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'To remain unaltered in the courage you have inherited from your ancestors':

Magdeburg under siege, 1547-1631

Dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy

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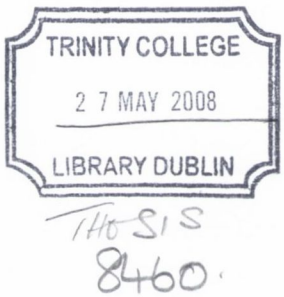
2008



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SUMMARY

The siege of Magdeburg 1550-1551 became an important reference point for the city in the early years of the Thirty Years War, as demonstrated in several printed works of the 1620s. The crisis which ended in Magdeburg's destruction in 1631 has not been much studied from the point of view of print culture, although this is, due to archival depletion, a relatively useful perspective. Printed works issuing from the town are in fact numerous, although they came from a relatively small group of authors and their number declined steeply as the Thirty Years War progressed. The narrative which historians have constructed of events leading up to the siege has not changed since the late nineteenth century, despite advances in knowledge delivered from the archives. For this reason, this thesis, while examining print culture in Magdeburg in the early Thirty Years War with particular reference to the frequent recourse had by authors to the town's role in the Schmalkaldic wars of the mid-sixteenth century, offers simultaneously some elements of reconstruction to the narrative of the events of these years.

The first three chapters of the thesis work almost exclusively on print culture. The first chapter outlines the 'Interim dispute' of the mid-sixteenth century, and explained how it made Magdeburg a centre for print. It suggests a reinterpretation of the legacy of printed works from the siege of 1550 – 1551 in the context of the particular dilemma of rebellion in the Holy Roman Empire. It seeks to identify grounds on which to distinguish between forms of criticism acceptable and unacceptable to civic and princely authorities in time of religious war, by considering the works of the one author castigated for his role in printed resistance, Erasmus Alber. In the context of the limits suggested by the reception of Alber's work, it offers a reappraisal of the best-known work to emerge from Magdeburg in this period, the *Magdeburg Confession*. It proposes that the *Confession*, though celebrated historiographically as a key text in the development of resistance theory, should be considered in the context of its time and local legacy primarily as an exercise in clerical admonition of secular authority

The second chapter examines a number of local histories of the siege produced between 1551 and 1622, identifying elements of Magdeburg's qualified victory which were susceptible to varying interpretations over time. Considering the works of Sebastian Besselmeyer, Heinrich Merckel, Johann Pomarius and Elias Pomarius, it observes tensions between the need to protect the town's reputation and the need to deliver through its history certain messages to its citizens. It suggests that the need to criticise was paramount by 1622, and that this may be understood as an indication of the need to maintain order within the town.

The third chapter investigates the context of the 1622 history of the sixteenth-century siege under a number of headings. It identifies the problems obliquely discussed in that work as the 'tumults' resulting from the inflationary crisis affecting Magdeburg at that time. It examines the body of literature produced in Magdeburg on the subject of inflation, introducing in particular the figure of Dr Christian Gilbert de Spaignart, a pastor who has been accused by historians of driving the town towards disaster in 1631. Connecting the works of Spaignart and Pomarius in the context of clerical admonition of Magdeburg's town council, it investigates connections between clergy and scholars in town. It examines their collaboration on particular disputes and establishes that their presentation of these disputes had the potential to extend tensions arising from the inflationary crisis beyond the period when it was most acute. It examines through references to the siege in the works of schoolteacher and poet Johann Bloc the manifesation of some of the tensions of the inflationary crisis to 1624. Finally, there is a brief consideration of war news as a literary model sharing some features with histories of the siege, but providing a message which would tend to counteract them.

The fourth chapter considers the period of from Wallenstein's blockade of Magdeburg to the return of the Administrator of the Archdiocese, Christian Wilhelm of Brandenburg. It builds on the information presented in the third chapter in reconsidering the city's trajectory into crisis after 1628, presenting especially the evidence from print and manuscript of incidents which challenged the authority of a town council allegedly struggling to hold the peace against anti-imperial factions. It identifies grounds for paying increased attention to divisions within the town council, and queries the extent of the clergy's influence over the 'plenipotentiaries' representing the military divisons of the town and the new town council of 1630. It argues against the traditional representation of a party of anti-imperial clergy driving constitutional reform and agitating for the return of the Administrator.

The fifth chapter extends this analysis into the period of the town's Swedish alliance and the aftermath of the crisis. It concentrates on the figure of Christian Gilbert de Spaignart, and argues that neither print nor manuscript evidence from this period supports the usual explanation offered for the disaster of 1631 of polarisation in the town between pro-imperial councillors and anti-imperial factions supporting the return of the Administrator. It argues that a broader base of support could be found in the town for an appeal for protection from Electoral Saxony, and examines print and archival evidence that this was the strategy adopted by Spaignart.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*
GSPK	Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin)
HKA	Hofkammerarchiv Wien (Vienna)
LHSA	Landeshauptarchiv für Sachsen-Anhalt (Magdeburg)
MGAT	Karl Wittich, *Magdeburg, Gustav Adolf und Tilly* (Two vols, Berlin, 1874).
MGB	Geschichtsblätter *für Stadt und Land Magdeburg: Mitteilungen des* Vereins *für Geschichte und Altertumskunde des Herzogtums Und Erzstifts Magdeburg.* 1886(1) – 1939/41 (74/5).
RC	Rigsarkivet (Copenhagen)
ÖNB	Handschriften Abteilung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Vienna)
SAM	Stadtarchiv Magdeburg
SBB	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz
SUBH	Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg
UBGtn	Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen
UBGsn	Universitätsbibliothek Giessen
VD16	Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts http://www.vd16.de
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CONVENTIONS

All quotations in the main body of the thesis have been translated into English; footnotes are in the original language. Statistical citations from vd17.de are correct to July 2007. Dates are Old Style unless otherwise stated.

INTRODUCTION

1. Explanation of Approach

In March 1631, less than two months before Magdeburg was stormed, sacked, and burned to the ground, King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden addressed a letter to the citizens of the town. As the ally in whose support Magdeburg had formally abandoned neutrality in the Thirty Year's War, he knew that his assistance was anxiously awaited, and assured the people of Magdeburg that his army would arrive in time to relieve them. He wrote

> also in order to remind you, from both a Christian and other perspectives, through your own prior history, which is highly celebrated and which stands to the undying honour of yourselves and of your posterity, that that which God the almighty wishes to render great, His Omnipotence has often first tended to plunge into not inconsiderable difficulties ... in order to increase further still their glory; and also that you are enduring the present Blockade in a cause pleasing to God just as for this reason you were miraculously rescued from the still much greater power of Charles V in the years of 1551 and 1552 ... According to all of which we most graciously advise you, not to change in the courage which you have inherited from your ancestors and which you have in fact already shown yourselves, but that you will dispose yourselves and your fellow citizens to Christian and glorious steadfastness.[1]

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[1] dabenen auch Euch aus Euren vorigen eignen, durch die ganze Welt, zu Euren und Euerer werthen Posterität unsterblichen Ehren, hochgerühmten Geschichten, christlich und sonst erinnern, dass, was Gott der allmächtige gross machen will, ein solches seine Allmacht öfters vorher in nicht geringe Difficultäten ... ihre Glorie desto hoeher zu erheben, zu versenken pflege, es auch eben die gottgefällige Sache sei, warum sie die itzige Bloquirung gedulden, mit deren darum sie Anno 1551 und 1552 wieder weit grössere Macht des Caroli V wunderbarlich errettet ... Dem allen nach gesinnen Wir an Euch gnädigst, Ihr wollet die Euch angestammt und in der that schon erwiesene Courage nicht changiren, sondern Euch, Eure Mitbürger zu christlicher, rühmlicher Beständigkeit disponiren. Letter, Gustavus Adolphus to the town of Magdeburg, March 1631, reproduced in *Arkiv till upplysning om Svenska krigens och krigsinrättningarnes historia* (Stockholm, 1854), i. 284

This was not the first time that the people of Magdeburg had been exhorted to remember their predecessors of the mid-sixteenth century, who had defied imperial armies after the defeat of their allies in the Schmalkaldic wars. The early years of the Thirty Years War had seen the people of Magdeburg reminded repeatedly, subtly and explicitly, at length and in glancing references, of their ancestors' success in surviving an assault by the allies of the emperor and in keeping despite their travails to the pure Lutheran faith. The 1629 blockade by Wallenstein's armies had already been described in a popular printed history as the town's 'second siege',[2] and this perspective has persisted in the historiography of the event: it has been suggested in a recent history of Magdeburg that the confidence gained by the citizens from the recollection of the sixteenth-century siege sustained them on that occasion,[3] and that the literature produced during that siege may be seen as a foreshadowing of the climax of resistance in 1631.[4]

Connections between the two events have been the subject of some brief studies which have sought primarily to explain themes and references in a small number of literary texts. The importance of both events for the literary culture of the period has been investigated in two brief studies which take the two sieges as

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2 [Anon.] *Die andere Belägerung der Stadt Magdeburg/ Oder Warhafftige beschreibung/ warumb und aus was ursachen/ die Hänse-Stadt Magdeburg/ von der Keyserl. Armee blocquiret ... : Hierneben ist ein Verzeichnüß zu befinden/ wie hoch die Victual- unnd Essenwahren im Preiß gewesen/ unnd auffs thewerste/ zeitwerender Blocquirung dieselbe verkaufft seynd* ([s.l.] 1629, repr [s.l.], 1630)

3 Ditmar Schneider, 'Die alte stadt Magdeburg zwischen den fronten 1618-31' in Matthias Puhle (ed.), *'... ganz verheeret!' Magdeburg und der Dreißigjährige Krieg; Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte und Katalog zur Ausstellung des Kulturhistorischen Museums Magdeburg im Kunstmuseum Kloster Unser Lieben frauen 2. Oktober 1988 bis 31. Januar 1999* (Magdeburg, 2000), 369-94, 372.

4 Puhle (ed.), *'... ganz verheeret!'*, 103.

their subject matter.[5] Thomas Kaufmann has given a brief overview of projections of themes from the sixteenth-century siege into the years before the destruction of Magdeburg, but his interest is primarily in the literature produced during the earlier siege.[6] Recent scholarship on the period between 1547 and 1631 has come in the form of new general histories of Magdeburg,[7] which have not, in their accounts of the sieges and the events separating them, displaced the older, seminal works by Friedrich Wolter (1901) and especially by Friedrich Wilhelm Hoffmann (1850, reprinted in a revised edition in 1885). Wolter's *History of the town of Magdeburg from its foundations to the present*, itself largely dependent on Hoffmann's work, has gained renewed influence through the reprinting of the text in 1996.[8] A recent work which connects the two sieges outside the context of printed works is the volume which was produced under the direction of Matthias Puhle to accompany

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5 Wilhelm Kühlmann compares verses published during the sixteenth-century siege with others commenting on the town's destruction in 1617 in 'Magdeburg in der Zeitgeschichtlichen Verspublizistik (1551/1631)', in Gunter Schandera, Michael Schilling and Dieter Schade (eds), *Prolegomena zur Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte des Magdeburger Raumes* (Magdeburg, 1999), 79-106. In the same volume, Michael Schilling examines a seventeenth-century edition of the elegy of Peter Lotichius on a vision of the destruction of Magdeburg which was published after the first siege, but circulated more widely after the second: Michael Schilling, 'Petrus Lotichius Secundus im Schulunterricht am Beginn des Dreissigjaehrigen Krieges. Die Magdeburg-Elegie in einer kommentierten Ausgabe von Johannes Blocius', in Schandera, Schilling and Schade (eds), *Prolegomena*, 151-64.

6 Thomas Kaufmann, *Das Ende der Reformation. Magdeburgs 'Herrgotts Kanzlei' (1548-1551/2).* (Tübingen, 2003), Prologue, 1-12.

7 Helmut Asmus, *1200 Jahre Magdeburg* (2 vols, Halberstadt, 2002); Matthias Puhle (ed), *Magdeburg 1200. Mittelalterliche Metropole, Preußische Festung, Landeshauptstadt. Die Geschichte der Stadt von 805 bis 2005* (Magdeburg, 2005).

8 This thesis makes use of two editions of Hoffmann's work, as the later revision by Gustav Hertel and Friedrich Hülße added useful information but excised some relevant material: Gustav Hertel and Friedrich Hülße (eds), *Friedrich Wilhelm Hoffmanns Geschichte der Stadt Magdeburg* (2 vols, Magdeburg, 1885); Friedrich Wilhelm Hoffmann, *Geschichte der Stadt Magdeburg* (3 vols, Magdeburg,1850); Ferdinand Albrecht Wolter, *Geschichte der Stadt Magdeburg von ihrem Ursprung bis auf die Gegenwart* (Magdeburg 1901, repr Magdeburg 1996)

an exhibition on the disaster of 1631. This collection contains essays encompassing Magdeburg's history from 1524-1701: it presents the events of the mid-sixteenth century as important background information to its account of the destruction, but does not proceed beyond references to wars of religion in elucidating the link between the two. The most original of recent works on Magdeburg's history in this period, it does not claim to be a definitive study; primarily a synthesis of earlier works, it identifies promising source material and gaps in the historiography.[9]

There are primary and secondary sources, then, which indicate that the reception in the early years of the Thirty Years War of the history of the siege of 1550-51 is worthy of further study, and this has been one of the central tasks of this thesis. Through an investigation of texts produced in Magdeburg between 1617 and 1631, however, it becomes clear that the relative neglect of these sources had distorted the picture of the town's experience of the first decade of the war. Magdeburg's scholarly and clerical community can be seen in the early years of the Thirty Years War to have taken responsibility for the correct representation of the siege of 1550-51 to the town's citizens. It is evidently necessary to put this representation in the context of Magdeburg's wider print culture, of the presentation in the town of problems of war, authority, and orthodoxy. The results of this process have been to suggest that this close-knit group which produced so

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[9] Matthias Puhle (ed.), *'... ganz verheeret!' Magdeburg und der Dreißigjährige Krieg; Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte und Katalog zur Ausstellung des Kulturhistorischen Museums Magdeburg im Kunstmuseum Kloster Unser Lieben Frauen 2. Oktober 1988 bis 31. Januar 1999* (Halle (Saale), 1998).

much of the town's printed output has not been fully understood in the nineteenth-century historiography and the works which form its current legacy.

It is thus one concern of the thesis to challenge earlier representations of this group in order to read correctly and understand reception in Magdeburg of the siege of 1550-51. This creates a potential problem, however, insofar as a challenge to these representations places in question parts of the traditional narrative of the town's trajectory into crisis and destruction which would be expected to form the context of this discussion. For this reason, the last two chapters of the thesis, while maintaining a focus on the authors identified in the third chapter in particular, reconsider several aspects of the traditional narratives of Magdeburg in the Thirty Years War both in line with their Magdeburg publications, and in connection with a wider collection of sources.

The nature and use of the sources therefore alters as the dissertation progresses. The first chapter, which deals with the sixteenth century has elements of reconstruction only insofar as it proposes new interpretations of the texts under consideration, and hence of the community which produced them. The second and third, which attempt to place the reception of the sixteenth-century siege in the context of the print culture of the early seventeenth century, examines a number of printed works so far largely neglected, and perforce draws original conclusions as the questions it discusses have not before been raised. The fourth and fifth chapters aim to revise and reconstruct, and do this with reference to printed

sources, but also through some examination of manuscript correspondence, personal and diplomatic, and of the records of military organisation.

The gaps in the historiography which have made this approach necessary are due to the combination of a paucity of sources in some areas and an embarrassment of riches in others. The second section of the introduction will provide an overview of the historiography with particular reference to the manner in which the type and volume of source material has affected the narrative produced to date.

2. Survey of material for a study of Magdeburg, 1547-1631.

Twice in a hundred years, Magdeburg was a literary phenomenon. On each occasion, the city's notoreity in print coincided with a siege by imperial forces. To study Magdeburg between these two sieges of 1551/2 and 1631 is to move between two very different collections of sources, and two very distinct historiographies. The starting point, when, shortly after Luther's death, Lutheranism seemed to divide under pressure from Emperor Charles V, has been described by Steven Rowan as 'the dreary twilight of the first Reformation generation, when all was going sour'.[10] The apparent distaste of modern Reformation historians for this period has produced a discrepancy in the volume of primary and secondary sources for the events in Magdeburg at the time which is notable in the German historiography and striking in the English. Thomas Kaufmann, in a recent study which has done much to remedy this neglect, echoes Rowan's explanation.[11] Certainly, there is no lack of surviving primary source material which emerged from Magdeburg in this period; Kaufmann's study identified approximately 350 Magdeburg publications for 1548-1552. While polemical in character and dealing with a theological debate with its origins outside Magdeburg, aspects of these publications may certainly be used to investigate opinion and conditions in the town, as shall be the case in the first chapter here. Apart from Kaufmann's work, historians' main focus for this period has been the *Magdeburg Confession* of 1550,

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[10] Steven Rowan, 'Luther, Bucer and Eck on the Jews', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 1985 *(16/1)*, 79-90.

[11] Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation,* Foreword.

and their primary interest has been to place it in the context of Protestant resistance theories.[12]

The better-known siege of 1631 ended in the single most destructive incident of the Thirty Years War. The calamity elicted a widespread response which can be traced both in print and in private papers, in Germany and beyond. Ernst Neubauer found over two-hundred reports composed shortly after the town was destroyed.[13] A small number of these sources have dominated the

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[12] See especially Robert Kingdon, 'Les idées politiques de Bèze d'après son Traité de l'authorité du magistrat en les punitions hérétiques', *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance* 1960 (22), 566-69; Robert Kingdon, 'The political Resistance of the Calvinists in France and the Low Countries', *Church History* 27 (1958), 220-233; Oliver K. Olson, 'Theology of Revolution', *Sixteenth Century Journal,* 3.1 (1972); Robert von Friedeberg: 'Magdeburger Argumentationen zum Recht auf Widerstand gegen die Durchsetzung des Interims (1550-1551) und ihre Stellung in der Geschichte des Widerstandsrechts im Reich, 1523-1626', in Luise Schorn-Schütte (ed): *Das Interim 1548/50. Herrschaftskrise und Glaubenskonflikt.* (Heidelberg, 2005), 389-437; Robert von Friedeburg, *Self-Defence and Religious Strife in Early Modern Europe. England and Germany, 1530-1680* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); David M. Whitford, *Tyranny and Resistance. The Magdeburg Confession and the Lutheran Tradition.* (St Louis, Missouri, 2001); Eike Wolgast, *Die Religionsfrage als Problem des Widerstandsrechts im 16. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg, 1980).

[13] Ernst Neubauer, *Magdeburgs Zerstörung 1631. Sammlung zeitgenössischer Berichte.* (Magdeburg, 1931), 12. Useful studies on these works include Ludwig Götze, 'Stimmen von Zeitgenoßen über die Katastrophe Magdeburgs i. J. 1631', *MGB*, 1875 (9), 321-3; Michael Kaiser, ' "aber ich muß erst Beute machen". Die Zerstörung Magdeburgs im Spiegel von Selbstzeugnissen', in Puhle (ed.), *... ganz verheeret!*, 63-70; Martin Knauer, '... Das Mägdlein ist nicht todt, sondern es schläfft...', in Puhle (ed.), *ganz verheeret!*, 71-89; Werner Lahne, *Magdeburgs Zerstörung in der Zeitgenössischen Publizistik* (Magdeburg, 1631); Hans Medick, 'Historisches Ereignis und zeitgenössische Erfahrung: Die Eroberung und Zerstörung Magdeburgs 1631', in Benigna von Krusenstjern, Hans Medick and Patrice Veit (eds), *Zwischen Alltag und Katastrophe. Der Dreissigjährige Krieg aus der Nähe*, 377-407, 389-92; David A. Meier, An appeal for a historiographical renaissance: lost lives and the thirty years war, *The Historian* 2005 (67/2), 254–274; Martin Knauer, *1631: Die Katastrophe von Magdeburg. Ein Medienereignis im Spiegel der Hamburger Zeitungen*, in Martin Knauer und Sven Tode (eds), *Der Krieg vor den Toren* (Hamburg, 2000), 243-267.

historiography, as shall be further discussed in chapters 3 and 4.[14] Less straightforward, and complicated to an extent by the later material, is a search for sources on the approach to the siege; the conditions and the politics which led to Magdeburg's relatively early declaration of support for Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden and to its failure to surrender to Jean Tserclas Tilly's besieging armies before its walls were breached. While the siege of the mid-sixteenth century is unusual historiographically in being remembered primarily as a bibliographical event, printing from Magdeburg in the seventeenth century had long since returned to its usual levels: from the coming of print to the town to Magdeburg's destruction in 1631, there appear rarely to have been more than forty editions a year.[15] For the years immediately preceding the destruction, we have few surviving editions a year with a Magdeburg imprint. Most printed sources produced in Magdeburg between 1618 and 1631 have attracted little attention from historians studying the approach to the 1631 siege. Although there has been some interest in works of drama and pedagogy, in theological polemic and in funeral sermons, the aim has not been to

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14 'Ausführliche, Wahrhafte Relation samt Beilagen, womit zu beweisen, wodurch und aus was Grund, Anfang, Mittel und Ende die uralte und gute Stadt MAGDEBURG zu dem erbärmlichen Untergang und Ruin veranlasset, befordert und vollständig gebracht worden. Der lieben Wahrheit zu Steuer, und zu Rettung ehrlicher und zur Ungebühr deswegen traducirter und beschuldigter Leute guter Namen' (Magd M Fol No 36), *Neue Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiet historisch-antiquarischer Forschungen* 13 (1874), 411-51.*Eucharii Eleutherii Fax Magdeburgica. Das ist: Die Magdeburgische WeltFackel: Allen Evangelischen Städten und Ständen in Teutschland zur Warnung angezündet/ sich dabey wol umbzusehen/ benebenst etlichen vorhergehenden Motiven was den Herrn Administratorem verursachet sich in selbige Stadt zu begeben ... Mit angehengter erbärmlichen Klage und letzten Testament der Magdeburgischen Damen ...* ([S.l.], 1632). *Otto von Guericke, Belagerung, Eroberung und Zerstörung der Stadt Magdeburg*, edited by Horst Kohl (Leipzig, 1912).

15 References to VD17 are correct to July 2007. It is still a work in progress.

investigate conditions or opinion in the town.[16] Some use has been made by historians of a small number of printed works not advertising their Magdeburg origin, but attributed by Max Hasse to printers of that city, and having some bearing on its experiences between 1628 and 1631.[17]

Recourse to manuscript sources has been complicated, first, by the destruction of the town's archive in 1631.[18] While documents survive especially at the provincial archive for Saxony-Anhalt, there can be no doubt that our knowledge of early modern Magdeburg has been limited by these events, so that questions as fundamental as membership of the town council are unclear for the 1620s. The loss during World War II of many of the documents gathered to the town archive (Stadtarchiv) of Magdeburg after its first depletion is a further

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16 Ludolf Bremer, *Sigismund Evenius* (1585/89 – 1639). Ein Pädagoge des 17. Jahrhunderts (Vienna, 2001); Markus Friedrich, 'Der Export des Helmstedter Hofmannstreits ins Erzstifft Magdeburg (1600-1630) – Johannes Olearius, Sigismund Evenius, Andreas Cramer' in Thomas Müller-Bahlke (ed), *Bildung und Städtische Gesellschaft. Beiträge zur hallischen Bildungsgeschichte* (Halle, 2003), 36-53; Markus Bernhard Jahn, 'Druck und Drama: Zur Rolle des Buchdrucks bei der Aufführung und Rezeption frühneuzeitlicher Dramen am Beispiel der Magdeburger Drucke bis 1631', in Schandera, Schilling and Schade (eds) *Prolegomena zur Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte des Magdeburger Raumes*, 129-150. Cornelia Niekus Moore, *Patterned Lives: The Lutheran Funeral Biography in Early Modern Germany* (Wiesbaden, 2006); Friedmann Krusche: *Von der Reformation bis zum Beginn der Weimarer Republik. (Theater in Magdeburg Vol I*, Halle, 1994); Paul Stötner, *Sigismund Evenius. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Ratichianismus*, [=Beilage zum Jahresberichte des *Gymnasiums* zu Zwickau] (Zwickau, 1895); Michael Schilling, 'Petrus Lotichius Secundus im Schulunterricht am Beginn des Dreissigjährigen Krieges'.

17 Max Hasse, *Magdeburger Buchdruckerkunst im 16. 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Magdeburg, 1940), 78 – 85; E. Neubauer, 'Die auf Magdeburgs Blokade im Jahre 1629 bezüglichen Flugschriften', *MGB*, 1889 (24), 110-34.

18 Neubauer, *Magdeburgs Zerstörung 1631*, 10

problem.[19] However, Magdeburg's nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century historians, and in particular of the contributors to the *Geschichtsblätter für Stadt und Land Magdeburg*, a periodical with strong connections to the town archive, did much that would later compensate for this: numerous manuscript sources were transcribed and printed in full or in part before the association disbanded in 1941. The dispersal of this material over relatively obscure journals has meant that several valuable sources have not been exploited. Particularly useful in this study are transcriptions offered by Holstein on Magdeburg's constitutional reforms of 1630, and by Opel of the memoirs of Christoph Krause, deacon and schoolteacher in Magdeburg from 1625-31.[20]

As well as the documents still available in Magdeburg and those transcribed before 1941, there are of course sources in the archives of other cities and states which can cast some light on developments in Magdeburg. In the seventeenth century, Magdeburg was a Hanseatic town, a member of the Imperial Circle of Lower Saxony, a town whose formal governership via the ruling archbishopric was contested by the dynasties of Brandenburg and electoral Saxony, and a power of interest to Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands and the house of Austria.[21] The

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19 Peter Petsch (ed) *Bücher als Beute, Zur Geschichte der Stadtbibliothek Magdeburg zwischen 1925 und 1999* (Halle an der Saale, 2000).

20 Hugo Holstein, 'Die Änderung der Regierungsverfassung in Magdeburg im Jahre 1630'; Christophorus Krause in Magdeburg', edited by Julius Opel, in *Neue Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiet historisch-antiquarischer Forschungen*, 1878 (14), 313-84

21 Particularly useful for the examination of Magdeburg in the context of the Lower Saxony Defence Circle are Udo Gittel, *Die Aktivitäten des Niedersächsischen Reichskreises in den Sektoren 'Friedensicherung' und 'Policey' (1555-1682)* (Hannover, 1996); for Hanseatic records with regard to Magdeburg, Hugo Holstein, 'Zur Geschichte

private archive of its so-called Administrator from 1598-1628,[22] Christian Wilhelm von Brandenburg, was removed from Magdeburg to Austria and from Hamburg to the Netherlands after the town's destruction,[23] and correspondence between Christian Wilhelm and the rulers of Brandenburg, Sweden, and Denmark, has been exploited to some extent, although no substantial study of him exists.[24] The most comprehensive results are the works of Karl Wittich, who produced several very useful studies of aspects of Magdeburg's history in the Thirty Years War, based primarily on archival research into diplomatic and military records, much of it undertaken outside the town itself.[25] From the point of view of military history,

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der Belagerung Magdeburgs durch Wallenstein im Jahre 1629' *Zeitschrift für Preussische Geschichte und Landeskunde* 1886 (13), 593-620; and Hugo Holstein, 'Die Änderung der Regierungsverfassung in Magdeburg im Jahre 1630', *Zeitschrift für Preussische Geschichte und Landeskunde*, 1887 (14). Although well-documented for the medieval period and for later Catholic activity, the archdiocese of Magdeburg has been studied for the Thirty Years War only with regard to material losses: Lutz Miehe, 'Materielle Verluste und Bevolkerungsrückgang in den Stadten der Stifte Magdeburg und Halberstadt während des dreissigjährigen Krieges' *(1625-1646/7)* (Ph.D. Thesis, Pädagogische Hochschule 'Erich Weinert', Magdeburg, 1985).

[22] 1628 was the date when Magdeburg's cathedral chapter elected to replace him. 1630, 1631, and 1635 could also be given as dates for the end of his tenure: see chapter 5.

[23] Christian Wilhelm von Brandenburg, 'Instructions', 'Die Christian Wilhelms Aufnahme in Magdeburg betreffenden Instruktionen', reproduced in *MGB* 1893 (28), 185-242.

[24] The best biographical resources are Nadja Lupke-Niederich, 'Der Erfolglose Kampf um Anerkennung – Eine biographische Skizze über Christian Wilhelm von Brandenburg', in Puhle (ed.), *'... ganz verheert!'*, 43-51; Karl Wittich, 'Aus den ungedruckten Papieren des Administrators Christian Wilhelm I', *MGB* 1896 (31), 285-346; Karl Wittich, 'Aus den ungedruckten Papieren des Administrators Christian Wilhelm II', *MGB* 1897 (32), 184-245; Karl Wittich 'Aus den ungedruckten Papieren des Administrators Christian Wilhelm III', *MGB* 1898 (33), 209-336.

[25] Especially useful are the two volumes of *Magdeburg, Gustav Adolf and Tilly*: Karl Wittich, *Kritische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Krieges mit Benutzung meistens ungedruckter Quellen* (*Magdeburg, Gustav Adolf und Tilly, Vol I,* Berlin 1874). Karl Wittich, *Quellen, Erster Band* (*Magdeburg, Gustav Adolf und Tilly, Vol II/1 [=Vol II]*, , Berlin, 1874). The advertised second part of volume II was never published; Karl Wittich, *Pappenheim und Falkenberg. Ein Beitrag zur Kennzeichnung der lokalpatriotischen geschichtsschreibung Magdeburgs* (Berlin, 1894), Karl Wittich, 'Zur Katastrophe des 10/20 Mai 1631', *MGB* 23 (1888); Karl Wittich, *Dietrich von Falkenberg,*

Wittich's work makes Magdeburg an exception to Sven Tode's complaint, that there been, even by the year 2000, relatively few studies of cities in the Thirty Years War.[26] However, Wittich's works reflect the focus of the bulk of sources external to the town in concentrating narrowly on the year or so prior to the disaster.[27] In challenging Wittich's interpretation of events at Magdeburg, Boris Porschnev adopts the same focus, so that both tend to find the causes of tension in the town in the immediate dilemma of 1630 to 1631 of support for the returned Administrator and a Swedish alliance versus imperial loyalties.[28] Further, he shared the consuming interest of his contemporaries in settling beyond a doubt the question of who burned Magdeburg: a debate which became increasingly bitter in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, dividing Austrian from German historians, and Wittich, who believed that Magdeburgers had burnt their own town

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Oberst und Hofmarschall Gustav Adolfs. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des dreißigjährigen Krieges (Magdeburg, 1882).

[26] Sven Tode, 'Städte im Dreißigjährigen Krieg', in *Der Krieg vor den Toren*, edited by Martin Knauer and Sven Tode (Hamburg, 2000), 49-74. Like Knauer and Tode's edition on Hamburg, the most notable studies in this area are based on communities with far better archival survival and greater institutional continuity than Magdeburg for this period, so they cannot serve as a model for the investigation of this town. Especially comprehensive are Christopher R. Friedrichs, *Urban Society in an Age of War: Nördlingen, 1580-1720* (Princeton, 1979), which concludes that for Nördlingen, the Thirty Years War was a less damaging experience than later imperial wars; Bernd Röck, *Als wollt die Welt schier brechen. Eine Stadt im Zeitalter des Dreißigjährigen Krieges* (Munich, 1991).

[27] An exception is his extremely useful three-part sketch of sources available on Administrator Christian Wilhelm: Karl Wittich, 'Aus den ungedruckten Papieren des Administrators Christian Wilhelm'.

[28] B. F. Porschnev and Paul Dukes, *Muscovy and Sweden in the Thirty Years War, 1630-1635*, translated by Brian Pearse (Cambridge, 1995).

accidentally, from several of Magdeburg's native historians who were published prolifically in the *Geschichtsblätter*.[29]

This division may explain why numerous brief studies produced in this period of peak activity for the study of Magdeburg in the Thirty Years War did not translate into a new account of the city's experience during the war. The only substantial update came for the period of Swedish intervention: the Swedish army's monumental project, *Sveriges Krig*, synthesises many of the diplomatic and military sources, but is not required to focus on the internal workings of the town.[30] Works produced since have either inserted the period in question within a longer narrative,[31] or consisted of collections of shorter studies, which, while in themselves useful, have tended more to elaborate on than to challenge the narratives offered by Hoffmann and Guericke in particular.[32]

Because of the paucity of the sources and the extent of the period covered, this thesis will not attempt to integrate a narrative of Magdeburg's history for the

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29 On this debate, see especially Max Dittmar, 'Die Zerstörung Magdeburgs im Jahre 1631. Offene Antwort an Herrn Professor Dr. Wittich' in *MGB* 1894 (29), 303-400; A. Heising, *Magdeburg nicht durch Tilly zerstort* (Berlin, 1846); Wittich, 'Zur Katastrophe des 10/20 Mai 1631', *MGB* 23 (1888); Wittich, *Pappenheim und Falkenberg.*

30 *Sveriges Krig, 1611-1632* (6 vols, Stockholm, 1936-9).

31 Helmut Asmus, *1200 Jahre Magdeburg* (2 vols, Halberstadt, 2002); Matthias Puhle (ed), Magdeburg 1200. *Mittelalterliche Metropole, Preußische Festung, Landeshauptstadt. Die Geschichte der Stadt von 805 bis 2005* (Magdeburg, 2005).

32 Arno Sames (ed.), *Konfession, Krieg und Katastrophe. Magdeburgs Geschick im Dreissigjährigen Krieg* (Magdeburg, 2006), 11-24; Puhle (ed.), *'...gantz verheeret!'*.

years under study. Instead, it will offer as the third part of this introduction a summary history of Magdeburg between 1524 and 1631.

Summary history of Magdeburg, 1547 – 1631

Magdeburg in the sixteenth century was one of the principal cities of the Holy Roman Empire, but lacked the status of free imperial city. Its most important political unit, the *Altstadt*, was governed by a town council of seventy-five members, divided into three groups which rotated yearly. Elected between the town's guilds, the citizenry, and the council itself, the councillors were expected to be re-elected until such time as they gave way to a family member. Magdeburg was considered the central regulator of this system of 'Magdeburg Law', so that towns especially of Eastern Europe appealed to its *Schöffe* or assessor for advice on problems of legal application. The *Altstadt* was dominated by a number of patriarchal families who monopolised important positions in the council and on the judiciary.

Implementation of the Lutheran Reformation was an opportunity for the most important political unit of the city, the *Altstadt*, to purchase certain freedoms from the Archbishop of the Magdeburg Archdiocese, Albrecht of Brandenburg. The Archdiocese, whose incumbent had to be approved by the Emperor, was acknowledged to be within the sphere of influence of Saxony and Brandenburg. When these dynasties succeeded in having elected and appointed a candidate who was a minor, the twelve cathedral canons, mostly members of the landed nobility from the area around Magdeburg, managed the administration of the archdiocese until he reached his majority.

Once the *Altstadt* had negotiated sufficient freedom to administer the city's churches and implement a magisterial Reformation, it was nonetheless left with one-third of the land within its walls governed by the Archbishop with the help of the cathedral chapter, while the suburbs, Sudenberg and the Neustadt, remained in a weaker position relative to the Archbishop. While the Archbishop's residence moved to Halle with the Reformation, the cathedral chapter remained in the liberties of Magdeburg for most of the period under discussion here, and Lutheran worship was not introduced to the cathedral until 1567.

Under Nicolaus von Amsdorf, the Magdeburg Reformation proceeded with close links to Wittenberg. The monastic educational establishments which had existed prior to the Reformation were merged into a town school, the *Altstadt Gymnasium*, and the town joined the Schmalkaldic League for the defence of Lutheranism in 1531. After the victory of Emperor Charles V in the first Schmalkaldic wars, it was placed under the Imperial Ban in 1547 and in 1548 for refusing to accept the religious settlement decreed for the Protestant estates of the Empire. The town became a centre for resistance to this settlement, and the origin of numerous printed works criticising the settlement and the Protestants who adopted it. Magdeburg was besieged by Georg von Mecklenburg and Moritz of Saxony between 1550 to 1551. The siege ended when it negotiated formal submission to Moritz while maintaining its liberties. Moritz had in the meantime broken with his imperial allies and was instrumental in securing freedom of

worship in Lutheran lands through the 1552 Treaty of Passau, which was formalised in the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio*, promulgated with the Peace of Augsburg (1555).

The imperial ban was lifted in 1562. Through conversion and election of new members the cathedral chapter gradually became a Lutheran body, so that when the Brandenburg dynasty had produced a Lutheran candidate for what was now the a secular administrator of the archdiocese, it was possible for Lutheran worship to be introduced in the cathedral and to be formally authorised in Magdeburg's liberties in 1567. Through negotiations with Emperor and cathedral chapter, the Brandenburg dynasty succeed in retaining the adminstration of the archdiocese for the reminder of the century, but this was still an elected position. As its holders had converted relatively late to Lutheranism, it brought with it a leading role in the Lower Saxony Defensive Circle.

Christian Wilhelm of Brandenburg, elected Administrator in 1598, had a troubled relationship with both the cathedral chapter and the town : because he asserted his right to marry, they suspected him of attempting to rule the archbishopric on the hereditary principle. The chapter repeatedly accused him of misgovernance and misuse of the resources of the archdiocese. Magdeburg relied to a large extent on the support it could call on from the Hanseatic league to counter his claims to freedom of manoeuvre within the liberties and authority over

the town's arrangements for defence. Christian Wilhelm attempted meanwhile to win support within the town against the members of the cathedral chapter.

The rising costs of defence, which both the Hanseatic towns and the Lower Saxony Imperial Circle had attempted to meet in collaboration since the beginning of the seventeenth century, were one of the factors contributing to the inflationary crisis of 1620 – 1622. This struck Magdeburg badly, and recovery was complicated by the plague of 1625 which may have killed up to one third of the town's inhabitants. Wallenstein's entry into the archdiocese in Autumn of that year exacerbated the town's problems: Christian William fought alongside Christian IV of Denmark and attempted to draw on the support of the cathedral chapter, which would have entailed placing troops within the walls of Magdeburg. He had support within the town, but failed to coerce it into taking his side, and was forced to flee the archdiocese in 1626 after the defeat by Danish forces and their allies in the Battle of Lutter. Magdeburg's Altstadt town council, by wish of the imperial army, placed the Lieutenant of the liberties, Johann Schneidewind, under preventative arrest. The town conceded to imperial wishes too by delivering to Prague a relic of immense of immense symbolic importance for the town, the remains of St Norbert. It was then granted the privilege of improving its defences by extending its walls, in the process razing its suburbs, the Neustadt and Sudenburg.

Fearing Catholic encroachment on the archdiocese, Magdeburg's cathedral chapter voted in 1628 to depose Christian Wilhelm, hoping to gain Saxon protection by electing August, son of Elector Johann Georg, to the position. Ferdinand II rejected this candidate, so that the archdiocese was in a particularly precarious position with the promulgation of the Edict of Restitution in 1629. Having adopted Lutheranism after the signing of the Treaty of Passau in 1552, it was now due to be repossessed by a Catholic archbishop at the Emperor's pleasure.

Magdeburg, now reduced to the liberties and the Altstadt, suffered increasing hardship through the presence in the surrounding land of Wallenstein's troops, which culminated shortly after the Edict of Restitution was issued with a brief blockade of the town by the imperial army. In the course of the blockade, the town council came under heavy pressure from below, and arranged for the election of plenipotentiaries to act as intermediaries between the council and the citizens of the town's eighteen military districts. A deputation from several Hanseatic towns negotiated a lenient settlement with Wallenstein and the blockade ended with public celebration of peace on 29th September. Another Hanseatic deputation travelled to Magdeburg in early 1630, and eventually oversaw the establishment of a new, reorganised town council, which would in August that year ally itself with the returned Administrator Christian Wilhelm and through him with Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. This came shortly after a request from imperial representatives in June 1630 for the town council's help in restoring to Catholic

administration the ecclesiastical holdings within its walls not ceded to Lutheran administration by the Treaty of Passau.

Christian Wilhelm made the town of Magdeburg his centre of operations and levied troops around the archdiocese. However, Gustavus Adolphus preferred to have the town managed by a lieutenant and sent in October Dietrich von Falkenberg with over 2000 Swedish troops whom citizens of the Altstadt were obliged against earlier guarantees to support. The town was under blockade from December 1630, and heavily besieged by Tilly from April 1631; Falkenberg and the council were aware that their munition would not last much beyond early May. Magdeburg was divided on whether to surrender or whether to continue to await the promised arrival of Gustavus Adolphus when the walls were breached on 10th May 1631; an attempt at a last-minute surrender achieved nothing, and the violent storming of the town was followed by a conflagration in which perhaps 20,000 of the Magdeburg's inhabitants were killed.

4.

Introductory consideration of 'Print-Culture'

The first part of this thesis will place certain documents in the context of Magdeburg's print culture, with particular reference to the two periods of 1547-52 and 1618-31. It is therefore appropriate to begin by seeking a working definition of print culture and a defence of its usefulness in the study of war. 'Print culture' is a term of increasing popularity,[33] but one which is not always defined, has not gone uncriticised, and which covers ground not invariably described with this term. In the case of Magdeburg, it will be argued, the use of this approach comes in response to a particular set of historiographical problems. To approach the study of printed texts in connection with an exploration of the circumstances of their production has the potential to cast light on certain areas of Magdeburg history which have remained obscure because of the paucity of archival sources.

The study of print culture connects the content of the text under examination with the conditions of its production and distribution. When a large number of works are considered in this way, it is possible to argue that certain cultural shifts resulted from the interaction of market forces and the book in its

[33] Joseph Danes, 'The myth of print culture', in *The myth of print culture: Essays on Evidence, Textuality, and Bibliographical Method* (Toronto, 2003), 10-32, 4.

material form. For the early modern period, a consensus has emerged since the popularisation of the term and study of print culture: in considering printed material one examines a means of communication which distinguished the period, and while acting itself as an agent of change, reinforced even in an age of confessionalisation a certain unity of ideas across early modern Europe.[34] Reading matter produced in Magdeburg naturally reflects that of the wider world of ideas shaped and popularised by the printing-press. These ideas as reproduced in Magdeburg included the legacy of the Lutheran Reformation and the impetus which continued into the seventeenth century for further reform within the framework of Luther's teachings. Also prominent was the dissemination of humanist texts, particularly as a foundation for pre-university education. For the seventeenth century, one may add the coalescence and popularisation of particular hermetic movements and the corresponding reaction of orthodoxy, and the growth of foreign and war news as a regular, centrally-managed service.[35]

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[34] The classic study in English on the introduction and early effects of the press which worked with moveable type is E. L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (2 vols, London 1979) and the abbreviated edition, E. L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1983). On the reinforcement of shared perspectives through the early modern printing press, see Michael Giesecke, 'Der Verlust der zentralen Perspektive und die Renaissance der Multimedialität', in Wolfgang Kemp, Gert Mattenklott, Monika Wagner and Martin Warnke (eds), *Vorträge aus dem Warburg-Haus* (2 vols, Berlin, 1988), ii. 85-116.

[35] On the development of the news-media in conjunction with the Thirty Years War, see especially Wolfgang Behringer, 'Veränderung der Raum-Zeit-Relation: Zur Bedeutung des Zeitungs- und Nachrichtenwesens während der Zeit des Dreissigjährigen Krieges', in Benigna von Krusenstjern, Hans Medick and Patrice Veit (eds), *Zwischen Alltag und Katastrophe. Der Dreissigjährige Krieg aus der Nähe*, 39-81. Also useful is Johannes Weber, *Avisen, Gazetten, Relationen. Der Beginn des europäischen Zeitungswesens* (Oldenburg, 1997).

One may question, then, whether to examine Magdeburg's print culture is simply to discover a microcosm of the larger social and intellectual world of Lutheran Germany. Certain objections have been raised in recent historiography to particular aspects of the study of print culture as discussed above. These are relevant here because, while their proponents tend to challenge or suggests limits to the idea of cultural change in response to print, the grounds for objection which they establish tend indirectly to deepen the area for investigation and indicate some of the advantages of studying print culture in the context of a single community.

Joseph Danes has challenged the entire notion of print culture, holding first that it is poorly defined and secondly that bibliographical errors are accumulated in the rush to synthesise, so that cultural shifts attributed to early purchasers of printed material in fact never occurred.[36] The argument does not go beyond the first century of print, and has the unexceptionable effect of warning historians against failures to reappraise general theories in the face of new evidence. Andrew Pettegree too sounds a note of caution in his consideration of the 'culture of persuasion'. The explosion in the number of printed pamphlets during the early part of the Lutheran Reformation has made this period a particular focus for historians of print culture.[37] In response, Pettegree has argued recently that one must not overstate the connection between the content of pamphlets and the

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[36] Danes, *Myth of Print Culture.*

[37] Statistical data on pamphlet production during the Lutheran Reformation is offered in Richard G. Cole, 'The Reformation Pamphlet and Communication Processes'in Hans-Joachim Köhler (ed.) *Flugschriften als Massenmedium der Reformationszeit* (Strasbourg, 1981),139-161,149-155.

achievement of 'persuading' their purchasers, or even of engaging them with a particular line of argument.[38] The recent tendency in the German historiography of the Thirty Years War is to categorise bodies of literature by motif: conditions of production and consumption and statistical tendencies are documented, and extremely useful works have been produced.[39]

To study print culture at the level of the production of a single town with a depleted archive brings advantages with great potential. Apart from the brief period in the mid-sixteenth century which will be examined in the first chapter, when it was the most convenient place from which to print on certain matters prohibited by imperial edict, Magdeburg was not an important centre of print. While it produced a high proportion of original work, this was mostly of local interest: celebrations of weddings, jubilees, and other milestones in the lives of individuals and in the history of the town, memorial sermons and printed versions of sermons preached locally, interventions in local controversies and reflections on local history. The men who wrote or compiled these works, not themselves all Magdeburgers, had recourse to models used further afield, but they applied these models to local circumstances.

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[38] Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the culture of persuasion* (Cambridge, 2005), 156-185.

[39] Examples which have been extremely useful for this thesis include Ulrike Dorothea Hänisch, *Confessio Augustana triumphans. Funktionen der Publizistik zum Confessio Augustana-Jubiläum 1630* (Frankfurt am Main, 1993); Silvia Serena Tschopp, *Heilsgeschichtliche Deutungsmuster in der Publizistik des Dreißigjährigen Krieges. Pro- und antischwedische Propaganda in Deutschland 1628 bis 1635* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991).

In publishing these works, which essentially presented Magdeburg to itself, authors engaged in an important process of self-fashioning. In producing or collaborating on works marking milestones in the lives of others, they frequently advertised ties of friendship and of kinship. If the majority of these commemorative publications related to fellow citizens, dedications in general works also publicised links and loyalties outside the town. In order to remark on the lives of their fellow citizens, past and present, authors carefully established the grounds for their own authority as commentators and judges. Where necessary, they defended their honour, or attacked that of their opponents. When studying a period for which sources are thin on the ground, such as the first decade of the Thirty Years War, such material, appearing particularly as part of the editorial apparatus of works published, has significant prosopographical value.

More generally, when authors writing for a local readership represent themselves as authorities on particular matters, it is possible to note both tensions and collaborations in their projection of themselves, and to extend this observation to their exercise of authority in the town. Magdeburg's printed authors were for the most part men who published as an extension to their lives as professionals in the town, whether as lawyers, doctors, clergymen, or schoolteachers, and with reference to their particular areas of expertise. From the immediate aftermath of the destruction of the town in 1631 to the present day, division within Magdeburg has been noted as a major cause of the disaster. This is an explanation which to

some extent simply fulfils the cultural expectations of contemporary commentators, as will be discussed in chapter two. It is also the explanation which dominates the reconstruction of events of this period which has been standard since the late nineteenth century. For this reason, an investigation of divisions manifested in print before rather than after the catastrophe may be a useful contribution to the Magdeburg's history and that of the Thirty Years War.

A study of print culture may thus inform us of the nature and inter-relationships of a town's authorities in the broader sense of this term, i.e. of those whose office is considered to permit them to speak as experts, and, of particular importance for Magdeburg, those who represent as clergy or as instructors the Lutheran church. Works printed in Magdeburg will however reflect also on the town's authorities in a narrower sense: on its governing body as established its foundational documents and confirmed in its statutes. Magdeburg's town council is the relevant body here. To investigate print culture within a particular town is to put what was written in the context of what the town council permitted. It is possible to undertake such a study largely because town councils had the function of regulating the print industry in the Holy Roman Empire, and their approval was after 1530 recorded through the marking of name of printer and town on the published work.[40]

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[40] On laws of censorship and book regulation in the Holy Roman Empire from the early sixteenth century until the beginning of the Thirty Years War, see Ruth Kästner, *Geistlicher Rauffhandel. Illustrierte Flugblätter zum Reformationsjubiläum 1617* (Frankfurt am Main, 1982), 132-4; A general overview is given in Ulrich Eisenhardt , *Der kaiserliche Aufsicht über Buchdruck, Buchhandel und Presse im Heiligen Römischen*

This means that, in examining a body of printed works which, as their content indicates, seem intended in most cases for a local audience,[41] one may judge to an extent the representations of the town, its citizens, and its problems which the town authorities found it reasonable to transmit to a local readership. Town authorities, while bound to obey imperial law, were not uniformly stringent in their application of regulations often quite vaguely formed,[42] so that an examination of printed matter in the context of censorship can yield useful information on the strength of adherence in a town to the imperial understanding of an acceptable order.

This element becomes particularly important when the printed matter emerging from a town like Magdeburg shows signs of being pitched at a wider audience. In Magdeburg's case, the move from works of local interest to attempts to disseminate more widely a certain image of the town and a certain collection of arguments come at time of war, in both cases a war in which Magdeburg's part was represented by hostile commentators as rebellion against imperial authority. One of the functions of print in these circumstances was to serve as the vehicle for formal protests of justification, long a routine feature of warfare but in the seventeenth

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Reich Deutscher Nation (1496-1806.) Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Bücher und Pressezensur (Karlsruhe,1970). For a history of German print in the seventeenth century, see Werner Arnold and Helmar Härtel, 'Buchdruck des 17. Jahrhunderts' in Werner Arnold, Wolfgang Dittrich and Bernhard Zeller (eds) *Die Erforschung der Buch- und Bibliotheksgeschichte in Deutschland*, (Wiesbaden, 1987), 121-155, esp. 151 on the matter of censorship by authorities.

41 For works produced in the first decade of the Thirty Years War, this will be established in Chapter 2.

42 Eisenhardt , *Der kaiserliche Aufsicht*, 32.

century also an important basis for the public's understanding of war and its rights and wrongs, transmitted by the emerging news media among other forms of publication.[43] A town's representation of itself in this case, then, is unarguably a legitimate subject for the study of war, but it must be remarked that this representation will not necessarily coincide in all points with the understanding of war gleaned from publications aimed at a local audience.

This introduces a problem: for any period, to study print-culture within a particular city is to establish which themes were of importance to its writers, but it is much more difficult to explore the extent to which these themes resonated with the intended readership. A purely economic aspect of the printing industry can be introduced here. As a general rule, printing in this period was undertaken at the financial risk of the publishers, who in some cases printed for themselves, in others operated as owner-managers of presses in various locations. While town councils occasionally subsidized printing of particular works, this was not the norm.[44] The profit imperative certainly seems, from both sixteenth- and seventeenth-century evidence, to hold true for Magdeburg. Even where there was a measure of collaboration between Magdeburg's town or church authorities on the one hand and printers or publishers on the other,[45] there is no evidence that printing was

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43 See Geoffrey Mortimer, 'Eyewitness Accounts of the Thirty Years War' (D. Phil. Thesis, Trinity College Oxford, 1999), 115.

44 See Arnold and Härtel, 'Buchdruck des 17. Jahrhunderts', 151-4.

45 It appears that Magdeburg had only printer-publishers until 1565, after which date there is evidence for a separation in functions. See Wilhelm Stieda, 'Die Entwicklung des Buchhandels in Magdeburg' in *Magdeburgs Wirtschaftsleben in der Vergangenheit*, edited

subsidized.[46] It is therefore likely that Magdeburg's printers believed that there was a public appetite for the works they printed, although there are instances where we have evidence that even the most exhaustively presented messages were not fully understood by some citizens.[47]

It is also possible to turn to the combined body of printed works to produce further evidence of the reception of particular themes among the town's writers at least, as we have instances of explicit revision and criticism of earlier works, as well as the widening of certain controversies beyond a narrow group of antagonists to a larger number of polemicists.[48] In general however, because such a high proportion of authors printing in Magdeburg in this period were figures of authority, it is necessary to consider many of the works in question as attempts at persuasion. In many cases, the authors specify or suggest which beliefs or behaviours they wish to discourage. These attempts to shape behaviour were not restricted to then printed output of these men, as is clear from the references in the printed texts to sermons, celebrations, disputations, and performances. In most cases, the printed texts are now the only record of these occasions.

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by the Industrie und Handelskammer zu Magdeburg (3 vols, Magdeburg, 1929), iii. 283-457, *283.*

[46] References are made to the problem of getting material accepted for publication by Erasmus Alber, who explains that Magdeburg's printers are happiest to accept works in German because they are likely to bring better returns: letter, Erasmus Alber to Hartmann Beyer, 24th August 1550, cited in Franz Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Erasmus Alberus. Ein biographischer Beitrag zur Geschichte der Reformationszeit* (Dresden, 1893), Appendix X.2. The entrepreneurial activity of one of Magdeburg's two most active printers and publishers of the first decade of the Thirty Years War, Johann Francke, exemplifies this imperative, and will be discussed in Chapter 3.

[47] See in particular the discussion of Sebastian Besselmeyer in Chapter 2.

[48] This is the case especially for the 'Hoffmann dispute' of the 1620s, on which see chapter 2.

If it is possible to find in the recorded actions of the citizens of Magdeburg some measure of the success of these persuasive messages, this can be achieved only in the context of the authors constructions of their own authority, and their expectations with regard to the identity of their readers. It must at the same time be acknowledged that the act of printing from the town, and indicating place of origin, did not consist simply of the expression of particular ideas. It also represented the authors' success in taking advantage of an opportunity which was at different times more or less difficult to obtain: as the works in question had to be published with at least the nominal consent of the towns' authorities and some expection of profit on the part of the printers. Exceptions to this rule, where works are printed anonymously, point to the importance of establishing the physical features of the printed book, which can identify works unmarked with name of printer or publisher, or of town of origin. In these cases, it can be presumed that the works in question were either not authorised at all or were authorised by a town council unwilling to advertise its approval. As a useful reflection of tensions within the town, such works epitomise struggles for influence, which, in time of war, became critical.

A final aspect of works printed in Magdeburg which will be examined in this thesis is acknowledgement of, and attempts to reshape, civic memory. Printed matter can yield information about its immediate context, and one may attempt to consider its influence in the short-term. However, it also becomes part of the

printed record from which later writers work, from which they cite authorities, and which they occasionally introduce in order to challenge perspectives which, it is implied, are in some way lacking. Magdeburg's printed heritage was preserved systematically by the town council from the early sixteenth century, with a town library established in 1525.[49] Books in private ownership would also have been preserved as robust and valuable artefacts as well as sources of information.[50] Authors could choose to engage with this context by building, selectively, on the works of their earlier counterparts. Even if they eschewed this procedure, their works were received by a public informed by earlier sources, familiar with particular iconic references to their town,[51] accustomed from the mid-sixteenth century to hear certain accounts and explanations of its special fame,[52] and attuned to the model descriptions through which the urban past was idealised.[53]

All of this produces a working definition of the print culture of a particular town and an indication of its uses. The content of the texts printed is of primary importance, is acknowledged to be heterogenous, and is examined as such. It is nonetheless acknowledged that authors have in common submission to political control and economic imperatives, and, for different periods, expections either of a

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49 Peter Pesch (ed.) *Bücher als Beute*.

50 S. H. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing* (London, 1996), 235.

51 See Ulinka Rublack, 'Wench and Maiden: Women, War and the Pictorial Function of the Feminine in German Cities in the Early Modern Period', *History,* 1-21; on Magdeburg in particular see Hertel and Hülße, *Friedrich Wilhelm Hoffmann's Geschichte der Stadt Magdeburg*, ii. 12; Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation*, 1-12.

52 See chapter 2, below.

53 See Hartmut Kugler, *Die Vorstellung der Stadt in der Literatur des deutschen Mittelalters*, (Münich, 1986) on the evolution of such descriptions; despite the title, the work covers the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries.

local or of a wider audience, so that it is possible to consider their works as a body and as a resource from which information on local conditions and mentalities may be deduced. As well as shared constraints, the opportunities offered by print are taken into account. The conventional front matter which makes of a printed work a potential statement of allegiance and work of self-fashioning is exploited to consider representations of authority and networks within or without the town. The aim is to consider how opinion was formed, but to do so in a manner which establishes how authors themselves understood the limits and the potential of the printed form.

CHAPTER ONE: A NOTEWORTHY RESISTANCE: THE *MAGDEBURG CONFESSION* IN THE CONTEXT OF PRINT CULTURE, 1548-52.

1.1 The legal and political context of the Lutheran Reformation in Magdeburg, 1524-55.

It was inevitable that the course of the Lutheran Reformation, and its effect on the constituent parts of the Holy Roman Empire would be shaped by the relationship between different powers charged with, or capable of, protecting and supporting the church. Magdeburg's early and eager introduction of the Lutheran Reformation adhered to a great extent to the model of Magisterial Reformation proposed by Bernd Moeller, involving the channelling of public protest by leading clergy in close cooperation with secular powers, who saw Reformation as a task closely tied to civic order.[1] This process was most straightforward, however, in the imperial cities of the Holy Roman Empire, where freedom from an overlord other than the Emperor gave authories relative freedom of operation. It was invariably complicated by the existence of an ecclesiastical ruler, who stood to sustain serious

[1] The classic study of the 'Magisterial Reformation' is in Bernd Moeller, *Imperial Cities and the Reformation* (Durham, 1982). There is no substantial study of the Magdeburg Reformation either in German or in English, but its earliest phase, when authorities sought to contain popular agitation which compromised their position vis-à-vis their ruling bishop features in Robert W. Scribner, 'Ritual and Reformation', *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London, 1983), 103-122, esp. 103-106. The synthesis on which most references in the current historiography rely is Friedrich Hulße, 'Die Einführung der Reformation in der Stadt Magdeburg', *MGB* 1883 (18), 209-369.

losses through the exclusion of episcopal authority.[2] In the case of Magdeburg, the Reformation was introduced in the context of an incomplete withdrawal of powers from Albert of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Mainz. This was to create difficulty for the town which would extend beyond the Peace of Augsburg in 1555 and contribute to the crisis of 1631.[3]

Magdeburg's situation was further complicated by the fact that the walled city, when external fortifications are taken into account, contained three legally constituted towns which each existed in a different negotiated relationship to the territorial overlord. It can be described as a *Gruppenstadt*, consisting of an *Altstadt* or old town, *Neustadt* or new town, and a third district named Sudenburg. Each had at different times gained its own privileges which it held relative to the territorial overlord: the *Altstadt* in 1188, the *Neustadt* in 1230, and Sudenburg in 1398. Magdeburg's *Altstadt* was by far the most wealthy, populous and influential, having in the mid-sixteenth-century approximately 30,000 citizens to the combined estimates of 10,000 for the other two districts.[4] It had made most progress in accumulating privileges since the twelfth century, and unlike the Neustadt and

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[2] This problem is discussed for cities in the south-western parts of the German lands where the Reformation can be said to have 'failed' in Hans-Christoph Rublack, *Gescheiterte Reformation. Frühreformatorische und Protestantische Bewegungen in südwestdeutschen geistlichen Residenzen* (Stuttgart, 1976).

[3] On Albert of Brandenburg, who was one of Luther's bitterest enemies, Archbishop of Magdeburg and Mainz, and Administrator of Halberstadt see Franz Schrader, *Kardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg, Erzbischof von Magdeburg, im Spannungsfeld zwischen alter und neuer Kirche*, in Remigius Bäumer (ed.), *Von Konstanz nach Trient. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirche von den Reformkonzilien bis zum Tridentinum. Festgabe für August Franzen* (Munich, 1972), 419-446.

[4] See Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation,* 67n. for a review of the literature on this subject.

Sudenburg administered justice independently of the ruling archbishop, except in the liberties surrounding the cathedral in the centre of the *Altstadt*. The liberties, known as the *Neumarkt* or new market, constituted one-third of the area within the original fortifications surrounding the *Altstadt* and were separated from the *Altstadt* by a barrier:[5] an arrangement which could be reconciled with the internal organisation of the community, but which was enormously problematic when defensive works and fortification came into consideration. This configuration maintained the influence on the town of the ruling dynasties which traditionally competed for the archbishopric: the houses of Brandenburg and Saxony.[6]

As the most important governing council of a territorial city, albeit one with ambitions to the status of imperial city, the town council of Magdeburg's *Altstadt* was obliged in order to oversee a Reformation of the church in its jurisdiction to purchase new privileges from Albert of Brandenburg. In return for a 'gift' of 10 000 gulden, he signed a treaty with the town council in 1525 which did not explicitly grant the town the right to introduce reforms, but implied it by giving Magdeburg's magistrates the authority to select preachers in the churches which fell within the *Altstadt* and including clauses to protect particular ecclesiastical properties from the *Altstadt's* administration. The treaty included permission to

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5 The best account of the relationship between town and bishop, *Altstadt* and *Neumarkt* in the context of imperial order is Georg Stöckert, 'Die Reichsunmittelbarkeit der *Altstadt* Magdeburg', *Historische Zeitschrift,* 66 (1891), 193-240. On the barrier, see Oliver K. Olson, 'Theology of Revolution: Magdeburg, 1550-1551', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 3/1 (1972), 56-79, 62.

6 Lutz Miehe, ' "Das wäre ein Bissen für den Sohn Ihrer Majestät." Das Ringen um die Vorherrschaft im Erzbistum Magdeburg während des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', in Puhle (ed.) *'gantz verheeret...!'*, 35-44

extend fortifications. The status of the liberties, the cathedral, and the cathedral chapter were not changed by this agreement.[7] Protestant worship was introduced in the cathedral only in 1567, after the then Archbishop, Sigismund of Brandenburg, had himself converted to Lutheranism.[8]

The two smaller components of greater Magdeburg introduced Lutheran worship in 1544 (Sudenburg) and 1547 (*Neustadt*) in the context of increasing tension with Albrecht's successor, Johann Albrecht and Emperor Charles V. The three towns came at this time to an agreement for unity in religious and political matters, which gave the town council of the *Altstadt* formal precedence, so that its authority was formally acknowledged by the citizens of Neustadt and Sudenburg. Certain political advantages thus accrued to the *Altstadt* through its introduction of the Lutheran Reformation, but these gains were made at the expense of a properly negotiated settlement with the territorial overlord.[9]

The difficulties of this situation were exacerbated by the fact that, even where there was no change in the personnel or form of government, the adoption of the Reformation necessarily involved a *de facto* defiance of the claim of the Catholic Emperor to protect the Church in his territories: a defiance which, after

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[7] See Friedrich Hulße, 'Die Einführung der Reformation in der Stadt Magdeburg', 289-93.

[8] Christian Ludwig Brandt, 'Die erste evangelische Predigt im Dom zu Magdeburg am ersten Advent 1567', in *MGB* 1867 (2), 384-393; Albert Fischer, 'Die Ordnung der evangelischen Gottesdienste in der Metropolitankirche zu Magdeburg zu Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts', *MGB* 1872 (7), 129-146, 129.

[9] See Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation*, 18.

the Reformation spread beyond Saxony, entailed the creation of military alliance to deter the Emperor from enforcing this claim. The Magdeburg *Altstadt*, the fortified town which stood closest to Luther's Wittenberg, created the precedent whereby cities as well as princes joined leagues to prepare for armed resistance against the emperor: the city joined the Torgauer League in 1527 and the Schmalkaldic League in 1531, indicating in so doing a rejection of the authority over the town council of any authority lower than the emperor.[10]

When, in the mid-1540s, Emperor Charles V turned his attention to the religious situation in Germany, a city like Magdeburg thus had multiple concerns: its religious independence was threatened; its partners in military alliance were likely to call for aid; a victorious Emperor would most likely restore the ruling bishop to his previous privileges, replacing him if necessary with a candidate of his choice. A catholic archbishop with the support of the Emperor could move to reclaim authority over the churches of the *Altstadt*, and would arguably be entitled to limit the city's ability to defend itself by determining the extent of fortification to be permitted. Under threat therefore were the combination of religious liberty, which had permitted the town council to reorganise schools and clerical property according to the ideals of the Lutheran Reformation, and military significance, which enabled the town to command the Elbe and flourish in its trading

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[10] See Oliver K. Olson, 'Theology of Revolution: Magdeburg, 1550-1551', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 3/1 (1972), 56-79, 65-6.

connections with the Hanseatic League.[11] The gains which Magdeburg's town council had made in the process of introducing the Reformation and which it saw as a trajectory towards the status of free imperial city were thus in jeopardy.

After the Schmalkaldic war in the ended with the victory of Charles V, aided by Lutheran princes Moritz of Albertine Saxony and Joachim II of Brandenburg, Magdeburg's incentive to resist became more clearly defined: with the Schmalkaldic League defeated, Charles proposed to introduce his ally, Moritz of Saxony, as protector of the town. Moritz (or his appointee), once in power, would be expected to implement the religious settlement which Charles had decreed for all Protestant states and cities.

Charles's objective had originally been to create a settlement which would apply to both Catholic and Protestant states, undertaking the duty of the humanist prince in reforming the Church in his territory, but remaining sufficiently close to Rome to implement only such reforms as might be expected to emerge from the Council of Trent (1545-63), which was convoked primarily due to imperial pressure. He expected to modify his Reformation in line with the Council's final dictates. Protests from Catholic states and the Emperor's greater concern with the curbing of Protestantism meant that this project was modified, so that when the imperial edict was promulgated, rulers and church leaders of each Lutheran territory were required to accept a code of beliefs and practices described in an imperial edict. This was still an Interim agreement, to be applied only while the Council of Trent

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[11] See Johannes Mänß, 'Zur Geschichte der Elbe bei Magdeburg', *MGB* 32 (1897), 297-325.

was in session, so that the regulation was commonly referred to as the Augsburg Interim.[12]

The victory of Charles V in the Schmalkaldic wars deprived Lutheranism of the essential political protection it had had from the beginning in Electoral Saxony. It is indicative of the extent of Charles's victory that Electoral Prince Johann Friedrich of Saxony was removed from his office and sentenced to death after his capture at the Battle of Mühlhausen: while the sentence was later commuted to life-imprisonment and he was pardoned in 1552, he never regained the electoral dignity.[13] In response to this disaster, many Lutherans, even leading theologians like Melanchthon, attempted to establish justifications for accepting the 'Interim agreement' as the only condition under which their church would survive the reversals of the war. Faced with the threat of military action if the 'Interim agreement' was not implemented, Melanchthon and his school, including Johann Bugenhagen, Georg Major and Joachim Camerarius, co-operated with Moritz of Saxony, now holder of the electoral office, Joachim II and Georg of Anhalt in producing the Leipzig revision of the Augsburg Interim for those territories where implementation was likely to be most unpopular. Their aim was to produce an agreement to which pastors could subscribe without betraying the Augsburg

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12 *Sacrae Caesareae Maiestatis Declaratio, quomodo in negocio religionis per Imperium usque ad definitionem Concilij generalis vivendum sit, in Comitijs augustanis XV. Maij anno M. D. XLVIII. proposita, et publicata et ab omnibus Imperij ordinibus recepta, è Germanica lingua in Latinam... versa...* (Frankfurt an der Oder, 1548).

13 This was eventually commuted to life imprisonment. After Charles's campaign suffered a reversal in 1552, Johann Friedrich was released in May 1552, but he never regained his hereditary office.

Confession, and they achieved this by designating objectionable elements in ceremony *adiaphora*, or 'indifferent matters'.

It was a basic tenet of the Lutheran Reformation, and a cause and facilitator of its different manifestation in various states, that customs neither accepted nor prohibited by scripture would be maintained where they had proved useful to Church discipline. The Augsburg Confession summarised the Lutheran position of this matter: 'those usages are to be observed which may be observed without sin and which contribute to peace and good order',[14] but must not be taught as necessary to salvation and used to bind consciences; its author, Melanchthon, was to apply to these usages the name of *adiaphora* in his commentaries on the Confession. The concept of adiaphora remained uncontroversial until the 'Leipzig Interim' was produced, and when, in December 1548, the rulers of Saxony and Brandenburg determined to implement the slightly modified 'Leipzig Interim', theologians at Wittenberg reluctantly advised their colleagues to accept it.[15]

It has been argued that the 'Leipzig Interim' was a fair reflection of Lutheranism as practiced in Albertine Saxony, and the same case can be made for Brandenburg on the basis of the church orders if not necessarily of clerical practice,

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14 *Confessio Augustana*, Article XXVI.

15 They did not conceal their dissatisfaction with the agreement, specifying that their actions were due to the threat of war. Letter, Melanchthon to Johann von Küstrin, July 1548, cited in Luther David Peterson, *The Philippist Theologians and the Interims of 1548: Soteriological, Ecclesiastical, and Liturgical Compromises and Controversies within German Lutheranism* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Winsconsin, 1974), 360. Melanchthon's fullest discussion of the Leipzig Interim is in *De Rebus Adiaphora. Epistola Concionatorum Hambergensium ad D. Philippum Melanthonem, et Responsi Ejusdem*, (London [=s.l.], 1549).

which had gradually drifted towards the Wittenberg model.[16] Outside Electoral Saxony, however, Magdeburg's Lutheran Reformation was closest in character to Wittenberg's. Having itself no university, an institution which would have difficult to establish without reinforcing the status of the archbishop by acknowledging him as overlord, it relied on Wittenberg for the training of its clergy and many of its laypeople, particularly before the foundation of the university of Helmstedt in 1576.[17] It had looked to the patrons of the university, the Electoral princes of Saxony, the senior, Ernestine branch of the family, as a counterweight to the house of Brandenburg in northern Germany. Its Reformation was correspondingly distant from the provisions for organisation of ceremony in the Leipzig Interim: even without clear political grounds for resistance to any settlement implemented by Moritz of Saxony, Magdeburg could be expected to have difficulty in accepting the new order.

Because of its refusal to come to terms with the Emperor prior to the Battle of Mühlhausen, Magdeburg had been placed under the imperial ban (*Acht)* in 1547, and in omitting to implement the Interim agreement or to accept the

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[16] The argument for Albertine Saxony is made in Peterson, *The Philippist Theologians*, which asserts this, but demonstrates that there was little drive among Leipzig's clergy to expand their church model. The same case can be made for Brandenburg on the basis of the details of church order provided in Bodo Nischan, *Prince, People, and Confession. The Second Reformation in Brandenburg* (Philadelphia, 1994), and Gustav Kawerau, *Johann Agricola von Eisleben: Ein Beitrag zur Reformationsgeschichte (*Berlin, 1881).

[17] For a statistical presentation of university attendance from Magdeburg for the early modern period see Ernst-Walter Paasch, 'Magdeburger an frühen deutschen Universitäten. Teil 1 : Universitäten Altdorf, Bamberg, Bonn, Braunschweig, Breslau, Bützow, Dillingen, Duisburg, Erfurt, Erlangen und Frankfurt/Oder' in *Monumenta Guerickiana*, 2002 (9/10), 164-186, 164-166.

authority of its new patron, it ensured the continuation of this status, and was open to attack by anyone who cared to claim the reward offered by the emperor for thus implementing the ban. Importantly, there was evidence that Magdeburg could withstand an attack: it was a wealthy Hanseatic town, perhaps Germany's second-largest urban centre after Cologne. The *Altstadt's* acceptance into the Schmalkaldic League as the first town admitted had been based on its potential usefulness as a fortified place.[18] As with the early and enthusiastic introduction of the Lutheran Reformation in 1525, the crisis which had developed by 1548 produced a situation in which the town council and its appointed clergy could present a common cause. Both insisted, in the years that followed, that the town council in its resistance to the imperial edict acted purely in defence of the true Lutheran faith: there is in fact little evidence of a conflict of interest at any time during the siege, except during the closing stages. The principal defence of Magdeburg's clergy, the so-called *Magdeburg Confession,* will be discussed below. The town council for its part argued that it was not in its power to concede change in the operation of Magdeburg's churches. This would not be permitted by the town's preachers, and, even if the preachers cooperated, there would be disturbances among the common people.[19]

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[18] Willibald Mengert, *Magdeburg in der deutschen Geschichte (*Magdeburg, 1937), 29.

[19] 'Aufruhr des gemeinen Mannes', July 1549, Polt. Korr. IV. Nr. 407 460, cited in Kaufmann, Thomas: *Das Ende der Reformation. Magdeburgs 'Herrgotts Kanzlei' (1548-1551/2).* (Tübingen, 2003), 131.

The town council may appear from this statement to have taken a back seat in the shaping of Magdeburg's reaction to imperial coercion, but it was in fact having recourse to a defence which was very common in time of siege and military coercion, as will be discussed in Chapter 4. This presentation of the town's situation should be placed alongside other declarations which refer to the common townspeople less as a group to be feared for their potential violence, and more as a partner which held a legitimate opinion on the matter in hand.[20] It is beyond question that the town council was firmly implicated in events, most obviously as a signatory to diplomatic correspondence with the town's opponents.

There is evidence that the printing activity which has distinguished this siege and the preceding tensions resulted from a coordinated campaign between town council and clergy. The first two publications relating to the town's stance on the crisis which are clearly marked as coming from Magdeburg, the council's first *Declaration* and a pamphlet from Nicholas von Amsdorf, a refugee from Naumberg where he held high clerical office, have the same date, 1st August 1548.[21] Amsdorf's return to Magdeburg would have facilitated this cooperation, since he had been the chief reformer who had cooperated with the town council in

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20 'Das aber mit der Keyserl. Majest wir bissher nicht vertragen/ ist der Ursach halben verblieben/ dass die Wege/ Mittel und Capitulation Articul/ uns alhier und der gemeinen Stadt/ Gott weiss/ fast unmüglich gewesen/ zuerheben'.... Response of the Magdeburg town council to the declaration of the Imperial Ban, 1547, reproduced in Elias Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg: wie und wannenhero dieselbe bey Regierunge/ Weylandt Caroli des fünfften erwehlten Röm: Kaysers ... Gedächtniß sich entsponnen/ was unter Wehrunge derselben allerseits Inner- unnd ausserhalb der Stadt sich begeben und zugetragen/ wie hernacher die Sachen zu vortrage kommen und endtlich bey Kay: May: die Stadt außgesöhnet worden* (Magdeburg, 1622).

21 See Thomas Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation,* 94.

the 1520s to introduce Luther's teachings, and had served in the town for almost twenty years, from 1524-42.[22] Evidence of the town council's collaboration can also be drawn from the authority vested in it to control printing in Magdeburg. As discussed in the introduction, imperial law on censorship, which had been given impetus by the Lutheran Reformation, had since 1524 made powers within the empire, in Magdeburg's case the town council, responsible for the supervision of printers.[23] The town council's tolerance of works which attacked the 'Interim agreement' was in itself an act of defiance: in implementing the Interim, authorities agreed that they would prevent the production of printed works which criticised it in any way.[24] While Magdeburg's printers issued a number of anonymous prints commenting on the Interim, particularly in 1548, most works produced between 1548 and 1552 were signed.[25] In fact, the connection to the town was frequently emphasised through the inclusion of woodcuts bearing the town shield.

With some support from other Imperial cities Hamburg and Braunschweig, Magdeburg resisted a siege begun by Georg von Mecklenburg in 1550, and continued by Moritz of Saxony in October 1550. A change of strategy by Moritz, who ended by maintaining an army at Magdeburg for use in an attack on Charles

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[22] On Nicolaus von Amsdorf, see David Curtis Steinmetz, *Reformers in the Wings: From Geiler von Kayserberg to Theodore Beza* (New York, 1976), 70-76.

[23] For the development of law on censorship in the Holy Roman Empire until the beginning of the Thirty Years War, see Ruth Kästner, *Geistlicher Rauffhandel*, 132-4.

[24] *Sacrae Caesareae Maiestatis Declaratio,* Foreword.

[25] The town had four or five printers during the period under study, depending whether the edition of Sebastian Besselmeyer's : Wolther printed little for the duration of the Interim crisis and siege, while Christian Rödinger and Michael Lotther between them were responsible for most of the approximately 400 editons produced at Magdeburg 1548-52.

V, led to a settlement favourable to the town in 1551: only nominal control of Magdeburg was yielded to Moritz, and it was made clear that the provisions in the 'Interim agreement' were unlikely to be enforced. The public and private provisions for surrender differed to an unusual extent, and appear to have caused the first serious tension between clergy and councillors.[26]

Nonetheless, by August 1552, the balance of power in the Holy Roman Empire had shifted. The Treaty of Passau permitted authorities to regulate religious affairs in their own jurisdictions until a permanent legal solution could be found. The ground was thus laid for the Imperial Peace of Augsburg of 1555, with its broad acceptance of the existence and practice of Lutheranism in the Holy Roman Empire where governing authorities had themselves embraced it. Magdeburg had withstood what proved to be a tactical siege, and had surrendered with honour and few concessions, secure in the knowledge that the Interim would not be enforced and that the town's ruling council might continue in its authority. This was a surrender, but it was one which was easily subsumed into the narrative of triumph for German Lutheranism, since the withdrawal of attention by Moritz of Saxony coincided with his attack on his former imperial ally. Magdeburg had had an uneventful war, with its citizens not sustaining significant fatalites,[27] which it tended to celebrate thereafter as a victory, although its failure to achieve a formal

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[26] For details of the agreement see Johannes Janssen, *History of the German People at the close of the Middle Ages*, trans. by A. M. Christie and M. A. Mitchell, 17 vols (London, 1896-1925), VI (1903), pp. 433-6. The differences between the public and the private arrangements are discussed in Owen Chadwick, *The Early Reformation on the Continent* (New York, 2001), 337-8.

[27] Discussed in Chapter 2, below.

transfer of authority from its ruling bishop before the Imperial Peace of Augsburg was promulgated was to have grave repercussions during the Thirty Years War.

1.2 The shaping of the 'Interim dispute'

Most of the Protestant states of the Empire observed the legal requirement for silence on the 'Interim' and it was this in part that that brought Magdeburg its fame as commentator on events and witness to the Lutheran faith. Obviously attractive to preachers unwilling to implement the 'Interim agreements', the town also received numerous refugees from nearby Wittenberg which was struck by the plague in 1547.[28] It seems probable that early and uncoordinated printing activities produced a cumulative effect, so that the act of publishing drew to Magdeburg those who could reached the city and wished to print freely against the Interim. The most controversial works printed in 1548, two pamphlet polemics which led Charles V to put a price on the head of the prominent Lutheran theologian Kasper Aquila, appeared from Magdeburg, the first without printer's mark or idenification of place, the second with open declaration of its origin.[29] The impact of this breach of the law against public criticism of the 'Interim agreement' was recalled after the

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[28] Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation*, 162.

[29] Kaspar Aquila (Adler) had been an intimate associate of Luther from 1520, and had been court-preacher in Electoral Saxony. He was expelled from his post of Superintentent of Saalfeld and had a price put on his head in 1548 because of two works printed from Magdeburg against the Interim: Caspar Aquila, *Wider den spöttischen Lügner Esslebium Agricolam*. [Magdeburg, 1548]; Caspar Aquila: *Ein sehr hoch nötige Ermahnung* (Magdeburg, 1548.) He fled to Schmalkalden, where he became Deacon in the Collegiate Church in 1550, remaining there until Johann Friedrich was released from captivity in May 1552, and reappointed him to his Saalfeld position. *ADB*, s.v.

siege by Erasmus Alber, a fellow theologian and a doctor in theology, who travelled from Wittenberg to seek refuge in Magdeburg late in 1548:[30]

> 'But your little book against Grickel's [Johann Agricola's] grotesque Interim,[31] which was quite as fierce as my dialogue, if not fiercer, penetrated unhindered and came into the world through Printing, which highly delighted me and all upright Christians who read it. For it could have been perceived, at this same time, that the Sun of Righteousness [Malachi 4,2] had been completely quenched, and that no-one wished to witness to Christ anymore'.[32]

This is not to say that all of the collaborators in printed resistance to the 'Interim agreement' were themselves gathered at Magdeburg. Communications between the town and the outer world seem not to have been seriously hampered until 1550, so

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30 See Waldemar Kawerau, 'Erasmus Alber in Magdeburg', in *MGB* 28 (1893), 1-62, 1-3. A review of the literature available on Alber is given in 1.4, below.

31 The reference to Agricola as well as contemporary events discussed by Alber in the pamphlet make it clear that this is one of Aquila's 1548 publications. Johann Agricola, a collaborator in the Wittenberg Reformation from the 1520s, had entered into a bitter public dispute with Luther in 1537, the so-called Antinomian controversy. The dispute ended with a legal case in which Agricola appealed to the protection of the Elector of Saxony Johann Friedrich: Agricola had served three times as his court or itinerant preacher, and was in his service from 1536 to 1540. Fearing that the legal case would go against him, Agricola fled to Brandenburg in 1540, where he became court preacher to Electoral Prince Joachim II of Brandenburg, who supported Charles V in the Schmalkaldic Wars, providing a thousand-strong cavalry which fought at Mühlberg. Agricola, with Catholic bishops Julius Pflug and Michael Helding, had worked on the Augsburg Interim. Because the antinomian debate has aroused great interest among theologians, there is copious literature on Agricola: Mark U. Edwards, Jr, *Luther and the false brethern*, (California, 1975); Gustav Kawerau, 'Briefe und Urkunden zur Geschichte des antinomistischen Streites', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 1880-1 (4), 299-324; Gustav Kawerau, *Johann Agricola von Eisleben: Ein Beitrag zur Reformationsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1881); Timothy J. Wengert, *Law and Gospel. Philip Melanchthon's Dispute with John Agricola of Eisleben over Poenitentia* (Carlisle, 1997).

32 'Aber ewer Büchlin widder den Grickel und grewel Interim/welchs wol so scharff/wo nicht scherffer/weder mein Dialogus/drang frei hindurch uñ kam durch den Truck in die welt/ welchs mich vnd alle rechtschaffen Christen/die es lasen/hertzlich erfrewet. Denn es lies sich zur selben zeit ansehen/als were die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit gar verloschen / und niemand mehr Christum bekennen wolt'. Alber, *Vom Basilisken zu Magdeburg. Item vom Hanen eyhe/ daraus ein Basilisck wirt/ mit seiner Bedeutung aus der heiligen Schrifft. An den standhafftigen Bekenner Christi M. Caspar Aquilae geschriebē* (Hamburg, [c. 1552]), Aii.

that an international circle of protestant thinkers could contribute texts, receive and circulate the printed versions, and correspond on the substance of the matter. The coordination of this operation was perfected when the town council and clergy recruited Matthias Flacius Illyricus, Professor of Hebrew at Wittenberg, to direct operations. He stood at the centre of a European network of correspondents, and exerted enormous influence on the nature of the work produced from Magdeburg: Kaufmann estimates that 42% of the works published from the town in 1550 were written, translated or edited by Flacius Illyricus.[33]

The success of the Magdeburg publicists in serving as centre to a wider union of opinion is reflected by the fact that a uniformity of terminology emerged within and without the town. On the phenomenon of print itself, one sees that an external sympathiser, Kasper Aquila, and the Magdeburg publicists refer to the enterprise in the same terms, with Aquila quickly adopting the description the publicists applied to themselves in the so-called *Magdeburg Confession*:[34]

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[33] On Flacius Illyricus in the context of the 'Interim dispute' see Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation*, 73-77. He is of particular interest to Reformation historians for the 'Magdeburg Centuries', the church history of which he was chief editor. Here, see the recent study by Oliver K. Olson, *Matthias Flacius and the survival of Luther's reform* (Wiesbaden, 2002). On Flacius's recruitment see also Emil Körner, *Erasmus Alber. Das Kämpferleben eines Gottesgelehrten aus Luthers Schule* (Leipzig, 1910), 119.

[34] *Bekandtnuss/ Unterricht und Vermahnung der Pfarrherrn und Prediger der Christlichen Kirchen zu Magdeburg/ Anno M. D. L. den 13 Aprilis* (Magdeburg: Christian Rödinger, 1550). This was signed by nine members of Magdeburg's clergy, led by Nicolaus von Amsdorf, and printed simultaneously in German and Latin: its Latin title is *Confessio et Apologia Pastorum et Reliquorum Ministrorum Ecclesiae Magdeburgensis.* Cited here is the German edition as reproduced in Friedrich Hortleder, *Der Römischen Keyser Und Koniglichen Maiestetē, Auch des heiligen Römischen Reichs Geistlicher und Weltlicher Stände...Handlungen und Außschreiben...Von Rechtmässigkeit/ Anfang/ Fort und endlichen Aussgang dess Teutschen Kriegs Keyser Carls dess Fuenfften,* (2 vols, Gotha, 1645), ii. 1053-1092, 1085.

> '... here in these ungrateful German states, which, against their consciences, indeed, against the clear word of God, have approved the poisonous, damned Interim-lie, the Emperor's book [instruction], it is forbidden to print anything that speaks against the Interim, except in the most praiseworthy, ancient, Christian and imperial town of Magdeburg, which is God's Chancery, and which faithful town is persecuted for the sole reason that it stands firm by God's Word.[35]

A high proportion of the tracts printed in Magdeburg between 1548 and 1552 were thus written in or sent from other parts of the Empire. Thomas Kaufmann has created a statistical analysis of these works based on the holdings of VD16 up to 2003.[36] He concludes that, for 1548, the proportion of works printed in Magdeburg and written outside the town to those written and printed there is 4:1.[37] He demonstrates that the increase in Magdeburg's production corresponded with a decline in output for several significant printing centres.[38] This implies a rapid expansion in Magdeburg's printing activities: between 1546 and 1551/2, the town saw twenty per cent the total editions there produced in the sixteenth century. With less than twenty printed works produced yearly outside this period, Magdeburg's printers reached the height of their productivity in 1550, with an output of at least one hundred and seventeen editions.[39]

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35 Kaspar Aquila to Albrecht von Preußen, 20/6/50: '...hie in diesen undankbaren Deutschen Landen, die wider ihr Gewissen, ja öffentlich wider Gottes klares Wort in das vergiftigste, verdammte Lügen-Interims, des kaisers Buch, gewilligt, darf man nichts drucken, was wider das Interim lautet, ausgenommen die hochlöbliche, alte, christliche, kaiserliche Stadt Magdeburg, da ist Gottes Kanzlei, welche fromme Stadt allein deshalb verfolgt wird, daß sie beständig bei Gottes Wort bleiben will'.

36 Presented in Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation*, Appendix III, 559-565.

37 Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation*, 77-85

38 Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation,* Appendix III, 559-60.

39 Kaufmann, Thomas, *Ende der Reformation*, Appendix II, 563.

This flourishing of editions is by no means a typical feature of a city faced with war or under siege in the Early Modern period. Magdeburg's rush to print must be attributed to the fact that the nature of the dispute which developed after 1547 was particularly suited to the production, and in many cases the reproduction, of pamphlet literature. While the interim disputes saw some exchange of views in print on theological matters, in particular on the concept of *adiaphora*, and in later stages on works and justification, there is in general an uneven quality to the debate. This can be attributed to the fact that the imposition of the 'Leipzig Interim', which became the focus of discussion after a few months, had few real supporters. The Wittenberg theologians, led by Melanchthon, considered the 'Leipzig Interim' the best compromise available if the existence of the institutional church was to be maintained in accordance with the precepts of the Augsburg Confession[40] and of Melanchthon's *Loci Communes,*[41] not as a statement of best practice. They did not conceal their dissatisfaction with the agreement: they had already specified that their actions were due to the threat of war.[42] In his letter to the Hamburg consistorium, Melanchthon presented the agreement, which as an edict can be considered legally complete, as a work in progress: explaining that a satisfactory position has yet to be found on larger matters, such as the consecration

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[40] The Confession of faith prepared by Philipp Melanchthon for the Diet of Augsburg (1530). Originally it was hoped that the Confession would serve as a basis for reunion with the Catholic Church. In the event it became a statement of Lutheran orthodoxy.

[41] The *Loci Communes* was Melanchthon's general exposition of Lutheran theology, first published in 1521 and endorsed by Luther. His claim that the Leipzig Interim permits adherence to these texts is in *Epistola Phil. Melanthonis, in quae respondetur Flacio Illyrico (*Wittenberg, 1549). See Peterson, *The Philippist Theologians*, 366.

[42] Letter, Melanchthon to Johann von Küstrin, July 1548, cited in Peterson, *The Philippist Theologians*, 360.

of the Eucharist, which he did not designate *adiaphora.*[43] Where new rites were ordered, but did not affect doctine or liberty, they should be obeyed. In order to show that their dissent with enemies whose power he could not describe in writing was not a desire for liberty or novelty, nor fruit of hatred, he disputed about more important things. It was essential to judge prudently, whether the churches were to be abandoned to the wolves ... or whether the ministers of the church should bear the 'servitude' imposed by the edict. Impious ceremonies should be performed where necessary so that churches would not be deserted without the most momentuous cause: 'non deserentes congregationem nostram'.[44]

This illustrates the problem which faced the group which was to assemble in Magdeburg, the so-called 'Magdeburg theologians' or 'Magdeburg publicists' in defining their enemy: while the Augsburg Interim was composed mostly by Catholics, its imposition, and that of the Leipzig Interim which was contrived by Lutherans, was the task of Lutheran princes. In Saxony and Brandenburg, Moritz and Joachim II were eager to appear to impose the Interim as a symbol of alliance with the Emperor, traditional in both of their territories. In their territories (in Moritz's case, in what had been Albertine Saxony before its expansion under his rule with the deposition of Johann Friedrich) the Reformation had been introduced, but the pace of reform had not been determined by what had already been achieved in Wittenberg. Many of the usages and ceremonies which the Interim agreements would reinstitute in Wittenberg, and what had been Johann Friedrich's territories

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43 Melanchthon, *De Rebus Adiaphora*, 23.
44 Melanchthon, *De Rebus Adiaphora*, 26.

prior to the Schmalkaldic wars, were still present in the reformed Churches in Albertine Saxony and Brandenburg: these included various ceremonies and the use of liturgical vestments. Luther had accepted this, commenting that ceremonies might be maintained so long it was not forgotten that they were not necessary to salvation: 'Conscience is not to be bound, and if we have given up these practices in Wittenberg, we may have reasons which are not valid in Berlin. Except where God has commanded, let there be freedom'.[45] Rather than coerce the laity, he hoped that personal piety and assurance of salvation would change attitudes towards such ceremonies, so that non-essentials would eventually be removed with the support of the community.[46]

Melanchthon's advice to clergy on the Leipzig Interim reflected the fact that it was the pastors who would be charged with implementing the Interim agreements locally: it was the pressure on the electors from the Wittenberg educated clergy of Brandenburg and Johann Friedrich's confiscated territories which had created the political need for revision of the Augsburg Interim, and Melanchthon's endorsement of the Leipzig Interim was extremely important in placating them. However, this endorsement was neither comprehensive nor enthusiastic, so there could be no question of a debate in which Melanchthon's defence of various elements of the Leipzig Interim would be countered by the anti-Interimists, who can be called the Magdeburg theologians. Instead, these

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45 Bodo Nischan, *Prince, People, and Confession. The Second Reformation in Brandenburg.* Philadelphia, 1994, 23.

46 Peterson, *The Philippist Theologians,* 321.

theologians produced severals strategies to inspire popular and theological rejection of the Leipzig Interim, among them an attack on the use of *adiaphora* to resolve even minor issues in the conflict.

Having summarised the Magdeburg theologians' position with the statement that 'nothing can be called *adiaphor[a]*... where there are questions of witness and scandal',[47] Matthias Flacius Illyricus, who was been recruited to Magdeburg by the town council to coordinate the resistance, in collaboration with Nicholas Gallus, a clergyman from Regensburg who had come to Magdeburg as a refugee,[48] produced an alternative to Melanchthon's requirement that the pastor remain and preach the Gospel. One bore witness through action, so that one must refuse to implement the requirements of the Interim.[49] This led the Magdeburg theologians to stress the task of bearing witness by resisting as the only alternative to rejecting or persecuting the true Church, activities ascribed to opponents from Melanchthon to Charles V. While pastors had turned to Melanchthon as the guardian of Lutheran orthodoxy, his understanding of the true Church compounded his fault, as was the case with other Lutherans who accepted the Interim. Another of the Magdeburg theologians, Erasmus Alber, explained in his *Dialogue or conversation of several people concerning the [Augsburg] Interim*, with regard to Lutheran collaborators in

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47 Flacius Illyricus: *Quod hoc tempore nulla penitus mutation in religione sit in gratiam impiorum facienda* ([Magdeburg], 1549), [Avii].

48 On Gallus see Hartmut Voit, *Nikolaus Gallus. Ein Beitrag zur Reformationsgeschichte der nachlutherischen Zeit* (Degener, 1977).

49 Matthias Flacius Illyricus and Nicolaus Gallus, *Antwort... auff den brieff etlicher Prediger in Meissen, von der frage, Ob sie lieber weichen, denn den Chorrock anzihen sollen (*Magdeburg, [1549/50]), cited in Peterson, *The Philippist Theologians*, p. 375.

the Interim that 'to stifle the known truth is the Sin against the Holy Spirit', is the unforgiveable sin;[50] he later applied the same accusation to the Wittenberg theologians in his *Contra Colacem*.[51]

In this vein, the Magdeburg theologians reprinted material thought to prove their opponents' knowledge of the true Church, and to demonstrate that their fault was not to bear witness to its teachings. The medieval *Epistola Luciferi*, which had also circulated early in the Reformation, was reprinted, according to Flacius in his introduction, to show that it had long since been proved that the Catholic Church was the manifestation of the Antichrist, so that to join it and knowingly persecute Christ was a sin which could not be punished more severely.[52] A section was reprinted from Johann Agricola's sermons on Paul's letter to the Colossians, composed in 1527, was reprinted as *Concerning the Mass and the Canon* in order to demonstrate that he too, as a Lutheran preacher and erstwhile pupil and friend of Luther, was deliberately promoting falsehood. [53] Older works were also resurrected to assert the authority of Luther over those in Wittenberg who had been

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50 [Erasmus Alber,] *Ein Dialogus oder Gespra[e]ch etlicher personen vom Interim* ([Augsburg], 1548 [for 1557]), Aiv(v).

51 Erasmus Alber, *'Contra Colacem'*, in Franz Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Erasmus Alberus. Ein biographischer Beitrag zur Geschichte der Reformationszeit* (Dresden, 1893), 210-3: 'Nihil in sacerdote tam periculosum apud deum, tam turpe apud homines. quam quod sentiat veritatem non libere pronunciare'. 'For a clergyman, nothing is more dangerous before God, and more shameful before men, than to know the truth and not to proclaim it freely'.

52 Matthias Flacius Illyricus, Foreword to *Lucifer's Sendbrief an die vermeinten Geistlichen, vor 140 Jaren geschrieben/ Durch Nicolaum Oren* ([Magdeburg], 1550), Aiv.

53 Johann Agricola, *Von der Messe und ihrem Canone* [Magdeburg?, 1548?]. See Kawerau,*„Johann Agricola von Eisleben,* 295. The original work was Johann Agricola *Die Epistel an die Colosser, S. Pauls, zů Speier gepredigt auff dem Reychstage* (Wittenberg, 1527).

accepted as his successors: thus his work on the dangers of a Papal initiative to reform Germany was reprinted in part,[54] and a testimony on the character and theology of Agricola printed for the first time.[55]

These works elicited little response from the Wittenberg theologians, who spoke of hearing their detractors in Christian humility and silence: Melanchthon responded with his letter to the Hamburg consistorium, urging tact, patience, submission and sympathy, and in a letter to Flacius Illyricus, in which he defended the concept of maintaining the institutional church, and reproved him for the personal nature of his attack.[56] Only late in the Interim dispute did Johann Pfeffinger, a theologian who had acted as advisor to Moritz of Saxony produce a systematic defence of the *adiaphora* connected with the Leipzig Interim.[57] Nonetheless, the publications of the Magdeburg theologians could not simply reflect the tempo of their opponents' response. The need to bear witness, and the understanding, developed since the 1540s, that legitimate resistance to attack on

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[54] Matth[ias] Fla[cius] Illyr[icus], *Erklerung der Schendlichen Sůnde der Jenigen die durch das Concilium/Interim/uñ Adiaphora/ von Christo zum Antchrist fallen/ aus diesen Prophetischen Gemelde/des S. Eliae Seliger Gedechtnis/ D. M. Luth. genomen.* (s.l.v.a.)

[55] Martin Luther, *Wider den Eisleben*, 253-276, in *Dr. Martin Luthers Briefe, Sendschreiben und Bedenken, vollständig aus den verschiedenen Ausgaben seiner Werke und Briefe, aus andern Büchern und noch unbenutzten Handschriften gesammelt, kritisch und historisch bearbeitet von Dr. Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette* edited by Johann Karl Seidemann (6 vols, Berlin, 1856), vi. 246-58.

[56] Philip Melanchthon, *Epistola Phil. Melanthonis, in quae respondetur Flacio Illyrico*; Melanchton, *De Rebus Adiaphora*;

[57] Johann Pfeffinger, *Von den Tratitionibvs/ Ceremonibvs/ Oder Mitteldingen/ Christlicher ware bericht/ allen lieben Christen in disen letzten vnd gefehrlichen zeiten/ nützlich zu wissen (*Leipzig, 1550).

the true church took place within the context of one's office,[58] meant that for preachers and theologians the production of texts combining theology, polemic, education and consolation had a symbolic value as important as any influence which these texts might have. The sin of which their opponents were accused, and the power of the enemy with which they were collaborating inspired fear and revulsion, and they attempted to communicate to a general audience as well as the opponents themselves.

This trait is exemplified by a broadsheet designed by Luther in 1545,[59] and reprinted during the Interim disputes: it was one of a series which had been criticised for its coarseness even by some of Luther's followers.[60] Flacius Illyricus designated it a *Prophetic Picture by the Holy Elia[s] of Blessed Memory, named D. M. Luther.*[61] The woodcut shows Pope Paul II, riding on a sow and holding a steaming turd over its nose. The interpretation, repeated by Flacius, was that the pope treated Germany like a sow, leading it with lies and treachery, the inspiration being a riddle popular since 1541: 'How do you ride a sow without being bitten?' 'Hold dung over its nose, and it will try to reach it and leave you alone.' Luther had been reacting to the council of Trent (announced in 1544), attempting to discredit

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58 Discussed in further detail below, Conclusions.

59 Luther sketched 10 caricatures between February and May 1545, used as illustrations for his *Wider das Bapstum zu Rom vom Teuffel gestifft*: their popularity was such that they were reprinted as a series of broadsheets in the same year. Kästner, *Geistlicher Rauffhandel,* 289.

60 Kästner, *Geistlicher Rauffhandel*, 303.

61 Flacius, *Erklerung der Schendlichen Sůnde*.

such councils, especially as a channel for the Reformation of Germany, using the image of riding a sow as part of a well known iconography of debasement.[62]

The circulation of such images (*Schandbilder)* was an indication that their subjects were not omnipotent and that, as Erasmus Alber expressed it in this connection in a later work, the *Basilisk of Magdeburg* 'the Devil, even if he is truly a Prince of the world [John 14:30], still he is nonetheless such a feeble Beelzebub, that he cannot offend Christians more than our Lord God permits, which is a wonderful consolation to us in our troubles'.[63] This tendency in the Magdeburg publicity raises the question of whether, in defining and attempting to unite those who looked to them for guidance against an enemy, the Magdeburg publicists had any need to discuss imperial ambition or the person of Charles V, subjects which would normally be avoided even in what could so easily be described as a rebellion against imperial authority.[64] The literature in fact relied to a large extent on a triad of traditional enemies: the Pope, the Jew, and the Turk.[65] There appeared nonetheless printed attacks on the Emperor's person, which referred to his use of Spanish soldiers,[66] and his connected image as a foreign ruler. Among the most virulent is an anonymous verse clearly dating to this period which

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62 Kästner, *Geistlicher Rauffhandel*, 297-8.

63 'der Teuffel/ob er wol ein Furst der welt/so ist er doch so ein amechtiger Beelzebub/ das er die Christen nicht weiter beleydigen kan/ dann ihm vnser Herr Gott verhengt/ welchs vns in vnserm trübsal/ein hehrlicher trost ist'. Erasmus Alber, *Vom Basilisken zu Magdeburg* (Hamburg, [1552]), Aii(v).

64 See on this subject Beatrice Woller, *Deutsche Schlagwörter zur Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges* (Frankfurt am Main, 2000), 409, which traces the tradition of sparing the figure of the Emperor for the early modern period generally.

65 See Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation*, 464-75.

66 See [Alber, *Dialogus*, Qiii.

challenges the ideal of the Holy Roman Empire and the insignia which identify Charles V both as the elected ruler of this territory and as the inheritor of an empire abroad and overseas:

> 'Charles, admit openly to the matters which are secretly compelling you! Germany has determined to take for itself the house of Austria and to establish a monarchy. 'Plus ultra' [the motto which Charles had taken for himself][67] will go no further: that is at the heart of the matter'.[68]

Historians have been struck by the volume and the vigour of the Magdeburg publications against the Interim, and in particular by the appearance of such sharp and unconventional attacks on the Emperor. The premise of Kaufmann's *Ende der Reformation* is that much of the coordinated activity of the publicists printing in Magdeburg at this time occurred in a diplomatic void, in a threat to the true Christian church perceived to be so great that no authorities however elevated were spared. While inflammatory texts were a common feature fuelling rebellion in Europe,[69] the character of the Interim disputes creates a particular problem with the situation of such texts in the context of a campaign in arms which was frequently and explicitly associated with printed protest by

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67 See Allan Ellenius, *Iconography, Propaganda and Legitimation* (Oxford, 1998), 67-8.

68 'Karle, sag an die sachen/ die heimlich treiben dich!/Deutschland wilt eigen machen/ dem haus zu Ostereich/ ein monarchie wilt richten an/ Plus ultra soll noch weiter gan/ do ligt der hund begraben'. 'Ein new lied auf itzige kriegsleufte gemacht, einem ehrlichen landsknecht W. P. zu gefallen', reproduced in Liliencron, *Die historischen Volkslieder der Deutschen vom 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert*, (5 vols, Leipzig, 1865-9), iv. 333, no 527, Verse 4.

69 See Perez Zagorin, *Rebels and Rulers, 1500-1660* (2 vols, Cambridge, 1982), i, 253.

authorities. It is necessary to investigate, in order to understand the legacy of the siege whether the civic and clerical authorities of Magdeburg wished to endorse such blatantly anti-imperial texts.

Most of the publications associated with the town have nonetheless received relatively little scholarly scrutiny. An exception is the *Confession, Instruction and Exhortation of the Pastors and Preachers of the Christian Church in Magdeburg* which has for reasons discussed in the next section received by far the most attention from historians, and is recalled simply as the *Magdeburg Confession.*[70] The *Magdeburg Confession* was signed in April 1550 by the town's clergy and printed simultaneously in Latin and in German with the support of its town council: the mutual support of the two bodies was emphasised by the inclusion as an appendix of a memorial of town councillor Stefan Tucher. It was presented in two parts: first a confession of the Lutheran faith as practised in Magdeburg, and secondly an admonition, the broad argument of which indicated that armed resistance under the leadership of magistrates was a justified and necessary response to attempts to impose the Interim agreement by force.[71]

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[70] *Bekandtnuss/ Unterricht und Vermahnung der Pfarrherrn und Prediger der Christlichen Kirchen zu Magdeburg/ Anno M. D. L. den 13 Aprilis* (Magdeburg: Christian Rödinger, 1550). This was signed by nine members of Magdeburg's clergy, led by Nicolaus von Amsdorf, and printed simultaneously in German and Latin: its Latin title is *Confessio et Apologia Pastorum et Reliquorum Ministrorum Ecclesiae Magdeburgensis.* Cited here is the German edition as reproduced in Friedrich Hortleder, *Der Römischen Keyser Und Koniglichen Maiestetē, Auch des heiligen Römischen Reichs Geistlicher und Weltlicher Stände...Handlungen und Außschreiben...Von Rechtmässigkeit/ Anfang/ Fort und endlichen Aussgang dess Teutschen Kriegs Keyser Carls dess Fünfften,* (2 vols, Gotha, 1645), ii. 1053-1092.

[71] *Sacrae Caesareae Maiestatis Declaratio, quomodo in negocio religionis per Imperium usque ad definitionem Concilij generalis vivendum sit, in Comitijs augustanis*

Thomas Kaufmann, whose *Ende der Reformation* has done much to remedy the neglect of the literary context of the Confession, has emphasised both the document's place in the development of republican theory and the special character which it possesses. Its special character, in his view, is to constitute the positive contribution of apocalyptic expecations to political theory, because it emerges from what he describes, from his study of the surrounding literature, as a crisis so acute as to create a 'diplomatic void', a situation in which all negotiation was unimaginable to its authors, and all power stripped of its usual sacred character.[72] The next section will explore the role of the Confession in republican theory before the question of the document's particular character is considered.

XV. Maij anno M. D. XLVIII. proposita, et publicata et ab omnibus Imperij ordinibus recepta, è Germanica lingua in Latinam... versa... (Frankfurt an der Oder, [1548]). *Das Interim 1548/50*, ed. by Luise Schorn-Schütte (Heidelberg, 2005).

[72] Thomas Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation*, 489.

1.3 The *Magdeburg Confession* in the historiography of Republican theory

The *Magdeburg Confession* may be said to have been pushed into the historiographical limelight through the use made of it by prominent Protestant leaders in the decades after it was printed. For Robert Kingdon, writing in 1958, the frequent references in sixteenth-century texts expounding the principles of godly resistance established the *Magdeburg Confession* as an ideal starting point for the then-nascent approach of comparative history.[73] The *Confession* was in fact widely known in paraphrase in Lutheran, Calvinist, and Catholic Europe shortly after its composition. Its dissemination resulted especially from Johann Sleidan's celebrated *De Statu Religiones et Republicae*, which gives the history of its production and summarises its content.[74] Sleidan himself was a Lutheran commissioned as official historian to the Schmalkaldic League, whose history of the state of religious affairs under Charles V was because of the chronological and geographical limits he placed on it effectively a history of the development of Lutheranism. He had however a reputation which extended beyond the Lutheran intellectual world, having collaborated in Strasbourg with Calvin, who was later to draw on Sleidan's historical expertise in his writing.[75] Printed in 1555, Sleidan's

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[73] This is the premise of Robert Kingdon, 'The political Resistance of the Calvinists'. See also ibid., 'Les idées politiques de Bèze', 566-69, 567.

[74] Johann Sleidan, *De Statu religionis et reipublicae, Carolo quinto caesare, commentarii* (Strasbourg, 1555). On Sleidan see Donald R. Kelley, 'Johann Sleidan and the Origins of History as a Profession', *The Journal of Modern History*, 1980 (52/4), 573-598. The Confession forms the subject of Book 22 of *De Statu Religiones*.

[75] For specific instances, see Jean Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Church*, edited by John T. McNeill (Westminister, 1980), 1085n, 1136n, 1225n.

history was eagerly received in France as well as the Holy Roman Empire.[76] Pettegree has placed the *de Statu Religiones* at the starting point of Protestant Europe's development of a shared legacy of witness and martyrdom.[77]

Théodore Beza, Calvin's designated successor in Geneva after 1564, appears to have had access to the text of the *Magdeburg Confession* as early as 1554, when he published his *De haereticis a civili magistratu puniendis,* a rejection of the 'heretic' Sebastian Castellio which argued for the authority of civic magistrates to punish heretics in terms similar to the those used in the *Confession.*[78] Beza's most important act for the historiographical reception of the text, however, was to advertise it as the basis of his anonymously printed and vastly influential *Right of Magistrates*, claiming in the title that the work in question had been published from Magdeburg in 1550, and appeared now in a revised and expanded form.[79] For the english-speaking world, it is significant that Scottish reformer John Knox cited the *Confession* in print and in public. The printed proceedings of the debate at the General Assembly of June 1564 show him drawing from it the

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[76] On the collaborative collection of data and the international reception of the work, see Kelley, 'Johann Sleidan and the Origins of History as a Profession', 590-595. Kelley provides evidence of the enthusiasm with which Sleidan's history was received in France at 593.

[77] Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge, 2005), 202-3.

[78] Robert Kingdon, *Du droit des Magistrats*, 'Introduction', p viii; ibid., 'Les idées politiques de Bèze'.

[79] [Theodore Beza], *Du Droit des Magistrats sur leurs subiets. Traitté tres necessaire en ce temps pour advertir de leur devoir, tant les Magistrats que les Subiets, publié par ceux de Magdebourg l'an M. D. L. et maintenant reueu et augmentée de plusieurs raisons et exemples* ([S.l.], 1574, repr. [s.l.], 1575). The citations which follow refer to the 1575 edition ; Kingdon has not found any significant differences in the numerous versions of the text in French and in Latin: Kingdon, *Du Droit des Magistrats*, 'Introduction', p xxxiv.

assurance the clergy of Magdeburg have demonstrated 'that to resist a Tyrant, is not to resist God, nor yit his ordinance'.[80]

Beza and Knox were among the more prominent participants in debates on the limits of permissible resistance which were not new to Early Modern Europe, but which gained impetus in the context of the Protestant Reformations and the loss of a shared perception of heresy among rulers and ruled in several territories. The fact that the better-known doctrines of resistance emerging in the late sixteenth century discussed the duties of 'lesser magistrates' *vis-à-vis* sovereigns has led to their integration by historians into the genealogy of Republican theory. This is the direction followed by Quentin Skinner, who has traced in the texts from the French tradition on the subject, starting from Calvin's Institutes and examining in particular Beza's work, François Hotman's *Francogallia*, and the anonymous *Vindiciae, Contra Tyrannos*,[81] the emergence of arguments which, he claims, though presented in print in response to the St Bartholomew's Day massacre of 1572, could in themselves be defended without recourse to sectarianism and could thus form the basis for a potentially general critique of monarchy.[82]

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[80] John Knox, *The historie of the reformatioun of religioun within the realm of Scotland, ... Together with the life of Iohn Knoxe the Author, and several Curious Pieces wrote by him* (Edinburgh, 1732), p. 363. The text of the debate is given in full in John Knox, *On Rebellion*, edited by Roger A. Mason (Cambridge, 1994), 182-209.

[81] The name of the author has not been established beyond doubt. Both Hubert Languet and Phillipe du Plessis-Mornay have been identified as possible authors, and the recent consensus is that the two collaborated in some way. See, *Vindiciae, Contra Tyrannos*, edited by George Garnett, 'Editor's Introduction', (Cambridge, 1994), 55-76.

[82] Quentin Skinner, *The foundations of modern political thought* (Cambridge, 1978), ii. 310.

The distinction which Skinner introduces here: of texts which can stand outside the religious context in which they were created, is in fact difficult to maintain for the body of works which he has examined. His claim echoes, to an extent, the task which the unknown author of the *Vindiciae, Contra Tyrannos* sets himself. 'Whatever is asserted' is to be 'demonstrated to be the case by the clear illustrations of the Holy Scripture', but also 'confirmed by the teachings of moral and political sciences, and of nature, and of the precepts of laws, the pronouncements of jurisconsults, and the rescripts of emperors...'.[83]

In the 'third question' of the *Vindiciae, Contra Tyrannos* which Skinner considers the essential contribution to secular theory of justification and culmination in this sense of the development of Calvinist resistance theory,[84] the author accordingly has recourse to law. He fails, however, to discuss this to establish any concept of law that can accommodate his claim to appeal to all Christians.

Lawmaking is not considered as the expression of an individual's will,[85] but as an expression of consensus,[86] which is, ultimately, divinely inspired.[87] Consensus on divine inspiration is of course a fundamental problem during religious wars. Aquinas, who seems to have influenced the *Vindiciae* author's definition of law,[88] could expect such a consensus, but as the author of the *Vindiciae* has already revealed his attachment to the Calvinist cause in his

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83 *Vindiciae,* 10.
84 Skinner, *Foundations of modern political thought,* 325-9.
85 *Vindiciae*, 103.
86 *Vindiciae*, 97.
87 *Vindiciae*, 98.
88 Garnett, Editor's Introduction, *Vindiciae*, p. xlv.

discussion of the first two questions, any consensus imagined would clearly alienate his Catholic readership despite the traditional basis of this section. The fact that the king's justice is based in law, and that this is divinely inspired, links piety and justice, the bases for the two contracts. As the author observes: 'he who obeys the law is seen to obey God, and in a certain way to make God his judge'.[89] This means that the introduction of a human contract does not bypass the problems of religious difference.

Skinner's account of the growth of republicanism can appear to over-emphasise the secular nature of that tendency at the end of the sixteenth century. This would seem an opportunity to argue for more attention to the be paid to the *Magdeburg Confession* as a text closely associated with a particular theological dispute. Detecting a reluctance to admit to the influence of the *Magdeburg Confession*, historians have for some time insisted that the *Magdeburg Confession* should not be discounted purely on the basis that it is so closely associated with a defence of Lutheran religious practice.[90] Thomas Kaufmann has developed this argument further with his claim that the context from which this document emerged must demonstrate the contribution of apocalypticism to the development of republican theory and democratic revolution.[91]

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89 *Vindiciae*, 8.

90 On this reluctance see Olson, 'Theology of Revolution', 79; David M. Whitford, *Tyranny and Resistance*, 7.

91 Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation*, 489.

As well as demanding that a religious context be taken into account, historians have regretted that the prominence granted to texts emerging from Geneva and especially from French Calvinists have distracted attention from a Lutheran tradition of resistance, and from the processes by which these ideas were communicated to fellow Protestants. The preponderance of Calvinist sources in the study of resistance theory has been considered particularly regrettable because it grants support to the historically loaded idea that Luther's contribution to political thought was simply to encourage unconditional obedience to authority.[92] In part to counteract this, the *Magdeburg Confession* has been considered not for its originality, although the circumstances of its composition lend it some very distinctive features: but as a 'kind of summary of the Lutheran discussion at the time of the Smalcaldic League',[93] and, as the quotations above would suggest, as one of the principal means by which Lutheran resistance theory was made available to Calvinists.

Historians have in fact succeeded in demonstrating that the construction of valid scenarios for resistance which the *Magdeburg Confession* provides draws heavily on earlier Lutheran arguments on the nature of authority. They have elucidated Luther's own contribution: the claim that resistance by lower magistrates is justified in certain circumstances according to the premise of self-

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92 Whitford, *Tyranny and Resistance*, 7.

93 Olson, 'Theology of Revolution', 69.

defence which Luther saw to be compatible with civil law.[94] This had been developed in particular in a work twice cited in the *Magdeburg Confession*,[95] Luther's *Warning to his dear German people* which appeared in 1531 and was reissued by Melanchthon at the beginning of the Schmalkaldic wars, in 1546.[96] The *Magdeburg Confession* and the *Warning to his dear German people* have in common a reliance on the definition of magisterial responsibilities in the Justinian Code.[97] The consideration of orders in the context of the right to resist appears to have been transmitted to the authors of the Confession via a 1547 publication, *Von der Notwehr Unterricht*, a revision by Philip Melanchthon of a work by Justus Menius which itself drew heavily on Luther's teaching on orders.[98] The Confession reflects an expansion in the legitimation of resistance from civil to natural law which could be perceived in Lutheran thought during the 1540s.[99]

This perspective seems to call for the interpretation of the *Magdeburg Confession* as a vital early Lutheran contribution to, or even prototype of, Calvinist

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94 See Robert von Friedeburg, 'In Defense of Patria: Resisting Magistrates and the Duties of Patriots in the Empire from the 1530s to the 1640s', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 2001 (32/2), 357-82.

95 As discussed by Whitford, *Tyranny and Resistance*, 81.

96 On the reprinting see Luther D. Peterson, 'Justus Menius, Philipp Melanchthon, and the 1547 Treatise, Von der Notwehr Unterricht', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 1990 (81), 138-157, 141.

97 'si quid igitur per iniuriam fecerit magistratus vel quasi privatus vel fiducie magistratus, iniuriarum potest conveniri': *Digesta seu Pandectae Iustiniani Augusti,* ed. Theodore Mommsen (Berlin, 1870), ii ,47, 10, 32, cited in Olson, 'Theology of Resistance', 73.

98 For details see Peterson, 'Justus Menius, Philipp Melanchthon, and the 1547 Treatise'.

99 Friedeberg, 'Defence of Patria', 362.

resistance theory. It is in this context that the Confession emerges in English-speaking historiography.[100]

However, the Confession has some specifically local features which make the wider application of its content potentially difficult. Olson demonstrates that the political manoeuvres by which the town council at Magdeburg had to support the Reformation made it necessary for the definition of 'lesser magistrates' in the confession to be broader than that of the later Calvinist theorists.[101] Eike Wolgast, in a claim which is some ways contradicts Kaufmann's emphasis on the boldness of the Confession, argues that the importance of the Confession has been overestimated in studies which have failed to read it as an immensely cautious document, carefully constructing a doctrine of resistance which legitimised the town's activities but had little resonance in other circumstances.[102] This is endorsed by Robert Friedeburg. He establishes that the Confession draws on a natural-law tradition which, having defined a tyrant, permits the organisation of self-defence even to lesser magistrates as far down the social scale as the father of a household. Nonetheless, he emphasises the fact the authors of the Confession were particularly anxious to produce a doctrine of resistance which would preserve the town magistrates' authority over the inhabitants of Magdeburg.[103]

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100 See especially Kingdon, 'The political Resistance of the Calvinists'; 220-223; Olson, 'Theology of Revolution', 56-79; Whitford, *Tyranny and Resistance*).

101 Olson, *'Theology of Revolution', 60-67.*

102 Eike Wolgast, *Die Religionsfrage als Problem des Widerstandsrechts im 16. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg, 1980), 26. Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation,* 193, agrees that the *Magdeburg Confession* was produced for a very specific situation and for this reason was not properly integrated in later Lutheran thinking on resistance.

103 Robert von Friedeberg, 'Magdeburger Argumentationen zum Recht auf Widerstand gegen die Durchsetzung des Interims (1550-1551) und ihre Stellung in der Geschichte des Widerstandsrechts im Reich, 1523-1626', in *Das Interim*, ed*ited* by

It is possible to construct a consensus from the various historians who have dealt with the *Magdeburg Confession*: that it summarises Lutheran thought on resistance with particular variations determined by the circumstances in which it was composed, and that it is one of the most important means by which the Lutheran model of resistance was transferred to the wider Protestant world, although there was no transfer of the particular characteristics gained from the setting of the Schmalkaldic wars and of Magdeburg's contested status as an independent power within the Empire. It is however worth distinguishing, in the cases discussed above, between the identification and the content of the *Magdeburg Confession.*

Mason, while acknowledging that the *Magdeburg Confession*, 'does contain the key elements of the theory set out in' John Knox's *Appellation to the Nobility and Estates* (1557), emphasises the fact that we have no evidence that Knox had encountered the Confession before 1564.[104] It would in other words have been possible for Knox to develop his *Appellation* with reference to the body of works on which the Confession itself drew. In the case of the transfer of ideas to France, Whitford has asserted that while Beza drew on the Confession, the works of Martin

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Schorn-Schütte; Robert von Friedeburg, *Self-Defence and Religious Strife in Early Modern Europe. England and Germany, 1530-1680* (Aldershot, 2002), 87.

[104] The *Appellation of John Knox from the cruel and most unjust sentence announced against him by the false bishops and clergy of Scotland, with his supplication and exhortation to the nobility, estates and communalty of the same realm*, is reproduced in John Knox, *On Rebellion*, edited by Roger A. Mason (Cambridge, 1994), 72-114. For Mason's discussion of the *Magdeburg Confession*, see John Knox, *On Rebellion,* p. xix.

Bucer can be considered to have made a more important contribution to the development of resistance theory in Geneva.[105] In fact, although it is possible to connect the broad arguments of the two works, Beza's *Droit des Magistrats* deviates from the structure and content of the *Magdeburg Confession* far more than the title would suggest. Once the reader has passed the title-page, no effort is made to maintain the claim that the work is the translation of a work by a number of authors: the author frequently refers to himself in the first person singular.[106] He makes it clear that his primary interest is in the relationship between the French monarchy and its subjects.[107] Differences of approach are numerous: most strikingly, Beza founds his discussion of the duties of magistrates and kings on the claim that their authority originates in the will of the people, an approach entirely foreign to the authors of the *Magdeburg Confession.*[108]

Even in Magdeburg, where it might be expected that any similarities would be noted, the connection between the two works seems not to have been readily apparent. In 1604, when tensions were growing in the Holy Roman Empire and the works of Beza had gained new currency in imperial territory,[109] a Latin translation

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105 Whitford, *Resistance and Tyranny*, 100.

106 Examples are [Theodore Beza], *Du Droit des Magistrats sur leurs subiets*, A3, 6, 12.

107 [Théodore Beza], *Du Droit des Magistrats sur leurs subiets*, 70-79.

108 See for example [Théodore Beza], *Du Droit des Magistrats sur leurs subiets*, 56: 'Le Peuple (c'est à dire, Les Estats de ce peuple) auoient ils aussi droit de reprimer la personne qu'ils auoiēt chooisie pour dominer... ? Ie di, qu'oui'; 13: 'ie dis donc, que les Peuples ne sont point issus des magistrats, ains que les peuples ausquels il a pleu de se laisser gouerner ou par vn Prince, ou par quelques seigneurs choisis…' .

109 See Geoffrey Parker, *The Thirty Years War* (London, 1987), 44.

of the *Right of Magistrates* was published in Magdeburg.[110] The Latin title had never made reference to the *Magdeburg Confession*, and the scanty editorial apparatus of the 1604 Magdeburg edition of this version does nothing to suggest that a connection exists.[111]

Both Knox and Beza appear from this evidence to refer to the *Magdeburg Confession* defensively, to give some respectability to arguments which might be seen as dangerous. In Beza's case, the correspondence reproduced by Robert Kingdon shows that publication of the *Droit des Magistrates* had been forbidden by the Geneva consistory, not because its contents were considered to be against the Word of God, but because it would be recognised as Beza's work, would cause scandal and disturbances, and would bring the town of Geneva into disrepute.[112] This brings into relief an essential distinction between the *Droit des Magistrats*, which was secretly and anonymously published in 1574,[113] and the *Magdeburg Confession*. The *Magdeburg Confession* was printed openly as the work, and witness, of named individuals acting according to the requirements of their office

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110 [Theodore Beza], *De Iure Magistratuum In Subditos, Et Officio subditorum erga Magistratus: Tractatus brevis & perspicuus, his turbulentis temporibus utrique ordini apprime necessarius ; E Gallico in Latinum conversus* ...(Magdeburg, 1604). The work was published under the same title in Frankfurt am Main in 1576 and again in 1608 (VD17).

111 There is no difference apart from the titles and subdivisions of the text between French and Latin editions: see Robert Kingdon (ed.), *Du droit des Magistrats*, 'Introduction', p. xxxiv.

112 The manuscript contained'que la vérité' but should not be published '... d'aultant qu'il seroit fort scandaleux et pourroit causer plusieurs troubles et motions dont cest ville seroit chargée, par ce mesmes que le stile dudit Sr de Beze est assez cogneu'. Judgement of the Geneva Consistory, 1573, cited Robert Kingdon (ed.), *Du droit des Magistrats*, 'Introduction', p xxviii.

113 Robert Kingdon (ed.), *Du droit des Magistrats*, 'Introduction', p xxvix.

which they held in Magdeburg. It was possible to transfer to them, as Beza's publisher appears to have done, responsibility for a theory of resistance to which, in one of its better-developed manifestations, they had openly subscribed. Whitford has pointed out that whatever documentary sources existed for theories of resistance developed by those citing Magdeburg, Magdeburg served as a powerful *exemplum* because, 'in Magdeburg, theory became practice'.[114]

It is true that by 1564 and 1573 the *Confession* could be referenced, because of Sleidan's record of events in particular, in the context of a well-known and, for protestants, edifying history. To focus on Magdeburg as *exemplum* has the potential to solve the tensions which arise when we consider a text which is often cited but not independently influential. This approach nonetheless raises new problems in the context of the literature discussed above, and in particular of Kaufmann's situating of the *Confession* in this body of literature. The *Confession* may have been a powerful and a cheering *exemplum*, but how could it be considered a respectable one for those attempting to avoid giving scandal? It is necessary to turn to the work itself to examine its internal justifications for the presentation of unpopular ideas. If Magdeburg both justified and engaged in armed resistance, the Confession is also clear in extending this resistance to the dissemination of ideas. Famously, it refers to the town as 'this chancery of our

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114 Whitford, *Tyranny and Resistance*, 100.

Lord Jesus Christ, which He has wondrously established here and protected until now might His might, in this present hour of the power of darkness'.[115]

Kaufmann's study of this printed literature emerging from Magdeburg during the Interim crisis refers to the *Magdeburg Confession* in the context of a larger 'project'. He argues that Magdeburg's political and theological elites succeeded through mutual support and intensive cooperation in mounting a communications effort which, despite its scale, remained philosophically consistent.[116] It is his contention that the various works produced in Magdeburg at this time cannot be understood unless we take as their impetus a shared sense of crisis. The victory of Charles V in the Schmalkaldic wars and the acquiescence in his edicts of many prominent Lutherans seemed to indicate that the last and most dangerous attack of the Antichrist was underway. Magdeburg, isolated, was the final bastion of Christianity on earth, and faced military force which could easily overwhelm it. The defiance levelled at imperial authority in works emerging from Magdeburg was based on the conviction that the secular order was passing away and the second coming of Christ was imminent.[117] Because the structures of the Holy Roman Empire were already beyond considered to be recovery, diplomacy was indefensible.[118] The authors of the Confession went so far as to replace diplomacy with what Kaufman describes as provocation:

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115 *Bekandtnuss/ Unterricht und Vermahnung*, 1085.
116 Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation*, 13-46.
117 Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation*, 438.
118 Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation*, 305.

> 'Let the tyrants then become angrier still through this message and admonishment of ours, so that they overreach themselves sooner still, and draw God's wrath upon themselves more swift and terrible.'[119]

Kaufmann concludes that one cannot acknowledge the debt of later resistance theory generally to the *Magdeburg Confession* without at the same time allowing that apocalyptic thought has made a positive contribution to this theory.[120] It cannot be denied that the *Confession* demonstrates that resistance had become an inescapable duty for Magdeburg's authorities because of what the attack on their city would entail. Such an attack would constitute the 'fourth and highest grade of injury... something more than tyrannical':[121]

> that is, when the tyrants become so furious and raging that they try, not by overreaching themselves illegally in anger, but having carefully determined and taken counsel, to uproot for all time the [lower] authorities and the subjects not only in a lawful matter, but also in the person of the highest and most necessary law, even our Lord God himself, who is a founder of the same law. When anyone falls this low, even if he does it out of ignorance, and even if he is the highest authority, then he is not only a werewolf ... but is the devil himself, because it is not possible to commit in one's own person a more gross or shameful sin, except if one does this in full knowledge...
>
> This is what is happening now with our authorities, that they wish to wrench from us and from all of our descendents true knowledge of God, without which God cannot be honoured, and no man can be justified.[122]

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119 'Lasse auch diese Tyrannen durch diese unser Schrifft und Uermahnung noch wütender werden/ damit sie Ihre Masse desto ehe uoll machen und Gottes Zorn dester schneller und grausmaer über sich führen'. *Bekandtnuss/ Unterricht und Vermahnung,* 1085. See Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation,* 196.

120 Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation,* 489.

121 'Der Vierdte und hoeschte Grad der Injurien/ so die Obrigkeit ueben kann// ist etweas mehr dann Tyrannisch...' *Bekandtnuss/ Unterricht und Vermahnung*, 1076.

122 'wann die Tyrannen also toll und rasend werden/ der Obrigkeit vnd den Vnterthanen in einer rechten Sachen/ sondern auch in den Personen des hoeschte und noetigeste Recht/ vnnd gleich vnsern Herrn Gott selbst/ de ein Stiffter ist desselbigen

This passage certainly demonstrates that the *Confession* is a work issued in circumstances as perilous as its authors can imagine. The authors' understanding of their circumstances seems to account for the invective issuing from Magdeburg in this period: how else, as Luther had established, could one attack the devil except with ridicule and obscenity? It is worth observing, however, that the *Confession* is also, in itself, a work of diplomacy: one which addresses and seeks to engage with the very powers which, the reader may infer, are to be identified with the devil, and with tyranny. While the two quotations above are commonly reproduced in discussions of the *Confession*, less attention has been paid to the unusual and apparently incompatible opening of the seventh chapter of the *Confession*, which follows the confession of faith proper and begins the exposulations on tyranny and resistance discussed above.

The signatories of the *Magdeburg Confession* go so far as to address the Emperor on his own terms. This forms a clear contrast to the practice of later writers on resistance, typified by the author of the *Vindiciae, Contra Tyrannos*: 'But for tyrants let them say and think what they please, that shall be the least of

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Rechten/ vnd solches nicht etwa aus Gebrechlichkeit/ dass einen der Zorn moechte uber eylen/ sondern mit wolbedachten Muht vnd Rath/ des Vorhabens/ bey allen Nachkommen das Reich zu vertilgen. Wan einer so tieff fellet/ vnd wann ers gleich thut aus Vnwissenheit/ vnd ist gleich der Oberste Regent/ so ist er nicht allein ein Beerwolff ... sondern ist der Teuffel selbst ... Solches aber geschicht jetzundt von unsern Obern/ dass sie mit Gewalt beyde in vns/ vnnd in allen vnsern Nachkomment tilgen woellen/ das rechte Erkantnuss Gottes/ ohn welches Gott nicht kan geehret/ auch kein Mensch selig werden', *Bekandtnuss/ Unterricht und Vermahnung*, 1076.

my care; for it is not to them, but against them that I write'.[123] The authors do not address Charles V as a tyrant, instead appealing to him as they begin to discuss how magistrates should respond to a tyrant. They acknowledge that Charles does not see Lutherans as true Christians, but argue from scripture, demonstrating how authorities have been misled into falsely persecuting true believers, and that he should for this reason be wary of persecuting them.[124] They remind the Emperor that he, with them and all of Christendom, is preparing to celebrate Easter, and implore him in the memory of the events recalled in these festivities to reconsider his position.[125]

A problem that arises then from this preliminary examination of the *Magdeburg Confession*, is whether it is possible to reconcile an unrestrained attack on the Devil with the negotiation with powers which, the *Confession* suggests, have become 'the Devil himself'?[126] It may be possible to find in the nuances of the *Confession* a solution to this problem, but it will be useful to examine first the actual behaviour of Magdeburg's authorities in organising and controlling printing. I will therefore focus in the fourth section of this chapter on a problem text and its author, as an area which can throw further light on the publishing operations of the Magdeburg theologians during the crisis and siege of 1550-1551.

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123 Junius Brutus [Philippe Duplessis-Mornay / Hubert Languet?] *A Defence of Liberty against tyrants. A translation of the vindiciae contra tyrannos*, edited by Harold J. Laski (London, 1924), 169.

124 *Bekandtnuss/ Unterricht und Vermahnung*, 1072.

125 *Bekandtnuss/ Unterricht und Vermahnung*, 1073.

126 *Bekandtnuss/ Unterricht und Vermahnung*, 1076.

1.4 Evidence from Erasmus Alber

Any attempt to reconsider the position adopted by the authors of the *Magdeburg Confession*, and in particular their attitude to the authorities whom their text, in common with contemporary tracts discussing the rights and wrongs of resistance, discusses in terms of the concept of tyranny must reconsider the nature of print production in Magdeburg itself. Historians have perceived the printed works of the Magdeburg publicists as an unrestrained attack on any authorities associated with the defeat of the Schmalkaldic League and the subsequent threat to the Magdeburg's freedoms and the survival of the 'pure' teachings of the Lutheran church. Because the attack on these authorities has been considered unrestrained, examination of this prominent feature in the Magdeburg publications has not so far raised the question of the extent to which the printed work emerging from that town may be described as a collaboration under Magdeburg's secular authorities by its pastors and refugee theologians. Perceiving unity in the message, historians have tended to ascribe the same unity to those publishing from Magdeburg.

The examination in this chapter of the manner in which the *Magdeburg Confession* addresses and describes authority raises the question of whether its approach to this subject is consistent with that of other texts produced from the town. The secondary literature concerning Magdeburg discussed above would suggest that any modification to the usual interpretation of the *Magdeburg Confession* on the subject of authorities would render it an isolated text, positing

resistance without explicitly criticizing the person of the Emperor, and privileging rather than disposing of the existing constitutional framework. It therefore becomes necessary to re-examine the evidence for collaboration and dispute in Magdeburg during the Interim crisis. The focus of this examination is on the refugee theologian Erasmus Alber because elements of his correspondence and biography suggest that his publications were perceived as in some way distinct from those of his peers in the town. In certain cases, the question of portrayal of authority was cited by in criticisms of his works; in others, a comparison of his work with that of others printing from Magdeburg reveals a significant difference in his approach to the topic. An examination of elements of Alber's work, starting from a number of revealing bibliographical problems, will demonstrate that views in fact varied on portrayal of authority, and on the dependent subjects of future expectations and limits to resistance. The reception by his peers of Alber's work will stand as evidence that the *Magdeburg Confession*, and not Alber's works, was representative of wider views amongst opinion-formers in the city. The exploration of this evidence will provide a basis on which to reconsider the representation of both crisis and justification of resistance to the people of Magdeburg, the Lutheran Church in Germarny, and the Protestant theorists who later referred to the siege and the works which it produced.

In 1559, backstreet printer Hans Gegler confessed, under the interrogation of the Augsburg town council, that he had printed, backdated to 1548 and anonymous, a work entitled *A Dialogue or Conversation of several people*

concerning the Interim (Dialogue).[127] Most of Gegler's output was necessarily anonymous: from 1554 he had printed numerous works on behalf of the controversial mystic Kaspar Schwenckfeld, religious and anti-imperial polemics illegal under the Peace of Augsburg (1555) and unwelcome to the mainly Catholic town council responsible for censorship in Augsburg. The *Dialogue* is a work in which four interlocutors, their leader a thinly disguised Albertus, a clergyman, discuss the treachery of some of the evangelic princes in the Schmalkaldic War, and identify the Catholic elements of the Augsburg Interim. It refers to Emperor Charles V by name as a 'bloodhound', a 'monster', a 'murderer' - a clear candidate for anonymity.[128] Backdating would be an attempt to mislead the authorities, and 1548 was a logical choice, as the pamphlet describes events of 1546-8.

The Augsburg town council was in this case pursuing the normal business of the town authorities in suppressing material critical of the Imperial order. As such, Gegler's case is not remarkable. What is useful, however, is that Gegler's confession give us some cause to reappraise the publications which emerged from Magdeburg between 1548 and 1552, especially as regards their authors' attitudes to authority, and to the connected question of whether the crisis of Lutheranism presaged the end of time.

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127 [Erasmus Alber,] *Ein Dialogus oder Gespra[e]ch etlicher personen vom Interim* ([Augsburg: Hans Gegler], 1548 [for 1557]). On Gegler's printing of the Dialogue, see Karl Schottenloher, 'Der Augsburger Winkeldrucker Hans Gegler. Ein Beitrag zur Schwenckfeld-Bibliographie', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1939 (14), 233-42.

128 [Alber,] *Dialogus,* [F, E(v), Eiii(v), Qii(v), Jii].

While Gegler did not identify an author for the *Dialogue,* what is almost certainly a reference to this work can be found in a pamphlet by Erasmus Alber. Alber is probably the best-known after Matthias Flacius Illyricus of the theologians who gathered in Magdeburg after 1548. He is particularly well-known as a fabulist, whose translation and popularisation of Aesop's fables is regarded as a German literary classic. As an early and prolific adherent of the Lutheran Reformation, he was the subject of historical investigation from the late nineteenth century in particular.[129] Neither the historians of the Magdeburg polemicists nor Alber's biographers have questioned the assumption that Alber was fully integrated in the labour of the Lord God's Chancery, nor that he produced a substantial printed contribution to the Interim debates from Magdeburg before and during the siege.

That Alber is considered one of the most important contributors to print production in the Lord God's Chancery can be attributed in part to the fact that two of his works most often cited in this connection have been wrongly dated. Alber's pamphlet, *Of the Magdeburg Basilisk*, refers to events dated in the pamphlet at 27th July 1549, and being undated has tended to be been catalogued and referenced

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[129] Alber is the subject of two biographies. The pioneering work, including reproductions of some of Alber's unpublished writings, is Franz Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Erasmus Alberus. Ein biographischer Beitrag zur Geschichte der Reformationszeit* (Dresden, 1893). A later full-length study is Emil Körner, *Erasmus Alber. Das Kämpferleben eines Gottesgelehrten aus Luthers Schule* (Leipzig, 1910). For a useful brief introduction to Alber's life, see also Erasmus Alber, *Die Fabeln. Die erweiterte Ausgabe von 1550 mit Kommentar sowie die Erstfassung von 1534,* ed. by Wolfgang Harms and Herfried Vögel, in association with Ludger Lieb (Tübingen, 1997). Alber's time in Magdeburg is discussed in Waldemar Kawerau, 'Erasmus Alber in Magdeburg', in *MGB* 28 (1893), 1-62.

as a 1549 publication.[130] This is partly because Alber uses both text and illustration to associate it with the Magdeburg struggle, in particular displaying the Magdeburg town shield as a frontispiece, as had been common during the siege, appropriating the pamphlet the authority of the town. In fact, internal evidence dates the pamphlet to 1552, and it is a Hamburg publication.[131] References to the Interim and to Alber's work in Magdeburg are then retrospective, and it is in these references that Alber set a second problem:

> As soon as the Interim, with which the Devil hoped to topple the Augsburg confession, was promulgated at Augsburg on the feast day of St Sophia [15th May], that is, of merely human astuteness, in the year 1548, I wrote in opposition to this same horror a dialogue which was rejected by many, because nobody wished to print it, for they said it was too fierce, even though one cannot attack the Devil fiercely enough.[132]

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130 Erasmus Alber, *Vom Basilisken zu Magdeburg. Item vom Hanen eyhe/ daraus ein Basilisck wirt/ mit seiner Bedeutung aus der heiligen Schrifft* (Hamburg: Joachim Loew, [c.1552]). The work is dated to 1549 in *Die Fabeln*,edited by Harms et al., 9.

131 Reference to events at Salzwedel permitted Schnorr von Carolsfeld to date *Basilisken zu Magdeburg* to April 1552 at earliest, as Alber refers here to events which took place late in March 1552. See Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Erasmus Alber*, 129-30. The pamphlet places the imprisonment of former Elector Johann Friedrich in the past, which would bring the earliest possible date of final revision forward to late May 1552: *Basilisken zu Magdeburg*, Aii.

132 'Dañ so bald das Interim in die Sophiae/ hoc est sapientiae humanae anno 1548. zu Augsburg ausginge/ damit der Teuffel die Augßburgische Confession umbstossen wolt/ schriebe ich ein Dialogum widder den selben Grewel/ der ward von vielen abgeschrieben/ weill ihn niemand trücken wolt/dann sie sagten/ er were zu scharff/ so man doch den Teuffel nicht scharff gnug angreiffen kan'. Alber, *Basilisken zu Magdeburg*, Aii.

This account accords with a letter Alber wrote to Hartmann Beyer from Magdeburg in 1550:

> 'I was the first to write against Interim and Adiaphora, but because of certain malevolent people, swine from the herd of Epicurus, it was forbidden that these writings see the light. But the *Dialogue on the Interim*, copied more than 300 times in many passages, was sent out to Prussia, Livonia, and all parts of Germany, at the end of which my name and surname were written in Greek: Δαβιδ άκέραιος.'[133]

Unless one takes account of Gegler's confession, these statements seem to be contradicted by the existence of the *Dialogue* in the imprint dated 1548. It has been presumed that Alber's statements in *Basilisk* and in his letters to Hartmann Beyer were false; that an edition of his *Dialogue* was produced, perhaps without his knowledge, and that it was published from Magdeburg, possibly by Christian Rödinger, in 1548.[134] This insertion of the *Dialogue* amongst the productions of the Lord God's Chancery has permitted discussion of its extreme invective as an integral part of the thought of the Magdeburg publicists. This is one of the factors, alongside a hagiographic tendency in Körner's biography of Alber, which has

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133 'Ego primus scripsi contra Interim et Adiaphora: sed à quibusdam maleuolis, Epicuri de grege porcis ea scripta lucem videre vetita sunt. Sed dialogus contra Interim plus trecenties transcriptus multis in locis ad Prussiam, Liuoniam, omnesque Germanie partes missus est: in cuius fine nomen et cognomen meum Grecè scriptum est Δαβιδ άκέραιος'. Letter, Alber to Hartmann Beyer, 24th August 1550, cited in Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Erasmus Alberus,* Appendix X.2, 204-6.

134 The *Dialogue* is included in the latest bibliography of Magdeburg imprints between 1548 and 1552, in Kaufmann, *Das Ende der Reformation,* Appendix I.

worked against analysis of indications, in Alber's correspondence, status and publishing records, that despite his literary reputation and academic status, he was not an equal collaborator in the campaign of the Magdeburg publicists.

Shortly after his arrival in Magdeburg, Alber had written that the town council had given him the duty of teaching the gospel on feast days and that he had been granted the right to give public lectures in holy scripture, which he saw as an opportunity to obtain many listeners here.[135] He had also announced that unless a fellow clergyman, Johann Brenz, was called to Magdeburg, he would be given the office of superintendent, making him supervisor of clergy in the town, an office close to that of a bishop. This is an office which he might reasonably have expected to hold, being the only doctor in theology who was at the time to be found in Magdeburg.[136]

This letter is used by Schnorr von Carolsfeld and Körner to illustrate Alber's elevated status in Magdeburg, but it must be noted that it was written shortly before the illness and death of Alber's most influential contact in the town, his brother-in-law, the town councillor Stefan Tucher.[137] When Brenz refused to come to Magdeburg,[138] Alber was not appointed Superintendent. Kaufmann has

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135 Letter, Alber to the Pastors of Halle [Nov?] 1548, cited in Körner, *Erasmus Alber*, 119.

136 Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation*, 167.

137 A memorial for Tucher is reprinted in Hortleder, *Teutschen Kriegs Keyser Carls dess Fünfften*, 1090-91, as an appendix to the *Magdeburg Confession.*

138 Christoph Weismann, 'Johannes Brenz und die Reformation in Schwabisch-Hall', in *Reformationsgeschichte Württembergs in Porträts*, edited by Siegfried Hermle

identified a letter from Hanns Ordtenberg to Flacius Illyricus in 1549 which indicates that Alber was not greatly appreciated by the Magdeburg theologians in general at that stage, and was perceived in some quarters as a danger. He refused to preach on demand, and was considered by some a man possessed. It would nonetheless be necessary to integrate him, because it is to be feared otherwise that he would cause 'great division and trouble'.[139]

Alber was certainly integrated to some extent: he did not use any of his later published writings to denounce the Magdeburg publicists, despite tending in these works to produce long lists of enemies of his endeavours and of the Lutheran church.[140] He does appear to have solicited works for publication from Magdeburg, but as his correspondence in this regard establishes, important decisions on this matter were not made by him, but by Flacius Illyricus': ... if [Flacius Illyricus] were to recommend an edition of your booklet to the printer, it should no doubt be printed. And why moveover he should not recommend it, I do

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(Holzgerlingen: Hänsler, 1999), 51-71, at 70-71, cited in Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation,* 113.

[139] Letter from Hanns Ordtenberg to Flacius Illyricus, 5/10/49, (Cod. Helmstad. 883, Bl. 248-257), cited in Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation,* 64. Kaufmann does not exploit the implications of this letter in his further discussion of Alber.

[140] He produces long catalogues of such enemies, with about thirty listed in Erasmus Alber, *Vom Wintervogel Halcyon, ein herrlich Wunderwerck Gottes, mit der heiligen Schrifft assgelegt.* (Hamburg: Joachim Loew, 1552), Civ, and over one hundred in the posthumously printed Erasmus Alber, *Wider die verfluchte lehre der Carlstadder, Zwingler, Widderteüffer, Rottengeister, Sacramentläster, Eheschender, Musica verächter, Bildstürmer, Feyerfeind, und verwüster aller guten ordnung, geschreyben umb der Christen willen, fürnemlich die under den Rotten seind, fast allenthalben* (Neubrandenburg, 1556), on which see Körner, *Erasmus Alber*, 142-57.

not know'.[141] This corresponds with the later claim by Heinrich Merckel, a citizen of Magdeburg who was active in diplomacy during the siege, that Flacius had control of the printing-presses at that time.[142]

What was not integrated was Alber's own work, which remains, for this period, mostly in manuscript form.[143] This helps to explain Alber's fate after Magdeburg came to terms with Maurice of Saxony in 1551. The agreement stipulated that only one individual was to be punished for his part in Magdeburg's resistance: this was Alber, who was stripped of his possessions and exiled from

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141 'Attamen si [Flacius Illyricus] illi Chalcographo editionem tui libelli sua[s]isset , impressus haud dubie fuisset. Cur autem non suadeat, nescio'. Letter, Alber to Hartmann Beyer, 24th August 1550, cited in Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Erasmus Alberus*, Appendix X.2, pp. 204-6.

142 'die Druckerey... zu seinen Händen gehabt'. Heinrich Merckel, *Warhafftiger/ aussführlicher und gründlicher Bericht/ von der Alten Statt Magdeburg Belagerung/ so die Roem Keyser...* (Magdeburg, 1587), reproduced in Friedrich Hortleder, *Handlungen und Ausschreiben von den Ursachen des teutschen Krieges* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1617-18), 945-997, here 970.

143 As well as 'A History of my Travels' (1549), written to defend himself against detractors, and now lost ('Historia peregrinationis meae', on which see Körner, *Erasmus Alber*, 116), he wrote and circulated a polemical letter to Johann Bugenhagen, town parson of Wittenberg, containing a refusal to recognise Moritz's authority over Electoral Saxony (Alber, 'Contra colacem, hoc est Parasithem et gnathonem maximum Ioannem Bugenhagium pomeranum D. 1.5.49', reproduced in Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Erasmus Alberus*, 210-3). There was also an 'Exhortation to the Christian Church of Saxony', warning against the Interim ('Vermanung an die Christliche Kirche in Sachsenland', on which see Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Erasmus Alberus*, 123-4, 213-4), and a discussion of the concept of Adiaphora in his considerations on 'Whether one should yield to the Papists even in indifferent matters' ('Ob man den Papisten, auch in mitteldingen weichen solle', on which see Schnorr von Carolsfeld: *Erasmus Alber*, 123-4).

Works printed in Magdeburg consist of a perhaps eight songs (for which see Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation,* Appendix I and 371-97), and two more substantial works, neither of which bore the town's name: a brief and mild discussion of the Trinity: Erasmus Alber, *Der Holdseligen Blummen der Treifeltigkeyt bedeutung/Nutzlich zulesen/Gott dem Herrn zu ehren* ([Magdeburg], 1550]) and a reprint of a 1546 publication of a sermon on marriage: Erasmus Alber, *Ein Predigt vom Ehestand/ uber das Euangelium/ Es war ein Hochzeit zu Cana etc.* ([Magdeburg], 1550)

Saxony and Magdeburg. Maurice's reasons were that Alber had 'attacked [him] coarsely in public and in private writings, with rhymes and with drawings' and that, despite pleas for clemency from Magdeburg's Rat' 'he must be sent away: he has dealt too coarsely [in this matter]: even a peasant would not bear such an attack lightly'. The same statement gave Flacius Illyricus leave to remain.[144]

The evidence from Gegler's case establishes that Alber can be taken at his word in complaining that the *Dialogue* went unprinted, and confirms that we should take seriously the indications in Alber's other writings that his potential publications were in fact suppressed by the Magdeburg authorities. To examine the features which distinguish these writings of Alber's from the often colourful and vituperative works which were published from Magdeburg is to gain an understanding of the type of crisis which contemporaries perceived, and of the extent to which the use of print could attenuate this crisis. Two connected features of *Dialogue* set it apart from works printed in Magdeburg. The first is the designation by name of figures of authority.

The anti-Intermists at Magdeburg developed a stock of tales illustrating the unworthiness of their enemies' cause. One was the death of Bonifacius. The Schmalkaldic League of Protestant princes and states had been defeated in 1547,

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144 'in offentlichen unnd heimlichen Schrifften /mit Reimen und Gemählden/ gröblich angegriffen... man solte ihn aber hinweg schaffen / hette es zu grob gemacht / daß es billich kein Bawer leiden solte', cited by Körner, *Erasmus Alber,* 129.

and its leader, Saxon Elector Johann Friedrich, captured, imprisoned, and sentenced to death. Johann Agricola, Lutheran court preacher to Margrave Joachim II of Brandenburg, who was allied with the Emperor against the Schmalkaldic League, had preached a thanksgiving sermon at the Cathedral in Berlin.[145] The sermon was never printed, but became notorious in evangelical circles after Melanchthon reported on it to several acquaintances.[146] As recounted in The Bull of the Antichrist, which was printed in Magdeburg in 1550, the sermon was followed by:

> the death of Bonifacius, Eisleben's [Agricola's] manservant, the brother-in-law of Eisleben's wife. After he had most vigorously defended our opponent, he changed utterly in the end, in his death throes, and threatened not only the opponents and the persecutors of the Gospel, but also the evil Protestants, who have helped the opponents [and] their persecutors, with terrible punishment, And threatened this not only in general, but with regard to particular states and princes in particular, and most of all with regard to the traitor Eisleben.[147]

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145 Robert Stupperich, 'Die Eigenart der Reformation in der Mark Brandenburg', in *Dem Wort nicht entgegen...' Aspekte der Reformation in der Mark Brandenburg*, ed. by Hans-Ulrich Delius, Max-Ottokar Kunzendorf and Friedrich Winter. (Berlin, 1988), 13-30.

146 Gustav Kawerau, *Johann Agricola von Eisleben* (Berlin: Hertz, 1881), 247.

147 ‚Ich halt du wissesst umb den tod Bonifacij Eislebens famulus/ des Eislebens weibs schwesterman. Nach dem derselb zuvor auffs hefftigst unsere widdersacher vereindingt hatte/ ist er letzlich im todkampff gantz verwandelt/ und hat grewliche straff gedrawet/ nicht allein den widdersachern/ den verfolgern des Evangelij. Sonder auch den bo[e]sen Evangelischen/ die den widdersachen den verfolgern geholffen haben/ und hat solchs nicht allein in gemein/ sonder etlichen lendern und fuersten in sonderheit/ und zuuoraus dem verfürer Eisleben gedrawet,. Matthias Flacius Illyricus, *Bulla des Antichrists, dadurch er das volck Gottes widderumb in den eisern ofen der Egypitishcen gefengknis denckt zuziehen/ gleichstimmig mit des Meintzischen Rabsakes briefe. Daraus wol zuuernemen/ was der Teufel durch seine beide tugent/ das ist/ durch den Moerderische krieg widder die Kirche Gottes/ vnd durch seine luegen/ als da sind/ Concilium Interim/ Mittelding/ Chorrock/ denckt auszurichten* (Magdeburg [Christian Rödinger], 1550), bii.

The identity of the 'particular states and princes' is perfectly clear once Agricola has been named: his patron Joachim II, and Joachim's allies, Moritz of Saxony among them, are obviously targets. This sort of oblique reference is standard in the writings of the Interim's opponents, and scarcely seems to have obscured their message. However, Alber in his *Dialogue* leaves less to the imagination:

> Johann of Eisleben [Agricola], an Epicurean swine, had blustered and raged against the Electoral Prince Duke Johann Friedrich of Saxony, and slandered him as a Rebel, although the Prince had done him very much good: Eisleben had a Manservant, who too sang to his tune, but did not do so for long, for he became ill, and cried out continuously in his illness, Woe to you Emperor, Woe to you Eisleben, Woe to you Margrave [Joachim II of Brandenburg, as established in the reference immediately following], Woe to Duke Maurice [of Saxony], Woe to all betrayers and enemies of the Electoral Prince, and with this cry, he died. When Margrave Joachim was apprised of this, he asked Eisleben about it...'[148]

In his *Dialogue*, Alber attacks the Emperor in particular, and explicitly. He criticises not only his character, but also his perceived sacrifice of Germany's interests to those of Spain. Perhaps most importantly, he undermines his guarantee of imperial stability by predicting unspecified imminent misfortune, the end of the line of emperors, and, it is strongly implied, the world: Charles is a Ravager, a Herod, and a Pilate, a Monster among men and a Portent of the Devil, a Murderer

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[148] ‚Johanes Eyßleben/ein Epicurische saw/hat ein lange zeit daher/zu Berlin wider den Churfürsten/Herzog Johans Friderich zu Sachsen declamiert/uñ declamiert/un[d] debachiert/un[d] als einen Auffrhuriche[n] ubel gescholte[n]/der jm dooch sehr vil guts gethon hat: Es het aber Eysleben eine Famulum/deer auch seins herzen liede sang/trib es aber nich lang/dann er ward kranck/und schrey ym[m]er in seiner kranckheit/Wee dir Keyser/Wee dir Eyßleben/Wee dir Marggraff/Wir dir Hertzog Moritz/Wee allen verræthern vnnd feinden des Churfürsten: und mit solchem geschrey/starb er. Als solches für den Marggraff Joachim kame/fragt er den eyßleben drumb...' [Alber,] *Dialogue*, Fii.

and Bloodhound who knows nothing about Germany, an idol to the Spanish who is Charles the fifth and last.[149]

Taken on their own, the apocalyptic references in Alber's *Dialogue* are not untypical of anti-Interim publications. Identification of the current crisis with the attack on the gospel, the influence of the Antichrist, and the imminent end can all be described as standard. They occur, as established above, in the official explanation of resistance issued by the town's clergy, the *Magdeburg Confession*, and Kaufmann has described their recurrence across numerous works produced in Magdeburg at this time. However, in naming even his highest-ranking opponents, and in failing to frame the actions of the Emperor in hypotheses, Alber connects the imminent end with the actual behaviour of a named monarch.

The importance of this distinction becomes clear when Alber, like the signatories of the *Magdeburg Confession*, attempts to present events from the perspective of one of the town's opponents. This occurs in an anonymous publication of 1551, which Waldemar Kawerau has very credibly attributed to Alber, *Master Moritz's confession, repentance and statement of witness*.[150] These verses concern Moritz personally and were written not long before his condemnation of Alber, so is likely to be relevant to his distinction between Alber's work and that of the other publicists. *Master Moritz's Confession* shares characteristics of Alber's treatment of the subject in earlier works in which he

149 [Alber,] *Dialogue,* F, E(v), Eiii(v), Qii(v), Jii.

150 Waldemar Kawerau, 'Erasmus Alber in Magdeburg', 26.

addressed Moritz. Not for the first time, Alber compares Moritz with Judas Iscariot.[151] The work can for this reason be seen to an extent as an extension of his *Dialogue*, the basic premise of which is that Pope Paul III has aided Emperor Charles V to defeat Johann Friedrich of Saxony, who was betrayed with the 'Jew's kiss' of Moritz of Saxony.[152] He has him 'confess':

> I, poor man, confess before Emperor, King and the Empire, man, woman, and young and old alike, that as many are well aware I have not behaved as befits a prince. I must admit openly that I have most certainly broken faith with my father. Therefore with Judas I am worthy to pay my debts in eternal pain. Who are you then, you ask me? I was Moritz, a duke... I became a traitor to him who had brought me up from my youth in a fatherly manner, and thanked him with a Judas-kiss ... I repent for having forgotten the good faith shown to me by my pious cousin [Johann] Friedrich: how should I and may I do penance for this? God's Word accuses me. My body and soul must belong forever to the devil, this I know, this will most certainly be my 'amen', no Interim can help me. ... Hellish Satan, console me! I have betrayed my lord, I repent it now from my heart, but I cannot escape from it: no penance or repentance can help me: I must perish in sin.[153]

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151 The comparison was made in the dedication of Erasmus Alber, *Drey Schöne lieder mit ihren noten* (s.l, [1549]), as discussed above.

152 Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation*, 470, discusses the representation of Jews as Magdeburg's enemies during the Interim crisis. This particular reference is however less a resort to a traditional image of the enemy than a well-known scriptural reference for treachery.

153 'ich armer man bekenne mich/ vor kaiser, könig und dem rich/man, weib, auch jung und alten glich/ wie meniglich wol weiss, dass ich/ nit fuerstlich hab gehalten mich. An meinem vater sicherlich/ hab treuw und glaub zerrissen ich/ das muess ich sagen offentlich/ darumb mit Judas würdiglich/ ewige pein beschuldet ich. Wer bistu dann? so fragstu mich/ Moritz, ein herzog der war ich ...zü eim verräter worden ich/ an dem, der doch erzogen mich/ von jugend auf ganz vaeterlich/ mit Judas kuss dem danket ich ... Das gottes wort beklaget mich/ mein seel und leib müs ewiglich/ des teufels sein, das weiss ich/ das würt mein amen sicherlich/ kein Interim mag helfen mich. ...Höllischer Sathan, tröste mich! Mein herren hab verrathen ich/ das reuwet iezt von herzen mich/ und kan es doch nit wenden ich/ kein büss noch reuw mag helfen mich/ in sünden müss verzagen ich'. *Meister herzog Moritzen beicht, reuw und bekäntnus* (Magdeburg, 1551), reproduced in Wilhelm Kühlmann: 'Magdeburg in der Zeitgeschichtlichen Verspublizistik (1551/1631)', 83-6.

These verses, which nowhere offer the supposedly repentant Moritz the prospect of forgiveness or salvation, may appear to be simply a reminder of Moritz's treachery through the familiar metaphor of Judas Iscariot, and a reiteration of the message of the Bonifacius anecdote: Protestants who have turned against their own faith will suffer terrible consequences. In the context of Lutheran doctrine, the verses have more to say. The question of how salvation might be achieved was central to Luther's teaching. He had parted from the assumption that God's law was so onerous that no-one could fulfil it in order to become righteous, and thus assured of salvation. This problem was compared with the promises of salvation expressed in the gospel, with the conclusion that justification must be external: based not on man's perfection according to the law but on God's free gift of salvation to the sinner, and forensic, with satisfaction for sin being delivered not by the sinner's acts of penance, but through Christ's sacrifice.

For Luther, the sinner became open to this justification through the law. The law, contained primarily in the Old Testament, revealed God's wrath and human sinfulness. It led to fear and repentance, so that the sinner turned to the Gospel and its promise of forgiveness and salvation. Faith in this promise made the sinner open to God's grace, by which he was justified or made righteous, accepted for salvation in spite of his sins. It was this sequence which permitted Luther to maintain that faith alone justifies, although certain questions, such as the role of the will in receiving or rejecting the faith which leads to grace, remained controversial.

Alber was an eager defender of Luther's teachings on repentance and salvation, and had explained in his *Dialogue* that it was proper to be pained by one's sins but that acts of penance were not necessary, and indicated an understanding affected by papal misinformation.[154] Soon after leaving Magdeburg at the end of 1551, he was to publish in his *Basilisk of Magdeburg* an extended treatment of Judas's failure to win salvation despite feeling regret.[155] Giving his response to a perplexed question in Lutheran theology, the extent to which one could accept the saving grace of God by an act of will, he engaged in some mild distortion of scripture to demonstrate that Judas was complicit in his own downfall and willingly absented himself from hearing the preaching of the gospel.[156] In this account, he echoed to a large extent the use of language and scripture by Luther and more especially by Melanchthon during the antinomian disputes of the 1520s and 1530s.[157] The implication was that certain behaviours, for Alber, represented an act of will in rejecting faith, so that the person in question would no longer have the ability to recognise and accept this freely-given gift, and would render his own salvation impossible.

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154 'Das die Buß ein Sacrament sey/hab ich nye gelseen/Das wort Poenitentia, heysset eygendlich nicht Büß/sonder Rew: Mulcta, heyst Büs: Christus hat für uns gebüßt/dz ist bezalt/uñ die straffe getragen/Esaie 53[,4]... '. [Alber:] *Dialogus*, Biii.

155 Alber, *Basilisken zu Magdeburg*, Bii(v)-Biv.

156 Alber, *Basilisken zu Magdeburg*, Biii(v).

157 On the earlier antinomian debate see Wengert, *Law and Gospel.* On the later dispute see Kawerau, *Johann Agricola von Eisleben* and Edwards, *Luther and the false brethern.* For Luther's main discussion of this question, see his first disputation against the Antinomians, (December 1537) in *Disputationen Dr. Martin Luthers in d. J. 1535-1545 an der Universität Wittenberg gehalten*, edited by Paul Drews (Göttingen, 1895), 246-334. Melanchthon's contribution, which is close to Alber's position as presented in *Basilisken zu Magdeburg*, is discussed by Wengert, *Law and Gospel*, 161-2.

The verses on Moritz of Saxony can therefore be understood not simply as a parallel between two acts of betrayal which predicts similar consequences for both perpetrators. Alber's composition assures Moritz, using terminology on repentance and satisfaction which, through the Antinomian debates, would be well-known to Lutheran thinkers that, because he was implicated in the implementation of the 'Interim agreements', he has shown himself to be an irredeemable sinner incapable of repenting. This is an extremely serious charge in itself and reflects badly on the person of Moritz. It also appears, although we cannot know precisely when in 1551 *Master Moritz's Confession* was written, to be an effective dismissal of Moritz's supposed change of heart with regard to the Magdeburgers, and of the private assurances which he offered the town council that their submission to him as a proxy of the Emperor would be followed by any attempt to impose a religious settlement. To deny the possibility of true repentance was to deny the possibility of a diplomatic resolution. Here as elsewhere Alber appears to exemplify the intransigeance for which the Magdeburg polemicists became known, but it is important to note that this current in the Magdeburg literature runs counter to certain tendencies in the *Magdeburg Confession*.

Alber's accusations have tended to be quoted as evidence of the Magdeburg contingent's loss of respect for imperial authority, and corresponding expectation

of the end: the secular order is past.[158] In fact Alber's work seems in some cases to have been rejected by the directors of the Magdeburg publicists, and in others perceived by contemporaries as a very distinctive subset of their work. It seems therefore that certain characteristics of Alber's writings should be taken not as typical features of the Magdeburg publicists' work, but as evidence that there were things which the Magdeburg authorities generally avoided and were reluctant to commit to print: specifically, the criticism of named imperial authorities: an indication that, in their thinking, the Empire is likely to endure, or that its authority has not yet lost its sacred character, two beliefs which, if the end will come with the collapse of an evil secular order which attacks the Gospel, can be seen as identical.

158 Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation*, 211-30, 438; Kühlmann, 'Magdeburg in der Zeitgeschichtlichen Verspublizistik (1551/1631)', 82-3.

1.5 The nature of the *Magdeburg Confession*

It has been shown above that, when his *Dialogue* was not printed, Alber eventually took consolation from the fact that the not dissimilar works of his friend Caspar Aquila were printed. The fact of printing was immensely important. Magdeburg's anti-Interimists, in the Confession and in numerous other works, stress the fact that bearing witness in print and at this time matters, and is in itself a sign of the righteousness of their cause. Why then do the Magdeburg authorities step back from naming and criticising their most senior opponents? This reluctance seems to offer an opportunity to reconsider what the anti-Interimists meant to convey in presenting their resistance of Imperial authority as an apocalyptic struggle, and here we can turn again to the *Magdeburg Confession.*

One thing that seems clear is that the fact of living through the Antichrist's final attack on the Word of God, the element necessary to the final struggle presaging the end of the world, was not taken to justify an unrestrained printed attack on imperial and princely authority. Warnings of the end in the *Magdeburg Confession* are framed, not around a rejection of the authorities as an order passing away, but around an appeal to them to mend their ways before, as that work implies, each faces his own end, and is judged accordingly. The confession's appeal to the Emperor to consider whether he is not unjustly persecuting true Christians is followed by a reminder of the consequences of such persecution,

begging 'your Imperial Majesty earnestly, and for the sake of the just and severe judgement of God, to lift the Imperial Ban from us Magdeburgers and from all innocent Christians'.[159] Having broadened the definition of tyranny to incorporate all those who help the Emperor to persecute them, the authors of the Confession make it clear, in a passsage which contains an implicit rebuke to Lutheran princes supporting the Emperor, that it is their purpose to awake the conscience of every reader:

> Which should be considered a greater sin: to persecute [the followers of] a teaching in ignorance of its truth, like St Paul, who was not aware that he persecuted Christ or ... to persecute the Truth while recognising oneself that it is the truth? This we will leave everyone to consider for himself.[160]

The fear of judgement which the *Confession* seeks to instil is not necessarily fear of the Last Judgement, but the judgement which each individual must eventually face. It is evident from their use of the tale of Bonifacius that the Magdeburgers publishing under Flacius accept that 'tyrannical rage' can hasten the hour of judgement for the individual. The exhortation to tyrants who will not hear them to 'draw God's wrath upon themselves more swift and terrible', need not necessarily imply an imminent end to all things. 'Not to name these particular states and princes in particular' who are 'evil Protestants' and 'opponents of the

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159 'Ja wir bitten E.K.M. erntzlich/ auch umb des gerechten vnd gestrengen Gerichts Gottes willen/ dass E.K.M. vns die von Magdeburg/ sampt allen vnschuldigen Christen/ der Keyserlichen Aacht benehmen ...'. *Bekandtnuss/ Unterricht und Vermahnung*, 1073.

160 'Welches auch grössere Sünde seye/ dass einer nicht wisse/ dass die Lehre/ so er verfolget/ recht seye/ wie es Paulus nicht wuste/ da er Christum verfolgte/ oder dass er mit den offentlichen Verfolgern verfolge der Warheit/ die er selbst fuer die Warheit helt ... das wollen wir jetzundt ein jeden selbst bedencken lasssen'. *Bekandtnuss/ Unterricht und Vermahnung*, 1084.

gospel' is to decline to commit to the permanent impression of print a situation which Magdeburg's authorities and the authors of the *Confession* aim by their appeals to render temporary. In recognising the possibility that Magdeburg's opponents may truly repent, the signatories of the *Confession* deviate from Alber in a manner which indicates that his evocation of the approach of the end of the time should not be understood as the perception of crisis driving the Magdeburg publicists generally.

If references to judgement and a coming end do not necessarily imply the end of all things, what should be made of the *Magdeburg Confession's* references to the potential destruction of God's church on earth? Will the end of the world not be imminent if all Christians on earth are eliminated, if 'the Devil and the godless World soon have us here and other [Christians] elsewhere throttled and put to death'?[161] Here, the explanation by the Magdeburgers of their duty to print is also an explanation of their ability to understand that their isolation as last, weak bastion of Christianity may be considered as a stage within a continuing secular history. Contemplation of the imminent destruction of true Christianity brings one of the Confession's frequent, and perhaps surprising, references to posterity:

> It is our duty to do this [to write what is in the confession] for the sake of the poor young people and for those who will live after us, about whom we should not be any less concerned, in these circumstances, than we are about

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161 'Dann so wie uns hie/ andere anserswo alle den Teuffel unnd Gottlose Welt liessen baldt hinrichten unnd wuergen...', *Bekandtnuss/ Unterricht und Vermahnung*, 1084.

> ourselves. For if the Devil and the godless world soon have us here and other [Christians] elsewhere put to death and throttled, from whom will the poor young people and those who come after us learn the right way to salvation?[162]

All of the members of the true Christian church on earth can be killed, it is argued here, so long as the Word of God and guidance for its interpretation remain for 'those who come after'. Because the Word of God is spread in print from the Magdeburg, the logic of the Confession in its appeal to tyrants soon to come to judgement requires neither that the town be destroyed, nor (a possibility the authors recognise elsewhere in the text) that it be miraculously rescued.[163] It requires neither the coming of Christ in glory at the end of the world, evoked in the Confession's triumphant closing passage,[164] nor the continuation of the secular order, suggested by the references to those yet to be born. In fact, both references to the future of the church on earth and description of the last day can be seen, not as contradictory inclinations, but as serving the same purpose in assuring readers of

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162 ' ... seyn wirs auch zu thun schuldig uon wegen der armen Jugent, und der jenigen so nach uns leben werden/ fuer welche wir in diesem Fall nicht weniger als fuer uns selbst sorgen sollen. Dann so wie uns hie/ andere anserswo alle den Teuffel unnd Gottlose Welt liessen baldt hinrichten unnd wuergen/ uon wem wolte die arme Jugent unnd Nachkommen den rechten Weg zur Seligkeit lernen'. *Bekandtnuss/ Unterricht und Vermahnung*, 1084.

163 *Bekandtnuss/ Unterricht und Vermahnung*, 1089. 'Also hat er Jerusalem unversehens und wunderlich errettet/ da alle umbligende Stätte und Vesten schon eingenommen unnd zerstöret waren/ Also rettet er Bethuliam wunderlich in der aller eussersten Noht. Dessgleichen Samariam. Also halff er offtmals unversehens uber aller Menschen Weissheit und Kräffte/ in grossen Nöhten dem gantzen Volk ... aus Egypten'.

164 *Bekandtnuss/ Unterricht und Vermahnung*, 1090. 'Ja (spricht Christus) ich wil kommen/ und wil bald kommen/ dann meine Ehre wil ich keinem andern geben/ und nicht zugeben/ dass die Pforten der Welt oder der Hellen meine Kirche uberwältigen sollen/ Himmel und Erden vergehen/ aber meine Wort vergehen nicht. Dafür sey ihm nun Danck unnd Lob in seinem ewigen Reich/ da er lebt unnd wir auch leben sollen/ und mit ihm zur Herrligkeit erhaben werden/ sintemal wir ja jetzundt mit ihm leiben und umb seinet willen den gantzen Tage getödten werden/ Amen.

the rightness and subsequent triumph of the cause.[165] What is necessary to the logic of the document is the survival of printed material: whatever fate awaits the true Christians at Magdeburg, the church on earth may survive because of what they have printed.

Given the emphasis, in the Confession, on the fact that tyrants must examine their consciences and come to their own decisions in the knowledge that judgement awaits them, it is unsurprising that this awareness of the persistence of the printed word manifests itself, in Magdeburg, through careful rejection of open criticism by name of the highest secular authorities, even at a time when these authorities were being defied in print and in arms. To construct a definition of the actions which make a tyrant, a process at the core of sixteenth-century Protestant resistance theory, in a document addressed to the putative tyrant himself, is to acknowledge and to draw attention to possibilities which will restore the tyrant to his role as godly authority. The Magdeburg publicists, operating in a framework which does not exclude the expectation that the secular order might be maintained, were required by their understanding of the Interim crisis to enforce in printed works both diplomatic circumspection and due respect for godly authority. This approach would have been conducive to maintaining broad harmony with the town

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165 *Bekandtnus/ Unterricht und Vermahnung,* Aiv. 'Demnach/ ob nu der Luther gleich auch tod ist/ so lebt er doch noch jmer dar/ und das werck/ das Gott durch ihn angerichtet hat/ ob es gleich itzund auch scheinet / als sey es fast damit aus / so wird es doch bleiben bis an Jüngsten tag und ewiglich / und noch weiter umb sich greiffen / in mehr Land und Völcker komen/ darwider der Antichrist der Bapst sich seines schadens nimer erholen wird [...].

council, which sought a diplomatic solution to the problem of the imperial ban and siege.[166]

Both the Magdeburgers' understanding of this crisis and their hopes for its attenuation thus depended on print. References by contemporaries, as discussed above, indicate that there was an attempt to achieve a consistent approach to the management of printed material. The limits which this imposed, and the extent to which these limits were for many authors not merely pragmatic, but fully in line with their understanding of the place of the current crisis in sacred history, as is apparent from the references to posterity and salvation in the *Magdeburg Confession.* The practice of editorial control appears, from Alber's experience with his *Dialogus,* to have reflected this understanding to a large extent. If control was not complete, as indicated by the fact that anonymous, unsigned and *sine loco* texts contined to emerge from Magdeburg throughout the period,[167] it is nonetheless the case that restraint was practised.

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166 Tensions did develop in late 1551, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

167 See Kaufmann, Appendix I.

Conclusions on the legacy of the 'Interim crisis' in Magdeburg

The authors of the Confession, as Friedeburg observes, are careful not to encourage rebellion in its readers. They limit their definition of tyranny and of viable responses in such a way as to maintain the authority of such 'lesser magistrates' as the town council.[168] In so doing, they show awareness of the difficulty of controlling reception of a printed work. At the same time, they take full advantage of the potential of print to reach a mass-audience in making their theory of resistance an appeal to all of their opponents.

The *Magdeburg Confession* may be seen as resistance theory for the age of print, a text which reflects upon the consequences of its own dissemination, not only on its effect on the ruled, as Friedeburg observes, but also on its effect on those whom it opposes: on the ruler, his allies, and his reluctant supporters among prominent Lutherans. While the caution of its authors in the former regard certainly limits the applicability of the text, it is the second aspect which made it possible for the *Magdeburg Confession*, after the brief crisis of the Interim, to be remembered and used internationally. This could occur in part because of its authors' understanding of the potential of print to sustain true Christianity beyond their crisis: because 'those of Magdeburg', 'the Ministers quho had subscryvit the defence of the Town to be a most just defence',[169] were associated with such a volume of not unrestrained printed works besides; and because their concern for

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168 Friedeburg, *Self-defence*, p. 87.

169 Knox, *History of the Reformatioun*, p. 363.

the deference properly owed to godly authorities made theirs a campaign with which respectable and politically astute churchmen like Beza and Knox could afford to associate themselves. The *exemplum* which Protestants later grasped was not only that of a crisis with an edifying conclusion, but that of a document which was consistent with the general approach of the Magdeburg publicists in that is was written in a manner which could accommodate such a conclusion.

The fact that it was possible for Magdeburg's clergy to publish their *Confession* with the support of the city authorities has a further important consequence. Calvin had of course printed the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, which deal briefly with the problem of resistance to tyrannical power, under his own name.[170] Like the signatories of the *Magdeburg Confession*, he made it clear in so doing that his clerical office entitled him to prescribe correct behaviour for ruling magistrates.[171] This is unsurprising in view of his conscious development in Geneva of a centre for the reformed church in Europe. Beza's *Droit des Magistrats*, however, was printed anonymously, while the authors of the third text emphasised by Skinner, the *Vindiciae contra tyrannos*, attempted unconvincingly as part of their analysis to deal with the question of resistance to a tyrant outside the context of confessional affiliation.[172] While clearly speaking in defense of

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[170] Jean Calvin, *Institution de la Religion Chrestienne*. (Paris, 1961), iv. 505-36.

[171] See for example Jean Calvin, *Institution de la Religion Chrestienne*, iv. 535-6: 'à ceux qui seroyent constituez en tel estat, tellement ie ne défendroye de s'opposer et résister ...'.

[172] As discussed above.

Huguenot religious freedoms, they did not do so with the authority of any particular office or individual.[173]

The nine signatories of the *Magdeburg Confession* identified themselves at the end of the document as the pastors of the nine churches of greater Magdeburg.[174] This circumstance enabled them to justify an address to the individual reader through their concentration on admonition: they presented it as the function of their office to warn all of their readers, including the highest authorities, of the danger which threatened their souls. This approach permitted them to introduce powerfully persuasive elements, with the urgency of warning, the consolation of the reminder that the true religion would eventually triumph, but to restrain their impact by wrapping them around with hypotheses about the situation of the Magdeburg crisis in sacred history. What is implicit and by no

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173 Beza could otherwise have drawn on his authority as clergyman and representative of Calvin's Geneva; the probable collaborators on the *Vindiciae, Contra tyrannos*, Philippe du Plessis-Mornay and Hubert Languet, despite the difficulties they achieved in defining legal consensus outside the realm of religious inspiration were in fact lawyers. See Kathleen W. MacArthur 'The Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos: A Chapter in the Struggle for Religious Freedom in France', *Church History*, Vol. 9, No. 4. (Dec., 1940), 285-298, 292-4.

174 'Niclas von Amssdorff hat unterschrieben mit eygener Hand. Niclas Han/Pfarrherr zu S. Ulrich, Lucas Rosenthal/ zu S. Johans/ Johannes Stengel/ zu S. Jacob, Henning Freden/ zu S. Catharinen / Amrosius Hetfeldt/ zu S. Peter/ Johannes Baumgartn/ zum H. Geist/ Joachim Wolterstoff/ in der Sudenburg/ Heinrich Gercken / in der newen Statt'. *Bekandtnuss/ Unterricht und Vermahnung*, 1090. It is not the case that *Matthias* Flacius Illyricus was among them, as claimed in Luise Schorn-Schütte, 'Politikberatung im 16. Jahrhundert. Zur Bedeutung von theologischer und juristischer Bildung für die Prozesse politischer Entscheidungsfindung im Protestantismus', in Armin Kohnle and Frank Engehausen (eds) *Zwischen Wissenschaft und Politik. Studien zur deutschen Universitätsgeschichte. Festschrift für Eike Wolgast zum 65. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart, 2001), 49-68, here 59.

means hypothetical, though, is the claim that the signatories make to possess a particular form of authority.

While it is magistrates, however defined, who are permitted to resist tyranny, according to the tradition of resistance shared by the authors of the *Magdeburg Confession* and the Calvinist theorists, how it should be established that the church is in sufficient danger to warrant references to tyranny and instigate organisation of resistance is a question which could not be satisfactorily discussed in theoretical works, but must be established according to local circumstances. In this connection, the right of the clergy publicly to admonish secular authority, on which the entire logic of the second section of the *Magdeburg Confession* depends, becomes vitally important. Bereft since Luther's death and Melanchthon's acceptance of the Leipzig Interim of a *spiritus rector* at Wittenberg, Magdeburg's town clergy as a body articulated grounds for resistance, and did so for the reasons explored above in the context of admonition of secular authorities.

In the *Confession*, by far the best-known document to emerge from Magdeburg's struggle in the mid-sixteenth century, this admonishment was to authorities outside the town walls. For most of the duration of the mid-sixteenth-century siege, this continued to be the case.[175] The document's context in a carefully hypothetical attack on Emperor, its compability with regular diplomacy, its later association with Protestant victory and the Peace of Augsburg, and the

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[175] The tensions which developed as the town council began to negotiate with Moritz of Saxony in 1551 are considered in the next chapter.

fame it acquired via Sleidan all served to ensure that it would continue to gain attention. Within Magdeburg, however, while maintaining all of these functions, the document served also to bolster the authority of the clergy. It gained institutional as well as historical value, and was thereafter signed by clergy taking up positions in Magdeburg.[176] It thus perpetuated a tradition which not only permitted but demanded the admonition of secular authority by the clergy into a period when representatives of the two groups within the town appear to have been less in harmony than in the period discussed here. This chapter has tackled the problem of how a debate which was in certain manifestations intemperate, obscene, and rebellious against imperial and princely authority was nonetheless represented in the *Magdeburg Confession* in terms which gave the document, and the dispute from which it emerged, a certain respectability outside Magdeburg into posterity. It remains to consider how the dispute and the *Confession*, which however cautiously framed to bolster magisterial authority was firmly based on the premise of public clerical admonition, could be recalled within the town when war and rebellion again became matters of contemporary interest.

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[176] See e.g. Christoph Krause: '16 Junii [1626] hab ich im ministerio der magdeburgischen Confession unterschrieben'. 'Denkwürdigkeiten des Gymnasiallehrers und Pfarrers Christophorus Krause in Magdeburg', edited by Julius Opel, in *Neue Mittheilungen* 1878 (14), 313-84, 322.

PART TWO

The second part of this thesis will introduce narratives of the sixteenth-century siege produced in Magdeburg in the period from 1551 to 1624, aiming to set them in the context of the town's print culture in the first decade of the Thirty Years War. It takes as its centrepiece the most substantial of these texts, Elias Pomarius's *True ... description of the siege of Magdeburg which lasted more than a year*, which was printed in 1622. It will first place this work in the context of Pomarius's sources, in Chapter 2, by considering earlier accounts of the siege written by Magdeburgers to which Pomarius refers. Having then discussed the most important features of Pomarius's work, it will proceed to examine in Chapter 3 three areas which the analysis of Pomarius will show to be relevant, and which themselves offer further perspectives on the siege. The first will be the responses in print and in action to the inflationary crisis in Magdeburg of 1621 and 1622, a section which will introduce a figure of great significance for this period, Christian Gilbert de Spaignart, Pastor of St Ulrich's church in Magdeburg. The second area of importance will be the clerical and scholarly network who between them produced numerous, relatively brief treatments of the sixteenth-century siege in the first decade of the Thirty Years War: some space is given here to the most prolific of these authors, schoolteacher Johann Bloc. Finally, the third chapter will

introduce an alternative perspective on siege warfare generally in an attempt to reconstruct information communicated through Magdeburg's news-media.

CHAPTER TWO: 'OLD VERSES EXHORTING TOWNS AND THEIR INHABITANTS TO PEACE AND UNITY'[1]: THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SIEGE IN LOCAL HISTORY, 1551-1622.

Introduction

When, in 1622, Elias Pomarius, Pastor of St Peter's Church in Magdeburg, came to write the preface of his *True ... description of the siege of Magdeburg which lasted more than a year* he had to justify the addition of a new work to a growing resource, especially since he admitted that, in writing, he risked being accused of opening old wounds.[2] He achieved this with a combination of strategies. He referred to recent events in the town whose authors should learn lessons from history, as will be discussed below in section 3. He explained that he wrote at the request of certain authorities. Finally, he labelled as unsatisfactory, in different ways, the earlier histories on this subject by Magdeburg citizens Sebastian Besselmeyer, Heinrich Merckel, and by his own brother and fellow preacher Johann Pomarius. He pointed out that Besselmeyer, whose history was distinguished by the fact that its author had participated in the military defence of the town, was the common source of all the other works produced so far. Merckel, he wrote, having been outside the town on diplomatic missions during the crisis,

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1 'Alte Reimen/ darin Städte und jhre Einwohner zu Frieden und Einigkeit vermahnet werden'. Elias Pomerius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg*, 459.

2 '... mir könne fürgeworffen werden/ das ich durch solche Edition ... die alten wunden ernewern wolte'. Elias Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg*, (:)3 [=(:)2].

had included insufficient eyewitness information, unlike Elias Pomarius who was born during the siege and had used his father's memories of the period as his starting point. The other authors who had tackled the subject had not begun their accounts early enough: the correct starting point not being 1550, but the beginnings of the introduction of the Lutheran Reformation in Magdeburg.[3]

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[3] Elias Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg*, (:)3[=(:)(:)2]. Pomarius makes the same complaint of a work produced by 'Spanenbergius' in the town, which I have been unable to trace. He may be referring to the historical works of Cyriacus Spangenberg, in particular his *Sächssische Chronica : Darinnen Ordentlich begriffen der Alten Teutschen/ Sachssen/ Schwaben/ Francken/ Thüringer/Meißner/ Wenden/ Sclaven/ Cimbern und Cherußken/ Könige n und Fursten/ [et]c. Sampt allerhandt Politischen Händeln und Geschichten/ so sich unter berürten Völckern ... zugetragen/ Hievor unter dem Tittel Mansfeldischer Chronica erster Theil/ durch Cyriacum Spangenberg in Truck gegeben* (Frankfurt am Main, 1585). Since this was not a Magdeburg work, I will not include it in my discussion here. On Spangenberg, see *ADB*,

2.1 'Two Wars'? Sebastian Besselmeyer's History (1551/1552)

The first of these earlier accounts, Sebastian Besselmeyer's, is of great interest because in counterpoint to parts of the *Magdeburg Confession*, it can serve as an example of an unsatisfactory account of the siege and the causes at stake, problems with it having been established long before Pomarius wrote his history. It existed nonetheless in numerous editions: at least ten were produced in Switzerland and different parts of the Holy Roman Empire immediately after the siege.[4] The account by Besselmeyer, who seems to have published nothing else except an brief account of the siege of Gdansk in 1577, exists in a smaller number of late-sixteenth-century editions,[5] in Friedrich Hortleder's compilation of sources for the

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[4] VD16 lists one edition for 1551 and nine for 1552, with place of print given as Basel, Magdeburg, Halle, and Dresden, and in one case not listed.

[5] VD16 lists three later editions. Two were produced without identifying place of publication, in 1579 and 1582. An edition produced at Halle in 1592 added an account of the siege of Gdansk by Stephen Báthory in 1577. Not listed by VD16 is the apparent original of this extended edition, which was produced by Johann Franke in Magdeburg in 1591 (SBB).

history of the 'German wars' of Emperor Charles V, [6] and in Simon Schardius' 1574 general compilation of historical sources.[7]

Besselmeyer's retrospective account of the siege of Magdeburg was written from the perspective of a citizen of the town, who identifies himself as such in the title. He described both 'skirmishes' and, though less thoroughly, peace negotiations. He did not identify his role, but claimed to have been 'present and involved' in the matters discussed in his account,[8] and referred throughout to protagonists in the town and its army as 'us'.

The text has a complex publishing history, which has implications which have not so far been examined. Among the numerous early editions of the text, it is possible to distinguish two versions with significant variations. The first is *The (true) history and description of the Magdeburg War, from the beginning to the end*, which it is implied in the title of the second version, was first printed at Basel. This does not quite tally with the surviving editions, which for Basel appear, one in

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[6] It had been reprinted in 1618 as Friedrich Hortleder, *Handlungen und Ausschreiben von den Ursachen des teutschen Krieges* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1617-18), ii, Book IV (915-45). Hortleder's compilation was reprinted in 1645 as the more widely available Friedrich Hortleder, *Der Römischen Keyser Und Koniglichen Maiestetē, Auch des heiligen Römischen Reichs Geistlicher und Weltlicher Stände...Handlungen und Außschreiben...Von Rechtmässigkeit/ Anfang/ Fort und endlichen Aussgang dess Teutschen Kriegs Keyser Carls dess Fuenfften* (2 vols, Gotha, 1645). For a brief assessment of Hortleder's collection, see Thomas A. Brady, 'Phases and struggles of the Schmalkaldic Wars', in ibid., *Communities, Politics and Reformation in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 1988), 109-128, 110.

[7] In Simon Schardius *Comprehend. quae sub Imperio Caroli V. usque ad Ferdinandi I. acciderunt* (*Historicum opus in IV tomos divisum, Vol. II,* Basel, 1574).

[8] The title of the first version, the *Warhafftige history,* introduces *Sebastian Besselmeyer Burger zů Magdeburg/ so inn söllech hänndeln bey vnd mitt gewesen.*

German and one in Latin, in 1552,[9] while a Magdeburg edition was printed on 15th December 1551.[10] This Magdeburg edition is signed by printer 'Hans Lor' or Johann Lorr, who is nowhere else mentioned,[11] a fact which throws some doubt on the identification of place of origin. Kaufmann speculates that Lor may in this case have represented Michael Lotther, who acted as printer for the town council throughout the crisis and was responsible for 53% of the editions produced in Magdeburg from 1548 to 1552. He considers that the editions alleged to have been printed at Basel may have been falsely labelled, and in fact originate in Magdeburg.[12] This is based on the existense of another Magdeburg work, printed by Lotther in 1552, which was mislabelled as a Basel edition, and which, as Kaufmann demonstrates, contains claims about the suppression of printing which would be contradicted by the existence of a clearly labelled Magdeburg edition.[13]

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9 *Warhafftige history vnd Beschreibung dess Magdeburgischen Kriegs/ von anfang biß zůende/ was sich die zeit der Belagerung innen vnd ausserhalb der Statt zügetragen vnd verlauffen hatt: auch von der Schlacht vnd fürnehmsten Shcarmützlen thaten vnd angriffen zů beyden theylen geschehen/ jm Jar der mindern zal fünfftzig/ vnd ein vnnd fünfftzgisten/ auffs kürtzest verfaßt. Durch Sebastian Besselmeyer Burger zů Magdeburg/ so inn söllech händeln bey vnd mitt gewesen.* (Basel, 1552). The Latin is a translation of the original German: *Obsidionis Magdeburgi, Antiquae ac Inclytae Saxonum urbis, anno 1550 & 51 á Caesarianis factae, succincta atque historica descriptio. Per Sebastianum Besselmeierum eius urbis ciuem Germanico idiomate conscripta, nunc ueró primum, Latio donata* (Basel, 1552). The Latin edition was reprinted in Giessen in 1673 (SBB).

10 The first Magdeburg version listed in VD16 is *Historia vnd beschrybung/ des Madenburgischen kriegs/ von anfang biß zům ende / der zeyt der belegerung jhn=nen vnnd außerhalb der Stat zůgetragen/ vnnd verloffen hat/ auch von der schlacht/ ... jm jar der mindern zal/ 50.vnd 51. auffs kürtzest verfaßt. Durch Sebastian Be=selmeyer. Burger zů Magdenburg* (Magdeburg, 1551). VD16 lists separately what are clearly two exemplars of the same editions: there are differences in orthography: 'zeyt' and 'zeit' in the titlepages, but the signature gives the same printer and day of printing in each case.

11 The signature is 'Truckt zü Magdenburg bey Hans Lor/ den xv. tag Decembris. Anno M.D.Lj.

12 On Lotther, see Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation,* 58-64; on 'Hans Lor', 64.

13 Flacius Illyricus, *Wider den Evangelisten des heiligen Chorrocks... Geitz Maier,* (Basel, 1552 [Magdeburg, 1552]). The mislabelling is in Kaufmann's view probably an attempt to underline the author's assertion that such works cannot be printed anywhere in

The two Basel editions of Besselmeyer's text for 1552 have however been attributed to particular printers in that town by Ulrich Kopp,[14] and the reappearance of the Basel Latin translation of 1552 in Schardius' 1574 compendium, printed in the same city, speaks also for a Basel origin. The alleged Basel publication which was printed in Magdeburg, Flacius Illyricus's *Against... [Georg] Major*, was in fact a continuation of specifics of the adiaphorist dispute into a controversy on the very contentious question of 'works righteousness' which long outlasted the Magdeburg crisis and quickly lost its association with the city.[15] Although Flacius explicitly connects the 'foreign' printing of the work with restrictions on publishing against the 'Interim agreement', such publications continued to emerge from Magdeburg during 1552.[16] *Against ... Major* may have been falsely labelled in part because Magdeburg's civic authorities did not wish to sponsor the indefinite continuation of theological polemic with Wittenberg outside the context of the interim dispute and siege. With the volume of printed works produced at the city falling,[17] it seems probable that the delegation of print management to Flacius no longer applied.

Germany. Flacius claims that 'inn gantz Deudschlandt schier nirgend wider die Antichristlichen vergleichungen des Interims und der Adiaphora/ mucken noch drücken darff': cited in Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation*, 57.

14 VD16: see entries B2264; B2270.

15 The Majorist dispute grew out of polemics exchanged by the Magdeburg theologians and Georg Major from 1551. Major was accused of espousing the position of the Leipzig Interim on justicifation: that as well as faith, good works were necessary for salvation. See Peterson: *The Philippist Theologians*, 215-52.

16 See Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation*, Appendix III, 556-64.

17 VD16 lists 117 editions for 1550, 52 for 1551, and 48 for 1552: the information is collated in Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation*, Appendix III.

This is one of the factors which helps to explain the appearance in Magdeburg in 1552 of a revision of Besselmeyer's work with a new title: *The true [or comprehensive] history of the Magdeburg War... composed in a more orderly and rigorous manner, then [the edition which] was previously printed in Basel without due attention.*[18] The implict denial in the title of the revised version of the precedence of the 'Hans Lor' Magdeburg edition of 1551 may be explained in two ways: either would be compatible with the argument below that this was a more thorough revision than the author wished to indicate in his title. It is possible that the 'Hans Lor' edition was produced elsewhere and given a place and date of origin which would support its claims to be an authentic, eyewitness account, or that 'Hans Lor' as a pseudonym for Lotther or another printer had produced the work in Magdeburg without permission, and that the printer and author now did not wish to draw attention to its existence. In either case, Besselmeyer's title carefully blames foreign printers for certain problems in his text, an accusation which was preserved in various reproductions of the second version as late as 1592.[19]

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[18] Two editions of this revised version appeared in Magdeburg in 1552, printed by Christian Rödinger, one Sebastian Besselmeyer, *Warhafftiger Bericht des Magdeburgischem Kriegs/ Schlacht/ Belagerung/ und fürnehmesten scharmützeln zu Wasser und zu Lande/ Auch alles/ was sich .. Jnnen und ausserhalb der Stadt/ zugetragen hat. Auffs kürtzste/ oerdentlicher und gruendtlicher verfasset/ den zuvor mit unfleiss/ zu Basel ym drucke ist ausgangen.* (Magdeburg, 1552). The other edition is entitled *Gründlicher Bericht des Magdeburgischem Kriegs... Auffs kürtzste/ ördentlicher und gründtlicher verfasset/ den zuvor mit unfleiss/ zu Basel ym drucke ist ausgangen.*

[19] Sebastian Besselmeyer, *Warhafftiger Bericht Des Magdeburgischen Kriegs, Schlacht, Belagerung und fürnemesten Scharmützelen ... Auch alles, was sich von beyden theilen innen vnd ausserhalb der Stadt von anfang biß zum ende zugetragen hat. Auffs kürtzste ördentlicher und gründtlicher verfasset/ den zuvor mit unfleiss/ zu Basel. im Drucke ist ausgegangen, Durch Sebastian Besselmeyer ...: Item, Von Belagerung der Stadt Dantzig mit dem Polnischen Koenige Stephano Bathoro dem Ersten gehalten* (Halle, [1592])

The difference between the texts of the first and of the revised edition is highly instructive. If Besselmeyer is to be believed, the 'undue attention' of the printers at Basel led them to insert their own, typographically correct, passages in place of the original, and to systematically eliminate the majority of Besselmeyer's brief references to the plight of the poor, and of Magdeburg's relations with neighbouring towns.[20] While Besselmeyer's second version does correct a number of printing errors, these are not strikingly numerous in the first version, which was in fact explicitly preferred by Hortleder when he came to reprint Besselmeyer in his 1618 compilation.[21] The second version, however, contains substantial revisions, which are of interest here because it is possible to argue that they provide some indication of the manner in which Magdeburg's authorities wished to view the sixteenth-century siege immediately after the end of the crisis.

As might be expected in an eyewitness account from a man who had otherwise published nothing, Besselmeyer concentrated on the local progress of the siege. He nonetheless framed his account within divine history, starting from the very common assertion that war should be seen as a punishment from God.[22]

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20 Sebastian Besselmeyer, *Warhafftiger Bericht*, Gii; Hiii(v).

21 Hortleder, introduction to Besselmeyer, 'Warhafftige Histori und Beschreibung des Magdeburischen Kriegs' reproduced as *Handlungen und Ausschreiben von den Ursachen des teutschen Krieges* ii, Book IV, 915-45, 945.

22 The description of war as punishment of God emerges from much of the primary literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and is consequently a recurrent topic in secondary studies of war. As part of the inherited perception of war which united all confessions in the empire, it is discussed in Matthias Asche und Anton Schindling, 'Das Strafgericht Gottes. Kriegserfahrungen und Religion im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation im Zeitalter des Dreißigjährigen Krieges' in ibid. (eds) *Das Strafgericht Gottes. Kriegserfahrungen und Religion im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation im Zeitalter des Dreissigjährigen Krieges. Erfahrungsgeschichte und Konfessionalisierung*

Besselmeyer observed convention by opening his history, in both versions, with a list of his reasons for presenting a narrative of the siege. These included his wish to demonstrate how God could display his power by both punishing a town for its sins and performing miracles to save His people. This framework required him to reveal through his narrative that God was with the town, and Besselmeyer made explicit reference to this divine protection throughout the text in discussing surprising victories and lucky escapes for Magdeburg, and the unusual difficulties of its enemies.[23] There was no explicit discussion of the basis for God's favour, although Besselmeyer did show signs of hostility towards Catholicism from a perspective obviously influenced by his understanding of the Lutheran Reformation. The besieging armies, he claimed, behaved like 'Turks and heathen',[24] and were known to harbour 'a rare type of warrior, called priests... [who] rarely come to battle, perhaps thinking that it is not fitting for them to die in open field... and who pay, when they have no money, with indulgences'.[25] When Besselmeyer discussed

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(Münster, 2001), 11-57, esp. 29, 33. Geoffrey Mortimer has demonstrated for the Thirty Years War that this was the framework most often provided by those contemporaries who went beyond a personal narrative in their eyewitness accounts of the war: Geoffry Mortimer, *Perceptions of the Thirty Years War*, 251. Carolin Schröder demonstrates that it was a frequent motif in Lutheran sermons at Hamburg during the Thirty Years War in Carolin Schröder, 'Denn es ist böse Zeit. Reflexionen zeitgenössischer Hamburger Prediger über den Dreißigjährigen Krieg', in Knauer and Tode (eds), *Der Krieg vor den Toren,* 291-311; Hans-Joachim Müller extends this to Lutheran preaching generally, 'Kriegserfahrung, Prophetie und Weltfriedenskonzepte während des Dreissigjährigen Krieges', in *Volksreliogiosität und Kriegserleben*, edited by F. Boll (Münster, 1997), 9-36, 33.

[23] Examples are at Besselmeyer, *Warhafftige history* Ciii(v), Hii(v),Kii(v). Unless otherwise stated, page references are to this (first, Basel) edition and content is replicated in the Magdeburg edition, the *Warhafftiger Bericht.*

[24] 'Türcken vn(d) Vnchristen'. Besselmeyer, *Warhafftige history,* Aiv(v)

[25] Besselmeyer, *Warhafftige history,* Lii: 'Nach ist ein seltzam kriegßvolck vor der Statt/ hiessen die Pfaffen...[die] auch nicht vil auff die scharmützel kommen/ dann sie

individual members of enemy forces, he usually identified them as Spaniards and Catholics.

However, Besselmeyer did not label his opponents in general followers of the pope. This accords with his explanation of the nature of the siege, which is presented as a predatory raid by Georg von Mecklenburg, aided and abetted by the Emperor and Moritz of Saxony. He maintained a narrow perspective, concentrating on the armies surrounding the town when discussing the enemy: it was in order to explain the presence of fellow-Lutherans in the army besieging the town by explaining that not only the Catholic priests mentioned above, 'but also others, (who call themselves Evangelic [Lutheran] Preachers) have publicly declared from the pulpit, that all those who appear before Magdeburg will earn God's reward, while those who could do this and do not wish to, will earn hellfire'.[26] This is the one reference in the original text to division among Lutherans, and can be understood, not as a reflection of theological difficulties or of significant differences of policy, but of an exemplar of Besselmeyer's warning to futurity in his preface. He writes, he explains, to demonstrate to posterity a truth of sinful human nature, 'in order that people may come to comprehend the great perniciousness and disloyalty of this evil world, which does not keep faith nor hold

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villeicht nich werdt sint das sie auff gru(e)nem feldt sterben sollen...vnd bezalen/ wan sie kein gelt haben/ mit Aplaß...'

[26] '...welches sie nicht allein/ sonder ander mehr (welche sich// Euangelische Prediger nennen) haben offentlich auff der Cantzell hören lassen/ daß alle die welche sich für Magdeburg zü sehen gebrauchen lassen/ ein Gottßlon/ die anderen aber welche es wol thun können vnd wöllen nicht/ das hellische für verdienen.' Besselmeyer, *Warhafftiger history,* Lii-Lii(v).

to its promises, and sways first one way and then another... [to demonstrate] how one should not in any way rely on or trust in mankind'.[27]

Besselmeyer thus does not integrate in his narrative the details, or even much reference to, the Interim debate. The only explicit references to the debate and to the printing activities of the Magdeburg theologians come in the conclusion of his history, and here, the Magdeburg and the Basel editions diverge to an unusual extent. The first, Basel edition explains that God granted the town victory because:

[text given in **bold** diverges from the Magdeburg revision]

> [We] prayed to place all our trust in God's Word alone, and to hold to it. On which matter, a remarkable **war between** the learned took place, and a great struggle grew from this, which the learned men of the town of Magdeburg fought valiantly, and they struggled for three years against the supporters of the Interim, and at last won victory with Holy Scripture through God's help. In this case our Lord God was again responsible, and took both wars into his hands and **stood right beside us in every way throughout**. He gave sufficient proof to us and to those concerned, that He holds the hearts of Kings and Princes in his hands, and some of these Kings and Princes he handed over to us,[28] and others who had been our enemies, He made into our friends, not only in temporal and worldly things, but also in the spiritual, in the most elevated and essential articles of Religion and confession of the Christian faith, in which He brought them to agree with and stand by us. He made them remain with us and **stand firm** in the Word of God and the Gospel as adherents of the Augsburg

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27 Zum andern/ daß mann die grosse falscheit vnd vntreuw diser boßhafftigen welt/ die weder glauben noch treuw halt... wie gar nichts vff menschen zü bauwen vnd zü trauwen sey. Besselmeyer: *Warhafftiger history,* Aii.

28 Probably a reference to the capture by the Magdeburgers of Georg von Mecklenberg in 1550. *ADB*, s.v.

> Confession, and when this same was attacked and persecuted, he made them set to with and alongside us, with the strength not only of their land and people, but also of their lives and possessions, goods and blood, and protect, defend, and intercede for us. **Indeed, at this time, Magdeburg conducted two wars: namely a spiritual and a worldly war. For the Pope had at the time declared and ordered in the proceedings of a council at Trent, that Luther's teaching should be considered heretical and damned as unrighteous, concerning which those of Magdeburg wrote vigorously, and opposed this more than any other town.**[29]

The first edition known to have been produced in Magdeburg has:

> [Words in **bold** are not in the Basel edition]
>
> **[We]** prayed to place all our trust in God's Word alone**,** and to hold to it**, and we did through God's grace achieve this, and were faithfully admonished to bear witness by all of our preachers.** On which matter, a remarkable **division** developed amongst the learned, and a great struggle grew from this, which the learned men of the town of Magdeburg **along with many very pious people**

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[29] Besselmeyer: *Warhafftiger history,* Liii(v)-(iv) '...vns bey dem göttlichen wort zelassen gebetten/ vnd darüber gehalten. Auß welchem sich auch ein sonderlicher krieg zwuschen den gelerten erhaben/ vnd ein grosser kampff dar auß erwachsen ist/ welchen die gelerten der Statt Magdeburg gewaltig verfochten/ vnd mit den Interimisten drey jar lang gekempfft/ vnd zületzst den syg durch Gottes hilff mit der heylgen gschrifft erhalten. In welches sich vnser Hergott auch gelegt/ vn[d] beyder krieg angenommen/ vnd sie mit vns in all weg gentzlich vertragen hat. Das er auch den König vnd Fürsten hertz in seiner handt habe/ hat er an vns vnd jhnen gnügsam bewysen/ welche er zum theyl in vnsere hend geben/ vnd die andern/ welche unsere feind gewesen/ zü freunde- gemacht/ nit allein in zeitlichen vnd weltlichen sachen/ sonder auch in geystlichen/ höchsten vnd nötigsten artickIen der Religion vnnd bekantnuß des Christlichen glaubens vergleichen vnd mit vns vertragen/ bey dem reinen Göttlichen wort vnd Euangelio/ auch bey der Augspurgischen Confession neben vns zu bleiben vnd zü verharzen/ auch in anfechtung vnd verfolgung desselbigne/ sampt vn[d] nebenvns nit allein land vnd leüt/ sonder jhr leib vnd leben/gut vnd blüt zü setzen/ vnd uns in dem schützen/ handt haben/ vnd vertretten.

Das allso zu diser zeyt die von Magdeburg zweyerley/ nämlich ein geystlichen vnd weltlichen krieg gefurt haben. Dan der Bapst zü der zeit ein Concilium zu Trient außgeschriben vnnd verordnet hett/ darin des Luthers lehr solt gantz und gar für ketzerisch vnd vnrecht verdampt vnd gehalten werden/ über welches die von Magdeburg gewaltig geschriben/ vnd sich vor allen andern Stetten darwider gelegt haben'.

> fought valiantly, and they struggled for three years against the supporters of the Interim, and at last won victory with Holy Scripture through God's help. In this case our Lord God was again responsible, and took on both wars, **and entirely destroyed the godless Interim along with the Devil's Council at Trent**. He gave sufficient proof to us and to those concerned, that He holds the hearts of Kings and Princes in his hands, and some of these Kings and Princes he handed over to us, and others who had been our enemies, He made into our friends, not only in temporal and worldly things, but also in the spiritual, in the most elevated and essential articles of Religion and confession of the Christian faith, in which He made them resemble and accompany us. He made them remain **and persevere** in the Word of God and the Gospel as adherents of the Augsburg Confession, and when this same was attacked and persecuted, he made them set to with and alongside us, with the strength not only of their land and people, but also of their lives and possessions, goods and blood, and protect, defend, and intercede for us.[30]

In both versons, there is still room for confusion regarding the connection between the war and the theological debate, and the nature of this debate.

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[30] Besselmeyer: *Warhafftiger Bericht*, Hiii(v): Allein vns bey dem Göttlichen worte zulassen gebeten/ vnd darüber gehalten/ wie wir dem auch durch Gottes gnade darbey gebleiben/ vnd von all vnsern Predicanten/ zu der bestendigkeit treulich vormanet sind worden vns bey dem göttlichen wort zulassen gebetten/ vnd darüber gehalten. Auß welchem sich auch ein sonderlicher Zwispalt unter den gelerten erhaben/ vnd ein grosser kampff dar auß erwachsen ist/ welchen die gelerten der Statt Magdeburg neben viel frommer leute gewaltig verfochten/ vnd mit den Interimisten drey jar lang gekempfft/ vnd zületzst den sieg durch Gottes hilff mit der heiligen schrifft erhalten. In welches sich vnser Hergott auch gelegt/ vnd beyder krieg angenommen/ un das gottlose Interim sampt des teuffels Concliium zu threndt gentzlich zerstört vnd zu nichte gemacht hat. Das er auch den König vnd Fürsten hertz in seiner handt habe/ hat er an vns vnd jhnen gnügsam bewiesen/ welche er zum theil in vnsere hend geben/ vnd die andern/ welche unsere feind gewesen/ zü freunde- gemacht/ nit allein in zeitlichen vnd weltlichen sachen/ sondern auch in geistlichen/ höchsten vnd nötigsten articklen der Religion vnnd bekantnuß des Christlichen glaubens vergleichen vnd mit vns vertragen/ bey dem reinen Göttlichen wort vnd Euangelio/ auch bey der Augspurgischen Confession neben vns zü bleiben vnd zü verharren/ auch in anfechtung vnd verfolgung desselbigen/ sampt vnd neben vns nit allein land vnd leüt/ sondern jhr leib vnd leben/güt vnd blüt zü setzen/ vnd uns in dem schützen/ handt haben/ vnd vertreten.

However, without introducing any major changes to his account, Besselmeyer, in his revision of the text, can be seen to attenuate the framework of two parallel wars, 'namely a spiritual and a worldly war'. This attentuation comes first in a change of language and omission of text: war between the learned becomes a division, the identification of the two parallel wars disappears, and the only remaining reference, to the two wars in which God has granted his aid is now ambiguous: was God victorious in the struggles for both town and Church, or in the fight against both Pope and Interim?

It is clear that neither version of the reasons for Magdeburg's success provided such a polished synthesis of the causes and co-ordination of Magdeburg's struggle as to suggest that it came directly from an author better advised on the theological debates than Besselmeyer. For this reason, although there was clearly revision which went much beyond the scope suggested the title which Besselmeyer gave to his second version, it is possible to view these changes as elements which Besselmeyer himself found it possible to accommodate in the original narrative. This was made more straightforward by the fact that, apart from the introduction with its reflections of war generally, this was the only point at which Besselmeyer attempted to go beyond a straightforward, chronologically ordered account of the siege. In both versions of the text, this passage would therefore have served without clear contraindications in the rest of Besselmeyer's account as the justification for Magdeburg's alleged rebellion. Besselmeyer's changes are

therefore worthy of some attention, as they would be likely to shape the manner in which the war was understood by readers.

Besselmeyer's revision creates a connection between the skirmishes which occupy the remainder of his account and the theological debate. In the Magdeburg edition, material is added to the account of the citizens' prayers: where, in the Basel text, there is a submission to God under the basic Lutheran tenet of *sola scriptura*, the citizens in the Magdeburg text are co-opted, with the guidance of their preachers, into the effort of bearing witness. This indicates that those who, as Besselmeyer's account elsewhere recounts, have won the military victory have done so in the knowledge that they fight as witnesses to God's Word. The subject of bearing witness through protest in Magdeburg had of course become a commonplace during the Interim disputes: frequent references in printed polemic emerging, as demonstrated in Chapter 1, in a coordinated response to Melanchthon's defence of the strategy of remaining in patience to ensure that churches were not bereft of ministers. It was central to the justification for the town's actions enshrined in the *Magdeburg Confession*, with confession here to be understood as 'bearing witness', and translated into German in the word used by in the Magdeburg revision of his history by Besselmeyer, *Bekenntnis*.[31] In this way, the Magdeburg revision of Besselmeyer's text was brought closer to the mainstream of the Magdeburg authorities' and theologians' efforts to account for their town's alleged rebellion.

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31 *Bekandtnuss [Bekenntnis]/ Unterricht und Vermahnung...*

This was achieved in the context of a newly introduced reference to the town's preachers, who in the first version of the text were omitted entirely from Besselmeyer's summary, and to their role in admonishing the citizens. The idea of a war between the learned, or, in the context of Besselmeyer's vague references to the Interim agreement and Trent, a theological war, was attenuated. A reference to the function of admonishment which, through their publication of the *Magdeburg Confession*, preachers insisted upon in the course of the crisis as their legimate concern, is introduced. The second version of this passage introduced a closer connection between constituent parts of society. This reflects a persistent tendency in the re-worked, Magdeburg edition. From the Basel text, one might perceive the town as atomized: citizens defended their town, the learned wrote against the Interim, and the poor suffered. The revised Magdeburg text lays more emphasis throughout on the community's efforts to succour the poor, and suggests, in the instance quoted above, that preachers and their flock approach a single struggle with for a cause which is understood by all as the issue at hand (although not alluded to in the rest of Besselmeyer's text).

The Magdeburg version also broadened the Interim debate to include the vaguely designated 'many pious people', rather than leave it as a subject of concern for the learned alone. This had three effects: it bolstered the impression of unity between the learned and the general populace of the town. It accommodated the claim which was made by the town council from early in the siege that in

apparently resisting the imperial edict, it was is in fact observing an implied constitutional obligation arising from the need for the consent of the citizenry if a new religious settlement were to be introduced.[32] Finally, this change was consistent with the omission from the Magdeburg version of the final sentence of the Basel passage quoted here: Besselmeyer no longer claimed, with regard to the struggle against the Interim, that Magdeburg 'opposed this more than any other town'. In 1552, with temporary freedom granted to the town to administer its religious affairs, it was clear that the combined pressure of the Lutheran estates would be required to maintain this accommodation. Alongside the increased number of references to aid from neighbouring towns in Besselmeyer's Magdeburg version, this excision indicates a reluctance to set Magdeburg aside from other Lutheran towns. While emphasis on the godliness of Magdeburg's community as a whole was thus reinforced in this section, Besselmeyer now downplays what had become the during the crisis the representation of the town's isolated heroism, 'the Lord God's chancery'.[33]

There seems to be no evidence available on which to judge whether Besselmeyer made these changes on advice or under coercion, consciously and independently created an edition more palatable to local opinion, or edited the history with a new understanding of events, influenced perhaps by local publicity. What is clear, however, is that only a complete reworking of the text could have maintained the picture inserted in these closing paragraphs, of a consistent and

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32 See Chapter 1, above.

33 See Chapter 1, above.

conscious unified effort, where the sole purpose of the war was understood as bearing witness to the gospel. This does not imply dissemblance on the part of either the town or the preachers, whose united efforts advertised exactly this understanding of war. It does indicate that, despite these efforts, it was possible for a literate and informed citizen to understand the war, certainly in a religious framework, but in one which would have been recognisable before the Lutheran Reformation, and outside the context of theological dispute: the main sin of the besieging forces was to attack Magdeburg, the worst of its clergy's teachings that this was a redemptive action. Magdeburg's citizens, who deserved no help from God unless they lived godly lives, responded in defence of their city. The fact that the general thrust of Besselmeyer's history was limited to this schema might suggest only that he was restricted by available models for a narrative of siege.[34] Even in this case, it must be commented that neither version of the explanatory passage at the end of the Besselmeyer's text communicated anything of the urgency concerning the fate of the Christian church on earth which was exuded by the works of the Magdeburg publicists.

Several conclusions may be drawn from Besselmeyer's revisions which will be useful in examining later references to the sixteenth-century siege. First, it is clear that the narrative of the siege was a sensitive matter, which had to be presented carefully because the reputation of the town itself was at issue. Magdeburg's victory must be explained in a manner which advertised internal

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[34] On the problem of finding a model for accounts of war, particularly among unpractised writers, see Mortimer, *Perceptions of the Thirty Years War*, 35.

harmony and unity, a theme which will recur in the histories examined here and which had been considered since antiquity a precondition for surviving a siege.[35] The town's reputation must be defended without encroaching too much on the reputations of other powers, particularly where present or potential allies were in question. Finally, it appears that some attention was paid to the transmission of the precise understanding of the legitimate influence of the clergy in a town under attack: this appears in Besselmeyer's second account as manifested in the *Magdeburg Confession*, and creates a connection between the uncontextualised hostility to the papacy and the vaguely expressed discussion of the theological debate. Besselmeyer's second version of his history comes much closer to the motivations defended by the authorities throughout the siege, and very much in favour in Elias Pomarius's history of 1622: that the besieged community knowingly, harmoniously and under the guidance of its clergy, defended the survival of the true Lutheran faith on earth.

Revision however was not replacement: as demonstrated in the publishing history given above, both versions of Besselmeyer's history were reprinted, while later local historians drew on Besselmeyer. Elias Pomarius referred in 1622 in his preface to Friedrich Hortleder's compilation, which had brought the Basel version

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35 Aineias the Tactician, *How to survive under siege*, translated and edited by David Whitehead (Oxford, 1990), 116-7.

to the German market, as a work likely to be known to his readers.[36] Alongside Merckel's and Johann Pomarius's accounts, the two versions of Besselmeyer's history remained as works which Elias Pomarius must seek to supersede. Neither of these later accounts could compare with Besselmeyer's in the number of editions produced, although Merckel's 1587 history too was reprinted by Hortleder.[37]

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[36] Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg*, [(:)(:)4].

[37] Heinrich Merckel, *Warhafftiger/ aussführlicher und gründlicher Bericht/ von der Alten Statt Magdeburg Belagerung*, reproduced in Friedrich Hortleder, *Handlungen und Ausschreiben von den Ursachen des teutschen Krieges* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1617-18), 945-97

2.2 Johann Pomarius's Chronicle History (1587)

Johann Pomarius's account was is in fact part of his chronicle history of Magdeburg, and like Merckel's work was published in 1587.[38] The two histories of the siege produced in 1587 have in common that they dedicated some space to attenuating claims that Magdeburg stood alone in 1550 and 1551. As well as recounting the arrival of aid from Braunschweig,[39] Pomarius explained without rancour that other towns were prevented from helping in the town's defence and had to contribute to the costs of the besieging army. This was the case, he noted, even with Magdeburg's co-religionists: an observation which could have been framed as a reproach, but which is used only to observe that these powers contributed to hostilities against Magdeburg 'unwillingly' and 'under imperial coercion'.[40]

Pomarius's chronicle form produced, for other periods in Magdeburg's history, a few entries yearly, but for the years of the siege swelled to recount several events for each month. The form in which the history was presented did not prevent him from drawing certain messages from the information presented, but with a focus appropriate to the chronicle form, he drew the reader's attention to

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38 Johann Pomarius, *Summarischer Begriff Der Magdeburische Stadt Chronicken* darinne angezeigt wird/ wenn dieselbige Stadt ohngefehr zu bawen angefangen... (Magdeburg, 1587)

39 Johann Pomarius, *Summarischer Begriff*, Vii.

40 'sonderlich die Stedte/ und die den Magdeburgischen mit gleicher Religion verwand/ legten ungern/ sie mustens aber thun aus zwange des Keysers'. Johann Pomarius, *Summarischer Begriff*, Ee.

patterns in divine and secular history. Magdeburg's forces had twice been defeated in battle at the same location on St Maurice's day, in 1350 and in 1550, he noted, confirming that God's divine plan may be observed in the cycles of history.[41] While he appears to have taken for granted his reader's understanding that the siege of 1550 and 1551 was fought in the cause of religion, he did not attempt to explain its function in divine history.

Johann Pomarius had elsewhere exploited the precedent in divine history of the besieged town as a community faced with the choice of following God and surviving, or turning away from Him and perishing. He had explored this dilemma in the context of sixteenth-century history in his homiletic treatment of the siege and destruction of Jerusalem, part of a work explicitly designed to teach, console, remind and warn.[42] His *Postilla*, expositions of scripture arranged in the order of the readings in Magdeburg's churches, would have had a particularly wide audience because of its potential to be used by other clergy in preparing their services. The destruction of Jerusalem was presented in this work and elsewhere to sixteenth-century Magdeburg as a warning from God for all time of the

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41 Johann Pomarius, *Summarischer Begriff*, Viii(v).

42 Johann Pomarius, *Das ander Theil der Postilla/Darin / was aus einem jeden Sontags Evangelio von Trinitatis an bis auff den Advent/ benebenst desselben Occasion und Summa/ fürnemlich für Lehren/ Trost/ Erinnerungen und Warnungen zu mercken/ auffs kuertze angezeit/ in gewisse Fragen und Antwort gefasset ist* (Magdeburg, 1585), 195-7.

consequence of sin, 'a manifest warning unsurpassed in the terror which it inspires of the terrible anger of God at sin'.[43]

Even in this context, however, instead of introducing Magdeburg's survival as proof of godliness as Besselmeyer had done, Johann Pomarius referred in his *Postilla* to the events of forty years ago, presumably the early reversals of the Schmalkaldic wars and the announcement in 1544 of the organisation of the Council of Trent, as proof that the godly community had despite Luther's message failed to repent, shown itself wanting and thus in some way suffered a fate analogous to Jerusalem's.[44] This reflects a general tendency on the use of first-century Jerusalem as an exemplar during the period: it is presented as a symbol of choice and as an instance of disaster,[45] an opportunity to attribute defeat to punishment for sin, but even in the case of a victory like Magdeburg's which could be attributed to God's blessing on a town which fought for Him, there is no tendency to congratulate a people of avoiding Jerusalem's fate. The punishment from God of which the authors of the *Magdeburg Confession* admonished even the highest authorities remains the focus in a clerical account even in victory, a perspective which in Johann Pomarius's successors would offer numerous opportunities for social commentary.

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43 'Ein augenscheinlich auch aller schrecklichst Zeichen ... Göttlichs grausamsten Zorn uber die Sünde'. Georg Wolff (ed. and trans.), *Josippus. Ein Kurtzer Ausszug und Begriff Josephi/ des Hochberümbten Geschichtschreibers/ von allem so sich furnemlich mit den Juden zugetragen/ von der Maccabeer zeit an/ biss zur entlichen Zerstörung Hierusalems/ vnd ganzen Jüdischen reichs/ allen Christlichen Hausvetern/ auch armen Pfarrherrn zu gut ins Teutsch bracht* (Magdeburg, 1561), Aii.

44 Johann Pomarius, *Das ander Theil der Postilla*, 196.

45 See Chapter 5, below.

Both an inclination to underplay Magdeburg's triumph and the constraints of the chronicle form can thus account for Pomarius's divergence from Besselmeyer in his interpretation of the siege. If a clerical perspective imposed limitations on commentary on the success of the 'godly town', Elias Pomarius's later complaints about his brother's failure to take the Lutheran Reformation as his starting point demonstrate that there was nonetheless more use to be drawn from the exemplar of the sixteenth century siege. Pomarius's complaint does not imply that the Lutheran Reformation is omitted from the chronicle: the siege is simply not explicitly connected with the Reformation. Johann Pomarius provided his brother with a useful day-to-day account from which to exploit the potential of Magdeburg's history in communicating certain messages to his contemporaries, but the omission of the Reformation had certain legal implications, as evidenced in the first official history of the siege, by Heinrich Merckel.

2.3 'Not a historian's place to judge'.[46] Heinrich Merckel's History (1587)

Heinrich Merckel had been Magdeburg's town scribe and diplomatic representative during the sixteenth-century siege,[47] and his diplomatic concerns were very much in evidence in his account of these events. His can be called an official history because he wrote, he claimed, at the request of the town council of the *Altstadt*, to which the history was dedicated.[48] Merckel claimed that it was not a historian's task to judge, and not within his own capabilities to do so.[49] He nonetheless produced a work of parts: an extended history, centring on the siege, of the search for a diplomatic solution to the Lutheran Reformation; a discussion of the reactions of outsiders and some reflection on whether these responses were justified; and a section reproducing the considerations of David Laurentius, preacher at St Ulrich's in Magdeburg from 1579,[50] on the 'Uses of the Siege of Magdeburg for the town of Magdeburg and for all pious Christians'.[51]

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46 '... wiewol es keines Historici ist iudicare', Merckel, *Bericht/ von der Alten Statt Magdeburg Belagerung*, 993.

47 See Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation*, 96-7.

48 Merckel, *Bericht/ von der Alten Statt Magdeburg Belagerung*, 945-6.

49 '... wiewol es keines Historici ist iudicare, sed tantum narrare, ich mich auch viel zu wenig darzu erkenne'. Merckel, *Bericht/ von der Alten Statt Magdeburg Belagerung*, 993.

50 His career is recalled in a memorial publication: Aaron Burckhart, *ValetGeschenck und Ehrenpraelent. Womit Der weyland Ehrwürdiger/ Achtbar/ und Hochgelarter/ Herr M. David Laurentii ... Bey seiner Sepultur und ansehnlicher Leichbestattung geschehen ... Im Jahr In spe atq VesILentIo saLVs & fortIt VDoMea* (Magdeburg, 1619).

51 'Gebrauch der Magdeburgischen Belagerung/ für die Statt Magdeburg/ und alle fromme Christen'. Merckel, *Bericht/ von der Alten Statt Magdeburg Belagerung*, 947-9.

Elias Pomarias was correct to observe that Merckel did not dwell much on the town's experience of war: his main account covered events and negotiations outside the town, and mostly prior to the siege.[52] He extended his narrative, however, as far as 1580, with the aim of demonstrating that any claims made on the *Altstadt*'s independence by electoral Saxony, electoral Brandenburg or the Cathedral chapter as a result of the town's formal submission to Maurice of Saxony had been, through the grace of God, renounced by these powers through the treaty of Eisleben.[53] Merckel thus marked as the climax to his narrative the regularisation of the *Altstadt*'s relationship with the Cathedral chapter. This body, formerly composed of canons from the noble families holding land in the archdiocese, had evolved into a Lutheran institution as Catholic members converted, or died and were replaced by Lutherans: from 1567, it resided in Magdeburg and oversaw the administration of the Lutheran Cathedral.[54] By bringing his account this far, Merckel emphasised not only the freedoms of the *Altstadt*, but also the acceptance throughout greater Magdeburg of Lutheran reform, so that the manifestation of divine favour with which the siege and its political consequences 'ended' for Merckel, is also the gift of the Reformation: a perspective which explains Elias Pomarius's approval.

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52 Merckel, *Bericht/ von der Alten Statt Magdeburg Belagerung*, 949-78.

53 Merckel, *Bericht/ von der Alten Statt Magdeburg Belagerung*, 990; See Wolter, *Geschichte der Stadt Magdeburg*, 167.

54 On the Magdeburg Cathedral chapter in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries see Cornelia Niekus Moore, *Patterned Lives: The Lutheran Funeral Biography in Early Modern Germany* (Wiesbaden, 2006), 135.

Merckel then turned his attention to Magdeburg's reputation. His starting point was similar to Besselmeyer's unrevised reflections on the significance of the war: he cited Sleidan to demonstrate that Magdeburg had won great renown because she had resisted alone among the German estates. [55] He added that it was at Magdeburg that the plans of Charles V for imperial religious reform had gone awry. Merckel introduced this point less to congratulate the inhabitants of Magdeburg, who were not mentioned at this stage of his discussion, than because he was concerned that the end of Magdeburg's war by conventional means has been the beginning of a war with enemies who besmirched her reputation. Those who had previously conspired against the town, he claimed without naming such powers, now wished to accuse her of disloyalty to the Emperor.[56] However reluctant he was to move from narrative to judgement, it must be asserted that all difficulties with the Emperor arose out of two facts only: first, that Magdeburg had been allied in 1547 with Electoral Saxony and other Protestant powers, and second that all of the town's inhabitants had found it impossible to countenance the acceptance of the Interim agreement.[57] Echoing here the grounds on which the town council had sought to argue from 1548 that its actions should not be understood as rebellion against the Emperor,[58] Merckel implicitly refuted the claims settled only with the Treaty of Eisleben that Magdeburg could be said to deserve a more punitive settlement. His progress from 'history' to 'judgement' is the completion of the task which the town council must have required of him in

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55 Merckel, *Bericht/ von der Alten Statt Magdeburg Belagerung*, 991.
56 Merckel, *Bericht/ von der Alten Stadt Magdeburg Belagerung*, 991.
57 Merckel, *Bericht von der Alten Stadt Magdeburg Belagerung*, 993.
58 See chapter 1.

1587: an assertion of the privileges of the *Altstadt* as they stood at the end of the siege, demonstrated by both diplomatic record and moral claim.

The assertion of moral superiority over other Protestant estates, potentially problematic as shown by Besselmeyer's revisons, thus served an important purpose for Merckel. There were also tendencies Merckel's history which would counteract any appearance of denigration of other powers here. Electoral Saxony as represented by Magdeburg's ally in 1547, the deposed Electoral Prince Johann Friedrich, blends seamlessly in his history with the Electoral Saxony of the Treaty of Eisleben. Moritz's claim to the Electorship is not disputed. As observed by Kaufmann, Merckel downplayed the division with Melanchthon and the Wittenberg theologians in his history.[59] Apart from Magdeburg's settlement with Electoral Saxony in 1580, this may have reflected a wish to avoid incitement of theological controversy; Magdeburg had recently had difficulties in embracing Lutheran orthodoxy as expressed in the Formula of Concordance, which aimed to establish agreement among Lutherans on the 'disputed articles' of the Confession of Augsburg, which it had refused to sign in 1580.[60]

Merckel's report on the printed debate over the 'Interim agreement' preserves Magdeburg's claim to fame even while, in its selectivity, bypassing the

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[59] Kaufmann, *Ende der Reformation*, 96-7.

[60] See Heinrich Richard Schmidt, *Konfessionalisierung im 16. Jahrhundert* (Oldenbourg, 1992), 13; On Magdeburg's objections, Ernst Koch; Herbert J. A. Bouman 'Striving for the Union of Lutheran Churches: The Church-Historical Background of the Work Done on the Formula of Concord at Magdeburg', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 1977 (8/4), 105-122.

dispute between Lutherans over the 'Leipzig Interim', and pointing to the involvement of writers beyond the town: 'because at this time all printing presses were put out of use, and everybody terrified because of the publication of the "Interim", it was only in Magdeburg that it was permitted to print publicly, and [to print] not only that, which was written there, but also that which other good people sent in to the town, so that some glorified the town at that time as the Lord God's Chancery …'.[61]

Although he presented the siege and its historical context as the struggle for legally endorsed Reformation, Merckel's account of the 'Interim dispute', like Besselmeyer's unrevised version especially, could be seen to deny the clergy and theologians their place in the account of the siege. He does however grant to the town's preachers a role similar to one of their functions in Besselmeyer's revised version: they succeeded in maintaining unity in the besieged community. That the function of the clergy rather than the specific actions recorded is the main point here is reflected by the shift in the object of the clergy's ministration, in this case they mediated between the townspeople and their hired soldiers. Merckel echoed Besselmeyer too when he evoked the harmony and good management which resulted in the poor in the town suffering no necessity during the siege. He does admit to some 'mutiny' in Magdeburg during the siege, but accounts for it on the

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61 'Und die weil dasmahl alle Druckereyen fast geleget/ und jedermann wegen des publicierten Interims, erschrocken/ so ist allein zu Magdeburg der Druck offentlich vergünt worden/ und nicht allein zu dem/ was daselbst geschrieben/ sondern was von andern guten leuten dahin geschicket/ daher dasmal etliche die Statt unsers HERRN Gottes Cantzley gerühmet …'. Merckel, *Bericht von der Alten Stadt Magdeburg Belagerung*, 993.

basis 'among such crowds of people, one will always find those who will stir up mutiny'.[62]

Elucidation of the exemplary significance of Magdeburg's siege to the town and to a wider audience, meanwhile, was left by Merckel to a clergyman of the town. David Laurentius's verses glorified Magdeburg as a Virgin still inviolate, with Christ as her bridegroom, an image inspired by the town's 'speaking' shield (appendix 1), which showed a victorious Maid (Magd) in virginal green on a Burg (fortress), but which also corresponded exactly with a popular representation of the Lutheran (earlier of the Christian) church.[63] This association drew on verses by Erasmus Alber published in shortly after the sixteenth-century siege as an explanation of the town's shield, and inserted by Merckel after his discussion of the town's reputation.[64] Magdeburg, Laurentius claimed, combining a number of scriptural and devotional references which would have been extremely familiar to his Lutheran audience, had been 'plunged into deep need'[65] by God. The town had experienced and could teach to others that 'God himself says, when you are in need

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62 'Die armen Leute/ in und auss den Vorstätten/ dern in die 6000 gewesen/ haben auch keine Noht gelitten ... Zwischen Bürgern und Kriegsvolck/ ist gute Einigkeit gewesen/ darzu die Prediger auch viel geholffen. Jedoch ist es nicht gar ohne Meuterey abgangen/ wie man allezeit unter solchem Hauffen Meutmacher findet'. Merckel, *Bericht von der Alten Stadt Magdeburg Belagerung*, 997.

63 This is the image of the Christian church presented by Luther in his *Freedom of a Christian Man* (1520).

64 'Meydeburg die heilige werde Stadt/ Ein Jungfraw fur ein waffen hat. Bedeut die heilige Christenheit....'. Erasmus Alber, *Meydeburg die heilige werde Stadt* (Broadsheet, [Hamburg, c. 1552?]), cited by Merckel, *Bericht von der Alten Stadt Magdeburg Belagerung*, 992.

65 Laurentius, like Gustavus Adolphus in 1631, uses the terminology of Luther's very popular translation of Psalm 130, *De profundis,* used in the hymn 'Aus tieffer Noth', which was a favourite at Lutheran funerals. See Martin Luther, *Liturgy and Hymns*, edited by Ulrich S. Leupold (Philadelphia, 1973), 122.

and surrounded about with death,[66] then call to me with sincerity and trust that I can help you. Then I will rescue you,[67] in order that you may praise me forever'.[68]

Merckel's history then reflects cooperation between town council and church, while leaving each its separate function. Merckel, except where the town's reputation and diplomatic security requires it, does not give a judgement on the significance of the siege: neither does he enter into the details of the Interim disputes. He does however recognise that the siege should be understood to have religious significance, and passes the task of communicating this significance to Laurentius, who chooses to emphasise the need in which the town stood in order to emphasise God's goodness. The 'use' of the siege, for Laurentius, the message which the Christian reader should draw from Merckel's narrative, is not to reflect on the town's religious dilemma in the mid-sixteenth century, or to dwell on or justify the causes of its disobedience to the emperor. It is instead a much more general message which could be drawn from any manner of misfortune, that rescue

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66 Resonant in the German of Luther's translation of the *media vita*: a hymn which reminded those 'in the midst of life' that death surrounded them. Wackernagel lists eleven variants on the German translation. The structure and rhymes, alike in the eleven variants which Wackernagel lists in German translation, were established by 1514. Nine years later, Luther produced his version, with two verses added. Carl Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts.* (5 vols, Leipzig, 1864-77) iii. 10-12.

67 A paraphrase of Psalm 37:40: In Luther's translation: 'Und der HERR wird ihnen beistehen und wird sie erretten; er wird sie von dem Gottlosen erretten und ihnen helfen; denn sie trauen auf ihn'.

68 'Gott spricht selbr: Wann du bist in noht/ Und rings umbgeben mit dem Todt/ So ruff du mich nur ernstlich an/ Und traw dass ich dir helffen kan/ so will ich so erretten dich/ Dass du solt ewig preisen mich.../ Diss lehret Magdeburg die Statt/ die solchs als wol erfahren hat/ Gott senckt sie gar in tieffe Noht...', David Laurentius, 'Gebrauch der Magdeburgischen Belagerung/ für die Statt Magdeburg/ und alle fromme Christen', in Merckel, *Bericht von der Alten Stadt Magdeburg Belagerung*, 947-9, here 947.

from great need comes from God if those in need keep faith. The counterpart to the frequent portrayal of suffering and war as the punishment of God is the consolation that faith in Him can avert disaster. Laurentius's message is a conventional one, generalising from the siege to experience of hardship. While the clergy are by no means central to Merckel's account, he gives the contemporary clergy of the *Altstadt* what is due to their office by inserting this interpretation of the siege.

Certain conclusions can be drawn from these three locally written histories of the siege which Elias Pomarius had to hand in 1622. Johann Pomarius, Heinrich Merckel, and David Laurentius all wrote from positions of authority within the town, whereas Besselmeyer, though merely a citizen, is likely to have revised his offering in the context of a tightening control over print by the town's authorities in 1552. For this reason, it is possible to identify features which comprise an understanding of the siege acceptable to Magdeburg's authorities. The three accounts have in common an avoidance of the details of theological controversy: in Besselmeyer's case apparently through inability to reproduce the details, but for Johann Pomarius and Heinrich Merckel more probably through conscious selection of material. This has the effect of minimising the casting of aspersions on other towns, among them Magdeburg's allies, which is also the direction of some of Besselmeyer's revisions.

While the theological debate is not emphasised, the role of the clergy in exercising their office of admonition and mediation within the town is a concern. This is an aspect of an assumption that the town's survival reflects in some way on the behaviour of its population, which leads to an analysis of the causes of victory which underplays the effect of external events. This approach would appear to leave the way open for discussion of the extraordinary character of the siege as a fight for the survival of Lutheranism, but this aspect is emphasised primarily to avoid the charge of rebellion against the emperor. Besselmeyer, who is least informative here, in any case presents the conflict as a struggle between town and prince, so that rebellion against imperial authority is not in question for him.

The qualities which enabled the town to survive are therefore for the most part reduced to stock virtues of faith in God and unity, so that the story of Magdeburg's struggle can be instrumentalised to explain the correct response to hardship, even while certain aspects of the town's experience are suppressed, as will be demonstrated with regard to Elias Pomarius's account in the next section. Concern with the town's reputation informs Merckel's account in particular and does reflect genuine external interest in the town's response to its dilemma, as discussed in Chapter 1. However, this concern is counterbalanced by the danger of theological controversy, care for the reaction of the town's current allies, and some reluctance to encourage complacency among a population which must be reminded of its sinfulness and need to repent. None of the aims which these authors admit to in undertaking their works accommodate an account which seeks to represent

Magdeburg's sixteenth-century siege either as a crisis perceived by those present in the town as uniquely threatening, or a scrutiny of the internal workings of the town under siege. Elias Pomarius's 1622 history was however to bring a change in this pattern.

2.4 'Reopening old wounds'? Elias Pomarius's History (1622)[69]

Like Heinrich Merckel, Elias Pomarius introduced his as an official history of the siege: not only finding fault with the earlier accounts discussed above, but also recalling how 'the honourable town council had desired under seal on 6th February 1605 that our Ministry might print ... alongside our church order... the history of the siege of our town... which I have considered it my duty to prepare'.[70] This seems to be the origin of the 'special privilege' under which, according to the titlepage, the work was published. Because it concerns the history and polity of the town, and because of this privilege, he dedicates it to all the citizens of the *Altstadt* and their governing authorities.[71] Elias Pomarius made the rather tenuous claim that this history might be considered an eyewitness account on the basis that he himself was born during the siege;[72] that he had relied for much of his information on a list of named members, past and present, of the town council;[73] and that he

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[69] '... mir könne fürgeworffen werden/ das ich durch solche Edition ... die alten wunden ernewern wolte'. Elias Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg*, (:)3.

[70] 'So habe ich auch mich des begehren erinnert, welches ein Ehrenvester Rath sub sigillo & dato 6. Februarij anno 1605 an unser Ministerium hat abgehen lassen/ das Nemblich beneben unserer Kirchordnung ... auch die Historia Obsidionis nostrae Civitatis durch den Druck auffs newe an den tag gegeben werden möchte/ welchem ... zu pariren ich mich schuldig erkandt habe'. Elias Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg*, (:)m(v)[=(:)(:)(v)].

[71] Elias Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg*, [(:)(:)2(v)]

[72] Elias Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg*, (:)2 [=(:)(:)2]

[73] Caspar and Johann Martin Alemann, Cämmerer Petrus Tylaeus and all three departed Herrn Cämmerer Stephani Olvenstedten and Ascanius Luteroths had been consulted, and Burgermeistern Friederich Moritz and Siegmund Hessen also contributed through chief town scribe Herr Johann Salig. Elias Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche*

had relied particularly on the memories and legacy of his father, Johann Pomarius the elder, Pastor of Magdeburg's Church of the Holy Spirit and Scholarch,[74] who was 'spectator und Auditor' of the events in question and who 'with great industry and with his own hand co-signed all of the items which circulated daily and even hourly at that time', documents which Elias Pomarius had now to hand.[75]

The form of the work reflects these sources: *the Siege of Magdeburg which lasted more than a year* is far longer than any of the earlier works discussed so far, running to 486 pages in this, its only edition. Much of its bulk consists of reproduced documents from the time of the siege: a strategy which Merckel too had used, but only sparingly. Pomarius attaches these documents to a structure which, as he explains in his introduction, is based on the chronicle of his brother Johann.[76] Proceeding in chronological order, he produces a history which, like those scrutinised above, emphasises the local, and which stretches, according to his recommendation, from the Reformation to what could be considered a local religious settlement, the lifting of the imperial ban in 1562. His history thus ends with Magdeburg 'returned again from a state without peace into peace, and taken

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unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg, [(:)(:)2(v)]-(:)[=(:)(:)(:)(v)]

74 In Magdeburg, one of a council of two clergymen and two members of the town council responsible who acted as visitors to the *Altstadt Gymnasium*.

75 'Es ist... mein seliger Vater ... spectator und Auditor gewesen/ hat auch alles/ was damals täglich und fast stündlich hin und wieder fürgelauffen/ mit eigner handt vffs fleissigste consigniret/ welche schrifftliche vorzeichnis von seinem S. todt an biß auff diese stude ich bey mire verwahret behalten...'. Elias Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg*, (:)3 [=(:)(:)3].

76 Elias Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg*, [(:)(:)2(v)].

into the grace of [the Emperor] and the [Holy Roman Empire],[77] an ending which accords well with the hope expressed in the preface that Magdeburg will continue in the good graces of an Emperor who will reign over the town in peace and confirm it in its privileges.[78]

There are certain likenesses to the body of works already discussed. Pomarius finishes his work by summarising the admirable aspects of Magdeburg's record during the siege with reference to Magdeburg's great fame in the eyes of the outside world, even while warning, explicitly in this case, that the behaviour of its present inhabitants might not necessarily be in accordance with this reputation. He endorses the opinion of another chronicler that:

> The town of Magdeburg won her eternal Fame and Glory among foreign nations because of her steadfastness and strength, she alone among the whole nation of the German people having dared to defy the power of the mightiful and victory-crowned Emperor and the whole force im arms of the Holy Roman Empire ... and as the Electoral Prince [Johann Friedrich of Saxony] and the Landtgrave [of Hesse] led the way amongst German princes, so the town of Magdeburg led other towns in steadfastness and witness to the truth,[79]

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77 'auss dem unfrieden wieder umb in den frieden gesetzet/ und in unser und des H. Reichs gnade... auffgenomen...'. Elias Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg*, 458.

78 Elias Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg*, (:)m[=(:)(:)].

79 'Die Stadt Magdeburg hat ihr ewigen Ruhm und lob bey fremden Völckern eingeleget jhrer bestendigkeit unnd stercke halben/ die sich alleine in gantzer deutschen Nation wieder so gewaltigen/ Sieghafftigen Grossmechtigen Keyser und wieder das gantzen Röm: Reichs Waffen hat aufflehnen dürfen ... und wie unter den deutschen Fürstn der Churfürst und Landtgraff/ also ist die Stadt Magdeburg in Bestendigkeit und Bekentniss der Warheit allen Städten in deutscher Nation vorgegangen'. Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg*, 458.

but he followed this immediately with a warning to contemporary Magdeburgers against 'grasping ambition, hatred and division'.[80] He went to some lengths to explain the Interim dispute to an untutored readership, touching on the Adiaphorist controversy as well as the original attempt at a religious settlement. Nonetheless he avoided reproducing for a general audience documents which discuss the theological specifics, preferring to bring proof of the insidiousness of the Interim by describing attitudes of clergy and the common man towards it.[81] There were however three major elements which distinguished Pomarius's approach, and which as can be seen from Pomarius's presentation could not be entirely explained by the additional space or by the particular selection of sources he had at his disposal. It can be said of Pomarius's history as it cannot be said of the others examined that he recalls the siege as an extraordinary event. He restored to the clergy a substantial role in admonition, he discussed mutiny and division as the results of policy failings; and he emphasised, particularly in his preface, the terrible danger in which Magdeburg stood in 1550 and 1551.

Pomarius's history reintroduced to the narrative of the siege the subject of the town's clergy formally admonishing secular authority, and provided several illustrations. The *Magdeburg Confession* itself was not reproduced, but some space was given to the admonition of Georg von Mecklenburg, who, imprisoned in Magdeburg, was delivered 'not a consolatory sermon but a sermon to inculcate

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80 'Eigen Nutz/ Hass und Zweitracht'. Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg,* 459.

81 Elias Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg*, 65-75.

fear'.[82] Pomarius reproduced the Magdeburg clergy's response to Moritz of Saxony, spoken on their behalf by Lucas Rosenthal of St John's Church, which was very much in the tradition of the *Magdeburg Confession*: '... on the last day... it will become clear who has been stood firm by God's Word, and who has not...'.[83] Also described were two occasions on which the town council itself was subject to admonition. One was the period in 1551 during which it was considering a pragmatic and largely symbolic submission to Moritz of Saxony. Pomarius reproduced a statement which Magdeburg's clergy delivered to the town council an admonition concerning the general sinfulness of humanity and the sin into which they might fall by agreeing to any capitulation which would place the Word of God at risk:

> 'it has been decided, to admonish the members of the honourable town council to repentance, to prayer, to patience and to steadfastness, and to place the dangers [facing us] in the hands of God the Almighty, as Moses did at the red sea, and to be on our guard that we do not fall but instead stand firm: God can well help, and even if this means a miserable outcome for us, we must nonetheless not fall [but think instead of a heavenly reward]'.[84]

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82 '... nicht eine Trost sondern eine Schreckpredigt'. Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg*, 274-5, here 275.

83 '... am Jüngsten tage ... wirdts ... offenbaahr werden/ wer bey Gottes Worts bestendig oder nicht geblieben...'. 'Antwort der Pfarherrn und Prediger die sie auff solch anbringen der Chufürstlichen Räthen gethan haben', reproduced in Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg*, 427-34, here 434.

84 'Ist geschlossen/ einen E Rath zur Busse/ zum gebete/ zur gedult und bestendigkeit zuvermhanen und GOtt dem Allmechtigen die gefehrligkeit befehlen/ wie Moyses am rothen Meer/ und uns hütten/ das wir nicht fallen/ sondern bestehen/ GOtt kan wol helffen/ unnd ob wir wol drubm ins elendt müsten/ dennocht nicht fallen/...'. Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg*, 377.

This was a relatively mild and general reflection on the danger of sin and the need for repentance affecting all humanity, but the second instance relayed by Pomerius of clerical rebuke to the town council went much further. Leaving aside the image of a unified town, Pomarius enlarged in the course of his history upon three instances of internal division.[85] He dealt at greatest length with 'a mutiny amongst Magdeburg's soldiers' in March 1551.[86] Abandoning Merckel's reasoning that such disturbances arose simply because a certain proportion of instigators of mutiny were always to be found, he described the town clergy's reaction to the crisis:

> Magdeburg's Pastors agreed unanimously that it would be useful to offer consolation concerning the mutiny, concerning which many were alarmed, and came to the town hall between 6 and 7 o' clock with [Flacius] Illyricus/ and delivered their Christian consolation ...Lucas Rosenthal, Pastor of St John's Church, spoke for them ... [saying] such misfortune came about on account of our sins, because no-one embraced repentance, and certain members of the town council were pointed out, who stayed away from sermons and from the administration of the sacrament. Indeed, there were even some who were under the ban and nonetheless sat in the town council/ [and he] admonished them to penitance and good order ... . A warning was given moreover, that in order to prevent mutiny, it was necessary that the soldiers should receive their wages in good time'.[87]

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[85] Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg*, 308-312; 392[=391]-393; 398.

[86] 'Eine Meuterey unter dem Kriegsvolck zu Magdeburg'. Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg*, 308.

[87] '[Es] würden die Pfarrern zu Magdeburgk der Sachen eins/ das es nütz und nötig sein würde/ von wegen der Meuterey/ darob gar mancher sich entsetzet/ zu trösten/ unnd kamen mit Jllyrico zu abens zwieschen 6 unnd 7 Uhren uffs Rathhauss/ unnd brachten jhren Christlichen trost ... das wort hat Herr Lucas Rosentha/ Pfarrer zu S. Johannis gehalten ... solches ubel alles herkomme von unserer Suenden wegen/ das niemand Busse thut/ unnd sein sonderlich Rathspersohnen angezeiget/ die sich der Praedigt und Sacrament enthieldten. Ja so eins theils im Banne wehren und dennoch im rathe sessn/ hat zur Busse unnd guter Ordung vermahnet ... Uber das sind Warnungne geschehen/ hinfür der

Pomarius thus communicated to the Magdeburgers of 1622 the details of an occasion on which the town had suffered for its town council's sins and mismanagement, as well as asserting through the report the right of the town clergy publicly to admonish such behaviour. It is worth noting that Pomarius departed from his usual practice here, and provided a paraphrase in indirect speech instead of quoting. He may not have had a fuller version of the sermon available to him, although on the other occasion when he reports that Rosenthal spoke for the clergy, he seems from Pomarius's ability to reproduce the documents in question to have done so to a script either agreed in advance or noted and preserved word-for-word afterwards. What is certain is that, either possessing only a paraphrase or having decided to paraphrase the original source, Pomarius had the freedom to reduce this text much further. This must be seen as the conscious emphasis of the spiritual authority of the clergy at the expense of the reputation of Magdeburg's sixteenth-century council.

The third distinguishing element in Elias Pomarius's work is the extreme emphasis he places on the danger in which the town stood in 1550 and 1551. This is manifested in the quite clumsy title he gave his history: it is a report on *the Siege of Magdeburg which lasted more than a year.* His recollection of the siege as an

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Meuterey fürzukom(-)en/ das man dem Kriegsvolck zu rechter zeit jhre besoldung gebe'. Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg*, 310.

event which had lasted one year and seven weeks, and his connection of this duration with the (relatively mild) sufferings of the town is a passage which shows his use of Johann Pomarius, although each presented the facts here in a different light. Johann had recalled that

> This siege of the town of Magdeburg lasted a year and seven weeks... In the battle at Hildensleben there were killed 1400 peasants and 163 citizens, with 240 citizens and 60 of the infantry taken prisoner. In the course of the siege the soldiers fighting for the town lost not more than 273; it is not known how many were imprisoned. It is estimated that the enemy lost 4000 before the town walls.[88]

Elias Pomarius inserted this information almost verbatim in his history, but separated the two elements. His preface dwelled on the fact that a siege which lasted 'only one year and seven weeks' could nonetheless in some ways by compared with the ten-year siege of Troy.[89] Later in the history he nonetheless reproduced his brother's words on the numbers killed and imprisoned in two passages placed in close proximity to one another, and with the same emphases on relatively few deaths among Magdeburg's citizens, as opposed to the town's enemy, for the whole duration of the siege.[90] The manner is which Pomarius

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88 'Diese Belagerung der Stadt Magdeburgk/ hat geweret ein Jar und sieben wochen... In der Schlacht ...bey Hildensleuen sein umbkommen unsers theils in die 1400 Bawren/ 163 Buerger/ 240 Buerger und 60 Landnknechte sein gefangen ... Die gantze Belagerung uber seind von der Stadt knechten auff allen scharmuetzeln umkomen/ zwey hundert und drey und siebenzig/ und nicht mehr/ die zal der gefangen ist unwissentlich was von den Feinden vor der stadt umbkomen ist/ achtet man auf die 4000...'. Johann Pomarius, *Summarischer Begriff*, Ggii.

89 '... nur ein jahr und sieben wochen'. Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg* (:)3.

90 'In der Schlacht für Hildeßleben sein umbkomen unsers theils in die 1400. Bawren 163. Bürger 240. Bürger und 60. Landesknechte sein gefangen... Die ganze Belagerun uber sien von der Stadtknechten oder Soldaten auff allen Scharmützeln umbkommen/ Zweyhundert und drey und siebentzig die zahl die gefangenen ist unwissentlich/ was von den Feinden vor der Stadt umbkommen/ achtet man auff die 4000'.

approached his task, breaking up his brother's chronicle with various documents, creates certain inconsistencies in tone. Here, there is an opportunity to examine how in his preface, Pomarius sought to undermine any suggestion transmitted by earlier historians or suggested by emphasis on the glorious and god-given victory that Magdeburg's danger had not been intense. He replaces Laurentius's references to hardship with an insistance that Magdeburg faced a specific threat of military annihilation.

The preface, which is dated 4th March 1622, shows signs of having been composed and printed relatively quickly: it refers to events in Magdeburg on 19th and 21st February of that year, and the folio notation in this part of the exemplar I have examined is sufficiently confused to suggest that printer Johann Francke may have worked from a number of drafts.[91] Compared with the introductions to the earlier histories of the siege examined, it was extremely defensive. Pomarius anticipated criticism, 'but if anyone should wish to accuse me of... opening old wounds and giving grounds to new difficulties, I answer that I did not have any the slightest intention of doing such a thing, and make solemn protestation that I presented [the documents included in the history] to demonstrate and bring proof that this town was surrounded and embattled not in any way on account of

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Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg*, 436-7.

[91] Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg*, (:)[=(:)(:)4]. The book is in quarto format, so that the preface should proceed (:)2-[(:)(:)(:)4]. Instead, the leaves are marked: [unmarked], (:), (:)3, [unmarked], (:)m, (:)2, (:)3, [unmarked], (:), [unmarked], (:)3, [unmarked]. There are minor errors in the pagination of the main body of the work, with a missing page 362 and a recovery with two pages 393, but nothing comparable to the confusion in the preface. The volume is Cambridge University Library, Acton.d.13.163.

rebellion … but purely and simply in the name of the true religion'.[92] If anyone felt that he had erred, he asked them not to agitate against him with insults and vituperation, but to approach him in person, remembering his great age, and he would make corrections.[93]

The defence of needing to prove that there had been no rebellion is remniscent of Merckel, but in Pomarius's case, it is something which needed to be proved, not only to the other powers of the Empire, but to Magdeburg's people themselves. He capitalised here on the distinction he drew between himself and Merckel: that his was in some way an eyewitness account. Having himself been born on 29th November 1550 he could say that 'it is easy for me to consider how dangerously situated I was at that time'.[94] God had kept his family safe, but from a substantial military threat. Having been at the beginning of the war 'in my mother's womb',[95] he could experience a direct response to the words spoken by Margggrave Albrecht of Brandenburg during the siege, that 'if the town was taken

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92 'Do auch iemands mich wolte beschuldigen/ alß hette ich … die alte Wunden ernewern und zu newer Schwirigkeit anlaß geben wolte demselbem antworte ich/ dz hiedurch solches im geringsten von mir nit gemeintet/ davon ich solenniter protestire, Sondern es ist durch solch mein fürnemen dohin gesehn worden/ dz nur dargethan und erwiesen würde/ dz diese Stad mit nichten der rebellion … sondern einige und allein der waren Religion wegen uberzoge[n] und bekrieget worden sey…'. Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der … Stadt Magdeburg*, [(:)(:)3].

93 Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der … Stadt Magdeburg*, [(:)(:)3-(:)(:)3(v)].

94 'do habe ich leichtlich zugedencken/ wie so gar gefehrlich es zu dem mahl umb mich gestanden'. Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der … Stadt Magdeburg*, (:)2=[(:)(:)2]

95 'Ich aber zu Anfang diese Belagerunge in Mutterleibe gewesen'. Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der … Stadt Magdeburg*, (:)2=[(:)(:)2]

by storm, he would produce such a bloodbath in it as would not spare the child in its mother's womb'.[96]

This threat helps Pomarius to justify as his model (in the preface) for the Magdeburg siege: the siege and sack of Troy as related by Virgil. There was a difference in the duration of the sieges: ten years for Troy, one year and seven weeks for Magdeburg.[97] Because, through the Aeneid, Troy provided an easily replicated founding myth, comparisons with the town and claims to Trojan ancestry for a town's first settlers were common in Medieval and Early modern Europe.[98] Nonetheless, the parallels between the two sieges are not striking, and Pomarius admitted to this. In the case of Troy, 'everyone in the place was killed, and in the end, the town was set on fire, and reduced to ashes'.[99] Pomarius seems still to have needed to drive the comparison between the two further. Unlike his predecessors, with their emphasis on the succouring of the poor, he invited his readers to imagine the sufferings of those widowed and orphaned during the siege.[100] He emphasised the fact that Magdeburg had suffered material losses which affected the town still: to provide these details, he admitted, would certainly stir up bad blood and give

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96 'wo diese Stadt mit gewalt würde erobert werden/ er ein solch Blutbadt drinnen anrichten wolte/ das des Kindes in Mutterleibe nicht geschonet werden solte'. Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg*, (:)2=[(:)(:)2]

97 Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg,* (:), 3.

98 Hartmut Kugler, *Die Vorstellung der Stadt in der Literatur des deutschen Mittelalters*, (Münich, 1986), 9.

99 '... alles was drinnen betroffen/ ermordet unnd die Stadt endtlich angezündet und in die aschen geleget worden'. Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg,* (:)3.

100 Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg*, (:)3(v).

rise to discontent.[101] Because trade was blocked, 'the good town lost its principal trading and commercial endeavours to other places, which in some cases have retained them to this day'.[102] Magdeburg's citizens contributed to the war effort, bringing their jewels and silver to the town council, and the town had incurred debts which the children's children of the generation of 1550 had to pay.[103]

Although Pomarius seemed to anticipate, for reasons which will be discussed in Chapter 3, that the history of the siege as a record of suffering, longterm loss, and mortal danger would cause contention, he drew from this very negative presentation of the event his own duty to comment. As with Laurentius and Besselmeyer, he saw in siege a warning and punishment from God, not only for the Magdeburgers of its time, but also for their descendents.[104] With this example from God, Pomarius asserted, turning abruptly from first-person singular to first-person plural, and thus going from a defence of his actions to a statement embracing his fellow town clergy, it is impossible that 'any truly believing person

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101 Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg*, (:)3(v).

102 'die fürnehme hendel und commercien von dieser guten Stadt abgewendet und an andere örtter/ da theils Se noch itzo sein/ geleget worden...'. Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg*, (:)3(v).

103 '... die Bürgerschafft hat jhre Schätze und kleinodien an silberwerck zu Rathhause bringen/ in abnehmung der nahrung und die Stadt in Schulden/ daran hernachmals Kindes kindt zu ahlen gehabt/ gerathen müssen'. Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg*, (:)3(v).

104 '... die Bürgerschafft hat jhre Schätze und kleinodien an silberwerck zu Rathhause bringen/ in abnehmung der nahrung und die Stadt in Schulden/ daran hernachmals Kindes kindt zu ahlen gehabt/ gerathen müssen'. Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg*, [(:)4].

should place a malicious interpretation on the fact that I or any like me should impress upon the spirits of the parishioners entrusted to us the punishment which this town previously experienced, so that people should take to heart ... what we have to expect in these evil times'.[105]

While the reference to war as punishment for sin is familiar, and the task Pomarius set himself in warning his people on the basis of past misfortune is a conventional one on the basis of the interpretation of war as punishment from God, his approach to the task in his preface is striking. Rather than dwell on the need to repent and have faith that God will save, Pomarius encouraged his readers to imagine themselves in the place of their ancestors, and to be repelled by the thought of their suffering. Echoing Johann Pomarius's reflections on the circular nature of history, he pointed out that Magdeburg's troubles of the sixteenth century developed under Charles V, elected in 1519, while the reign of Ferdinand II, elected 1619, was already troubled by 'disunity, sedition, and devastating war'.[106] Having outlined the terrible fate which Magdeburg risked in 1550, and which, it is implied, could be re-enacted, Pomarius was able to argue that resistance in arms could only take place in very precise circumstances. The 'tumults' which marked the beginning of Magdeburg's Reformation and the anticlerical attacks on the

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105 'So kann es ja von keinem rechtgleubigen Menschen/ weder mir noch meines gleichen ubel gedeutet werden das wir auch unsern anbefohlenen Pfarrkindern solche vorhin uber diese Stadt ergangene Straffe zugemüte führen/ damit mans wohl behertzige ... was uns wohl itziger bösen zeit möge zuerwarten sein'. *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg,* [(:)4(v)].

106 'uneinigkeit, empörung, und schädlich Krieges Wesen'.

cathedral canons had not been a legitimate action: they constituted instead a rush to arms which could not easily be contained.[107]

The closing note of Pomarius's preface is a reflection on other tumults of history: he wrote, he pointed out, on the anniversary of regrettable events in 1420 in Breslau, when Emperor Sigismund had to act against citizens who did violence to their town council.[108] Magdeburg must avoid such divisions, acting as a strong and united house.[109] This was not simply the general admonition to a quality closely associated with survival under siege: the emphasis in the preface was not on survival. Pomarius explained that the events which he reports should act as a particular warning to those tumultuous crowds who had stormed several houses on February 19th and 21st.[110]

The message is reinforced at the end of the history, which Pomarius closed not by presenting Magdeburg as a mirror for other towns, but by providing the city with a litany of faults committed against town councils in other German cities through 'grasping ambition, hatred and division', and warning that Magdeburg

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[107] Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg,* [(:)(:)2(v)]. On these events see Robert W. Scribner, 'Ritual and Reformation', 103-106; Pomarias, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg,* 1-3.

[108] Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg,* (:) =[(:)(:)(:)]

[109] Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg,* [(:)(:)(:)3(v)]

[110] Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg,* [(:)(:)(:)3-3(v)]

must not find her own reflection in their activities.[111] Pomerius clearly wrote his preface in response to local troubles, and the events to which he was reacting will be discussed in Chapter 3. It is first worth noting however in the conclusions to this chapter the logic of this reaction.

111 'Eigen Nutz/ Hass und Zweitracht/ Hat Meintz und Hall eigen gemacht/Das Cöllen ihreren Raht gefangn/ Erfurth ihrn Bürgermeister gehängn... Magdburg lass dirs ein Spiegel seyn/So bleibstu wol bey würden dein'. Pomarius,*Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg,* 459-60.

Conclusions

Elias Pomarius's history brings to an extreme the tendency noted in all except Besselmeyer, and thus characterising the accounts written by figures of clerical or secular authority, to avoid over-emphasising the town's glory in a manner that would present it as a reflection upon Magdeburg's current inhabitants. This strategy was facilitated by the form of Johann Pomarius's chronicle history and by Heinrich Merckel's presentation of a work of parts, with its separation of 'use', narrative, and judgement. This solved potential tensions between areas which had emerged from Besselmeyer's revison as necessary elements of a locally acceptable account of the siege: the legitimacy of the town's cause; the stock virtues through which a town is held to survive such ordeals; the understanding of war as a punishment from God; and the need to protect current friendships and alliances.

Elias Pomarius, providing a more substantial work which incorporated sensitive material, combined these elements largely through a reminder of the importance of his own office to Magdeburg's community. It is because the siege was a punishment from God that he as a clergyman could and should publish on the subject at such a sensitive time, even if internal harmony and external diplomacy might suffer as a result. From local affairs to remote imperial wars, it was attention to God's warning via history which would bring peace. This attention could not consist primarily in the imitation of a model: although Magdeburg

survived the siege, it did not do so through exemplary virtue, having lacked in the mid-sixteenth century precisely the qualities of unity, charity, and obedience which, other authors had suggested, were among the causes of its success. The legitimacy of the town's resistance, its struggle for God's Word alone, emerged from Pomarius's history as a precarious reality maintained only through the admonition by the town's clergy of its town council.

When he discussed in his preface legitimate forms of action in arms, Pomarius's focus was clearly on local offenders. Neither a rush to arms nor an attack on legitimate secular authority could be countenanced. The section in its dedication, in its account of its sources, and in its open references to the question of rebellion was uniformly supportive of the town council. Warnings of the horror of war were clearly intended to calm the community. Pomarius nonetheless admitted to including in his history information which would stir passions: an admission quite remote from the measures taken by his predecessors to avoid giving offence to allies and to fellow Lutherans. This may seem an unhelpful approach in the light of his explicit warning to Magdeburg's inhabitants concerning recent 'tumults', but the content of Pomarius's history showed that his support for secular authorities did not exclude the possibility of publicly rebuking them. The overall effect of Pomarius's history is to reject agitation while pointing to the function and privilege of the clergy, who may potentially channel legitimate popular discontent.

Pomarius restores to the history of the siege the role manifested in the *Magdeburg Confession* of the clergy as admonishers, not just of the townpeople generally, but of secular authority specifically. His account is thus an instance of continuity in Magdeburg's clergy's understanding and advertisement of their role. There is continuity too in the careful justification of grounds for printing, which makes admonition public: material which is potentially incendiary must be shown to be circulated in service of the common good. This implies grounds for investigating experience of crisis in Magdeburg in 1622, three years before the incursion of Wallenstein into the Archdiocese made the wars referred to by Pomarius in his preface a local concern.

Chapter three: Contextualising Elias Pomarius's History

Introduction

This chapter will consider four questions arising from Elias Pomarius's history which are susceptible to further development on the basis of material printed from Magdeburg in the first decade of the Thirty Years War. The first question is the 'tumult' of February 1622 to which Pomarius responded in his preface. Bearing in mind Pomarius's construction of clerical authority, the role of such figures in the approach to the tumults will be examined. This will introduce two prolific authors of the 1620s, Christian Gilbert de Spaignart, Pastor of St Ulrich's Church from 1620 to 1631, and Johann Bloc, 'subconrector' of Magdeburg's *Altstadt Gymnasium* from 1618 to about 1625. It will provide an opportunity to begin an investigation into collaborative responses by church and school to difficulties in the town, and to their position vis-à-vis the town's authorities, which will be the subject of the second section. The third section will examine contemporary and slightly later references to the sixteenth-century siege by Johann Bloc, who shares with Pomarius some of his emphasis on the potential horrors of the siege. The fourth will reconsider Pomarius's advertisement of mortal danger for Magdeburg, examining the use and context of the language of destruction which he adopted in this case in Magdeburg's news media.

3.1 Christian Gilbert de Spaignart's treatises on inflation

Pomarius's reference to troubles in the town on the 11th February 1622 is quite guarded, reflecting perhaps a concern with Magdeburg's reputation further afield, perhaps the fear voiced earlier in his preface of seeming to 'reopen old wounds'. The precise dating nonetheless makes the event in question identifiable as a disturbance which was the subject of widespread report in 1622. An anonymously printed news pamphlet was dedicated to 'the tumult and disturbances arising from the clipping of coin ... in the town of Magdeburg... how the common people stormed about sixteen houses, and plundered them bare, in the course of which about two hundred people were injured or killed...',[1] and the fate of those affected was celebrated in a printed song.[2] This news pamphlet gave an ostensibly unsympathetic account of the actions of a mob which gathered in Magdeburg after the confiscation by the town council of a mass of hoarded and clipped coin. Allegedly infuriated by the town council's failure to deal out exemplary punishment, the common people stormed and stripped bare the houses of several

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1 *Gründliche und Warhafftige Zeitung/ Von dem Tumult und Aufruhr wegen der Kipper/ so sich in der Löblichen und weitberumbten Stadt Magdeburg begeben und zugetragen/ Wie nehmlich die gemeine Pöbel in die Sechzehen Häuser gestürmet/ und rein außgeplündert/ darüber in die Zweyhundert Personen beschädiget und todt bleiben/ Auch was zu Halle und im Anhaltischem Lande weiter vorgelaufen ist. Nebenst kurtzen Bericht aus Torgau/ was sich allda zu dem Landtage zugetragen habt* ([s.l.], 1622)

2 *Warhafftige Newe Zeitung auß Magdeburg/ und andern Städten/ etc. vom 22. Februarii: Von den genandten Kippern und Wippern, wie nemlich Lucifer ... saget/ Das die Kipper und Wipper/ von ... ihme ... herkommen sein/ unnd wie sie auch in etlichen Städten ihren verdienten Lohn ... empfangen .../ Durch einen einfeltigen Componisten in deutsche Reimen zusammen bracht/ und in Druck befordert* ([s.l], 1622).

named prominent citizens, among them town councillors and members of their families.

We do not have a full list of Magdeburg's town councillors for any year between 1603 and 1630, but the register which exists for 1601-3 is useful, as the compositon of the council was quite stable. This register covers three years because twenty-five councillors out of the total seventy-five were in the 'ruling' town council at any given time, with yearly rotation. Particular patrician families dominated, and it was expected that members of the council would be re-elected until a family member replaced them; a majority (thirteen) of each yearly quota was elected by the council itself, ten by guilds and the remaining two from the community.[3]

The pamphlet names as among the owners of these houses and thus to an extent implicates in the scandal over the clipping of coin the following: Barthold Schüler;[4] Simon Lorentz (who was cameral scribe in 1602);[5] [Hans] Pollman 'the younger' (Hans Pollmann was a town councillor in 1602);[6] Bernd Werner;[7] Hans

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[3] See Max Dittmar, 'Die Bürgermeister und Kämmerer der Stadt Magdeburg von 1213-1680', *MGB* 24 (1889), 135-68: Dittmar's register is a compilation of several sources from the Magdeburg town archives. On the change in the constitution of the town in 1630, see chapter 3 below.

[4] Possibly the Bartholmes Schoeler, owner of three houses, who is listed in the 1630 'Rolle über der Bürgerschafft der alten Stadt Magdeburgk', on the nature and dating of which see further below, Chapter 4.

[5] See Max Dittmar, 'Die Bürgermeister und Kämmerer der Stadt Magdeburg von 1213-1680', *MGB* 24 (1889), 135-68: Dittmar's register is a compilation of several sources from the Magdeburg town archives.

[6] See Dittmar, 'Bürgermeister und Kämmerer der Stadt Magdeburg'.

Guericke (this is the name of the bailiff in 1620, father of Otto Guericke, later von Guericke, who was councillor from 1626, and son of Marcus Guericke, town councillor in 1603. He died in 1620: this may be his house or the house of a family member of the same name);[8] Marcus Murde;[9] Lucas Homan;[10] Christoff Bolcken;[11] and Lorentz Brunß (Martin Braunß was Bürgermeister in alternate years from 1622).[12] The other householders are not named.[13]

Even without the names of the majority who were targetted during this agitation, it is clear that Magdeburg's civic authorities became a target for inhabitants enraged by the inflationary crisis which struck much of the Holy Roman Empire early in the Thirty Years War. A fear of mob violence in retaliation for what was perceived as incompetence or greed on the part of town councils is widely documented.[14] The long-practised debasement of smaller denominations of silver coinage was exacerbated when estates attempted to use bad coin to repay

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7 A Bernd Werner is listed in the 1630 'Rolle über der Bürgerschafft der alten Stadt Magdeburgk'. I have found no other information on anyone of this name.

8 On Otto von Guericke, see further below, Chapter 3. For information on Johann and Marcus Guericke, see Max Dittmar, 'Die Bürgermeister und Kämmerer der Stadt Magdeburg von 1213-1680', *MGB* 24 (1889), 135-68; Gustav Hertel, 'Verzeichnis der Magdeburger Schultheißen, Schöffen und Ratmänner', *MGB* 1881 (16), 253-267.

9 Otherwise untraceable.

10 Otherwise untraceable, although Hoffmann occurs as a town council family name: see Dittmar, 'Bürgermeister und Kämmerer der Stadt Magdeburg'.

11 Otherwise untraceable.

12 *Tumult und Aufruhr wegen der Kipper*, Aii(v)-Aiii.

13 Brief references to this event are made in Hans Otto Gericke, 'Zu St. Ulrich die Reichen...'. Die wirtschaftliche Situation der Stadt Magdeburg vor und während des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', in Puhle (ed.) *Ganz verheert! Magdeburg und der Dreißigjährige Krieg*, 25-34, 31; Hertel and Hülße (eds), *Friedrich Wilhelm Hoffmanns Geschichte der Stadt Magdeburg* ii. 119; W. Zahn, Zur Geschichte der Kipper und Wipper im Erzstift Magdeburg, *MGB*, 1890 (25) 325-337.

14 Herbert Langer, *Kulturgeschichte des 30 jahriges Krieges* (Leipzig, 1978), 119.

loans to cover the costs of defence,[15] and an inflationary crisis peaked between 1620 and 1622. The crisis was particularly acute in the archdiocese of Magdeburg, which was affected too by poor harvests in 1621,[16] and partial recovery was achieved only through repeated edicts and increasingly stern measures against offenders.[17] It has been claimed that the price of grain increased ten-fold in this period.[18] The town council of Magdeburg, which issued its own coin and was accused of indulging in coin clipping, suffered from a lasting decline in reputation and in popularity, which has been briefly noted by historians as a factor likely to have contributed to the crisis of authority in early 1630.[19] The aspect of the inflationary crisis of interest here is the Magdeburg contingent of a vast body of work dedicated to explanations and proposed solutions to the crisis.[20]

In 1621, Christian Gilbert de Spaignart, Pastor at St Ulrich's Church in Magdeburg, had published two pointedly-titled works commenting on inflation: the *Theological consideration of the question of coinage: Whether Christian*

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15 Hans Otto Gericke, 'Zu St. Ulrich die Reichen...', 31.

16 Hans Otto Gericke, 'Zu St. Ulrich die Reichen...', 31.

17 W. Zahn, 'Zur Geschichte der Kipper und Wipper'.

18 Mathias Tullner, 'Das Trauma Magdeburg – Die Elbestadt im Dreißigjährigen Krieg', in Puhle (ed.) *'... gantz verheeret!'*, 13-24, 14.

19 Hans Otto Gericke, 'Zu St. Ulrich die Reichen...', 31; W. Zahn, 'Zur Geschichte der Kipper und Wipper', 1337.

20 Fritz Redlich identified a specifically Lutheran approach to the problem of inflation in his survey of this material, *Die deutsche Inflation des frühen 17. Jahrhunderts in der zeitgenössischen Literatur: Die Kipper und Wipper* (Cologne, 1982). The question of clergy's approach to the inflationary crisis is further investigated in Barbara Bauer, Lutheranische Obrigkeitskritik in der Publizistik der Kipper- und Wipperzeit (1620-1623), in: W. Brückner, P. Blickle and D. Breuer (eds), *Literatur und Volk im 17. Jh. Probleme populärer Kultur in Deutschland*, (2 vols, Wiesbaden, 1985), ii. 649-81. Bauer recognises as standard Spaignart's tendency to rank inflation along with war and other sufferings and plagues, seeing as the distinguishing feature between the literature she examines the place the various clergymen examined give to inflation relative to these problems.

Evangelical Authorities may with good conscience permit from time to time in service of their own ends that coins should be debased and devalued?[21] and the *Second theological consideration of the question of coinage: what Pious Protestant Authorities should take into consideration as regards the bad coin now in circulation in order that they may tend as well as possible to their consciences.*[22] A third work produced on the subject in Magdeburg was Tobias Henckel's, '*Extract from Fifteen discourses of consolation*',[23] the work of a Pastor of St George's Church in Halberstadt. Finally it will be argued below that the treatise, the *True and significant dream of debasement*, by the so-called Beatus Hodorikus, is an unsigned Magdeburg production.[24]

Spaignart was a recent arrival in Magdeburg, an exile from Lower Austria, where he had been a pastor before the aggressive recatholicisation of the area. He arrived in Magdeburg in 1620, left the town for Wittenberg in 1632, and was identified by both contemporaries and historians as playing a key role in the town's

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21 Christian Gilbert de Spaignart, *Theologische Müntzfrage/ Ob Christliche Evangelische Obrigkeiten/ umb ihres eigen Nutzes willen/ die Müntz von Zeit zu Zeiten/ mit gutem Gewissen/ schlechter und geringer können machen lassen?* (Magdeburg, 1621) .

22 Christian Gilbert de Spaignart, *Die Ander Theologische Müntzfrage/ Was Evangelische Christfromme Obrigkeiten/ bey jetzigem entstandenem bösen Müntzen/ in acht nehmen sollen/ damit sie/ so viel müglich/ ihres Gewissens pflegen können* (Magdeburg, 1621)

23 Tobias Henckel, *Extract: Funffzehener Trostreden Wieder die Neulich erregte und noch nicht gantz beygelegte muthwillige Thewrung und Verwirrung. Wie auch in Eventum, noch künfftige/ wol grössere. Zu Nutz/ allen denen/ so von Kippern/ Müntzern und Gewißlosen Verkeuffern/ bißher beschädiget/ ... Das sie nicht gar zu betrübt werden ... (Neben angehengten Tröstungen für Bußfertige Kipper und Müntzere)* (Magdeburg: Francken, 1622).

24 Beatus Hodorikus, *Sibylla Iustinanea iustissima Oder Richtiger unnd Wichtiger Wipper Traum: Darinnen Tägliche und klägliche Beschwerungen der außgekippeten Armuth/ mit Rechtes Gründen und richtigen Funden außgeleget und auffgelöset worden/ Von Beato Hodoriko SS. LL. Studioso* ([S.l.], 1621).

trajectory into disaster in 1631. The account of his life in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, which draws heavily on Karl Wittich's works, is typical in citing his fanaticism: 'with true fanaticism he preached against the Imperial party and against any submission' and connecting this fanaticism unequivocally with the disaster of 1631: 'his agitatorial approach gained him an influence which was of enormous consequence for the town'.[25] The historiographical developments which underpin Spaignart's emergence as one of arch-villains responsible for Magdeburg's fate in 1631 will be considered at various points below: for the purposes of this chapter it will be noted only that almost no attention has been paid to his life and works before 1629.

Bauer has observed that most Lutheran clergymen considering the question of inflation see it on the one hand, like war and natural catastrophe, as a punishment from God to be borne in patience, and on the other hand as a betrayal of trust by those in authority.[26] Magdeburg, where the influence of Wittenberg university was strong, would have been aware of the judgement of the Wittenberg consistory on the culpability of those involved in clipping and debasement: secular authorities should cooperate in ensuring that they were denied the sacrament, and in some cases Christian burial.[27] How and whether the responsibility of the

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25 'Mit wahrem Fanatismus eiferte S[paignart] gegen die Kaiserlichen und gegen jede Unterwerfung ... [Sein] agitatorisches Auftreten [erlaubte ihn] einen Einfluss zu gewinnen, der fuer die Stadt verhängnissvoll werden sollte'. 'Spaignart, Christian Gilbert de', in ADB, s.v.

26 Bauer, 'Obrigkeitskritik', 657.

27 *Des Churfürstliche Sächsische Consistorii zu Wittenberg. Urthel wegen der Wipper und Kipper : Ob solche zur Absolution unnd Hochwürdigen Abendmahl zulassen/*

authorities was discussed, however, varied considerably. Herckel restricted himself to consolation, demonstrating the current remoteness of the events of the Thirty Years War by reminding his readers that those who were affected by war were much worse off than those struggling against inflation: this was a punishment from God which would pass. God was therefore the only true cause of the crisis: those who clipped and debased coins, and sold on bad coin, were only his 'executors'.[28]

Spaignart's approach, by contrast, was one which subtly but unmistakably implicated Magdeburg's town council. He did this first of all through the parallel dedications in the two treatises. The first was dedicated to the town council, mayor and Innungsmeister of Magdeburg, the second, to his 'dear friends', the town council of Hamburg, where his father had several good friends.[29] The dedications were very different in tone: to the Magdeburg town council, Spaignart explained that he chose to dedicate his treatise to them because, as a newcomer to the town, he wished to place himself under their protection.[30] The questions he would broach were also of current interest in the town, having been much discussed in the last few weeks.[31] Spaignart then identified the problem as one of governmental weakness: the town's authorities, in their hatred of disorder, had thus far waited in patience, showing themselves willing to permit bad coin to enter the town and good coin to leave despite the great disadvantage and damage which this phenomenon

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auch ob sie ohne vorhergethane Busse mit Christlichen Ceremonien zur Erden zu bestatten ; Dem Ministerio zu Quedelburg auff ihr Begehren mitgetheilet ([S.l.], 1621), Aiv.

28 Herckel, *Extract: Funffzehener Trostreden*, Aii(v).

29 Spaignart, *Ander Theologische Münzfrage*, B(v)

30 Spaignart, *Theologische Müntzfrage*, ?ii(v)

31 Spaignart, *Theologische Müntzfrage*, ?iii

produced.[32] Although framing his accusation in ostensibly complimentary terms, he thus informed Magdeburg's town council directly of its culpability.

The example of Hamburg, on the other hand, a town which was gaining the upper hand in its trade rivalry with Magdeburg,[33] was used to reproach the Magdeburg council and to demonstrate that its dilemma was not untractable. In his second treatise, Spaignart summed up Hamburg's virtues in a passage which summarised his position on the evils of inflation: '[Hamburg's town council and common people] constitute one of those towns which has always persisted in defending itself and continues to do so, so that the Churches are not laid waste, trade not impeded and poverty not intensified'.[34]

Outside the dedications, having made it quite clear that the Magdeburg authorities were his targets, Spaignart confined himself for the most part to discussion of the responsibility of the authorities generally. His treatment of this question permitted him first to provide an account which might direct policy: the effects of inflation were sufficiently iniquitous that a town council must act against it. Second, however, he gave an unusually complex analysis of the familiar theme

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32 'Darnechts so sind auch E. Grossacht Hoch un. Wolweissh. die jenigen/ welche lange zeit Abschew fuer dieser Unordnung getragen/ un[d] daher mit ihrem grossen Schaden unnd Nachtheil sich geduldet/ dz die gute Müntze auss der Stadt verschleiffet. un[d] newe böse drgage[n] ist eingebracht worden'. Spaignart, *Theologische Müntzfrage*, [?iv].

33 Sven Tode, 'Städte im Dreissigjährigen Krieg', 50.

34 '[Rat und Commun] unter den jenigen Städten eine sind/ die sich zum lengsten allewegs gewehrt unnd auch noch/ damit die Kirchen nicht verwüstet/ die Handlung nicht verrucket und die Armut nicht beschweret werde …'. Spaignart, *Andere Theologische Münzfrage*, B.

of punishment by God which militated against the consolatory tendency manifested by Herckel. Inflation could certainly be discussed in connection with God's punishment of a community for its sins, like mass deaths and fire. It could be seen to have exogenous causes, such as war in the Empire, the cold winter, a shortage of silver.[35] These crises however were themselves punishments from God, so should provoke all the more examination of conscience.[36]

Here Spaignart, rather than consider a general need for penance, traced the connections between God's punishment and the actions being punished, offering examples which sought the causes of punishment of a community in the actions of its authorities. It was man's sinful behaviour which caused war, and it was the sacrifice of the interests of the poor by authorities which caused (rather than perpetuated) inflation.[37] All may have sinned, and punishment may be visited on all, but it was the authorities who must repent of their actions in order to avert the crisis.[38] The punishment was due because the practice of clipping and debasement was permitted; the clipping and debasing was not itself the punishment.[39]

Spaignart outlined the implications of the authorities' failures in government in a manner which is particularly useful for investigation of his later role in Magdeburg's history. He drew an extended comparison between inflation

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35 Spaignart, *Andere Theologische Müntzfrage*, F-F(v).
36 Spaignart, *Andere Theologische Müntzfrage*, F(v)
37 Spaignart, *Andere Theologische Müntzfrage*, Fii.
38 Spaignart, *Andere Theologische Müntzfrage*, H.
39 Spaignart, *Andere Theologische Müntzfrage*, [Eiv].

and war: in time of war, people were in great need and cried out for help from God, from their authorities who often failed them, from their preachers who sometimes failed in their duty to speak for them.[40] Their lives were made miserable by dishonourable and indisciplined behaviour.[41] Theft became common.[42] Through all of these things, 'the current devastation of the land is to be considered worse than any other … because no mass deaths, war, plundering by enemies or fire can be so damaging as the dimunition through exchange or debasement of coin'.[43]

The details which Spaignart provided on this most terrible damage were to surface in later disputes in Magdeburg. Particular damage was done, he claimed, to those paid fixed wages by the town council, which failed to raise these wages in line with inflation. While those in other walks of life, including even daily labourers, could do piecework and could negotiate a wage or payment-in-kind according to current values,[44] preachers and schoolteachers suffered disproportionately. A clergyman in Magdeburg had lost 95% of the real value of his pay, and could no longer support a family,[45] give alms to the poor,[46] or provide himself with the books necessary to his office.[47] Schoolteachers suffered too and their sons were prevented by poverty from travelling to university, so that the very existence of school and university, two vital supports to a godly community, was

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40 Spaignart, *Andere Theologische Müntzfrage*, [Eiv].
41 Spaignart, *Andere Theologische Müntzfrage*, [Eiv].
42 Spaignart, *Andere Theologische Müntzfrage*, [Eiv(v)].
43 Spaignart, *Andere Theologische Müntzfrage*, F.
44 Spaignart, *Theologische Münzfrage*, [Eiv].
45 Spaignart, *Theologische Münzfrage*, [Eiv].
46 Spaignart, *Theologische Münzfrage,* Fiii
47 Spaignart, *Theologische Müntzfrage*, Jiii(v).

threatened.[48] The sufferings comparable with war to which Spaignart referred amounted to an attack on the Christian church from within, by the authorities which were charged with protecting it. When such suffering were witnessed, preachers should not shy away from charging the authorities with robbery (*Berauben*), for this was the word which applied.[49]

Spaignart's treatises on inflation contained indications that he expected this exercise of the office of the clergy to be resented. While Lutheran orthodoxy as represented by the Wittenberg Consistorium explictly approved the open admonishment of authorities so long as they could be shown to have sinned,[50] this was nonetheless a matter which could prove controversial in practice. Magdeburg produced three editions in 1623 and 1624 of the sermon through which Johann Reinneccius, Cathedral preacher at Halberstadt, admonished the clergy for various unorthodox practises and criticised the lay canons who lived off church goods despite the poverty of the general population.[51] Reineccius had been dismissed from his office of cathedral preacher as a result of this sermon, an eventuality which the Wittenberg Consistorium deplored but could not reverse.

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48 Spaignart, *Theologische Müntzfrage*, Fii.

49 Spaignart, *Andere theologische Müntzfrage*, H(v)-Hii.

50 Their statement of this position with regard to the Reineccius affair is reproduced in 'Censura Theologorum VVittenbergensum', *Praemium Veritatis!: Eine Predigt Von Besserung derer/ so sich des Evangelii rühmen/ unnd vom Pabstumb abgetretten/ Sonderlich bey der Clerisey zu Halberstadt/ Gehalten in der Bischofflichen hohen Stifftskirchen daselbst/ am Tage des Evangelisten Matthaei/ Umb welcher willen Der gewesene Domprediger M. Johannes Reinneccius, Den 11. Octobris, Anno 623. Plötzlich seines Dienstes entsetzet worden ; Mit approbation der Theologischen Facultät zu Wittenberg/ und etlichen andern nothwendigen Beylagen* (Magdeburg, 1623), E- Eii(v).

51 Reineccius, *Praemium Veritatis!*, Bii-[Biv] (clergy); Aii, C (Cathedral Canons).

Spaignart nonetheless showed signs in his treatises on inflation that he was willing to make himself prominent among those concerned about this particular problem. He explained that he was the first to publish on the subject in the context of Magdeburg,[52] and acknowledged that the authorities might not wish to suffer such an address from their clergy.[53] It is clear however from the argument he constructed that he saw this as a moment when not to challenge secular authorities to repent would render his efforts ineffective: such challenges were not in fact a tendency which characterised all of his writings. His 620-page *Mirror of Repentance*, printed in 1623, despite numerous opportunities to enlarge on the theme of the particular responsibility of secular authorities over the eighty-four sermons included, in fact mentions punishment of communities without reference to their authorities, and in discussing the authorities simply urges those under them to pray for them.[54]

Spaignart's reproach to Magdeburg's authorities was founded in acknowledgements of their status: of their supposed control over coin entering the town, and of the legal expertise which many of them held.[55] His second treatise indicated that public discussion of the matter may have been banned, starting

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52 Spaignart, *Theologische Müntzfrage,* ?iii.

53 Spaignart, *Andere theologische Müntzfrage*, Jiv.

54 Christian Gilbert de Spaignart, *Bußspiegel Nach anweisung und Erklärung der sieben Bußpsalmen/ des Koenigliche Propheten Davids des Koeniglichen Propheten davids. In unterschiedlichen Predigten beschrieben/ und auff begehren in Druck gegeben.* (Magdeburg, 1623), Aiii(v), 388.

55 Spaignart, *Theologische Münzfrage*, K(iv). Spaignart reproduces the oath taken by Doctors in Law, of whom the town had several, showing that it was now being breached.

abruptly with a reference to clergy who are afraid to preach in difficult times,[56] and including a dedicatory poem by Johann Bloc, subconrector of the *Altstadt Gymnasium*, on the subject of inflation and public discourse.[57] Bloc observed that 'Nothing is new under the sun', and in a manoeuvre which lent support to Spaignart's claim to possess the authority to interpret the crisis, listed instances of inflation mentioned in scripture and ancient history to prove it: the novelty was that one was not now permitted to speak of inflation.[58] Against any determination to keep the people of Magdeburg in the dark on the subject, however, the author of the current work was cherished by Magdeburg for the light and leadership he brought, qualities which would befit a chief and be deserving of the crown of the people.[59]

The reproach to Magdeburg's secular authorities is clear. The suggestion is that Spaignart has challenged their authority in printing, and shown himself more fit to hold authority than they. However much Spaignart acknowedged the authority of those he criticised, and whatever protestations he made as to a preacher's right office, this suggests that in printing the treatises on inflation he established himself as a rallying point for discontent. His influence made itself felt, not only through Bloc's open support, but via the pseudonymous author of the

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56 Spaignart, *Andere theologische Müntzfrage*, Aii.

57 Johann Bloc, 'In nomismatoscepsiam Rever Clariss Dn authoris, in Spaignart, *Andere theologische Müntzfrage*, Bii-Bii(v).

58 'Nil sub sole novum est; Nec fas est dicere quenqaum/ Ecce recens hoc est!'. Bloc, 'In nomismatoscepsiam Rever Clariss Dn authoris', Bii.

59 'Te lucem atque Ducem Parthenopeia colit! Sic decorat Procerum, Populique corona merentem'. Bloc, 'In nomismatoscepsiam Rever Clariss Dn authoris', Bii.

1621 *True and significant dream of a debaser of coin*,[60] which both from its frequent references to Magdeburg and Magdeburg sources,[61] and from a comparison of physical features undertaken in Appendix II, seems to be a Magdeburg production, probably from printer Johann Francke. The author painted a vivid picture of the suffering of the common people as against the profiteering of the wealthy,[62] cited Spaignart by name as 'a Hercules against heresy',[63] and used his technique of citing the legal expertise of Magdeburg's authorities in implicit reproach of their current behaviour.[64]

It is clear then that by the time that the homes of several town councillors were stormed in February 1622, Spaignart had publicly admonished Magdeburg's authorities generally for precisely the sin of which they were accused during the 'tumults': of failing to prevent and punish the introduction of base coin into Magdeburg's stock. In the printed record, he appears as the only person of office in Magdeburg to have campaigned openly against this practice. Pomarius's use of the sixteenth-century siege, coming after Magdeburg had been shocked by the violence of February 1622, is to warn explicitly against such rebellion, which Spaignart in his printed work had certainly never endorsed. Pomarius's work contains, however, an implicit endorsement of Spaignart's methods: it makes public the admonition of Magdeburg's earlier authorities, accusing them apart from

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60 Beatus Hodorikus, *Richtiger unnd Wichtiger Wipper Traum* ([S.l.], 1621).
61 e.g. Hodorikus, *Richtiger unnd Wichtiger Wipper Traum*, 8, 15, 27, 33.
62 Hodorikus, *Richtiger unnd Wichtiger Wipper Traum*, Aii-Aii(v).
63 Hodorikus, *Richtiger unnd Wichtiger Wipper Traum*, 17
64 e.g. Hodorikus, *Richtiger unnd Wichtiger Wipper Traum*, 8, 15, 28, 29.

ungodliness of causing the town difficulties by failing to pay soldiers appropriately. It argues explicitly that where messages are to be drawn from the punishment of God, no-one can fault a clergyman for printing on this matter, even in sensitive times.

It seems probable that Spaignart's name would have been associated in Magdeburg with the 'tumults' of 1622, even if he made no further contribution than to write the treatises examined above. This association may have been significant for the historiography of the 1631 siege, as will be considered in Chapters 4 and 5. For the purposes of an examination of the print-culture from which Pomarius's work emerged, however, it is worth recalling two things: first that comparison with his sermons suggests that Spaignart felt that he was responding by extraordinary but appropriate means to a specific crisis; second that Pomarius's history, particularly when it considered in the light of the late written preface, demonstrates that even from one who wrote to attempt to calm the crisis, the history of Magdeburg's siege in 1550 and 1551, correctly understood, lent broader support for Spaignart's approach.

3.2 Clerical and scholarly concerns

Pomarius insisted on his colleagues' duty to use Magdeburg's past to instruct its people in times of difficulty. Spaignart's approach to the inflationary crisis communicated an image of Magdeburg's Christian church under attack from within the city to which he would return later in the 1620s, and which was arguably extremely important to the experience of war in Magdeburg after 1625. It will be argued in the third part of this thesis that Spaignart's role in later events has been misunderstood, and that one of the causes of this misinterpretation is a failure to put his works in the context of those of his clerical and scholarly colleagues in Magdeburg. Spaignart's treatises on inflation suggested that he saw in school and church an identity of purpose in building and serving the godly community which would be entirely in harmony with Luther's advertisement of the need for schools to serve the Reformation.[65] There is in fact a wealth of evidence for close co-operation between Magdeburg's town clergy in particular and the staff of the *Altstadt Gymnasium*, not least in attempts to influence town policy.

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[65] See Martin Luther, *Eine Predigt, daß man Kinder zur Schule halten solle* (Veste Coburg, 1530); Martin Luther, *An die Ratsherren aller Städte deutschen Landes, dass sie christliche Schulen aufrichten und erhalten sollen* (Wittenberg, 1524); reprinted in Magdeburg in 1621: Martin Luther, *Trewhertzige Vermahnung/ An die Bürgermeister und Rahtherrn aller Städte Deutsches Landes/ das sie Christliche Schulen auffrichten und halten sollen* (Magdeburg, 1621).

Magdeburg's clergy in the first decade of the Thirty Years War have been the subject of a brief study by Harald Schulze,[66] but for the most part attention has been reserved for three of their number, each of whom has been examined in a different context. Spaignart, as has been seen, has been recalled primarily for his role in the crisis of 1631, and purely in term's of Magdeburg's history: the next chapter will consider this historiography more closely. Reinhard Bake, not a member of the town clergy after 1615, but preacher at the Cathedral, has been a subject of interest as a supposed moderate counterpart to Spaignart,[67] and has been studied by Cornelia Niekus Moore, whose interest was in his delivery of funeral sermons for the canons of Magdeburg's cathedral chapter.[68] Andreas Cramer, preacher at St John's Church in Magdeburg from 1615 to 1631, has been examined for his role in the Hoffmann dispute, in which he defended the view that theology and philosophy were irreconcilable opposites.[69]

The Hoffmann dispute necessarily introduces the *Altstadt Gymnasium*, as Cramer's most persistent opponent in the Hoffmann dispute was Sigismund Evenius, who after close collaboration with Magdeburg's town council on education took up the position of rector in the town in 1622. Evenius has been

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66 Harald Schultze. 'Reinhard Bake und die Magdeburger Pastoren im Dreissigjährigen Krieg', in *Konfession, Krieg und Katastrophe. Magdeburgs Geschick im Dreissigjährigen Krieg*, (Magdeburg, 2006), 25-42.

67 Harald Schultze, 'Otto von Guericke und das kirchliche Magdeburg nach 1631', *Monumenta Guerickiana* 11/12 (2003), 107-117

68 Cornelia Niekus Moore, *Patterned Lives.*

69 Most recently in Markus Friedrich, 'Der Export des Helmstedter Hofmannstreits ins Erzstifft Magdeburg (1600-1630) – Johannes Olearius, Sigismund Evenius, Andreas Cramer' in Thomas Müller-Bahlke (ed), *Bildung und Städtische Gesellschaft. Beiträge zur hallischen Bildungsgeschichte* (Halle, 2003), 36-53.

studied both for his part in the Hoffmann dispute and as a pedagogue. He has been of particular interest to historians of education who have traced in him a forerunner of Johan Amos Comenius,[70] and to those investigating the pedagogical innovations of Wolfgang Ratichius, of whom he was at different times a collaborator and an opponent.[71] The beginning of his period as rector of the *Altstadt Gymnasium* has received a certain amount of attention because of the dispute which led to Ratichius's departure from the town in 1622, but the pedagogical innovations which historians have perceived in his work came after he left Magdeburg, so that little has been written about his nine years in the town.[72]

Among Evenius's colleagues at the school, Johann Bloc, who was active there from 1618, and Heinrich Grimm, the school's cantor from 1617, have both had some scholarly attention.[73] A history of the school itself was presented by Hugo Holstein in the nineteenth century, but he found few sources for the period under investigation here, and some of those on which he did rely have since been

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70 This is the thrust of the work of Ludolf Bremer, *Sigismund Evenius (1585/89 – 1639). Ein Pädagoge des 17. Jahrhunderts (*Vienna, 2001).

71 Paul Stoetzner, *Sigismund Evenius. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Ratichianismus.*

[=*Beilage zum Jahresberichte des Gymnasiums zu Zwickau*] (Zwickau, 1895); Uwe Kordes, *Wolfgang Ratke (Ratichius, 1571-1635) Gesellschaft, Religiosität und Gelehrsamkeit im fruhen 17. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg, 1999).

72 The period is covered in Bremer, *Sigismund Evenius*, 65-95; some of his conclusions will be reconsidered here.

73 For Bloc, Michael Schilling, 'Petrus Lotichius Secundus im Schulunterricht am Beginn des Dreissigjährigen Krieges'; for Heinrich Grimm: Ralph-Jürgen Reipsch, '"Es ist groß Elend und Gefahr..." Magdeburger Kantoren in der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges – Von Heinrich Grimm bis Malachias Siebenhaar', in Puhle (ed.) *'... gantz verheeret!'*, 100-111, 100-106.

destroyed.[74] It is not my intention to retrace in this section the history of the school during these years, or to outline either the dispute of Evenius and several members of the clery with Ratichius, or the development of the Hoffman dispute: instead I will aim to demonstrate the extent to which its published representatives shared with the town's clergy a certain sense of crisis and made in certain cases corresponding efforts to maintain their own authority vis-à-vis the town council.

Connections between school and clergy were both institutional and personal. Two members of the clergy served with two members of the town council as *scholarchs*, or official visitors: we have no full record of those who held this office, but it appears that those who had served as *Altstadt* Bürgermeisters, the Superintendent of the town clergy, and clergy with Master's or Doctoral degrees were preferred.[75] The cantor was responsible for preparing selected senior pupils who performed at festivities in the town churches as well as participating in civic

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74 Hugo Holstein, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des altstädtischen Gymnasiums zu Magdeburg I', *MGB*, 1866 (1/3), 9-22; Hugo Holstein, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des altstädtischen Gymnasiums zu Magdeburg II', *MGB*, 1866 (2), 10-17.

75 Johannes Bloc, *Bulla vel Amuletum humani Livoris & impii Luroris; Ad Virum Magnificum Casparum Aleman. Iure Consult: ... Scholarch Am Prudentissmum.* (Magdeburg, 1620) is dedicated to Caspar Aleman Scholarch, who was Bürgermeister that year; Johannes Bloc, *Conlecta Coniectanea seu Coniecta Conlectanea ad Etymon Magdeburg. M. Johannis Bloci[i]* ([Magdeburg], 1621), is dedicated to Steffan Olvenstedt as Scholarch; Olvenstedt had been Bürgermeister in 1619; Johannes Bloc, *Petri Lotichii Secundi Elegiae IV. Libr.* 2. *De Obsidio Magdeburgensi. Ad Dictionum Latinarum, & Historiae limam Glossarius* ([Magdeburg], 1621), is dedicated to Sigismund Hesse as Scholarch: he was Bürgermeister in 1621. See Dittmar, 'Bürgermeister und Kämmerer der Stadt Magdeburg'. Master Andreas Cramer wrote a very basic pedagogical manual in 1618 as Scholarch: *M. Andreae Crameri Patoris & Scholarchae Magdeburgici Deutliche/ Richtige/ und Wolgemeinte Anleitung Wie die Zarte Jugendt von Kindt auff in Gottes Furcht/ Künsten/und Sprachen ... erzogen und ad Academica studia praepariret werden ...* (Magdeburg, 1618); Dr Christian Gilbert de Spaignart published a book of sermons in this capacity in 1622: Christian Gilbert de Spaignart, *Geist und weltliches Schulwerck in sieben Predigten verfasset...* (Magdeburg, 1622).

and school celebrations.[76] Since at least the 1570s, it had been customary for the teachers at the *Altstadt* school to supplement their income by taking on minor clerical office in the town.[77] Students seem to have described clergy and school staff alike as their teachers.[78] The memoirs of teacher and deacon Christoph Krause, as very valuable resource for the years between 1625 and 1631, show that this was still customary in that period, and that Sigismund Evenius recommended members of his college for such positions.[79] This closed a circle in Krause's case: he had come to Magdeburg under the protection of Spaignart, who was Evenius's brother-in-law.[80] Having gone from Spaignart's employment and occasional preacher to schoolteacher, he was now recommended by school to church, and thereafter celebrated key moments in his life in Magdeburg in the company of Spaignart, Evenius, and junior clergy and teachers in their circle.[81]

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76 Reipsch, ' "Es ist groß Elend und Gefahr"' , 101.

77 Holstein, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des altstädtischen Gymnasiums zu Magdeburg II', 10.

78 '... unsere beyder wolverdiente Lehrer D. M Iohannem Cotzibuvium, Pfarrhern/ bey S. Jacob und D. M. Sigismundum Evennium Rectorem der schulen alhier'. *Virgae Magdeburgenses In Beanum Alvenslebianum Daß ist Gebürliche Abzüchtigung des Alten Alvenschlebenschen Esels Johannis Schraderi/ welcher newlicherzeit aus Thumbkühner/ Hirnwütender Weisheit sich für einen Richter in der Magdeburgischen entstandener Streitsache auffgeworffen und angegeben/ ... Angestellet und vollführet Von Etlichen des Magdeburgischen Gymnasii Discipulis* (Magdeburg , 1624).

79 Krause, 'Denkwürdigkeiten', 322.

80 As noted by Spaignart in the dedication to his *Geist und weltliches Schulwerck*, and by Evenius in his *Christ: Scholarum Unicum Necessarium, Seu Optima Pars Mariae = Das einige nothwendige Christlicher Schulen/ oder der beste Theil/ welchen Maria (Luc. 10. v. 42.) erwehlet: Das ist: Gründliche Demonstration, daß in und bey Christlichen Schulen und Information der Jugend in gemein die Pflantzung waarer Gottesforcht ...* (Nuremberg, 1634), Aij.

81 Krause, 'Denkwürdigkeiten', 321-5.

Evenius and Spaignart, both new arrivals in Magdeburg, would almost certainly have met in Wittenberg, where Evenius had matriculated in 1602, and had participated in over seventy disputations between 1607 and 1615.[82] Spaignart had disputed there between 1607 and 1609.[83] Krause provides a list of Magdeburg's thirteen town clergy in 1625.[84] Four of the Pastors of the seven major churches can be seen by their publications to have attended Wittenburg while Evenius was there: as well as Spaignart, these were Johannes Cotzibue, Pastor of St Jacob's, at Wittenberg between 1610 and 1612; Tobias Cuno, Pastor of St Peter's, at Wittenberg between 1610 and 1611; Nicholas Pormann, Pastor of St Gertrud's, at Wittenberg in 1609. Evenius's time at Wittenberg had also coincided with that of Peter Hecht, Deacon at St John's, who had published from Wittenberg in 1609.[85] Finally, Evenius had appeared in disputation with Christophorus Thoedaenus, deacon at the Holy Ghost church, in 1612.[86] He was thus well situated to hold the support of the more prolific of Magdeburg's clergy. The clergy as a body in fact

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82 VD17.

83 VD17.

84 St Ulrich's: D Christian Gilbert de Spaignart (Pastor), M. Joachim Arnesti (Deacon); St John'sM. Andreas Cramer (Pastor); Peter Hecht (Deacon); Nicolaus Pormann (Deacon, also Pastor of the minor church of St Gertrud's); St Jacob's M. Johannes Kotzebue (Pastor);Joachim Manz /Mauricius (Deacon); St Peter's: M. Tobias Cuno (Pastor); Joseph Wilhelmi (Deacon); St Catherine's: M. Johann Malsius (Pastor and Superintendent); Christophorus Thodaenus (Deacon) Hl Geist; Joh Brand or Bruns; St Anne's and St George's: Johann Rhodius (Pastor). Krause, 'Denkwürdigkeiten', 341.

85 VD17.

86 Sigismund Evenius and Christoph Thödanus *Disputationum Ethicarum Sexta. De Temperantia/ ... In Illustri Witteberga, Ad privatam placidamq[ue] symphilologian exhibita A M. Sigismundo Evenio ... Respondente Christophoro Thodaeno Schlaccowerda-Bohemo...* (Wittenberg, 1612).

argued Evenius's case to the Wittenberg Consistorium against their colleague Andreas Cramer, Pastor of St John's, in 1624.[87]

The *Controversia Crameriana*, described as the work of the pastors and deacons of Magdeburg, was a defence above all of the position of the rector of the *Altstadt Gymnasium*. The school was under the formal jurisdiction of the town council of the *Altstadt*, but there were no corresponding institutions in the Neustadt, Sudenberg or liberties. The *Gymnasium* drew on the expertise of officials in greater Magdeburg,[88] and as a number of dedications and attributions for the 1620s show, attracted pupils from beyond the *Altstadt* itself, including relatives of the cathedral canons and students from as far afield as Denmark.[89] It asserted its precedence in the town over private instructors, whom it tried to persuade in 1625 to take on its statutes for the purposes of any instruction outside the school.[90]

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87 *Controversia Crameriana Magdeburgensis, Das ist/ Warhafftige beschreibung des entstandenen Magdeburgischen Kramerischen Kirchenstreits: Darinnen der Ursprung/ Häupthandel/ versuchte Beylegung/ und hinderniß der gantzen Controversiae ausführlich gewiesen wird Wider den genandten M.Andreae Crameri Gründlichen Bericht* ... (Wittenberg, 1624).

Kollation: [8] Bl., 685 S., [3] Bl. ; 8°

88 As noted for the production of the school drama of 1591 by Georg Rollenhagen, *Comedia Vom Reichen Manne / undd Armen Lazaro Neben der Leichpredigt Zu Magdeburg gespielet im Monat Augusto etc. Jtzung aber auffs newe ubersehen/ Corrigiert/ und an vielen orten gebessert* (Magdeburg, 1522), Aiij (v).

89 The names and origins of some of the *Gymnasium*'s students are given in the dedication by Michael Meisterus in his edition of Terence, *Publii Terentii, Sechs Frewdenspiel In gute/ reine/ ubliche Deutsche Sprache versetzet/ Und Der studierenden Jugend zum besten/ die Lateinische Sprache desto leichter und füglicher zu erlangen/ In offenen Druck gegeben* (Magdeburg, Francke), 1623, [Ai(v)].

90 *Methodus Informationis Privatae, Qua Paedagogos absolutis lectionibus publicis pro conformitate operae domesticae cum publica & evidentiore fructu Discipulorum cuiuscunq[ue] aetatis & profectus iuxta classes singulas uti decet. Das ist: Eine Hausunterweisungs Art/ welcher die Paedagogi oder Schüler bey ihren Discipulen*

The *Controversia Crameriana* is a useful work because, presenting the perspective of Magdeburg's united clergy, it amalgamates the Hoffmann dispute and the quarrel with Wolfgang Ratichius, two matters which historians have normally treated separately, but which both opposed Evenius and supporters to Kramer and supporters, and which both concerned the status of the *Altstadt Gymnasium*. Ratichius, who claimed to possess a secret method for teaching languages, was permitted in 1621 to establish a private school in Magdeburg at his own costs; the town council considered inserting in the conditions under which he might advertise a clause stating that his school must not in any way work to the prejudice of the *Altstadt Gymnasium*, but finally found this impossible to envisage. Cramer championed the enterprise.[91] Two main objections were raised: to the illegal establishment of a private school, by Evenius from outside the town, and to the secrecy involved: Spaignart allegedly described Ratichius as a quack.[92] The town council's originally enthusiastic endorsement of Ratichius declined with the rotation of its members, and he left the town in 1622.[93]

In the same year, Evenius was appointed rector of the *Altstadt Gymnasium*, and quickly became embroiled in controversy with Andreas Cramer on the

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nach geendeten öffentlichen SchulLectionen daheim/ damit beyderley Arbeit gleichförmig ... angestellet werde/ sich zugebrauchen (Magdeburg, 1625).

91 Bremer, *Sigismund Evenius*, 39-41.

92 Bremer, *Sigismund Evenius*, 49, 55.

93 Uwe Kordes, *Wolfgang Ratke (Ratichius, 1571-1635) Gesellschaft, Religiosität und Gelehrsamkeit im fruehen 17. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg, 1999), 23.

question of whether philosophy was necessary or useful to theology.[94] This controversy came to involve all of Magdeburg's clergy, in their report to Wittenberg and their request for expert opinion from Jena.[95] It saw Cramer's own deacons publish against him.[96] It elicited a vicious anonymous publication from some of Evenius's students, again against Cramer and his supporters.[97] Cramer on one hand, and Evenius and Jacob Cotzibue in collaboration on the other,[98] produced over thirty printed works on the dispute by 1625. Clergymen by then retired, Elias Pomarius among them, lent their support to the party opposing Cramer.[99] The cathedral preacher Reinhard Bake, who in Moore's judgement usually kept his distance from the affairs of the *Altstadt*,[100] contrived to insert a statement in support of the majority into his collection of sermons published in

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94 The question arose in part from the teaching of Daniel Hoffmann at Helmstedt University, whose considered that nothing in man which had not been transformed by the spirit could be pleasing to God. As a result, reason was not merely not godly, could in fact be anti-godly. See Friedrich, *Export des Helmstedter Hofmannstreits*, 36-40.

95 *Controversia Crameriana*; UBGtn Hoeana IV 212-3

96 Christian Vogler, Peter Hecht and Nicolaus Pormann, *Außgepresseteinnigliche Hertzens Seufftzerlein Dreyer Collegen und Diener Göttliches Worts bey der Christlichen Gemein zu S. Johannis in der Frey und FrewdenStadt Magdeburg* (Magdeburg, 1625).

97 *Virgae Magdeburgenses In Beanum Alvenslebianum.*

98 Johann Kotzebue, Pastor at St. Catharine's church, who as a native Magdeburger and former Rector of the school at Quedlinburg would have been in a strong position to express his views on the appointment. Kotzebue, Johann *Oratiuncula Didascalica De S.S. Angelis, Eorum Natura Et Officiis, quae nobis hominibus praestant/ In Schola Quedlinburgensium habita a Joanne Cotzibuvio Magdaeburg. Phil. Mag. & Quedlinburg. Sch. Rectore.* Die Michaelis Archangeli, Anno MDC.XIV. Magdaeburgi : Boel ; Magdeburg : Neumann, 1615. The first mention I have found of him as Pastor at St Catharine's is in the title of Johann Kotzebue: *Fünff Christliche und in Gottes Wort gegründete Predigten: Die eine Gast-Predigt/ gehalten auff begehren in der Kirchen zu S. Johannis am Heiligen Drey Königen Tage/ Die andere ProbPredigt/ abgeleget auff erfordern der Herrn Eltesten vor der Gemein zu S. Jacob/ Dominica Sexagesimae. Drey ubrigen/ Access, und Antrits Predigten/ gleichfals gehalten/ vor der gemein zu S. Jacob Am heiligen Osterfest dieses jetzt schwebenden 1620 Jahrs.*

99 *Controversia Crameriana*,)(iv(v).

100 Moore, *Patterned Lives*, 155.

1624: 'Magdeburgers should not reject all forms of philosophy', he opined.[101] The consistory of Magdeburg's clergy had already requested in 1623 that no more be printed on the matter without its permission; the town council finally forbade publication on the question in 1625.[102]

Cramer was not without support, but it seems to have been for the most part outside the town.[103] Within Magdeburg, his stance seems to have become associated with various forms of hermeticism, among them Rosicrucianism, on the basis that the removal of the familiar framework for knowledge and investigation provided by philosophy could only give way to secret arts. The understanding of Evenius's students, who rose to his defence against the unlearned and blasphemous Cramer,[104] was that he worked in the service of 'Pansophia ... the mysteries of hermetic medicine, spagiricism, Paracelsianism and secrets of Archimedes's hidden art, Orpheus's Lyre and similar incomprehensible and unbelievable

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101 'Magdeburgi non omnis Philosophia exploditur' Reprinted as Reinhard Bake *Copiosissima Evangeliorum Dominicalium Expositio : Ex Orthodoxis, Pontificiis, Calvinianis &c. Theologis plurimis ita conscripta; ut ad Orthodoxias adsertionem, Heterodoxias desertionem, fontanam Textus expositionem, nec non annui Ministrorum Ecclesiae laboris iucundam allevationem plurimum faciat* (Lübeck, 1659), ii. 85.

102 Bremer, *Sigismund Evenius*, 70-1.

103 Correspondence shows that he had the support of the prominent Lutheran theologian Johann Arndt: 'Litterae suae vir Rev in Cri. xiii Majji scriptae, ... Gratulor Ecclesia sub jugo habitualis Theologii graviter anhelenti: gratulor ex mihi q post obitu viri una integerrimi Dn Joh Arndt sua [unanimitat?] mihi vnire licuit'. Letter, Henning Renneman to Cramer, 23.10.1624, Uffenbach-Wolfschen Briefsammlung, Handschriftensammlung der Staats und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, 4°37, 15.

104 *Virgae Magdeburgenses In Beanum Alvenslebianum*, Evi-Evii.

things'.[105] The clergy invoked Rosicrucianism directly, adding that it was their duty as officers of the church to protect Magdeburg against such things.[106]

Spaignart had arrived in Magdeburg with the implicit promise that he would weed out such problems: he had published from Wittenberg in 1620, dedicated to two of Magdeburg's cathedral canons, a *Theological Bugle* warning about the dangers of Rosicrucianism.[107] He considered Rosicruciansism the random and arrogant mixture of hermetic traditions, promoted by 'self-grown' theologians who made no distinction between true and false Christianity: preachers and secular authorities must therefore endeavour to suppress it.[108] He scorned their claims to new methods of language teaching, and referred in particular to their pernicious effect on certain women, even noble women, who were easily led.[109] Both of these points can be connected with Magdeburg's situation in 1620: this year saw Ratichius's arrival in the town with his secret methods of language learning, and the anonymous publication from Magdeburg of a Rosicrucian manual for women, describing the hopes and accomplishments of a group of noble women learned in extraordinary arts.[110]

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105 'Mysteria Medicinae Hermeticae, Spagiricae, Paracelsicae unnd des Archimedis verborgene Kunst heimligkeiten/ des Orphei Leyre und dergleichen unerfindliche ungleubliche sachen' *Virgae Magdeburgenses In Beanum Alvenslebianum*, Aii-Aii(v).

106 *Controversia Crameriana*, 19-22.

107 Christian Gilbert de Spaignart, *Theologisch Wächterhörnlein/ oder Warnung/ Wider das eingelegte Fewer/ der selbst gewachsenen newen Propheten und Rosencreutzbrüder/ damit sie sich unterstehen die Christliche Kirchen anzuzünden/ und abzubrennen/ Auff vielfeltiges begeren gerichtet und geschrieben* (Wittenberg, 1620).

108 Spaignart, *Theologisch Wächterhörnlein*, 51, 77, 79, 115, 122, 126.

109 Spaignart, *Theologisch Wächterhörnlein*, 35-41 (on language);)(3,)()(, 51.

110 Famaugusta Franco-Alemannica, *Frawen Zimmer der Schwesteren Des Rosinfarben Creutzes. Das ist/ Kurtze endeckung von der beschaffenheit dieses Frawen*

This was not the only manifestation of self-described Rosicrucianism in Magdeburg: one of the few outspoken apologists for the phenomenon died in Magdeburg in the summer of 1622.[111] Michael Maier had lent public support to Ratichius,[112] a circumstance which seems likely to have damaged Ratichius's cause, and to have alarmed orthodox Magdeburg. The unified energies concentrated on rebuking Cramer, based partly on rather spurious links between the two disputes, reflected a concern with orthodoxy for which the town's school was envisaged as a bulwark. In this context, the clergy's desire that no related treatises should be printed from 1623 can be seen in part as an attempt to pressurise Magdeburg's authorities into exercising tighter control over the transmission of ideas in their jurisdiction. The prolongation also constitutes an extended rebuke to the councils of 1620 and 1621, which knowingly acted to the disadvantage of the *Altstadt Gymnasium*. Both the inflationary crisis, which perhaps encouraged the council to considering permitting a private establishment and reducing the burden of salaries, and the Cramerian controversies through which the memory of this episode was extended may have contributed to a tension between school and council which, as Johann Bloc's presentation of the sixteenth-century siege demonstrates, persisted in 1624.

Zimmers. was fur Religion, wissenschaft/ Gotlicher und naturlicher dinge/ was fur Hantwercken/ Kunste/ artzney/ newe inventiones, Geistreiche und liebliche übungen/ etc. drinnen zu finden sein (Parthenopolis [Magdeburg], 1620). See Susanna Åkerman, *Red Cross over the Baltic. The Spread of Rosicrucianism in Northern Europe* (Leiden, 1998), 93.

111 Herewald Tilton, *The quest for the Phoenix. Spiritual Alchemy and Rosicrucianism in the work of Count Michael Maier (1569-1622)* (Berlin, 2003), 208-10.

112 Kordes, *Wolfgang Ratke*, 83.

3.3 Johann Bloc

Although he must be accounted among Magdeburg's most prolific authors for this period, having fifteen works to his name between 1618 and 1624, and having collaborated in 28 more,[113] we have very little biographical information on Johann Bloc. We cannot be certain when or how he died, or precisely in what capacity he served at the *Altstadt Gymnasium*. What can be reconstructed comes almost exclusively from references in his printed works, and from a brief note found in a book in Magdeburg's town library: 'Johann Bloc of Saltzwedel, Pro-rector at the school of the Mark Brandenburg, created Master in philosophy at Rostock in 1617... appointed to the school at Magdeburg in 1618, married Elizabeth daughter of Johann Salig, the Magdeburg town scribe on May 3rd 1619'.[114] Bloc's last printed work appeared in Salzwedel in 1625, with no indication whether its author was then living or dead;[115] his last Magdeburg works appeared in 1624. It seems likely that he died in the plague which struck

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113 VD17.

114 'Johann Blocius Marchius ProRector scholae patriae, Magister phil. Creatur Rostochii a 1617 ... Scholae Magdeb vocatur ad 1618. uxorem duxit Joh Saligs Poligraphi Magdeb filiam Elisabetham d 3 Maji 1619', reproduced in Gustav Hertel, 'Miscellen: Johannes Blocius', in *MGB* 1881 (16), 103-4. A valediction from the school at Salzwedel was printed in Magdeburg in 1618, *Votiva Gratulatio Et Grata Precatio Soltquellarum Veteris Scholae ab Ipsius Apolline seu Rectore; & eius Novem Musis Propemptica in Abitum ... Dn. Joannis Bloci[i], Soltq. Phil. Mag. & Poëtae LC. ... sibi a Magdaeburgensibus oblatum, maturabat ..* (Magdeburg, 1618).

115 Johann Bloc, *Historiae per Saturam Ex Novi Orbis Scriptoribus* (Rostock, 1625);

Magdeburg in 1625.[116] A 'widow of Master Bloc' appears in the citizens' roll of 1630.[117]

There is probably good cause for the silence of the note in the town hall library on Bloc's precise status at this time in the *Altstadt Gymnasium*. For reasons which will be elucidated in chapter 4, there has been some confusion over his status in the school. References in the now-lost *Renovation of the Magdeburg Gymnasium* (1619) indicated that he was already considered next in seniority to the rector, Joseph Goetze, at that date.[118] This means that for much of the period before Evenius's appointment in 1622, he can be considered effective spokesperson for the institution, since Goetze was ill from early 1621, and discussion of a successor occupied the town council from that date at latest.[119] Hoffmann indicates that he held the corresponding post, of conrector,[120] while Holstein describes him as subconrector.[121] There is evidence that the post of conrector may not have existed while Bloc taught at the Magdeburg *Altstadt*, and that that fact was resented.[122]

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116 Michael Schilling,'Petrus Lotichius Secundus im Schulunterricht am Beginn des Dreissigjaehrigen Krieges', 154.

117 'Rolle über der Bürgerschafft der alten Stadt Magdeburgk', on the nature and dating of which see further below, Chapter 4.

118 *Ανάχάίνίδίς seu renovatio gymnasii Magdeb. Cum suis programmatibus, legibus, lectionibus et auditoribus* (Magdeburg, 1619), discussed by Hugo Holstein, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des altstädtischen Gymnasiums zu Magdeburg II', 13-14.

119 Bremer, *Sigismund Evenius,* 3.

120 Index to Hertel and Hülße, *Friedrich Wilhelm Hoffmann's Geschichte der Stadt Magdeburg*, ii, s.v.

121 Hugo Holstein, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des altstädtischen Gymnasiums zu Magdeburg II', 14

122 Krause, 'Denkwürdigkeiten', 370.

This does not seem to have reflected internal dispute in the school. Of the group under study here, Bloc is unusual in that he appears to have studied at Rostock, gaining a masters degree there in 1617.[123] Nonetheless, there is plentiful evidence of his integration in the school community. The school at which he had worked in Salzwedel had close connections with the Magdeburg *Gymnasium*: Abdias Praetorius, who had been rector of the *Altstadt Gymnasium* and reformed its constitution in the mid-sixteenth century had come from the school at Salzwedel, a connection which Bloc advertises in his *Prelude to a History of Magdeburg.*[124] There is evidence too of contacts between Sigismund Evenius and Bloc which shows them to have been on good terms and to have developed a working relationship by the time that the latter arrived in Magdeburg: Bloc's 1621 *Interusurium Didactum*,[125] was prefaced by a letter from Evenius, and Bloc composed a Latin poem in greeting of Evenius which is printed in Evenius's *De contemptu scholarum.*[126]

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123 Hugo Holstein, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des altstädtischen Gymnasiums zu Magdeburg II',

124 On Praetorius see Hugo Holstein, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des altstädtischen Gymnasiums zu Magdeburg I'; Robert Stupperich, 'Die Eigenart der Reformation in der Mark Brandenburg'. In *Dem Wort nicht entgegen...'*, in Hans-Ulrich Delius, Max-Ottokar Kunzendorf and Friedrich Winter (editors) *Aspekte der Reformation in der Mark Brandenburg.* Berlin, 1988, 13-30.

125 Cited in Paul Stötzner, *Sigismund Evenius. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Ratichianismus.*

Beilage zum Jahresberichte des Gymnasiums zu Zwickau (Zwickau, 1895), 9. I have been unable to trace a copy.

126 Sigismund Evenius, *Honor Scholarum assertus et restitutus. Quem Dissertationibus Duabus comprehensum, Una De Contemtu Scholarum Scholasticique Ordinis, Eiusque Veris Ac genuinis caussis Halae Saxonum in dimissione: Altera De Vindicando Huiusmodi Contemtu, Magdeburgi in solemni receptione Pronuntiatis, Offert* ... (Magdeburg, 1622).

That Bloc took a public stance on the Ratichius problem can be gleaned from a short work he dedicated to Caspar Alemann in 1620: in it he offered Alemann an 'amulet' against his enemies in the form of a collection of psalms connected with persecution. He explained that the title of Bürgermeister was not exclusively associated with virtues, but in cases other than Alemann's could bring to mind luxury, arrogance, tyranny, and pursuit of worldly pleasures.[127] Nonetheless, it was the glory of a Bürgermeister to maintain schools, which benefitted the entire town and all of its endeavours. It was important to remember that a school had the advantage of communicating to its students the statutes of a town, so that to protect such an institution was in itself an extension of the Bürgermeister's function as guardian of the law.[128] Bloc's dedication seems to implant doubts about the benefits of a private institution, even while suggesting that the town council was sufficiently divided on the matter to consitute a force persecuting Alemann. Bloc's strategy, of lamenting division in order publicly to declare his own position, is one which made a statement at the expense of the reputation of the council. Bloc's participation in the inflationary and school disputes of the early 1620s thus showed a position mirroring Spaignart's, so that church and school moved in harmony on these subjects.

Three of Bloc's works contain substantial references to the siege of 1550-51: his commentary on Petrus Lotichius's elegy on the destruction of

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127 'Consulis Nomen non sive fastus et arrogantiae, sive tyrannidis, sive libidinis Conopeum esse'. Bloc, *Bulla vel Amuleta*, [Aii].

128 Bloc, *Bulla vel Amuleta*, [Aii-Aii(v)].

Magdeburg,[129] the companion volume on the etymology of the word Magdeburg,[130] and the school drama written and produced for the anniversary of the Lutheran Reformation in the town, *Eusebia Magdeburgiensis.*[131] Also of interest for briefer references are his edition of Christopher Meiemburg's *Robe of Minerva,*[132] his slight *Prelude to a History of Magdeburg,*[133] and a brief poem in honour of Elias Pomarius in the latter's history of the siege.[134] The *Eusebia Magdeburgiensis* identifies Evenius as a friend and fellow-teacher: his collaboration would certainly have been necessary to permit the performance of the play by his pupils, which Bloc presesnts as a collaborative venture.[135] The commentary on Petrus Lotichius refers to 'our Evenius' as an expert on the siege of 1551, whose *Tyrannidis Pontificiae secularis* (1619) will confirm for the reader Sleidan's demonstration

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129 Johann Bloc, *Petri Lotichii Secundi Elegiae IV. Libr. 2. De Obsidio Magdeburgensi Ad Dictionum Latinarum, & Historiae limam Glossarius* (Magdeburg, 1621).

130 Johann Bloc, *Conlecta Coniectanea seu Coniecta Conlectanea ad Etymon Magdeburg* (Magdeburg, 1621).

131 *Eusebia Magdeburgensis : Drama. Continens Historiam Pietatis in Deum, ex qua Magdeburgenses Anno 1524. ... Regno Antichristi liberati, & mirabiliter sub Dei praesidio Ad Evangelii lucem asserti sunt* (Magdeburg, 1624).

132 Christoph Meiemburg, *Peplum Minervae Seu Oratio Continens Historiam Vitae & Obitus ... Joachimi Sacri Romani Imperii Electoris: Et Johannis: Marchionum Brandenburgensium Fratrum, &c. ... Electoris*, edited by Johann Bloc (Magdeburg, 1621).

133 Bloc, *Promulsis Magdeburgensis Historiae Praemetii Gratia* ([Magdeburg], 1622).

134 Bloc, 'Magdenburga, Dei quae cancellaria vere Dicere...', in Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge*, [(:)(:)(:)3]

135 Bloc, *Eusebia,* A3. On the distinction between printing and performance see Bernhard Jahn,

'Druck und Drama: Zur Rolle des Buchdrucks bei der Aufführung und Rezeption frühneuzeitlicher Dramen am Beispiel der Magdeburer Drucke bis 1631', Schandera, Schilling and Schade (eds), *Prolegomena zur Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte des Magdeburger Raumes*, 129-150. Jahn believes that *Eusebia* may be the only school play to have been performed in Magdeburg in the 1620s.

that the siege of 1550-51 was endured by Magdeburg in protection of the Lutheran faith alone.[136]

Because Bloc was so prolific, he had many opportunities to ingratiate himself by means of dedications. As poet laureate, he worked extensively on festive poems and contributed verses in praise of authors. His works on the history of Magdeburg were always dedicated to the town's governing elites, generally or individually.[137] Archival sources for the membership of the town council in the 1620s, and for the family history of Magdeburg's patricians generally, are sufficiently meagre to give this tendency some prosopographical value.[138] Bloc is however not consistently effusive, on some occasions preferring to remind those he addresses not only of their status but also of their duty: a tendency perhaps most marked in his *Eusebia Magdeburgiensis*.[139] In fact, he had denied in his *Minervan state-robe*, which contained commentaries on the history of Brandenburg, that his dedication to the town council and all the citizens of Magdeburg was in any way a

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136 Bloc, Petri Lotichii Secundi, Ciii(v). The relevant discussion is in Evenius, Sigismund Evenius, *Tyrannidis Pontificiae Secularis Demonstratio Apologetica, Calumniarum ac Ineptiarum nebulis: Quibus Adamus Contzius Jesuita Moguntinus Solem Huius Veritatis, In Palma Seculari Lutherano-Evangelica detectae, obnubilare scurriliter ac veteratorie, in Coronide Sua Iubilorum est conatus* (Halle, 1619), K3. Evenius though still in Halle at this time dedicated the work to the town council of Magdeburg.

137 Bloc, *Eusebia* is dedicated to twenty town councillors, treasurers, scribes and syndicus: Johannes-Henricus Walther; Fridericus Moritz; Sigmundus Hesse; Johannes Denhard; Stephanus Olvenstet; Jacobus Aleman; Johannes Dauth; Mauritius Lentke; Martinus Brauns; Ascanius Lutterod; Caspar Aleman; Theodoricus Brewitz; Georgius Kulwein; David Lemke; Johannes Johannes; Joachimus Schmidt; Jacobus Cramsack; David Nesener; Andreas Curdes; Matthias Schultze. Bloc, *Eusebia*, Aii(v)

138 On the paucity of sources in this area, see especially Günther Deneke, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte einiger alter Ratsgeschlechter' , in *MGB* 1911 (43), 103-118.

139 Bloc, *Eusebia,* A4.

quest for personal gain: he did not write in order to increase his lowly condition or to find a new place, being able to support himself by honourable work and feeling no need to travel for new opportunities or to turn mendicant.[140]

Bloc's slightly aggressive approach to dedications is accompanied by the tendency, already explored in Pomarius, to use the siege of 1550-1 to encourage his readers to dwell on the miseries of war. In his commentary on the elegy of Petrus Lotichius, Bloc selected from earlier works on the siege to defend common arguments: he cites Merckel to demonstrate that Magdeburg fought in support of her allies in the Schmalkaldic league and otherwise for the word of God alone.[141] He established some claim to privileged information, since he and his uncle Paul Bloc, whose name he seems to expect Magdeburgers to know, were party to a conversation between Merckel and the Bürgermeister of Lüneberg.[142] Besselmeyer too was a source of information, on the tradition that an angel was seen on Magdeburg's walls during the siege.[143] Since however this was primarily a textbook, Bloc could indicate quite clearly by means of glosses what his students should learn, and what they should communicate to their parents and guardians.[144] They should know how and why the siege occurred, and in so doing should

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140 Reproduco, non mei lucelli conditione; non existi matiunculae meae spe ingendae: harum enim neutrâ, quae Dei gratia, & Vestra Patres Conscriti benignitas est, indigeo tantopere, ut peregrini foetus supposito mendicatum ire cogerer. Ohe non!'

141 Johann Bloc, *Petri Lotichii Secundi Elegiae IV. Libr. 2,* D.

142 Bloc, *Petri Lotichii Secundi Elegiae IV. Libr. 2,* Fiv.

143 Bloc, *Petri Lotichii Secundi Elegiae IV. Libr. 2,* Fii(v).

144 Bloc, *Petri Lotichii Secundi Elegiae IV. Libr. 2*, [Aiv-Aiv(v)].

communicate the evil of war as a punishment from God,[145] the problems of internal divison,[146] and what he introduces as a wider question: whether peace is not preferable to war? Peace is to be preferred, but it is disgraced by luxury, surfeit, and display of wealth.[147] If this may be understood as a rebuke to the town authorities of 1621, Bloc's other consideration of the siege in that year, his discussion of the etymology of the word 'Magdeburg', began with an indication that it was not impossible to gain his favour and public approval. He opened the work by quoting a poem by Bartholomäus Ringwaldt in praise of Magdeburg's sumptuary laws.[148] Whether these laws were in fact applied he did not discuss, but the combined effect of his dedications is to hold out the possibility but not the guarantee of reinforcing the authority's reputations through works which, as Bloc indicates with his commentary on Lotichius, will be widely disseminated to students, and through them to their parents.

Bloc's work in Magdeburg culminated with a celebration of the hundredth anniversary of Luther's preaching in the town, the *Eusebia Magdeburgensis*, on the history of the Lutheran Reformation in Magdeburg, which according to Jahn was perhaps the only one of the printed plays actually to be performed in Magdeburg in the 1620s.[149] The printed text gives little information on the performance itself, which must be investigated in the light of the general traditions of the *Altstadt*

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145 Bloc, *Petri Lotichii Secundi Elegiae IV. Libr. 2*, Eiv(v).

146 Bloc, *Petri Lotichii Secundi Elegiae IV. Libr. 2*, Civ(v).

147 'Luxuries, ingens & copia rerum/ Ad de Voluptatum species, & turpia mille Dedecora': *Petri Lotichii Secundi Elegiae IV. Libr. 2*, Eiv(v).

148 Bloc, *Conlecta Conjunctanea*, [a(4)]

149 Bernhard Jahn, *Druck und Drama*, 133.

Gymnasium. Magdeburg's school plays were supposedly governed by the statutes drawn up by rector Abdias Praetorius in 1553, which required that the *Altstadt Gymnasium* would produce two yearly, one at the town fair during September, another in the chambers of the town hall before Lent.[150] The preface of Johann Pomarius to his *Judgement of Solomon* in 1561 suggests that even by this date a single play served in practice for both occasions: he explains that plays were performed 'for the special honour of the authorities', but reveals that a performance was given to the common man also, in the open, as an incentive to send children to *Altstadt Gymnasium* and because the play served to deepen general piety.[151] It was in fact customary for performers in German school plays to be chosen according to their family's status.[152]

By the end of the sixteenth century, one general performance of school plays seems to have been the norm in Magdeburg, and to have produced attendant problems. Georg Rollenhagen, who was an active and widely renowned rector of the *Altstadt Gymnasium* from 1576 to 1610,[153] commented on the difficulties of producing plays in 1590. He explained that schoolteachers rarely produced plays because the difficulties of preparing their young and inexperienced performers

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150 Abdias Praetorius, *Ludi litterarii Magdeburgensis Ordo, Leges ac Statuta* (Magdeburg, 1553), no. 5.

151 'Der Obrigkeit zu sondrer Er'. Johann Baumgart [Pomarius], *Action vom Gericht Salomonis* (Magdeburg, 1561), Prologue, cited in Friedmann Krusche, *Theater in Magdeburg. Von der Reformation bis zum Beginn der Weimarer Republik* (2 vols, Halle, 1994), i. 9.

152 Krusche, *Theater in Magdeburg*, 19.

153 On Rollenhagen see Hugo Holstein, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des altstädtischen Gymnasiums zu Magdeburg II', *MGB*, 1866 (1/4), 10-17.

were immense. There were no custom-built spaces available. The space which seems to have been used for the performance of open-air plays was Magdeburg's stronghouse yard, where target practice took place.[154] This might have presented an opportunity to reflect on civic identity in time of war, but Rollenhagen pointed to a practical difficulty: large crowds could not follow the action, and in their confusion and distraction disturbed not only the performers, but also people of high honour from the ranks of the authorities. While teachers must persist in their efforts, they must rely on the help of the authorities to contain this problem.[155]

Advance printing of the script was another strategy which, according to Rollenhagen, might be used to reduce confusion at these performances.[156] A Latin text would not, even in this case, have been accessible to most of the audience, but this language was preferred as training for the students who declaimed the various parts, and general practice in German school plays would be to provide at the performance German summary of each act.[157] As well as serving as a linguistic exercise, plays were considered to be an opportunity to inculcate students with the correct attitudes: the 1619 school order, printed in 1625, shows that they were forbidden to participate in any theatrical endeavours outside the school sphere.[158] It

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154 Krusche, *Theater in Magdeburg*, 10.

155 As noted for the production of the school drama of 1591 by Georg Rollenhagen, *Comedia Vom Reichen Manne / undd Armen Lazaro Neben der Leichpredigt Zu Magdeburg gespielet im Monat Augusto etc. Jtzung aber auffs newe ubersehen/ Corrigiert/ und an vielen orten gebessert* (Magdeburg, 1522), Aij.

156 Georg Rollenhagen, *Comedia Vom Reichen Manne*, Aiij.

157 Krusche, *Theater in Magdeburg*, 9.

158 *Leges Scholae Magdaeburgensis. Das ist Schulsatzungen für die Jugend zu Magdeburg* (Magdeburg, 1625), no 11. These rules were apparently introduced by Rector Joseph Götze and were presented in some form in his *Ἀνάχάίνίδίς seu renovatio gymnasii*

was hoped that their familiarity with their lines would serve them all their lives, and provide an indirect education for their parents.[159]

It seems likely therefore that Bloc's play, the printed version of which is dated 24th July 1624, would have been performed in the open and in the stronghouse yard, in the presence of both the town councillors and the common people. There had despite the school statutes been no continuous tradition of performances, so that expectations of such an occasion might be shaped by the most recent publication of a school play written for performance, the 1622 reprint of Rollenhagen's *Poor Lazarus and the Rich Man*, which had pointed to the potential difficulties of a school play as vehicle for reinforcement of civic authority. Bloc's approach to these authorities is therefore worthy of scrutiny.

It was appropriate to the setting of the play in the stronghouse yard that Bloc should choose to personify the Virgin of Magdeburg, the maiden represented on the town's gates and shield, which represented her as the victorious defendress of the fortress. He represented the town of Magdeburg itself as 'the Virgin', a character who appeared on stage twice. The first occasion is in Act II Scene iv, when she addresses Luther, who presents her with his newly translated Bible to guard while he travels to Marburg to debate with Zwingli (and defend

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Magdeb. Cum suis programmatibus, legibus, lectionibus et auditoribus (Magdeburg, 1619), which was extant in 1886 and is referred to by Holstein in his 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des altstädtischen *Gymnasiums* zu Magdeburg II'. I have been unable to trace a copy.

[159] Rollenhagen, *Comedia Vom Reichen Manne*, Aij.

orthodoxy).[160] The second is the closing scene of the play, which brings the town to the brink of hostilities.

The last three scenes prepare the ground for the siege of 1550 and 1551. The first, showing the town council in debate about the Interim agreement, serves mainly to establish what the provisions of this edict were. The characters of the councillors were frequently used in this manner, serving the didactic function of the drama by seeking definitions and explanations which the spectators might require. The second of the three scenes had Johannes Bugenhagen and Nicolaus von Amsdorf discussing the problem of abandoning churches: public peace, argues Bugenhagen in echo of Melanchthon, is better served by maintaining churches.[161] Amsdorf reponds that the ceremonies proposed 'would do more harm to the church than fire and sword'.[162]

Finally, the decision on the stance which Magdeburg is to adopt is reached by Amsdorf in consultation, not with the town councillors, but in an emotional dialogue with 'the Virgin', who condescends to appear and speak with him because she is so delighted to learn that her fortunes have improved and believes that the plans to overthrow the word of God can never succeed.[163] When Amsdorf congratulates her on this stance, the Virgin warns that dark times lie ahead: we do

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160 Bloc, *Eusebia*, [E2(v)]

161 'Sed publica pax ubi defuerit/ Ecclesiam misere devastari vides'. Bloc, *Eusebia*, Hi.

162 'Hae plus nocent Evangelio, quam gladius ac Ignis'. Bloc, *Eusebia*, Hi.

163 'Vi[rgina], Quoniam processerunt meliuscule/ Sortes meae, Verbumque Deil ullis machinis/ Everti nunquam posse aut potuisse arbitror: /Id gaudeo'. Bloc, *Eusebia*, Hi.

not know what the evening will bring.[164] Amsdorf endorses this with enthusiasm, admiring her adamancy and constancy, which will prove that 'we [Magdeburgers]' love God above all.[165] The Virgin replies

> Whatever it will be that may arise, WE SHALL OVERCOME with Christ's help, in whose cause alone this is undertaken. I have made up my mind to spurn the world and to follow Christ in constancy.
> AMS May God help you.[166]

The Virgin then appeals to Amsdorf for protection before extending this supplication to the spectators, addressing them with the instruction to fare well and to applaud.[167]

The account provided here contains familiar elements: the assertion that Magdeburg in 1550 and 1551 suffered for God's Word alone, and the reminder that she risked disaster in defying the Emperor. Nonetheless, its inclusion is not entirely necessary. There are a number of points on which Bloc could have concluded his Reformation play which would have reflected more fully the triumph which he evokes in the title. The reader of the printed version was promised a 'Drama containing the history of godly piety, through which Magdeburgers ... [through Luther's sermon of 26th July 1524] ... were liberated from the reign of the Antichrist and miraculously released into the light of the gospel through the protection of God'. Bloc's narrative of the Reformation is necessarily episodic, so

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164 Sed heus nescis, serus/ Quid Vesper vehat. Bloc, *Eusebia*, Hii.

165 o ferream! o adamantinam ... verum Dei Verbum/ Tum primum amearemus! Bloc, *Eusebia*, Hii.

166 'VI Non: quicquid erit, Quod obveniet possit, Christo iuvante, cujus causa unius agitur. Ita praeparavi mentem, Mundum spernere Christum sequi constanter, AMS! id Deus juvet Te.' Bloc, *Eusebia*, Hii.

167 'VI Nunc sequere me. Vos VALETE et PlAVDITE'. Bloc, *Eusebia*, Hii.

that it would have been possible for him to proceed to the end of the siege, to stop short of introducing the interim crisis, or to proceed to the lifting of the Imperial ban in 1562 or the Reformation of the Cathedral. Instead, he deliberately leaves his account of miraculous release at the moment where clouds are darkening, and the town faces a choice between easy times and the Word of God. Lutheranism is divided, and town councillors, not being themselves perfectly informed on such matters, need the advice of their clergy to know how to proceed. Magdeburg having announced her stance independent of the town council appeals for protection from the audience generally. The account of triumph *via* Reformation ends with a reminder of its precariousness.

There are two ways to contextualise Bloc's approach here. First, it reflects a tendency in festive recollections of the Lutheran Reformation generally, which, for the 1617 hundred-year-jubilee of the Reformation, had emphasised amid formal rejoicings the vulnerable state of Lutheranism, the need to appeal for divine protection and to repent of the sins which might draw God's wrath on the community. This had been the case even in the territories in the sphere of influence of Electoral Saxony, which had attempted to use the jubilee as an opportunity to detach themselves from the increasingly belligerant Protestant Union, and to define themselves in opposition to Calvinism.[168] Even where the narrative of events appeared to point to human strengths, the narrators contrived to emphasise human

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168 See Kästner, *Geistlicher Rauffhandel*; Helga Robinson-Hammerstein, 'Sächsische Jubelfreude' in Hans-Christoph Rublack (ed.), *Die lutherische Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland. Wissenschaftliches Symposion des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte* (Gutersloh, 1992), 460-94.

weakness. The most egregious example had come during the 1617 celebration in Wittenberg itself. According to the printed volume of the celebrations, Luther was described in a sermon preached to the assembled university personnel, in blank denial of the historical record and claim to fame of Wittenberg itself, as '[not one of the] many distinguished people in the University in all four faculties, and especially in the Theological faculty...[but]... a young monk named Martin Luther, whom God had chosen according to his secret counsel for his great work of grace, and anointed with his spirit ... to fear not Pope, Cardinal, Bishop, University...'.[169] As Bloc failed to proceed to Magdeburg's moment of triumph, so Walter Franzius preferred to deflate his university's claim to any particular virtue: the object was to keep the audience and spectators focused on the need to be worthy of God's great grace, not to provide an opportunity for self-congratulation.

It seems probable that this was a concern in Bloc's presentation of Magdeburg's history to its general population: the anniversary of the

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[169] 'Ferner waren in dieser Stadt dazumal bey der universitet viel gelerte und geübete/ auch anseenliche Leut/ bey allen vier faculteten/ unnd sonderlich ey der Theologischen/ Aber auch durch dieser gelerten Männer keiner wolte GOtt sein höhe und sehr grosses gnaden werck ausrichten... Wer war denn nun hierzu von seiner göttlichen Majestät aussersehen? Gar am ende diese Stadt beym Elster thor im Augustiner Kloster/ do jetzunder die Communitet ist/ wär ein junger Munch/ mit Nahmen Martin Luther, diesen hat Gott ine seien gemein Rath zu solchen mechtigen gnaden Werck auserkorn ... der massen gesalbet und angethan/ das er nichst als nur die lauter blosse bitter Warheit zu sagen sich vorname/ weder für Pabst/ Cardinel/ Bischoff/ Universiteten...'. Walter Franzius, 'Sermon preached at the Schlosskirche in Wittenberg, 31st October 1617', reproduced in *Der H[eilegen]. Schrifft Doctorn und Professorn in Christliche evangelische lutherische Jubel Predigten, auff das erste, hohe lutherische Jubelfest, so dem Allmechtigen zu Lob und Danck, durch den Churfürsten zu Sachsen etc. unsern gnedigsten Herrn, in allen desselben Chur und Fürstenthumen im Jahr Christi 1617 feyerlich zu halten angeordnet worden ... / geh. durch die vier Doctores u. Professores der Theologischen Facultet in d. Universitet Wittenberg* (Wittenberg, 1618), 61-92, 83.

implementation of the Reformation in Magdeburg was certainly an opportunity to reflect on the extent to which the work of the Reformation needed to be cherished and continued. Bloc's preface appears to indicate that, unlike some of his sixteenth-century predecessors as historians of Magdeburg, he will not avoid communicating the glory which was attached to their ancestors' activities further afield. His preface to the printed play reflects on the virtues of the town councillors and eminent townspeople of the sixteenth century, which he promises to discuss in some detail. However didactic the function of the dialogues among the councillors in the play, Bloc introduces the councillors as historical personalities and named individuals, in many cases relatives of living Magdeburgers. Heiso Alemann and Jacob Guericke play a prominent role. Bloc indicates his awareness of these family connections, addressing the 'great and eminent men' who were almost certainly among his spectators alongside the common people:[170]

> [The play] will not now hold back from expanding on the splendour which every one of your parents and grandparents, excelling in prudence, in good counsel, in steadfastness, have won for each of you, of whatever family you are recommended. It will be you, to whom safety and a life of plenty will be granted, who will seek to gather in this harvest, for which purpose I consider moreover that God has bestowed on you courage for your fatherland, and sober strength, through which it should be possible for you readily to vindicate your generation and reputation against ignominy, it being bravery and other forms of strength which is fitted to the defence of the city and to the propagation of pure religion. It is you to whose tutelage moreover the kindly city, the gentle virgin has committed herself after God, into whose hands and favour this our character drama of the virgin is now submitted, through which by your favour you gates now open, which yesterday were guarded by twisted calumnies and ill-will: hope is more powerful than fear of

170 'Viri Magni & insignes…'. Bloc, *Eusebia*, A4.

> repudiation. Fare well, men of years[?], excellencies, govern the wealth and common people [constituting the state]:[171] PIETY, FORTITUDE, CONSTANCY, this is GOOD FORTUNE.[172]

It seems likely from the reference to the opening of gates, which in the context of the stronghouse yard seems likely to have served in part as a stage direction, that this preface would have been spoken, and not just affixed to the printed edition. The comparison which Bloc introduces here makes it clear that Magdeburg's town councillors are in some danger of falling short of the glorious reputation of their ancestors. This reputation may be contingent first on the virtues which God has bestowed on them, but he does not expect to be unconcerned with their reputation: it is the magnificence of their ancestors which they may hope to gather to themselves if they show proof of the appropriate virtues in their governance of Magdeburg. The loss of this reputation may be avoided, but whether this will in fact be the case is left undetermined, as is the fate of the Magdeburg Virgin at the close of the play. Bloc uses the fame of Magdeburg's sixteenth-century inhabitants as a reproach to their successors, even while refusing to

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171 'Rem, Publicam, gerite'. Here, Bloc interposes a comma between the constituent parts of *res publica*.

172 'De Splendore, quem singuli vestrorum parentum & Avorum vobis singulis queisque suase Familiae conciliaverint, prudenti, consilio, forti manu prastantes, de illo jam non attinet ad vos multis describere, cui copia in vita & incolumitas concedentur, erit que messem istam invehere quaerat, ut arbitror, sund autem & vobis a Deo munitae pro Patria mentes, & sobria Virtus, qua facile vestram aetatem & famam a contemtu vindicare possitis, sunt vires & reliquum robur, quod urbi tutandae, Religioni sincerae propagandae, conveniens est. Quibus autem Vrbs alma, Virgo placida Tutelaribus post Deum se commiserit, in illorum manuum ac favorum Virginis hic character Drama nostrum se inserit, quo per vestri favoris fores sic intromitte, a pravorum calumniis ac male volentia defensu heri, spes potior est, quam repudijmetus. Salvete, Viri Annosi, Domini Praestantes, Rem, publicam, gerite, PIE, FORTITER, CONSTANTER, hoc est FELICITER! Bloc, *Eusebia*, A4(v).

bolster the town's reputation by revealing through the play the full extent of its fame.

Bloc's closing reference to 'twisted calumnies and ill-will' is left quite obscure: is it he, who presents his play with greater hope than fear of repudiation who has suffered in this way? Or are the victims the town's authorities, who are now offered a route back to an honourable reputation as suggested in the preceding passage? The more obvious reading is that it is they who may receive Bloc back into their good graces after some unspecified quarrel and besmirching of reputation by accepting his play. The odd formulation with which Bloc describes the task ahead of the authorities, however, makes possible a more developed interpretation. He leaves them with the exhortation, 'Rem, publicam, gerite'. Without the interposition of a comma, this would give the unexceptionable: 'govern the republic' (*rem publicam/res publica*). With the comma (which could be reproduced in the inflection of the declamation) it emphasises precisely what the authorities are governing: the goods, and the people, that make up the commonwealth.

Bloc's dedication seems then to end with a veiled reference to the accusations of mismanagement which beset the Magdeburg town council during the inflationary troubles: if they manage the town's goods according to the virtue their ancestors showed, their reputation will be safeguarded. This suggestion is reinforced by his reference earlier in this closing passage

to the lives of plenty which the 1624 authorities enjoy. If they have truly been blameworthy, as Bloc suggests by alluding to a specific fault, then in accepting his accusation and recommendations, they will undo the illwill and calumny, which, it must then be understood, is attached not to them but to their accusers, among them Bloc himself who now asks for admission back into their good favour. Magdeburg's experience of the Interim dispute is here presented as bleakly as is possible, invoking the possibility of dark times ahead. This however seems not to be because Bloc envisages a comparable external threat to the town: he points to the comparative advantage of the councillors of 1624, who live in safety and prosperity. Instead, he appears to view the prospect of misgovernment as the threat which can be averted only by the councillors' imitation of the virtues of their ancestors.

3.4 Language of war and sources of news

The 1620s saw an instrumentalisation of the sixteenth-century siege which attempted in particular by emphasising the danger and difficulty of that time to comment on specific local problems. These problems did not yet include war in the Empire as a local concern, so that when citizens were required to imagine themselves on the brink of war, they were exhorted more to make the moral choices which would advert this and other dangers as punishment from God than to contemplate as an immediate possibility the heroic defense of their faith. The third part of the thesis will examine the period of renewed siege and warfare. It will draw to an extent on the descriptions of the experience of war provided in the first two parts. It is therefore necessary to conclude this contextualisation of Elias Pomarius's history by considering briefly a set of sources which presented to Magdeburgers an alternative perspective on siege.

Hasse has observed that the appearance of a decline in printing in Magdeburg in the mid-1620s must be offset by the evidence for a Magdeburg weekly newspaper, which, he opines, Andreas Betzel most likely began to print in 1626. Only one copy of a single number survives: this is XXVIII, containing relations of foreign affairs dated June 1626. It bears the title *Wochentlichen Zeitung*, and gives no explicit evidence of the printer, whom Hasse identifies

through comparison of lettering.[173] It is impossible to know how long printing of this newspaper continued. Hasse suggests that this publication should be seen as a replacement for the news compendia distributed twice yearly at book-fairs, which were reprinted in Magdeburg by a number of printers until early in the war,[174] and whose origin can be traced to the Frankfurt autumn fair of 1583.[175]

Hasse's surmise seems reasonable, and the survival of some form of news media in Magdeburg for the period of the Thirty Years War, even after the slump in printing activity after 1625, suggests a continued appetite for news of the affairs of the Empire, stimulated, as Weber suggests, by the potential relevance to local conditions of news from far-off lands: 'the intricate tangle of political and dynastic relationships meant that conflicts in geographically remote lands might soon have

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173 Max Hasse, *Magdeburger Buchdruckerkunst im 16. 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Magdeburg, 1940), 82-5.

174 Hasse, *Buchdruckerkunst*, 78. From 1618, compilations of the *Relationis Historicae* printed in Magdeburg were *Jacobi Franci, Historicae Relationis Continuatio Trigesima Quarta, Oder die vier und dreissigste... Auffs beste Colligirt von verschiener Franckfurter Herbstmeß/ biß auff vorstehende Franckfurter Fastenmeß dieses 1618. Jahrs*, (Magdeburg, 1618); *Jacobi Franci. Historicae Relationis Continuatio Trigesima Quinta Oder die fünff und dreissigste... Auffs beste Colligirt von verschiener Franckfurter Fastenmeß/ biß auff vorstehende Franckfurter Herbstmeß dieses 1618. Jahrs*, ed. Jacobus Francus (Magdeburg, 1618); *Jacobi Franci. Historicae Relationis Continuatio Trigesima Septima, Oder die Sieben und dreissigste. ... Auffs beste Colligirt von verschiener Franckfurter Fastenmeß/ biß auff vorstehende Franckfurter Herbstmeß dieses 1619. Jahrs* (Magdeburg, 1619); *Jacobi Franci. Historicae Relationis Continuatio Trigesima Sexta. Oder die Sechs und dreissigste. ... Auffs beste Colligirt von verschiener Franckfurter Herbstmeß/ biß auff vorstehende Franckfurter Fastenmeß dieses 1619. Jahrs* (Magdeburg, 1619). *Jacobi Franci. Historicae Relationis Continuatio Trigesima Octava. Oder die acht und dreissigste ... Auffs beste Colligirt von verschiener Franckfurter Herbstmeß/ biß auff vorstehende Franckfurter Fastenmeß dieses 1620. Jahrs* (Magdeburg, 1620). *Jacobi Franci. Historicae Relationis Continuatio Trigesima Nona Oder die neun und dreissigste...Auffs beste Colligirt von verschiener Franckfurter Fastenmeß/ biß auff vorstehende Franckfurter Herbstmeß/ dieses 1620. Jahrs*, (Magdeburg, 1620).

175 Johannes Weber, 'Strassburg, 1605: The Origins of the Newspaper in Europe', *German History* 24 (2006), 387-412, 389.

consequences much closer to home'.[176] If one adopts Weber's explanation for the flourishing of the news paper in the early years of the Thirty Years War, one may consider this medium as an alternative means by which the citizens of Magdeburg might be encouraged to imagine themselves suffering in the place of those besieged or otherwise suffering the consequences of war.

A system of communications which permitted the rapid distribution of information, however, tended to compromise control of authories over information thus circulated,[177] while the practise of introducing extensive and explicit commentary into the reporting of news came only later in the seventeenth century.[178] This section will therefore demonstrate that the appetite for news of war in the Empire exposed Magdeburgers to an influence quite distinct from the local historiographical tradition of siege, Nonetheless, common cultural influences underlying news reports, statements reported, and the Magdeburg history of Pomarius in particular would seem to invite comparison by the reader of the incidents described in the news reports with the received historiography of siege. Working therefore on the basis that these compilations, which were printed in several cities, are the best approximation available of the narrative provided by Magdeburg's news service between 1618 to 1631, I have examined the *Historicae*

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176 Weber, 'Strassburg, 1605', 396.

177 See Behringer's study of the development of the press and its dependence on the imperial and supraterritorial postal systems: Wolfgang Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur. Reichspost und Kommunikationsrevolution in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen, 2003), esp. section 1, here 66, 688.

178 As discussed in Johannes Weber, 'Daniel Hartnack—ein gelehrter Streithahn und Avisenschreiber am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts. Zum Beginn politisch kommentierender Zeitungspresse', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 68 (1993), 140–58. This is not to say that the language of news reports and certain editorial practices did not produce accounts tending to partisanship, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 5 with regard to both the *Historical Relation* and the nascent French state press.

Relationis for this period in order to consider the perspectives on war in the empire delivered to Magdeburg outside the context of its local history and authorities. I will refer to these works at various points throughout the thesis, but here will use them to consider the theme of perceived danger which the examination of the seventeenth-century histories of the 1550 siege has shown to be significant.

When Pomarius discussed the dreadful dangers of the sixteenth-century siege, he pointed to the fact that although Magdeburg, unlike Troy, was not 'reduced to ashes', a besieging general had threatened that 'the child in its mother's womb will not be spared'.[179] While Pomarius used these images for specific reasons discussed above, he also borrowed from a widely used terminology. News reports of the Thirty Years War, as reproduced in compilation in Matthias Merian's *Theatrum Europeaum* and Jacob Franck's *Historical Relation* show this threat as a standard strategy, sufficiently well-known to become the subject of satire. Bethlen Gabor was said to have made the same threat at Caschau in 1619,[180] and the *Historical Relation* expanded on the quotation to explain that the threat of such violence convinced the town to surrender, and affected the morale of nearby

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179 '... in die aschen geleget worden'. Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg,* (:)3; '... wo diese Stadt mit gewalt würde erobert werden/ er ein solch Blutbadt drinnen anrichten wolte/ das des Kindes in Mutterleibe nicht geschonet werden solte'. Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg,* (:)2=[(:)(:)2]

180 *Theatrum Europeaum*, i. 219: 'des Kindes in Mutterleib nicht soltet verschönen werden'.

towns.[181] The *Historical Relation* reported in 1622, that Mansfeld called on the imperial garrison at Ladenberg to surrender in similar terms:

> Was [the general] now willing to give up the town? if not, no-one, not even the child in its mother's womb, would be spared. Hereupon the General Eynetten put it to Mansfeld in return that he for his part, God be praised, had no child in the womb: nonetheless he was not disinclined to negotiate … an honourable peace. [182]

This response reflects, and communicates to the reader of the news report, an understanding that much of the established rhetoric of military exchange described violence much beyond what the speakers in fact envisaged. The same threat was reported to have been used in Höchst in 1622, and when the town nonetheless failed to surrender and was taken by storm, the *Historical Relation* described plundering, but the citizens escaped.[183] The *Historical Relation* relayed numerous colourful exchanges between besieged and besiegers, with the former promising resistance to the last and the latter threatening massacre. Nonetheless, its accounts were of negotiation, which, it suggested, could take place even after

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181 *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio Warhafftige Beschreibung aller Furmem(-) und gedenckwuerdigen Historien/ so sich... hierzwischen nechstverscheiner Franckfurter Herbstmesse biss auf Fastenmessz dieses 1620 Jahrs verlauffen und zugetragen* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1620), 3-4.

182 '…ob er nun die Statt auffgeben wolt? im widrigen/ solt nimands auch dess Kinds in Mutterleib nicht verschonet werden. Hierauff hat der Oberst Eynetten dem Graffen von Manssfeldt wieder zuentbotten/ er sins theils hab Gott Lob kein Kind im Leib/ doch sey er ein … ehrelichen Accordt zu tractiren/ nicht ungeneigt…'. *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio... nechstvershiener Franckfurter Fastenmessz biss auff Herbstmesse dieses 1622 Jahrs verlauggen und zugetragen* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1622), 9.

183 *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio... nechstvershiener Franckfurter Fastenmessz biss auff Herbstmesse dieses 1622 Jahrs verlauggen und zugetragen* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1622), 34-5.

heroic resistance. In the case of Bautzen, besieged by Saxony in 1620, prolonged sufferings by citizens who gathered in their churches to ask God for heart and courage ended in a negotiated surrender after two surrounding walls had been breached.[184] While the vast majority of the sieges of or attacks on towns or castles reported on in the *Relationis Historicae* ended in success for the aggressors, the two most common patterns reported are either a negotiated surrender with limited repercussions, or the capture of a small town or stronghold with no implication that negotiations have taken place, and little detail of the consequences. A common formula in the latter case is to explain that a list of places has been taken by various means:'some through force, some through surrender'[185] or 'captured, some plundered, some burnt'[186]

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184 *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio Warhafftige Beschreibung aller Furmem(-) und gedenckwuerdigen Historien/ so sich... hierzwischen nechstverscheiner Franckfurter Fastenmessz biss auf Herbstmessz dieses 1620 Jahrs verlauffen und zugetragen* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1620), [118]; *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio... nechstvershiener Franckfurter Herbstmessz biss auff Fastenmessz dieses 1621 Jahrs verlauggen und zugetragen* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1621), 27.

185 In 1620: 'Rödelheim, Stadecken, Stromberg, Landsberg. Monsingen, Ravengirsburg, Arienschwanck, Sponheim, Rockenhavsen, Falckenstein, Meysenheim, Mertenstein, Rheingrafenstein, Castelhvn, Altzey, Oppenhiem, Ingolheim, Bachrach, Cavb, Trorbach, Simmeren, Sobernheim, Davn, Kirchberk, Friedbergk, Beckelheim, Kirn, Odernhelm, Pfaltz, Müntzenberg, Wetzflar, Braunfels, Creutznach, Gelnhausen, Beilstein, Gvntersblvm, Engelstat' were taken 'theils mit Gewalt, theils mit Ubergebung'.

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio Warhafftige Beschreibung aller Furnemen und gedenckwuerdigen Historien/ so sich hierzwischen nechstverscheiner Franckfurter Herbstmesse biss auf Fastenmessz dieses 1620 Jahrs verlauffen und zugetragen (Frankfurt am Main, 1620), 62.

186 'erobert, / theils gepluendert/ theils aussgebrandt': 'Tachaw, Schlackenwald, KoenigsGraetz, Altsattel', in 1621. *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio Warhafftige Beschriebung aller ... Historien/ so sich hierzwischen nechstvershiener Franckfurter Herbstmessz biss auff Fastenmessz dieses 1621 Jahrs verlauggen und zugetragen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1621), 112.

If the latter cases demonstrated the cruelty of war, they also detached its worst terrors from the framework of cruel threat and heroic resistance which the *Historical Relation* provided as context for more complex narratives, with details of negotiation, surrender, and usually limited consequences. The evocation of horrors in the *Historical Relation* did not imply a struggle to the bitter end, and the language which Pomarius reproduced from military custom here would not in every context communicate the threat implied. Pomarius wrote with the commonplace but not inevitable intention of delivering a warning from history to contemporaries.[187] His decision to do so with particular reference to the threat of violence against civilians may in fact have weakened his presentation. This threat, identified by Asch as one frequently overstated, and tending as the reports above suggest to be most often realised among smaller populations,[188] was certainly communicated by the news-media to which Magdeburgers were exposed, but the presentation, unlike that of Pomarius, would by no means encourage them to visualise themselves and their city on the brink of catastrophe, even where the nature of the threat to their security introduced the prospect of taking up arms in defence of religious liberty.

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[187] On this tendency and on the countervailing practice of writing for posterity, see Charlotte Woodward, *Nuns as Historians in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford, 2002), 119.

[188] Roland G. Asch, '"Wo der Soldat Hinkömbt, da ist alles sein": Military Violence and Atrocities in the Thirty Years War re-examined', *German History* 2000 (18/3), 291-309.

Conclusions

This chapter has probed the details of the immediate dangers evoked by Elias Pomerius in his 1622 history of the sixteenth-century siege. It has established that the 'tumults' to which he referred were the raids on houses belonging among others to town councillors and officers. It has revealed that the actions of the rioters were a consistent response to the criticisms of authority made extensively by Spaignart, echoed to a degree by Johann Bloc, and endorsed in principle by Elias Pomarius. Similar cooperation could be seen on a larger scale between members of Magdeburg's school and clergy in meeting specific problems. The particular presentation of these disputes by school and clergy perpetuated the broader message of Spaignart's 1621 treatises, that Magdeburg's church was under threat from within the community, and had the potential to continue the association of the council with one of his specific accusations, that it was willing to sacrifice the town's school to its greed.

In this climate, the effect of references to danger with regard to the 1550 siege was to evoke moral danger, raising the sceptre of punishment from God, though not with specific reference to war. The presentation of the siege in Bloc's 1624 *Eusebia* suggests not only that the tensions of the inflationary crisis and the Cramer controversies had persisted, but also that, apparently on some matter relating to the council's management of the

town's assets, there had been a breach in relations between Bloc and the council. This is unsurprising considering the style of Bloc's dedications. The suggestion that a quarrel over defamation precedes the military crisis is useful, because as the next part of the thesis will demonstrate, accusations of slander and misuse of influence became enmeshed with the question of responsibility for the 1631 disaster. It is worth noting too that the tendency to intervene in civic affairs by invoking pressing danger due to the behaviour of both community and authority was established but problematic in Magdeburg affairs by 1625.

This chapter has demonstrated with regard to these attempts to intervene how an escape from disaster could nonetheless become a terrible warning from history. This warning had to be constructed in response to particular circumstances, as it formed a contrast both with earlier histories of the sixteenth-century siege and with the pattern emerging from war news in the early years of the Thirty Years War. It should therefore not be presumed that, in changed circumtances, either the purveyors of this warning or their readership, congregations, pupils, and spectators would necessarily draw the same conclusions from the sixteenth-century siege.

PART THREE: REPUTATION AND RESPONSIBILITY: THE CRISIS AND ITS HISTORIOGRAPHY

The third part of the thesis is to a large extent a response to the historiography of the siege of 1631, and forms in particular an attempt to move away from reliance on a small number of primary sources which have become standard accounts. It considers events from 1625, though with a focus on the years between 1628 and 1631. In these years, Magdeburg's significance to the wider conflict shifted. Christian Wilhelm fought briefly alongside Christian IV of Denmark but failed to gain admission to the Magdeburg liberties as a centre of operation; he was forced to flee the archdiocese in 1626 after the defeat by Danish forces and their allies in the Battle of Lutter. From 1625, Wallenstein used the two archbishoprics of Halberstadt and Magdeburg as the seat from which his entrepreneurial army could pursue further campaigns, and in particular could drive towards the Baltic. Because the Magdeburg *Altstadt* had resisted pressure to intervene with Christian Wilhelm against the imperial armies, it could not be said to have breached imperial law during this 'Danish' phase of the Thirty Years War. However, Wallenstein had been given a free hand to raise money for his campaign from all subjects of the Emperor, so that the scene was set for conflict with any

local power likely to possess resources of use to his army, and a series of complex negotiations with Magdeburg, interspersed with skirmishes, ensued.[189]

It was in this context that Magdeburg's cathedral chapter voted in 1628 to depose Christian Wilhelm, hoping to gain Saxon protection by electing August, son of Elector Johann Georg, to the position. Lutheran Saxony, having allied itself with the Emperor during the Bohemian phase of the war,[190] was a power which might be hoped to extend sufficient influence on the Emperor to stem Wallenstein's demands on both archbishopric and city. Ferdinand II rejected this candidate, so that the archdiocese was in a particularly precarious position with the promulgation of the Edict of Restitution in 1629: his plan was to extend Habsburg influence in the area by having his son Leopold Wilhelm elected to the position. Having adopted Lutheranism after the signing of the Treaty of Passau in 1552, the archbishop was now due to be repossessed by a Catholic candidate at the Emperor's pleasure, an act which would necessarily involve the reception of the new archbishop within the walls of fortified Magdeburg, with subsequnt loss of autonomy and likely religious resettlement.[191] Wallenstein, who had disapproved of the Edict and whose growing strength in Germany and Friedland alarmed Ferdinand, was in 1630 removed from command and replaced by Tilly, who

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[189] On Wallenstein's campaigns and their financing see Fritz Redlich, *The German Military Enterpriser and His Work Force: A Study in European Economic and Social History* (2 vols, Wiesbaden, 1964-5), 180-221.

[190] See Franz Müller, *Kursachsen und der Böhmischer Aufstand 1618-1622* (Münster, 1997).

[191] Lutz Miehe, ' "Das wäre ein Bissen für den Sohn Ihrer Majestät." Das Ringen um die Vorherrschaft im Erzbistum Magdeburg während des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', in Puhle (ed.) *'gantz verheeret...!'*, 35-44

declared his intention in June that year to see the Edict enforced in Magdeburg.[192] Magdeburg's further appeals to Saxony in this dilemma produced no official support: Elector Johann Georg temporized at the promulgation of the Edict,[193] although it will be suggested in chapter five that Magdeburg was given some grounds for expecting Saxon mobilization in its support. The appeal to Saxony, it will be suggested, was a strategy much preferred to a Swedish alliance: when a Swedish alliance was signed, it brought the city into open rebellion against the Emperor.[194]

In considering Magdeburg's internal conflict in this period, then, there is cause to ask whether the opinion formers discussed in Part 2 of the thesis should be thought to have incited rebellion against the Emperor according to a long-simmering conspiracy, or whether their tendency was more towards the Lutheran 'third party' in the Imperial crisis, represented by the Saxons. The argument of this third section will be that, contrary to suggestions in the secondary literature, Magdeburg's rebellion was not planned by an coherent internal party of clerics and cititzens, but came only when internal dissent hindered the workings of authority in the town to such an extent that Christian Wilhelm's return appeared to represent the only possibility for stability.

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[192] Michael Kaiser, *Politik und Kriegführung. Maximilian von Bayern, Tilly und die Katholische Liga im Dreissigjährigen Krieg* (Münster, 1999), 303-10.
[193] 'Der kursächsiches Oberhofprediger Matthias Höe von Höenegg – seine Theologie, Polemik und Kirchenpolitik' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig, 1967), 155-61.
[194] See Kaiser, *Politik und Kriegführung*, 303-88.

Chapter 4 takes as a starting point Wallenstein's blockade of Magdeburg in 1629, and discusses the manner in which this event has become central to the historiography of the 1631 siege. It considers the arrival of Hanseatic envoys sent to negotiate peace with Wallenstein on Magdeburg's behalf, studying evidence of church and civic ritual in response to this event, and connecting it with references to the 1550 siege in Peter Hecht's exhortation to Magdeburgers to stand fast amid their current trials.

Arguing that the scholarly and clerical group discussed in chapter three sent combined calls for intervention to powers outside Magdeburg it this time, it proposes nonetheless that manifestations of hostility within the town should not in all cases be taken to indicate the dichotomy between a pro-Imperial town council and anti-Imperial supporters of Christian Wilhelm which the secondary historiography tends to impose. It considers the constitution of the new town council of 1630, and observes for the period prior to Christian Wilhelm's arrival a crisis in authority which separates into hostile camps some of the supposed members of his party.

The starting point of Chapter 5 is the aftermath of Tilly's siege and destruction of the town in 1631. Having suggested with Chapter 4 that the construction of the anti-Imperial party in the town may have been overstated, Chapter 5 argues that for Spaignart in particular, an appeal to electoral Saxony is a more convincing explanation of events than a deepseated loyalty to Christian

Wilhelm. It contests some of the evidence brought against him by Wittich, and examines the evidence for this appeal to Saxony on his part. It connects this appeal with the cathedral chapter and the figure of Reinhard Bake, examining brief references to the 1550 siege in Bake's 1630 jubilee sermons. Finally, it considers why the historiography should not evoke a Saxon connection.

CHAPTER FOUR: 'Leading the common man astray'[1]

Introduction

This chapter reviews the secondary literature for the crisis of 1631, observing the emergence of a trend which sees all division as a manifestion of anti-Imperial sentiment and as support for Christian Wilhelm. It then examines four areas in which dispute can be seen to have arisen in Magdeburg in this period: the first is the appeal to external powers to intervene for Magdeburg in 1629; the second is the dispute over the burden of war, with reference to clergy and scholars in particular; the third is the need for constitutional reform and the establishment of a new town council; the fourth, encompassing in the period covered the return of Christian Wilhelm to Magdeburg, is the connected disputes over printing and precedence for which there is evidence in 1630.

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[1] Otto von Guericke, 'Belagerung, Eroberung und Zerstörung der Stadt Magdeburg am 10/20 Mai 1631', edited by Friedrich Wilhelm Hoffman and updated by Horst Kohl. (Leipzig, 1912), 83. 'Verführung des gemeinen Mannes'.

4.1 Review of literature and source material

While this chapter will discuss events up to the return of Christian Wilhelm to Magdeburg in July 1630, the literature reviewed here is also relevant to the final chapter. The blockade of 1629 has in fact a central place in the historiography of the siege of 1631. We owe this focus first to the perception and presentation of events by contemporaries. The town council in the immediate approach to Magdeburg's destruction in 1631 published a comprehensive official printed defence of its actions, the *Außführliche Wolgegründete DEDUCTION*,[2] which had in fact been prepared for publication during the 1629 blockade: peace had intervened while it was being printed.[3] The town council in its advertisement to the

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[2] *Außführliche Wolgegründete DEDUCTION Eines E[hrbaren] Raths und gemeiner Stadt Magdeburg: Darinnen Der Röm. Käys. auch zu Hungern und Böheimb Königl. Mayest. jhrem Allergnädigsten Käyser und Herren/ so wohl allen Chur: Fürsten und Ständen/ deß Heyligen Römischen Reichs/ und sonsten jedermänniglich/ ermelten Raths und der Stadt kundtbahre Unschuldt/ wegen der jetzigen unvermutheten/ vberauß harten und hochbeschwerlichen/ doch unverdienten Blockquirung/ Gewaltsamen Feindlichen Zusetzun und Bedrängueß/ aller Unterthänigst/ Unterthanigst Dienst und Freundliche zuerkennen gegeben wird. Auß Hochwichtigen und bewegenden Ursachen/ wie zum theil im Eingange zuvernehmen/ in offenen Druck verfertiget* (Magdeburg: Betzel, 1631). This existed in at least three editions which have identical text except in the 'Advertisement to the benevolent reader' ('Erinnerung an der Guthertzigen Leser'), which is omitted from one edition : the printing of all versions extant by the late nineteenth century can be dated to 1631. The town council proposed after the peace of 1629 to proceed with publication, and references do exist to a 1629 edition, which may, for diplomatic reasons, have had restricted circulation: see Ernst Neubauer, 'Die auf Magdeburgs Blokade im Jahre 1629 bezüglichen Flugschriften', *MGB* 1889 (24), 110-134, I, IX; Addenda, *MGB* 1890 (25), 43-6; 'Peter Meyers Tagebuch über die Geschichte der Stadt Magdeburg im Jahre 1626', *MGB* 1889 (24), 339-60, 339; Werner Lahne, *Magdeburgs Zerstörung in der zeitgenössischen Publizistik* (Magdeburg, 1931), 43; Hasse, *Magdeburger Buchdruckerkunst*, 78.

[3] Bürgermeister Johann Dauth referred to it by name in 1629, telling the Hanseatic deputies who negotiated peace with Wallenstein that printing of the third section had

reader explained that Magdeburg's plight in 1631 might be considered a continuation of the hardships and breach of privilege and imperial guarantee exposed in the text and compiliation of official documents prepared two years earlier.[4] As might be expected, the *Außführliche Wolgegründete DEDUCTION* avoided any criticism of the emperor in both the older portions and the text inserted in 1631. Nonetheless, its conflation of the grievances and potential remedies of the 1629 and 1631 sieges could be used to support the argument around which the secondary literature has formed a consensus.

This consensus is that after peace with Wallenstein was achieved in September 1629, dissatisfaction persisted in the town largely because anti-imperialist sentiments were already too strong to be assuaged. A town council which sought anything other than an offensive alliance against imperial troops could not hope to govern the town. The two primary sources to which historians have referred most frequently in studying the disaster of 1631 have contributed to this consensus through the different emphases they place on the 1629 blockade. The accounts in question are Otto von Guericke's *Siege, Conquest, and Destruction of the town of Magdeburg* and the anonymous 'Comprehensive and truthful Account'. Otto von Guericke started his account with the blockade of 1629 and with the description of factions unwilling to respond to Magdeburg's

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begun: Holstein, Hugo, 'Änderung der Regierungsverfassung in Magdeburg im Jahre 1630', *Zeitschrift für Preussische Geschichte und Landeskunde*, 1887 (14), 261-93, 266.

4 *Außführliche Wolgegründete DEDUCTION*, R-[Rii].

sufferings at the hands of imperial troops by any means but war.[5] Conversely, the author of the 'Comprehensive and truthful Account', which like Guericke's work was produced after the fall of Magdeburg in 1631, having begun his narrative in 1619, gave few details of the blockade itself, compressing the account so that it related events of the blockade and its immediate aftermath to its account of the divisions which grew around the figure of the imprisoned General Schneidewind.[6] In both cases, the blockade was represented as having brought to prominence and formal organisation the anti-imperial factions which would later provoke the replacement and reorganisation of the town council. Conflict within the town was described as that of the imperial versus the anti-imperial party, with the latter opposing a 'good imperial' and undifferentiated town council.

These two works are of immense importance for the historiography of Magdeburg's siege, but certain modifications of their accounts will be offered in the next two chapters. For this reason, an examination of their origins and

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5 Guericke, *Belagerung, Eroberung und Zerstörung der Stadt Magdeburg,* 5-8.

6 'Ausführliche, Wahrhafte Relation samt Beilagen, womit zu beweisen, wodurch und aus was Grund, Anfang, Mittel und Ende die uralte und gute Stadt MAGDEBURG zu dem erbärmlichen Untergang und Ruin veranlasset, befordert und vollständig gebracht worden. Der leiben Wahrheit zu Steuer, und zu Rettung ehrlicher und zur Ungebühr deswegen traducirter und beschuldigter Leute guter Namen'. This was published by Calvisius in the eighteenth century in a version which omitted many names and some of the invective of the original, which was transcribed by Julius Opel in from a manuscript version in the Stadtbibliothek [now Stadtarchiv] Magdeburg (Magd M Fol No 36), *Neue Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiet historisch-antiquarischer Forschungen* 13 (1874), 411-51. Calvisius (Seth-Henrico Calvisius, *Das zerstöhrete und wieder aufgerichtete Magdeburg* (Magdeburg, 1727)) does not include the appendices, which were lost by the time Opel came to edit the manuscript. Gustav Droysen appears to have had access to a manuscript version in Dresden, or at least to a copy of extracts, in producing his *Gustav Adolf.* Brief references to the blockade occur 420-2. This and all subsequent references are to Opel's edition of the text.

receptions and some preliminary remarks on their limitations will be given here. The *Siege, Destruction, and Conquest* and the 'Comprehensive and truthful Account' have important elements in common. Both dealt with recent history, having been composed after the siege. The the exact date of composition is not available in either case. Guericke's introduction shows that his account was written after the end of the Thirty Years War,[7] while I have found it possible to date the 'Comprehensive and truthful Account' through internal evidence to the period when Ludwig von Anhalt acted as Lieutenant for the Swedish King in Magdeburg, between 1632 and 1635.[8]

Both of these primary sources purport to correct unnamed erroneous accounts, setting the historical record straight. For Guericke, this record has been tainted precisely because of the existence in the town before the disaster of two opposing parties: while the survivors of the one, 'good imperial' (gut kaiserlich) party claimed to have been correct in their advice and predictions, the other which

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7 Guericke, *Belagerung, Eroberung und Zerstörung*, 5.

8 There is a reference to the deacon of Magdeburg's cathedral, Decenius, leaving the town with the Swedish General Báner, 'Ausführliche, Wahrhafte Relation', 433. This occurred in 1632, after Decenius had had differences with the newly re-established town council. The correspondence of the town council with Christoph Schultze, Swedish royal councillor, is reproduced in Calvisius, *Zerstöhrete und wieder aufgerichtete Magdeburg*, 239. The dispute is outlined in Harald Schultze, 'Reinhard Bake und die Magdeburger Pastoren im Dreissigjährigen Krieg', in *Konfession, Krieg und Katastrophe, Magdeburgs Geschick im Dreissigjährigen Krieg* (Magdeburg, 2005), 25-42, 40. There is a reference to 'the servant and legal councillor of the Prince of Anhalt, Christoph Schultze', (der fuerstlich Anhaltische Bedienter und Advocatus, Christoph Schultze, 'Ausführliche, Wahrhafte Relation', 434), a role that can only applied to Schultze after the Swedes left Magdeburg in 1632, and before the town was detached from the protectorate of Anhalt in 1635, with the Peace of Prague, when Schultze resigned his position. On the Peace of Prague and Schultze's change of status, see Hoffman, *Geschichte der Stadt Magdeburg* ii, 214; and Hoffman, *Otto von Guericke*, 27.

had been responsible for 'leading the common man astray', accused the imperial party of collaboration or treachery. His account, he claimed, could set the matter to rest.[9] The more vehement 'Comprehensive and truthful account' had its claim to counteract false reports in its full title: 'Comprehensive and truthful account, with appendices, from which it may be demonstrated, whence and by what reason, origin, means, and to what end the good and ancient town of MAGDEBURG was prompted, encouraged and fully delivered to pitiful ruin and perdition. In service of the beloved truth, and to rescue the good names of people who though honourable have nonetheless undeservedly been help up to criticism and accused in this matter'. The introduction expounded on countless travesties printed so far.[10]

In different manners, both of these works assigned blame for the catastrophe. Neither appears to have been printed in the lifetime of any participant in the events described, so that no contemporary response to either can be identified; however, manuscript versions of both were available to historians in Magdeburg's town library until the twentieth century, and, it seems probable, from the time of their composition. The first known publication of Guericke's *Siege, Conquest, and Destruction* was Friedrich Wilhelm Hoffmann's edition of 1860.[11]

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9 Guericke, *Belagerung, Eroberung und Zerstörung*, 83.

10 'Ausführliche, Wahrhafte Relation samt Beilagen, womit zu beweisen, wodurch und aus was Grund, Anfang, Mittel und Ende die uralte und gute Stadt MAGDEBURG zu dem erbärmlichen Untergang und Ruin veranlasset, befordert und vollständig gebracht worden. Der leiben Wahrheit zu Steuer, und zu Rettung ehrlicher und zur Ungebühr deswegen traducirter und beschuldigter Leute guter Namen': complaints against other, unnamed writers occupy 411-2.

11 Friedrich Wilhelm Hoffmann (ed.), *Geschichte der Belagerung, Eroberung und Zerstörung Magdeburg's von Otto von Guericke, churfürstlich-brandenburgischem Rath*

From Guericke's plans to publish a history of Magdeburg, of which this is the only surviving component, and from the revisions he made to the account, it appears that he intended to have the work printed.[12] Hoffmann's very influential history of Magdeburg draws heavily on this account by Guericke, who may be considered a useful and well-placed informant because he was a military engineer, belonged to one of Magdeburg's patrician families, was from 1626 a member of the town council unseated in 1630, and was elected in 1630 to the new town council that governed Magdeburg during the siege of 1631.[13] Guericke's subsequent achievements as a diplomat in the service of Magdeburg and as a man of science celebrated throughout Europe in his lifetime have given his account still more credibility in the eyes of later historians. The examination and commemoration of his achievements form an important part of Magdeburg's historiography and civic culture: his accomplishments and record of service tend to be seen as the high point

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und Bürgermeister besagter Stadt. Aus der Handschrift zum Erstenmal veröffentlicht. (Magdeburg, 1860) .

[12] Guericke produced two manuscript versions, the shorter of which omits some names and details: only the shorter version has been printed, although Hoffmann's edition has some material from the longer document in the form of footnotes. The latter survives in the Stadtbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Handschriften Ms. Borouss folio 910ff. All passages which Guericke expunged, presumably for publication, were reproduced by Wittich in *Magdeburg, Gustav Adolph und Tilly,* ii., and many of these passages are inserted in the Horst Kohl edition in use here. On the manuscript versions and print history, see Ditmar Schneider 'Zu Otto Gerickes Relations', in Otto von Guericke *Relationes, Derer dem Herren Buergermeister wegen gemeiner Stadt Magdeburgk 18 Jahr nach ein ander vffgetragenen undt anvertraueten 17 Unterschiedenen, mehrentheils gar langwirigen Verschickungen (1642 bis 1660),* transcribed by Ditmar Schneider and translated from the Latin by Rudolf Engelhart (Halle an der Saale, 2005), pp. xxviii-xxix. A critical edition of the Berlin manuscript will presumably appear in the future as part of the edition of Guericke's collected works of which the *Relationes* is a component. A brief history and appraisal of the text is given in Geoffrey Mortimer, 'Eyewitness Accounts of the Thirty Years War' (D. Phil. Thesis, Trinity College, Oxford, 1999), 71-2.

[13] Dittmar, 'Die Bürgermeister und Kämmerer der Stadt Magdeburg von 1213-1680', *MGB* 24 (1899), 135-68, based on a number of registers from the Magdeburg Stadtarchiv.

of an otherwise bleak period in the city's history.[14] The *Siege, Conquest, and Destruction* gives a relatively unsensational account of the behaviour of imperial soldiers during the destruction of the town, seeming above all not to blame them explicitly for the burning of Magdeburg.[15] Guericke's perspective has been considered balanced in comparison with the works which emerged immediately after the siege.[16] This has contributed to the fact that the qualities of objectivity and rationality often associated with the scientific endeavours to which Guericke's wider fame is due have been adduced to his work as a historian.[17]

Nonetheless, there are reasons to treat the *Siege, Conquest, and Destruction* with some caution. It is a brief work, and it will argued below that the incidents to which it refers cannot necessarily be used to draw conclusions about long-term trends in the town. It is also, as has been noted, the work of a diplomat: Guericke undertook missions for Magdeburg between 1642 and 1663, in the course of which he defended the town against what were seen as continuing encroachments on its privileges by the cathedral chapter and the electoral princes of Brandenburg and Saxony. The support of the Emperor, entailing his confirmation of privileges previously granted, was vital to this defence, and to Magdeburg's ultimate aim of

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14 Friedrich Wilhelm Hoffmann wrote the classic biography of Guericke: Friedrich Wilhelm Hoffmann, *Otto von Guericke, Bürgermeister der Stadt Magdeburg*, edited by J. O. Opel (Magdeburg, 1874). The same tendency can be seen in the title of Ditmar Schneider, Otto von Guericke. Ein Leben für die Alte Stadt Magdeburg (Leipzig, 1997).

15 Guericke, *Belagerung, Eröberung und Zerstörung*, 74.

16 Mortimer, 'Eyewitness Accounts', 71-2.

17 Karl Lohmann (ed.), *Die Zerstörung Magdeburgs und andere Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Dreissigjährigen Kriege* (Berlin, 1913), 13; Harald Schultze, 'Otto von Guericke und das kirchliche Magdeburg nach 1631', Monumenta Guerickiana 11/12 (2003), 107-117, 107.

acquiring, or by some accounts regaining, the status of a free imperial city, hopes for which had not been relinquished even after the destruction of the city by imperial troops in 1631.[18]

Guericke participated in the negotiations which ended in the Peace of Münster and the Peace of Westphalia with the aim, among others, of winning Magdeburg the status of free imperial city. The records of his participation demonstrate that he was aware of the need to base his request on the desired interpretation of the history of Magdeburg's destruction. The perspective which he presents on this event can be seen to have varied according to the interlocutor: in conference with the Swedish councillor Oxenstierna, he reported to the town council, he had argued that Sweden owed Magdeburg money and diplomatic support because the town, having dared and suffered so much more than others in alliance with Sweden, should be considered ahead of other entities to which Sweden was indebted.[19] At the same negotiations but in other company however, faced with the criticism that Magdeburg had behaved foolishly in 1631, he blamed

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[18] On Guericke's diplomatic activities, see Guericke, *Relationes* and Ditmar Schneider, ' "... vielmehr Schaden erlitten alß ich durch die freyheit gewonnen..." Die diplomatischen Abschickungen Otto Gerickes durch den Rat der Alten Stadt Magdeburg von 1642 bis 1666', in *'... gantz verheeret!'*, 80-91. Magdeburg's tenous claim to possess or to have possessed in the past and thus be entitled to the rights of a free imperial city is discussed in Georg Stöckert, 'Die Reichsunmittelbarkeit der Altstadt Magdeburg', *Historische Zeitschrift,* 66 (1891), 193-240.

[19] Guericke, 'Relatio was meine Verrichtung zu Osnabrück und Münster auf dem allda angesetzten allgemeinen Friedenstag gewesen', reproduced and edited by Julius O. Opel in 'Otto von Guericke's Bericht an den Magistrat von Magdeburg über seine Sendung nach Osnabrück und Münster 1646/47', in *Neue Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiet historisch-antiquarischer Forschungen,* 1867 (11), 28-94, 39.

Gustavus Adolphus's lieutenant, Dietrich von Falkenberg, for Magdeburg's failure to surrender in time to avert catastrophe.[20]

Even before 1631, Magdeburg had protested of an unblemished record of loyalty to the emperor, a presentation of its past which demonstrates the importance of that feature in the narratives of the sixteenth-century siege discussed above. This was the basis of the defence and appeal for imperial grace mounted in the *Außführliche Wolgegründete DEDUCTION*.[21] In 1637, envoys who had been members of the Magdeburg town council which had overseen the alliance with Gustavus Adolphus, were able to win for Magdeburg from the Emperor a general amnesty and the continuation of privileges gained up to 1627: these representatives both regained the positions in the town council which they had held before Magdeburg's destruction.[22]

Guericke, in preparing a history of this period, knowingly undertook a delicate task: the storm and destruction of the town by an imperial army could scarcely be attributed to anything less than disobedience to the emperor, but it was in the logic of the recovery of the town and in line with its future hopes that disloyalty to the Emperor should not be emphasised in any account of the town's sufferings. While clearly positing a 'good imperial' party and its opposing member, Guericke is extremely coy about the membership of the latter group, though

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20 Guericke, 'Relatio', 44.

21 *Außführliche Wolgegründete DEDUCTION*, Aij.

22 On this deputation see Wolther, *Geschichte der Stadt Magdeburg*, 183.

categorical in opposing it to the whole town council in 1629.[23] He needed too to counter the claims of the cathedral chapter, which was eager to prevent any extension of the claims of the town council, and which maintained in the history of the period which it commissioned that the town council had collaborated with Christian Wilhelm against imperial authority as early as 1626, cooperated belately but fully in his re-establishment in Magdeburg, and extended its power over the liberties unjustifiably as a result in 1630.[24]

Works printed before Hoffmann published Guericke's history of the siege tended to draw on Calvisius's eighteenth-century, abridged edition of the 'Comprehensive and truthful account'. Opel's full and critical edition, while introducing new information, has not altered the general interpretation of the work. The 'Comprehensive and truthful account' offers a seductively teleological presentation of internal disputes in Magdeburg from 1625 as the work of factions which, consistently pursuing certain ends, ended by leading the city into disaster. It has proved particularly attractive to historians by virtue of the fact that it offers names where other reports refer only to factions and parties.[25] Its authorship is a problem. Opel observes only, based on the wealth of information provided, that

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[23] Guericke, *Belagerung, Eroberung und Geschichte der Stadt Magdeburg,* 7n, 9.

[24] Georg Adam Brunner, 'Summarische Relation des Verlaufs in Staatsachen des Erzstifts Magdeburg und Domkapitels daselbst von ao 1608 bis 1638', reproduced by Ernst Neubauer, 'Georg Adam Brunners Summarische Relation' *MGB* 28 (1893) , 367–90, nos 30, 46.

[25] In particular the list of Magdeburgers who, according to the author of the 'Comprehensive and truthful Account' swore to help Christian Wilhelm to return to Magdeburg in 1630: this, unlike many references to named individuals, was included in Calvisius. It is the only evidence we have for the formalisation of such a conspiracy, and the only grounds for inclusion of most of these individuals in an anti-imperial party. The list, which will be discussed further below, is at 'Ausführliche, Wahrhafte Bericht', 433.

the author appears to be a Magdeburger.[26] Neubauer has claimed that the author was a member the Magdeburg town council which was unseated in 1630; this is by no means evident from the text, although the lost appendices listed suggest access to official documentation. The further suggestion that this was councillor Johann Alemann, though disputed by Wittich,[27] is maintained in some later accounts.[28]

The most specific evidence brought for Johann Alemann's authorship is a very striking similarity between the title of a work by Alemann and that of the 'Comprehensive and truthful Account'. Alemann was accused after the destruction of Magdeburg of having betrayed the town to Tilly: he defended himself in his *Preliminary notice of a planned report, by what reason, origin, means and to what end the good town of Magdeburg was prompted, encouraged and fully delivered to pitiful ruin.*[29] It seems unlikely that the title of this work and the 'Comprehensive and truthful report, with appendices, from which it may be demonstrated, whence and by what reason, origin, means, and to what end the good and ancient town of MAGDEBURG was prompted, encouraged and fully delivered to pitiful ruin and perdition' were produced in isolation from one another.

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26 'Ausführliche, Wahrhafte Bericht', Introduction, 408.

27 Karl Wittich, *Pappenheim und Falkenberg. Ein Beitrag zur Kennzeichnung der lokalpatriotischen geschichtsschreibung Magdeburgs* (Berlin, 1894), 79.

28 Eberhard von Alemann, *Geschichte des Geschlechts von Alemann* (Magdeburg, 1909), 152, 166.

29 Johann Alemann, *Vortrab vorhandener Ausführung, aus was Grund, Anfang, Mittel und Ende die gut Stadt Magdeburg zu dem erbärmlichen Untergang veranlasst, befördert und vollständig gebracht worden* (Hildesheim, 1633).

That the works may have separate authors is however suggested by the fact that the 'Ausführliche Wahrhafte Relation' omits certain defences of Johann Alemann which he was eager to present in the *Preliminary notice.* It does not broach the vexed question, which will be discussed below, of why Alemann left the town in 1629. Alemann died in 1634, which would have left him little time to proceed beyond the *Preliminary notice.*[30] However, the 'Comprehensive and truthful account' does defend Alemann at some length against the charge of treachery in 1631, and points to the losses which the town incurred by not accepting his attempts to mediate with Tilly in that year.[31] Less centred on the figure of Johann Alemann than the *Preliminary notice*, the 'Comprehensive and truthful account' certainly seems to claim common ground with him through the title, and to have been composed by a partisan: it may perhaps have been constructed on the basis of his notes.[32]

The title may nonetheless be considered an explicit association for those who understood the reference to the Alemann cause. The work and the family are both of some significance. The Alemanns seem to have Magdeburg's most powerful patrician family in the early-seventeenth century. The dedications in

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30 Alemann, *Geschichte des Geschlechts von Alemann*, 133.

31 'Ausführliche, Wahrhafte Relation', 444-5.

32 Johann Alemann, *Vortrab vorhandener Ausführung, aus was Grund, Anfang, Mittel und Ende die gut Stadt Magdeburg zu dem erbärmlichen Untergang veranlasst, befördert und vollständig gebracht worden* (Hildesheim, 1634), cited in Alemann, *Geschichte des Geschlechts von Alemann*, 152. The full title of the 'Ausführliche Relation' is 'Ausführliche, Wahrhafte Relation samt Beilagen, womit zu beweisen, wodurch und aus was Gurnd, Anfang, Mittel und Ende die uralte und gute Stadt MAGDEBURG zu dem erbärmlichen Untergang und Ruin veranlasset, befordert und vollständig gebracht worden'. On the relation between the two works see further Alemanns, *Geschichte des Geschlechts von Alemann*, 166.

Andreas Cramer's memorial sermon for Johann Martin Alemann, who died in 1618, give a snapshot of the reach of the family in this period.[33] Johann Martin Alemann had been Bürgermeister. His sons included Johann Alemann and Jacob Alemann, Doctor in law, who was Councillor at the princely court of Braunschweig and at the episcopal council at Halberstadt, as well as serving as Magdeburg's assessor from 1620 until his death in 1630.[34] Their brother Martin Martin had been Bürgermeister before becoming bailiff, a position he held in 1622.[35] A work dedicated to Caspar Alemann, brother of Johann Martin, by Johann Bloc in 1620 dedicates that, as well as being Bürgermeister, he was one of the Scholarchs of the Magdeburg *Altstadt Gymnasium* at that time.[36]

The Alemanns held in fiefdom lands in Alvensleben, and unlike most Magdeburg citizens in this position, who used such privileges only to ensure a sustained personal supply of grain, they used their holdings there from the late sixteenth century to manage a trade in metal.[37] This may explain the apparent resurgence of the family in town affairs by the early seventeenth century: although they had never been far from power, the number of Alemann Bürgermeisters serving Magdeburg at the beginning of the seventeenth century was unusually high.

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33 Reprinted in 1622 in a collection of funeral sermons by Andreas Cramer, *Exequiae Illustres* (1622). Johann Martin Alemann's funeral sermon is at 75-131.

34 See 'Alemann, Jacob', *ADB* i. 334; Alemann, *Geschichte des Geschlechts von Alemann*.121.

35 See Andreas Cramer, *Exequiae Illustres* (1622), 76.

36 Johann Bloc, *Bulla vel Amuletum humani Livoris & impij Luroris; Ad virum Magnificum Dn Casparum Aleman, Jure Consult: eximiū; Consultatus Majestatem... Scholarchum* (Magdeburg, 1620)

37 Peter-Michael Hahn, *Fürstliche Territorialhoheit und lokale Adelsgewalt* (Berlin, 1989), 194.

The Alemanns' influence in Magdeburg was extended by intermarriage amongst the families represented in the town council. Johann Alemann had married in 1620 Elizabeth daughter of former Bürgermeister Wilhelm Dhuiss.[38] Important for the historiography of the siege is the fact that Otto von Guericke, who followed his father into the town council, married Margarethe, the daughter of Dr. Jacob Alemann, and he acted after the siege as plenipotentiary for the Alemanns.[39] Marriage outside the 'town council families' seems to have enabled the Alemanns to widen their base even within the council: a sister of Jacob, Johann, and Martin Martin, another Margarethe Alemann, also named in Cramer's dedication, had married Georg Kühlewein in 1620.[40] We have little biographical detail on Kühlewein, but prior connections in the town council cannot be demonstrated; nonetheless Johann Bloc's celebration of the anniversary of the Lutheran Reformation in 1624 shows that he was by then a town councillor and the first of his family to serve as a treasurer to the council.[41]

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38 See Johann Bloc, *Clarigatio Alemanniae Familiae Seorsim de Consulari Gloria et Memoria Viri Amplissimi Dn Johannis-Martini Alemann...* (Magdeburg, 1620). Dhuis was on the rota of Bürgermeisters between 1605 and 1615.

39 Alemann, *Geschichte des Geschlechtes von Alemann*, 182.

40 Johann Bloc dedicated a celebratory compilation of poetry and prose to the event: *Alemannae Familiae Iaspis: quae peculiari Dei dono cessit Viro ... Dn. Georgio Külwein quem Genus & Geritor ... Cum ... Margarita; Filia Johannis-Martini Alemanni ... Unionis Spectaculum reliquit* (Magdeburg, 1620).

41 The information then available on Kühlewein was collated in Ernst Neubauer, 'Die Häupter der kaiserlichen Partei in Magdeburg 1630', *MGB* 28 (1893), 324-32, but he was not aware of the Bloc dedication and placed the earliest known date of Kühlewein's service in this role in 1628.

The Alemanns had held such positions since the fourteenth century, as Johann Alemann commented in the opening of his *Preliminary Notice*.[42] In 1601-3, the last three-year-cycle for which we have a full register of town councillors, five of the seventy-five men listed were Alemanns; four were on the rota of six Bürgermeisters, two of whom governed yearly, and one was among the six treasurers, next in position to the Bürgermeisters.[43] Treachery aside, the Alemann family had strong associations with the imperial cause.[44] Alemanns had frequently served since the towns foundation as bailiff (Schultheiß) and as assessor (Schöffe). The last two roles indicated a perspective which would go beyond Magdeburg itself: Magdeburg's bailiff was customarily sent to negotiate with the emperor when the need arose, while the assessor was responsible for producing and relaying judgements on the basis of Magdeburg law. This was the legal code which formed the basis for government according to the structure in use in Magdeburg of many cities founded from the thirteenth-century, particularly in the Hanseatic sphere of influence.[45] In part due to the growing influence of Roman law, these cities applied to Magdeburg for interpretation of the code in difficult cases less frequently by the

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42 Johann Alemann, *Vortrab*, Aii.

43 Hans Moritz Alemann was a governing Bürgermeister in 1601, Johann Martin Alemann in 1602, Martin and Caspar Alemann in 1603. Eberling Alemann was Kämmerer in 1602. See Dittmar, 'Die Bürgermeister und Kämmerer der Stadt Magdeburg'.

44 On the earlier history of the Alemann family see especially Alemann, *Geschichte des Geschlechts von Alemann*. Useful essays include Gudrun Wittek, 'Die Bürgermeister von Magdeburg Heinrich und Heyne Alemann - oder ein kurzer Blick auf die Diplomatie der spätmittelalterlichen Stadt. In: *Concordia magna : Der Magdeburger Stadtfrieden vom 21. Januar 1497*', edited by Gudrun Wittek (Frankfurt am Main, 2006), 119-128; F. A. Wolter, 'Die Alemänner im Rath und im Schöffenstuhl der Stadt Magdeburg' [= *Blätter für Handel, Gewerbe und sociales Leben, Beiblatt zur Magdeburgischen Zeitung* 43 (1891)];

45 See Philippe Dollinger, *The German Hansa* (London, 1999), 31-3.

seventeenth century, but the office remained and the service was formally discontinued only after the end of the Thirty Years War.[46]

The two primary works which have provided the basic narrative of the years preceding the destruction of Magdeburg can thus be seen to have emerged from a milieu which, before the upheaval of 1630, had dominated the town. While historians have noted the perspectives of the authors when dealing directly with the source material, they have done less to consider the effect which the assimilation of this material has had on our understanding of period. The *Siege, Conquest, and Destruction* and the 'Comprehensive and truthful account' have tended to be used at the expense of the small number of contemporary accounts of the 1629 blockade,[47] and to have been preferred where they are found to contradict other sources contemporary with the blockade and the reorganisation of the council.

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[46] For a historical description of Magdeburg law, see Clausdieter Schott, 'Sachsenspiegel und Magdeburger Stadtrecht. Impuls und Fundament der Rechtentwicklung in Europa', *forum historiae iuris*: erste europäische Internetzeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte, July 2007. Recommended citation format: http://www.forhistiur.de/zitat/0707schott.htm.

[47] The main contemporary printed sources are the Rat's *Ausführliche ... Deduction,* printed during the siege of 1631; the *Warhafftige Relation der der Stadt Magdeburg Fundationen* (1629) on which, as Neubauer demonstrates, the *Ausführliche Deduction* is based; and the anonymous *Andere Belägerung,* printed in four editions with no changes to content 1629-1630. David A. Meier, 'An appeal for a historiographical renaissance: lost lives and the thirty years war', *The Historian* 2005 (67/2), 254–274, discusses the *Warhafftige Relation* briefly, 264-5.

A later source, edited by his son Friedrich from a lost manuscript account by the town's chief scribe, Daniel Friese, is *Vom Magdeburgischen Unglück*, reprinted in Karl Lohmann (ed.), *Die Zerstörung Magdeburgs und andere Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Dreissigjährigen Kriege* (Berlin, 1913), 184-214. The celebrations of peace are reported in *Eygendlicher Bericht, Wie die Hansenstädte, abgeordente Gesandte mit gutem glück und gewünschcter Expedition von Halberstadt dem Herrn General Hertzogen zu Freideland den 28 September in Magdeburg angelanget* and *Kurtze Jedoch Warhafftige Erzehlung/*

Historians have indicated that this is in part because their authors describe Magdeburg's inhabitants according to a binary scheme. The most popular contemporary printed account of the 1629 blockade, the poignantly titled *Second siege of the town of Magdeburg* went through at least seven editions by 1630.[48] Neubauer complains however that it reported very little on the inner relations in the town: 'and yet at this period the dissatisfaction of the lower strata of the people with the town council, which was studiously shunned by the supporters of the exiled Administrator, led to very unedifying scenes!'[49] In light of the need to preserve the town's reputation, as seen for the earlier siege in Besselmeyer's account, one would not expect to find such details in a contemporary history, but the insertion of detail here is telling.

The combined effect of these sources can be seen in most of the secondary literature which attempts a substantial synthesis of Magdeburg's experience of the Thirty Years War to 1631. Works which do not attempt a synthesis, but concentrate on a briefer period of Magdeburg's history, nonetheless tend to draw on Guericke's

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der Solenniteten / welche zu Magdeburg bey publicirung/ des geschlosenen Friedens / gehalten.

[48] *Die andere Belägerung/ Der Stadt. Magdeburg/ Oder Warhafftige beschreibung/ warumb unnd aus was Ursachen/ die Hänse-Stadt Magdeburg/ von der Keyserl. Armee blocquiret ...: Hierneben ist ein Verzeichnüß zubefinden/ wie hoch die Victual- und Essenwahren im Preiß gewesen/ unnd auffs thewrste ... verkaufft seynd ; Durch Eine beglaubte Person ... von Tage zu Tage auffgesetzt/ und Continuiret* [S.l.], 1630. There were five editions of the same name for 1629, two for 1630. All editions were printed *sine loco*.

[49] 'Und doch führte in dieser Zeit die Unzufriedenheit der unteren Volksklassen mit dem Rate, die durch die Anhaenger des vertrienbenen Administrators gefilissentlich geschuert wurde, zu sehr unerquicklichen Scenen!'. Neubauer, 'Die auf Magdeburgs Blokade im Jahre 1629 bezüglichen Flugschriften', V.

account of 1629 in the characterisation of their protagonists. This is the case for Ernst Neubauer, whose *Wallenstein und die Stadt Magdeburg*, which ends with Wallenstein's withdrawal from the archdiocese of Magdeburg after the blockade, focuses on military expositions and on Magdeburg's place in Wallenstein's and imperial plans.[50] He nonetheless acquiesces in Guericke's account of a group of agitators who could not be satisfied while imperial troops were in the vicinity.[51] Wittich appears to rely to a large extent on evidence from these accounts of the earlier blockade in his characterisation of Magdeburg's clergy in his works on Dietrich von Falkenberg and in *Magdeburg, Gustav Adolph und Tilly.*[52] Porschev, who disagrees with Wittich on most other aspects of his analysis, takes this characterisation as given.[53] The main exception to this trend is *Sveriges Krig*, which approaches the 1631 siege through the figure of Christian Wilhelm and his diplomatic approaches to Gustavus Adolphus. In the context of the 'Swedish War', there is no reason to trace Magdeburg's progress towards a Swedish alliance as an aberrant or *a priori* ill-advised course, so that the volume makes only a brief

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50 The blockade is discussed at Ernst Neubauer, *Wallenstein und die Stadt Magdeburg*, 135-203.

51 Neubauer, *Wallenstein und die Stadt Magdeburg*, 197; Wittich, 'Kritische Nachträge', 100-101.

52 *MGAT* i. 76-8; Wittich, 'Kritische Nachträge', 100-101. Where not based on the 'Comprehensive and truthful account' or on Guericke, Wittich's characterisation of Spaignart in particular seems to be based on the legal quarrel with Dauth, discussed in section 2, below; the *Magdeburg Beacon*, discussed in chapter 5, below; the characterisation of Spaignart by Tilly, discussed in chapter 5, below.

53 B. F. Porschnev and Paul Dukes, *Muscovy and Sweden in the Thirty Years War, 1630-1635*, translated by Brian Pearse (Cambridge, 1995). Porschnev's account is one of the more extensive discussions of the siege of 1631 available in English, but while stimulating it is riddled with factual errors.

reference to 1629:[54] while it relies heavily on Guericke, this is mostly for the military detail offered.[55]

Wolther's history of Magdeburg sets the pattern for the briefer accounts of the late twentieth century: his conclusion, evidently guided by Guericke although synthesising independently of that source, is that, that although the town had managed to re-establish peace in external relations,

> 'in the internal [relations], principally under the influence of the above-named fanatical clergy, the long-simmering factional disputes boiled over. The friends of the administrator Christian Wilhelm, who had hoped in vain to win the town council over to his cause, especially Schneidewind and his supporters, alongside a number of unruly citzens who found fault with the town council and its administration in a hostile manner ... managed affairs so that after the end of the siege the Plenipotentiaries, against the provisions of the law and the repeatedly voiced opposition of the town council, continued their activity and made a formal alliance to bring down the town council and to change the constitution of the town'.

It was this group, Wolter continues, that wrote in November 1629 to Hanseatic towns asking, supposedly in the name of the town, for their help against the internal divisions disrupting it.[56]

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[54] See *Sveriges Krig,* iv. 179-91: on Wallenstein's 1629 blockade of Magdeburg, 180.

[55] The structure of Guericke's account is a framework for the section on 'Magdeburgs belägring och fall', *Sveriges Krig*, 241-262: The 'Fax Magdeburgica' (on which see chapter four) and Wittich's *Dietrich von Falkenberg* and hence the 'Comprehensive and truthful Account' are the other non-archival sources given prominence here.

[56] 'im Innern kam nunmehr, hauptsächlich unter dem einfluss der oben genannten fanatischen geistlichen, der lange verhaltene Parteihader zum vollen Ausbruch. Die Freunde des Administrators Christian Wilhelm, welche für diesen den Rat vergebens zu gewinnen gehofft hatten, insbesonderer Schneidewind und dessen Anhänger nebst einer anzahl von unruhigen, den rat und dessen Verwaltung gehässig tadelnden Bürgern setzen es durch, daß nach beendeter Belagerung die Plenipotenzer unbefug und gegen den wiederholten Widerspruch des Rates ihre Thätigkeit fortsetzen und verbanden sich ...

förmlich zum Sturz des Rates und zur Änderung der städtischen Verfassung'. Wolter, *Geschichte der Stadt Magdeburg,* 155-6.

4.2 The appeal to external forces and the celebration of peace.

To reconsider this synthesis, I will begin by examining records from and of Magdeburg's clery in 1629. It is important to note that by 1629, Christian Wilhelm could only have returned to the archdiocese under arms, or after protracted negotiations at the imperial level. It is difficult to imagine that any members of the party described above as his supporters could have celebrated the peace which ended the blockade and put an end to the town council's opposition to the imperial army, and which seems never to have involved any attempt to negotiate reconciliation between the Administrator and the Emperor. However, the accounts which have been preserved of the town's festivities in celebration of the peace would in this case raise problems. Magdeburg observed the return to peace on 29th September 1629. Imperial troops joined the celebrations, and then, crucially, left, the town having successfully held out during Wallenstein's blockade against the quartering of imperial soldiers.[57] Eleven deputies, from Braunschweig, Bremen, Lübeck, Hamburg, and Hildesheim,[58] helped by the fact that Wallenstein's focus

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[57] For the blockade of 1629, see Hugo Holstein, 'Zur Geschichte der Belagerung Magdeburgs durch Wallenstein im Jahre 1629' *Zeitschrift für Preussische Geschichte und Landeskunde* 1886 (13) 593-620; Ernst Neubauer, *Wallenstein und die Stadt Magdeburg,* 135-203. Holstein reproduces much of the relevant diplomatic correspondence here and in his 'Änderung der Regierungsverfassung in Magdeburg im Jahre 1630', *Zeitschrift für Preussische Geschichte und Landeskunde*, 1887 (14), 261-93. Ernst Neubauer gives a survey of contemporary printed sources in 'Die auf Magdeburgs Blokade im Jahre 1629 bezüglichen Flugschriften', MGB 1889 (24), 110-34.

[58] Benedikt Winckler (Lübeck); Johannes Preiswerck and Liborius von Line (Bremen); Vinzent Müller and Johannes Brandes (Hamburg); Hermann Schrader, Georg Achtemann, Georg Camman and Hermann Baumgartner (Braunschweig); Justus Oldkop and Johann Dietrich (Hildesheim). The names and origins given in Spaignart's *Signum*

was shifting to the Baltic,[59] were able to negotiate relatively easy terms for Magdeburg: only 100 000 Thaler had to be paid by the town in compensation for its refusal to take on a garrison.[60]

This correspondence of Liborius von Line, a Bremen town councilor and one of the Hanseatic deputies sent to negotiate the peace, was reproduced by Hugo Holstein in 1887, and has not been exploited in subsequent studies of Magdeburg, although it provides a basis for the re-examination of some of the claims in the most frequently cited primary sources. On 16th October, the Hanseatic deputies held audience with a deputation of the clergy, at which it was desired that

> 'the clergy too might do their part, in order to admonish the community to patience and unity in their sermons. One might no longer use the word "enemies" in the pulpit, refer to the peace as a "seeming peace", interfere in political business, arrange private house-meetings and play host to those who had come over from the enemy camp, and in general must behave so as to be above suspicion'.[61]

Liborius von Line's report to the town council of Bremen mentions two members of Magdeburg's clergy in particular: Spaignart apparently conceded that

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gratitudinum [Ai] tally with those provided by Holstein, 'Zur Geschichte der Belagerung Magdeburgs durch Wallenstein im Jahre 1629', 610.

59 See Matthias Tullner, 'Das Trauma Magdeburg', 16.

60 See Holstein, 'Zur Geschichte der Belagerung Magdeburgs durch Wallenstein im Jahre 1629', 617-9; the Hanseatic cities paid another 50000 on Magdeburg's behalf.

61 'Die Geistlichen möchten auch das Ihrige thun, um die Gemeine in ihren Predigten zur Geduld und einigkeit zu ermahnen. Man möge das Wort Feinde nicht mehr auf der Kanzel gebrauchen, den Frieden nicht ein Scheinfrieden nennen, sich nicht in politische Haendel mischen, sich der Privatconventikel in den Häusern enthalten und sich der Überläufer annehmen, im Allgemeinen sich alles Verdachtes entäussern'. 'Report of Liborius von Line to the Bremen town council', cited by Holstein, 'Änderung der Regierungsverfassung in Magdeburg im Jahre 1630', 267.

he had referred from the pulpit to a 'seeming peace'. Joachim Arnest explained that in the matter of his quarrel with Bürgermeister Johann Dauth, the resolution of which was one of the task the deputies had set themselves in order to re-establish civic peace, he had meant no injury to Dauth, but had simply repeated reports that had come to him that Dauth was writing secretly to Pappenheim and the besieging army: no further details of the quarrel are provided by Line.[62]

Master Joachim Arnest, a native of Leipzig, was in fact deacon at St Ulrich's: hence Spaignart's junior there.[63] In this capacity he had contributed a poem in Spaignart's honour to the *Theological discussion of the question of oaths,* 'a friend whom I revere and whom I admire as a father'.[64] The list of men who had identified themselves, in a memorial writing on the death of Arnest's daughter in 1625, as his colleagues, patrons and friends, is a familiar one: alongside Tobias Cuno, Preacher at St Peter's church,[65] there were Spaignart himself; Sigismund Evenius and Johann Bloc: the chief literary representatives of the *Altstadt Gymnasium*; Johannes Cotzebue, Nicolaus Pormann, and Petrus Hecht: all members of the clergy who had produced publications in support of Evenius in his

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62 Holstein, 'Änderung der Reigierungsverfassung', 266.

63 He identifies himself as such in Spaignart, *Theologische Eydshandlung,* (:) ii, and in his own *Lieblicher und Lustiger Thiergarten* (1619), Aii. Krause confirms that he was still in this role in the list of Magdeburg's clergy and teachers in 1629 and 1630, in his memoir of the period: 'Denkwürdigkeiten des Gymnasiallehrers und Pfarrers Christophorus Krause in Magdeburg', 341.

64 'amicum, Quem veluti patrem suspicio, vereor', Christian Gilbert de Spaignart, *Theologische EydesHandlung/ Zu nothwendiger Unterrichtung/ allen den jenigen Christen/ die darmit umb zugehen haben* (Magdeburg, 1622), (:) ii.

65 On Cuno, who was made Superintendent in 1638, and also served as a Scholarch after the disaster, see Schultze, 'Reinhard Bake und die Magdeburger Pastoren im Dreissigjährigen Krieg', 32, 34, 38.

quarrel with Cramer.[66] Arnest seems firmly established in the group around Evenius and Spaignart, although, not being prolific, he would himself rarely come to prominence in the printed sources. His close connections with this group would reinforce the suggestion given by the admissions to the Hanseatic deputies that the clergy of St Ulrich's worked together in their response to the blockade and internal troubles of the town.

Nonetheless, Arnest's admission here is evidence that we should consider a reinterpretation of one of the passages excised from Guericke's final draft of his *Belagerung, Eroberung und Zerstörung der Stadt Magdeburg.* This section was reinserted in the text by Hoffmann from Guericke's unrevised version, and its interpretation by Hoffmann and Wittich has been an extremely important influence on the historiography of the disaster of 1631 and the development of Spaignart's biography. For this reason it seems necessary to cite it in full and to examine the uses to which it has been put by historians. Guericke recounted how, during the 1629 blockade, Magdeburg's citizens became suspicious about the correspondence between the Rat and the imperial officers and demanded access to the letters leaving the town. When this was refused:

> 'not only was the citizens' suspicion intensified, but it was also mentioned in public sermon straight away the next morning through the chaplain [Kapellan] of St Ulrich's Church, that one could in fact recognise and know the traitors, because they did not want to allow what they wrote to be read, and other words of the same sort, through which not only the above-mentioned Bürgermeister [regierende] but also the entire town council was attacked and grossly

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66 *Lachrymae Super Insperatum & praematurum ... abitum & obitum ... Annae Elisabethae* (1625).

> insulted. And although the town council summoned the chaplain for this reason, in order to remonstrate with him, the entire ministry intervened on his behalf, and pleaded that one should not place such a malicious interpretation on the words of a preacher, the more so as the chaplain himself was no longer aware of everything which, on the occasion in question, the Holy Spirit had spoken through him at the pulpit'.[67]

According to Guericke, the town council was forced by this intervention of the clergy to drop the matter, but similar accusations followed, forcing the town council to permit the election of eighteen plenipotentiaries through whom the citizens could be consulted: this being the system which persisted until the destruction of the town, shortly before which the plenipotentiaries refused surrender. Hoffmann identifies the chaplain of St Ulrich's and instigator of this fateful sequence of events as Spaignart.[68]

This passage by Guericke has in places been interpreted quite loosely, and the interpretations have themselves reappeared in misleading paraphrases. Hoffmann introduces it into his, standard work on Magdeburg, where it is the sole piece of evidence brought to demonstrate Spaignart's warmongering and his

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[67] '... ist die Suspition der Bürger nicht allein mehr gehäuft, sondern auch stracks des folgenden Morgens durch den Kapellan zu St. Ulrich also in die öffentliche Predigt gebracht worden, daß man nämlich die Verräter, weil sie ihre Schreiben nciht wollten lesen lassen, erkennen und wissen könne, und was etwa derglecihen Worte mehr gewesen, durch welche nicht allein vermeldeter Bürgermeister, sondern auch der ganze Rat heftig angegriffen und sich höchlich darob beschimpft gefunden. Und obgelich der Rat deswegen den Kapellan fordern lassen, ihm Vorhaltung zu tun, hat sich das ganze Ministerium seinetwegen interponiert und gebeten daß man die Worte eines Predigers also böse nicht ausdeuten wolle, zumal dem Kapellan nicht alles mehr bewußt, was zum selbenmalen der heilige Geist auf der Kanzel durch ihn geredet'. Guericke, *Belagerung, Eroberung und Zerstörung der Stadt Magdeburg,* 8n-9n.

[68] Guericke, *Belagerung, Eroberung und Zerstörung der Stadt Magdeburg,* 8n

exceptionally fervent anti-imperialism.[69] It is taken up by Gustav Droysen, Karl Wittich, and in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, which asserts on this basis that Spaignart spoke in sermons against the traitors who would not let their letters be read, and was one of the most zealous of the town's incendiary preachers.[70] Gustav Droysen, whose work on Magdeburg seems to be based on a combination of Guericke and the 'Comprehensive and truthful account' with its emphasis on the imprisonment of Schneidewind, uses the identification of this chaplain or deacon as Spaignart to read backward from the passage in question to Guericke's previous mention of clergy who claimed that 'there were some in the town who were more inclined towards the Papal than towards the Lutheran side',[71] and to attribute this assertion to Spaignart. He concludes from these two pieces of information that Spaignart denounced the town council from the altar, but being concerned with the formation of pro- and anti-Imperial parties in the town around the figure of Schneidewind, gives the impression that these statements came from Spaignart in connection with responses to the Danish phase of the war, around 1625.[72] In a more recent account of Magdeburg in the 1620s, Asmus is presumably relying on this passage in Guericke when he observes that: 'Spaignart accused Bürgermeisters and town councillors of treachery for no more reason than that they conducted negotations with Wallenstein. A regular political conspiracy was forged with the

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69 Hertel and Hulße *Hoffmanns Geschichte der Stadt Magdeburg,* iii. 120.

70 'Spaignart, Christian Gilbert de', ADB xxxiv. 706-8.

71 '... die sich in der Stadt befänden und es mehr mit dem papistischen als lutherischen Hausen halten wollten'. Guericke, *Belagerung, Eroberung und Zerstörung der Stadt Magdeburg,* 8n.

72 Gustav Droysen, *Gustaf Adolf* (Leipzig, 1878-9), ii. 104

aim of bringing down the town council, which it was broadcast, wished to deliver Magdeburg over to Catholicism'.[73]

Guericke's original statement thus seems insufficient as evidence, either that Spaignart opposed any negotiation with Catholic and imperial powers or that he long desired to see Christian Wilhelm return to his archdiocese. Any such interpretation also leaves Spaignart's decision to publish his approval of the peace with which the blockade ended in need of explanation. There is also a more fundamental problem with these readings of the passage. While the facts as retailed by Guericke have become the central point of Spaignart's biography, the term which Guericke used, 'Kapellan', would not have been chosen to refer to the principal preacher of a prominent church like St Ulrich's. When, later in the same work, Guericke does refer to Spaignart by name, he calls him Preacher at St Ulrich's, following the normal usage.[74] 'Kapellan' would refer to a chaplain or to a deacon,[75] corresponding with Joachim Arnest's position, and explaining why it is he who appears from Holstein's correspondence to have been embroiled in October 1629 in a quarrel with Dauth. Christoph Krause's description of Arnest in his list of Magdeburg's clergy as 'the morning preacher in St Ulrich's' would also imply that

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73 Spaignart bezichtigte Bürgermeister und Ratmannen schon deswegen des Verrats, weil sie Verhandlungen mit Wallenstein fuehrten. Ein regelrechtes politisches Komplott zum Sturz des Rates wurde geschmiedete und ausgestreut, dass er Magdeburg dem Papsttum ausliefern wolle...'. ... 'Ein regelrechtes politisches Komplott zum Sturz des rates wurde geschmiedete und ausgestreut, dass er Magdeburg dem Papsttum ausliefern wolle....', Asmus, *1200 Jahre Magdeburg*, i. 536

74 'Dr Christianus Gilbertus, Prediger zu Sct. Ulrich ... ' Guericke, *Belagerung, Eroberung und Zerstörung der Stadt Magdeburg*, 65.

75 See 'Capellan', Jakob und Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, s.v.

he is the speaker in question here,[76] and the identification would cast some light on Krause's brief account elsewhere in his memoirs of how 'the town council on one occasion sent a lawyer to the house of Master Ernest with a summons, and it came to blows between them, and the summons was thrown out into the street'.[77]

As Guericke's account demonstrates that the clergy as a body rose to Arnest's defence, his superior at St Ulrich's church cannot be entirely dissociated from the matter. The manner of their successful defence, however, provides evidence which speaks against the interpretation of Arnest's pronouncement as a part of a coordinated strategy of agitation. To claim that none of the clergy, including Arnest, knew what he had said indicates that the town council could not argue that any more senior member of the clergy lent weight to Arnest's words or demonstrated foreknowledge of his complaints by appearing at the morning service. The defence is also of interest insofar as it suggests that the clergy had reservations about associating themselves with what Arnest was accused of saying: the established defence of a clergyman's right publicly to admonish the authorities in case of real sin was not used.

The clergy as a group certainly appear, from Line's report to Bremen, to have made it their business to investigate and speak on the progress of the blockade and the conditions of peace: an approach clearly in harmony with Pomarius's

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76 'concionator in matutinis S Ulric'.Krause, 'Denkwürdigkeiten', 341.

77 'Senatus schickt einmal dem M. Ernesto zu S. ulrich die Vocation ins Haus mit einem Advocaten, da schlagen sich beide zusammen, und wird die Vocation auf die Gass geworfen'. Krause, 'Denckwürdigkeiten', 353.

presentation of clerical office in time of siege. Nonetheless, Line does seem to have recognised their interest as legitimate, sharing with them information on the peace negotiations to which they had not been party and assuring them that the town would no longer receive and treat with Catholic monks, even while admonishing them against mixing themselves in politics in manners which would present them as rivals to the authority of the Rat in negotiating peace.[78] Line's report simply summarises the meeting which he held with the clergy's deputation, but one must deduce from the reference to meetings with monks that this point was raised by the clergy. Having reassured them, Line asked them to play their part in improving the state of the town. This re-examination of the accusation of treachery from the pulpit demonstrates, not that the clergy did not speak on and insist on their right to participate in the negotiation of the peace, but that, where they failed to maintain a distance between these actions and personal attack on town councillors, they appear not to have acted in consort, with premeditation, nor through their more prominent members.

The implication of Spaignart here is an instance of the tendency in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century historiography to see him as instigator of all of the most vehement and unwelcome clerical interventions in Magdeburg politics. Droysen's interpretation clearly lays the ground for a projection of any anti-Imperial sentiments on Spaignart's part back to a period before official hostilities opened, and for a closer association between him and the figure of Administrator

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[78] Report of Liborius von Line to the Bremen town council, cited by Holstein, 'Änderung der Regierungsverfassung in Magdeburg im Jahre 1630', 267.

Christian Wilhelm. On re-examining the sources, however, one finds that Spaignart's reference to 'seeming peace' is the only point which distinguishes him from the body of the clergy. Whether this comment was made before or after the formal conclusion of peace on September 1629 is not certain: it is possible that it was made afterwards, as Line's report reveals that the clergy were concerned in October 1629 about the continuing negotiations with Wallenstein, to which they had not been made party. Ernst Neubauer sees the comment primarily as a reference to the continued burden of Wallenstein's troops on the surrounding area,[79] an approach which would suggest that the clergy took a definite position on the siege as conflict between imperial forces and their opponents. It is however of interest here to consider the evidence for the experience of the blockade in the town, evidence which would make it possible to consider the extent to which Spaignart's reference to a 'seeming peace' might be considered a comment on the town council's response to these pressures of war within the town.

The surviving songs of celebration can be useful in interpreting Spaignart's concerns. First, it can be noted that the publication of one such song put Spaignart in the company of Jacob Alemann. The indications in an anonymous 1629 pamphlet, *Certain and true report of how the town of Magdeburg came to an accord with General Wallenstein*, that Johann Alemann's goods had been confiscated by the Rat were, until Holstein published Line's communications from

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[79] Neubauer, *Wallenstein und die Stadt Magdeburg,* 194.

Magdeburg, taken as an erroneous report.[80] Alemann's own *Preliminary notice* explained that

> 'with the good will and in full knowledge of the town council, in fulfilment of the duties attached to his office and his status as a citizen, [Johann Alemann] was permitted publicly and with respectful acknowledgement to leave the town for the countryside in order to sustain himself by honourable means, but at that time the ignorant and ruffianly common people, as well as other troublemakers…' began to speak evilly of him.[81]

The 'Comprehensive and truthful account', which goes from a very brief sketch of the blockade to a much more extensive account of the proceedings of the Hanseatic deputies in 1629 and 1630, makes no mention of Alemann in this period.[82] Line's records, however, show that it was established on 9th October, after the envoys had undertaken to attempt to alleviate the town's internal disputes, that their task would include 'effecting the restitution of councillor Johann Alemann'.[83] When Alemann himself appeared before the Hanseatic deputies, he complained,

> 'that to be restored to the position of town councillor would serve for nothing, as he understood that grievances had been raised against him, and that he had been vituperated as a filthy traitor, a betrayer of the town etc., he had been beaten, his house burnt, and much other mischief done, so he asked that his response be heard and matters so

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80 *Gewisser und warhafftiger Bericht von der Stadt Magdeburg wie dieselbe mit dem General Wallensteiner accordiret, darneben wie alles herumgelegene Kriegsvolk abgefuehret, auch wie viel ihrer auf beyden seiten geblieben...* [s.l., 1629], cited and disputed in Ernst Neubauer,'Die auf Magdeburgs Blokade im Jahre 1629 bezüglichen Flugschriften', *MGB* 1889 (14), 110-34, section V.

81 Alemann, *Vortrab*, Aiv.

82 The blockade is covered in the 'Ausführliche Relation', 420-22.

83 'die Restitutuirung des Rathsherrn Johann Alemann zu erwirken'. Holstein, 'Änderung der Regierungsverfassung in Magdeburg im Jahre 1630'.

> arranged that he should not only be restored with honour and sufficient satisfaction to his position of councillor, which, not being ambitious, he did not strive after, but should also be restored to possession of his goods'.[84]

The deputies expressed their willingness to grant this plea. They were optimistic about their chances of success because, when in conference with the town council, they had found only one or two of its members hostile to Alemann.[85] That this seems to have satisfied them as a sufficient foundation for Alemann's restoration suggests that it was indeed the town council, however influenced by other forces within the town, which had dispossessed and unseated Alemann; the deputies in fact offer no report of any complaints from the clergy, the citizens' representatives or the plenipotentiaries concerning Alemann. While Alemann's treatment has tended to be seen as an extreme case of the common people's vitriol for the town council, it was tackled by the Hanseatic Legates as a problem of divisions within that body.

Jacob Alemann had celebrated the peace a few days earlier both as a return to normality for Magdeburg, which 'formerly wan and melancholy, is now brought back to life, flourishing', and as a restoration of the German cause, comparing it

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[84] 'dass ihm mit der Restitution im Rathstande nicht gedienet, sondern da er vernommen, dass gravamina wieder ihn eingegeben, und da er auch fuer einen Schelm, Stadtverräther u. gescholten, geschlagen, sein Haus gebrannt und viel Unheil zugefüget, so bitte er seinen Verantwortung zu hoeren und die Sache dahin zu dirigiren, dass er mit Ehren und genugsamer Satisfaction nicht allein im Rathsstande, den er, als der nicht ehrsüchtig, eben nicht affectire, sondern auch in seinen Gütern restituirt werde'. 'Report of Liborius von Line to the Bremen town council', cited by Holstein, 'Änderung der Regierungsverfassung in Magdeburg im Jahre 1630', 263.

[85] Report of Liborius von Line to the Bremen town council, cited by Holstein, 'Änderung der Regierungsverfassung in Magdeburg im Jahre 1630', 263.

with the return to order of the Roman Empire: 'Fabius restored the Roman cause, to him eternally glory, praise, and honour... In the same way the Hanseatic [deputies] restored the Teutonic cause in Magdeburg: to them eternally glory, praise, and honour'.[86] If Alemann shows his enthusiasm for the imperial cause by presenting the outcome of the siege as more than a resolution of local problems, his decision to participate so prominently in the celebrations must surely be influenced by a belief that the Hanseatic deputies would intervene for his brother in their further negotiations.

That Spaignart celebrated the restitution of peace with particular vigour can be concluded from the anonymous and purely descriptive *Short but Truthful Account of the Solemnities held at Magdeburg,* which comments that the feast of St Michael the Archangel, with which the lifting of the blockade coincided,

> 'was celebrated with great solemnity, and the Te Deum Laudamus joyfully sung in unison with ardent hearts, and ... thanks and praise given to God on account of the wholesome welcome peace, and for the [Holy] Roman Emperor, his Generals, and also the envoys. After the sermon had been preached, the Te Deum Laudamus was sung in unison by all once again, accompanied by figural music performed in a stately manner with all sorts of mellifluous musical instruments, at which then especially, in St Ulrich's Church... one heard with wonder a beautiful, splendid music'.[87]

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86 'Magdeburga patria carissima, ante lurida et maernes, nunc florida rediviva .. Fabius Romam resituit rem, huic illi aeternum gloria laus et honor ... Hansa itidem Magdeburgae restituit rem Teutonicam, aeternum huic gloria laus et honor'. Jacob Alemann, cited in Holstein, 'Zur Geschichte der Belagerung Magdeburgs durch Wallenstein im Jahre 1629', 620.

87 Am tage des heiligen ErtzEngels Michaelis/ ist das Fest / mit grosser sollennitet celebrirt, von der Predigt das Te Deum laudamus, von menniglichen mit inbrünstigem hertzen fröhlich gesungen worden ... auff Gott dem heilsamen lieben frieden ... So wol

St Ulrich's, as the church of the wealthiest Magdeburgers,[88] was most likely to have the resources to provide this sort of music: such a celebration, however, with its public and joyful affirmation of loyalty to the Emperor, must have been arranged by Spaignart as pastor of and one of only two clergymen attached to that church, in cooperation with Grimm as cantor. Spaignart also contributed to the commemoration of the occasion in print: the Hanseatic deputies to whom the favourable settlement was attributed were celebrated in festive songs: one by the town councillor Jacob Alemann, of a family well-known for its adherence to the imperial party: Holstein reproduces this in part. Sigismund Evenius contributed another, for which we have only the title, 'Charistia Magdeburgica'. That the third celebration of peace came from Spaignart, suggests once more a degree of literary co-operation between him and Evenius. The town school was further represented by its cantor, Heinrich Grimm, who composed motets in honour of the occasion, fulfilling the traditional role of a cantor in contributing to public celebration.[89]

Spaignart's printed celebration, unlike the sermon in celebration of the peace referred to, makes no reference to Emperor or Empire. If we consider his

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dem Röm: Käyser / dessen Herrn Generalen / als auch bey den Herrn Commissarien / lob vnd danck gesaget. Nach gehaltener Predigt/ ist abermalen von jeder männiglichen das Te Deum laudamus, mit frewdigen hertzen gesungen / vnd mit allerhand lieblichen Musicalischen Instrumenten / stattlich figurieret/ da denn insonderheit / in S. Vlrichs Kirchen ... eine liebliche herrliche Music mit verwunderung gehöret worden'. *Kurtze Jedoch Warhafftige Erzehlung*, Aiii(v)-[Aiv].

88 Guericke, *Belagerung, Eroberung und Zerstörung,* 80.

89 Helga Robinson-Hammerstein, 'The Lutheran Reformation and its music', in Helga Robinson-Hammerstein (ed.), *The transmission of ideas in the Lutheran Reformation* (Dublin, 1989), 141-172, 160.

poem in the light of the the clergy's session with the Hanseatic deputies, several inferences can be made as to his attitude to Magdeburg's situation in 1629. The fact of his publishing suggests that he, very likely supported by Evenius and Grimm, is laying claim to the peace on behalf of the church as represented by school and clergy; indicating that they are entitled to publicize their assessment of the peace negotiated, perhaps that this assessment is necessary to a true peace. Second, the form in which he published his celebration, as a vote of thanks in verse to prominently named and listed Hanseatic deputies could be taken purely as a rebuke to the Magdeburg authorities, like the preface of his earlier work, the *Second theological inquiry into coinage*, in which the example of Hamburg was introduced as an explicit rebuke to Magdeburg.[90] This may certainly be an element, but in publishing his welcome and thanks to the Hanseatic envoys, Spaignart is in fact endorsing the policy which the town council had pursued since since 1624.

Faced with the pressures of war in the surrounding countryside, Magdeburg had appealed for advice and support to its fellow Hanseatic cities, and in particular to Bremen. While the Hanseatic cities lacked the leadership and unity to agree to military intervention, they had attempted before the war to coordinate funding of defence,[91] and did on several occasions during the Thirty Years War negotiate peace. Wallenstein's encroachment on the Elbe, which was likely to impede traffic

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90 Spaignart, *Die Ander Theologische Münzfrage*, Aii-Bii, esp. B-B(v).

91 In 1608: see Karl-Klaus Weber, *Hamburg, die uneinnehmbare Stadt: die Festungswerke Johan van Valckenburghs,* in Knauer and Tode (eds) *Krieg vor den Toren*, 77-100.

and add to costs, would have been of particular concern to the Hanseatic cities, and there are indications that, in mounting the blockade of Magdeburg, he hoped to weaken the Hanseatic powers, preparing the ground for imperial dominance of the Baltic coast.[92] The town council's requests, by 1628, were for financial help: in that year it had sought a loan, to be repaid with interest over three years, of 15 000 to 20 000 Reichstaler. This was needed because of the 'hardship and grievances' caused by the military activity in the area: Magdeburg had been obliged to defend itself, to maintain for three years now a contingent of soldiers, to raze its suburbs, the Neustadt, and to extend its fortifications, which entailed a substantial outlay of cash. All the more difficult, the town council itself and all of its citizens were obliged to pay out rents, taxes, and dues as contributions to the upkeep of the surrounding armies. The root of their current trouble was that they were obliged to pay out 15 000 Reichstaler to Wallenstein within a short time.[93]

While Bremen refused to make this loan, Magdeburg renewed appeals for help shortly after the blockade began, and by May the Hanseatic cities were considering the question of how to reduce the contribution demanded by Wallenstein and negotiate a peace in conjunction with Magdeburg's authorities. In the defence of Magdeburg's position which the town council planned to publish in 1629, the town council, after a brief reference to Magdeburg's unmarred record of loyalty to the Emperor, presented its case against Wallenstein's army first by

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92 Neubauer, *Wallenstein und die Stadt Magdeburg,* 135-6.

93 Letter of the Hanseatic deputies in Magdeburg to the Bremen Rat, 6 December 1628. Reproduced in Holstein, 'Zur Geschichte der Belagerung Magdeburgs durch Wallenstein im Jahre 1629', 599-600.

referring to its status as a Hanseatic town and by declaring that the privileges now threatened by Wallenstein, of religious freedom and exemption from quartering of soldiers, were common to the Hanseatic powers.[94]

The negotiation undertaken by the Hanseatic deputies appears to have included presenting to Wallenstein the excuses of the town council to the effect that it was not responsible for clashes with Wallenstein's army, which were the work of the common people: to which Wallenstein had replied that the town council should then show its loyalty to the emperor by expelling agitators, receiving a garrison, and paying a fine in compensation for the trouble it had caused the imperial army.[95] The defence of the town council, in which the Hanseatic deputies collaborated in this case, was not an uncommon one: it had been used by Braunschweig in 1628.[96] It is the logical extension of the argument presented in 1548, that even if the council had cared to cede, it would have been unable too because of the common people. Unlike this formulation, the defence mounted in 1629 created a dichotomy between the town's authorities and the common people which was clearly useful to the image of the magistracy as loyal and would-be compliant subjects of the emperor. In Magdeburg's case, this

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94 *Ausführliche, Wohlgegründete DEDUCTION,* Aij.

95 See the report in *Jacobi Franci Historische Beschreibung aller denckwürdigen Historien ... hierzwischen nechstverscheiner Franckfurter Fastenmessz biß auff Herbstmessz dieses 1629 Jahrs verlauffen und zugetragen* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1629), 71-2.

96 *Jacobi Franci Historische Beschreibung aller denckwürdigen Historien ... hierzwischen nechstverscheiner Franckfurter Herbstmessz biß auff Fastenmessz dieses 1629 Jahrs verlauffen und zugetragen*, 48.

dichotomy has tended to persist even while evidence such as Alemann's suggests that we should be equally attentive to divisions within the town council.

It seems reasonable to conclude from the mere existence of his *Signum gratitudinis* that there were conditions under which Spaignart was willing to advertise his willingness to envisage and celebrate peace with imperial forces, a fact significant for the historiography because, regardless of the settlement of the religious question and tensions within the town, such a peace would tend to the disadvantage of Administrator Christian Wilhelm. The question Spaignart can be said to answer in his 'Signum Gratitudinis' is the one which he admitted to having posed indirectly when he referred from the pulpit to 'Scheinfrieden': how does war end? Under what conditions can peace be said to exist? The Hanseatic Legates had been God's instruments, he celebrated, in restoring the wavering courage of the Magdeburgers. The war had restored lovers of religion, and had increased in them the hatred of military force: happy concord now preserved the citizens.[97]

What Gilbert's song did not evoke was any sense that this is more than a local war. The opponents are in fact not identified. Because the siege ended with public reconciliation of soldiers and citizens, this is reasonable, but it leaves a publication which goes from the fear in which the town and the church have existed, and from which they have been saved, to the improvement in the internal

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[97] Post haec ambiguas nostras consternere mentes/ Pergant, sed reddat nos Relligionis(es) amantes Hoc bellum, atq odiis virtus exericita cressat Fortior, & cives felix concordia servet.

Spaignart, *Signum Gratitudinis.*

management of the town, to the praise of the generosity of the Hanseatic Legates, whose towns sent them to succour Magdeburg in a time of disturbance.[98] On the one hand, this reflects well the conditions under which peace with the Imperial forces can be made and advertised. On the other, allowing for the fact that reconciliation is the expected end of all such stand-offs, the citizens are encouraged both to see internal reform as a solution to war, and to see prosecution of war as a means by which this reform may be achieved.

War, however, even with the prospect of reconciliation, was not something which Magdeburg could hope to prosecute alone. This emerges clearly from a song, *Magdeburg, hold fast!,* composed by Peter Hecht earlier in 1629. Hecht was deacon at St Johannis,[99] one of the three curates who had intervened in Evenius's defence in his quarrel with Cramer, close to Christoph Krause, whose betrothal he had witnessed along with Spaignart, Evenius and Cotzebue.[100] Spaignart was to defend him in 1630 as 'a pious and erudite man living an upright life'.[101] Hecht's song is one of a small number of printed publications produced from Magdeburg in that year, and perhaps the only surviving work in which a member of the clergy

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98 Gratia dein vobis, HANSAE Legata corona/ Debetur: vestris operis adscribo ministris/ Quiquid pormissae Respublica nostra salutis/ Percipiet; vestris plaeclaris Urbibus aeternam/ Adscribo laudem, queis vos huc mittere tantos/ Perplacuit, tantas sedandi in tempore turbas, Spaignart, *Signum Gratitudinis.*

99 Harald Schultze: 'Reinhard Bake und die Magdeburger Pastoren im Dreissigjaehrigen Krieg', in *Konfession, Krieg und Katastrophe. Magdeburgs Geschick im Dreissigjaehrigen Krieg* (Tagung des Vereins für Kirchengeschichte der Kirchenprovinz Sachsen, 9 – 10 Mai 2005), (Magdeburg, 2006), 24-52 (32).

100 Krause, 'Denckwürdigkeiten', 323.

101 'virum pium & eruditum honestia vita', Spaignart, letter to Johann Müller, 28.06.[1630], SUBH Uffenbach-Wolfschen Briefsammlung, 6,333.

addressed the public concerning the 1629 blockade: it seems to exist now only in one, damaged, copy. [102]

Hecht was unusually explicit about the functions of the song printed early in 1629: *Magdeburg, hold fast! That is a song of lamentation, admonition and warning, composed as a reminder to the beloved Magdeburgers of their binding duty at this dangerous time.* The title-page bears a quotation from Deuteronomy 20.2, which Hecht has annotated in order to leave his readers in no doubt about the parallels to be drawn:

> Hear Israel (Magdeburg), you will go today (or tomorrow) into battle [against] your enemies, do not let your hearts quail/ fear ... do not be afraid ... for the LORD YOUR God goes with you, to fight for you against your enemies, to help you.[103]

Hecht advertises a sequel, written 'on the Sunday, when the Lord says in the gospel ordained for the day ... any Kingdom, which becomes divided against itself, will go to devastation, and a house will fall upon the other. Therefore: authorities and fathers should be unified.[104] This means that it is possible to date

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102 *Magdeburgk halte dich Feste! Das ist Ein Klag- Vormahn/ und Warnungs-Liedt Zu dieser gefährlichen Zeit den Lieben Magdeburgern zur Erinnerung ihrer gebührlichen Pflicht vorgestellet: Im Thon: Auff meinen Lieben Gott traw ich in Angst und Noth* The only copy I have discovered is in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, and has been damaged by bookworm. It advertises a second prayer or song of war [Aiv], which will appear shortly. Hecht's *Regis Amicus Das ist/ Christliche Advents-Erinnerung/ gesogen und gezogen auß den 11. und 12. v. des 22. Cap. der Sprüchwörter Salomonis, ... / Magdeburg : Neumann, [ca. 1630]* is catalogued in the ULB Halle, but is part of a collection which has been dissolved.

103 Hecht, *Magdeburgk, helte dich feste!*

104 'am Sonntag/ da der HErr im Ordentlichen Evangelii saget ... Ein jgliches Reich/ so es mit jm selbst vneins wird/ das wird wuste/ vnd ein Hauß fellet vber das ander. Ergò: sollen Obern vnd Vatern einig sein'. Hecht, *Magdeburgk, helte dich Feste,* [Aiv]

the printing of *Magdeburg, hold fast!* to some time after *Dominica Oculi*, the third Sunday of the lenten period, which in 1629 fell on 22nd March, and the composition of the song to before this date.[105] The idea that Magdeburg would go 'tomorrow' into battle, would then follow after events such as the the issuing of the Edict of Restitution 6 March 1629, which restored ecclesiastical goods in the Magdeburg archdiocese to Catholic possession, and the beginning of Wallenstein's formal blockade, as opposed to the hardship incurred by his troops' quartering on the surrounding countryside, on 12th March.[106]

Despite the fact that the Edict of Restitution had been published, Hecht did not make explicit the point that Magdeburg was fighting for the maintenance of the church or of God's Word. He began by offering a conventional picture of war caused by the sinfulness of the town's inhabitants, and spoke for them in offering repentance:

> [We] recognise with penitence our sins old and new, and admit openly that we earned the plague that now weighs so heavily upon us... Boundlessly, endlessly, shamelessly we have held your Word and Sacrament, and your true servants, in scorn, and have overturned what they have taught us well. Neither rich nor poor obey authority: O what an evil thing! [Still less] do the children obey their parents.[107]

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105 This is confirmed for Magdeburg in Tholde, *Postilla Logica* (1628), 305-9.

106 Hugo Holstein, 'Zur Geschichte der Belagerung Magdeburgs durch Wallenstein im Jahre 1629' *Zeitschrift für Preussische Geschichte und Landeskunde* (13) 593-620.

107 '[Wir] bekennen mit rew/ vnser Sünd alt und new/ Ganz offenherzen sagn/ Das wir verdient die Plagen/ Die vns auff vnsern Rücken/ So hefftig sehr thun drücken... Dein wort und Sacrament/ Wir ohne Maß und End/ Auch diene Diene trewe/ Haben Verdacht ohn Schewe/ wir haben gar verkehret/ was sie vns gvt gelehret. Die Obrigkeit zugleiche/ Ist weder arm noch Reich / Nicht gehorsam gewesen/ O das boßhafte Wesen. Den Eltern jhre Kinder/ Gehorchen thun vielmin[der].' Hecht, *Magdeburgk, helte dich feste!* [A(v) – Aii].

The title of Hecht's work immediately recalls the sixteenth-century siege, with its seminal exhortation, repeated by Pomarius as recently as 1622, for Magdeburg to 'hold fast'. Hecht did proceed, after lamenting the spiritual shortcomings of his fellow citizens, to look to the example of the town's history for Magdeburg's consolation. Even in this case, he omitted that essential point which in the other, longer accounts examined in the preceding chapters was so insistently presented: that Magdeburg in 1550-1 fought for God's Word alone (or indeed at all) :

> God has indeed in the past turned away from the pious such grave hardship of war, and given them the honour of peace... seventy-nine years ago, this town was under heavy siege, yet the Lord God gave it his powerful protection from its enemies and maintained it gloriously.[108]

This was immediately followed by the prediction of a resolution quite different from what references to the 1550-1 siege would normally inspire:

> A saviour will soon come this way, who will be sent by God and will console you again, and topple your enemies with their pikesmen.[109]

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108 Es hat auch wol ehe Gott/ so schwere Krieges Noth/ Von Frommen abgewahret/ vnd sie mit freid verehret ... Es sind Siebentzig Jahr Vnd Neuen/ als hier war/ Die stadt belagert schwere/ Noch hat sie Gott der Herre vor jhren feinden mächtig schützn und erhalten prechtig. Hecht, *Magdeburgk, helte dich feste!* Aiii(v).

109 'Ein Heyland vff der Bahn Wird bald kommen heran/ Den wird Gott selber schicken/ Vnd dich wieder erquicken/ Auch [dei]nen feinde fellen Sampt jhren Spießgesellen'. Hecht, *Magdeburgk, helte dich feste!*, Aiii(v).

Thus Hecht consoled his flock first with the knowledge that they had drawn war on themselves with specific sins of which they could repent, further with the precedent of survival despite a dangerous attack, and finally with the reminder that an external power could intervene. Whether Hecht had a specific power in mind is not certain, but this section does seem, by its distinctiveness relative to other references to the siege of 1550 and 1551, to be more than metaphorical. The section would tie in well with the Rat's response to the blockade, which was to renew its appeals for help to Magdeburg's fellow Hanseatic cities. It would also indicate that even in 1629 with an imperial army at the gates, Hecht was reluctant to inflame the common people with the prospect of martyrship in the cause of God's Word: they were invited as they had been in the publications on the siege of the early 1620s to reflect on their own sins, on the need to obey authority, and on the hope that fortune in worldly affairs would result from this behaviour.

Both from Spaignart's and from Hecht's understanding of the blockade of 1629, and from the Alemanns' experiences, the cause for celebration would thus have been limited had not the deputies agreed to mediate with elements of Magdeburg's authorities. They agreed to endeavour to discover how: 'good relations may be re-established in Magdeburg... and to lend the town its faithful help through good council'.[110] Their celebrations are therefore to be understood both as an acceptance of the renewal of good terms with the emperor, and, more emphatically, as a welcome to this external intervention in the towns affairs. This

[110] "ein gutes Vertrauen in Magdeburg moechte wiederum gestiftet werden... [und] ihnen mit gutem Rath getreulich beispringen'.

impression is reinforced by the fact that, as well as helping to solve Johann Alemann's case, the Hanseatic deputies received the plenipotentiaries and their representatives, and permitted them to voice complaints against the Rat which coincide to a great extent with the printed protestations elsewhere of Spaignart and Evenius, and with grievances voiced by Christoph Krause in his memoir.

4.3 Status and privilege

The complaints of the plenipotentiaries and their representatives, as recorded for the Rat at Bremen by Liborius von Line, show clear continuity from the protestations made by Spaignart and Bloc, and more subtly by Pomarius, in the early 1620s. They included a failure by the town council of the *Altstadt* to account for expenses claimed, and the luxurious lifestyle of a Bürgermeister, who lived 'like a prince'. The town had no lack of income, they claimed, but due to self-interest on the part of certain individuals, this was not properly exploited. The town council made no attempt to prevent the introduction of poor-quality coinage to the town, and used only poor coin itself. The town failed to pay what it owed, and it paid no-one interest, not even the clergy. Sections of forest had been bought for the clergy in lieu of the payment of debts, but these were useless. Finally, a complaint which echoes Pomarius, all seventy town councillors had given little to the fund for the upkeep of the town's soldiers, and their friends, too, had been exempt from heavy charges.[111]

That school and clergy had complained of similar problems in the early 1620s is not indicated to suggest that these complaints were simply constructions based on expectatons of crisis, although it is certain that the leadership of school and clergy here would have confirmed for the common people that shows of wealth

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[111] Report of Liborius von Line to the Bremen Rat, 1629, cited in Holstein, 'Änderung der Regierungsverfassung in Magdeburg im Jahre 1630'.

among the councillors constituted a legitimate grievance, and one which affected the status of the town in the eyes of God. Evidence does in fact exist to corroborate some of these charges, although they are nowhere mentioned in the contemporary histories of the blockade, siege, and intervention of the Hanseatic deputies: Guericke's account and the ' Comprehensive and truthful account' clearly have an interest in defending the honour of the town council. While the strain which economic trouble put on the town has been acknowledged, and the burden of the contributions blamed for causing unrest,[112] the manifestation of this strain in accusations of mismanagement by the town council has tended only to be acknowledged for the disturbances of the inflationary crisis of 1621-2.[113] The result for the historiography has been an emphasis on clerical and factional agitation which broaches the connection of protest to the economic situation only to accuse the 'anti-imperial party' of self-interest. For Neubauer, the 'party of malcontents' in the town 'was not an honourable party, true to its convictions: at its core were people who wanted to become rich and powerful through their activities, and at the same time to avenge themselves on their old enemies in the town council'.[114]

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112 While sources are lacking for a thorough investigation of the town's economic situation in this period, an overview is given by Hans Otto Gericke, 'Zu St. Ulrich die Reichen...'. Die wirtschaftliche Situation der Stadt Magdeburg vor und während des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', in Puhle (ed.) *Ganz verheert! Magdeburg und der Dreißigjährige Krieg*, 25-34. On the connected question of material losses and population decline in the Magdeburg archdiocese, see Lutz Miehe, *Materielle Verluste und Bevolkerungsrückgang in den Stadten der Stifte Magdeburg und Halberstadt während des dreissigjährigen Krieges (1625-1646/7).* (Ph.D. Thesis, Pädagogische Hochschule 'Erich Weinert', Magdeburg, 1985): this deals with the town of Magdeburg only in terms of the appearance of Magdeburgers in parish registers in the surrounding towns, e.g. ii. 282.

113 See Zahn, 'Zur Geschichte der Kipper und Wipper im Ertzstift Magdeburg', 325.

114 'Partei der Unzufriedenen ...Eine ehrliche, überzeugungstreue Partei war es nicht; ihr Kern bestand aus Leuten, welche durch ihre Umtriebe mächtig und reich werden und sich zugleich auch an alten Feinden im Rate rächen wollten ...'. Ernst Neubauer, 'Johann

Nonetheless, a variety of sources report on financial mismanagement, with the concrete examples given clustering around 1628 and 1629, from the period when the town council was attempting to improve the city's finances by appealing for loans from Bremen. Friedrich Friese, son of the town's chief scribe, whose account of the period does not demonstrate rancour towards the town council and does indicate that his father was close to Johann Dauth, mentions that his father's quarterly salary was withheld by the town council some time between October 1628 and March 1629: he puts this down to the hostility of a single councillor.[115] The Catholic Zacharias Bandhauer, no supporter of either the town council or its citizens, brought another example from the same period:

> '... injustice, oppression of the poor, and salaciousness were rampant, so that widows and orphans, who had entrusted and given over their money in cash to the town council for a return of interest, could retrieve neither interest nor their capital. For some years, [a number of old people] ... did not see a penny or a *heller* of their interest, and many honourable old people, who had previously been rich and had enough, had to ...go from door to door begging for their bread with sighs and tears. There was an old man, who ... in 1628 ... often complained, that from eight hundred Reichsthaler, which he had laid down at the town council, he had received no interest for several years'.[116]

Schneidewind, Magdeburgischer Stadtkommandant und schwedischer Oberst', *MGB* 27 (1892), 257-283, 272.

115 Friedrich Friese, 'Vom Magdeburgischen Unglück', 188.

116 'Zur selben Zeit gingen in der Stadt Ungerechtigkeit, Unterdrückung der Armen und Wollust sehr im Schwunge, so dass Witwen und Waisen, die ihr bares Gald dem Rate auf Zins ausgetan und anvertraut hatten, weder Zinsen noch ihr Kapital bekommen konnten ... bekamen etliche Jahre keinen Heller und Pfennig von ihren Zinsen zu sehen, und viele ehrelich alte Leute, die zuvor reich waren und genug gehabt, mussten weil sie sonst keine Mittel wussten, vor anderer Leute Türe gehen und ihr Brot mit Seufzen und Tränenvergiessen suchen. Da war ein alter Mann, den ... 1628 ... beklagte sich oft, dass er von 800 Reichstalen, die er auf dem Rathause niedergelegt, in vielen Jahren keine Zinsen bekommen können'.

The schoolteacher and deacon Christoph Krause, reported that 'in the blockade of 1629, the staff of the school were in great need as regards their payment, and soldiers were moreover quartered upon them because of the Contribution required from citizens, even though they could not have what was theirs, given with such ill grace, from the town council ...'.[117]

The convergence of evidence from such a variety of sources, and the fact that the town council was so clearly in desperate need of money to achieve some settlement with Wallenstein suggests that Liborius's interlocutors were correct in implying that the town council was attempting to retain cash by all means possible. The fact that the plenipotentiaries and their representatives referred particularly to the sufferings of the clergy under this regime is significant because it suggests a wide acceptance in Magdeburg of the principles outlined by Spaignart in his substantial 1628 publication on the management of army and society, *Religion of War*, and awareness among the citizens of significant departure from these principles by the town council in 1629.[118]

It has already been established that Spaignart understood properly appointed teachers to be essential to maintaining the godly community, and that there were close personal and structural links as well as numerous collaborations

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117 Krause, 'Denckwürdigkeiten', 344.

118 Christian Gilbert [de Spaignart: given in preface], *Kriegsreligion, Darinnen deß heutigen und alten Biblischen Kriegswesens beschreibung und vergleichung/ in den meisten Puncten gewiesen wird: Sampt zugehörigen Gebeten Jedermänniglich nützlich zu gebrauchen* (Hamburg, 1628).

between church and school in Magdeburg in the first decade of the Thirty Years War. His *Religion of War*, however, went further than his previous references by consistently adopting formulations describing teachers and clergyman as identical in the eyes of civic and military law, and in the prescriptions to be drawn from scripture. Those granted privileges in time of war were 'preachers and teachers in church and in school'.[119] Jerusalem (Zach. 3:3) represented God's 'Christian Church and the teachers of this same'.[120]

In the context of this understanding of teachers and clergy, Krause's account reveals both a disregard for the privileges of the junior clergy at least (Krause was both a schoolteacher and a deacon at St Jacob's)[121] and an explicit rejection of the teachers' privileges which Spaignart promotes. Krause explains that 'so many soldiers were quartered on me in accordance with the Contribution that I had to abandon my habitation, and move as secretly as a thief into the school. Still I was threatened that soldiers would be able to find me in the school too; it was countered that the school did not pay charges, but we were told in reply, that the citizens had enough to pay towards the Contribution'.[122]

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119 'Unter solche Befreyhete personen/ gehoren erstlich die Lehrer und prediger inn Kirchen und Schule'. Spaignart, *Kriegsreligon*, 140.

120 'Christliche Kirche und derselbigen Lehrer'.Spaignart, *Kriegsreligion*, 142 Similar examples are at)(ix, 35, 162, 178, 208, 213.

121 Krause, 'Denckwürdigkeiten', 322-3,

122 Mir wurden wegen der Contribution so viel Soldaten einquartirt, das ich muste meine Wohnung verlassen, heimlich als ein Dieb auf die Schule ziehen, und ich Friede hatte. Doch wurde mir gedrauet, Soldaten koenten mich auf der Schul auch finden, keine Zinse wurden der Schul abgetragen, hielte man druem an, so krigen wir zur Antwort, die Buerger hetten gnug Contribution zu geben. Krause, 'Denckwürdigkeiten', 352.

Further details from Krause's account, when compared with a section of Spaignart's *Religion of War,* demonstrate that Spaignart's work was to an extent a pre-emptive strike against the Magdeburg town council in a quarrel between school and clergy, on the one hand, and town council on the other, which centred on the contribution of clergy and teachers to the war effort. It is a passage worth attention because it demonstrates how Spaignart could reason from an instance of disregard for clerical privilege to a wholesale condemnation of governance, and because it established, for the informed reader, that many of the strictures in the *Religion of War* must be applied to the Magdeburg town council. Spaignart, entering a level of detail not to be found elsewhere in the work, proposed to give,

> 'word for word, to the particular renown and honour of the... council of the town of Magdeburg ... a copy of the privilege which [the council's] Christian and godly forefathers graciously awarded to widows of the clergy of their town out of particular love of God and his Holy Word and the office of the preacher, and so that it would be held unbroken for all time, which is how they wished it to be taken, they marked it with their seal and commanded the honourable ministry to guard it in safe hands, to which also until this time all Christian authorities of this town have adhered strong and unyielding, and it is to be hoped [will adhere] for as long as there is a place and a position for the Christian Religion in this town, and so long as the honour of God, the propagation of His Holy Word, and the promotion of the holy officer of preacher continue to be sought after, cherished, and maintained, from now until the welcome Last Day, however many godly generations should follow'.[123]

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123 'Ich muß hieher zu sonderbahren Ruhm und Ehren/ eines ... Raths der stadt Magdeburg abcopiretes privilegiu, welches dero Christlich und Gottselige vorfahren/ auß sonderbahrer Liebe zu Gott und seinem heiligen Worte und Predigampt/ den Priester Wittiven jhrer stadt grossgünstiglich ertheilet/ und damit es zu allen zeiten/ wie die auch Nahmen haben meogen/ unverbruechlich gehalten werde/ mit ihrem Insiegel bekerefftiget und dem Ehrwirdigen Ministerio zu trewen Händen auffzuheben befohlen/ darob auch bißher alle Christliche regenten dieser Stadt fest udn steiff gehalten/ und höffentlich/ so lange die Christliche Religion in dieser Stadt platz und raum finden wird/ und so lange bey uns die Ehre GOttes/ und aussbreitung seines heiligen Worts/ und befoerderung dess heiligen Predigampts ferner wird gesuchtet/ beliebet und erhalten werden/ noch biß an den

Observing in the margin that 'so long as the glory of God and the office of preaching the Divine Word should be promoted in Magdeburg, this privilege cannot be altered',[124] Spaignart printed the privilege of 1571, which specifies that the widows of Magdeburg's clergy, for as long as they remained unmarried, were to be exempt from all impositions, including contributions to the town's defence via payments for the watch and the gatesmen, and extending to 'all burdens levied on citizens whatever they should be called'.[125]

Krause, however, mentioned in his memoirs the case of a colleague at Magdeburg's *Altstadt Gymnasium* who 'was not permitted to marry in the time before the blockade, until he had paid out the tenth penny on account of his [future] wife, who was the widow of a pastor'.[126] A letter of *gravamina* past and present addressed to the Rat by the school in May 1630 refers to a simila incident and appears to indicate that the colleague in question was Master Zacharias Möser.

While records of the school's operation in this period are scanty, and biographical information on Möser is limited to brief allusions in his printed works,

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lieben Jüngsten Tag/ so viel gottseliger Nachkommen folgen werden ...'. Spaignart, *Kriegsreligion*, 217-8.

124 'So lang Gottes ehre/ und dz Predigampt Göttliche wortes in Magdeburg sol befördert werden/ kan diss Privilegium nit geändert werden'. Ibid, 218.

125 'Anlagen/ Thorschliessens/ Schildwache ... und aller Buergerlichen Beschwerungen wie die Nahmen haben moegen/ gefrewyet. Ibid, 220.

126 ' ... durfte nicht Hochzeit machen vor der Blocquirung, bis er seiner Frauen wegen, quia pastoris erat vidua relicta, den zehenden Pfennig erlegt'. Krause, 'Denckwürdigkeiten', 252.

it is possible to deduce that he was a person of some consequence. He was a native of Brandenburg, and had been a teacher at the *Altstadt Gymnasium* since at least 1625.[127] Möser is listed in second place after Evenius in Krause's lists of the *Gymnasium* teachers for 1627-8 and 1630-1: this, and that fact he was from 1627 the only member of staff other than Evenius to have been awarded the degree of Magister, would suggest that he should have held the status of *conrector* at the *Gymnasium*.[128] Among the *gravamina* listed in May 1630, however, are the facts that the school had had no conrector for almost seven years, and that for five years, the person now fulfilling the duties of conrector had not had the title or pay appropriate to his work: the reference to the passage of five years would tally both with the arrival of Möser and the disappearance from the public record and probable death of Johann Bloc.[129] The situation would extend back into Bloc's period as second-in-command at the *Gymnasium*, and might explain or indeed have been the manifestation of some of the tensions between him and the town council.

It can therefore be seen as a most serious slight to the status of the school, already threatened as shown elsewhere in Krause's account, that, 'a member of our

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127 As revealed in his *Nucleus Philosophiae Latino Graecus* (Magdeburg, 1626). He participated in the Gymanasium's festive orations in 1625, contributing to Jacob Gebhard, *Oratiuncula De Humfridi Et Engelhardi Sexti & Septimi Archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium* ... (Magdeburg, 1625) and Joachim Schmidt, *Oratiuncula De Edittha Angliae Regina, Imperatrice Romana* ... (Magdeburg, 1625).

128 Krause, 'Denckwürdigkeiten', 311.

129 2. nunmehr fast innerhalb 7 Jahren ken Conrector bestellet worden und also die fuernemmste Stelle nebenst dem recotre so lange Zeit ledig gestanden; 3. innerhalb 5 Jahren die Person, welche des conrectoris Arbeit uf sich genommen, nicht erfahren können; was sie für einen Namen, für Arbeit, für Besoldung haben solle...'. 'Copia epistolae ad senatum anno 1630 24 Maii', appended to Krause, 'Denckwürdigkeiten', reproduced by Julius Opel in *Neue Mittheilungen* 1878 (14), 368-76, 370.

college, M[aster] Möser, against the school's privileges, the freely published order of the town council and the expert opinion which the ministry had given in this case, that no move should be made against him without its being warned, was burdened with the tenth penny and other citizens' charges which did not apply to him, and indeed threatened with a visit from the pound-car at the very time when he should have been celebrating his wedding'.[130]

The reference to this person as citizen would not exclude Möser, as only three years' residence in Magdeburg was required to qualify for citizenship: Möser was certainly a citizen by 1630, as he appears in the so-called 'Register of the citizens of the Magdeburg *Altstadt*' of that year.[131] The pound-car was used by servants of the Rat who would seize citizens, usually of the 'poor or middling orders', breaking down doors if necessary, and carry them to the town hall, where they were forced to discharge any debts.[132] The extension of contributions to the war to the sectors of society generally considered exempt had thus led, in 1628 or 1629, to a public quarrel. The quarrel had disrupted a wedding which should have been a public reassertion of the bonds between scholars and clergy, witnessed by

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130 'ein Glied unsers Collegii M. Moeserum wider unser Schulen privileia, E Rahts öffentlich publicierte Ordnung auch wider den Specialabschied einem Wolf. Ministerio in diser Sach gegeben, das ohne desselben Vorbewust nichts wider ihn solte fürgenommen werden, mit den 10 Pfenning und andern bürgerlichen Unpflichten beleget und wol mit dem Pfandwagen heimzusuchen bedrauet, eben zu der Zeit, da er seine Hochzeit hat halten sollen'. 'Copia epistolae ad senatum anno 1630 24 Maii', 371.

131 'Rolle über der Bürgerschafft der alten Stadt Magdeburgk', on the nature and dating of which see further below. One could become a citizen within three years of settling in the town: having arrived in 1625, Krause swore his oath as citizen in 1628: Krause, 'Denckwürdigkeiten', 321, 325.

132 '... wer vom Mittelstande oder armen Man ware... da fuhr Rahts Pfandewagen herum ... rathsknechte huben den Leuten die Hausthüren aus und fuhreten sie nachn Rathause, da musten sie die lösen', Krause, 'Denckwürdigkeiten', 339.

the assembled students of the *Altstadt Gymnasium*.[133] Instead, however, of a ceremony which would have gone some way to advertising Möser's elevated responsibilities and his entitlement to higher status and pay, the town had seen the acting *conrector* of the school threatened with public humiliation.

It is presumably with this case in mind that Spaignart introduced the rather obtrusive passage cited above into the *Religion of War*, which he completed in April 1628.[134] From the *Religion of War,* then, it seems clear that the stakes had been raised in this quarrel in the course of 1628, when, in a work dedicated to an external power,[135] Spaignart had essentially thrown down the gauntlet: unless the town council was prepared to maintain clerical privileges, it could no longer be described as cherishing and seeking to propagate the word of God, nor even as granting the true church a place in the town.[136] The school's gravamina demonstrate that by the time Möser suffered this threat, the clergy had been moved

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133 The *Altstadt Gymnasium* claimed the authority to assemble its pupils in church outside their normal attendance at parish ceremonies, and to regulate their attendance at weddings. See *Leges Scholae Magdeburgensis*, nos 3, 9.

134 Spaignart, *Kriegsreligion,* [)(xi(v)]

135 The *Kriegsreligion* is dedicated to Electoral Prince Johann Georg of Saxony,)(ii - [)(xi(v)] on which see further Chapter 5.

136 'Ich muß hieher zu sonderbahren Ruhm und Ehren/ eines ... Raths der stadt Magdeburg abcopiretes privilegiu, welches dero Christlich und Gottselige vorfahren/ auß sonderbahrer Liebe zu Gott und seinem heiligen Worte und Predigampt/ den Priester Wittiven jhrer stadt grossgünstiglich ertheilet/ und damit es zu allen zeiten/ wie die auch Nahmen haben meogen/ unverbruechlich gehalten werde/ mit ihrem Insiegel bekerefftiget und dem Ehrwirdigen Ministerio zu trewen Händen auffzuheben befohlen/ darob auch bißher alle Christliche regenten dieser Stadt fest udn steiff gehalten/ und höffentlich/ so lange die Christliche Religion in dieser Stadt platz und raum finden wird/ und so lange bey uns die Ehre GOttes/ und aussbreitung seines heiligen Worts/ und befoerderung dess heiligen Predigampts ferner wird gesuchtet/ beliebet und erhalten werden/ noch biß an den lieben Jüngsten Tag/ so viel gottseliger Nachkommen folgen werden ...'. Spaignart, *Kriegsreligion*, 217-8.

or required to discuss the matter as a body, had arrived at conclusions compatible with Spaignart's, and had had the impression that they had achieved for Möser at least a stay of execution. The conflict which nonetheless followed may be a matter of only a few lines in Krause's memoirs and the school's 1630 gravamina, but once Möser is identified as acting *conrector* and the evidence from these two sources is combined with that of the *Religion of War*, one can see both how central the matter became to the dignity of the body of the clergy and school teachers, and how both town council and clergy, in the person of Spaignart, sought not only to prevail in the quarrel but to enact it publicly: while Spaignart printed a warning as to how the wrong course of action would dishonour the town council, the town council appears to have contemplated settling the matter, as a dispute about status, with public degradation.

That Möser seems eventually to have been forced to pay the taxes required would have been a snub to school and clergy of which the wider public would certainly have been aware, and on the interpretation of which they would expect guidance from their clergy. From Spaignart's pre-emptive judgement of the affair in the *Religion of War,* one can judge how they would have been encouraged to view the affair. Suffering like the clergy from the town council's attempts to accumulate cash, the public would have been provided, by Spaignart's interpretation of the problem, with reason to doubt the town council's judgement in the allocation of war contributions, and to see in the impoverishment of the

schoolteachers a dangerous trend confirming a lack of commitment to the protection of the godly community which stretched back to the inflationary crisis.

That the town council's commitment to the survival in Magdeburg of the Lutheran Church could be called into question would certainly justify doubts about its fitness to negotiate with enemies intent on reclaiming ecclesiastical goods. However, by the logic of the *Religion of War*, the external threat to the church in Magdeburg was, in 1629, less grave than the internal danger. Catholics, Turks and Heathen were all compared favourably by Spaignart with Lutheran authorities who levied war charges on their churchmen and teachers.[137] Even in the topical question of the treatment which Lutheran preachers could expect when defeat brought them under Catholic rule, Spaignart recalled that Catholic soldiers had refused to mistreat him and his family when they had come as conquerers to his former parish, and had respected the freedom of Lutheran clergy from war contributions.[138] This has a polemical function of course, but it is worth noting that this presentation was Spaignart's priority: he had in Krause an associate who had kept a manuscript record of mistreatment of Lutheran clergy and parishioners by imperial troops under Wallenstein in Bohemia from 1622 to 1624, but he appears never to have published anything on this topic.[139]

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137 Spaignart, *Kriegsreligion*, 161, 191.
138 Spaignart, *Kriegsreligion*, 191.
139 Krause, 'Denckwürdigkeiten', 330-337.

On Lutheran authorities who burden their preachers and schoolmen with charges, however, Spaignart argued that 'it is certainly true that such braggarts have in their hearts no other purpose than to place such burdens on the preachers of their towns with their inequitable demands that they should themselves become weary of the office [of preacher], and move to another place, and abandon the people of God who have been commended to them. If it is the case that this is their intent, and among the godless it is none other, however deeply in the darkness of their hearts they should hide it, then it is certainly possible to find other methods by which they may rid themselves of preachers. But they should know nonetheless that when they behave in such a scurrilous way, that those who planned to destroy the church will themselves in turn be destroyed' (Isa: 33.1)'.[140]

This may seem reason enough to consider Spaignart an agitator of public feeling against the town council, but it must be noted that he used the question of war contributions for clergy and their widows the *Religion of War,* to admonish not only the town council but also the general public. It is after discussing this case that Spaignart broached the question which must have been exercising the town council at the time: under what circumstances would the clergy (and their widows) be

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140 'Und ist gewisslich war/ das solche Angeber im Hertzen keine ander meinung haben/ als sie wollen mit solchen unbilligen zumuthen/ den Predigern ihren stadt so schwer legen/ dass sie selbst dess Ampts sollen uberdrüssig werden/ und an einen andern Ort ziehen/ und die anbefohlene Gemeine Gottes verlassen. Ists aber die meinung/ wie es bey den Gottlosen andern nit ist/ wie tieff sie es auch verbergen in der finsterniss ihrer hertzen/ so kan man wol andere Mittel finden/ das man der Prediger loss wird. Aber sie sollen gleichwol wiesssen/ wenn ihnen solche bueberey angehet/ dass sie die Kirchen gedachtet massen zerstoeren/ wieder sollen verstoeret werden Esa am 33 v 1'. Spaignart, *Kriegsreligion,* 187-8.

willing to contribute to the cost of war? It was not unpermissible, Spaignart responded, to ask priests and widows to contribute in a case of extreme need, but one should not do so unless times are so dire that one cannot divide the preachers' shares proportionately among the other citizens, so that for example one hundred citizens should pay out one hundredth of a preachers' share each. Unless it is truly impossible for them to do so, the citizens should pay the clergy's share and thank God for the opportunity to support the church.[141] Spaignart had already noted that their tendency was to do the opposite: if faced with charges related to war, citizens tended to compensate by withdrawing an equivalent amount from what they would usually give to the upkeep of schools and churches.[142]

Spaignart's considerations on the matter, while certainly likely to incite hostility towards the Rat, did not do so simply by exploiting the citizens' resentment of war charges and of the comparative wealth of some of the town's councillors: he offered a consistent view of the place of the church which, while it might be divisive, was intended not to divide governed from governer, but to distinguish those whom he considered godly from the godless. A town, Spaignart stresses 'must not consider and assert the fabricated need to be a case of extreme need'.[143] In a case which meets the criteria of extreme need, clergymen should contribute: they should 'take the need of their fatherland to heart, and given a good example to others, bearing in mind that the fatherland can be saved with their

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141 Spaignart, *Kriegsreligion,* 221-5.
142 Spaignart, *Kriegsreligion,* 128.
143 Spaignart, *Kriegsreligion*, 225.

help'.[144] This 'extreme need', however, seems for Spaignart to correspond only with a situation where the town is in imminent danger of capture: 'if the fatherland despite [the financial contribution of priests and widows] is nonetheless conquered and taken over, they will in this case have a good conscience, and must consider that it is better to have helped friends with what one has than that the enemy should have had it and given little thanks for it'.[145]

From Krause's account of the various privations of schoolmen and clergy, and the citizens' complaints about the mistreatment of clergy, there is no suggestion that the blockade of 1629 was ever viewed or presented amongst the clergy or by them to the general public as representing this sort of 'extreme need' or threat of conquest which would require the clergy to do their part in providing a material contribution to the salvation of town or church.

Whether one views the blockade from the point of view of the town council, with its appeals to Hanseatic powers; of Peter Hecht, with his description of a community which must repent of its sins and await the intervention of an external force; or of Spaignart, whose writings up to the time of the blockade suggest that no external threat could trump the godless forces already threatening the town from within, it becomes clear that the blockade was presented to the

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144 Spaignart, *Kriegsreligion*, 227.

145 'Wer aber das Vaterland nichts desto weiniger erört und eingenommen/ so haben sie gleichwol ein gutese Gewsssen/ un muessen gedencken es sey besser/man habe freunden mit dem seinigen geholffen/ als dass es der Feindt bekommet/ und weinig dancks dafuer aussgiesst'. Spaignart, *Kriegsreligion,* 228.

general public less a problem of division into pro- and anti- imperial parties than one of the internal order of the town faced with the stresses of war. This question admittedly had to be settled with reference to the type of peace negotiated with Wallenstein, which would both determine the future financial burdens of the town and potentially affect that status of the church. However, in explaining the facts of the blockade and its aftermath as the sources present them, there is no need to posit the existence of a substantial anti-imperial party or conspiracy, or to suggest that Magdeburg's clergy were driven to an anti-imperial stance and subsequent alienation from the town council by a perceived danger to the Lutheran church in Magdeburg from Wallenstein.

The town council's position was extremely awkward: it needed to attempt to solve the financial problems which do seem to have been a cause of much of its alienation from its citizens by calling either for mediation or for loans from an external authority, at a time when the intervention of such an authority was seen by some of its subjects as a possible remedy for its abuses. The case of Alemann, however carefully some of the primary sources gloss over it, does reveal, meanwhile, that there was some division within the town council, which would corroborate the implication of Hecht's choice of scriptural verse for the dating of his forthcoming publication. Most vocal in celebrating the peace, and associating themselves incidentally with the imperial cause were four men had quarrels with the town council, which, they might now be expected to hope, would be settled by the Hanseatic deputies. The deputies' sessions with the various interest groups of

the town in early October certainly enabled them to make recommendations to the Rat on its handling of internal differences. Several sources suggest, however, that a more comprehensive change was expected.

4.4 **'So that it does not come to a Rebellion': Constitutional Reform**

In the 'Improved Protest of the former government', produced on 19th January 1631,[146] members of the town council unseated in February 1630 under the supervision of Hanseatic envoys recalled the circumstances of their deposition. They revealed that this measure had in fact been discussed between late September and October 19th 1629, by the earlier group of Hanseatic deputies, who had on 29th September brought to a successful close the negotiations with Wallenstein which ended his blockade of Magdeburg. Diplomatic correspondence confirms this sequence of events, although it was not revealed by Guericke.[147]

Three other sources discuss the matter in the context of a synthesis of the town's experiences in the approach to the disaster of 1631: the 'Ausführliche, Wahrhafte Relation', which gives the most comprehensive account of the deposition,[148] Christoph Krause's memoir, and Friedrich Friese's edition of the lost manuscript account by his father, Magdeburg's chief scribe, 'Of the Misfortune of Magdeburg'.[149]

The three sources have in common that they conflate the two visits of the two different groups of Hanseatic deputies. Friese is clearest:

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146 See Hulße and Hertel, *Friedrich Wilhelm Hoffmann's Geschichte der Stadt Magdeburg*, ii. 123.

147 Guericke, *Belagerung, Eroberung und Zerstörung der Stadt Magdeburg*, 9-11.

148 'Ausführliche, Wahrhafte Relation', 421-31.

149 Friese, 'Vom Magdeburgischen Unglück'

> Finally... the blockade was lifted... The Hanseatic enovys were assembled in the inn 'Zum Güldenen Arm', the principal hostelry of the town... there was thus great joy in the town, that they had been relieved of the blockade. Hereupon the Hanseatic deputies altered the government and the constitution of the Rat, which were unwieldy. There were introduced new councillors and a new constitutional arrangement with the council of one hundred and the guilds, according to the example of the Hanseatic states. In order to increase their authority, the deputies also spent a time leading the new councillors and elected persons in a procession to the Rat house. Finally they returned home. Meanwhile however there arose great repugnance, anger, bitterness, and hatred between those who had been displaced and the newly ordained councillors in the town. This was a beginning of their downfall.[150]

The conflation is particularly noteworthy because it was Daniel Friese, as chief scribe, who heard the oaths of the new Rat in February 1630: he of all people would have been informed of the sequence of events.[151] The account of Christoph Krause, although here commenting on affairs outside his direct experience as teacher or deacon, is important because although he does not emerge either from his own account or from the accounts of others as a particularly active participant in Magdeburg's civic life, he was clearly close to Evenius and Spaignart, and might be expected to transmit their understanding of the Hanseatic envoys' intentions. His

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150 Endlich wurde ... die Blockade aufgehoben. ... Der Hansastädte Gesandte waren in dem Wirtshaus ‚Zum güldenen Arm', dem vornehmsten Gasthofe der Stadt, versammelt ... Also war eine grosse Freude in der Stadt, dass man der Blockade ledig war; diese Aufhebung kostete aber der Stadt eine grosse Summe Geldes. Hierauf anderten der Hansastadt Gesandten die Regimenter und Ratsverfassung der Stadt Magdeburg, die sehr weitläufig war. Neue Ratsherren und eine andere Verfassung mit den Hundertmann und den Zünften wurden gemacht, nach der Hansastädte Beispiel. Die Gesandten führten auch die neuen Ratsherren und erwählten Personen zu mehrerer Autorität eine Zeitlang in Prozession aufs Rathaus. Endlich zogen sie wieder nach Hause. Indessen aber erhob sich ein grosser Widerwille, Zorn, Groll und Hass zwischen den abgesetzten und den neu verordneten Ratspersonen in der Stadt. Das war ein Anfang ihres Untergangs. Friese, 'Vom Magdeburgischen Unglück', 194-5.

151 'Verbesserte Protestation des alten Regiments', cited by Holstein, 'Änderung der Regierungsverfassung in Magdeburg im Jahre 1630', 300.

explanation reconciles, to some extent, those of Friese and the deposed town council. After concluding negotiations with Wallenstein, he recounted:

> the Hanseatic envoys having seen with their own eyes the various difficulties of our town, along with the great suspicion in which one order held another, and in which even the citizens themselves held the town council in Magdeburg, they volunteered on the insistent appeal of the citizenry, the plenipotentiaries of each section, and their deputies[152] to reform the town council or to choose a new town council in consideration of the fact that things had been so badly managed and everything had been made so unwieldy. In order however that this could be arranged with less vituperation, it was deferred until the next lenten season, of 1630 ...[153]

The author of the 'Comprehensvie and truthful account', gave a longer account, but one which, in part because it omitted an account of the events of 1629, lurched between the two visits of the Hanseatic envoys: he saw the decision to rearrange the Rat and elect new councillors as the impulse, in the first place, of the plenipotentiaries, which was then taken up by the common man. The plenipotentiaries, he claimed, were able to colour their version of events so that

> 'although the blockade and war outside and the external division had been disposed of, there was nonetheless internal misunderstanding and disunity of deal with, which must also be abolished, and that there

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152 The *Viertelsherrn,* representatives of the town's eighteen sectors, had been chosen during the blockade of 1629. They and their deputies retained a voice in the city's politics until its destruction. The names of the deputies are listed in Wolter, *Geschichte der Stadt Magdeburg,* ii. 314-5.

153 'Demnach die hansestaedtische Legaten allerhand Extremiteten unserer Stadt vor Augen sahen, neben den grossen Missverstand, so ein Stand widern andern, ja der Buerger selbst widern Rath in Magdeburg hatte, haben sie uf Anhalten der Bürgerschaft, der Virtelsherrn (derer 18) und irer Deputirten (18) sich anerboten, den senatum zu reformiren oder einen neuen Rath zu wählen in Betrachtung, das so übel hausgehalten war worden und alles so weitleuftig gemacht wurde im Rath. Damit es aber mit geringerm Despect geschehen moechte, wurde es verschoben bis uf kuenftige Fastnacht ad annum 1630 ... '. Krause, 'Denkwürdigkeiten', 351.

> was no more appropriate way for this to happen, for trust to be restored, or for the town to be placed in better order, than for the old town council, which had developed too unwieldily, to be made more constrained, and one which would be comparatively more stable to be elected and ordained'.[154]

The implication of these texts, taken together, is that the Hanseatic deputies had determined to return and oversee reform at the time when a new town council would normally take power unless matters improved significantly in the town, so that those observing civic affairs thought this more or less likely to happen according to their perspective on the council then governing. The town council in its communication with the Leipzig convention in February 1631 observed that 'since the end of the blockade [of 1629] the town has remained blockaded to this day'.[155] Although the formal blockade had been lifted, Wallenstein's armies impeded the passage of goods and levied heavy taxes on what did reach Magdeburg.[156] Since the town had also paid heavily for the lifting of the blockade, the council would have had difficulty repairing the problem of perceived economic mismanagement. Already in November the plenipotentiaries elected by Magdeburg's military districts had written to the Hanseatic deputies to request their return to give counsel on the town's difficulties.[157]

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154 'obwohl die Blokirung und auswendiger Krieg und äusserliche Zwiespalt niedergeleget und aufgehoben, dass dennoch innerlich Missverständniss und Uneinigkeiten übrig wären, welche auch müssten hingeleget und abgeschaffet werden, auch solches nicht füglicher geschen noch gut Vertrauen wieder aufgereichtet und die Stadt in bessern Stand gesetzet werden koennte, als wenn der alte Rath, so zu weitläufig eingezogen, enger gemacht und ein beständiger dagegen erwählet und verordnet wuerde'. 'Ausführliche Bericht', 422

155 'Nach Beendigung der Blokade ist die Stadt bis jetzt blokiert geblieben'.

156 Neubauer, *Wallenstein und die Stadt Magdeburg,* 198.

157 Guericke, *Belagerung, Eroberung und Zerstörung*, 9.

It is in this context that Sigismund Evenius's pointedly-titled collection of heavily-annotated extracts from Martin Luther on the proper maintenance of schools and treatment of clergy and schoolteachers is extremely significant. In what he described as a New Year's gift, composed in December 1629,[158] he addressed 'all men of all orders who are erudite in matters of learning, the beloved college of pious school-teachers, and also the whole honourable citizenry of the *Altstadt* of Magdeburg', eschewing the more usual formation which would address Bürgermeisters, town council, guildmasters, and citizens.[159] Evenius selected from some fairly common arguments from Luther's works on schools, addressing in particular the question of war, which on the one hand has disastrous material consequences for schools,[160] and on the other hand, was itself poorly understood as a means for restoring peace. In a passage remniscent of Spaignart's account in his *Signum Gratitudinis*, he explained that true peace arose from internal harmony: in worldly affairs, peace was the fruit of the proper exercise of the offices of preacher and schoolteacher, and a town's best defence was the resource it had in wise and godly citizens.

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158 The date of composition is given as 20th December 1629: '20 decemb Anni decurrentis M. DC. XXIX'. Evenius, *Omnibus Omnium Ordinum Viris Eruditis Reique literaria ac Conventuum piorum Scholasticorum: amantibus: Zugleich auch Der Ehrsamen gesambten Bürgerschafft der Alten Stadt Magdeburgk/ Schencket diesen des H. Lutheri SchulRath ... zu einen Glücksehligen Frieden vnd Frewdenreichen Newen Jahre*, ([s.l., 1629) Dii

159 Evenius, *Omnibus Omnium Ordinum Viris Eruditis Reique literaria ac Conventuum piorum Scholasticorum: amantibus: Zugleich auch Der Ehrsamen gesambten Bürgerschafft der Alten Stadt Magdeburgk/ Schencket diesen des H. Lutheri SchulRath ... zu einen Glücksehligen Frieden vnd Frewdenreichen Newen Jahre.*

160 Evenius, *Omnibus Omnium Ordinum Viris Eruditis,* D.

Rather than let those who serve in the schools starve and grow weak, Evenius interjected here, one should in fact provide them with extra in time of war, but the multitude believes that political council, soldiers, defence and weapons are the road to peace.[161] This conviction that the office of the Christian teacher implied a legitimate concern with war echoed Spaignart's complaints in his *Religion of War* that war was a particularly expensive time for clergymen because it obliged them to buy new books and practise new arguments, the more so if it was a religious war.[162]

While the use of Luther was a relatively safe way to criticize Magdeburg's authorities, Evenius did not make subtlety his priority. He indicated with his annotations that Luther's words were of immediate relevance: where Luther lamented the fact that God's servants might soon be reduced to utter poverty, Evenius added, 'sadly, things have almost come to that pass already'. [163] Luther had appealed to town councils as the hope of Christian educators and the church on earth, 'because a most terrible war is at hand here with the wretched Devil, who aims in this way to make towns and kingdoms... empty of proficient people', leaving 'idle useless people' who can be misled as he wishes.[164] Evenius arranged Luther's text to proceed: 'Therefore, dear town councillors, it is left for you alone

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161 Evenius, *Omnibus Omnium Ordinum Viris Eruditis*, biii-biii(v)

162 Spaignart, *Kriegsreligion*, 187.

163 'Es ist leider fast schon dahin kammen'. Evenius, *Omnibus Omnium Ordinum Viris Eruditis*, [Aiv (v)].

164 '... hie viel ein erger Kriege vorhanden ist mit dem leidigen Teuffel/ der damit umbgehet/ das er Städte und Fürstenthumb wil ... von Tüchtigen Personen leer machen/ ... darlasse stehen ... eitel unnuetzen Leuten'. Evenius, *Omnibus Omnium Ordinum Viris Eruditis*, biii.

to deal with this, moveover, you have the heart and the courage for it, moreso than the princes and the lords'.[165] Beside these lines, he inserted in the margin his own question: 'but if the former begin to behave like the latter, what is to be advised then?'[166]

Having thus identified town councils as the institutions at fault, Evenius was able to use Luther's strictures against negligent authorities generally to refer to them: shortly after the above section he reveals that, 'Pharoah King of Egypt will step forth at the Last Judgement and will damn the princes and authorities of Germany, for he honoured his priests and did not lay his hands on their goods...'.[167] Like Spaignart, he related this behaviour to the public honour of the town council, adding in the margin, 'oh yes, when this happens it will be a wonderful honour for such authorities'.[168] Evenius's New Year's gift in fact attacked the honour of the town council in three ways: he published this thinly veiled attack on their conduct, in a year when printers' presses were almost idle in Magdeburg,[169] and he contemplated the probability of their future dishonouring at the last judgement; finally, he announced for the benefit of 'this town and the

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165 Darumb wils Euch lieben Rahtsherren allein in der Hand bleiben/ Ihr hab auch raum und fug darzu/ besser denn fuersten und Herren'. Evenius, *Omnibus Omnium Ordinum Viris Eruditis*, biii(v).

166 'Wenn es aber diese beginnen zu machen: wie jene: Wie denn weiter zu rathen?', Evenius, *Omnibus Omnium Ordinum Viris Eruditis*, biii(v).

167 'Dieser König in Egypten Pharao wird am Jüngstem Gericht aufftreten/ unnd die fuersten und Obrigkeiten Deutschlands verdammen/ darumb/ daß er seine Priester hat geehret/ unnd an ihre Gueter nicht Hand gelegt', Evenius, *Omnibus Omnium Ordinum Viris Eruditis*, [biv].

168 'Ey das wil einer solchen Obrigkeit aldann eine schöne Ehre sein', Evenius, *Omnibus Omnium Ordinum Viris Eruditis*, [biv].

169 VD17 lists nine works for this year, of which four commemorated death, marriage or graduation.

whole world' that at eight o' clock on the next day, four of his pupils would appear at a public disputation, and will speak in Greek and Latin verse and prose on 1) the usefulness of schools; 2) their necessity; 3) their origin and antiquity; 4) their advancement and hostility towards them.[170]

The timing of this 'new year's gift', granted in the period when Magdeburg's town council appears to have been attempting to maintain its authority and to avoid Hanseatic reforms, makes it quite clear that Evenius must have wished to further the prospects of governmental reform. Speaking in warning concerning what could be described as attacks on the church from within, he outlined arguments which had been articulated since the inflationary crisis, and which his 'new year's gift' and Spaignart's *Religion of War* exposed most comprehensively. His implication in the unseating of the town council demonstrates that he did not, as Bremer surmises, hold aloof from town politics.[171] That this was a project embraced by the school generally is reflected in the organisation of solemn disputations, in Krause's understanding of the return of the envoys, and in the dedication by Heinrich Grimm in 1630 of an edition of Heinrich Baryphonus's *Pleiades Musicae* to the six Hanseatic envoys and Magdeburg's

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[170] Perorabunt autem Materias sibi assignatas Crastini diei hor octava ordine. 1. Utilitatem Schoarum, Andreas Bilderbeccius Croppenstadensis, carmine Heroico Graeo. 2. Necessitatem Earundem Theodoricus Luchtius Pritzwaldensis Marchicus, carmine Heroico Latino. 3 Originem et antiquitatem, Martinus Hakius Gransoa Marchicus, oratione Graeca. 4. Promotionem ac hostilitatem, Nicolaus Rademacherus Havelberga – Marchichus, oratione Latina'.

[171] Bremer, *Sigismund Evenius*, 165-95.

deputy to them, Sigismund Hesse, whom he described as leading the city out of Egyptian captivity.[172]

Spaignart too was implicated in the constitutional reforms, although in his case the association has survived in the historical record. Liborius von Line's report to Bremen was that he and his fellow deputies, once they had returned to Magdeburg to oversee the reform of this council, relied on the clergy to calm the people of Magdeburg and prevent general uproar.

> '[We] must indeed be alert at all times and must order things so that it does not come to a Rebellion of the citizens against the town council, and the matter has now been advanced to the extent that, that having admonished with stirring reminders both the town council at the town hall and the citizens at our lodgings to peace and unity and forgiveness of everything that is past, and thereafter given our well-meant deliberations, the resolutions will be brought, if it please God, tomorrow. God grant that it should all proceed peacefully, for truly the citizenry has not conceived such a great hatred for the town council without reason, so that they are passionately dissatisfied that our commission does not go so far as to allow them to accuse the town council publicly in front of us; the town council on the other hand is dissatisfied as it wishes to be permitted to use its powers to retaliate for the complaints brought against it by the citizens. We have also coordinated affairs with the Preachers, so that a definite admonishment will be made tomorrow from all pulpits, so that everyone will devote their energies to peace and unity, and [we] live in the hope, that we will be able to direct matters so as to avoid a bloodbath and civil war.[173]

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[172] Heinrich Grimm, *Henrici Baryphoni Pleiades Musicae: Quae Fundamenta Musicae Theoricae Ex Principiis Mathematicis Eruta* (Magdeburg, 1630), Aii

[173] '... wahrlich ohne Unterlass ein wachendes Auge haben und die Sachen so dirigiern muessen, dass es nicht zu einem Auffstande der Buerger wider den Rath gerathe, und ist die Sache nun so weit bracht, dass nach dem wir sowol den Rath auf dem Rathhause als die Buergerschaft in unser Losament [zum goldenen Arm] zu Friede und Einigkeit und Verzeihung alles dessen was fürganen mit beweglichen Erinnerungen ermahnt und darauf unser gutherziges Bedenken eröffnet, geliebt es Gott, morgenden Tages die resolutiones einkommen werden. Gott gebe, dass alles in Ruhe zugehe, denn wahrlich die Buergerei nicht ohne Ursach so grossen Haß wider den Rath gefasst, dass es

Holstein observes that the last section should be compared with the complaint of the deposed town council on, 10 January 1631, that on 'Esto Mihi' Sunday, Quinquagesima, 10 February 1630, Spaignart had spoken in a sermon of the different means by which governments might be altered, observing that, historically, it had been seen that this could be done by violence, but cautioning against this course of action. [174] Holstein saw this as the agitatorial intervention of a fanatic, and it was certainly bitterly resented by the deposed council as evidence that Spaignart had colluded in their overthrow, but Line's letter to the Bremen town council demonstrates that by the time the sermon was preached, whatever its content, their fate was already decided, and the fear of violence to which Spaignart alluded was already under discussion. After a public vote by representatives of the guilds, and some revisions on the 10th, 13th and 15th February,[175] the Hanseatic envoys oversaw the introduction of a new form of government: a town council made up up of life-long members, who would govern in yearly rotation in two groups of twelve.

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ihnen von Herzen verdriesst, dass unsere Commission sich nicht dahin strecket, dass sie mögen den Rat öffentlcih für uns anklagen, den Rath hingegen verdriesst, dass sie sich an den Bürgern der eingebrachten Klagen halber mit Executionsmittlen rächen moegen.Wir haben uns auch mit den Predigern verglichen, dass eine gewisse Vermahnung morgenden Tages von allen Kanzeln geschehen soll, damit jedermänniglich sich der Ruhe und Einigkeit befleissige, und leben der Hofnung, wir wollen den Sachen noch ohne ein Blutbad und civile bellum zu rathen wissen'. Report from Bremen Deputy Liborius von Line, 7 Feb 1630, reproduced in Holstein, '

[174] Hoffmann, *Geschichte der Stadt Magdeburg,* ii. 121; Holstein, 'Änderung der Regierungsverfassung in Magdeburg im Jahre 1630', 273

[175] Hoffmann, *Geschichte der Stadt Magdeburg*, ii. 122.

As discussed in the introduction to Part III, the tendency in the 'Comprehensive and truthful account' and the secondary works influenced by it is to see the new town council as the result of popular agitation, encouraged by the clergy and by supporters of Christian Wilhelm. It is presumably in response to this representation that Neubauer describes the constitutional reform as 'a forcible overthrow of the old town council'.[176] His perspective has persisted in more recent historiography: Tullner describes the change as having been brought about under the leadership of the 'opposition party' through threats of violence.[177] For Porschev, it was a 'revolution'.[178] The only evidence of a threat of violence in fact came from the council of 1629-30, which later complained that 'while the Hanseatic deputies were not present, the town council heard how on the day before [13th February]... there had almost been a fight to the death , and may God graciously turn this aside, so that things will not develop as they did in the time of Heshusius, so that there is constant dispute between one and another'.[179]

The comparison chosen by the deposed town council is a significant one, because it quite clearly places blame on the clergy: Superintendent Tilemann Heßhusen had been blamed in 1562 for inciting citizens to riot, and had been

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176 'einer gewaltsamen Absetzung des alten Rats'. Neubauer, *Zerstörung der Stadt Magdeburg*, 10.

177 Tullner, 'Das Trauma Magdeburg', 19.

178 Porschev, *Muscovy and Sweden*, 183.

179 'Von einem an 14. Februar geschehenen excess berichtet das protokoll wie folgt: ' In Abwesenheit der Herren gesandten itst im rath erzaehltt worden, dass vorigen Tages auf der Lakemacher Gildehof dieserwegen fast ein Todtschlag sollte entstanden sein, und Gott wolle es gnaedi verhueten, dass hieraus nichts erfolgen möchte, wie tempore Heshusii, dass einer allezeit in Zusammenkuensten wider den andern sein werde', cited in Holstein, 'Änderung der Regierungsverfassung in Magdeburg im Jahre 1630', 256.

expelled from Magdeburg. He had been specifically accused of going beyond his god-given office of admonition, and causing 'tumult'.[180] Whether or not the clergy could be blamed for the precise incident discussed here, it is quite clear that the clerical and scholarly network described in Chapter 3 held responsibility for the constitutional reforms on several levels: the clergy had clearly offered their formal cooperation to the Hanseatic deputies, insofar as they agreed to attempt to hold peace among the citizens and facilitate reform; Hecht and Spaignart appear to have consoled and celebrated with the public the prospect of external intervention; clergy and school seem to have been party to the expectation that the Hanseatic deputies would return and reform; Evenius, using an approach extremely similar to Spaignart's in the *Religion of War* had advertised the council's failure to improve matters in the interim. That this group helped to engineer the reform of Magdeburg's council is undeniable.

To this extent the clergy may be said to have cooperated with the plenipotentiaries and with their representatives, who eventually acted as electors. It must be queried however whether this should be taken as evidence of a conspiracy to depose the town council in order to produce a situation more favourable to the reurn of of Administrator Christian Wilhelm.

As discussed in the literature review, primary and secondary sources both indicate that this change was a radical one. This suggestion has been intensified by a statistic which has somehow attached itself to Guericke's biography: he is

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180 See G. Hertel, in 'Zur Geschichte der Heshussianischen Bewegung in Magdeburg'. *MGB* 1899 (34), 72-151, esp. 148-9.

frequently described as one of only two councillors from the old town council to have won a place on the new.[181] Line however had noted that five members of the old council were among the twenty-four after all elections had been held.[182] Line does not give names, and as we cannot be sure of the composition of the councils of 1627-9, we cannot be certain which councillors he has in mind, or even whether he is referring only to those who would otherwise have expected to take a seat in the reigning Rat in 1630. However, the figure may be corroborated and even extended if we take into account people known to have been on the council before 1629, some of whom may been voted off in the interim. Different records indicate a prior presence during the 1620s for nine members of the new town council: Oswald Matthais,[183] Martin Braun,[184] Georg Kühlewein,[185] David Lemke,[186] Dietrich Brewitz,[187] Otto von Guericke,[188] Johann Buschow,[189] Johann Heinrich Westphal,[190] and Peter Eichorn.[191] Taking into account the fact that Johann Fricke,

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181 e.g. Tullner, 'Das Trauma Magdeburg', 19; *Otto von Guericke, 1602-1952: Festschrift zum Gedächtnisjahr 1952*, 13.

182 Line, 'Report to the town council at Bremen, 25th February 1630', cited in Holstein, 'Änderung der Regierungsverfassung in Magdeburg im Jahre 1630', 280.

183 Line refers to him as a member of the town council in 1629: Holstein, 'Zur Geschichte der Belagerung Magdeburgs durch Wallenstein', 610.

184 Dittmar, 'Die Bürgermeister und Kämmerer der Stadt Magdeburg von 1213-1680', Bürgermeister, 1625.

185 Subject of a dedication as member of the town council in 1624: Bloc, *Eusebia*, Aii(v)

186 Subject of a dedication as member of the town council in 1624: Bloc, *Eusebia*, Aii(v)

187 Subject of a dedication as member of the town council in 1624: Bloc, *Eusebia*, Aii(v)

188 See Neubauer, 'Häupter der kaiserlichen Partei in Magdeburg 1630', 329.

189 Subject of a dedication as member of the town council in 1622: Bloc, *Promulsis Magdeburgensis Historiae*, [Ai(v)]

190 Possibly Bürgermeister in 1622 and 1623 (the two sources on which Dittmar bases his register vary). A member of the council in 1629: see Neubauer, 'Häupter der kaiserlichen Partei in Magdeburg 1630', 329.

Hans Schaff, and Stephan Lemke all share surnames with men present on the town council during the 1620s, and thus would have been likely to win seats on the council at some stage and be able to draw on family expertise and connections,[192] the new town council elected in 1630 was not particularly inexperienced, and the change in personnel not as abrupt as has been presumed. If the results of constitutional reform are to be considered the election of a certain party by representatives of the town's district who had a coherent plan for the return of Christian Wilhelm, it must be conceded that the old town council was significantly divided. The decision to portray a 'good imperial' town council displaced by an anti-imperial party is, in the context in which Guericke and the author of the 'True and comprehensive report' were writing, entirely understandable. It is clearly a perspective which was developed very quickly, appearing already in the Protest of the deposed Rat of January 1631. It has had, however, quite serious implications for the historiography of the last years before 1631. Once there is created a dichotomy between old and new town councils as parties for and against Christian Wilhelm, those implicated in the establishment of the new town council appear as members of his 'party'. The interventions by Magdeburg's clergy and scholars, discussed above, carry their own justifications in the form of protest at neglect by the town council of certain responsibilities, and abuses of certain powers. This does not mean that they may not also have other ends, as shall be discussed especially in Chapter 5. The next section, however, will investigate evidence that

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191 Neubauer, 'Häupter der kaiserlichen Partei in Magdeburg 1630', 329.

192 Dittmar, 'Die Bürgermeister und Kämmerer der Stadt Magdeburg von 1213-1680',

neither the town council as elected in 1630, nor the plenipotentiaries who continued in their positions after the arrival of Christian Wilhelm could be considered close allies or tools of Magdeburg's clergy.

4.5 'We can float apples' – the struggle for precedence and the silencing of admonition.

The suggestion that the clergy and members of Magdeburg's new town council were linked in a conspiracy to secure the return of Christian Wilhelm is guided, in the 'True and Comprehensive Account', by the provision of a list of men who supposedly swore an oath to support Christian Wilhelm's return: the list includes eleven members of the town council elected in February 1630,[193] as well as Spaignart, Cramer, Nicolaus Pormann, Joachim Arnst and Decennius, the Cathedral chaplain. This list should probably be treated with caution: there is no evidence of the support of the Magdeburgers involved in Christian Wilhelm's papers in Vienna, and the author of the 'True and Comprehensive Account' appears through his association with Alemann to have had particularly good cause to wish to protect the reputation of the old town council.

Even if one proceeds on the assumption that the oath was sworn by these men, however, it is still difficult to consider that the nature of the support lent by Spaignart and his apparent collaborators at the school to constitutional reform had its roots in a long-term plan to facilitate the return to the town of Christian Wilhelm. It has been established that the combined criticisms of the group of clergy and scholars of the town council before 1630 remained consistent with the

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[193] 1 Buergermeister George Schmidt , 2 Buergermeister Johannes Westphale, 3 Caspar von Steinbeck, 4 Conrad Gerholdt, 5 Matthias Helwig 6 Johann Henningius 7 Andreas Laue, 8 Diederich Brewitz, 9 Hermann Coerver, 10 Franz Schoff, 11 Franz Calvoerder. 'Ausführliche Warhafte Relation'.

pattern of comment and limits of permitted admonishment explored in Chapter 3. It is of course possible to argue that these admonitions, however sincerely believed by those delivering them, were also considered a means to further the aim of establishing a new authority in the town, and a new policy as regarded war. Some of the evidence for Spaignart's activity in this area will be examined in the next chapter. This section will attempt to indicate that the pattern from the group of clergy and scholars of criticism and insistence on certain privileges not only persisted from the inflationary crisis to the establishment of the new town council, but also continued past 1630, and characterised the relationship of this group with the council the clergy had supposedly worked to bring to power. The emphasis on internal reform, rather than appearing as a stick with which to beat an unpopular government, remained even when a change in government would have made it a potential obstacle to any planned cooperation in external policies.

A source as yet entirely unexplored in the history of Magdeburg's drift to war is a letter from Spaignart to Hamburg pastor Johann Müller, which has been preserved in the manuscript collection of Hamburg university. The letter is dated only 28th June, but Spaignart's reference in it to the 'new town council' makes it evident that year must be 1630. Spaignart writes to appeal to Müller for information, explaining that 'here amongst us a new dispute is provoked by the new senate, concerning the change of priority which they want, between

themselves, myself and other ordained people'.[194] The letter elucidates brief references by Krause and the author of the 'Comprehensive and truthful account', which show that civic ritual had again become a sticking point after the election of the new town council. The Comprehensive and truthful account explains how:

> 'the new town councillors, who had been so highly spoken of (because they were supposed to be perpetual councillors, whereas previously one came to this dignity every three years, if he was re-elected in the accepted manner and not passed over) ... walked before and sat above the preachers at weddings and at other receptions, for which reason the preachers themselves left again. And this gave rise to the first disunity between them'.[195]

Krause gives another perspective:

> 'then suddenly the [new] town councillors thought: *nos poma natamus* ['we can float apples', i.e., 'we are first in importance'], took thought of their priority and precedence and voted to walk and to sit at the head, and wanted the ministers, against the old style, to walk or sit lower down. An abominable writing was circulated concerning the vocation to the ministry under the title: 'A just and pious indication etc. concerning this dispute' under the name of Harderinum Cabiam [Cubium?].[196] Yes indeed Senator Buschaw came and wished to

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194 'Nova huc nobis movetur questio a Senatu novo, de mutatione praecedentia quam volent, inter se mei ipsum & nostri ordinis personas'. Letter, Spaignart to Johann Müller, 28 June [1630], SUBH Uffenbach-Wolfschen Briefsammlung, 6,333.

195 'also die neuen Rathsherren, so hoch intoniret worden (weil sie perpetuirliche Herren sien sollten, denn vorher einer um's 3 Jahr dazu kommen, wenn er wieder ordentlich erwaehlet und nicht praeteriret worden), dass sie auf Hochzeiten und Gastgeboten, auch Begraebnissen ueber die Prediger gingen und sich gesetzet, deswegen dieselben wieder davongangen. Und ist dahero die erste Uneinigkeit zwischen ihnen entstanden'. 'Ausfuehrliche, Wahrhafte Relation', 423.

196 Denn da dachten die senatores flugs: nos poma natamus, waren bedact uf ire Praecedenz und Prioritet nd erwehlteten oben an zugehen und zu sitzen, wolten, die ministeriales contra stilum veterem solten unten angehen oder sitzen. Es ging ein greuliche Schrift aus de vocatione ministrorum sub titulo: Informatorium pium et justum etc. de illo dissidio per Harderinum Cabiam [Cubium?] da dem Rath trefflich das Wort geredet wurde in 3. oder 4. argumentis. Ja de facto ist Buschaw senator zugefahren und hat in publico actu nuptiali M. Hechten wollen degradieren, der da aber bald abgetreten

> publicly degrade M. Hecht in the course of public celebration of marriage, who however then quickly stepped down and left the place. Matters escalated thus between them because of the question of precedence, but the [sitting] town council maintained a profound silence on the matter, so that it was preached from the pulpit, that soon one or other of the clerical and secular authorities would for this reason not be requested at weddings, and the citizens were displeased about this.

Spaignart explained his grounds for complaint on this matter. His argument was that he and Reinhard Bake, being the only Doctors of theology in the town, must always have precedence. This affected the place too of the junior clergy, who should follow them in procession. He deplored the disruption of the wedding at which Hecht had been officiating, and requested confirmation that clergy took precedence in Hamburg, since this, he said, was the model on which constitution and ceremony had been established by the Hanseatic deputies.[197] Spaignart's letter shows how seriously he took this matter, and how determined he was that the new town council should be made to acknowledge the authority of the clergy: a public confirmation of the precedence of theology and by extension of the clergy's right to admonish. The anonymous pamphlet to which Krause referred, which seems to have denigrated clerical office generally, indicates that this became a dispute about precisely the matter which was central to Spaignart's writings on war and on all political matters. The dispute seems from Spaignart's letter to have developed only

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und davon gangen. Solche Verbitterung entstund unter inen wegen des Obenangehens, wovon im alten Rath altum silentium, das es uf die Cantzeln kam, es wurden bald der Geistlichen, bald der Weltlichen Leichbegängnuesse oder Hochzeiten und Verlöbnusse deswegen nicht ersucht, und gefiel den Bürgern auch nicht.

[197] Letter, Spaignart to Johann Müller, 28 June [1630], Uffenbach-Wolfschen Briefsammlung, Handschriftensammlung der Staats und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, 6,333.

after the new council had governed for several months, so that it seems possible that the new council exploited the symbolic value of moving in front of the clergy to attempt to reduce or deny its influence, and particularly that of Spaignart, who processed first.

This would connect the precedence quarrel with another dispute recorded by Krause, whose diary shows that the school's situation continued to decline under the new town council, and that this situation brought both Spaignart and Evenius into conflict with the new council. According to Krause, Evenius congratulated the new town council on its appointment, in a song which compared members of the new council with various old Testament prophets and but which was 'maliciously interpreted', so that he had to bring all copies to the town hall or face dismissal.[198] As the council had refused to show itself in procession as subject to a higher clerical authority, the town council also attempted to avoid the sort of printed admonition which its predecessors had suffered.

The town council could suppress Evenius's song because it had taken to itself all powers of censorship.[199] This was against prior custom in Magdeburg, which dictated a role for the clergy in such decisions where religious matters were concerned, a category into which, given their understanding of their mission, the

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198 'M. Evenius gratulirte dem neuen Rath carmine latino-germanico auf ein Patent... welchs übel interpretirt wurde...'. Krause, 'Denkwürdigkeiten', 353.

199 Krause, 'Denkwürdigkeiten', 353.

works of the schoolteachers could generally have been placed.[200] It was also very clearly an obstacle to the methods which the clergy and scholars felt to be their legitimate contribution to town policy. Line had noted the distress of Magdeburg's citizens at the fact that he would not allow them publicly to air their grievances about the town council; this new measure meant that clergy and scholars could in theory no longer print, as they had done, in this connection.

In response to this new law, Krause reports that Greek language works were submitted for publication, so that the town council would be forced to admit its incompetence.[201] Krause is vague on the sequence, interconnection, and precise dating of events, although he places all of these disputes between the election of the new town council in February 1630 and the public appearance of Christian Wilhelm in the town in August. It was probably however in connection with the censorship question that Spaignart allegedly declared his two newly-appointed fellow scholarchs, Georg Schmidt and Johann Westphal, unfit for their scholarly office, being incompetent at grammar. This saved Evenius from a lawsuit over the banned song, because Schmidt and Westphal decided that one case against the associates of the school was enough, and brought a case against Spaignart which lasted into the siege and became increasingly bitter with time[202]

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200 On Magdeburg censorship see *Controversia Crameriana*, 92.
201 Krause, 'Denkwürdigkeiten', 353.
202 Krause, 'Denkwürdigkeiten', 383.

Schmidt and Westphal were the two Bürgermeisters among the men who allegedly swore an oath to facilitate the return of Christian Wilhelm. Krause's account suggests that, at the centre of the web of disputes and grievances around the school and town council in 1630, there was a growing hostility between these men and Spaignart. The lawsuit against Spaignart may have sparked the precedence dispute, which seems to have occurred some time after the establishment of the new town council. In any case, the apparent determination of the new town council to suppress the complementary claims and strictures of school and church not only goes against the manner in which these institutions functioned in Magdeburg; it also suggests that the councillors saw no prospect of uncritical support for their authority from teachers or clergy.

The hostility between council and clergy seems likely to have persisted even after the arrival of Christian Wilhelm, who won the formal support of the town council in early August.[203] It might have been expected that under the new alliance for the protection of Lutheranism into which it had entered, with both with Christian Wilhelm and, later in August, Sweden, the town council would at last attend to the privileges demanded by its clergy. The evidence from the so-called citizen's roll, which is in fact a register of houses and their owners, is against this. This manuscript was transcribed from the Magdeburg town archive by Hugo Holstein, who dated it to some time between February 1630 and May 1631 on the

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[203] Guericke, *Belagerung, Eroberung und Zerstörung der Stadt Magdeburg*, 18-25 for the order of the discussions between July 29th and August 2nd.

basis of the town councillors and mayors named.[204] As such, it was not established whether the register came from the period after Christian Wilhelm's arrival. It is in fact possible to provide evidence for a date for the creation of the register some time between September and December 1630. The manuscript lists property according to location, naming citizens more than once if they had property in more than one of the town's eighteen districts. It thus seems likely to have been used for quartering of soldiers rather than military rotas; the *Altstadt* reluctantly agreed to have soldiers quartered on its citizens after the arrival of Dietrich von Falkenberg as lieutenant to Gustavus Adolphus, in October 1630.[205] This makes November a likely time for the register's creation. The fact that Dr Jacob Alemann, who died in December 1630,[206] is listed as an owner of property indicates composition before 1631. Precluding a much earlier date is the absence of Krause, who records to he and his family left their house in the *Altstadt* to take up residence at St Jacob's church on 21st September that year.[207] November or December are perhaps the most likely months, but the register was in any case created after the *Altstadt* entered into alliance with Christian Wilhelm, and thus for use after a putative anti-Imperial alliance among the townspeople would have achieved its aims. Unlike Krause, a number of Magdeburg's junior clergy and teachers did appear on the register, and were thus presumably included among those eligible to take in

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204 Hugo Holstein, 'Statistische Nachweisungen über die Bevölkerung der Stadt Magdeburg unmittelbar vor und nach der Zerstörung vom 10. Mai 1631', *MGB,* 1877 (11) 113-139, 113.

205 See Falkenberg, 'Rapport från öfversten Diedr. Falkenberg till Konungen', October 1630, *Arkiv till upplysning om Svenska krigens*, i. 586-9 on Falkenberg's arrival.

206 Alemann, *Geschichte des Geschlechts von Alemann*, 121.

207 Krause, 'Denkwürdigkeiten', 325.

soldiers. As well as junior clergy and teachers, among them Möser, the widows of Elias Pomarius and Johann Bloc appear: a clear indication that despite what historians might consider a victory for Spaignart's aims in the town, his influence over the town council and the eighteen plenipotentiaries was not sufficient to lead to the adoption of his position on clerical and scholarly privilege as expressed in the *Religion of War.*

Conclusions

With the appeal to external authorities exemplified by Hecht's unusual treatment of the sixteenth-century siege, the collaborators among Magdeburg's scholars and clergymen appear between 1628 and 1630 to have aimed to bring the public rebuke and admonishment of the town's secular authorities to a wider and more influential readership. Their discussion of the experience of war dwelt in particular on its detrimental effects on their exercise of office. These effects corresponded to a great extent with the experience of the inflationary crisis, in which they had intervened in the early 1620s. With Magdeburg experiencing war first through increased hardship and then through a direct military threat, their complaints about a church persecuted from within the town became more intense but did not change in its focus.

The experience of war in Magdeburg thus became an increasingly acute crisis of authority. Economic hardship and mismanagement of finances were recognisable grounds for grievance in response to which intervention and admonition by the clergy had been identified early in the 1620s as the appropriate response. The fact that Magdeburg's town council needed to appeal to external powers to gain respite from Wallenstein's punitive demands meant that this intervention could consist of negotiation with the Hanseatic towns for constitutional reform. Line's dispatches to Bremen suggest that he saw this as the only alternative to scenes like those of 1621. The school and clergy acted entirely

within the logic of their claims since the beginning of the war in facilitating, and to some extent promoting, this reform.

Redistribution of power within the town was sufficient to cause resentment, which seems likely to have motivated some claims in later histories of the disaster. It appears also to have perpetuated insecurity. The new council lacked obvious remedies to some of the problems which had beset its predecessor, and had experience of the vigour and effectiveness of a pattern of admonition which translated various failings on the part of councillors into rejection of the church. Its attempts to counter this problem by restricting printing constituted a challenge to the perceived functions of church and school. This seems to have escalated into mutual public rejection of particular claims to authority.

This development works against suggestions that Magdeburg's clergy, and especially Spaignart, agitated against the town councillors in authority before 1630 in order to replace them with a regime more congenial to Christian Wilhelm. If the clergy and scholars can be said to have worked to achieve constitutional reform, they seem not to have succeeded in influencing the process to the extent of filling the council with clients or allies. It is possible that rebellion was averted through their assurance of admonition and intervention, but the manner of the reform, which isolated without empowering a small group, produced a challenge to these aspects of the clerical office. If some from each group did swear to support Christian Wilhelm's return, it seems very probable that this was not the result of a

longterm alliance in his support. The circumstances in which a support base for Christian Wilhelm may have developed will be considered in the final chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: 'Not one of the lesser causes of the town's present troubles'

Introduction

Chapter 4 attempted to demonstrate that it was difficult to conclude on the basis of existing sources that there existed a coherent group, led by the clergy, with sufficient influence over and within the town council of 1630 to force its hand in the matter of the return of Christian Wilhelm. It remains to offer an alternative account of the loyalties and expectations which led Magdeburg into disaster. In response, this chapter will argue that Magdeburg was sustained to a large extent in the approach to the disaster by the expectation that electoral Saxony would intervene in its favour. It will approach this question through Spaignart in particular, by attempting to demonstrate why, if as will be argued he placed his trust in Saxony, he has nonetheless been associated in the historical record with Christian Wilhelm.

5.1 Spaignart and the authorship of the *Magdeburg Beacon* (1632)

One obstacle to the argument that Spaignart's support of Christian Wilhelm was short-lived and contingent on hopes of a Saxon alliance is the attribution to Spaignart of a 1632 pamphlet, the *Magdeburg Beacon.* I shall argue in this section that there are serious flaws in the evidence offered with which Wittich has achieved general acceptance of Spaignart's authorship. An examination of features of the pamphlet itself will identify evidence distancing Spaignart from the pamphlet, while introducing aspects of the management of news of Magdeburg's destruction, which will inform the discussion of blame and reputation which follows.

If Guericke's account has been embraced, since publication, as the official history of the siege, it has a counterpart in the official 'anti-history': a work derided by Guericke as a little treatise which mingled untruths and half-truths, by two authors, as he claimed, who had frequently collaborated in such works.[1] This is the *Magdeburg Beacon in [or by] Celebration of Liberation*[2] which appeared in 1632. It expands on a work printed in 1631 under the title of *The ferocious Turk-like*

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[1] *MGAT* i. 17, note 2; *ii*, *31. Cited in Werner Lahne, *Magdeburgs Zerstörung in der zeitgenössischen Publizistik.* (Magdeburg, 1931), 108.

[2] *Eucharii Eleutherii Fax Magdeburgica. Das ist: Die Magdeburgische WeltFackel: Allen Evangelischen Städten und Ständen in Teutschland zur Warnung angezündet/ sich dabey wol umbzusehen/ benebenst etlichen vorhergehenden Motiven was den Herrn Administratorem verursachet sich in selbige Stadt zu begeben ... Mit angehengter erbärmlichen Klage und letzten Testament der Magdeburgischen Damen ...* ([S.l.], 1632). Eucharius Eleutherius is given as author's pseudonym, but is clearly intended to be read too as part of the title.

storming and bloody destruction by arms of Magdeburg[3] both by inserting material and commentary into the narrative of Magdeburg's fall and by adding a lamentation supposedly sung by Magdeburg herself. Wittich's judgement of the material introduced in the *Magdeburg Beacon* is cited and supported by Lahne:

> The portion original [to the *Magdeburg Beacon*] consists for the most part of a long political introduction and a wide variety of interpersed additions, touching less on military matters than on others which are primarily internal to the town. It is however especially concerned with long and tendentious additions which are intended to castigate the barbaric behaviour of the enemy, and with elaboration of the corresponding details in the *Truculenta expugnatio*, [sic] and, finally, of pathetic meanderings in a characteristic language which informs us clearly enough that we are dealing here with a fanatical preacher'.[4]

This 'fanatical preacher' is identified as

> 'the town preacher Gilbert de Spaignart, who brought to this pamphlet the fanatical passion with which he had already incited the town to resistance during the siege, making it the most "fanatical of all compositions of accusation against the godless enemy, against Pappenheim." [Wittich]'[5]

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[3] *Turculenta (sic) Expugnatio Sanguinolentumque Excidium Magdeburgicum Das ist/ Kurtzer jedoch eigentlicher unnd warhaffter Bericht von der erschrecklichen Eroberung/ blutigen und fewrigen Zerstörung der Stadt Magdeburg/ wie dieselbe vom Graffen von Tylli belagert/ bestürmet/ erobert und in Asche geleget worden* ([S.l.], 1631): the title plays on 'truculenta', ferocious, and 'turculenta', the first element of which suggests an assault by Turks.

[4] 'Ihr selbständiger Teil aber besteht im der Hauptsache aus einer längeren politischen Einleitung und aus allerhand eingestreuten Zusätzen, welche weniger die militärischen, als andere, vorwiegend interne Angelegeniten der Stadt berühren, daneben aber besonders aus längeren tendenziösen Hinzufügungnen, die das barbarische Vorgehen der feinde noch entschiedene geisseln sollen, sowie aus geflissentlichen Verschärfungen der entsprechenden Angaben der 'Truculenta expugnatio' und endlich aus pathetischen Abschweifungen, deren chrakteristische Sprache deutlich genug auf einen fanatischen Prädikandten schliessen lässt.'.Karl Wittich, 'Zur Katastrophe des 10/20 Mai 1631', *MGB* 23 (1888), 112f, cited in Lahne, Werner: *Magdeburgs Zerstïrung in der zeitgenössischen Publizistik*, 108.

[5] 'Stadtpfarrer Gilbert de Spaignart, der die fanatische Leidenschaft, mit der er bereits waehrend der Belagerung der Stadt von der Kanzel herab zum Widerstande

In identifying Spaignart as author of this pamphlet, Wittich hoped to discourage historians from taking too seriously the accusations which it makes against Pappenheim, who is identified as concious originator of the fires that destroyed Magdeburg.[6] It was Wittich's opinion that Pappenheim did not burn Magdeburg, but that diversionary fires lit by the Magdeburgers themselves were to blame for the disaster.[7] Wittich regretted the influence of the *Magdeburg Beacon* on later historians, describing it as 'perhaps the most influential of the pamphlets concerning Magdeburg'.[8] The pamphlet did gain influence as one of the works reprinted by Calvisius in the eighteenth century, and in this form is used for military detail in *Sveriges Krig*, but even those historians who argue that imperial troops burned the city deliberately generally prefer to attribute the decision to Tilly rather than Pappenheim. This was case when Wittich wrote, and today, alongside many works which recognise the existence of a problem in attributing blame, and others which make no attempt to explain the destruction, instances of works where Tilly bears sole blame for the deliberate destruction of the town are still numerous. This tends to apply especially in shorter accounts which form part of syntheses of

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aufgefordert hatten, auf die vorliegende Flugschrift übertrug und sie zur "fanatischsten aller Klageschriften gegen die gottlosen Feinde, gegen Pappenheim" machte'. Werner Lahne, *Magdeburgs Zerstörung in der zeitgenössischen Publizistik*, 108, citing Karl Wittich, *Pappenheim und Falkenberg. Ein Beitrag zur Kennzeichnung der lokalpatriotischen geschichtsschreibung Magdeburgs* (Berlin, 1894), 46.

6 *Eucharii Eleutherii Fax Magdeburgica*, [B iv].

7 Wittich, *Pappenheim und Falkenberg*, 26.

8 '... für die historische Tradition vielleicht einflussreichsten aller Magdeburgischen Flugschriften'. Karl Wittich, 'Kritische Nachträge zu den Aufsätzen über Falkenberg und das Verhängniss Magdeburgs', *MGB* 1892 (27), 85-130, 85.

the Thirty Years War and of German history.[9] The suggestion, which can be gleaned from the *Magdeburg Beacon*, that the citizens in some way deliberately sacrificed their town has not gained much currency historically, and was not put first or most strongly in the *Magdeburg Beacon*.[10] I know of no case amongst the more detailed analyses where the assessment of the Magdeburgers concerned in the *Magdeburg Beacon* has been preferred to that of Guericke or of the 'Comprehensive and truthful account'.[11]

Wittich's identification of the author has the effect of presenting Spaignart as holding firmly still in 1632 to a personal allegiance to Christian Wilhelm, remaining bitterly opposed to the Alemanns, considering them as traitors to the city for their imperial allegiance, and fabricating charges against them.[12] Wittich considered that, once Spaignart had been identified as author, it was possible to judge his actions during the siege from the opinions expressed in the pamphlet: in particular, to conclude that Spaignart exhorted the citizens to the sort of martyrdom

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[9] See Wittich, *Pappenheim und Falkenberg*, 131 for the state of analysis in the late nineteenth century. For contemporary instances where blame is attributed to Tilly alone, see for example Jeremy Black, *European Warfare 1494-1660* (Routledge, 2002), 134; 'Sack of Magdeburg' in André Corvisier and John Childs, *A Dictionary of Military History and the Art of War* (London, 1994), s.v.; Mary Fulbrook, *A Concise History of Germany* (Cambridge, 2004), 59.

[10] For the development of this tradition, see Hans Medick, 'Historisches Ereignis und zeitgenössische Erfahrung: Die Eroberung und Zerstorung Magdeburgs 1631', in Benigna von Krusenstjern, Hans Medick and Patrice Veit (eds), *Zwischen Alltag und Katastrophe. Der Dreissigjährige Krieg aus der Nähe*, 377-407, 389-92.

[11] Calvisius, *Zerstöhrete und wieder aufgerichtete Magdeburg*, 44-71; *Sveriges Krig*, 242.

[12] Wittich, *Pappenheim und Falkenberg*, 46.

which he describes in the *Magdeburg Beacon.*[13] As the relationship between Spaignart and Christian Wilhelm has not been revisited since Wittich offered his interpretation, it is in fact for our understanding of Spaignart that the *Magdeburg Beacon* has been of such influence.

Max Dittmar, more in an attempt to discredit the pamphlet as an eyewitness account than to reconsider Spaignart's role, queried Spaignart's authorship on the basis that Guericke had alluded to two authors; Wittich, arguing that Lieutenant Boy might have been the first, the author of the 1631 text, but that Spaignart was without a doubt behind the revisions which produced the *Magdeburg Beacon* refuted this objection and dedicated sufficient space to the question to carry the argument, so that Spaignart has since been identified as author in library catalogues and databases.[14] The evidence brought by Wittich, however, seems unsatisfactory, while the *Magdeburg Beacon* contains indications that Spaignart should not be considered as author. Wittich's case is based first on several broad requirements: for a person present at and immediately after the siege, with a classical education, accustomed to make 'sharp attacks', and capable of producing a 'clerical polemic'.[15] Spaignart had certainly spent 1631 in Magdeburg, having been imprisoned by Tilly until 1632, as will be discussed in section 2. The first point however seems unnecessary for a work produced some time after the events described: with information freely available, the text added to the two 1631

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13 Wittich, 'Kritische Nachträge', 100-101; Wittich, *Pappenheim und Falkenberg*, 46.

14 Wittich, 'Kritische Nachträge': Dittmar's objections are at 85.

15 Wittich, *Pappenheim und Falkenberg*, 49 ; 'Kritische Nachträge', 97-9.

pamphlets to create the *Magdeburg Beacon* need not have constituted an eyewitness report. The second is too common to be worth much. By 1632, a violent religious polemic concerning the fate of Magdeburg was no novelty, so that Wittich's more specific requirements must bear the weight of his claim here. These are features which, he claims, demonstrate affinity with Spaignart's earlier published works. He presents as evidence the fact that the *Magdeburg Beacon* ends with a brief prayer and 'Amen': this however merely gives it a feature in common with many accounts of sieges and disasters,[16] an appropriate response to reflection on mass fatalities which appears frequently in reports on Magdeburg's fate in 1631.[17]

The second feature which Wittich claims to find representative of Spaignart's writings generally is that the author of the *Magdeburg Beacon* drew a comparison between the behaviour of the Magdeburgers and that of the Numantines, citing Plutarch. The Numantines, according to certain historical accounts, had arranged mass suicide rather than submit to the besieging army of the Roman Empire.[18] The author reports that Tilly and the Emperor may not have been

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16 On this tendency in literary representations of the war, see Bernd Röck's study of Augsburg in the Thrity Years War: *Als wollt die Welt schier brechen* (Munich, 1991), 180.

17 Examples include the *Eigentlicher Bericht/ So wol auch Abcontrafeytung. welcher gestalt die weitberühmte unnd maechtige HenseStatt Magdenburg von den Käyserlichen General Herrn Tserclas Grafe von Tilly / den 20. Tag May dieses jetztlauffenden 1631. Jahrs mit gewehrter vnd stuermender Hand erobert worden. Auss unterschiedlichen glaubwuerdeigen Schrifften zuammen gezogen.* ([broadsheet, s.l.], 1631); in Zacharias Bandhauer's diary: 'Das Tagebuch des Praemonstratenserpropstes Zacharias Bandhauer', 177; Christoph Krause', 'Denkwürdigkeiten', 368; and the 'Comprehensive and truthful account', 451.

18 Appian, *Roman History*, translated by Horace White (4 vols, Boston, 1912-13), ii. nos 96-7.

pleased at the destruction of the town, which was not demonstrably in the interest of the imperial campaign, and that as a result, 'the citizens have been accused of having had gunpowder in all of their houses, and of having set the town on fire themselves, which, if true, and if they had meant to do it, would perhaps have been done instead, and after the example of the Numantines as described by Plutarch, in order to save their wives and children from the godless dishonouring and would have won eternal praise for themselves in this way'.[19]

This is the point to which Wittich gives most space, claiming that Plutarch can be identified as Spaignart's favourite author.[20] The passage serves for him at once as a proof of Spaignart's authorship and of his uniquely fervent resistance to surrender.[21] There are several problems with this piece of evidence. First, Plutarch was an authority of enormous importance across the confessional divide in seventeenth-century Germany, and the use of a single example from his works would not be a particularly distinctive feature.[22] Wittich reports in support of his claim that Spaignart cites Plutarch repeatedly in one brief work published in Linz

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19 '... ist die Bürgerschaft beschuldigt worden / ob solte sie in allen ihren Häustern Pulver gehalten/ und die Stadt selbst angezündet haben/ welches / wenn es wahr / und sie solches Willens gewest / vielleicht ehe und nach dem Exempel der Numantiner wie es Plutarchus beschreibet / gethan hetten / damit sie ihre Weiber und Töchter / vor der Gottesvergessenen Schendung errettet/ und sie ein ewiges Lob davon bracht hetten...'. *Eucharii Eleutherii Fax Magdeburgica*, cij.

20 Wittich, *Pappenheim und Falkenberg*, 46.

21 Wittich, *Pappenheim und Falkenberg*, 47 ; 'Kritische Nachträge', 100-101.

22 Wolfgang Harms, 'Rezeption des Mittelalters im Barock' in Martin Biercher and Eberhard Mannack (eds) *Deutsche Barockliteratur und europäische Kultur. Zweites Jahrestreffen des Internationalen Arbeitskreises für deutsche Barockliteratur in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel 28. bis 31. August 1976* (Hamburg, 1977), 23-53, 32.

in 1620, although not with regard to the example of the Numantines.[23] An examination of Spaignart's Magdeburg's works does not show that he had any tendency to quote Plutarch in the decade in which he was in residence there.

The argument that the *Magdeburg Beacon* was necessarily written by a devotee of Plutarch is weakened by the fact that the passage under discussion was not in fact the first to evoke the example of the Numantines in connection with Magdeburg's fate. An earlier compilation of sources provides the same comparison in a similar context. The same source demonstrates that, less than a month after the town had fallen, the comparison of the Magdeburgers with the Numantines was internationally known. Théophraste Renaudot's *Gazette*, the newly-established journal sponsored by Cardinal Richelieu of France, served as an instrument of the French state in preparing the public for a potentially unpopular war against the Holy Roman Empire.[24] The French state was at this time already funding the campaigns of Gustavus Adolphus.[25] Like the *Historical Relations*, the *Gazette* was restricted in its content by reliance on reports from abroad. Nonetheless, it is much more coherent in its presentation of the war than the *Historical Relations*, sustaining an anti-Hapsburg view despite the difficulties of verifying and interpreting news as it arrived for the weekly editions, a task which had to be

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[23] Gilbert Christian de Spaignart, *Dedication Und Uberantwortung Des Evangelischen Gnadenschatzes/ in gemein an alle und jede Menschen/ insonderheit an die Lehrer der Kirchen Gottes lauttent* (Wittenberg, 1620), cited in Wittich, 'Kritische Nachträge', 97.

[24] See Gilles Feyel, 'Richelieu et la *Gazette* aux origines de la presse de propagande', *Richelieu et la culture,* edited by Roland Mousnier (Paris, 1987), 103-123.

[25] See Parker, *Thirty Years War,* 122-5.

completed, according to the editor, in only four hours after the arrival of the couriers.[26]

The siege of Magdeburg serves several functions in the first three numbers of the *Gazette.* The first number had presented the siege of Magdeburg, then in progress, as the sort of unresolved drama which might be expected to sell a weekly paper. Identifying with his readers in their hunger for news, the editor wrote that: 'a rumour whose author cannot be identified with certainty but which comes from the area of Berlin and Braunschweig is circulating here to the effect that the siege of Magdeburg has been lifted by the King of Sweden; this holds us all in suspense as we wait to learn the truth of it'.[27] Later in the same edition, he promises drama of one sort or another: 'the siege of Magdeburg has reached crisis point, which will see it either relieved or the town taken'.[28]

If the siege of Magdeburg could be considered an ideal story from the perspective of a weekly paper, Rénaudot nonetheless created himself a dilemma in according such prominence to an incident which ended badly from the perspective

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[26] Théophraste Renaudot, *Recueil des Gazettes de l'année 1631, dedié au Roy avec une preface servant à l'intelligence des choses qui y sont contenuës*, (Paris, 1632) 'Preface', 5. 'Ie suis bien trompé si le plus rudes censeurs ne trouvent digne de quelque excuse vn ouvrage qui se doit faire en quatre heures du iour que la venuë des Couriers me laisse toutes les semaines pour assembler, ajuster & imprimer ces lignes'.

[27] '... s'est icy espandu vn bruict sans autheur certain venant du costé de Brunsuic & Berlin, que le siege de Magdebourg est levé par le Roy de Suede, qui nous tient tous en impatience d'en sçavoir la verité'. Théophraste Renaudot, *Gazette* no 1 (1631), reprinted in *Recueil des Gazettes de l'année 1631, dedié au Roy avec une preface servant à l'intelligence des choses qui y sont contenuës* (Paris, 1632), A-Aji(v), A(v).

[28] 'Le siege de Magdebourg est venu à sa crise d'estre levé ou la ville prise'. Théophraste Renaudot, *Gazette* no 1 (1631), Aij.

of the French state. He showed reluctance to elaborate on the disaster too quickly, on the basis that sources considered too close to imperial forces were not to be trusted. Reports of the fall of Magdeburg were at first presented without being given full credence, the reader being reassured that 'not everyone believes the news here, since it as yet comes from nowhere other than Cologne, which is notoriously attached to the Imperial party'.[29]

The *Gazette* can thus be considered a source likely to favour the Magdeburgers as much as possible, and which may have had an interest in presenting a narrative damning the cruelty of the imperial forces. Nonetheless, and in accordance with the first intelligence of the outcome of the siege,[30] the earliest reports reproduced in the *Gazette* suggested that Magdeburgers were implicated in the destruction of their own town. This is explained in a manner which reflects well on the citizens: 'as a result of the furious resolution of those who were besieged, all their most beautiful buildings were blown up with them and all of the wealth of this ancient and opulent town was consumed in the fire'.[31] Rather than accuse the

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[29] 'La nouvelle de la prise de Magdebourg n'est pas ici vniversellement creuë, veu qu'elle ne vient point encore d'ailleurs que de Cologne, qui tient notoirement le parti de l'Empereur'. Théophraste Renaudot, *Gazette* no 2 (1631), reprinted in *Recueil des Gazettes de l'année 1631, dedié au Roy avec une preface servant à l'intelligence des choses qui y sont contenuës* (Paris, 1632), B-[Bii(v)], Bii(v).

[30] See for example 'Eigenhändiger Brief des ligistischen Oberst Wahn an Ernst Casimir. Magdeburg in grosster Eil den 21 May': 'es werde gar vil in den kelleren verbrennen sein, den Falckenberg feuer angelegt', reproduced in *MGAT* ii. *2. 'Eigenhändiger Brief des niederländischen Agenten bei den Hansestädten, Foppius van Aitzema, an die Generalstaaten, aus Hamburg vom 18. Mai 8. St. 1631': 'het grootste deel vande Stadt affgebrandt worden, hetwelke enige meinen vant opspringen vande mijnen, andere doer desperatie van de borgers selff ontstaen te sijn', reproduced in *MGAT* ii., *5.

[31] 'la furieuse resolution des assiegez a fait sauter en l'air avec eux tous leurs plus beauz edifices et consum[er] par le feu toutes les richesses de cette ancienne et opulente

imperial armies of the ultimate savagery of deliberately burning the town to the ground, the effect of Rénaudot's presentation, as in the *Magdeburg Beacon*, is to minimise the impact of this disaster on campaign of Sweden and its allies, and to represent the destruction of the town as a blow to Tilly.[32]

This is the context in which it was considered useful to reproduce in the same number of the *Gazette* a report described there as having been received from Hamburg as early as May 1631, which recounted how 'Magdeburg, this eye of the Empire, has ended by being ripped out and its citizens with their great-hearted resolution have made the history of Sagunto and of Numantia worthy of belief'.[33] The Numantine connection thus served the need of a state-sponsored newsheet to provide a satisfying climax to the story of the siege of Magdeburg and to avoid any loss of morale among the supporters of the Swedish intervention. The *Gazette* in this extract, of course, makes no reference to Plutarch, but this is unsurprising since the authority for the organised mass-suicide of the Numantines in the face of a besieging army is in fact Appian: Plutarch's references to Numantia omit the

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ville'. Théophraste Renaudot, *Gazette* no 3 (1631), reprinted in *Recueil des Gazettes de l'année 1631, dedié au Roy avec une preface servant à l'intelligence des choses qui y sont contenuës* (Paris, 1632), C-[Cii(v)], C(v).

32 Théophraste Renaudot, *Gazette* no 3 (1631), reprinted in *Recueil des Gazettes de l'année 1631, dedié au Roy avec une preface servant à l'intelligence des choses qui y sont contenuës* (Paris, 1632), C-[Cii(v)], C(v).

33 'Cét oeil de l'Empire Magdeburg est en fin arraché, et ses citoyens par leur genereuse resolution ont rendu croyable l'histoire de Sagunte et de Numance' De Hambourg le 24 dudit mois [Mai]. Théophraste Renaudot, *Gazette* no 3 (1631), reprinted in *Recueil des Gazettes de l'année 1631, dedié au Roy avec une preface servant à l'intelligence des choses qui y sont contenuës* (Paris, 1632), C-[Cii(v)], Cii(v).

prolonged siege and its denouement.[34] The *Magdeburg Beacon* thus reads in this part, not as the original analysis of a devotee of Plutarch, but as a digest of previously published reports, driven to a particular emphasis by the needs of the French state, which the author extends with an unreliable classical reference.

It is reasonable then to leave aside Wittich's evidence, and to examine the the text of the *Magdeburg Beacon* for indications that Spaignart was not its author. While absolute proof cannot be offered, there are strong suggestions that he should not be associated with the pamphlet. The language of the text is not characteristic of him: he refers, in a section of the text not reproduced from the *The ferocious Turk-like storming*, to women as 'Weibsbilder', using a term which was falling out of usage in the seventeenth century.[35] This is in the context of the imperial troops' failure to adhere to what the author describes as Christian traditions and spare women and children.[36] The choice of this word, it might be argued, could tend to produce an echo of the archaic language in which these inherited codes may have been expressed, as would be the case in some of the diplomatic correspondence reproduced in the *Historical Relations*.[37] However, Spaignart tends to follow the

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34 Plutarch, *Moralia volume III*, edited and translated by Frank Cole Babitt (Boston, 1931) 197n. For the standard account see Appian, *Roman History*, translated by Horace White (4 vols, Boston, 1912-13), ii. nos 96-7.

35 *Das Deutsche Wörterbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*, s.v.

36 *Eucharii Eleutherii Fax Magdeburgica*, Cii.

37 For example, in the appeal of the Bohemian nobility to the emperor 'Underthänigstes Schreiben der Böhmischen Stände an ihre Keys May. das Brennen und Raüben vornemlich betreffend', Prague 25 Sept 1618, reproduced in *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio Jacobi Franci historische Beschreibung aller denckwuerdigen Historien/ so ... hierzwischen nechstverscheiner Franckfurter Herbstmessz biß auff Fastenmessz dieses 1619 Jahrs verlauffen und zugetragen.* (Frankfurt am Main, 1619), 20-22, 21.

printed versions of these codes, with language echoing the 1508 military code of Emperor Maximilian I. In the relevant passages of his *Religion of War* and his *Theological Discourse on Oaths*, he follows this source in using the more prosaic 'Frawen' to describe women;[38] elsewhere, in his *Theological Bugle*, he uses the more literary 'Frawenzimmer'.[39]

Part of the narrative of the months before the destruction provided in the *Magdeburg Beacon* would also tend to speak against Spaignart's authorship. The *Magdeburg Beacon* adds to the chorus of voices recalling the bad omens which preceded the sack of the town, reproving those who failed to identify them for the warning of impending punishment that they were. Christian people should learn, according to the author, that unusual omens should not be taken so lightly, but should be understood as a sign of impending alteration and punishment from God. The omen which gave the clearest sign of this was the great wind which damaged almost all of the town's churches.[40]

This is a reference to the storm of 27 November 1630, which is mentioned in several accounts of Magdeburg's fate and was itself the subject of an anonymous

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38 See for example Spaignart, *Theologische Eydshandlung*, 40, which is a close reproduction of the military code of Emperor Maximilian I: 'Deß Glorwürdigsten Käysers Maximilian/ deß ersten dieses Namens/ Kriegsartikul/ wie solche verabfasset und fürgeschrieben im jahr Christi 1508 auch auffgezeichnet vom Soldat mit dem Zunamen von Haiminsfeld genannt', reproduced in *Corpus iuris militaris*, 83-88, 86.

39 The word is used repeatedly in Spaignart, *Theologisch Wächterhörnlein,* perhaps in response to the title and terminology of the *Frawenzimmer des Schwestern Des Rosinfarben Creutzes*, although the explicit meaning of the word in the latter work is the older sense of council of women: see *Das Deutsche Wörterbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*, s.v.

40 *Eucharii Eleutherii Fax Magdeburgica*, B iv.

pamphlet in 1630.[41] Although claiming to give an account of what occurred in the three towns of Magdeburg, Wolfenbüttel and Dresden, the pamphlet gave only two pages to this, and only very brief references to the storm outside Magdeburg.[42] Rather than narrate events, it intervened in an argument which was clearly already underway, proposing to confound the 'epicureans' who saw nothing new or remarkable in such horrifying winds and to refute with historical example those who argued that when a region was already in crisis, its inhabitants could justifiably interpret the supernatural phenomena which would normally be portents of disaster as signs of coming relief.[43] The 1630 pamphlet is evidence of the compelling symbolism of a storm which not only damaged church spires, but also damaged at least one of the five statues at the cathedral representing the wise virgins who were prepared for God's judgement.[44] Such a sign, at the place which was central to the Swedish alliance and at a time when fears were mounting in the town, would have been extremely problematic to those assuring the citizens that they could expect a happy outcome.

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41 *Waarhafftige Erzehlung/ Was zu Magdeburg/ Wolfenbüttel und dero Gegend nicht allein/ sondern auch bey Dresen/ derErschröckliche und ungestümme Wind den 27. Novembris/ für grossen Schaden/ an Kirchen/ Thürnen/ Häusern und anderm/ gethan.* (s.l., 1630). On this storm see also the 'Ausführliche Wolgegrundete Bericht', 437; Friese, 'Vom Magdeburgischen Unglück', 195; Krause 'Denckwürdigkeiten', 358-9; Peter Plessner, *Zweyfache blutige ZornRuhte/ Das ist: Zwey newe blutige Zornzeichen/ unsers lieben Gottes/ umb unser Unbußfertigkeit willen: zugleich und auff einander/ im Junio dieses 1633. Jahrs/ zu Burckertshayn/ nicht weit von Wurtzen/ vorgestellet*, [Aiv(v)].

42 *Waarhafftige Erzehlung... der Erschröckliche Wind*, [Aiv-Aiv(v)]

43 *Waarhafftige Erzehlung... der Erschröckliche Wind*, Aii(v)-[Aiii(v)]

44 See Krause, 'Denckwürdigkeiten', 358-9; Friese, 'Vom Magdeburgischen Unglück' 195; 'Ausführliche, Wolgegrundete Bericht', 437.

The 1630 pamphlet, however obliquely, commented on the omen in a manner which would necessarily be unfavourable to Magdeburg's departure from official neutrality, speaking against an antithetical interpretation of the wind which is consistently reported in the *Magdeburg Beacon,* by Krause, and by the author of the 'Comprehensive and truthful account'. Krause recalled that, 'the imperial armies had entered the country with this [kind of] great wind, many hoped, that this wind would drive them out again'.[45] Krause's neutral presentation of what proved to be a gross misreading of the signs lends support to the claim in the 'Comprehensive and truthful account' that the 'the preachers made the people stubborn and certain [in their interpretation of the storm], and especially Doctor Gilbertus [de Spaignart] preached, that it was a sign of grace'.[46] The extent to which the storm has left its mark in the literature of the siege shows how much impact the event had, and suggests that Spaignart would have had to present such an interpretation in order to continue to demand Magdeburg's support for the Swedish alliance.

It is possible that the author of the *Magdeburg Beacon* had changed his mind about the significance of the storm after the event: although, if this were the case, it would in itself show the need for caution in reading the *Beacon* as a key to the attitude of Magdeburgers to their circumstances in 1630. Nonetheless, he

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[45] Mit jenem grossen Winde waren die Keisrischen in dies Land kommen, viel hoffeten, dieser Wind würde sie wieder hinaus treiben'. Krause, 'Denckwürdigkeiten', 359.

[46] '... die Prediger haben die Leute halsstarrig und sicher gemacht, und insonderheit Doct. Gilbertus gepredigt, dass es Gnadenzeichen waeren'. 'Ausführliche, Wolgegrundete Bericht', 437.

introduces the storm to his narrative without any real need: it is not part of the chronology of events but is recalled when he describes the burning of the town. Both the combined evidence of the sources describing reactions to the storm and the logic of Spaignart's position in November 1630 suggest that he would be unlikely, as author of the pamphlet, to present the storm in this manner. His manner of describing the difference of opinion provides another suggestion that some of the portions original to the *Magdeburg Beacon* should be seen more as literary embellishments than as an insight into the mindset prevailing in the town before the siege. He explains that, while it should have been obvious that the omen showed the town 'ripe for [God's] punishment',[47] 'there were many judgements [on the correct interpretation], from both Catholics and Protestants, each one wanting to interpret it according to his own manner of thinking'.[48] This would be quite a self-indictment, if the author were Spaignart, and offers a perspective wider than the intellectual world of Magdeburg itself before the siege, where Catholic opinion on the matter would have been difficult enough to come by, and not sought out. The shift in perspective here, like the shift in analysis later in the *Magdeburg Beacon* where the author moves between considering Pappenheim as tchief destroyer of the town and considering the ramifications of mass-suicide by the Magdeburgers, demonstrates the futility of attempting to identify from the text someone who could replace Swhen paignart as putative author. Whether the author was an eyewitness, or is simply making use of eyewitness accounts, he is certainly

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47 '... reif zur Strafe'. *Eucharii Eleutherii Fax Magdeburgica*, [B iv(v)].

48 '... mancherley judicia gefielen/ so wol von den Catholischen als Evangelischen/ ein jeder wolte es nach seinem Bedüncken außlegen'. *Eucharii Eleutherii Fax Magdeburgica*, [B iv].

working under the influence of numerous earlier interpretations. If no eyewitness accounts are untainted by narrative models, and some for the period were demonstrably shaped by news reports,[49] it can certainly be expected that a late account of 'the most extensively recorded single episode of the Thirty Years War'[50] should bear the trace of numerous influences. Its author would nonetheless have maintained sufficient editorial control to shape the language of the text and to omit inessentials which reflected badly on himself, so that it seems legitimate to eliminate Spaignart as author, and to question the significance which Wittich places on this particular pamphlet for the interpretation of the mindset of resistance, without suggesting an alternative author.

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49 Mortimer, 'Eyewitness Accounts', p. v.

50 Mortimer, 'Eyewitness Accounts', 17.

5.2. Blame, Innocence, and Honour

The *Magdeburg Beacon* can thus be treated more as a synthesis of news sources than as the work of an eyewitness. Among the information it communicates about the aftermath of the burning of Magdeburg is the embarrassment that it constituted for the Imperial cause. The need to defend his reputation prompted a rare venture into publication by Tilly.[51] The moral framework within which narratives of siege were understood enabled Tilly to distance himself from the terrible consequences of his victory without debating the question of the origin of the fire. He blamed the sin of the Magdeburgers for consequences which he claimed to regret, identifying their fatal flaw as 'stubbornness'.[52] At the same time, he could appropriate the disaster by using it as a warning to potential allies of Gustavus Adolphus. His letter in explanation of the disaster to the electoral princes of Saxony and Brandenburg reminded them of their duty to use their authority to rebuke such stubbornness, and pointed to Gustavus

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51 Lahne, *Magdeburgs Zerstörung*, 61.

52 'Zu was Extremiteten es die Statt Magdeburg durch dero Continuirliche Halßstarrigkeit kommen lassen/ und wie schwer darduch Land und Leute/ bevorab in disen umbligenden refir seythero berruckt worden/ solches ist leyder mehr als zu wol bekandt'. 'Das zehende Schreiben. Churfürstlich Durchl. zu Sachsen/ unnd inglechem mutatis mutandis an Jhre Churfürstlich Durchl. zu Brandenburg/ von Herrn General Grafen von Tylli abgangen auß Westerhaussen den 10. May [sic] stylo novo Anno 1631', in *Unterschiedliche Zehen schreiben/ welche Herr Johann Graf von Tylli (kurzvor Eroberung der Stadt Magdeburg) dem Administrator: oder Bischoff daselbsst Obristen von Falckenberg unnd mit der Stadt gewechselt...* ([s.l.], 1631), Biii(v)-[Biv], here [Biv].

Adolphus's failure to relieve Magdeburg as all that could be expected of a foreign prince.[53]

Despite blaming the stubbornness of the Magdeburgers for the disaster, Tilly had famously spared those who had survived the fire by sheltering in the Cathedral: up to 4000 people.[54] He had given safe conduct to the 'innocent' clergy Reinhard Bake and deacons Decenius and Ritter on the basis that 'one must not punish the innocent with the guilty'.[55] Decenius in fact was one of those named in the 'Comprehensive and true report' as having sworn an oath to support the return of Christian Wilhelm,[56] but even if this list is reliable, it is impossible to imagine that Tilly could have investigated degrees of responsibility among several thousand people in a burnt-out town. Nonetheless, as his letter to the electoral princes shows, his dissociation of himself from the atrocity necessarily involved transferring blame, and could be politically useful. Guilt and innocence appear to have been established very broadly: Guericke's account suggests that immediately after Magdeburg was stormed, they were deduced by association. Guericke explained that after the walls were breached, he and fellow town councillors went the home of Johann Alemann: widely recognised as an imperial supporter if not a traitor. This seems to have earned them pro-Imperial status by association. Spaignart, on

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53 'Das Zehende Schreiben', Biii(v), Biii(v)-[Biv].

54 See Guericke, *Belagerung, Eroberung und Zerstörung*, 81.

55 'Dr Bake, Magister decenius und Diaconus Ritter an Tilly, d. d. Magdeburg den 18 Mai a St 1631', reproduced in *MGAT* ii. *2.

56 'Ausführliche, Warhafte Relation', 433.

the other hand, according to Guericke, was found with the Swedes garrisoned in the town, and for this reason was taken prisoner.[57]

The accusations which Tilly's agents made against Spaignart give further indications on the process of investigation.[58] The imprisonment of a clergyman was an unusual step, and had to be carefully justified. In 1628, Georg Zaëmann, chief pastor of Compten, had been imprisoned on the instruction of Ferdinand II for inflammatory preaching, leading to public intervention by Johann Georg of Saxony and prayers for intercession Höe von Höenegg in particular. On his release, von Höenegg offered a public thanksgiving.[59] The Zaëmann affair had also produced a particularly fervent and unusually partisan representation in the *Historical Relation.*[60] While military practice concerning imprisonment was not fully codified at this period,[61] military codes of the Holy Roman Empire decreed that clergy

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57 Guericke, *Belagerung, Eroberung und Zerstörung*, 81.

58 'Ungefehrlicher Auszug Magdeburgischen Rebellen vorgelauffener Übertrettungen unndt ob vermoeg dessen, den Malefitz-Richten Sie zu unterwerffen', reproduced in *MGAT* ii, 61*.

59 See Hans-Dietrich Herkampf, 'Der kursächsiches Oberhofprediger Matthias Höe von Höenegg – seine Theologie, Polemik und Kirchenpolitik'. (Unpublished Doctoral thesis, Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig, 1967), 183.

60 *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio : Jacobi Franci Historische Beschreibung aller denckwürdigen Geschichten/ so sich hin und wider in Europa/ in hoch und nider Teutschland/ auch in Franckreich/ Engelland und Schottland/ Hispanien/ Indien/ Hungarn/ Polen/ Preussen/ Sachsen/ Siebenbürgen/ Wallachey/ Moldaw/ Türckey/ [et]c. vor und hierzwischen nechstverschienene Franckfurter Herbstmesß 1628. biß auff Fastenmesß dieses 1629. Jahrs/ verlauffen und zugetragen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1629), 70, and illustration, facing page 70.

61 Stefan Öter 'Die Entwicklung des Kriegsgefangenenrechts', in *In der Hand des Feindes. Kriegsgefangenschaft von der Antike bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Cologne 1999), 40-58.

should not suffer violence of war,[62] and philosophers on the laws of war generally concurred in this, though making exceptions especially where the person concerned had actually fought.[63]

This meant that Spaignart's imprisonment would have been more notable to contemporaries than that of a layman, and the Tilly's reasoning must be closely examined. In Spaignart's case, three main accusations were made. He was accused of having encouraged the stubborn behaviour of which Tilly accused the Magdeburgers:

> in his preaching he has always, before, during and after the blockade, [and] especially during the recent evil of rebellion not only spurred the people on and admonished them to be steadfast in their perseverance in their plans, but had also declared the arrival of the foreign enemy on German land a work of God, and thanked God for it.[64]

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62 'Artickel auff die Teutsche Knechte Käysers Maximiliani II', Article VIII; 'Extract Kaysers Caroli V Peinicher Halssgerichts=Ordnung', Article CXXVII: see *Corpus Iuris Militaris recognitum, ac multis ex partibus auctum, Oder Neu verbessertes und vermehrtes Kriegs-Recht : Worinnen enthalten Der Käysere Maximiliani I. Maximiliani II. und Ferdinandi III. höchstlöblichsten Andenckens/ Articuls-Brieffe/ mit 33. Articuln auß Caroli V. Peinlicher Hals-Gerichts-Ordnung gezogen. So dann Lud. XIV. Kön. in Franckreich Krigs-Ordinance, Kön. Schwed. und Kön. Dännemärckisches/ Kön. Polnisches/ Churf. Brandenburgisches/ Churf. Pfältzisches/ und Fürstl. Hessisches/ Fürstl. Würtenbergisches Krieges-Recht und Articuls-Brieff: Nebenst Dem Holländischen und Schweitzerischen Kriegs-Recht/...* (Frankfurt am Main, 1674)

63 Fritz Helge Voß, *Ius belli. Zusatztitel zum völkerrechtlichen Kriegsrecht in Europa in der sog. Spanischen Epoche der Völkerrechtsgeschichte (ca. 1500 - 1659)* (Baden-Baden, 2007), 156.

64 'zu seinem Predigen hat Er iederzeit vor, in vnd nach der Plockhierung, Insonderheit letzt vrelauffnen rebellionss vnwesen nichts alss nur dass Volck zu bestendiger continuation vorhabenden intent angefrishct, vnddt ermaht, dess Ausslendischen Vheindes ankhunfft auf Teutschen Boden vor ein Werkh Gottes aussgeschrieben, daruor Gott gedanckht. 'Ungefehrlicher Auszug Magdeburgischen Rebellen vorgelauffener Übertrettungen unndt ob vermoeg dessen, den Malefitz-Richten Sie zu unterwerffen', Wittich, *MGAT* ii. 61*: From Ungefehrlicher Auszug Magdeburischen Rebellen vorgelauffener übertrettungen unndt ob vermoeg dessen, den Malefitz-Richten Sie zu unterwerffen'.

This, once the *Altstadt* in Magdeburg had entered into an alliance with Sweden was entirely to be expected, and reflected the fact that Spaignart appears to have acted as spokesperson for the clergy, perhaps because of his doctoral dignity. The sermon which Guericke quoted in his history of the siege to establish Spaignart's relative culpability, while differing as to expression in Guericke's paraphrase, was in content very similar to the admonition which Pomarius had in 1622 reproduced from 1551. Guericke made it clear here that he disapproved of the conduct of the clergy generally during the siege, but is in some cases, was willing to accept that their behaviour did not represent their true inclination: a very complex and imprecise passage in which he downplayed the threat to the town's religious freedom and attributed to the less vocal clergy ideas for which there is no record:

> For on this same day, a little earlier, the preachers of the *Altstadt* had come to the town hall, among whom Dr Christian Gilbert [de Spaignart], Preacher at Saint Ulrich's, took the lead and spoke for them, to admonish the town council as their beloved parishioners and penitents for whom they were responsible to heroic courage and steadfastness, with the consolation, that God the almighty would certainly protect and shelter the town is so righteous a cause, which aimed only to uphold His honour and teaching, so long as it only stood firm and did not enter into any dealing or agreement with the Catholics, and continued with similar words, so that the Rat would be warned off making an accord. Whether in fact all of the preachers were of a single mind in this, or whether some of them did not have the opinion, (as in any case neither the Emperor nor General Tilly had ever sought the Reformation of religion in the town, but only desired the most humble devotion and submission), that one should not put the town and so many thousand people into such danger as faced them now, but should instead maintain the [Lutheran] Religion through an accord, and thus trust in God, who in his omnipotence could also maintain the town in his word and teaching without such dreadful ruin, the more so since, in the case of

> such extreme affliction and subsequent defeat, [the Lutheran] Religion could be so much worse affected and suffer greater loss, this is for many reasons quite probable.[65]

Guericke wrote this after several members of the clergy, among them Decennius, Bake, and Cuno, had returned to Magdeburg,[66] and in the context of a work which attempted to prove that rebellion against the emperor had not been general. Apart from Spaignart, no particular clergyman was burdened with the reputation either of having wished to continue the struggle or of having been willing to surrender. Both Guericke and Tilly, however, would have been aware that prayers to maintain courage and fight in a godly cause to the end were common features of a siege which did not necessarily determine its outcome, as discussed in Chapter 3. The implication in Guericke's discussion of the silent clergymen, and the much stronger accusation from Tilly, is that Spaignart intimidated his fellows. Tilly's accusation included the claim that Spaignart was

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65 'So waren auch dieser tage kurz zuvor abermals die Prediger der *Altstadt* zu Rathause gewesen, darunter dr Christianus Gilbertus, Prediger zu Sct. Ulrich, das Wort und Directorium geführet den Rat als ihre liebe Beict und Pfarrkinder zur Großmütigkeit und Beständigkeit ermahnende, mit Vertröstung, daß Gott der Allmächtige die Stadt in so gerechter Sache, die allein zur Erhaltung dessen Ehre und Lehre gemeinet, gewißlich schützen und beschiremn werde, dafern man nur beständig bleiben und sich mit den Katholischen in keine Trkataten oder Bündnisse einlassen würde, und was dergleichen Worte mehr vorgelaufen, damit der Rat vom Akkordieren abgemahnet worden. Ob aber die Prediger ingesamt alle einerlei Meinung hierin gewesen, oder ob nicht etliche auch die Gedanken dabei gehabt, [weil gleichwohl noch der Kaiser noch auch der General Tilly die Reformation in der Religion bie der Stadt niemals gesucht, sondern nur die alleruntertänigste Devotion und Submission begehret] daß man die Stadt und so viele tausend Menschen auf sogar augenscheinliche Extremitaten nicht setzen, die Religion lieber beim Akkord behalten und also Gott, der durch seine Allmächtigkeit auch ohne so grausamen Ruin, die Stadt bei seinem Wort und Lehre erhalten könne, trauen solle, zumal ja, auf den Fall solcher äußersten Drängnis und darauf erfolgenden Überwindung, es doch um so viel mehr mit der Religion wurde getan und verloren sein, solches ist aus allerhand Umstände wohl vermütlich'. Guericke, *Belagerung und Eroberung,* 65-6.

66 Schultze, 'Reinhard Bake und die Magdeburger Pastoren im Dreissigjährigen Krieg', 32-38.

feared by 'everyone in the whole town, from the town council to the citizens generally'.[67] The preceding chapters have demonstrated that, although embattled, Spaignart was not isolated. Once he was captured, however, the fact that he had enemies in all ranks including those of the town's authorities would have been significant to his later reputation, and in particular to the image he was to gain as an isolated fanatic.

[67] '... alle in der ganzen Statt, sowohl der Raht, alss auch gemeine Buergerschaffft' 'Ungefehrlicher Auszug Magdeburgischen Rebellen vorgelauffener Übertrettungen unndt ob vermoeg dessen, den Malefitz-Richten Sie zu unterwerffen', *MGAT* ii. 61*.

5.3 Spaignart and Saxony

In his final and most significant accusation, Tilly accused Spaignart of having had secret correspondence back and forth with those concerned in the rebellion.[68] He believed that Spaignart still held a great deal of secret information, for which reason it was worth continuing to hold him. This, if it referred to Christian Wilhelm, could be reconciled with the image of Spaignart as holding stubbornly to unpopular views. There is however no evidence of correspondence with Christian Wilhelm: the 'secret correspondence' which can be proven for Spaignart is with Electoral Saxony, which bears quite different implications.

It is clearly the case that Christian Wilhelm's alliance with the town, and the town's alliance with Sweden, were central to its defiance from August 1630, but it is not the case that the failure to capitulate indicates any particular attachment to the Swedish or to Christian Wilhelm's cause. As has been demonstrated with reference to the years 1628 to 1630, the townspeople were encouraged by their clergy to look outwards, to the Hanseatic cities, to the electoral princes of Saxony and Brandenburg: these, more traditional attachments, were to forces whose careful distinction between imperial authority and imperial forces would tie in with attitudes expressed in the town itself during and since the siege of 1550.

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[68] Ungefehrlicher Auszug Magdeburischen Rebellen vorgelauffener übertrettungen unndt ob vermoeg dessen, den Malefitz-Richten Sie zu unterwerffen'. *MGAT* ii. 61*.

Christian Wilhelm certainly arrived with assurances that, despite the potential conflict of interest which will be discussed below, Saxony would support him and had promised an alliance.[69] This was a revision of earlier and evidently less successful messages from Gustavus Adolphus: the King had given Christian Wilhelm in December 1629 a letter confirming their cooperation and outlining the general causes which it represented.[70] These are German liberties, the evangelical cause and defence of Swedish interests in the Baltic: the triad typical of Gustavus Adolphus's defences and approved for general communication by his principal agent in the Holy Roman Empire to potential German allies.[71] Guericke's accounts of council meetings for the period after August 1630 indicate that it was only with the assurance from Christian Wilhelm that the Swedish would lead to wider alliances within Germany that Magdeburg began to be persuaded to support Christian Wilhelm.[72]

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[69] See Karl Wittich 'Aus den ungedruckten Papieren des Administrators Christian Wilhelm III', *MGB* 1898 (33), 209-336, 213-20.

[70] Letter, Gustavus Adolphus to the towns of the archdiocese of Halberstadt, 11 December 1629, LHAM: 'Copia Instvctionis Wchn Die Stadt Magdeburgk wegen der Zwischen der Stadt, dem Bischoff Christian Wilhem un Konig in Schweden …', f 1-2. Despite the recipients identified, the letter appears from the archive's labelling to have been received too by Magdeburg.

[71] Gustavus Adolphus: Instructions for Johan Adler Salvius, 30th June 1630: 'Memorial concerning the commission which his Majesty desires Dr Salvius to keep in mind and to carry out in Lübeck. Composed at the Field Camp at Penemünde', reproduced in Johann Adler Salvius, *Johan Adler Salvius. Problem kring freden, krigsekonomien och maktkampen* (Lund, 1945)

[72] See especially Guericke, *Belagerung, Eroberung und Zerstörung*, 32, where Saxony is mentioned by Christian Wilhelm as a possible ally.

The increased interest evinced by Magdeburg once the question of local allies was broached is significant in the light of the fact that Dresden court preacher Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg and Spaignart were correspondents. The documented contact between them can be traced only to 1629, but follows a clear attempt by Spaignart to move closer to electoral Saxony in 1628 which itself brings evidence of earlier contacts and concerns. Spaignart had dedicated his *Religion of War*, dated 15th April of that year, to the Electoral Prince of Saxony, Johann Georg.[73] He had begun it with an implicit endorsement of Saxon policy in the Thirty Years War thus far. Spaignart revealed in the preface to this work that he had himself worked briefly in the service of Johann Georg in Dresden, where the Elector held court, preaching for the army which was shortly to leave for Bautzen in support of the Emperor.[74] This was the first campaign in which Saxony came to prominence during its first period (1620-1629) of intervention on the imperial side in the Thirty Years War.[75] In the context of the biography of Spaignart which has been constructed around the disaster of 1631, this is quite a surprising reference. Bautzen in Bohemia was besieged by Saxon forces in 1620. The siege gained more publicity than most of the Saxon campaigns and Bohemian sieges because it lasted several weeks; the citizens were therefore given some attention in the *Historical Relation*, which recounted how the Protestant citizens gathered in the churches to

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73 Spaignart, *Kriegsreligion*, [)(xi(v)].

74 Spaignart, *Kriegsreligion*, [[)(viii].

75 On Saxony's shifting allegiances in the Thirty Years War, see Burkhardt, 'Sachsen im Dreissigjährigen Krieg', especially 3.

pray together that God would stand by the town and grant them the courage to be steadfast.[76]

Historians have described the aggressive recatholicisation of his parish in Lower Austria in 1620 by imperial armies as the defining trauma through which Spaignart thereafter became inexorably opposed to the imperial cause in the Thirty Years War and any concessions by the Magdeburg authorities.[77] Spaignart had in fact referred without bitterness to this occasion in the course of the *Religion of War*, claiming that imperial troops had respected the status of Protestant clergymen.[78] His reference to Bautzen in the preface demonstrates that he had in the same year, presumably after he had been forced out of Lower Austria, preached to Saxon troops about to leave Dresden as reinforcements to the imperial army.

Unlike the dedication of his *Theological Bugle*, this does not come across as an attempt to gain employment: the connection of elements in the dedication to Spaignart's current situation in Magdeburg is too strong for this. Instead, the dedicatory preface can be interpreted as an attempt to encourage Johann Georg to

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[76] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio Jacobi Franci Historische Beschreibung aller denckwürdigen Historien ... hierzwischen nechstverscheiner Franckfurter Fastenmessz biß auff Herbstmessz dieses 1620 Jahrs verlauffen und zugetragen.* (Franckfurt am Main, 1620), 118. The account of the siege is continued in *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio Jacobi Franci Historische Beschreibung aller denckwürdigen Historien ... hierzwischen nechstverschiener Franckfurter Herbstmessz biss auff Fastenmessz dieses 1621 Jahrs verlauggen und zugetragen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1621), 27. See also *Theatrum Europaeum* i. 373-4. The Saxon participation in the Imperial attack on Bautzen is discussed in Frank Müller, *Kursachsen und der Böhmischen Aufstand 1618-1622* (Münster, 1997), 319-22.

[77] 'Spaignart, Christian Gilbert de', *ADB* xxxiv. 706-8; Asmus, *1200 Jahre Magdeburg*, i 536.

[78] Spaignart, *Kriegsreligion*, 191.

intervene in local affairs. Spaignart's preface is both cautious and revealing. It comments on the enviable condition of electoral Saxony under the enlightened rule of Johann Georg, partly in order to compare the tenets of Saxon church ordinances and the behaviour of Johann Georg in supporting the widows and orphans of the clergy with reprehensible practices elsewhere, specifically in the Lower Saxon Imperial Circle.[79] The subtle extension of this comparison to the town of Magdeburg, discussed in Chapter 4, comes later in the *Religion of War.*

Spaignart's reference in the preface to the sufferings of clergy in the Lower Saxon Imperial Circle is telling. Although with the reference to the Saxon church ordinances he implicitly equates it with the territory covered by a particular church ordinance, the Lower Saxon Imperial Circle was not an ecclesiastical unit, but a formal and permanent union of various powers within the Empire for the regulation of internal disputes, the enforcement of judicial verdicts, and the common funding and organisation of certain defensive activities.[80] In 1629, the circles were to be the framework through which the Edict of Restitution was to be promulgated and administered:[81] this was already foreseeable in 1628 since Restitution (of ecclesiastical goods and territories lost to Catholicism after 1555) had been mooted at the Colloquoy of the Electoral Princes in Mühlhausen in October 1627.[82]

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79 Spaignart, *Kriegsreligion*, [)(x(v)]- [)(xi].

80 Udo Gittel, *Die Aktivitäten des Niedersächsischen Reichskreises in den Sektoren 'Friedensicherung' und 'Policey' (1555-1682)* (Hannover, 1996), 1-19.

81 *Instruction für die Kays. Herren Commissarien/ in Exequirung und Vollziehung deß Kayserlichen Mandats/ wegen Restitution und Widerstellung der Geistlichen Gütter.* (s.l., 1629), [2].

82 Geoffrey Parker, *The Thirty Years War,* 97.

The relevance of the Electoral Prince of Saxony to the Lower Saxon Circle in 1628 is best understood through a brief examination of the policies of the Magdeburg cathedral chapter in the 1620s. The Circle had been established in the form existing in 1628 by an imperial edict of 1555.[83] Electoral Saxony was not a member of the Lower Saxon Circle, but the Magdeburg Archdiocese was represented. Denmark, because of its possession of part of the duchy of Holstein, an imperial fiefdom, was also represented.[84] These powers had for the most part failed to coordinate their activities during the 1620s, and the Circle had suffered the depradations of Tilly's armies.[85] In April 1625 King Christian IV of Denmark was elected General of the circle, with responsibility to defend the Circle from imperial troops with whatever proportion of the agreed resources the other members of the Circle would yield.[86] It was as ally to Christian of Denmark that Christian Wilhelm was driven from his archdiocese.

The archdiocese of Magdeburg was by 1626 no longer represented in the Lower Saxon Circle because Administrator Christian Wilhelm was in exile and the archdiocese was by default and in theory under the direct government of the Emperor.[87] Although the organisational principles of the circle were rather

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83 Gittel, *Aktivitäten des Niedersächsischen Reichskreises*, 14.

84 On Danish intervention and Christian IV's role in the Lower Saxon Imperial Circle, see Paul Lockhart, *Denmark in the Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648: King Christian IV and the Decline of the Oldenburg State* (Selinsgrove, 1996).

85 Gittel, *Aktivitäten des Niedersächsischen Reichskreises*, 34.

86 Lupke-Niederich, 'Erfolglose Kampf um Anerkennung', 46.

87 Gittel, *Aktivitäten des Niedersächsischen Reichskreises*, 19.

nebulous, the position of Administrator of the Magdeburg Archdiocese was usually an important one in the Lower Saxon Circle. The archdiocese of Magdeburg had insisted on its rights to share with the ruling family of Wolfenbüttel the function of principal power in the circle. This conferred on the Administrator of the Magdeburg archdiocese the role of Kreis Convenor, and with it the authority to order meetings of the members of the Circle, and to correspond with its powers to enact decisions made.[88] His powers, however, had been greatly undermined by the disputes in the Empire over ecclesiastical reservation, which before the Emperor attempted to settle the matter with the Edict of Restitution, had already made the authority of the Protestant Administrators in enforcing law subject to dispute.[89]

With the Magdeburg Administrator's authority precarious, his ability to shape policy was contingent here as elsewhere on some degree of cooperation from the cathedral chapter. Udo Gittel's research into the holdings of the Niedersächsische Staatsarchiv Wolfenbüttel demonstrates that Magdeburg's cathedral chapter maintained an important influence on the choice of the Archdiocese's deputies to the meetings of the Lower Saxon Circle in the early years of the war.[90] The cathedral chapter's account of its own activities in the Thirty Years War, the manuscript history which it commissioned from its former

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88 Gittel, *Aktivitäten des Niedersächsischen Reichskreises*, 35.

89 Thomas Nicklas, *Macht oder Recht. Frühneuzeitliche Politik im Obersächsischen Reichskreis* (Stuttgart, 2002), 134.

90 See especially the discussion of Niedersächsische Staatsarchiv Wolfenbüttel: 15: Alt:100 fol 107 ff, cited in Gittel, *Aktivitäten des Niedersächsischen Reichskreises*, 19-26.

Syndicus Georg Brunner in 1643,[91] maintains and intensifies the distance from Christian Wilhelm which it had attempted to hold since his appointment.[92] The chronicle communicates disapproval of what it describes as expensive warmongering by the powers of the Lower Saxon Circle in the archdiocese in the 1620s, and emphasises the illegality of Christian Wilhelm's attempt in 1630 to reclaim the Administrator's office.[93]

The cathedral chapter's refusal to associate itself with the Danish-led intervention in the war, the main preoccupation of the circle from 1625, was shared by many of its fellow members.[94] The simple picture which Brunner's history presents of its activities in this time is not, however, supported by evidence from the Danish archives. The relationship between Christian IV of Denmark and the cathedral chapter quickly turned sour.[95] A dispute referred to in the relevant correspondence over contributions to the costs of defence is reflected in Brunner's account.[96] Nonetheless, in July 1625, Danish envoys Jakob Ulfeld and Joachim Mitzlaf had reported to Christian IV that representatives of the cathedral chapter had indicated their willingness to lend their support to in an alliance with Christian

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91 Ernst Neubauer, 'Georg Adam Brunners Summarische Relation', 367.

92 An overview of their relationship is given in Nadja Lupke-Niederich, 'Der erfolglose Kampf um Anerkennung – Eine biographische Skizze über Christian Wilhelm von Brandenburg', in Puhle (ed.) *'... gantz verheert!'*, 46-51.

93 Brunner, 'Summarische Relation', nos 18, 44.

94 See Hans-Dieter Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV. von Dänemark während des Dreissigjährigen Krieges. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der hamburgischen Reichsunmittelbarkeit.* (Hamburg, 1963), 22-36, esp. 23.

95 Letter, cathedral chapter of the Archdiocese of Magdeburg to Christian IV of Denmark, October 1625, Copenhagen Rigsarkivet, 301 Tyske kancelli Udenrigske Afdeling 1223-177- Topografisk henlagte sager: Magdeburg ,'Breve til danske Konger 1525 – 1668': 27-1: [unmarked: no 1].

96 Brunner, 'Summarische Relation', no 17.

IV against Imperial troops, which, they agreed, were bringing the archdiocese to ruin; although the envoys already feared at this stage that the contributions required might be a sticking point.[97]

All of this serves to illustrate the extent to which the cathedral chapter operated its own policy within the Lower Saxon circle, a policy which did not consist simply of resisting war and high expenditure. It is against this background that we should consider Spaignart's introduction of the Lower Saxon Circle to a dedication to the electoral Prince of Saxony. The cathedral chapter had in 1625, after Christian Wilhelm fled his archdiocese, sent representatives to Saxony to arrange for his eventual replacement by a member of the Saxon ruling dynasty. This was in line with usual appointment of a prince from Saxony or Brandenburg.[98] Saxony was the obvious choice to deflect Imperial ambition, since it was a military ally of the Emperor. Moreover, the conversion of Elector Johann Sigismund of Brandenburg to Calvinism in 1613 had distanced the electorate from Lutheran Magdeburg.[99] In the context of the struggle against imperial troops, the approach to Johann Georg could nonetheless be seen as a betrayal of the exiled Administrator. Nonetheless Christian Wilhelm appears to have accepted in late 1625 that there was some benefit in the protective interest of Johann Georg in the

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97 For the meeting and problems of the level of contribution, see Report from Uhlfeld and Mitzlaf to Christian IV, 8 July 1625, Rigsarkiv Copenhagen, 301 Tyske kancelli Udenrigske Afdeling 1223-177- Topografisk henlagte sager: Magdeburg, 'Gesandskapsrelationen fra Jakob Ulfeld og Joachim Mitztof samt Godeke und Rushwald', 27 5A [4, 5]

98 Lutz Miehe, ' "Das wäre ein Bissen für den Sohn Ihrer Majestät." Das Ringen um die Vorherrschaft im Erzbistum Magdeburg während des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', in Puhle (ed.) *'gantz verheeret...!'*, 35-44, 37.

99 See Nischan, 'John Bergius', 392-4.

archdiocese. He had been urged in April 1625 to correspond directly with Johann Georg to alert him to the danger which Tilly's troops posed to the Lower Saxon Circle and neighbouring territories, and to ask for his support.[100] A letter which he wrote to Johann Georg in December of that year thanked Johann Georg for interceding with Wallenstein, and seems also to have acknowledged Johann Georg's interest in internal affairs of the archdiocese and recognised the benefits of his intervention especially in its rights vis-à-vis the *Altstadt* of Magdeburg: it provides details which seem to have been requested of the recent history of potential encroachments by the Magdeburg town council on the property of the liberties.[101] The nature of Saxon interest in the Administrator's role had however changed by April 1628. The Cathedral chapter was under increasing pressure: concerned at the 'untenable' level of contributions for the archdiocese, and it had drawn up a list of *gravamina* on this matter.[102] In February of the year, the Magdeburg Cathedral Chapter had elected to the Administrator's office in the place of Christian Wilhelm August, son of Johann Georg of Saxony, and now awaited the approval of the Emperor.

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100 Letter, Christian of Minden to Christian Wilhelm, April 1625, GSAB 24 a Nr 2 Fasz 9: 'Acta Königl. Geheimen Staats-Archivs betreffend Korrespondenz des Administrators vn Magdeburg mit dem Bischof von Minden, Kg. v Dänemark, KurSachsen und Brandenburg', 5-5(v)

101 Letter, Christian Wilhelm to Johann Georg of Saxony, 30 December 1625, Hofarchivkammer Wien: 18. Reichsakten (16. bis 18. Jahrhundert): *Faszikulatur 29: Erzherzog Leopold Wilhelm, 1642 bis 1662*. Magdeburg (Hochstift) 1613-46, 605-606.

102 Stadtarchiv Magdeburg, 'Verzeichnus, was aus dem gantzen Ertzstifft Magdeburgk zur General Contribution naarhandlich anlegen worden soll' [c.1628], 'Akten des DomKapitals (Abschriften) betr. Kriegssachen (u.a. Mgb Festungsbau) u Wahl des Erzbischoffs, 1626/9' no 4.

Syndicus Brunner had in 1627, having undertaken diplomatic missions to Leipzig and Halle, drawn up both a report on his reception in these centres and a lengthy justification of the cathedral chapter's proceedings as presented during his travels. The report, later deposited in Vienna, depicted a crisis in the Magdeburg archdiocese whereby the absence of an administrator both disrupted the exercise of justice and exacerbated the material problems of war. In discussing the basis for an appeal to the Electoral Prince of Saxony, Brunner explained that the perception of the town council of Halle, normally the seat of the archbishop and his personal council, was that 'the administration of justice has been completely disrupted. Officials have fled one knows not to what hidey-hole or cellar, and those who are oppressed do not know where to turn for help or for consolation ... it is most highly necessary, that an order should be established ensuring the good of everyone ... the authority of the [cathedral] chapter will be conserved, the offcials, and also the subjects must have still more, must know that a Rector and Governer is taking charge with the consent of his majesty of the Holy Roman Empire, and thus that everything will go better from hence forth; the soldiers will be then be subject to the administration of justice and of day-to-day management, and will have be satisfy themselves with their contributions'.[103]

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103 '... die administratio justitiae gar darwieder liege, Man wüste nicht, von Loch oder Keller, die beambtes weren geflogen, die bedrückten wüsten nicht, wo die hülfft undt trost suchen solten ... es die hohe noth erfordere, des eine Verfassungk auffgerichtet werde, darbei sich das menniglich ... wolbefinden würde, autoritas Capituli wuerde dadurch conserviret, die beambten, auch die vnterthanen muessten mehr schon haben, wuesten ja das ein Rector und Gubernator so mit bewilligungk Röm: Köng: Mäytt sich des handes annehme, also wuerde alles besser hernachern gehen, die Soldaten würden sich der *administration* in *justitien:* undt haushaltsachen enthalten und an ihren Contributionen sich müssen gnugen lassen'. Georg Adam Brunner, report to the cathedral chapter of the

In dedicating to Johann Georg the *Religion of War*, the first section of which is an extended complaint about the behaviour of soldiers in the Archdiocese, Spaignart's tactics echoed Brenner's justification. His timing, meanwhile, could not have been more significant, as he introduced these problems to Johann Georg at precisely the moment when to do so was of enormous disadvantage to Christian Wilhelm. Spaignart was encouraging the Elector to think not only in terms of the protection of the archdiocese through his son, but also to consider the further responsibility of a Prince entitled to summon meetings of the defensive Circle. This function would not necessarily involve offensive manoeuvres, which, as discussed below, were unlikely to emerge from Electoral Saxony at that time. Spaignart had established his credentials as a supporter of the Saxon pro-Imperial policy with his references to Bauzen at the beginning of the dedication. It would however entail the ability to take the initiative in arranging common defence against the depradations of Wallenstein's soldiers. The election of August of Saxony was not in fact approved by the Emperor until 1635, so that the situation which unfolded was not entirely apt to Spaignart's approach. His *War of Religion* did however show how close Spaignart's approach to Johann Georg and his justification for that approach was to that of the Cathedral chapter, which was eager to dissociate itself from Christian Wilhelm. Supporting a manoeuvre which would deny Christian Wilhelm his archdiocese and put in his place a prince still formally allied to the Imperial cause was however hardly the action of a determined anti-

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Archdiocese of Magdeburg, 23 July 1627, Hofkammerarchiv Wien, Faszikulatur 44: 'Anhalt (Fürstentum)': 'Magdeburg Stadt 1580-1628', ff 217-224(v), here 219(r-v).

Imperialist, or of an ally of Christian Wilhelm. The indication of the *War of Religion* is that Spaignart in 1628 prioritised benign and effective protection over military intervention in the cause of the persecuted church.

5.4 **Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg**

Two letters from Spaignart can be found in the surviving remnants of the correspondence of electoral Saxony's chief court preacher, Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg. These letters have not to my knowledge been noted in any studies, either on Magdeburg or on Hoënegg.[104] There is a substantial selection of scholarship on Hoënegg; but there has not yet been a comprehensive treatment of his career, a fact which does not reflect either the breadth and volume of the existing primary sources or his influence on electoral Saxony and the powers close to it.[105] This is of

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[104] Neither of the two doctoral theses of which Hoënegg has been subject were composed in circumstances which permitted their authors to examine all of the relevant manuscript holdings. See Knapp, 5, Herkampf, 6, as note immediately below. An additional block to the exploitation of these letters is the fact that the Giessen catalogue identifies Spaignart as the less distinguished 'Christian Gilbert', and falsely if not unaccountably labels him Superintendent of Magdeburg.

[105] As well as working from his printed works, which are numerous, I will make use here of remnants of Hoënegg's papers which have survived in Giessen and Hamburg as well as the more substantial collection maintained at Göttingen. Useful secondary works on Hoënegg are Hans-Dieter Hertrampf, 'Hoë von Hoënegg - sachsischer Oberhofprediger 1613-1645', *Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* 1969 (7), 129-148, and the doctoral thesis on which it is based: 'Der kursächsiches Oberhofprediger Matthias Höe von Höenegg – seine Theologie, Polemik und Kirchenpolitik' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig, 1967): the latter gives the most comprehensive overview of Hoënegg's career, providing a rich context for the theological writings which are its explicit focus. An earlier doctoral thesis, brief but very useful, by Hans Knapp examined Hoë's intervention in the policy and persuasive writings of the Thirty Years War: 'Matthias Hoe von Hoenegg und sein Eingreifen in die Politik und Publizistik des dreissigjährigung Krieges' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Halle-Wittenberg, 1902). A recent contribution, focussing mainly of Hoënegg's preaching, is Wolfgang Sommer, 'Matthias Höe von Höenegg – Kursächsischer Oberhofprediger zur Zeit des Dreissigjährigen Krieges (1613-1645)' in ibid., *Die Lutherischen Hofprediger in Dresden. Grundzüge ihre Geschichte und Verkündigung im Kurfürstentüm Sachsen* (Dresden, 2006). Hoënegg's activities in connection with the 1617 Jubilee celebrations of the Lutheran Reformation are examined in Helga Robinson-Hammerstein, 'Sächsische Jubelfreude', and feature too in Hans-Jürgen Schönstädt, *Antichrist, Weltheilsgeschehen und Gottes Werkzeug. Romische Kirche, Reformation und Luther im Spiegel des*

a piece with the relative neglect thus far of Saxony's role in the Thirty Years War.[106] Although based for the duration of the Thirty Years War in Saxony, Hoë von Hoënegg brought to the heartland of Lutheran Germany a pattern of loyalties established by his upbringing in Vienna. These views were in harmony with the Elector of Saxony's traditional 'imperial policy', if not entirely attuned to popular feeling.[107] Hoënegg was fervently anti-Calvinist, explicitly endorsing the argument that Catholics made better allies for Lutherans.[108] As tensions had mounted in Empire in the approach to the Thirty Years War, he had coordinated attempts to detach Saxony's traditional allies among the Lutheran prices and powers from the Calvinist-led Protestant Union through the carefully orchestrated Lutheran Jubilee celebrations of 1617.[109] He had spent time in 1620 at the court of Ferdinand II, and had received and publicised the Emperor's assurances that Lutherans had nothing to fear from his military enterprise against Bohemia.[110] He had preached in 1622 that Lutherans should not feel bound in conscience to support Calvinists as the

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Reformationsjubiläums 1617 (Wiesbaden, 1978) and Kästner, *Geistliche Rauffhandel*. Less work exists on the 1630 Jubilee of the Augsburg Confession, but Hoë's vital contribution to these festivities is examined in Ulrike Dorothea Hänisch, *Confessio Augustana triumphans*, esp. 39-59. Hoënegg's theology and some of its political implications are explored in Bodo Nischan, 'The 'Fractio Panis:' A Reformed Communion Practice in Late Reformation Germany', *Church History*, 1984 (53/1), 17-29.

106 This neglect is lamented by Johannes Burkhardt: 'Der Dreißigjährige Krieg – Einfluß der sächsischen Politik auf die deutsche Geschichte', 3-12, 3.

107 See Burkhardt: 'Der Dreißigjährige Krieg – Einfluß der sächsischen Politik auf die deutsche Geschichte', 11-12; Robinson-Hammerstein, 'Sächsische Jubelfreude', 466.

108 Höenegg reprinted Polycarp Leyser's, *Ob, wie und warum man lieber mit dem Papisten Gemeinschaft soll als mit den Calvinisten* (Prague, 1611): whether, how and why one should rather enter into relationship with the Papists than with the Calvinists.

109 On Höenegg's role in the Jubilee celebrations, see especially Helga Robinson-Hammerstein, 'Sächsische Jubelfreude', 460-94.

110 This is the subject of Hoë's *Abgenötigte gründliche Antwort auff ein Calvinisch Ausforderungs Büchlein, : so in nächster Ostermeß diß lauffenden 1616. Jahrs ... in Druck kommen* (Leipzig, 1616); on the imperial sojourn, see Knapp, 'Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg', 20.

Bohemian rising was propelled by political ambition rather than religious freedoms, and he had argued still in 1627 that, despite their sufferings, Lutherans were in no way entitled to rebel against the Emperor.[111]

By autumn 1628, however, Hoënegg was urging Johann Georg to lead the Lutheran princes and powers in a formal protest to the Emperor against the effects on the church of the war and connected legislation. Hoënegg had always been at the centre of a correspondence network of Lutheran clergy, with particular links to the theological faculties of Leipzig and Wittenberg.[112] Because he was in a position to influence Johann Georg, he received numerous appeals from clergy whose provinces suffered the effects of war or were threatened by the Edict of Restitution: the edict made it impossible for Saxony to continued its alliance with the Emperor, but when the Elector withdrew, it was into a state of neutrality.[113] By 1630, Höenegg was agreeable to the idea that Calvinist and Lutheran powers might combine to put pressure on the Emperor. Johann Georg gave his formal consent to the plan for a convention by December 1630, and hosted the Leipzig Convention of Protestant princes, which ran concurrently with attempts by Calvinist and Lutheran theologians to find common ground on the basis of the Augsburg Confession, thus

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111 See Knapp, 'Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg', 23-9. The relevant sermons of 1627 were printed as *Zwo Christliche Predigten* (Leipzig, 1627).

112 See Hertrampf, 'Der kursächsiches Oberhofprediger Matthias Höe von Höenegg', 156, 161.

113 See Hertrampf, 'Der kursächsiches Oberhofprediger Matthias Höe von Höenegg', 183; Burkhardt, 'Der Dreißigjährige Krieg', 6.

justifying a potential alliance.[114] Hoënegg played a very prominent role, and was enthusiastic and prolific when Electoral Saxony re-entered the war in alliance with Gustavus Adolphus in the approach to the Battle of Breitenfeld in September 1631: Tschopp considers his work the pattern for justification of alliance with the Swedes between 1631 and 1633.[115] After 1635, however, when Saxony was reconciled with the Emperor in the Peace of Prague, he denied that the Leipzig Colloquoy had any effect on the war, a claim that does not withstand scrutiny.[116]

Both of Spaignart's letters to Hoënegg date from the period of the Magdeburg's blockade by Wallenstein. Neither letter in itself contains much information, but both provide indications that the relationship between the two men extended beyond these letters. Hoënegg's papers, while numerous, have not survived unscathed and have been dispersed among several archives. Given his subsequent reluctance to admit that Saxony played a key role in the gathering of momentum around an alliance of the Protestant princes, it is likely that the correspondence has been purged of sensitive material. It is significant in this connection that the correspondence with Spaignart survives in the fragmentary

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114 See Hertrampf, 'Der kursächsiches Oberhofprediger Matthias Höe von Höenegg', 183-8; Bodo Nischan, 'Reformed Irenicism and the Leipzig Colloquy of 1631', *Central European History* 1976 (9), 3-26, and the literature noted above under Höenegg.

115 On his contribution to the justification of war at the Leipzig Colloquoy and afterwards, see Silvia Serena Tschopp, *Heilsgeschichtliche Deutungsmuster in der Publizistik des Dreißigjährigen Krieges. Pro- und antischwedische Propaganda in Deutschland 1628 bis 1635* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991), 21-76, esp. 30.

116 This is the subject of Matthias Höe von Hoenegg, *Unvermeidentliche Rettung Churfürstl. Durchl. zu Sachsen gethaner Gewissens-Frag* (Leipzig, 1635), which coincided with Saxony's reconciliation with the Emperor through the Peace of Prague. See on the subject of this *volte-face* Bodo Nischan, 'John Bergius: Irenicism and the Beginning of Official Religious Toleration in Brandenburg-Prussia', *Church History*, 1982 (51/4), 389-404, 401.

residues of his papers in Hamburg and Giessen, and not in the substantial collection of official correspondence and expert advice deposited in Göttingen.

The first of these letters, dated March 15th 1629, addressed his 'patron and friend', describing him as the 'great patron of our commonwealth', and asked whether it would be possible for Hoenegg to send via a servant his advice on a document enclosed but not identified.[117] The letter contained a reference to earlier correspondence, in which the document had been mentioned. The second, dated April 30th 1629, it is a brief and unpolitical note which suggests that Hoenegg had obliged: Spaignart has received news of Hoenegg's ill-health and wrote 'in great distress' to sympathise with his 'lord and patron', having heard the day before from the 'former exile' that von Hoënegg has been suffering with kidney stones: he suggests a particular wine as a remedy and offers to supply it.[118] Both letters suggest that Spaignart was writing extremely carefully, to avoid giving away sensitive information: the communication on the document was to take place by personal envoy and the person who brings news in the second letter is not named.

While we appear to have no other correspondence from Spaignart and Hoënegg, there is evidence that they communicated further. When the deputies

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117 'Patrone Magne Reip nostrae ... Fautor & amicus' Spaignart to Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg, 15 March 1629, Uffenbach-Wolfschen Briefsammlung, Handschriftensammlung der Staats und Universitaetsbibliothek Hamburg, 90, 253.

118 Spaignart to *Matthias* Hoë von Hoënegg, 30 April 1629, Giessen Universitätsbibliothek (Cod. Giess. 115.225): Non sine magna animi perturbatione, Reverendissime Magnifice et Generose Vir , Domine et Patrone Magne, ex quo(n)dam Exule heri cognovi, VRM graviter... calculi potissimum doloribus vehemente affligi...'.

from Bremen wrote back to their town council from Magdeburg in 1630, they were able to offer news of Saxon policy and of the eagerly awaited colloquoy of Regensburg. Their letters demonstrate that their collocutors in Magdeburg were eager to see Saxony take the lead, whether under arms or by pressing for peace. In Magdeburg, they reported, there was great anxiety about the expected invasion of Swedish troops, and it was believed that Gustavus Adolphus was in secret correspondence with the electoral Prince of Saxony:[119] 'The new intelligence is that they are certain here ... that the electoral Prince of Saxony will appear in person ... at the Colloquoy of the Electoral Princes at Regensburg'.[120] The question of whether Saxony would act to alleviate the sufferings of fellow Protestant powers was discussed by the Bremen deputies and presumeably their contacts in Magdeburg in the context of Hoë von Hoënegg's statements in his sermons: the electoral Prince of Saxony may not be willing to wait in patience much longer, and 'HoHoHo' has recently said openly from the pulpit that it is unacceptable to gather up treasure and not to listen to the cries of those who are oppressed.[121]

After Christian Wilhelm had been formally accepted in Magdeburg, with the way clear to an alliance between the town and Gustavus Adophus, Hoë von

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[119] Letter, Liborius von Line to the Bremen town council, Magdeburg 4 March 1630, reproduced as an appendix to Hugo Holstein, 'Änderung der Regierungsverfassung in Magdeburg im Jahre 1630', 291-2, 291.

[120] 'Von Neum hat man allhier fuer gewiss, dass der Kurfürsentag zu Regensburg abermal bis auf den 5. Juni neuen Kalenders verschoben und dass der Kurfürst von Sachsen in persona sich dahin verfügen werde...'. Letter, Liborius von Line to the Bremen town council, Magdeburg 17 March 1630, reproduced as an appendix to Hugo Holstein, 'Änderung der Regierungsverfassung in Magdeburg im Jahre 1630', 291-2, 292.

[121] Letter, Liborius von Line to Syndicus Dr Johann Preiwert in Bremen, Magdeburg, 17 March 1630, 292-3, 292.

Hoënegg appears to have offered his advice on the best approach to the problem of Brandenburg.[122] This was drawn up within a day of another document containing agreed expert opinion with parties unnamed on the course which current affairs dictated for Saxon policy.[123] Both are quite substantial documents, which however never mention Magdeburg, but take as their starting point instead the presence of a 'foreign prince' on German soil. The thrust of these documents is that new circumstances made it possible for Saxony to consider alliance with Brandenburg: although formerly rejected by Saxony as a principality ruled by a Calvinist, it might help in exerting pressure for a peace in which the Evangelical powers of the Empire would gain 'satisfaction'. If peaceful means would not suffice, further deliberation must take place, but the initiative must be siezed, now or never.[124] While Hoënegg referred to the foreign prince as his reason for writing, his call for cooperation between Saxony and Brandenburg, whose Electoral Prince was Christian Wilhelm's nephew Georg Wilhelm, is precisely the union which Christian Wilhelm was now attempting to achieve,[125] and would potentially help the Electoral Prince of Saxony to defend his interest in the archdiocese.

Christian Wilhelm's own strategy even after arriving in the town seems to have been predicated upon the hope that Saxony could be persuaded to tolerate the

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122 UBGt Hoeanna IV 314-322, 'Gutachten an den Kurfürsten über die gütliche handlung', 15.8.1630.

123 UBGt Hoeanna IV 356-359. 'Zuhaltung den 12 Augusti Ao 1630'.

124 'Gutachten an den Kurfürsten über die gütliche handlung', 15.8.1630, 321; UBGt Hoeanna IV 356-359. 'Zuhaltung den 12 Augusti Ao 1630', 357, 359.

125 See for discussion of the relevant correspondence Karl Wittich 'Aus den ungedruckten Papieren des Administrators Christian Wilhelm III', *MGB* 1898 (33), 209-336.

reassertion of his claim to the administration of the archdiocese. A letter from Johann Philip of Saxony dated 30 August 1630 shows that Christian Wilhelm had written for support after his arrival in Magdeburg, on the 21st of that month, and that Johann Philip felt unable to grant it unless the Electoral Prince of Saxony should lead the way.[126] The opportunity for the Electoral Prince of Saxony to do so came in February 1631, when Protestant Princes and Protestant theologians held parallel meetings at the Leipzig Convention Magdeburg's town council addressed an explanation of its actions to the assembled Princes,[127] and Hoë von Hoënegg attempted to rouse their sympathies for the besieged town. The hoped-for grand alliance with Sweden, however, was not achieved, and Saxony remained neutral, so that both an alliance and a route to Magdeburg through Wittenberg were closed to Gustavus Adolphus.[128] Hoenegg then wrote to Magdeburg from Leipzig on 20 March 1631, a letter which was intercepted by Imperial troops, and which urged the town to stand fast, claiming that help would come if it persisted, but that if it surrendered, it would be destroyed.[129]

Contemporary commentators suggested after the disaster that the fall of Magdeburg indicated that Saxony was ultimately unwilling to take up arms against

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126 Letter, Johann Philip of Saxony to Christian Wilhelm, Altenburg 30th August 1630, ONB 16/88 (3) Autog.

127 *Eigentliche Ursachen/ Mißhandel/ und Verbrechung der Stadt Magdeburg/ Das ist An die im Monat Februario... 1631.. zu Leipzig versamblet gewesene Evangelisch Protestande Churfürsten,* (s.l., 1631).

128 Hertrampf, 'Der kursächsiches Oberhofprediger Matthias Höe von Höenegg', 129-152.

129 See Karl Wittich, *Pappenheim und Falkenberg. Ein Beitrag zur Kennzeichnung der lokalpatriotischen geschichtsschreibung Magdeburgs* (Berlin, 1894), 46.

the Emperor.. 'It is true', according to a letter written in mid-June by a member of the Imperial army, 'that H. Hoë [von Hoenegg] wrote from Leipzig to console the town, on the command of an unnamed Prince of elevated rank, but a few thousand soldiers would have been more useful to her'.[130] The separation of Saxony from potential allies was a pressing concern in Vienna,[131] and any reference to Spaignart in this letter or knowledge of his connections with Hoë would have awakened Tilly's interest. Tilly's public reproach of the Electoral Princes of Saxony and Brandenburg shortly after the siege would then be matched by a more subtle rebuke in the form of Tilly's response to Johann Georg's request for clemency for Hoenegg: Spaignart deserved 'to serve as an example by which others could see a severe punishment' and was 'not one of the lesser causes of the present misfortune of Magdeburg'.[132]

The erasure from the historiographical record of Spaignart's Saxon connections can be explained by a number of facts. Höe von Höenegg, as noted above, later sought to suppress all mention of his brief period of opposition to the empire, while Magdeburg's connections to Saxony were strengthened by the Peace of Prague and the appointment of August of Saxony as Administrator: Saxony had

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130 'es hat zwar H. Hoë [von Hoënegg] aus Befehl eines hohen Fürsten, den er nicht nennet, ein tröstlich Schreiben aus Leipzig an die Stadt abgehen lassen, aber etliche tausend Soldaten wären ihr nützlicher gewesen' – 'Schreiben vom 18th June 1631, reproduced by Brederode, Basel, den 25th July 1631', *MGAT* ii, 9*, 10*.

131 On the strategies discussed see Robert Bireley, *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counterreformation. Emperor Ferdinand II, William Lamormaini, S.J., and the Formation of Imperial Policy* (Chapel Hill, 1981), 27.

132 Tilly to the Electoral Prince of Saxony, 3 June 1631: '[De Spaignart verdient es], Anderen zum Exempel mit scharfer Strafe angesehen zu werden [und ist] des gegenwärtigen Magdeburgischen Unglückes nicht der geringsten Ursacher einer'. Cited by Karl Janicke, 'Christian Gilbert de Spaignart', *ADB*, xxxiv, 706-8, 707.

extended its power and influence generally through the treaty, and had demanded both the Administratorship and the alienation of certain lands from the Magdeburg archdiocese into its hereditary territories as part of its conditions for peace.[133] While both Saxony and Sweden remained as diplomatic partners, Christian Wilhelm permanently lost his archdiocese after the siege of Magdeburg, and converted to Catholicism. This laid him open to criticism far more open and extensive than could have been levelled at an Elector such as Johann Georg of Saxony, and facilitated the presentation of the various crises of the 1620s as a single, binary struggle between a pro-Administrator and an anti-Administrator party.

5.5

Confessio Augustana Triumphans

The significance of identifying a strong trend in favour of Electoral Saxony in the politics of Spaignart is not only that one may thus detach him from long-term conspiracies in favour of Christian Wilhelm. Given that Spaignart certainly appears, from the reports of Tilly and Guericke, to have become vocal in the cause of Christian Wilhelm, it is worth considering also the influence within Magdeburg

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[133] See Parker, *Thirty Years War*, 142; Volker Press, *Kriege und Krisen. Deutschland 1600-1715* (Munich, 1991), 229.

which he would have had as receiver of Saxon intelligence. If one examines the celebrations held by Reinhardt Bake in 1630, it is possible to argue that, whatever Bake's intentions, the public was prepared through his ministrations for an alliance which could be interpreted in the town as a prelude to Saxon intervention.

In 1630, Bake's jurisdiction was central to tensions in Magdeburg, because of imperial demands for the installation and protection of a new Catholic cathedral chapter. By June of that year, the town of Magdeburg was the only part of the Archdiocese in which the return of ecclesiastical goods had not been enforced.[134] An imperial envoy who had requested help from the council in reintroducing and supporting a new, catholic cathedral chapter, had been told in May that the town could not act in this matter without consulting its fellow Hanseatic cities and making a direct approach to the Emperor. In the night of 6th July, an imperial lieutenant secretly posted on the door of the cathedral and the chapterhouse an official mandate requiring that the cathedral chapter and all clergy under the jurisdiction of the chapter and Administrator should yield their benefices, houses, documents, registers, and seals within eight days on pain of the imperial ban. This would have given the entire liberties, one third of the town, into the hands of the Catholic church as represented by Provost Stricerius at the Kloster Unser Lieben Frauen. The chapter's response was to send two envoys to Dresden to seek the advise of the electoral Prince of Saxony, whose son August it had two years before

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134 Ernst Neubauer, *Wallenstein und die Stadt Magdeburg*, 208.

attempted to install as administrator.[135] Reinhard Bake, in drawing up a summary history of the Bishops of the archdiocese, was later to choose 1630 as the year when August began his administration: an odd choice, as it eliminated Christian Wilhelm two years later than was necessary, but a retrospective choice of neither forced catholicisation nor rebellion.[136]

If Bake had decided that the protection of Johann Georg of Saxony was the only remaining option for the liberties, he signalled this in July 1630, when he broke a five-year silence to enter print. His output had been affected by the general drop in printed works, and he had left a compilation of exegeses incomplete.[137] Nonetheless he printed the sermons he had preached on the Jubilee of the Augsburg Confession the month before. This work is the only evidence we have that the jubilee was celebrated in Magdeburg. Bake was careful to establish that he celebrated on his own responsibility, but that he did so in imitation of Electoral Saxony.[138]

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135 Hoffmann, *Geschichte der Stadt Magdeburg* ii. 125.

136 Reinhard Bake, *Copiosissima Evangeliorum Dominicalium Expositio / Autore Reinhardo Bakio, SS. Th. Doctore, Grimensium Pastore & Superattendente* (4 vols, Lübeck, 1640), c2(v).

137 Reinhard Bake, *Copiosissima Evangeliorum Dominicalium Expositio. Ex Orthodoxis: Pontificiis: Calvinianis, &c. Theologis plurimis, ita conscripta, ut ad Orthodoxias adsertionem, Heterodoxias desertionem, fontanam Textus expositionem, nec non annui Ministrorum Ecclesiae laboris iucundam allevationem plurimum faciat* (2 vols, Magdeburg, 1625), consisted only of a portion of the year's sermons: The series was completed only with Reinhard Bake, *Copiosissima Evangeliorum Dominicalium Expositio / Autore Reinhardo Bakio, SS. Th. Doctore, Grimensium Pastore & Superattendente* (4 vols, Lübeck, 1640), c2(v).

138 'Ich bey Mir selbst rathschlagerter/ was wegen vorstehender Jubelfeyr/ beydes in Chursachten/ so wohl auch bey unsall hie unterschiedlich intimiret'. Reinhard Bake, *Confessio Augustana triumphans. Das ist: Die Trefflich-Schöne Geschicht/ der Wahren*

The jubilee celebration of the Augsburg Confession had in fact been organised primarily by electoral Saxony and by Hoë von Hoënegg, who had convened an assembly of the theological faculties of Leipzig and Wittenberg in April 1630 to consider 'whether and how the Jubilee [of the Augsburg Confession] should be celebrated'.[139] The celebration of the jubilee famously occurred close to the date of Gustavus Adolphus's arrival on the territory of the Holy Roman Empire, and has been associated with an effort to strengthen Lutheran identity and morale as a tentative move towards Swedish alliance. The celebrations, however, also highlighted the potential obstacles to an effective alliance of Protestant princes. In deciding formally to celebrate the Peace of Augsburg, territories made an important legal case: it was only those protestants who adhered to the 1530 Augsburg Confession who were included in the provisions of the Peace of Augsburg of 1555. The Edict of Restitution included a project for examination of the extent to which territories adhered to the 'invariata' of the Augsburg Confession: if they were found to deviate from these principles, they could be declared Calvinist and as such considered to fall outside the religious peace.[140]

Ungeenderten Augspurgischen Confession. Ao. Csti. 1530. den 25. Iunii, Domahligem Großmächstigsten Römischen Käyser/ Carolo V. Glorwürdigster Gedechtnüß/ Frewdig Ubergeben ; Auß Bewehrten Historischen Schrifften In Dreyen Wolgegründeten JubelPredigten/ Kürtzlich widerholet/ und frommen Christen/ sampt beygefügten LehrPünctlein/ auffs aller Einfältigst Eingebildet (Magdeburg, 1630), [Aiv)]

[139] 'an & quomodo celebrandum Jubilaeum', see Hänisch, *Confessio Augustana Triumphans*, 55.

[140] Hänisch, *Confessio Augustana Triumphans,* 39.

The celebration of the Confession expressed the dilemma of the Lutheran territories, required on the one hand to distance themselves from Calvinism if a peaceful response to the restitution were to be possible, but on the other hand to hold themselves prepared to seek potential alliances beyond Lutheran states if they were to strengthen the Protestant cause in the face of this threat. Hoë von Hoënegg, who was at the same time engaged in preparations for the Leipzig Colloquoy, which would eventually involve Calvinist as well as Lutheran theologians,[141] had issued thorough instructions to guide the clergy of Electoral Saxony in the celebration: an instruction on festivities, pattern for services, formula of prayer and a 'Jubilee Manual' which both explained the celebration and published the relevant texts, songs, and prayers.[142] The outcome, however much Höenegg's anti-Calvinism had been suppressed in the preceding years, was an outpouring of printed sermons in which attacks on Calvinism were frequent.[143] Bake was no exception here, emphasising the distance between Lutheranism and Calvinism:[144] he was clearly interested in the protection of Saxony, but not in the diplomatic and theological manoeuvres which would be required to build a Saxon military alliance.

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141 See Hans Knapp, 'Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg', 36.

142 'Festinstruction, Formula and Gebetsformular': see Hänisch, 55. *Manuale Jubiläeum*, see Hänisch, 59.

143 Hänisch, 96-7.

144 Bake, *Confessio Augustana Triumphans*, Lii; D(v).

Bake also referred to his colleagues in the *Altstadt*, saying that in this as in other things he would conform freely to their practice.[145] In what may have been in part a show of support for them, he expanded on the freedom of the clergy to preach: no-one had ordered him to organize this event, but neither had anyone forbidden him; in any case, his elevated office was all the justification that he needed.[146] He printed the work with a special privilege, but did not give the origin: it may have been simply the privilege he had of being able to print in the liberties.[147] Bake dedicated the work, in what was for him a departure from tradition, to all Christians in Magdeburg, but in particular to his friends in the liberties.[148] In an extention with undertones of crisis, he addressed those to whom the work was dedicated as 'steadfast fellow believers and true patriots'.[149]

The content of Bake's text was by no means warlike, but was firmly arranged around the story of protection of the gospel through the peaceful mentality of the Emperor, encouraged by the electoral Princes of Saxony and Brandenburg in particular.[150] Both princes were warmly described: the electoral Prince of Saxony as Luther's patron, after God.[151] Bake's narrative was one of mediation and of crisis averted, and this is how he presented the 1550 siege. The attacker was the devil, the reaction came unequivocally from the church, and from

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145 Reinhard Bake, *Confessio Augustana triumphans*, Aiii.
146 Reinhard Bake, *Confessio Augustana triumphans*, Aiii.
147 Reinhard Bake, *Confessio Augustana triumphans*, [A].
148 Reinhard Bake, *Confessio Augustana triumphans*, [Ai].
149 Reinhard Bake, *Confessio Augustana triumphans*, [Ai]
150 Reinhard Bake, *Confessio Augustana triumphans*, Dii, F(v), [Fiv(v)]
151 Luther 'hatte negst Gott/ zum Patronen, einen andächtigen frommen Fuersten/ nemblich Johannem Electorem', Ciii, *Confessio Augustana triumphans*, Aiii.

the church of Magdeburg as a united entity: Bake refers to the fact that '*Our* [italics mine] tower at St Jacob's did indeed let itself be shot down in the siege of 1550, and still was not willing to accept the 'Interim'.[152]

Bake thus presented his congregation with recognition that they were living in a dangerous time, and with the comforting spectacle of imperial princes negotiating on behalf of the Lutheran faith with a benevolent emperor. At the same time he used the 1550 siege both to provide a model of martyrdom and to dilute the distinction between the liberties and the *Altstadt* (not technically under threat because of the Edict of Restitution). In parallel with the appeal to his fellow clergymen in the *Altstadt*, he appealed to his listeners in the Cathedral to understand the walled city as a whole. There was no corresponding appeal, dedication, or mention, however, of the council of the *Altstadt* or the civic authorities under whom his listeners lived.

It need not be argued that Bake was urging a military alliance with Saxony, but it is difficult to deny that this work would have prepared the ground for any plan involving the support of Saxony, stressing as it did both the danger of the times and the saving mediation of the electoral princes. Bake's celebration also effectively sidelined the town council, implying an alienation at this stage even from a clergyman to whose conduct during the period the council in the person of

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152 'Aber unser Thurm zu S Jacob liess sich zwar herunter schiessen/ in der Belgarung/ A.n. 50 noch wolte er das Interim nicht annehmen', Reinhard Bake, *Confessio Augustana triumphans*, [L(v)]

Guericke did not later object.[153] If one accepts therefore that Spaignart's enduring connection was with electoral Saxony, it is possible to see in the Jubilee sermons of Bake the conditions under which his interventions would have enjoyed broader support within Magdeburg those of a putative conspiracy in favour of Christian Wilhelm.

153 Guericke, *Belagerung, Zerstörung und Eroberung,* 78.

Conclusions

Both the tendency to draw moral warnings from narratives of siege and the need to explain Magdeburg's fate without tarnishing more than necessary its record of loyalty to the Emperor dictated that blame must be settled on some person or people within the town. In this connection, Tilly's imprisonment of Spaignart was probably crucial to the historiography of the siege. While it was argued by Guericke that his admonition against surrender was crucial, it is difficult to explain his imprisonment in terms of what was expected of his office, and except as reported by Tilly the words quoted are unexceptionable. Tilly's account suggests that there may have been repercussions for Spaignart immediately after the siege from the divisions that had earlier emerged in Magdeburg. It is worth recalling at this stage that Guericke's family had suffered in the 'tumults' of the inflationary riots with which Spaignart's printed endeavours had some connection.

Spaignart, it has been established in the course of chapters 2-4, was an embattled but not an isolated figure. It therefore seems appropriate to seek the reasons for his blame in a suppressed matter with a wider support base than Tilly's strictures would suggest: the Saxon alliance. Possibly most important here is the secret correspondence which Tilly mentions: there seems to have been nothing that would connect him with Christian Wilhelm, but there were connections with Saxony. As well as associating him more closely with Bake, whose ideal at this stage seems to have been Saxon protection, this would imply a policy shared with

the cathedral chapter for much of the time when Spaignart was pursuing it. If Spaignart has emerged from the historical record as an isolated figure, there are a number of clear historiographical reasons for this development, and it is necessary to consider the impact of this historiography upon our understanding of the events which brought Magdeburg to destruction in 1631.

CONCLUSION

The thesis has established, first, that the legacy of the siege of 1550 and 1551 was an extremely sensitive one for Magdeburg. While it might have appeared that this legacy provided a model which corresponded precisely with the town's situation in 1631, the type of unproblematic reference made by Gustavus Adolphus with which this thesis opened was matched within the town only by brief and oblique references, such as Bake's discussion of the siege in his Jubilee sermons of 1630, and in the anonymous publication of extracts from, *inter alia*, the *Magdeburg Confession* some time in the same year.[154] The latter, in failing to establish the authority under which they were produced, failed likewise when they adopted extracts from texts of the sixteenth-century crisis to provide the context which would permit contemporaries, or later readers, to be certain which authorities were targeted. These anonymously printed extracts were chosen mainly to identify the enemy of religion as a tyrant, worthy of resistance, but may, depending on context, have roused Magdeburgers against either a tyrannical imperial army, or against local 'tyrants', such as a town council opposed to war. Once the context is lost, the efficacy of the message itself is reduced, and certainly the appeal to authority is not attempted.

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[154] *Der Stadt und Kirche zu Magdeburg Alte/ Wahre / Christliche Beständigkeit in und bey der alten / Wahren / Christlichen / Catholischen und Apostolischen Lutherischen Lehr und Warheit / Nebenst derselben wahren beständigen Trost/ welchen sie gehabt/ vor /unter und nach der uberJährig aussgestandenen Belagerung Anno 1550...* ([Magdeburg], 1630).

Instead, as discussed in chapters 4 and 5, the bulk of justification for resistance in the approach to the siege of 1631 focuses on grievances and supposed breaches of civic privilege inflicted upon Magdeburg by Wallenstein,[155] so that even in 1631, neither the town nor any *named* agent of the town presents the struggle against imperial armies in terms of resistance against tyranny.

This suggests that Magdeburg's inhabitants, despite the emphasis in the 1620s in particular on reimagining and reliving the sixteenth-century siege, were in the event exposed to a very different configuration of secular and clerical authority in 1630 and 1631 from that which could be recalled for 1550-51. Insofar as they can be said to have witnessed the elaboration of a 'theory of resistance', this comprised primarily an insistence on the restoration or acknowledgement of statutes and privileges predating the Reformation: the re-establishment of legal 'norms' which Friedeburg has observed to be the primary call of princes and magistrates justifying resistance to imperial power about 1630.[156] The central section of the thesis traced and explained how the record of the sixteenth-century siege became detached from discussion of war in the literal sense, and how those who instrumentalised its history to discuss other matters had become sufficiently distant from much of Magdeburg's secular authority to render official collaboration on the scale experienced in the earlier siege impossible.

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[155] *Ausfuhrliche, Wolgegrundete DEDUCTIO*N; Letter to the Princes at Leipzig, *Eigentlicher Bericht*, Ai-Aii(v).
[156] Friedeburg, 'In Defense of Patria', 364, 375-6.

While the emphasis on breach of civic privilege as spur to resistance is typical of the period, and not confined to Magdeburg's case, consideration of the transition to such argumentation in Magdeburg is useful because of the light which it casts on both experience of war and potential for the negotiation of peace. A brief reconsideration of the content and context of the *Magdeburg Confession*, the document which came to stand for the resistance of 1550-51, will demonstrate that however different the circumstances of its composition, certain features of the *Confession* may be said to have survived into the troubled period of the 1620s, and to characterise the conflict within the town at that time.

It was established in Chapter 1 that Magdeburg's authorites, through delegation to a sympathetic theologian, succeeded to a large extent in controlling the publicity concerning the sixteenth-century siege and Interim dispute. While tensions existed, as demonstrated through the figure of Alber, Flacius Illyricus appears to have commanded sufficient respect amongst his peers to maintain an impressive balance, apparently containing from appearance in print such barely-veiled criticisms of town council policy as one saw in the 1630s, even while presiding over a collaboration in which it was possible publicly to print implied criticism of secular authority, and even of the person of the Emperor. Most striking about this operation are its extent and vigour , and it is these factors on which historians have frequently remarked, but it has been emphasised here that the direction of the collaboration protected the towns' authorities from internal criticism, even while the logic, if not the operation of the *Magdeburg Confession*,

submitted the action of particular authorities to the public scrutiny *via* the declarations of the town's clergy. Because, when the *Confession* was produced, conflict between clerical and secular authority within the town was not a pressing concern, this advertisement of the clerical right and duty to admonish was an acceptable strategy for the town council to endorse. Insofar as it appeared to rebuke the Emperor, and held out the prospect of an imminent end, the *Confession* may seem to have been the product of a desperate and unrestrained group, but the hypotheses in which its strictures are framed ensure that its actual description is of a dangerous imbalance in the relationships between different authorities within the Empire, which, despite the peril of the moment, is nonetheless open to remedy.

Actually to defame the Emperor is in fact avoided here, in accordance with the limits which appear to have been placed on Magdeburg's polemicists by its censors, but we see here precisely the strategy of defamation (here contingent on certain conditions not necessarily, it is implied, fulfilled) in the context of apocalyptic rhetoric with which Spaignart and Evenius operated in the 1620s. They inherited a tradition of admonition which had come to downplay the image of Magdeburg as victor in defence of the pure Lutheran faith. The qualified victory which had ensued from the sixteenth-century siege had to be treated with care, as celebration of a heroic victory was not necessarily popular, either in the town's external relations, in which the isolation vaunted by the authors of the *Confession* could be seen as a reproach, nor in its internal control, which incorporated a

continuation on a civic scale of the ministers' grappling with ungodly powers, first and foremost in the shape of the general vice affecting their flocks.

If the victory of Protestantism at Magdeburg was celebrated outside the town, it was nonetheless for the various authorities who broached the subject within Magdeburg at first a matter for caution, as made especially clear in the case of Besselmeyer's revisions, and later, in the early 1620s, an occasion for criticism. This criticism was in line with the generalised view of the experience of war as 'punishment from God'. Through their emphasis on ancestry, empathy, and the circularity of history, and some carefully placed references to current affairs, the historians of the sixteenth-century siege who wrote in the first decade of the Thirty Years' War contrived to present this generalised view of war as one which Magdeburgers should take to heart through the message of the histories with which they were presented. It is important not to read these exhortations as immediate reflection on the experience of war, or as a manifestation of anti-imperial feeling in the town. If the town's citizens were faced through the medium of print, in this decade, with discussion of war as the opposition of godly and ungodly forces, it was not in the context of the conflict which came to be known as the Thirty Years War, but with reference to the behaviour of elites within Magdeburg

The development of the news-media did little to alter this, since, if one aggregates information and perspectives mediated through the news-media most likely to have been accessible to the Magdeburgers of the 1620s, one does not find

that the undermining of religious liberties, even in Lutheran territories, was represented as the action of ungodly forces. Choosing therefore in their representations not to focus on the external enemy which the town had withstood in its sixteenth-century siege, Magdeburg's network of clergymen and schoolteachers focused on the internal enemy and the threat of punishment from God. When they became aware of grievances which they understood to be legitimate, the instruction of the citizens in this manner came to include implicit and explicit criticism of civic authorities. A significant element of this criticism after the incursion of Wallenstein into the archdiocese in 1625 comes in the form of references to the end of the world, an eventuality which both Evenius and Spaignart discuss frequently in their writings of this period, with the implication that immoral behaviour by secular authorities and law-makers will hasten the day of judgement, and make it welcome.

It may appear somewhat incongruous that, among the laws to which appeal is made is the imperial military code, represented verbatim as encapsulating an ideal law of war. The appeal to this particular code, and the associated disputes over privilege and status, demonstrate that while the threat of punishment from God was at different times related to specific or more general deeds and agencies, its effect seems in part to have been to create a situation whereby Magdeburg's authorities could not convincingly present themselves to all of their citizens as godly rulers in time of war. The printed record for Magdeburg would suggest that the hardship of war, even where the connected violence was still distant, being

much intensified in the seventeenth century with the development of larger armies, made of these authorities a group easily represented as an internal enemy to the church. Response to criticism by clerical and scholarly authorities was made extremely difficult by the fact that both experience of hardship and assaults on their status were constituted as an attack on the godly order. The defence of office was a feature both of apologetic and of aggessive attacks on the secular order. While it could be accompanied by the defence of the common people *vis-á-vis* their governers, and the exposure of these governers to condemnation by the common people was not an uncommon feature of works in defence of office, this exposure to condemnation did not constitute a simple alliance with opponents of secular authority, being frequently accompanied by more general complaints of the behaviour of the population as a whole, a matter which occupied much scholarly and clerical attention. Scholarly and clerical authorities may have articulated discontent, but it appears from the proceedings of Liborius von Line that they had some success in reassuring the people and in preventing the worst manifestations of this discontent.

As the hardships of war grew more pressing, however, and references of an apocalyptic nature became more frequent, there was a shift in the methods used to channel these grievances: by 1628, this appears to have been achieved not exclusively by exploiting a position of moral authority within the town, but by indicating the existence of external powers who could intervene in local affairs. It is in this context that clerical and scholarly admonition of secular authority came to

form a platform for political change, although this change seems not to have constituted a programme devised between those protesting and those who would now take power. The subsequent drive by newly instated secular authorities towards the silencing of clerical admonition may in itself have been a destablising factor in Magdeburg, insofar as it denied an aggrieved population certain opportunities to puts its case. It appears to have been this instability, rather than the working out of a strategy resulting in the victory of a particular party, that resulted in a brief coalescence of Magdeburg's fractured community around the figure of Christian Wilhelm. The crisis of authority which had preceded his arrival in the town was among the factors which made a change in war policy thereafter difficult; other such factors including of course the installation of Swedish military forces in Magdeburg from November 1630. The disaster which resulted, although very likely simply accidental, was because of the stage of war at which it occurred susceptible to widespread investigation, so that while records where not destroyed were scattered and, it would appear, purged, the scant details of the immediate disaster were elaborated in a highly metaphorical fashion, while, with the resettlement of the town, there emerged extremely partisan accounts: all factors which appear to have distorted the historical record.

To some extent, Magdeburg's case may seem by this examination to be reinserted in the more recent historiographical developments for the Thirty Years War as a whole. As a town which held huge symbolic value, but in which the mentality of the citizens can be better understood through the examination of

internal dynamics than by attributing to them the values for which their town came to stand, it can usefully be compared with recent findings of historians for the contemporary conflicts in La Rochelle and Stralsund.[157] The emerging consensus for this war generally, although it has not yet touched on Magdeburg, is that 'fanaticism' rarely drove one religious group into a fight-to-the-death against another, and that the impossibility of reconciling warring factions representing one or the other religious group was not usually at issue.[158] It has up until now, however, been difficult to detach Magdeburg from its earlier historiographical context because reconstruction from archival sources is effectively excluded. In excluding the diagnosis of a town driven by an easily categorised 'fanaticism', it is however also necessary to construct a counter-argument to explain why Magdeburg acted as it did; because Magdeburg is unusual both in its fate, and probably less circumstantially, in its alliance with Christian Wilhelm, which in preceding the Saxon alliance with Sweden can certainly appear to have been an extraordinary and foolhardy manoeuvre.

If we are to accord to memories and represenations of the siege of 1550-1 any relevance as forces shaping the conduct of Magdeburg's citizens between 1629 and 1631, this should not be in the form of civic pride and emulation of a glorious past. The spectre of the 'punishment of God' as experienced in 1550-1 had proved a flexible tool for commentary on and intervention in the travails of the first decade

[157] See Herbert Langer, Stralsund 1600-1630 (Weimar, 1970); David Parker, La Rochelle and the French Monarchy. Confliet and Order in seventeenth-century France (London, 1980)
[158] Asche and Schindling, 'Das Strafgericht Gottes', 33.

of the Thirty Years War, suggesting that the figure of the ideal member of government was one attentive to clerical admonition. The sense of crisis sustained in the town by clerical admonition among other factors, made it ripe for the intervention of Christian William whose choice of Magdeburg as a military base, a fortified town and the capital of his archdiocese, requires little explanation. Nonetheless, this admonition, however much attached to the narrative of the sixteenth-century siege, never imported its alleged anti-imperialism, instead referring to norms of the civic order and elements of the imperial structure in dealing with constitutional review, clerical and scholarly privileges, and the crisis introduced by the Edict of Restitution. The attempt to turn to Electoral Saxony as a potential ally, without which Christian William would have had a far more difficult task, was in this tradition of loyalty to the structures and customs of the Holy Roman Empire, and highlights the fact that Magdeburg's 'malcontents' of the Thirty Years War, like their sixteenth-century predecessors, envisaged a solution within the legal framework of the empire rather than an apocalyptic crisis.

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Johann Alemann, *Vortrab/ Vorhabender außführung/ auß was Grundt/ Anfang/ und Mittel und Ende/ die gute Stadt Magdeburg Zu dem erbärmlichen Untergang ... gebracht worden: Sampt Abgenöhtiger unabwendiger Ehren Rettung/ eventual retorsion, der bezüchtigten Verrätherey/ auch bitt- und oblation Schrifft. Wieder/ Vier ohne Nahmen ... wieder die heilsamen Rechte und Reichs Constitutionen, in Druck außgelassene Tractäte* (Hildesheim, 1633).

Die andere Belägerung/ Der Stadt. Magdeburg/ Oder Warhafftige beschreibung/ warumb unnd aus was Ursachen/ die Hänse-Stadt Magdeburg/ von der Keyserl. Armee blocquiret ...: Hierneben ist ein Verzeichnüß zubefinden/ wie hoch die Victual- und Essenwahren im Preiß gewesen/ unnd auffs thewrste ... verkaufft seynd ; Durch Eine beglaubte Person ... von Tage zu Tage auffgesetzt/ und Continuiret ([S.l.], 1629).

Die andere Belägerung der Stadt Magdeburg/ Oder Warhafftige beschreibung/ warumb und aus was ursachen/ die Hänse-Stadt Magdeburg/ von der Keyserl. Armee blocquiret ... : Hierneben ist ein Verzeichnüß zu befinden/ wie hoch die Victual- unnd Essenwahren im Preiß gewesen/ unnd auffs thewerste/ zeitwerender Blocquirung dieselbe verkaufft seynd ([s.l.] 1629, repr [s.l.], 1630)

Appian, *Roman History, translated by Horace White (4 vols, Boston, 1912-13).*

Caspar Aquila, *Ein sehr hoch nötige Ermahnung* (Magdeburg, 1548).

Caspar Aquila, *Wider den spöttischen Lügner Esslebium Agricolam* ([Magdeburg: Rödinger, 1548)

Arma Suecica : hic est, vera et accurata descriptio belli quod Gustavus Adolphus, Suecorum Rex, contra Ferdinandi II. Romanorum Imperatoris copias in Germania hactenus gessit ([Frankfurt], [1632?])

Joachim Arnst, *Anmutiger/ Lieblicher und Lustiger Thiergarten/ darein am heiligen Newen Jahrstage seine anbefohlene liebe zuhörer/ sich in demselbigen zuerlustigen unnd zuergätzen/ geleitet und spatzieren herumb geführet. Das ist: Christliche Newe Jahrs außtheilung/ Von allerhand Thier und Vogeln/ nach ihren proprieteten und Eigenschafften betrachtet. Unter alle Geistliche und Weltliche/ Hohe und Niedrige Stände ... wie ein jeder Christ das Alte Jahr wol und Christlich schliessen/ und das Newe Jahr glücklichen anfahen solle* (Magdeburg, 1619).

'Ausführliche, Wahrhafte Relation samt Beilagen, womit zu beweisen, wodurch und aus was Grund, Anfang, Mittel und Ende die uralte und gute Stadt MAGDEBURG zu dem erbaermlcihen Untergang und Ruin veranlasset, befordert und vollständig gebracht worden. Der leiben Wahrheit zu Steuer, und zu Rettung ehrlicher und zur Ungebühr deswegen traducirter und beschuldigter Leute guter Namen', ed. J. Opel, reproduced in *Neue Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiet historisch-antiquarischer Forschungen,* 1869 (13), 410-451.

Außführliche Wolgegründete DEDUCTION Eines E[hrbaren] Raths und gemeiner Stadt Magdeburg: Darinnen Der Röm. Käys. auch zu Hungern und Böheimb Königl. Mayest. jhrem Allergnädigsten Käyser und Herren/ so wohl allen Chur: Fürsten und Ständen/ deß Heyligen Römischen Reichs/ und sonsten jedermänniglich/ ermelten Raths und der Stadt kundtbahre Unschuldt/ wegen der jetzigen unvermutheten/ vberauß harten und hochbeschwerlichen/ doch unverdienten Blockquirung/ Gewaltsamen Feindlichen Zusetzun und Bedränguß/ aller Unterthänigst/ Unterthanigst Dienst und Freundliche zuerkennen gegeben wird. Auß Hochwichtigen und bewegenden Ursachen/ wie zum theil im Eingange zuvernehmen/ in offenen Druck verfertiget (Magdeburg: Betzel, 1631)

Außschreiben/ Eines EhrnVesten Raths dero Stadt Magdeburgk/ Herrn Wolfgangi Ratichii Didacticam oder LehrArt betreffende (Magdeburg: Pohl, 1621).

Reinhard Bake *Amphitheatrum Mortis, Das ist: Christliche LeichPredigten/ Bey Adelichen und Andern vornehmen Bestattungen / Theils: zu Magdeburgk in der DomKirchen; In denen Collegiat-StifftsKirchen; In S. Ulrichs PfarrKirchen; In Unser L. Frawen KlosterKirchen/ [et]c. Theils aber auff dem Landt/ Innerhalb Vier Jahren gehalten I* (Magdeburg, 1621)

Reinhard Bake, *Amphitheatrum Mortis, Das ist: Christliche LeichPredigten/ Bey Adelichen und Andern vornehmen Bestattungen / Theils: zu Magdeburgk in der DomKirchen; In denen Collegiat-StifftsKirchen; In S. Ulrichs PfarrKirchen; In*

Unser L. Frawen KlosterKirchen/ [et]c. Theils aber auff dem Landt/ Innerhalb Vier Jahren gehalten ... II (Magdeburg, 1624)

Reinhard Bake, *Confessio Augustana triumphans. Das ist: Die Trefflich-Schöne Geschicht/ der Wahren Ungeenderten Augspurgischen Confession. Ao. Csti. 1530. den 25. Iunii, Domahligem Großmächstigsten Römischen Käyser/ Carolo V. Glorwürdigster Gedechtnüß/ Frewdig Ubergeben ; Auß Bewehrten Historischen Schrifften In Dreyen Wolgegründeten JubelPredigten/ Kürtzlich widerholet/ und frommen Christen/ sampt beygefügten LehrPünctlein/ auffs aller Einfältigst Eingebildet* (Magdeburg, 1630)

Reinhard Bake, *Commentarius Exegetico-Practicus Posthumus, In Psalterium Davidis: Ex Orthodoxis Patribus Nostrisque Doctoribus, Item Pontificiis, Calvinianis, ... Theologis Plurimis, Rabinis Variis omnis generis Philologis, per decennales ferè meditationes ita elucubratus, ut ad orthodoxias adsertionem, Heterodoxias destructionem ... elaborationem omninò faciat / Accurante Filio Ernesto Bakio, SS. Theol. Licentiato* (Frankfurt am Main, 1664).

Reinhard Bake, *Copiosissima Evangeliorum Dominicalium Expositio. Ex Orthodoxis: Pontificiis: Calvinianis, &c. Theologis plurimis, ita conscripta, ut ad Orthodoxias adsertionem, Heterodoxias desertionem, fontanam Textus expositionem, nec non annui Ministrorum Ecclesiae laboris iucundam allevationem plurimum faciat* (2 vols, Magdeburg, 1625)

Reinhard Bake, *Copiosissima Evangeliorum Dominicalium Expositio / Autore Reinhardo Bakio, SS. Th. Doctore, Grimensium Pastore & Superattendente* (4 vols, Lübeck, 1640).

Reinhard Bake, *Fürstliches Braunschweigisches Frawen-Zimmer. Aus bewerthen Chronicken und Historicis, vom ersten Anfang dieses Uhralten/ Hochlöblichen Fürstlichen Hauses/ biß auff gegenwertige Zeit/ gar kürtzlich zusam gesuchet/ und mit angehefften Merckwürdigen Lehrpünctlein also beschrieben/ daße es nütz zu lesen/ nicht allein Fürstl. Personen/ sondern auch wol Adelichen und allen andern Frawen und Jungfrawen*, eds Dorothea, Geborne Markgräfin zu Brandenburg Sophie-Elisabeth, and Hauer (Magdeburg, 1623)

Zacharias Bandhauer, 'Das Tagebuch des Praemonstratenserpropstes Zacharias Bandhauer', in Karl Lohmann (ed.), *Die Zerstörung Magdeburgs und andere Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Dreissigjährigen Kriege* (Berlin, 1913), 110-182.

Henricus Baryphonus, *Henrici Baryphoni Pleiades Musicae: Quae Fundamenta Musicae Theoricae Ex PrincipiisMathematicis Eruta, Et Melopoëtica accuratiorem modumcompendiosioremq[ue] viam hac altera sed limatiore cura& auctiore accessu in scenam producuntTum Sethi Calvesii, m.p. Melopoiia. Ex veris fundamentis exstructa & explicata, In gratiam &usum Gymnasii Magdeburgensis*

publici iuris factae /Curante & edente Henrico Grimmio Mus: ibid. ordin. (Magdeburg, 1630)

Sebastian Besselmeyer, *Obsidionis Magdeburgi, Antiquae ac Inclytae Saxonum urbis, anno 1550 & 51 á Caesarianis factae, succincta atque historica descriptio. Per Sebastianum Besselmeierum eius urbis ciuem Germanico idiomate conscripta, nunc ueró primum, Latio donata* (Basel, 1552).

Sebastian Besselmeyer, Historia vnd beschrybung/ des Madenburgischen kriegs/ von anfang biß zům ende / der zeyt der belegerung jhn=nen vnnd außerhalb der Stat zůgetragen/ vnnd verloffen hat/ auch von der schlacht/ ... jm jar der mindern zal/ 50.vnd 51. auffs kürtzest verfaßt. Durch Sebastian Beselmeyer. Burger zů Magdenburg (Magdeburg[?], 1551[?]).

Warhafftige history vnd Beschreibung dess Magdeburgischen Kriegs/ von anfang biß zůende/ was sich die zeit der Belagerung innen vnd ausserhalb der Statt zügetragen vnd verlauffen hatt: auch von der Schlacht vnd fürnehmsten Shcarmützlen thaten vnd angriffen zů beyden theylen geschehen/ jm Jar der mindern zal fünfftzig/ vnd ein vnnd fünfftzgisten/ auffs kürtzest verfaßt. Durch Sebastian Besselmeyer Burger zů Magdeburg/ so inn söllech hänndeln bey vnd mitt gewesen. (Basel, 1552).

Sebastian Besselmeyer, *Warhafftiger Bericht des Magdeburgischem Kriegs/ Schlacht/ Belagerung/ und fürnehmesten scharmützeln zu Wasser und zu Lande/ Auch alles/ was sich .. Jnnen und ausserhalb der Stadt/ zugetragen hat. Auffs kürtzste/ oerdentlicher und gruendtlicher verfasset/ den zuvor mit unfleiss/ zu Basel ym drucke ist ausgangen.* (Magdeburg, 1552).

[Théodore Beza] *Du Droit des Magistrats sur leurs subiets. Traitté tres necessaire en ce temps pour advertir de leur devoir, tant les Magistrats que les Subiets, publié par ceux de Magdebourg l'an M. D. L. et maintenant reueu et augmentée de plusieurs raisons et exemples* ([S.l.], 1575)

Johann Bloc, *Alemannae Familiae Iaspis: quae peculiari Dei dono cessit Viro ... Dn. Georgio Külwein quem Genus & Geritor ... Cum ... Margarita; Filia Johannis-Martini Alemanni ... Unionis Spectaculum reliquit* (Magdeburg, 1620).

Johann Bloc, *Bulla vel Amuletum humani Livoris & impii Luroris; Ad Virum Magnificum Casparum Aleman. Iure Consult: ... Scholarch Am Prudentissmum. [Magdeb. a.d. 4. Mattii. Anno M. DCXX.]* (Magdeburgia: Bezelius, 1620).

Johann Bloc, *Clarigatio Alemanniae Familiae Seorsim de Consulari Gloria et Memoria Viri Amplissimi Dn Johannis-Martini Alemann...* (Magdeburg, 1620).

Johann Bloc, *Conlecta Coniectanea seu Coniecta Conlectanea ad Etymon Magdeburg. M. Johannis Bloci[i]*, ([Magdeburg], 1621).

Johann Bloc, *Petri Lotichii Secundi Elegiae IV. Libr. 2. De Obsidio Magdeburgensi. Ad Dictionum Latinarum, & Historiae limam Glossarius*, (Antianeiropoli [=Magdeburg], 1621).

Johann Bloc, *Promulsis Magdeburgensis Historiae Praemetii Gratia* ([Magdeburg], 1622).

Johann Bloc, *Eusebia Magdeburgensis. Drama. Continens Histoririam Pietatis in Deum, ex qua Magdeburgenses Anno 1524. 4. Iulii. quae erat Dominica Sexta post Trinitatis, a Divo Luthero in AEde Basilica Iohannitana publica Concione admoniti, divinum a Papisticis Idolomaniae & Ordinum abusibus Reformationis Christianae opus adorti, Regno Antichristi liberati, & mirabiliter sub Dei praesidio Ad Evangelii lucem asserti sunt*, eds Johannes-Henricus Walther, et al. ([Magdeburg], 1624).

Georg Adam Brunner, 'Summarische Relation des Verlaufs in Staatsachen des Erzstifts Magdeburg und Domkapitels daselbst von ao 1608 bis 1638', reproduced by Ernst Neubauer, 'Georg Adam Brunners Summarische Relation' *MGB* 1893 (28), 367–90.

Jean Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Church*, edited by John T. McNeill (Westminister, 1980).

Seth-Henrico Calvisius, *Das zerstöhrete und wieder aufgerichtete Magdeburg* (Magdeburg, 1727).

Andreas Cramer, *Exequiae Illustres, Das ist: Vorneme Leichgegengniß: Dabey auß sonderbahren Lehr- und Trostreichen Biblischen Texten Leich-Predigten gehalten worden* (Magdeburg, 1622).

Andreas Cramer, *M. Andreae Crameri Pastoris & Scholarchae Magdeburgici Deutliche/ Richtige/ und Wolgemeinte Anleitung Wie die Zarte Jugendt von Kindt auff in Gottes Furcht/ Künsten/ und Sprachen ... erzogen und ad Academica studia praepariret werden .... Mit beygefügten gleichmessigen bedencken Dn. Davidis Wolderi. M. Sophoniae Hasenmulleri. M. Johannis Rhenii. Item: Magni Petri Rami, Professoris Regii*, (Magdeburg: Kirchner, 1618).

Charles V, *Sacrae Caesareae Maiestatis Declaratio, quomodo in negocio religionis per Imperium usque ad definitionem Concilij generalis vivendum sit, in Comitijs augustanis XV. Maij anno M. D. XLVIII. proposita, et publicata et ab omnibus Imperij ordinibus recepta, è Germanica lingua in Latinam... versa...* (Frankfurt an der Oder, Wolrab, [1548]).

[Christian Wilhelm von Brandenburg] *Befehl und Fürstliche Anordnung. Wie es*

bey jetzigen sorglichen hochgefehrlichen Leufften/ zu erwecku[n]g bußfertiger Andacht/ unnd inbrünstigem embsiigen Gebets/ in allen Kirchen des Primat: und Ertzstiffts Magdeburg angestellet und gehalten werden soll (Magdeburg: Böel, 1619) [4] Bl.

Christian Wilhelm von Brandenburg, *Copia Des Edicts So Ihre Fu(e)rstliche Gnaden Christian Wilhelm / Postulierter Administrator der beyder Ertz und Stiffter Magdeburg und Halberstadt/ Marggraff zu Brandenburg /etc. Den 6. Augusti dieses 1630. Jahrs in Magdeburg publicirt.* ([s.l.], c. 1630)

Christian Wilhelm von Brandenburg, 'Instructions', 'Die Christian Wilhelms Aufnahme in Magdeburg betreffenden Instruktionen', reproduced in *MGB* 1893 (28), 185-242.

Christian Wilhelm von Brandenburg, *Speculum Veritatis, Unser von Gottes Gnaden/ Christian Wilhelm Margraven zu Brandenburg/ in Preüssen/ zu Stettin/ Pommern der Cassuben und Wenden/ auch in Schlesien zu Crossen und Jegerndorff Hertzogs/ Burgraven zu Nürnberg/ und Fürsten zu Rügen : In welchem der Historische und gründtliche Verlauff/ auch Christliche penetrirende Motiven und Ursachen verfasset/ so ... der Lutherischen Religion ... zu valediciren/ und dagegen zu der Römischen Catholischen Kirchen zutretten/ Unser Gewissen angestrengt* (Vienna, 1633).

Des Churfürstliche Sächsische Consistorii zu Wittenberg. Urthel wegen der Wipper und Kipper : Ob solche zur Absolution unnd Hochwürdigen Abendmahl zulassen/ auch ob sie ohne vorhergethane Busse mit Christlichen Ceremonien zur Erden zu bestatten ; Dem Ministerio zu Quedelburg auff ihr Begehren mitgetheilet ([S.l.], 1621).

Controversia Crameriana Magdeburgensis, das ist / Wahrhafftige beschreibung des entstandenen Magdeburgischen Kramerischen Kirchenstreits [...] (Wittenberg, 1624)

Copia Oder Schrifftlicher Antwort deß Heiligen RömischenReichs Churfürsten/ and den König in Schweden Gust.Adolph. de Dato RegenßburgAuch von dem Treffen/ so sich zwischen ihrerKäyserlichen unnd Königlicher Mayest. in Schweden/ beyderKriegs Armee in Pommern ... den 29. Decemb. begeben hat (Magdeburg, 1630).

Corpus Iuris Militaris recognitum, ac multis ex partibus auctum, Oder Neu verbessertes und vermehrtes Kriegs-Recht : Worinnen enthalten Der Käysere Maximiliani I. Maximiliani II. und Ferdinandi III. höchstlöblichsten Andenckens/ Articuls-Brieffe/ mit 33. Articuln auß Caroli V. Peinlicher Hals-Gerichts-Ordnung gezogen. So dann Lud. XIV. Kön. in Franckreich Krigs-Ordinance, Kön. Schwed. und Kön. Dännemärckisches/ Kön. Polnisches/ Churf. Brandenburgisches/ Churf. Pfältzisches/ und Fürstl. Hessisches/ Fürstl. Würtenbergisches Krieges-Recht und

Articuls-Brieff: Nebenst Dem Holländischen und Schweitzerischen Kriegs-Recht/... (Frankfurt am Main, 1674).

Des Churfürstliche Sächsische Consistorii zu Wittenberg. Urthel wegen der Wipper und Kipper : Ob solche zur Absolution unnd Hochwürdigen Abendmahl zulassen/ auch ob sie ohne vorhergethane Busse mit Christlichen Ceremonien zur Erden zu bestatten ; Dem Ministerio zu Quedelburg auff ihr Begehren mitgetheilet ([S.l.], 1621).

Cunrad Dieterich, *Discurs vom Kriegs- Raub- und Beuten/ Darinnen nachfolende Punten abgehandelt werden…* (Heilbronn, 1634).

Eigentlicher Bericht/ So wol auch Abcontrafeytung. welcher gestalt die weitberühmte unnd mächtige HenseStatt Magdenburg von den Käyserlichen General Herrn Tserclas Grafe von Tilly / den 20. Tag May dieses jetztlauffenden 1631. Jahrs mit gewehrter vnd stürmender Hand erobert worden. Auss unterschiedlichen glaubwürdeigen Schrifften zuammen gezogen. ([broadsheet, s.l.], 1631).

Eucharii Eleutherii Fax Magdeburgica. Das ist: Die Magdeburgische WeltFackel: Allen Evangelischen Städten und Ständen in Teutschland zur Warnung angezündet/ sich dabey wol umbzusehen/ benebenst etlichen vorhergehenden Motiven was den Herrn Administratorem verursachet sich in selbige Stadt zu begeben ... Mit angehengter erbärmlichen Klage und letzten Testament der Magdeburgischen Damen ... ([S.l.], 1632).

Sigismund Evenius, *Bescheidentliche Erörterung der jetzigen Zeit sehr nötigen und wichtigen Frage: Wie unnd durch wem der Christlichen an allen Orthen höchst bedrengten und zerrütteten Kirchen gründlich zu rathen und zu helffen/ damit sie zur erwünschten Leiblichen und Geistlichen Ruhe/ Wolstand und Seeligkeit verbracht werde? : Vor diesem An eine Geistliche Person auff begehren geschrieben/ welche einem guten Freunde dieselbe hinwider Schrifftlich communiciret: An jetzo aber Von derselben mit vorbewust und consens deß Autoris, anderer Christeiferiger Prediger judicia und Gedancken darüber zu erforschen/ Durch den öffentlichen Druck außgegeben* (Nuremberg, 1634).

Sigismund Evenius, *Christ: Scholarum Unicum Necessarium, Seu Optima Pars Mariae : Das ist: Gründliche Demonstration, daß in und bey Christlichen Schulen und Information der Jugend in gemein die Pflantzung waarer Gottesforcht das edleste Kleinod und vornemste Sorge und Ubung sey und seyn müsse/ die auch derowegen die meiste unnd beste Zeit hierauff solle und müsse gewendet werden/ wie die angehende Jugend früzeitig/ verständlich/ gründlich/ andächtig/ beharrlich und erbawlich/ zu dem waaren Erkänntnuß Gottes und seines heiligen seeligmachenden Worts und dessen stetiger Ubung im folgenden gantzen Leben angeführet und erzogen werde* (Nuremberg, 1634).

Sigismund Evenius, *Drey Tausend Klagen über das verdorbene Christenthum : Darinnen fürgestellet/ wie nemlich so wol von Predigern und Schul-Lehrern/ als Regenten und Haus-Vätern allenthalben verstossen wird* (Quedlinberg, 1691).

Sigismund Evenius, *Einfeltige Christliche Beantwortung Der (genandten) Grundfest der Catholischen Warheit/ D. Eliae Schiller: Darinnen er mit einem eintzigen/ kurtzen/ klaren Argument wil erwiesen haben: Daß bey den Uncatholischen (oder Lutherischen) kein wahrer seligmachender Glaub/ Lehr oder Kirch in keinerley wege sein müge ... / Den einfeltigen rechtgleubige[n] Christen ... Zur nachrichtung und besser verwahrung in ihrer einfalt ... gestellet Von M. Sigismundo Evenio* (Magdeburg, [c. 1630]).

Sigismund Evenius, *Honor Scholarum assertus et restitutus. Quem Dissertationibus Duabus comprehensum, Una De Contemtu Scholarum Scholasticique Ordinis, Eiusque Veris Ac genuinis caussis Halae Saxonum in dimissione: Altera De Vindicando Huiusmodi Contemtu, Magdeburgi in solemni receptione Pronuntiatis, Offert ... M. Sigismundus Evenius*, (Magdeburg, 1622).

Sigismund Evenius, *Omnibus Omnium Ordinum Viris Eruditis Reiq[ue] literariae ac Conventuum piorum Scholasticorum: amantibus: Zugleich auch Der Ehrsamen gesambten Bürgerschafft der Alten Stadt Magdeburgk/ Schencket diesen des H. Lutheri SchulRath ... zu einen Glücksehligen Frieden und Frewdenreichen Newen Jahre* ([S.l.], 1629).

Sigismund Evenius, *Speculum Intimae Corruptionis, Das ist: Spiegel des Verderbniß : Allen und jeden Ständen der wahren Christenheit zur gründlichen Beschawung und Nachrichtung/ Forderst aber zur Auffmunterung und Sorgfältigkeit/ in diesen betrübten Zeiten ...* (Lüneburg, 1640).

Sigismund Evenius, *Tyrannidis Pontificiae Secularis Demonstratio Apologetica, Calumniarum ac Ineptiarum nebulis: Quibus Adamus Contzius Jesuita Moguntinus Solem Huius Veritatis, In Palma Seculari Lutherano-Evangelica detectae, obnubilare scurriliter ac veteratorie, in Coronide Sua Iubilorum est conatus* (Halle, 1619).

Eygendlicher Bericht, Wie die Hanseestädte abgeordente Gesandte mit gutem glück und gewünschcter Expedition von Halberstadt dem Herrn General Hertzogen zu Freideland den 28 September in Magdeburg angelanget (s.l., 1629).

'Famaugusta Franco-Alemanica', *Frawen Zimmer der Schwesteren Des Rosinfarben Creutzes. Das ist/ Kurtze endeckung von der beschaffenheit dieses Frawen Zimmers. was fur Religion, wissenschaft/ Gotlicher und natuirlicher dinge/ was fur Hantwercken/ Kunste/ artzney/ newe inventiones, Geistreiche und liebliche übungen/ etc. drinnen zu finden sein*, (Parthenopolis [Magdeburg], 1620).

Matthias Flacius Illyricus, *Bulla des Antichrists, dadurch er das volck Gottes*

widderumb in den eisern ofen der Egypitishcen gefengknis denckt zuziehen/ gleichstimmig mit des Meintzischen Rabsakes briefe. Daraus wol zuuernemen/ was der Teufel durch seine beide tugent/ das ist/ durch den Moerderische krieg widder die Kirche Gottes/ vnd durch seine luegen/ als da sind/ Concilium Interim/ Mittelding/ Chorrock/ denckt auszurichten (Magdeburg [Christian Rödinger], 1550).

Matth[ias] Fla[cius] Illyr[icus], *Erklerung der Schendlichen Sůnde der Jenigen die durch das Concilium/Interim/uñ Adiaphora/ von Christo zum Antchrist fallen/ aus diesen Prophetischen Gemelde/des S. Eliae Seliger Gedechtnis/ D. M. Luth. genomen.* [s.l.v.a.].

Matthias Flacius Illyricus (ed.), *Lucifer's Sendbrief an die vermeinten Geistlichen, vor 140 Jaren geschrieben/ Durch Nicolaum Oren. (*[Magdeburg], 1550), Aiv.

Matthais Flacius Illyricus, *Quod hoc tempore nulla penitus mutation in religione sit in gratiam impiorum facienda.* [Magdeburg], 1549, [Avii].

Jacob Gebhard, *Oratiuncula De Humfridi Et Engelhardi Sexti & Septimi Archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium ...* (Magdeburg, 1625).

Gründliche und Warhafftige Zeitung/ Von dem Tumult und Aufruhr wegen der Kipper/ so sich in der Löblichen und weitberumbten Stadt Magdeburg begeben und zugetragen/ Wie nehmlich die gemeine Pöbel in die Sechzehen Häuser gestürmet/ und rein außgeplündert/ darüber in die Zweyhundert Personen beschädiget und todt bleiben/ Auch was zu Halle und im Anhaltischem Lande weiter vorgelaufen ist. Nebenst kurtzen Bericht aus Torgau/ was sich allda zu dem Landtage zugetragen habt ([s.l.], 1622).

Otto von Guericke, *Geschichte Die Belagerung, Eroberung und Zerstörung der Stadt Magdeburg am 10./20. Mai 1631 / Nach der Ausg. von Friedrich Wilhelm Hoffmann neu herausgegeben*, edited by Horst Kohl (Leipzig, 1912).

Otto von Guericke, *Relationes, Derer dem Herren Buergermeister wegen gemeiner Stadt Magdeburgk 18 Jahr nach ein ander vffgetragenen undt anvertraueten 17 Unterschiedenen, mehrentheils gar langwirigen Verschickungen (1642 bis 1660)*, transcribed by Ditmar Schneider and translated from the Latin by Rudolf Engelhart (Halle an der Saale, 2005).

Otto Gericke [von Guericke], 'Relatio was meine Verrichtung zu Osnabrück und Münster auf dem allda angesetzten allgemeinen Friedenstag gewesen', reproduced and edited by Julius O. Opel in 'Otto von Guericke's Bericht an den Magistrat von Magdeburg über seine Sendung nach Osnabrück und Münster 1646/47', in *Neue Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiet historisch-antiquarischer Forschungen,* 1867 (11), 28-94.

Der H[eilegen]. Schrifft Doctorn und Professorn in Christliche evangelische lutherische Jubel Predigten, auff das erste, hohe lutherische Jubelfest, so dem Allmechtigen zu Lob und Danck, durch den Churfürsten zu Sachsen etc. unsern gnedigsten Herrn, in allen desselben Chur und Fürstenthumen im Jahr Christi 1617 feyerlich zu halten angeordnet worden ... / geh. durch die vier Doctores u. Professores der Theologischen Facultet in d. Universitet Wittenberg (Wittenberg, 1618).

Peter Hecht, *Magdeburgk halte dich Feste! Das ist Ein Klag- Vormahn/ und Warnungs-Liedt Zu dieser gefährlichen Zeit den Lieben Magdeburgern zur Erinnerung ihrer gebührlichen Pflicht vorgestellet. Im Thon: Auff meinen Lieben Gott traw ich in Angst und Noth* (Magdeburg, 1629) .

Tobias Henckel, *Extract: Funffzehener Trostreden Wieder die Neulich erregte und noch nicht gantz beygelegte muthwillige Thewrung und Verwirrung. Wie auch in Eventum, noch künfftige/ wol grössere. Zu Nutz/ allen denen/ so von Kippern/ Müntzern und Gewißlosen Verkeuffern/ bißher beschädiget/ ... Das sie nicht gar zu betrübt werden ... (Neben angehengten Tröstungen für Bußfertige Kipper und Müntzere)* (Magdeburg: Francken, 1622) [18] Bl.

Beatus Hodorikus, *Sibylla Iustinanea iustissima Oder Richtiger unnd Wichtiger Wipper Traum : Darinnen Tägliche und klägliche Beschwerungen der außgekippeten Armuth/ mit Rechtes Gründen und richtigen Funden außgeleget und auffgelöset worden* ([S.l.=Magdeburg?], 1621).

Hoë von Hoënegg, 'Refutation wieder den Liechtschewnden Lästerer', in *Leipzigische Schluß-Predigt/ Von der Fürsten guten Fürstlichen Gedancken/ Als der von ChurFürstl. Durchläuchtig. zu Sachsen/ Herrn Herrn Johan Georgen/ &c. angestellte hochansehliche Convent der ... Evangelischen und Protestirenden Chur-Fürsten und Stände glücklich geschlossen und geendet worden : ... in der Kirchen zu Sanct Thomas in Leipzig gehalten am Sontag, Palmarum Anno 1631. vnd ... in Druck gegeben ; Mit angeheffter Verantwortung der Predigt/ so aus dem 83. Psalm im Eingang des hochansehlichen Convents gehalten/ vnd von einem Liechtschewenden Päpstischen Lästerer angezannet worden* (Leipzig, 1631).

Friedrich Hortleder, *Der Römischen Keyser Und Koniglichen Maiestetē, Auch des heiligen Römischen Reichs Geistlicher und Weltlicher Stände...Handlungen und Außschreiben...Von Rechtmässigkeit/ Anfang/ Fort und endlichen Aussgang dess Teutschen Kriegs Keyser Carls dess Fuenfften,* (2 vols Gotha, 1645).

Illustratiorum ad Pacis Westphalicae Tabulas Liber secundus, Continens Varia scripta, relationes, projecta et alia... Quae Explicando ipsius Pacis tenori lucem afferre possunt collectus... (Leipzig, 1720).

Instruction für die Kays. Herren Commissarien/ in Exequirung und Vollziehung deß Kayserlichen Mandats/ wegen Restitution und Widerstellung der Geistlichen Gütter (s.l., 1629).

John Knox, *The historie of the reformatioun of religioun within the realm of Scotland, ... Together with the life of Iohn Knoxe the Author, and several Curious Pieces wrote by him* (Edinburgh: Robert Fleming & Co., 1732)

Christoph Krause, 'Denkwürdigkeiten des Gymnasiallehrers und Pfarrers Christophorus Krause in Magdeburg', edited by Julius Opel, in *Neue Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiet historisch-antiquarischer Forschungen*, 1878 (14), 313-84.

Kurtze Jedoch Warhafftige Erzehlung/ der Solenniteten / welche zu Magdeburg bey publicirung/ des geschlosenen Friedens / gehalten ([s.l.], 1629)

Lachrymae Super Insperatum & praematurum ... abitum & obitum suavißimae puellulae Annae Elisabethae, ... Dn. Joachimi Arnesti Diaconi apud Magdeburgenses, filiolae dilectissimae. E mundi huius Nosocomio 4. Aprilis in Coelestem patriam pie & placide evocatae & Septimo eiusdem die solenni festivitate terrae mandalae (Magdeburg, 1625).

Leges Scholae Magdaeburgensis. Das ist/ Schulsatzungen/ für die Jugend zu Magdeburg (Magdeburg, 1625).

Briefe G.M. Lingelsheims, M. Bernegers und Ihrer Freunde, edited by Dr Alexander Reifferscheid (Heilbronn, 1889).

Martin Luther, *Eine Predigt, daß man Kinder zur Schule halten solle* (Veste Coburg, 1530).

Martin Luther, *Trewhertzige Vermahnung/ An die Bürgermeister und Rahtherrn aller Städte Deutsches Landes/ das sie Christliche Schulen auffrichten und halten sollen/ Mart. Luth. Doct.. Sampt etlichen Sprüchen auß andern seinen Schrifften/ gleichs Inhalts*, (Magdeburg, 1621).

Martin Luther, *Wider den Eisleben*, in *Dr. Martin Luthers Briefe, Sendschreiben und Bedenken, vollständig aus den verschiedenen Ausgaben seiner Werke und Briefe, aus andern Büchern und noch unbenutzten Handschriften gesammelt,* edited by Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette (Berlin, 1856), 246-58.

Christoph Meiemburg, *Peplum Minervae Seu Oratio Continens Historiam Vitae & Obitus ... Joachimi Sacri Romani Imperii Electoris: Et Johannis: Marchionum Brandenburgensium Fratrum, &c. ... Electoris*, edited by Johann Bloc (Magdeburg, 1621).

Philip Melanchthon, *De Rebus Adiaphora. Epistola Concionatorum Hambergensium ad D. Philippum Melanthonem, et Responsi Ejusdem* (London [=s.l.], 1549).

Philip Melanchthon, *Epistola Phil. Melanthonis, in quae respondetur Flacio Illyrico* (Wittenberg, 1549).

Methodus Informationis Privatae, Qua Paedagogos absolutis lectionibus publicis pro conformitate operae domesticae cum publica & evidentiore fructu Discipulorum cuiuscunq[ue] aetatis & profectus iuxta classes singulas uti decet. Das ist: Eine Hausunterweisungs Art/ welcher die Paedagogi oder Schüler bey ihren Discipulen nach geendeten öffentlichen SchulLectionen daheim/ damit beyderley Arbeit gleichförmig ... angestellet werde/ sich zugebrauchen, (Magdeburg, 1625).

Zacharias Möser, *Nucleus Philosophiae Latino Graecus* (Magdeburg, 1626).

Friedrich Pieters, *Gründlicher Bericht/ Ob Thumherren und ihre Adjuncten, die gemeiner Leut/ und Bürger Kinder sind/ in einem Gott wolgefälligen Stande sitzen/ und der Stiffts Lehen mit gutem Gewissen geniessen können. Auß Gottes Wort/ D. Luthero, und andern reinen KirchenLehrern/ männniglichen zur nothwendigen/ heilsamen Unterrichtung in Druck gegeben* (Magdeburg, 1629).

Peter Plessner, *Zweyfache blutige ZornRuhte/ Das ist: Zwey newe blutige Zornzeichen/ unsers lieben Gottes/ umb unser Unbußfertigkeit willen: zugleich und auff einander/ im Junio dieses 1633. Jahrs/ zu Burckertshayn/ nicht weit von Wurtzen/ vorgestellet Erstlich an etlichen grünen Bircken/ an welchen sich die Blätter gantz ungewöhnlicher und unnatürlicher Weiß blut-roth entfärbet. Vors Ander/ in einem Teich/ in welchem sich das Wasser in Blut verwandelt ... ; ... mit sampt zweyen Bedencken/ zweyer vornehmer Theologen/ als ... Herrn Reinhard Bakii/ ... Dann auch/ Herrn Johann Schreitern/ ... Beneben zu Ende angehencktem kurtzen/ doch warhafftigen Bericht/ welcher gestalt sichs mit beyden Zeichen eygentlich begeben und zugetragen* (Leipzig, 1633).

Johann Pfeffinger, *Von den Tratitionibvs/ Ceremonibvs/ Oder Mitteldingen/ Christlicher ware bericht/ allen lieben Christen in disen letzten vnd gefehrlichen zeiten/ nützlich zu wissen* (Leipzig, 1550).

Elias Pomarius, *Warhafftige/ Grundtliche unnd Eygentliche Beschreibung der uber Järigen Belagerunge der ... Stadt Magdeburg: wie und wannenhero dieselbe bey Regierunge/ Weylandt Caroli des fünfften erwehlten Röm: Kaysers ... Gedächtniß sich entsponnen/ was unter Wehrunge derselben allerseits Inner- unnd ausserhalb der Stadt sich begeben und zugetragen/ wie hernacher die Sachen zu vortrage kommen und endtlich bey Kay: May: die Stadt außgesöhnet worden/* . (Magdeburg, 1622).

Johann Pomarius, *Summarischer Begriff Der Magdeburische Stadt Chronicken darinne angezeigt wird/ wenn dieselbige Stadt ohngefehr zu bawen angefangen…* (Magdeburg, 1587).

Johann Pomarius, *Das ander Theil der Postilla/ Darin / was aus einem jeden Sontags Evangelio von Trinitatis an bis auff den Advent/ benebenst desselben Occasion und Summa/ fuernemlich fuer Lehren/ Trost/ Erinnerungen und Warnungen zu mercken/ auffs kuertze angezeit/ in in gewisse Fragen und Antwort gefasset ist* (Magdeburg, 1587).

Plutarch, *Moralia volume III*, edited and translated by Frank Cole Babitt (Boston, 1931).

---, *Praemium Veritatis!. Eine Predigt Von Besserung derer/ so sich des Evangelii rühmen/ und vom Pabstumb abgetretten/ Sonderlich bey der Clerisey zu halberstadt ; Gehalten in der Bischofflichen hohen Stifftskirchen daselbst/ am Tage des Evangelisten Matthaei/ Umb welcher Willen M. Johannes Reineccius, Der gewesene Domprediger den 11. Octobris, Anno 1623. Plötzlich seines Dienstes entsetztet worden ; Mit approbation der Theologischen Facultät zu Wittenberg/ und etlichen andern nothwendigen Beylagen* (Magdeburg, 1624) .

Precatio Contra Hostes Ecclesiae= Ein Gebet wieder die Feinde der Christenheit. Nebenst einem Gebetliedt umb zeitlichen Friede in Kriegesleufften: In den jetzigen schwierigen zeiten zu beten und singen hoch nötig. Pro Schola Magdeburgensi. ([Magdeburg], 1623).

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio Jacobi Franci historische Beschreibung aller denckwuerdigen Historien/ so sich hin und wider in Europa/ in hoch und nider Teutschland/ auch in Franckreich/ Schott unnd Engeland/ Hispanien/ Hungarn/ Polen / Siebenbuergen / Wallachey / Molddaw /Tuerckey / u. hierzwischen nechstverscheiner Franckfurter Fastenmessz biß auff Herbstmessz dieses 1618 verlauffen und zugetragen (Frankfurt am Main, 1618).

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio Jacobi Franci historische Beschreibung aller denckwuerdigen Historien/ so sich hin und wider in Europa/ in hoch und nider Teutschland/ auch in Franckreich/ Schott unnd Engeland/ Hispanien/ Hungarn/ Polen / Siebenbuergen / Wallachey / Molddaw /Tuerckey / u. hierzwischen nechstverscheiner Franckfurter Herbstmessz biß auff Fastenmessz dieses 1619 Jahrs verlauffen und zugetragen (Frankfurt am Main, 1619).

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio Warhafftige Beschreibung aller Furmem(-) und gedenckwürdigen Historien/ so sich hin und wider in Europa/ in hoch und nider Teutschland/ auch in Franckreich/ Schott unnd Engeland/ Hispanien/ Hungarn/ Polen / Siebenbürgen / Wallachey / Molddaw /Tuerckey / u.

hierzwischen nechstverscheiner Franckfurter Fastenmessz biß auff Herbstmessz dieses 1619 Jahrs verlauffen und zugetragen (Frankfurt am Main, 1619).

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio : Warhafftige Beschreibung aller Furnemi[n] gedenckwürdigen Historien/ so sich hin unnd wider in Europa/ in hoch unnd nider Teutschland/ auch in Franckreich/ Schott- unnd Engeland/ Hispanien/ Hungarn/ Polen/ Siebenbürgen/ Wallachey/ Moldaw/ Türckey/ [et]c. hierzwischen nechstverschiener Franckfurter Herbstmesß biß auff Fastenmesß dieses 1622. Jahrs verlauffen (Frankfurt am Main, 1620).

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio : Jacobi Franci Historische Beschreibung aller denckwürdigen Historien/ so sich hin und wider in Europa/ in hoch und nider Teutschland/ auch in Franckreich/ Schott- unnd Engeland/ Hispanien/ Hungarn/ Polen/ Siebenbürgen/ Wallachey/ Moldaw/ Türckey/ [et]c. hierzwischen nechstverschiener Franckfurter Fastenmesß biß auff Herbstmesß dieses 1622. Jahrs verlauffen und zugetragen (Frankfurt am Main, 1620).

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio : Warhafftige Beschreibung aller Furnemi[n] gedenckwürdigen Historien/ so sich hin unnd wider in Europa/ in hoch unnd nider Teutschland/ auch in Franckreich/ Schott- unnd Engeland/ Hispanien/ Hungarn/ Polen/ Siebenbürgen/ Wallachey/ Moldaw/ Türckey/ [et]c. hierzwischen nechstverschiener Franckfurter Herbstmesß biß auff Fastenmesß dieses 1621. Jahrs verlauffen (Frankfurt am Main, 1621).

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio : Jacobi Franci Historische Beschreibung aller denckwürdigen Historien/ so sich hin und wider in Europa/ in hoch und nider Teutschland/ auch in Franckreich/ Schott- unnd Engeland/ Hispanien/ Hungarn/ Polen/ Siebenbürgen/ Wallachey/ Moldaw/ Türckey/ [et]c. hierzwischen nechstverschiener Franckfurter Fastenmesß biß auff Herbstmesß dieses 1621. Jahrs verlauffen und zugetragen (Frankfurt am Main, 1621).

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio : Warhafftige Beschreibung aller Furnemi[n] gedenckwürdigen Historien/ so sich hin unnd wider in Europa/ in hoch unnd nider Teutschland/ auch in Franckreich/ Schott- unnd Engeland/ Hispanien/ Hungarn/ Polen/ Siebenbürgen/ Wallachey/ Moldaw/ Türckey/ [et]c. hierzwischen nechstverschiener Franckfurter Herbstmesß biß auff Fastenmesß dieses 1622. Jahrs verlauffen (Frankfurt am Main, 1622).

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio : Jacobi Franci Historische Beschreibung aller denckwürdigen Historien/ so sich hin und wider in Europa/ in hoch und nider Teutschland/ auch in Franckreich/ Schott- unnd Engeland/ Hispanien/ Hungarn/ Polen/ Siebenbürgen/ Wallachey/ Moldaw/ Türckey/ [et]c. hierzwischen nechstverschiener Franckfurter Fastenmesß biß auff Herbstmesß dieses 1622. Jahrs verlauffen und zugetragen (Frankfurt am Main, 1622).

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio : Warhafftige Beschreibung aller Fürneme[n] gedenckwürdigen Historien/ so sich hin unnd wider in Europa/ in hoch unnd nider Teutschland/ auch in Franckreich/ Schott- unnd Engeland/ Hispanien/ Hungarn/ Polen/ Siebenbürgen/ Wallachey/ Moldaw/ Türckey/ [et]c. hierzwischen nechstverschiener Franckfurter Herbstmessz biß auff Fastenmessz dieses 1623. Jahrs verlauffen und zugetragen (Frankfurt am Main, 1623).

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio : Jacobi Franci Historische Beschreibung aller denckwürdigen Historien/ so sich hin und wider in Europa/ in hoch und nider Teutschland/ auch in Franckreich/ Schott- unnd Engeland/ Hispanien/ Hungarn/ Polen/ Siebenbürgen/ Wallachey/ Moldaw/ Türckey/ [et]c. hierzwischen nechstverschiener Franckfurter Fastenmesß biß auff Herbstmesß dieses 1623. Jahrs verlauffen und zugetragen (Frankfurt am Main, 1623).

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio : Warhafftige Beschreibung aller fürnemi[n] unnd gedenckwürdigen Historien/ so sich hin unnd wider in Europa/ in hoch unnd nider Teutschland/ auch in Franckreich/ Schott- unnd Engeland/ Hispanien/ Hungarn/ Polen/ Siebenbürgen/ Wallachey/ Moldaw/ Türckey/ [et]c. hierzwischen nechstverschiener Franckfurter Herbstmesß biß auff Fastenmesß dieses 1624. Jahrs verlauffen und zugetragen (Frankfurt am Main, 1624).

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio : Jacobi Franci Historische Beschreibung aller denckwürdigen Historien/ so sich hin und wider in Europa/ hoch und nider Teutschland/ auch in Franckreich/ Schott- unnd Engeland/ Hispanien/ Hungarn/ Polen/ Siebenbürgen/ Wallachey/ Moldaw/ Türckey/ [et]c. vor und hierzwischen nechstverschiener Franckfurter Fastenmesß biß auff Herbstmesß dieses 1624. Jahrs verlauffen und zugetragen (Frackfurt am Main, 1624).

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio : Warhafftige Beschreibung aller Fürnemi[n] unnd gedenckwürdigen Historien/ so sich hin und wider in Europa/ in hoch und nider Teutschland/ auch in Franckreich/ Schott- unnd Engeland/ Hispanien/ Indien/ Hungarn/ Polen/ Siebenbürgen/ Wallachey/ Moldaw/ Türckey/ [et]c. vor und hierzwischen nechstverschiener Franckfurter Herbstmessz/ biß auff Fastenmessz dieses 1625. Jahrs verlauffen und zugetragen (Frankfurt am Main, 1625).

Historicae Relationis Semestralis Continuatio : Jacobi Franci Historische Beschreibung aller gedenckwürdigen Historien/ so sich hin und wider in Europa/ Hoch- und NiderTeutschlandt/ auch in Franckreich/ Schott- und Engellandt/ Hispanien/ Hungarn/ Polen/ Siebenbürgen/ Wallachey/ Moldaw/ Türckey/ [et]c. Von jüngstverwichener Franckfurter Fastenmeß/ biß auff gegenwertige Herbstmeß dieses 1625. Jahrs verlauffen/ und zugetragen (Frankfurt am Main, 1625).

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio Oder Warhafftige Beschreibung aller denckwürdigen Historien denckwürdigen Historien/ so sich hin und wider in Europa/ in hoch und nider Teutschland/ auch in Franckreich/ Schott- unnd Engeland/ Hispanien/ Indien/ Hungarn/ Polen/ Siebenbürgen/ Wallachey/ Moldaw/ Türckey/ [et]c. vor und hierzwischen nechstverschiener Franckfurter Herbstmesß/ biß auff Fastenmesß dieses 1626. Jahrs verlauffen und zugetragen (Frankfurt am Main, 1626).

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio, Jacobi Franci Historische Beschreibung aller gedenckwürdigen Historien/ so sich hin und wider in Europa/ in Hoch und Nider Teutschland/ auch in Franckreich/ Schott: und Engelland/ Hispanien/ Indien/ Hungarn/ Polen/ Siebenbürgen/ Wallachey/ Moldau/ Türckey/ [et]c. vor und hierzwischen nechstverschiener Franckfurter Fastenmeß biß auff Herbstmeß dieses 1626. Jahrs verlauffen und zu getragen (Frankfurt am Main, 1626).

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio, Oder Warhafftige Beschreibung aller Furneme[n] bung (sic) *aller denckwürdigen Historien/ so sich hin und wider in Europa/ in hoch und nider Teutschland/ auch ist Franckreich/ Schott unnd Engelland/ Hispanien/ Indien/ Hungarn/ Polen/ Preussen ... vor und hierzwischen nechstverschiener Leiptziger Michaelismeß/ biß auff jetzige New Jahrsmeß dieses 1627. Jahrs verlauffen und zugetragen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1627).

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio : Jacobi Franci Historische Beschreibung aller denckwürdigen Historien/ so sich hin und wider in Europa ... vor und hierzwischen nechstverschiener Franckfurter Fastenmessz biß auff Herbstmessz/ dieses 1627. Jahrs verlauffen und zugetragen (Frankfurt am Main, 1627).

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio, Jacobi Franci Historische Beschreibung aller denckwürdigen Historien/ so sich hin und wider in Europa/ in hoch und nider Teutschland/ auch in Franckreich/ Engelland und Schottland/ Hispanien/ Indien/ Hungarn/ Polen/ Preussen/ Siebenbürgen/ Wallachey/ Moldaw/ Türckey/ [et]c. vor und hierzwischen nechstverschiener Franckfurter Herbstmesß 1627. biß auff Fastenmesß/ dieses 1628. Jahrs verlauffen und zugetragen (Frankfurt am Main, 1628).

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio, Jacobi Franci Historische Beschreibung aller denckwürdigen Geschichten/ so sich hin und wider in Europa/ in hoch und nider Teutschland/ auch in Franckreich/ Engelland und Schottland/ Hispanien/ Indien/ Hungarn/ Polen/ Preussen/ Siebenbürgen/ Wallachey/ Moldaw/ Türckey/ [et]c. vor und hierzwischen nechstverschiener Franckfurter Fastenmesß/ biß auf Herbstmesß dieses 1628. Jahrs verlauffen und zugetragen (Frankfurt am Main, 1628).

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio : Jacobi Franci Historische Beschreibung aller denckwürdigen Geschichten/ so sich hin und wider in Europa/ in hoch und nider Teutschland/ auch in Franckreich/ Engelland und Schottland/ Hispanien/ Indien/ Hungarn/ Polen/ Preussen/ Sachsen/ Siebenbürgen/ Wallachey/ Moldaw/ Türckey/ [et]c. vor und hierzwischen nechstverschienene Franckfurter Herbstmesß 1628. biß auff Fastenmesß dieses 1629. Jahrs/ verlauffen und zugetragen (Frankfurt am Main, 1629).

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio, Jacobi Franci Historische Beschreibung aller denckwürdigen Geschichten/ so sich hin und wider in Europa/ in hoch und nider Teutschland/ auch in Franckreich/ Engelland und Schottland/ Hispanien/ Indien/ Hungarn/ Polen/ Preussen/ Siebenbürgen/ Wallachey/ Moldaw/ Türckey/ [et]c. vor und hierzwischen nechstverschienener Franckfurter Fastenmessz biß auff Herbstmessz dieses 1629. Jahrs/ verlauffen und zugetragen : Alles auß uberschickten glaubwürdigen Schrifften unnd eygener Erfahrung/ beneben etlichen Kupfferstücken (Frankfurt am Main, 1629).

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio : Jacobi Franci Historische Beschreibung aller denckwürdigen Geschichten/ so sich hin und wider in Europa/ in hoch und nider Teutschland/ auch in Franckreich/ Engelland/ Italien/ Hispanien/ Indien/ Hungarn/ Polen/ Preussen/ Siebenbürgen/ Wallachey/ Moldaw/ Türckey/ [et]c. vor und hierzwischen nechstverschienener Franckfurter Fastenmesß biß auff Herbstmesß dieses 1630. Jahrs/ verlauffen und zugetragen (Frankfurt am Main, 1630).

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio : Jacobi Franci Historische Beschreibung aller denckwürdigen Geschichten/ so sich hin und wider in Europa/ in hoch und nider Teutschland/ auch in Franckreich/ Engelland und Schottland/ Hispanien/ Indien/ Hungarn/ Polen/ Preussen/ Siebenbürgen/ Wallachey/ Moldaw/ Türckey/ [et]c. vor und hierzwischen nechstverschienener Franckfurter Herbstmesß 1629. biß auff Fastenmesß dieses 1630. Jahrs/ verlauffen und zugetragen (Frankfurt am Main, 1630).

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio : Jacobi Franci Historische Beschreibung aller denckwürdigen Geschichten/ so sich hin und wider in Europa/ in hoch und nider Teutschland/ auch in Franckreich/ Engelland/ Italien/ Hispanien/ Indien/ Hungarn/ Polen/ Preussen/ Siebenbürgen/ Wallachey/ Moldaw/ Türckey/ [et]c. vor und hierzwischen nechstverschienener Franckfurter Herbstmesß 1630. biß auff Fastenmesß dieses 1631. Jahrs/ verlauffen und zugetragen (Frankfurt am Main, 1631).

Théophraste Renaudot, *Recueil des Gazettes de l'année 1631, dedié au Roy avec une preface servant à l'intelligence des choses qui y sont contenuës* (Paris, 1632).

Paul Röber, *Vindiciae adiaphorias Altarium Rettung Christlicher Freyheit/ an*

Rechtmessigen gebrauch der Altarn/ Bey Einweyhung Eines Newen Altars oder KirchenTisches/ zu Kolwitz im ErtzStifft Magdeburg. Sampt Bescheidentlicher erörterung/ was Gegentheil hierwider fürbringt im SacramentSpiegel (Magdeburg, 1619).

Georg Rollenhagen, *Vom Reichen Manne / undd Armen Lazaro Neben der Leichpredigt Zu Magdeburg gespielet im Monat Augusto etc. Jtzung aber auffs newe ubersehen/ Corrigiert/ und an vielen orten gebessert* (Magdeburg, 1622) .

Simon Schardius *Comprehend. quae sub Imperio Caroli V. usque ad Ferdinandi I. acciderunt* (*Historicum opus in IV tomos divisum, Vol. II,* Basel, 1574).

Elias Andreas Schubart, *Archiepiscopatus parthenopyrgicus secularisatus vel novus ducatus magdeburgicus...* (Halle, 1681).

Christian Gilbert de Spaignart, *Die Ander Theologische Müntzfrage/ Was Evangelische Christfromme Obrigkeiten/ bey jetzigem entstandenem bösen Müntzen/ in acht nehmen sollen/ damit sie/ so viel müglich/ ihres Gewissens pflegen können* (Magdeburg, 1621).

Christian Gilbert de Spaignart, *Bußspiegel nach Anweisung vnd Erklärung der sieben Bußpsalmen des Königlichen Propheten Davids / ... beschrieben vnd ... in Druck gegeben* (Magdeburg, 1623).

[Christian Gilbert de Spaignart] *Der fromme Häuptman zu Capernaum. Das ist: Ein schön Tugendspiegel/ darinnen sich billich heute alle KriegsObristen/ Capitäns/ Häuptleute/ und dergleichen bespiegeln solten/ mit Ehren und Redlichkeit ihr Ampt zu verwalten: Jetzo auß erheblichen ursachen in Druck verfertiget* ([s.l.], 1628).

Christian Gilbert de Spaignart, *Geist vnd Weltliches Schulwerck In Sieben Predigten verfasset/ Vnd sonderlich bey jetzigen Zeiten nothwendiglich zu betrachten* (Magdeburg, Boel, [1622]).

Christian Gilbert de Spaignart, *Kriegs Religion, Darin des heutigen und alten Biblischen Kriegswesens beschreibung und vergleichung, ... gewiesen wird* (Hamburg, 1628).

Christian Gilbert de Spaignart, *Signum Gratitudinis, Coram sanctissima Benignissimi DEI Ara pacificatoria/ Et Splendidissima Legagtionis Hanseaticae corona interpositoria erectum, ac Ipsis Legatis Spectassimis VIRIS Magnificis, Noblissimus, consultissimis, amplissimis* [c. 1629].

Christian Gilbert de Spaignart, *Theologische EydesHandlung/ Zu nothwendiger Unterrichtung/ allen den jenigen Christen/ die darmit umb zugehen haben* (Magdeburg, 1622) .

Christian Gilbert de Spaignart, *Theologische Müntzfrage/ Ob Christliche Evangelische Obrigkeiten/ umb ihres eigen Nutzes willen/ die Müntz von Zeit zu Zeiten/ mit gutem Gewissen/ schlechter und geringer können machen lassen?* (Magdeburg, 1621).

Christian Gilbert de Spaignart, *Theologisch Wächterhörnlein/ oder Warnung/ Wider das eingelegte Fewer/ der selbst gewachsenen newen Propheten und Rosencreutzbrüder/ damit sie sich unterstehen die Christliche Kirchen anzuzünden/ und abzubrennen/ Auff vielfeltiges begeren gerichtet und geschrieben* (Wittenberg, 1620) .

Christian Gilbert de Spaignart, *Viererley Acker Menschlicher Hertzen/ in der Kirchen Gottes auff Erden. Am Sonntag Sexagesima, aus dem ordentlichen Evangelio Luc. 8* (Magdeburg, 1621) .

Joachim Schmidt, *Oratiuncula De Edittha Angliae Regina, Imperatrice Romana ...* (Magdeburg, 1625).

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Summarischer Bericht und Inhalt/ Der gantzen Belägerung der weitberümbten See und Hense-Stadt Strallsunde .... Kürtzlich verfasset und beschrieben in diesem 1628. Jahre (Magdeburg, 1628).

Christian Tholde, *Postilla Logica In Evangelia Dominicalia Totius Anni:. In Quibus I. Textus Sacri Per Analysin topice, ... resolvuntur. II. In Scholiis Obscuriora, ... III. Locorum Communium Theologicorum, ... tractantur* (Magdeburg, 1628)

Turculenta (sic) Expugnatio Sanguinolentumque Excidium Magdeburgicum Das ist/ Kurtzer jedoch eigentlicher unnd warhaffter Bericht von der erschrecklichen Eroberung/ blutigen und fewrigen Zerstörung der Stadt Magdeburg/ wie dieselbe vom Graffen von Tylli belagert/ bestürmet/ erobert und in Asche geleget worden ([S.l.], 1631).

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Virgae Magdeburgenses In Beanum Alvenslebianum Daß ist Gebürliche Abzüchtigung des Alten Alvenschlebenschen Esels Johannis Schraderi/ welcher newlicherzeit aus Thumbkühner/ Hirnwütender Weisheit sich für einen Richter in der Magdeburgischen entstandener Streitsache auffgeworffen und angegeben (Magdeburg, 1624).

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Votiva Gratulatio Et Grata Precatio Soltquellarum Veteris Scholae ab Ipsius Apolline seu Rectore; & eius Novem Musis Propemptica in Abitum ... Dn. Joannis Bloci[i], Soltq. Phil. Mag. & Poëtae LC. ... sibi a Magdaeburgensibus oblatum, maturabat .. (Magdeburg, 1618).

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Ein Wolmeinendes Bedencken/ Eines getrew eifferigen Patrioten, welches er einer hohen Standes Persohnen ertheilet: Darin enthalten/ welcher gestalt das Primat: vnd Ertzischoffthumb MAGDEBURGK Numehr in einen andern Wolstandt gebracht/ alles ordentlicher bestellet / vnd dasselbe auff allerley arth/ weit besser als zuvor koenne administriret werden (s.l., 1630).

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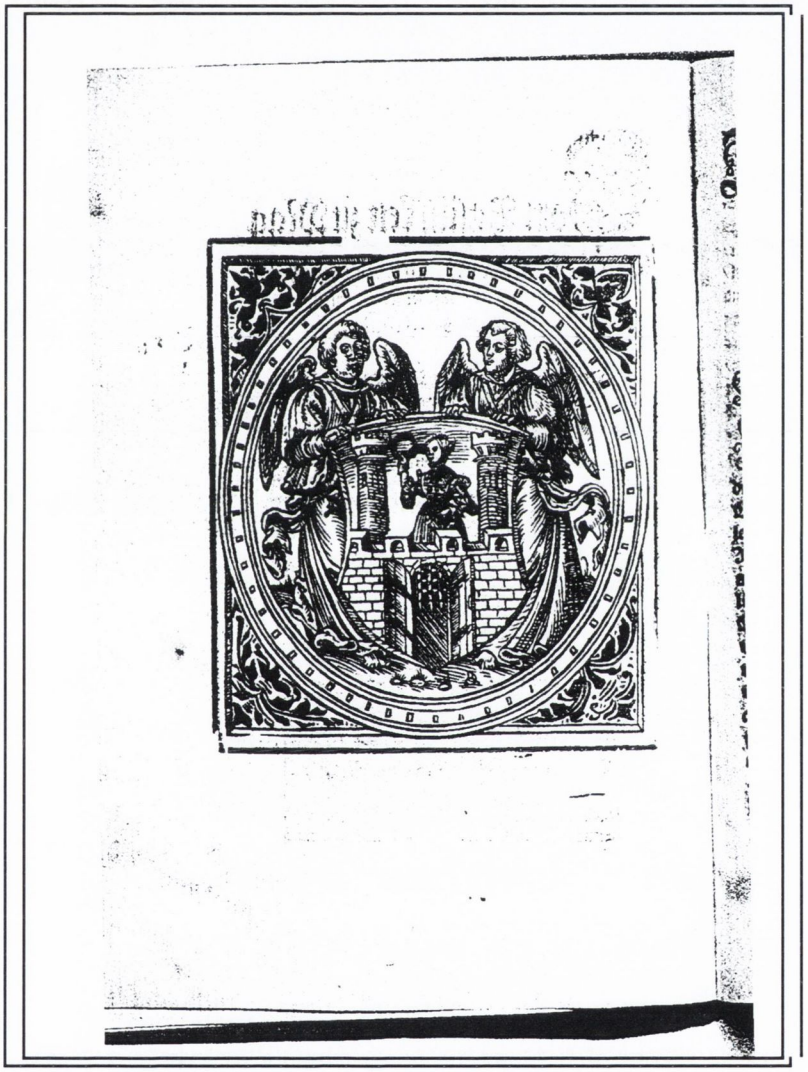
APPENDIX I

MAGDEBURG'S TOWN SHIELD (HELD BY ANGELS).

Reproduced from *Vom Basilisken zu Magdeburg. Item vom Hanen eyhe/ daraus ein Basilisck wirt/ mit seiner Bedeutung aus der heiligen Schrifft.An den standhafftigen Bekenner Christi M. Caspar Aquilae geschriebē/durch ERASMVM ALBERVM.* (Hamburg: Joachim Loew, [c. 1552]). Old Library, Trinity College Dublin, uncatalogued.

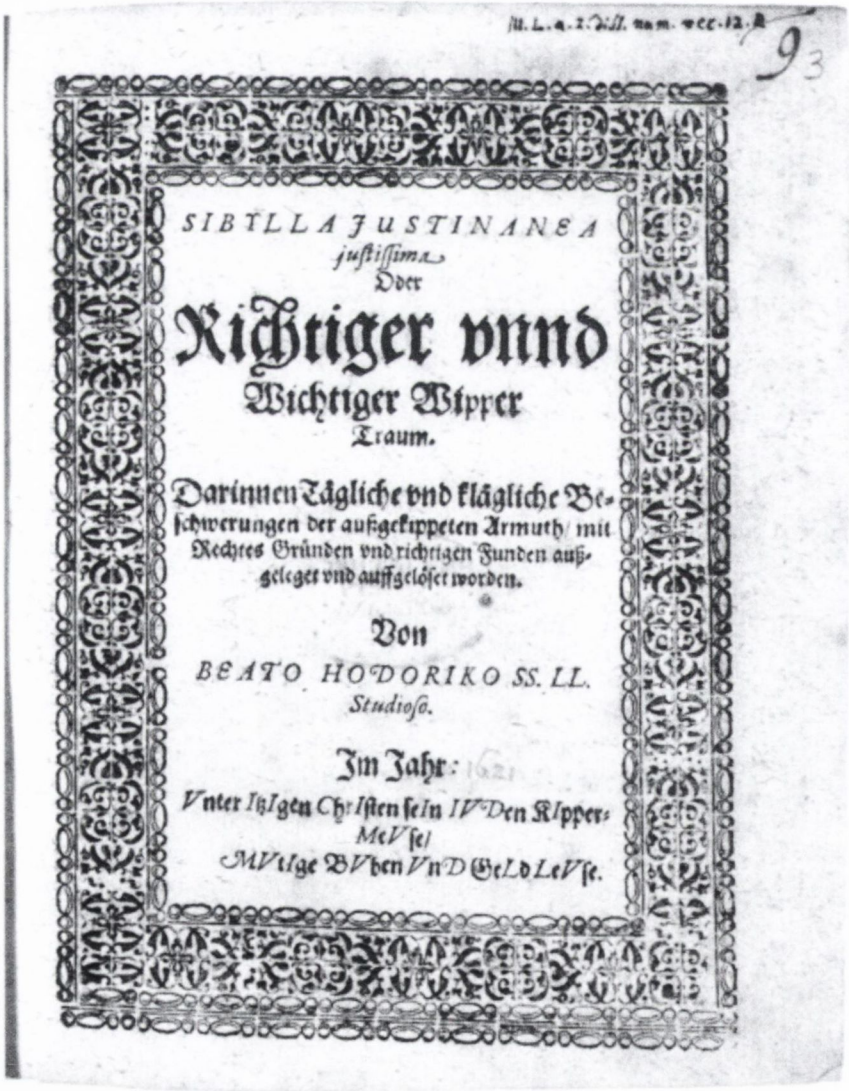


APPENDIX II

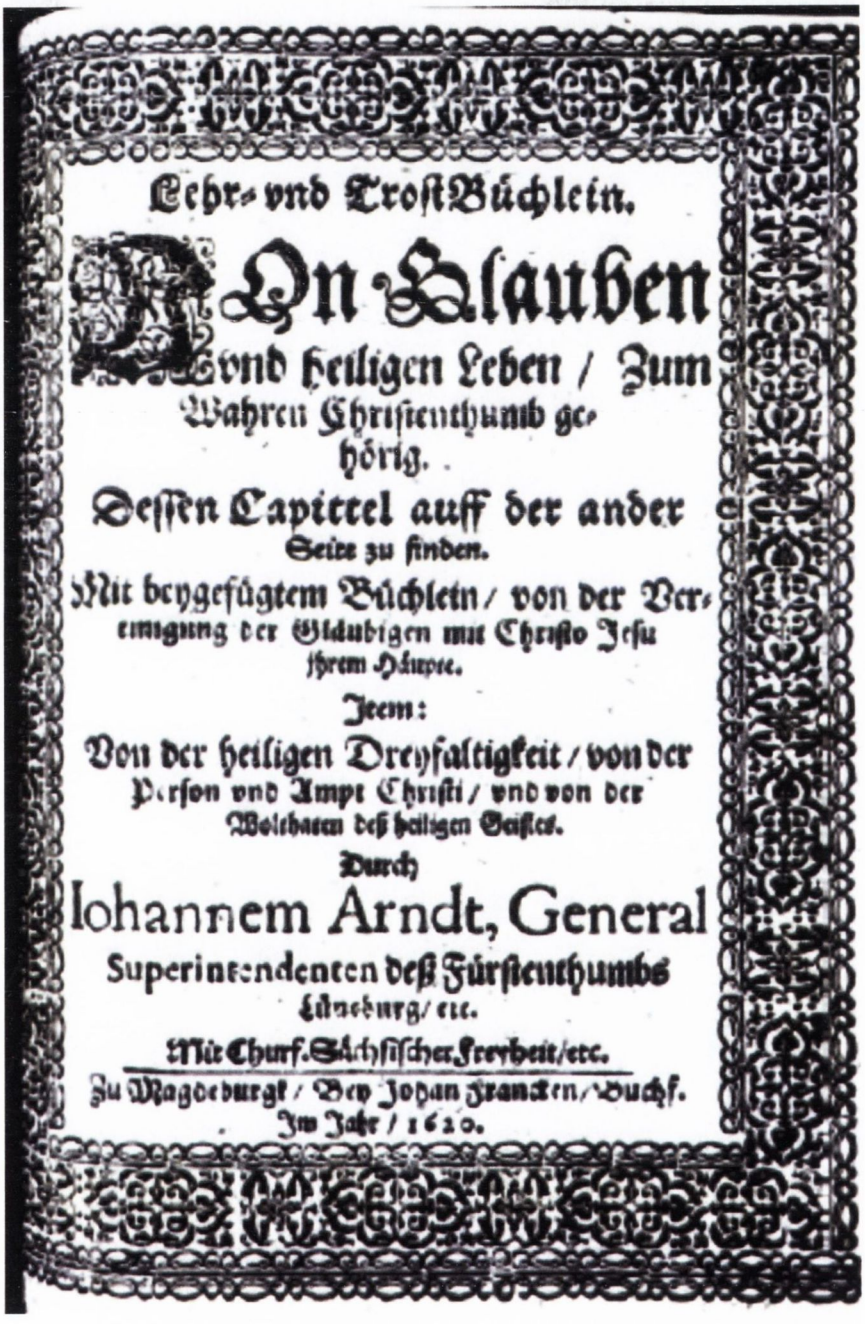
COMPARISON OF ANONYMOUS PRINT WITH THE WORK OF JOHANN FRANCKE.

Hodorikus [Ai]

Beatus Hodorikus, *Sibylla Iustinanea iustissima Oder Richtiger unnd Wichtiger Wipper Traum : Darinnen Tägliche und klägliche Beschwerungen der außgekippeten Armuth/ mit Rechtes Gründen und richtigen Funden außgeleget und auffgelöset worden* ([S.l.=Magdeburg?], 1621)
Gotha: Pol 8° 422a (3)


SIBYLLA JUSTINANEA
justissima
Oder
Richtiger vnnd
Wichtiger Wipper
Traum.
Darinnen Tägliche vnd klägliche Beschwerungen der außgekippeten Armuth/ mit Rechtes Gründen vnd richtigen Funden außgeleget vnd auffgelöset worden.
Von
BEATO HODORIKO SS. LL.
Studioso.
Im Jahr:
Vnter Ihrgen Christen sein IVDen Kipper-
MeVse/
MVtige BVben VnD GeLdLeVse.

Johann Arndt, *Lehr- und TrostBüchlein/ Vom Glauben und heiligen Leben/ zum wahren Christenthumb gehörig: Dessen Capitel auff der ander Seite zu finden Mit beygefügtem Büchlein/ von der Vereinigung der Gläubigen mit Christo Jesu ihrem Häupt. Item: Von der heiligen Dreyfaltigkeit/ von der Person und Ampt Christi/ und von den Wolthaten des H. Geistes/* Durch Johannem Arnd. General Superintendenten des Fürstenthumbs Lüneburg/ etc. (Magdeburg, 1620)
Gotha: Theol 8° 618a/6 (3)


Lehr- vnd TrostBüchlein.

Vom Glauben
vnd heiligen Leben / Zum
Wahren Christenthumb ge-
hörig.

Dessen Capittel auff der ander
Seite zu finden.

Mit beygefügtem Büchlein / von der Ver-
einigung der Gläubigen mit Christo Jesu
jhrem Häupte.

Item:

Von der heiligen Dreyfaltigkeit / von der
Person vnd Ampt Christi / vnd von der
Wolthaten deß heiligen Geistes.

Durch
Iohannem Arndt, General
Superintendenten deß Fürstenthumbs
Lüneburg/ etc.

Mit Churf. Sächsischer Freyheit/ etc.

Zu Magdeburgk / Bey Johan Francken / Buchf.
Im Jahr / 1620.