrote his memoir in 1648.

The war, however, was more than just a religious or confessional contest. It devastated the civilian population through plague and famine. People from all confessions were victims. The suffering caused by hunger and plague had more of an impact on Maurus Friesenegger than confessional tensions. In 1637, Friesenegger thanked God for the previous year, writing, “Praise God in all things! And a thousand thanks to him, that this year the only thing that struck us was the bitter scourge of the war.”⁴¹⁶ War was a relief in comparison to plague and famine. Undoubtedly, these horrors shaped his experience more than religious conflict.

None of the authors whom I have examined had identical experiences. Each author’s personality, geographical location, confessional beliefs, and experience shaped his or her perception of the war. Maria Anna Junius and Elizabeth Herold, both nuns in

⁴¹³ Dietwar, *Leben*, 54, 64.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁶ Friesenegger, *Tagebuch*, 65.

Catholic areas, had radically different perceptions of the war that were informed by their radically different experiences. Some authors experienced the war confessionally, others less so. In the case of those who did conceptualize the war confessionally, experience considerably contributed to the construction of their interpretation.

The Thirty Years War was not exclusively a religious war, a confessional war, a holy war, a secular war, a war for princely liberties, nor any other narrow label applied by scholars. It was all of these things and much more. It caused many deaths by violence but many more from plague. It caused fear. It was disruptive and devastating. The only real generalization that can be made about the experiences of the individuals that I have examined is that the war was destructive, deadly, and unwelcome. There was no other common experience, nor was there one “definitive” interpretation of the war. Labeling the Thirty Years War a religious or confessional war ignores the experiences of numerous individuals and marginalizes all other aspects of it.

The “religious war” label is not only unrepresentative, it is misleading. William T. Cavanaugh challenges the label “religious war” because the dichotomy between religion and the secular “sanctions the condemnation of certain kinds of violence and the overlooking of other kinds of violence.”⁴¹⁷ It emphasizes and condemns religious violence, while ignoring secular violence. Wars have undoubtedly been initiated and fought for secular reasons, but, although the term “religious war” has been popular, the term “secular war” has not. The term “Age of Religious Wars,” however, abounds in scholarship and textbooks.

What is abundantly unclear about the term, in Cavanaugh’s opinion, is when a war stops being religious and becomes something else. He wonders at what point the political, social and economic factors start to outweigh any religious motivations.⁴¹⁸ Ultimately, the religious war debate hinges on this point. Scholars who give primacy to

⁴¹⁷ William T. Cavanaugh, *The Myth of Religious Violence: Secular Ideology and the Roots of Modern Conflict* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 16.

⁴¹⁸ Cavanaugh, *The Myth of Religious Violence*, 11.

religious causes tend to treat it as a religious war. Those who prioritize the political, economic, or social causes do not. Cavanaugh, however, recognizes a significant flaw with both of these arguments. He argues that it is an anachronism to label the Thirty Years War as a religious war because there was no distinction between religious and secular concerns during the seventeenth century.⁴¹⁹ He maintains: “the divide is a modern invention.”⁴²⁰ John Bossy shares this view. Before 1700, according to Bossy, “nobody disputed that religion was an attribute of individuals or communities, or thought it something which existed apart from those who felt it or acted in accordance with it.”⁴²¹ Religion was inherent to both individual and communal life in the sixteenth century. Scholars who argue that the Thirty Years War was a religious war separate religion from the secular, two concepts that were inextricably intertwined.

The post-French Revolution narrative that Enlightenment ideals, secularism, and liberalism somehow “vanquished religion in Europe” and replaced the “age of religious wars” with a “rational, peace-making, bourgeois, liberal state” ignores the reality of the Thirty Years War.⁴²² It follows Schiller’s interpretation of the war far more than the one that emerges from the experiences of civilians in the war. This has some modern implications, influencing how modern Western civilization views the relationship between religion and the state, with the state firmly in control. By labelling a war, such as the Thirty Years War, a “religious war,” scholars are reinforcing the narrative of religion as something inherently violent that needs to be controlled by the “rational,” secular, nation-state. The argument that religion is somehow inherently violent, or that religion and society were separate or separable in the minds of individuals in Early Modern Europe are both untenable. These assumptions are two fundamental flaws in the use of the label “religious war.”

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., 158–59.

⁴²⁰ Ibid., 159.

⁴²¹ John Bossy, *Christianity in the West: 1400–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 170.

⁴²² Cavanaugh, *The Myth of Religious Violence*, 136–37; Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: Avon Books, 1992), 259–60.

Without these narratives of a religious war or one for princely liberties, of a universally destructive war, of a fight against Habsburg hegemony, what can we say about the Thirty Years War? How should we approach the chaos of this war and how should we refer to it? By discarding the label of religious war, scholars not only can avoid the unintended connotations of the term but they also can address the war on its own terms. Rather than arguing for or against the term, various possibilities open up. This study represents only one small aspect of the war that remains to be examined. There are hundreds of sources that scholars have neglected, hundreds of individuals whose experiences have not informed the historical record. In this thesis, I have shown that even though the experiences of individuals were so different, they can teach us something about the Thirty Years War.

When I began this project, I was convinced that the war was not a religious war. I was doing exactly what I was trying to disprove, looking for a general experience so that I could categorize the war in some way, just like the scholars who argued that it was a religious war. As I read the personal accounts of the war, to my surprise, it became clear that there were various interpretations and experiences. But there were also many commonalities among the accounts. The descriptions of fear, plundering, bad weather, high prices caused by inflation or poor harvests, and of suffering caused by famine and plague, appeared in many accounts. For all, in some way, religion was a part of their experience, whether because they were persecuted for their confessional affiliation, or because they were religious people whose lives were shaped by their beliefs. Most of the authors I have examined included at least one prayer in their account. Religious and secular concerns were both a part of how people interpreted the war. By abandoning our focus on the war as a predominantly religious conflict and examining the central themes of the accounts of individuals, we can understand what the war was like for the vast majority who had to endure it.

One significant commonality that each observer faced was fear. While violence was not a unifying experience among the individuals examined in this thesis, the fear of

violence most certainly was. Fear for Dietwar began as early as 1618, with the appearance of the comet.⁴²³ It would continue throughout the war, sometimes passing from fear of violence into the experience of violence. Junius constantly wrote about the fear that she and her sisters felt as the Swedes approached Bamberg. Ernst and her sisters were terrified about what would happen to them if they were caught by the Swedes when they fled their convent.⁴²⁴ Friesenegger often feared soldiers, famine, and plague and was anxious about the future.⁴²⁵ Despite their unique experiences, each person feared for their lives and their future.

Fear in the context of the Thirty Years War was especially important since it was more than just an emotion. Andreas Bähr demarcates the difference between pre- and post-Enlightenment understandings of the affects of fear: “these ‘scourges’ of fear must not be regarded as mere metaphors. In the seventeenth century, fear and anxiety were perceived to be physically violent.” Many believed that “fear and anxiety were able to affect not only the imagination but also the physical world” and that the “power of imagination” was “thought to be able to cause those things it imagined and signified.” Bähr observes: “Fear of violence appeared to many to be more terrifying than the violence that was feared.”⁴²⁶ While we cannot ascribe an overarching narrative of religious war, holy war, or secular war to the experiences of the war, there was a common experience of fear that had a significant mental and physical aspect to it.

The Thirty Years War was chaotic, erratic, and tragic. It is important to remember this as we attempt to understand it, rather than trying to compress the experiences of individuals into a neat category. Instead of using inapplicable labels like “religious war,” we should attempt to understand the war on its own terms and let the

⁴²³ Dietwar, *Leben*, 25.

⁴²⁴ Ernst, *Chronik des Bickenklosters*, 132.

⁴²⁵ Friesenegger, *Tagebuch*, 30.

⁴²⁶ Andreas Bähr, “Remembering Fear. The Fear of Violence and the Violence of Fear in Seventeenth-Century War Memories,” in *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe* edited by Erika Kuijpers, Judith Pollmann, Johannes Müller & Jasper van der Steen (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2013), 270, 272, 271.

experiences of individuals speak for themselves. We should abandon the traditional and restrictive view of the religious war and turn our attention to the experience of those who fought, suffered, and died in those thirty years and of those who survived them.

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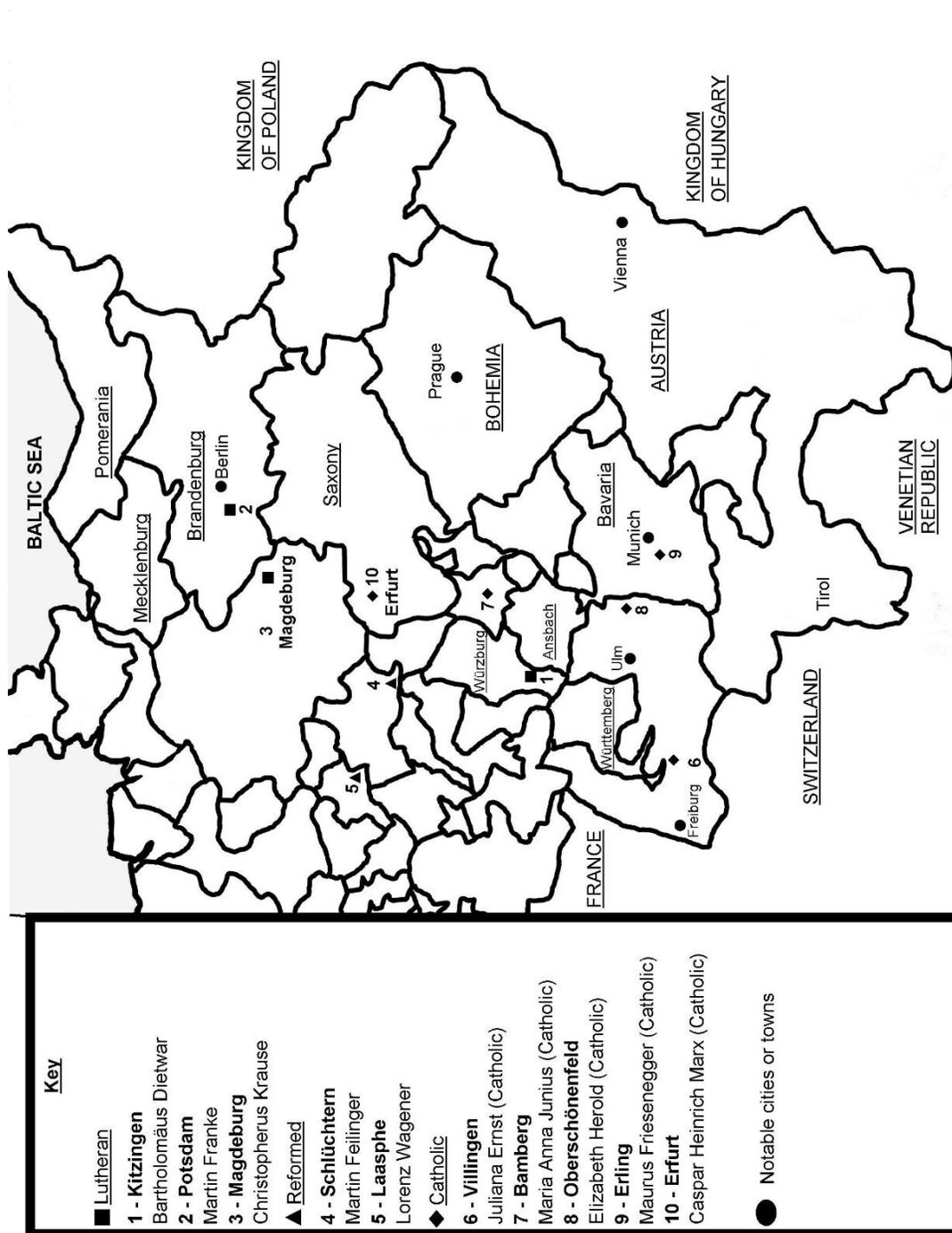
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Appendix A.

Map of the Holy Roman Empire



Works consulted in production of this map: Peter Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy: A New History of the Thirty Years War* (London: Penguin, 2010), xx–xxi; "Holy Roman Empire, 1648," *Wikimedia Commons* accessed on 15 September 2014, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Holy_Roman_Empire_1648.svg#mediaviewer/File:Holy_Roman_Empire_1648.svg; Shepherd, William R., *Historical Atlas* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1911), 122–123 accessed on 15 September 2014 from http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/shepherd_1911/shepherd-c-122-123.jpg; Shepherd, William R., "The Religious Situation in Central Europe about 1618" *The Historical Atlas* (1923) accessed on 15 September 2014, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/shepherd/central_europe_relig_1923.jpg; Labberton, Robert H., "Europe in 1648. Peace of Westphalia; showing especially (a,) The Possessions of the two branches of the house of Habsburg at the end of the Thirty Years War (purple). (b,) The possessions of the house of Hohenzollern, (union of Prussia with Brandenburg [blue.]). (c,) The Swedish Empire on both shores of the Baltic and in Northern Germany. (d,) The Danish Monarchy, Denmark, Norway, and Schonen. (e,) The British isles, with the battle-fields of the civil wars. (f,) France, with the battle-fields of the civil wars [red]. (g,) Germany with the battle-fields of the Thirty Years War. (h,) The republic of Poland in its greatest extent. (i,) The Western Boundary of Russia," *An Historical Atlas Containing a Chronological Series of One Hundred and Four Maps, at Successive Periods, from the Dawn of History to the Present Day*" (1884) accessed on 15 September 2014 from http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/europe_1648_westphal_1884.jpg.

Appendix B.

Currency

The cost of grain in Dietwar's text is given in numerous different currencies (batzen, gulden, thaler, kreuzer). Christopher Friedrichs notes that in Nördlingen 1 florin was equivalent to 60 kreuzer.⁴²⁷ One pfennig was equivalent to 4/17 of a kreuzer.⁴²⁸ Govind P. Sreenivasan's confirms this for Ottobeuren. According to Sreenivasan the currencies were roughly equivalent as follows:

$$1 \text{ gulden (fl.)} = 15 \text{ batzen} = 60 \text{ kreuzer} = 480 \text{ heller}^{429}$$

Peter Wilson also notes that 1 taler was equivalent to 1.5 florins.⁴³⁰ By combining these conversion rates together results in the following:

$$1 \text{ gulden/florin} = 0.67 \text{ taler} = 15 \text{ batzen} = 60 \text{ kreuzer} = 255 \text{ pfennige}$$

Wilson's "Note on Currencies" in *Europe's Tragedy* suggests that "7.5–10 florins would buy enough grain to feed a person for a whole year in 1618."⁴³¹ Following Sreenivasan and Friedrichs' values, this would be approximately 112–150 batzen per year or 450–600 kreuzer per year.

427 Christopher R. Friedrichs, *Urban Society in an Age of War: Nördlingen, 1580–1720* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), xvi.

428 Ibid.

429 Govind P. Sreenivasan, *The Peasants of Ottobeuren, 1487–1726: A Rural Society in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), xvii.

430 Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, xxii.

431 Ibid.