

Foreign Heroes and Catholic Villains:

Radical Protestant Propaganda of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648)

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**Abstract**

My dissertation examines radical Protestant propaganda of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). It investigates the radicals' depiction of foreign allies of the German Protestants as well as the presentation of German Catholic leaders in pamphlets and broadsheets of the war. Through analysis of representative sources portraying Prince Bethlen Gabor of Transylvania and King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, it examines the arguments used to gain support for foreign Protestant figureheads among the moderates of the Protestant camp. The dissertation also investigates the presentation of Emperor Ferdinand II and Duke Maximilian of Bavaria in order to determine how propagandists denounced German Catholic rulers as no longer worthy of German Protestant allegiance or tolerance. My conclusion demonstrates how radical propagandists sought to change moderate Protestant attitudes towards German Catholic rulers and foreign allies through a cohesive and sophisticated campaign.

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## Introduction

This dissertation examines radical Protestant propaganda of the Thirty Years' War. It focuses on publications which supported foreign allies of the Protestants in the Holy Roman Empire, as well as writing that denounced leading German Catholics. It aims to find out if, and how, radical writers were able to persuade a German Protestant audience to support foreign rulers who intervened in the conflict, and it asks whether the same group of writers was able to argue convincingly that German Catholic leaders should be rejected.

My examination seeks to draw out the details of an ambitious and sophisticated campaign that tried to pressure a moderate German audience into accepting foreign allies and denouncing native German Catholic authorities as hostile enemies. The focus of my work stems from my interest in the role that propaganda played in the Thirty Years' War, and to the extent it contributed to intensifying hostilities between the Protestant and Catholic camps in the Empire. I am particularly interested in the way in which the Protestant camp reacted to foreign powers which claimed to be intervening on its behalf.

While the propaganda on the most famous of these foreign 'assistants', Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, has been the subject of several studies, propaganda on another foreign ally, Bethlen Gabor, Prince of Transylvania, has not. I examine both figures individually and comparatively. By analyzing a range of representative sources, I aim to establish the detail of the campaign to gain support for these foreign rulers and their forces. In addition, I shall examine whether similar propagandistic techniques were employed in the depiction of each ruler. By means of an assessment of the arguments and images used by the propagandists, I will consider the extent to which the propaganda would have been effective in moulding readers' attitudes towards these figures.

The other two figures I examine are Duke Maximilian of Bavaria and Emperor Ferdinand II. Neither of these Catholic leaders has been studied comprehensively from the angle of radical Protestant propaganda. Through an examination of representative sources, I seek to gauge how radical propagandists attempted to change the moderate Protestants' attitudes towards them. I will focus in particular on patterns of repetition which point to a concerted, cohesive campaign designed to forge new attitudes. In the same way that I examine arguments employed to make the foreign allies appear worthy of the respect of moderate German Protestants, so I will ascertain whether exactly the opposite arguments were used in propaganda attacking the German Catholic leaders. Specifically, I will consider whether the repeated criticisms directed at the Duke and the Emperor aimed to alienate these figures from a German Protestant audience.

Finally, I aim to look beyond the individual examples of propaganda with their praise or criticism of the four leaders to consider their overall impact. Were radical propagandists able to convince the audience that invading foreign rulers had the interests of the German Protestants at heart? And were the images and arguments created by radical writers powerful enough to persuade a moderate audience that turning its back on representatives of imperial Catholic authority was the only legitimate option? This gives rise to the important question of whether the representations of German Catholic leaders and the foreign allies were part of an overarching campaign to re-orient the German Protestants towards alternative figures of authority.

### *Who Were the Radicals?*

My investigation focuses on propaganda produced by the radicals of the Protestant camp. But who were the radical Protestants? Put simply, the radicals were a minority of the Protestant camp who produced the majority of its propaganda. They are called radicals because of the attitudes they held, which contrasted with those of the other two factions of the Protestant camp known as the moderates and the conservatives. All three groups were adherents of the Protestant faith, and typically belonged to the Lutheran or Calvinist confessions. What made the groups different from each other was their attitude towards the Catholic authorities of the Empire and whether or not they considered armed defence of their faith to be justifiable. The conservatives of the camp, also known as the quietists, did not believe that resistance to the Emperor was a legitimate action and firmly rejected foreign intervention in the affairs of the Empire. These attitudes stemmed from their belief in the divine right of authorities to rule, and their conviction that God would never allow his flock to perish which therefore meant that resistance was unnecessary. The conservatives did not espouse any particular political programme, and their attitude toward the Emperor himself ranged from an active to moderate support of his policies, even if some among them despaired of the Austrian Habsburg ruler's lack of understanding for them.<sup>1</sup>

The moderate Protestants also desired to remain loyal to Catholic authorities, but differed from the conservatives in that they were prepared to defend their religious and other rights if necessary, particularly if they perceived imperial policies to have been instigated by corrupt elements in the entourage of the Emperor such as his Jesuit advisers. In the wake of

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<sup>1</sup> For further information on this section see Diethelm Böttcher's article 'Propaganda und öffentliche Meinung im protestantischen Deutschland 1628-1636', in *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg. Perspektiven und Strukturen*, ed. by H. U. Rudolf, Wege der Forschung, 451 (1977), pp. 325-67 (pp. 333-5). Henceforth Böttcher.

the Edict of Restitution, the moderates' political programme was somewhat unrealistic: they sought to maintain or to regain their legal and religious rights, if necessary by resisting imperial troops, yet all the while remaining as loyal to the Emperor as possible.<sup>2</sup>

The attitudes of the radicals of the Protestant camp were the total opposite to those held by the conservatives: they called for full and active resistance of Ferdinand II and other political representatives of so-called Habsburg and papal imperialism in the Empire. The radicals justified their stance using resistance theory, i.e. the argument that in any conflict between divine and worldly authorities, one must always decide in favour of God's word. The radicals, like the conservatives, were minorities of the Protestant camp, while the moderates, with viewpoints ranging between both extremes, made up the majority of the Protestant grouping.

Although it is difficult to identify authors due to the fact that most radical Protestant publications were anonymous, Alexander Schmidt has concluded that they were overwhelmingly Protestants of the north of the Empire, and that the majority of them, although not all, were Calvinists. Schmidt believes that their more militant stance vis-à-vis the Emperor and the Catholics stemmed from a very real fear of the Pope and Spain, and had been generated in part by their experience of the Counter-Reformation. These northern Lutherans and Calvinists are thought to have adopted a more patriotic tone in order to justify a rebellion against the Emperor, a leader who they genuinely believed was a threat to their existence. Among the territories which are thought to have harboured these more militant, radical attitudes, are the Palatinate and other lands of the princes of the Protestant Union. The princes of the Union both feared Catholic attack and worried that they may be

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<sup>2</sup> Böttcher, pp. 333-5.

militarily inferior. This caused them to adopt an 'active' approach in producing material to encourage other Protestants not to trust the Emperor or the Catholics.<sup>3</sup>

Indeed, although the radicals produced the vast majority of the Protestant camp's publications, this writing was not directed at their own ranks because there was no need to preach to the converted. Nor were the conservatives the radicals' primary target due to the gulf between their attitudes. This meant that the moderates were the target of the radicals' propaganda, and on two accounts: first, the moderates made up the majority of the camp. In view of this, the radicals sought to propagate their political message among the group that was numerically the strongest. Second, unlike the conservatives, the moderates held some beliefs that were compatible with the radicals' own. In other words, there were already grounds for a consensus between the radical and moderate parties. Their overlapping attitudes included an openness to oppose imperial policy (of course, only in certain circumstances in the moderates' case) as well as their common desire to preserve their religious and other rights.

It must also be borne in mind that at this time the Protestant camp in itself constituted a very large audience. Protestant rulers, for instance, governed many of the central and northern territories of the Empire, including Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, electoral and ducal Saxony, Hessen and the duchy of Braunschweig. Other parts of the Empire which had significant Protestant populations included Bohemia and even parts of Habsburg hereditary

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<sup>3</sup> Alexander Schmidt, *Vaterlandsliebe und Religionskonflikt. Politische Diskurse im Alten Reich (1555-1648)* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 427-8.

territory before Rudolf II and Ferdinand II embarked on a determined campaign of re-Catholicization.<sup>4</sup>

In conclusion, my investigation seeks to demonstrate the ways in which the radicals sought to build on the common ground they shared with the moderates and ultimately to radicalize their viewpoint even further. I am particularly interested in whether the radicals were able to couch arguments powerful enough to convince the moderates that their allegiance to Catholic authority was fruitless or mistaken, and whether — in their quest to bring about change in the Empire through the re-direction of Protestant loyalties — the radicals were able to re-orient the moderates towards alternative leaders, even those coming from abroad.

#### *Reformation Propaganda and Connections to the Thirty Years' War*

After Martin Luther's theses gained notoriety in the Empire due to their bold criticism of the Catholic Church, a propaganda campaign was started in his name that quickly gained momentum. While Martin Luther himself was not engaged in the propagandistic effort, his ideas and actions undoubtedly fuelled the campaign. Luther's writings were spread by those advocating his viewpoint, and his critique fell on fertile ground in the Empire due to the widespread criticisms of the Catholic Church and its practices in the years preceding 1517. The purpose of the campaign was not only to spread the message of Luther's texts, including the primacy of the word of the Bible over the authority of the Catholic Church, but also to defend his actions in public media.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> *The Thirty Years' War*, ed. by Geoffrey Parker, 2nd edn (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 6-7. Henceforth Parker.

<sup>5</sup> Alexander Heintzl, *Propaganda im Zeitalter der Reformation: Persuasive Kommunikation im 16. Jahrhundert* (St Augustin: Gardez!, 1998), p. 216. Henceforth Heintzl.

Although Martin Luther did not compose any broadsheets himself, and only ordered one to be published, he implicitly gave his blessing to the propaganda campaign endorsing Protestantism because he did not publicly distance himself from it. Instead, he allowed his image to be used by the propagandists to further his cause. They made Martin Luther the feature of their campaign,<sup>6</sup> and moulded him, in the public eye, into a people's hero, a saint, and a father of the Church. This made him into both an advertisement for the Protestant cause and its leading figure.<sup>7</sup>

Hans Sachs and Philipp Melanchton are numbered among those who used the priest's writings for propagandistic purposes, selecting texts according to theme for specific audiences, and adapting them to be used in relation to contemporary events.<sup>8</sup>

The success of Luther's ideas in the Empire even took the Wittenberg priest himself by surprise. He had never intended the original theses to be launched into the public sphere, and had only hoped that they would serve as a platform for debate within the Church. Nonetheless, his works quickly struck a chord with the public, and all attempts to suppress his texts failed.<sup>9</sup>

Much of the propaganda came to be centred around the figure of Martin Luther himself. On the one hand he had provided the intellectual content for much of the Protestant propaganda, and on the other his person became the object of intense scrutiny, both in Protestant and Catholic writing. The concentration on Luther and his arguments meant that he and his ideas became well-known in the Empire, despite the fact that his own writing had

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<sup>6</sup> See Robert W. Scribner's chapter 'Images of Luther 1519-25', in *For the Sake of Simple Folk. Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 14-37. Henceforth Scribner.

<sup>7</sup> Heintzl, p. 217.

<sup>8</sup> Heintzl, pp. 215-6.

<sup>9</sup> Heintzl, p. 215.



been directed at intellectuals and the educated, including princes, patricians, the upper bourgeoisie, the clergy and university lecturers.<sup>10</sup>

The use of his ideas by propagandists, however, did not always mean that his text was reproduced as he had originally written it. Depending on the aim of the publisher, his ideas could appear in a modified form, or even radicalized. In any case, it would have been difficult for him to verify the accuracy of publications printed in his defence due to their sheer volume. In fact, the amount of printing sparked by the Reformation was unprecedented and dwarfed everything that had preceded it in both quantity and intensity.<sup>11</sup>

The success of Reformation propaganda was not only due to the chord Luther struck with his critique of the Catholic Church. It was also due to the methods of propagation and a tightly connected network of media. Songs and sermons in support of Luther were spread quickly by broadsheets and pamphlets, and the messages of the broadsheets and pamphlets in turn influenced sermons, songs, and plays in the Empire. Broadsheets and pamphlets were the mass media of the age as they could be produced quickly, cheaply and on a large scale.<sup>12</sup>

Above all, Luther's ideas reached a wide public due to the mass of broadsheets that could be read aloud, sung, or explained to both literate and illiterate audiences. This instigated radical change in the Empire because his ideas had an impact on social, religious, and national questions. They triggered a response among the laity who had listened to his sermons, the educated recipients of his longer texts, and the public reached by the mass

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<sup>10</sup> Heintzl, pp. 215-6.

<sup>11</sup> Heintzl, pp. 215-6.

<sup>12</sup> Heintzl, p. 214.

media campaign. The result was a spread of Protestant ideas that threatened to transform the social order radically.<sup>13</sup> It was consequently the success of the propaganda campaign that paved the way for the acceptance of a new, reformed faith.<sup>14</sup>

As for trends in the Protestant propaganda of the Reformation, two patterns can be made out in the lead-up to the Schmalkaldic War. The first trend is a concentration on the image of the enemy, possibly instigated by Luther's own critical stance toward the Catholic Church. Later, as the idea of the reformed faith took hold, texts produced for public consumption concentrate increasingly on defining Protestantism's own self-image and on solidifying its identity.<sup>15</sup> It was seen by the propagandists to be of crucial importance to focus on the sin and danger posed by the enemy in order to convince the audience that the conflict in the Empire was not just between one priest and the Pope. If the audience did not see Luther's actions to be of personal relevance to them, they would be less inclined to support him. This is why writers widened the parameters of the debate by arguing that Luther was leading a fight against enemies of the Gospel<sup>16</sup> and by extension, of Christ himself. This also helped to protect Protestant leaders from being accused of heresy themselves. In addition to presenting Luther as engaged in a cosmic battle, writers also played on other themes relevant and familiar to the audience at the time, including anti-clericalism, socio-economic complaints, proverbs, biblical images and familiar stereotypes such as darkness and light.<sup>17</sup>

Play on the familiar was part of the Reformation propagandists' strategy because it ensured instant recognition of the images they used, as well as their connotations. In the light of this, they worked with many images from popular culture at the time, including those from

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<sup>13</sup> Heintzl, p. 216.

<sup>14</sup> Heintzl, p. 217.

<sup>15</sup> Heintzl, p. 214.

<sup>16</sup> See Scribner's chapter on this, pp. 37-58.

<sup>17</sup> Scribner, pp. 57-8.

carnival, popular forms of festival, games, insults, pictures of demons and use of grotesque realism.<sup>18</sup> They (i.e. the propagandists) also used and even extended apocalyptic fears that had already been prevalent before the Reformation.<sup>19</sup> This is proof of the way in which Protestant propaganda worked with popular ideas, adapting them to the specific context of Protestantism's battle for survival. In a play on the well-known image of a world turned upside down, the propagandists labelled the Pope to be in reality the anti-Christ, and Luther a warrior against the forces of evil.<sup>20</sup>

As for the second pattern in Reformation propaganda, propagandists sought to solidify the self-image of Protestantism by linking Martin Luther to a range of potent images, including the baptism of Christ, accompanying Christ before the crucifix, and differentiating Catholicism and Protestantism antithetically as a hard law and a hope-bringing gospel, respectively. All of these images helped Protestantism to forge itself an identity as a religion associated with Christ and close to God's word.<sup>21</sup>

When discussing the propaganda of the Reformation, we must not forget the response of the institution that was being attacked by the Protestants, the Catholic Church. Yet in the years leading up to the Council of Trent, and during a time when the Empire was flooded with Protestant publications, Catholic counter-propaganda is conspicuously absent.<sup>22</sup> It seems that the Catholic Church was either unprepared for the force of the Protestant attack in print, or had decided to combat it in other ways. Indeed, representatives of the Catholic Church had initially sought to combat Protestant print with the help of censorship laws, but this approach was evidently ineffective. The lack of response could also be due to the

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<sup>18</sup> See Scribner's chapter on popular culture, pp. 59-95, in particular page 94.

<sup>19</sup> Scribner, pp. 147-8.

<sup>20</sup> See Scribner, pp. 148-90.

<sup>21</sup> See Scribner, pp. 190-229.

<sup>22</sup> Scribner, p. 229.

inability of the Church at that time to engage with the printing press or organize itself: despite the waves of Protestant propaganda flooding the Empire, many Catholics still viewed the printing press with scepticism. This was to their own detriment because the failure of the Catholics to respond only helped the Protestant campaign: the practically inaudible voice of the Catholics in public media allowed Protestant ideas to spread across virtually the whole Empire, unimpeded and unchallenged. The Catholic Church was only able to flex its own propagandistic muscle much later in the century, after it had initiated the internal reforms at the Council of Trent. Only then, and largely thanks to the dynamic and intransigent energies of the Jesuits, did the Catholic Church begin to contest Protestant ideas effectively in counter-propaganda.<sup>23</sup>

#### *Magdeburg and the Schmalkaldic Wars*

The Schmalkaldic Wars erupted in the middle of the sixteenth century, and were a battle of wills between the Emperor and the Protestant princes of the Schmalkaldic League, initially formed in 1531. The main controversy concerned the right of the Protestants to exercise their faith and the threat that Emperor Charles V posed to the liberties of Protestants living in the Empire. Although the first war was relatively short-lived, lasting from 1546 to 1547, and ended with a Protestant defeat, it was accompanied by a Protestant propaganda campaign that has many links to the later propaganda of the Thirty Years' War. One of the centres of the propagandistic campaign was Magdeburg, a free imperial city, which refused to surrender even after the war was over,<sup>24</sup> and openly defied Charles V until 1552.

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<sup>23</sup> Heintzl, pp. 214-5.

<sup>24</sup> Nathan Rein, *The Chancery of God: Protestant Print, Polemic and Propaganda against the Empire, Magdeburg 1546-1551* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 44. Henceforth Rein.

From the beginning of the war and until 1551, the propagandists of Magdeburg worked with religious argument in order to give meaning to the city's battle and to provide the policy of its leaders with a sense of direction. Their writing portrayed the Catholic enemy as the opponents of God's word, who desired to reduce religion to a meaningless spectacle. The propaganda argued that the Catholics wanted to pervert the Christian faith into a tool to do the bidding of the powerful, to limit its sphere of influence, and to rob it of its transformative power capable of changing the world.<sup>25</sup> In addition, Magdeburg's propagandists used resistance theory to legitimize the city's disobedience, and argued that the war effort of the Imperialists, described by the Catholics as a peace-keeping mission, was nothing more than a strategy being used to wipe out the Protestant faith. It also claimed that this crusade to suppress Protestantism was evidence of a plan to wipe out the ancient traditions that respected the Imperial constitution and German freedoms.<sup>26</sup> Lastly, and in an echo of the presentation of Martin Luther earlier in the century, one of the leaders of the League, Johann Friedrich of Saxony (1503-1554) was glorified in Magdeburg's propaganda for his self-sacrifice, his code of honour, and his constancy to his faith, land, and people. In sum, propaganda of the Schmalkaldic War made the notion of defending the Gospel seem synonymous with the defence of a whole way of life, encompassing theological beliefs, moral principles, and political traditions.<sup>27</sup>

#### *Links to Propaganda of the Thirty Years' War*

The Reformation propaganda has several close links to Protestant publications of the Thirty Years' War. First, the figure of Luther looms large. Just as Luther's image as a morally irreproachable defender of the faith is used to lend legitimacy to the Reformation, so it lent

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<sup>25</sup> Rein, p. 236.

<sup>26</sup> Rein, p. 89.

<sup>27</sup> Rein, p. 89.

support to Sweden's intervention in the Thirty Years' War: this is attested to by broadsheets in which Luther is depicted alongside the Swedish King and the Saxon Elector Johann Georg I. The audience is reminded of the reformer's virtue and of his fight against the abuses of a corrupt Catholic Church. The propagandists' intention is to give the audience a sense of belonging to a Protestant tradition of virtue and of being engaged in a battle supported by God. Like the early Protestants of the sixteenth century they, too, face the forces of the anti-Christ represented by the Roman Catholic Church. The reoccurrence of Luther's image in the propaganda of the Schmalkaldic Wars and the Thirty Years' War endowed the Protestant struggle with a sense of continuity: the figure of Luther reminded the audience that they were engaged in a long-term battle against a deadly enemy, and that they must follow Luther's example and remain steadfast. In addition, the association with Luther of the defenders of the Protestant faith, including Johann Friedrich of Saxony, Johann Georg I of Saxony, and Gustavus Adolphus, was a method used time and again by propagandists to convince the audience to believe that they belonged to the righteous side of the battle which was supported by God. Continuity and, indeed, repetition were also important features of Reformation propaganda.

Second, while the leaders of the Protestants were made to seem synonymous with piety, constancy and morality, representatives of Catholicism were deliberately associated with worldliness and moral corruption. This harsh image of the enemy is particularly prevalent in propaganda of the first Schmalkaldic War, as well as in the later Thirty Years' War, when battles are given eschatological meaning: they are portrayed as part of the final contest between good and evil, God and the Devil. The Catholics are depicted as those who wish to pervert the true faith, as subjects of the anti-Christ incarnate, the Pope, and as being engaged in diabolical attempts to exterminate Protestantism.

The third strain of argument evident in the Protestant propagandistic campaigns of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is the idea that the Protestants are engaging in battle not only to preserve the true Christian faith, but also their German rights, freedoms, and traditions. In other words, propagandists used both religious and political arguments to try to convince the audience that their whole way of life was in danger. Recurring themes include an Emperor undermining German freedoms and the Imperial constitution, and a Pope seeking to subject the Empire and Europe to his Roman Catholic yoke. Propaganda of the Schmalkaldic and the Thirty Years' War in particular encourages mistrust of the Emperor and of his wars led in the name of peace-keeping, which are depicted as being nothing other than well-hidden plans to gain the upper hand over the Protestants. Propaganda of both these wars also justifies rebellion using resistance theory, the idea of legitimate defence in emergency situations, and attempted to legitimize its position in legal terms. This is explained in more detail below.

### *What Was Resistance Theory?*

Resistance theory developed from the need to preserve the rule of law during the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Up until the eve of the Thirty Years' War, there were three understandings of resistance theory that were prevalent in early modern society. These were: a right to resist because of social injustice, the right to defend oneself in emergency situations, and a community's natural right to defend itself in order to uphold the law. All three variants of the right to resist were advocated by reformed and Lutheran writers in the field of political theory. They argued that the right to resist gave legal justification to the use of collective and organized force even against those from higher social classes. This meant that even resistance of a territorial lord or an imperial prince could

be justified if they were perceived to be a threat to the legal and religious order of a territory.<sup>28</sup>

Yet how was the right to resist compatible with the idea that subjects should obey their rulers, who were believed to have been placed in positions of authority by God, and who possessed a divine right to rule? The issue is closely connected to theories of when to obey godly, and when to obey worldly authority. Christian clergy stressed that in all circumstances or in the case of conflict between the two powers, God's word must have primacy. This is summed up well in a text by Thomas Rorer (1521-82), a priest from the county of Ortenburg.<sup>29</sup> He states that those placed in authority by God must also perform their duty by keeping to his rules. The Christian community can only rely on God's benevolence and aid if they keep to his commandments, and so their observance by rulers ensures the protection of the community from outside attack. If the prince neglects his Christian duties, then he places his subjects in danger and can no longer be considered to be fulfilling his duty as a Christian protector. This releases his subjects from their duty of obeying him. Writing in his *Fürstenspiegel* on the relationship between emperor, clergy, and the laity, he writes: "Wir wurden gelehret / dem gewalt / so von Gott ist / ehre zu beweisen / Aber doch solche / die dem Glauben nit zuwider ist." If the authorities fail to uphold Christian values, Rorer's instructions are clear: "da sollen die Unterthanen wissen / das sie zu gehorsamen nicht schuldig sind."<sup>30</sup> This resistance theory paved the way, in the

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<sup>28</sup> The discussion in this paragraph is based on Robert von Friedeburg, 'Welche Wegscheide in die Neuzeit? Widerstandsrecht, "Gemeiner Mann" und konfessioneller Landespatritismus zwischen "Münster" und "Magdeburg"', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 270 (2000), 561-616, p. 616. Henceforth Friedeburg.

<sup>29</sup> Luise Schorn-Schütte, 'Politische Kommunikation in der Frühen Neuzeit: Obrigkeitskritik im Alten Reich (Political Communication in Early Modern History: Critique of Authorities in the Holy Roman Empire)', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 32, (2006), 273-314, p. 291. Henceforth Schütte.

<sup>30</sup> Schütte, pp. 307-8.



Thirty Years' War, for Protestant subjects to rebel against worldly authorities in the Empire, including the Emperor, by arguing that resistance was legitimate in face of rulers neglecting their Christian duties and threatening the religious and legal order of the land.

### *Propaganda Concept*

The term 'propaganda', as it is used in this thesis, relates to Robert W. Scribner's discussion of the 'adversarial propaganda' of the Reformation. He used the term to connote publications that aimed to reduce complex issues into black and white ones, and to create stereotypes that categorized groups of people as belonging to two opposing camps, with opposite qualities. This 'adversarial propaganda' used categories of the absolute in order to convince the audience to move in a certain direction: normally further into a position of support for one camp, and further towards an outright rejection of the opposing one. This type of propaganda presented figures and events as either wholly good, or wholly bad, and was not simply designed to change a person's superficial opinion on a topic, but to bring about changes in their behaviour and to influence their actions. Although the effects of such propaganda included a heightened sense of solidarity with one's own camp, one of its principal purposes was to shift the 'undecided' or 'uncommitted' among the audience to decide whose side they supported in a conflict.<sup>31</sup>

Scribner's definition of propaganda certainly fits the paradigm of the propaganda of the Thirty Years' War. This is firstly because the Empire at that time had once again become a battle ground, in which two (or arguably more) camps were fighting for control of the Empire and sought to gain the support of the public. Scribner's definition of propaganda also holds true for the material produced in the Thirty Years' War because the methods and

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<sup>31</sup> For information contained in this section see Scribner, pp. Xxi-xxix, 1-14.

strategies of Protestant propagandists were still closely connected to those of the Reformation. Propagandists deliberately worked with images from popular culture and symbols with well-known meaning in order to polarize the audience and persuade them to support their cause. Their campaign was not new in the sense of creating a range of new symbols, but rather in adapting them to a new context so that they would be understood quickly and successfully. These images included, among others, the fool, operations, emblems, the theatre, Christ, the anti-Christ and the devil, mythological and historical figures, the demonic and the monstrous. In addition, propagandists of the Thirty Years' War also used the same strategies as their Protestant predecessors had done: they presented events in eschatological or dichotomous terms, exposed incongruities, based their arguments on comparisons to events and figures of the Bible, vilified the enemy as heretical, glorified their own leaders as paradigms of virtue, and presented contemporary events in the framework of salvation history. Consequently, references to propaganda in this thesis will be based on Scribner's definition of adversarial propaganda in his discussion of the Protestant publications during the Reformation.

*Broadsheets, Pamphlets, and Protestant Propaganda of the Holy Roman Empire in the Seventeenth Century*

As a preface to the analysis of Protestant propaganda in the body of the dissertation, this section provides a brief outline of the circumstances and general mechanics of propaganda production and consumption in the Empire in the early modern period. The major cities of propaganda production were Frankfurt am Main, Leipzig, Augsburg and Nuremberg.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> For further information see Maria Pfeffer's sections 'Flugblatt als Massenkommunikationsmittel', 'Verfasser, Produktion, Zensur, Vertrieb, Preise' and 'Strukturelle Merkmale' in *Flugschriften zum Dreißigjährigen Krieg. Aus der Häberlin-Sammlung der Thurn- und Taxisschen Hofbibliothek* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1993), pp. 12-17, p. 14. Henceforth Pfeffer.

Particularly important centres of Protestant propaganda production included Hamburg, Heidelberg, Bratislava, Ulm and Stralsund. The authors of the propaganda were typically well-educated and Protestant,<sup>33</sup> and the majority of the publications were printed anonymously because it was an offence to publish criticism of the Emperor and his policies.<sup>34</sup> The result of this is that it is almost impossible to trace the authorship of much of the material investigated in the dissertation. A few authors and commissioners of propaganda, however, are known. Commissioners of propaganda include, among others, princes and electors, such as Friedrich V of the Palatinate and Johann Georg of Saxony, kings, including Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, and town authorities, for example those of Ulm and Nuremberg. Other groups that published propaganda include displaced or exiled Protestants, among them those from Bohemia, and printing houses that reproduced Protestant propaganda simply because it was popular and sought to gain profit from stolen or acquired copies of popular works.<sup>35</sup>

After publication, propaganda was often sold in public spaces such as markets, pilgrimage trails, or even during public festivities, by hawkers, travelling illustration salesmen and singing newspaper-sellers.<sup>36</sup> The cheap price of the pamphlets and broadsheets helped them to become the mass media of the age.<sup>37</sup> It is estimated that each item of media cost

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<sup>33</sup> See Esther-Beate Körber's article 'Schreiber und Leser politischer Flugschriften des frühen 17. Jahrhunderts', in *Das Mediensystem im Alten Reich der Frühen Neuzeit (1600-1750)*, ed. by Johannes Arndt and Esther Beate Körber (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), pp. 195-207. Henceforth Körber.

<sup>34</sup> For information on censorship under the emperors see Ulrich Eisenhardt's *Die kaiserliche Aufsicht über Buchdruck, Buchhandel und Presse im im Heiligen Römischen Reich deutscher Nation (1496-1806)* (Karlsruhe: Müller, 1970).

<sup>35</sup> Paas Image, pp. 206-7.

<sup>36</sup> Pfeffer, p. 16.

<sup>37</sup> Ulrich Rosseaux, 'Flugschriften und Flugblätter im Mediensystem des Alten Reiches' in *Das Mediensystem im Alten Reich der Frühen Neuzeit (1600-1750)*, ed. by Johannes Arndt and Esther Beate Körber (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), pp. 99-115, p. 113. Henceforth Rosseaux.

the equivalent to a loaf of bread, or two glasses of beer.<sup>38</sup> The different methods of sale make it difficult to quantify the numbers of people who came into contact with the individual pieces of propaganda. Even though estimates put the number of copies of a broadsheet print-run at between one thousand and one thousand five-hundred and a pamphlet print-run at between eight hundred to one thousand two-hundred,<sup>39</sup> each one of the individual copies could have reached many more people. It is unlikely, for instance, that each piece of propaganda was read only by its purchaser. Broadsheets in particular were often passed around or even resold. In addition, illiterate members of society often paid the newspaper singer to sing the words of a broadsheet, or, alternatively, the singer would relate the content of a broadsheet to a crowd of people that had gathered. The importance of word-of-mouth in propaganda circulation must also be borne in mind. It is highly likely that the content of a piece of propaganda would have been propagated by purchasers, who discussed its message with other members of the public.<sup>40</sup> In view of this, my investigation does not enter into hypotheses as to the number of people who read each piece of propaganda that I examine, but tries instead to explore the effect of the publication on the audience in general. Estimates of the amount of propaganda produced are also sketchy due to the fact that over half of the propaganda published during the war has not survived the ravages of time.<sup>41</sup> It is therefore impossible to know the exact volume of material produced, or to examine it.

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<sup>38</sup> Rosseaux, p. 112.

<sup>39</sup> Rousseaux, p. 111.

<sup>40</sup> Pfeffer, p. 13.

<sup>41</sup> Pfeffer, p. 12.

### *Characteristics of Broadsheet and Pamphlet Propaganda*

The characteristics of the individual pieces of propaganda depended on the design of the author and could vary greatly. Some included text in both German and Latin, while other pieces were written exclusively in either one or the other language, although Protestant propagandistic texts as a general rule tended to be published in German more often than Catholic ones.

The tone of individual pieces of propaganda ranged considerably. In some cases it was serious and admonishing or threatening, in others it was satirical or obviously humorous. The tone was linked to the media's function, which broadly fell into four categories: to convey everyday and scientific information, to entertain, to give moral instruction, and to provide Christian edification.<sup>42</sup>

The intended audience of a broadsheet included both literate and illiterate Protestants. As mentioned above, even illiterate Protestants had access to the information of broadsheets because they could be read aloud or sung in public places, and their content could also be circulated by word-of-mouth. Nonetheless, despite them reaching a wide audience, the broadsheets would not be understood to the same degree by everyone.<sup>43</sup> Their content often worked on different levels of sophistication, and only the most educated members of society would be able to appreciate the highest ones. This meant that the majority of readers or listeners understood the basic message of a broadsheet, but only the highly

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<sup>42</sup> Kerstin te Heesen, *Das illustrierte Flugblatt als Wissensmedium der Frühen Neuzeit* (Michigan: Budrich UniPress, 2011), pp. 344-5. Henceforth Heesen.

<sup>43</sup> Rosseaux, pp. 110-11.

educated would be able to understand the references to historical events, the complex forms of verse, sentences in Latin, allegories and complex symbols.<sup>44</sup>

In contrast to broadsheets, pamphlets were typically published in prose and exclusively aimed at a literate, well-educated audience. This meant that they had a less universal appeal when compared to the broadsheet. In spite of this, however, the medium was no less ambitious than the broadsheet. This is because its target audiences were those situated in the upper echelons of society: these were the nobles and, on a more abstract level, the 'decision-makers'. It was this audience that had the education and experience that enabled them to follow long and complex argumentation, and the time to read the lengthy booklets and to digest their content. In the seventeenth century, pamphlets were not only directed at this audience, but also produced by it. Princes of the Empire often found it necessary to justify or clarify their position on current events or controversies by publishing a pamphlet on the matter. This created a pressure among the ruling classes to publish in order to make their voice heard: publishing a pamphlet could help to strengthen one's own claims and arguments, while the absence of a publication could signal political inferiority.<sup>45</sup> We see evidence of pamphlets being used to justify the position of Protestant powers in all four chapters of this dissertation. The targeted noble audience can even be evident in the title of the pamphlet, such as *Copia Eines Sendschreibens / So von Betlehem Gabor [...] An die Herrn Directores deß Königreichs Böheim*,<sup>46</sup> which was used as a medium to explain the reasons for Bethlen Gabor's intervention to the governors of Bohemia as well as to a wider,

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<sup>44</sup> Pfeffer, p. 14.

<sup>45</sup> See Körber, pp. 204-5.

<sup>46</sup> *Copia Eines Sendschreibens / So von Betlehem Gabor dem Fürsten in Sibenbürgen / auß Weissenburg / sub dato den 20 Augusti dieses ablaufenden Jahrs / An die Herrn Directores des Königreichs Böheim abgelauffen: Auß welchem der Ausländischen / unnd dem Türcken verpflichtete Potentaten affection und fürnemen gegen der Christenheit zu ersehen / Auß dem Latein in unser Teutsches durch einen Philohistorem fleissig uberstzet* (1619) (HAB : A:60 Pol (27)).

educated audience in the Empire. Pamphlets such as this served as appeals to the decision-makers of the Empire to support the Protestant campaign.

Aside from the pamphlets being directed at a more specific audience, there are other significant differences between the two printed media. Among the most obvious are their physical characteristics: the broadsheet consisted of a single sheet of paper, while the pamphlet resembled a small booklet that typically contained between twelve and sixty pages. These extra pages, when compared to the broadsheet, meant that discussions and arguments could be made at length and in detail in a pamphlet. By contrast, the broadsheet was limited and its message had to be condensed in a similar way to that of a modern poster. Although it had a surface area that was roughly the equivalent to four pages of a pamphlet, the broadsheet had to reserve a certain amount of space for its graphic, and had less space in which to make its argument. Therefore the designer of a broadsheet had to weigh up carefully how its text and image could complement and supplement one another to maximum effect, as well as how to ensure that the graphic was appealing enough to attract a buyer. The broadsheet and the pamphlet were, after all, commercial products too,<sup>47</sup> and in the case of the broadsheet, the visual functioned in a similar way to the covers of modern books: it was a 'hook' to arouse the curiosity of potential customers.

This visual element of the broadsheet, on which the broadsheet's commercial success was dependent, is perhaps the feature that differentiates it most from the pamphlet. While pamphlets could have a simple graphic on the title page, this was more of an exception than the rule, and most of them contained only a long title in which the general content of the pamphlet was announced. In addition, if a graphic was used on the title page, it was not

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<sup>47</sup> Heesen, pp. 357-8.

designed to further the pamphlet's textual argument to any significant extent. This is in direct contrast to the broadsheet's graphic, which both complemented the text and made its message more emphatic.<sup>48</sup>

The producers of the broadsheets made sure that the illustration would appeal to customers and be a successful commercial product by using images that were well-known to the audience. These images included well-known figures such as Martin Luther, the depiction of humans as animals that carried specific connotations in the early modern period, and objects which had religious or moral overtones. The play on familiar themes and imagery was not only designed to attract the audience, but also a means to make sure that the message of the broadsheet was successfully conveyed. Propagandists wanted their material to be easily deciphered, and to this end both the imagery of the broadsheets, as well as the text of both types of propaganda media, were adapted to the knowledge and the capabilities of the audience.<sup>49</sup>

### *Structure of Dissertation*

Each chapter focuses on the presentation of a Protestant or Catholic leader in radical propaganda. The first two chapters focus on the portrayal of the foreign allies, with chapter one dedicated to Bethlen Gabor, and chapter two to Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. Chapters three and four, the final chapters of the dissertation, concentrate on the radical writers' depiction of Maximilian of Bavaria and Ferdinand II.

All chapters have a similar structure. They begin with a section explaining the historical background which includes the most important biographical details of each of the four rulers. This is followed by a section on primary materials, which details the context of the

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<sup>48</sup> Heesen, p. 358.

<sup>49</sup> Heesen, pp. 358-61.



propaganda and the reason why I have selected specific examples for in-depth examination. A summary of the state of research into propaganda directed at the individual leaders precedes my own analysis. I use the state of research to explain what has already been investigated in the field and how my approach to the material is new or different from previous studies. I have placed a state of research at the beginning of each chapter, rather than in this general introduction, so that the works are fresh in the readers' mind when I refer back to them during my analysis.

My own analysis of primary sources typically begins with a brief description of the source I am using and the context in which it was produced. I then proceed to examine the techniques and methods it employs to make its argument and to gauge its effectiveness as a piece of propaganda. Each chapter usually contains four or more sections dedicated to the analysis of the primary sources and concludes with a summary of my findings.

The four chapters are followed by a conclusion which summarizes the results of the dissertation as a whole and comments on the success or otherwise of the radical campaign. The conclusion will look in particular at similarities and differences in the presentation of the foreign allies and the German Catholic leaders respectively. It also explores the intent behind a campaign stylizing these two groups in certain ways. In short, in the conclusion I present my findings on the effectiveness of the radical campaign and its success in manipulating the opinions of moderates.

## Bethlen Gabor: Historical Introduction

### *Humble Beginnings and Hungarian Division*

Bethlen Gabor of Iktár was born in 1580 in Marosillye, Hungary, a small region now known as Ilia that belongs to Romania. His father was an advisor to the Prince of Transylvania Sigismund Báthory and his mother belonged to a noble Hungarian family. Despite these favourable circumstances, Bethlen found himself orphaned at thirteen years of age. But this did not hinder his political career because he grew up at the court of Weißenburg in the capital of Transylvania<sup>50</sup> and gained an awareness of Hungarian politics early on in life by witnessing the power struggles between the Turks, the Austrian Habsburg Emperor and the prince of Transylvania, each of whom fought for control over parts of the country. This conflict marked his early life and in 1602, he was forced to flee from Transylvania to Turkey in order to escape the military terrorism of the imperial commander-in-chief Basta.<sup>51</sup>

As is evident from the reference to a trio of powers vying for control over the country, Hungary was at this time loosely divided into three parts. Roughly speaking, the west and the northern territories of the country were under Catholic Habsburg control. Next to this area lay a triangular, central-southern patch of land which was administered by the Turks. And in the very east of the country, bordered on three sides by the Turkish Empire, was the principality of Transylvania. The division of Hungary into three parts was the result of battles between the Habsburgs, the Hungarians, and the Turkish Empire in the sixteenth century.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Katalin Péter, 'Die Blütezeit des Fürstentums. 1600-1660', in *Kurze Geschichte Siebenbürgens* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), pp. 311-19 (p. 315). Henceforth Péter.

<sup>51</sup> Dominic Kósary, 'Gabriel Bethlen: Transylvania in the XVIIth Century', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 17, 49 (July 1938), pp. 162-73 (pp. 165-6). Henceforth Kósary.

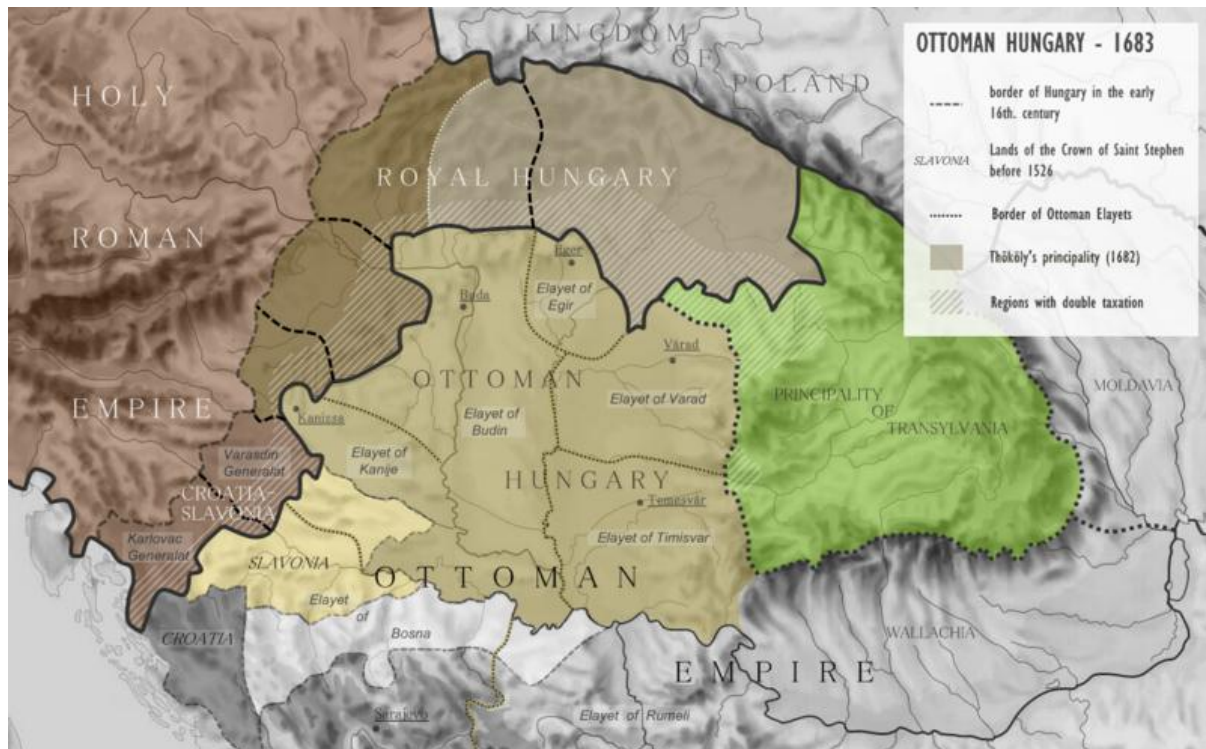
<sup>52</sup> Miklós Molnár, *A Concise History of Hungary*, trans. by Anna Magyar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 118. Henceforth Molnár. See also section 'A Country Divided', pp. 100-6. Henceforth Molnár.

The decline of Hungarian power in the last decade of the fifteenth century had opened the door to Ottoman invasion. In the Battle of Móhacs of 1526, the Ottomans under Suleiman the Magnificent (1494-1566) defeated the Hungarian army. A year later, the Hungarian King John Zápolya (1487-1540) had to watch almost helplessly as Habsburg Emperor Ferdinand I (1503-1564) exploited Hungarian military weakness and began his own invasion of the country from the west. Unable to fend off Habsburg invasion, the Hungarian King called on the Turkish Empire for help. The Sultan, also anxious to prevent Hungary from falling into Habsburg hands, accepted the offer and concluded an alliance with the Hungarian King.<sup>53</sup> When King Zápolya died in 1540, his son John II Sigismund renounced claims to the Hungarian throne but was given instead a newly-created dukedom by the Turks. This came to be known as the Principality of Transylvania, and enjoyed considerable autonomy despite being a suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> *Geschichte Ungarns*, ed. by István György Tóth (Budapest: Corvina, 2005), pp. 227-33. Henceforth Tóth.

<sup>54</sup> Molnár, pp. 103-4.



Map of seventeenth-century Hungary<sup>55</sup>

### *Transylvania: Religion and Identity*

In the seventeenth century, Hungary and Transylvania formed the largest Calvinist Church in central Europe.<sup>56</sup> The number of Protestants in Hungarian society reached its height at the end of the sixteenth century, when about half of the country's population became Calvinist, while Calvinist influence within society as a whole was greatest in the opening years of the seventeenth century. This summit of Calvinist influence was largely due to the Transylvanian prince István Bocskai, who revolted against Habsburg claims of sovereignty. He cited Protestant religious liberties and defence of the Hungarian nation to be his reasons for rebellion, and in doing so he united the nobles, the Hungarian Calvinists and the non-Hungarian Protestants of the country. This forged an identity for Transylvania in the seventeenth century, which came to understand itself as fiercely Protestant and anti-

<sup>55</sup> Image taken from website: <http://www.hunsor.se/transsylvanien/transylvania.htm> [accessed 24.1.12].

<sup>56</sup> Graeme Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier 1600-1660. International Calvinism and the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 291. Henceforth Murdock.

Habsburg. It considered itself to be a new Israel, besieged on all fronts by Catholics and Muslims, and glorified its Transylvanian princes as new biblical kings.<sup>57</sup> Due to Hungarian's obvious difference from other local languages, there was a widespread belief that the Hungarian language was descended from Hebrew.<sup>58</sup>

The strong support of the Calvinist Church by the princes of Transylvania allowed it to flourish. This led to the creation of local colleges and to student ministers being sent to be educated in Protestant German, Dutch, and English universities. The close link between the Church and the princes of Transylvania had political implications: Transylvania's commitment to the Reformed religion encouraged it to aid other Protestant powers in the course of the Thirty Years' War. This helps partly to explain Bethlen Gabor's decision to intervene on behalf of Friedrich V of the Palatinate in the Elector's time of need. In spite of Calvinism's golden age<sup>59</sup> in Hungary in the first half of the seventeenth century, the Church withered after 1660 in the face of both a resurgent Habsburg power and the strength of the Counter-Reformation in the country. This brought to the end a period which had witnessed Hungarian cultural and linguistic cohesion, Calvinist confessional solidarity and a new sense of patriotism.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Murdock, p. 299.

<sup>58</sup> Murdock, p. 300.

<sup>59</sup> Murdock, p. 291-2.

<sup>60</sup> Murdock, p. 301. This is also demonstrated in R. J. W. Evans's article 'Calvinism in East Central Europe: Hungary and Her Neighbours', in *International Calvinism 1541-1715*, ed. by Menna Prestwich (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985) pp. 167-96. See pages 171-2, 192-3. Henceforth Evans.

*Bethlen: The Diplomat and the Prince*

Following years in Turkey both as an exile and as an ambassador, Bethlen gained the favour of the Sultan.<sup>61</sup> He then returned to Transylvania and was a political advisor to its princes for a number of years.<sup>62</sup> His advisory role ended when Prince Gabriel Báthory (1589-1613) began to pursue aggressive and antagonistic policies towards several European powers. Bethlen distanced himself and sought advice from the Sultan in Turkey, where he obtained the Sultan's permission to become the new Prince of Transylvania.<sup>63</sup> Bethlen subsequently returned to Transylvania with a combined army of mostly Turkish and Hungarian soldiers. Under the pressure exerted by these forces, the estates convened a diet and elected Bethlen Gabor as their new prince in 1613.<sup>64</sup> His ascendancy to the throne via Turkish help is one of the main reasons why Europeans were mistrustful of the Prince and believed him to be a vassal of the Turks.<sup>65</sup>

Perhaps contrary to European expectations, Bethlen's style of rule came to be characterized as enlightened absolutism. He did not terrorize his subjects as previous princes such as Gabriel Báthory had done, nor did he persecute the ethnic or religious minorities. Under Bethlen's rule, Transylvania experienced its golden age. He restored peace and stability to the principality and instigated positive changes. Chief among these were the development of industry, the patronage of the arts,<sup>66</sup> and public education.<sup>67</sup> In addition, he developed

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<sup>61</sup> Maja Depner, *Das Fürstentum Siebenbürgen im Kampf gegen Habsburg. Untersuchungen über die Politik Siebenbürgens während des Drießigjährigen Krieges* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938), pp. 30-1. Henceforth Depner.

<sup>62</sup> Kósary, p. 166.

<sup>63</sup> Tóth, pp. 264-5.

<sup>64</sup> Molnár, p. 118.

<sup>65</sup> This earned him the nickname 'Gabriel den Mohammedaner.' See Tóth, p. 265.

<sup>66</sup> András Gergely, 'Das in drei Teile zerfallene Land (1526-1686)', in *Die Ungarn, ihre Geschichte und Kultur*, edited by László Kósa (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), pp. 114-29 (pp. 122-4).

<sup>67</sup> Molnár, p. 118.

Transylvania's military arm and kept an efficient army of mercenaries. The military clout that this gave the territory enabled him to lead an ambitious foreign policy.

### *Foreign Policy and the Turkish Empire*

The underlying aim which informed Bethlen's actions throughout his career was the desire to reunite Hungary and to expel the occupying Habsburg and Ottoman forces. Given that Hungary was only a small power wedged between much larger ones, Bethlen's principal strategy was to play the occupying powers against one another, encouraging each of them to expel the other from Hungary.<sup>68</sup> Contrary to European perceptions, Bethlen's placement on the Transylvanian throne was not a sign of allegiance to the Ottoman Empire. It is more accurate to say that Bethlen had gained the trust of the Sultan through skilled diplomacy,<sup>69</sup> and although he was able to secure Turkish approval of some of his anti-Habsburg campaigns, he was not a representative of Turkish interests in Hungary. Instead, he tried to protect Hungarian and Protestant interests while at the same time treading carefully with the Ottoman Empire. He was aware of the fact that if he displeased the Sultan, he could be threatened with replacement. As a result, Transylvania and the Ottoman Empire were only loosely allied, and the regular raids of border towns by Turkish soldiers were a reminder that Hungary was viewed as little more than a resource to be plundered by the oriental power.<sup>70</sup>

In reality, Bethlen's attitude to the Turks was ambivalent. He endeavoured to maintain the goodwill of the Ottoman Empire towards his ventures and his principality, but he was not averse to encouraging the Habsburgs to join him in possible anti-Ottoman offensives. The

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<sup>68</sup> Molnár, p. 119.

<sup>69</sup> Depner, p. 30.

<sup>70</sup> Molnár, p. 104.

forging of plans with both the Ottomans and the Austrian Habsburgs confused outsiders and led Bethlen to be accused by some Europeans of being unreliable<sup>71</sup> and a vassal of the Turks.<sup>72</sup> But this was simply an effect of the Prince's unerring goal to oust both occupying forces, a goal which had to be concealed from the wider public because it would have gained him the enmity of both of the imperial powers that he sought to evict.

### *The Austrian Habsburgs: A Complex Relationship*

Five years after his election as Prince of Transylvania, Bethlen exploited the turmoil caused by the Bohemian rebellion in 1618 to launch a campaign against the Archduke of Styria, the soon-to-be Emperor Ferdinand II. One of the principal reasons for this attack was Bethlen's aim to rid Royal Hungary of Habsburg absolutism. But there were also other reasons which contributed to the Prince's decision to act. Chief among them was Bethlen's genuine concern over the fate of Protestantism in the country. By the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, the Habsburgs had already instigated the Counter-Reformation in Hungary and had achieved some success. In doing so, the Habsburgs had violated the 1606 Peace of Vienna, a treaty which had guaranteed Hungarian Protestants freedom of worship and recognized the political independence of Transylvania.<sup>73</sup>

Bethlen's offensives against the Habsburgs have been interpreted by some historians to have stemmed from personal ambition.<sup>74</sup> These critical voices believe that Bethlen was motivated by the desire to extend his power in Hungary. In my own and in other historians'

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<sup>71</sup> Kósary, p. 171.

<sup>72</sup> Rumours circulated in Europe that Bethlen had converted to Islam and had been circumcised. The imperial court labelled him the 'Turcarum creatura' and Duke Maximilian even called him 'des türkischen Erbfeindes fast Leibeigenen'. See Depner, p. 32.

<sup>73</sup> Imre Gonda and Emil Niederhauser, *Die Habsburger: Ein europäisches Phänomen*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1983), p. 88. Henceforth Gonda.

<sup>74</sup> See for example Thomas von Bogay's assessment in *Grundzüge der Geschichte Ungarns. Dritte, überarbeitete und um ein Register vermehrte Auflage* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977), p. 105.



opinion, this is not true. Bethlen Gabor was not indifferent, for example, to the fate of the Czechs, or to that of other central European territories such as Moravia or Silesia that were also under the control of the Habsburgs. Part of the reason why he intervened in the Bohemian conflict and in the Thirty Years' War is because he recognized the interconnection between the fates of these central-European states. He saw that if the resistance of these states to Habsburg power weakened, the last vestiges of autonomy could be extinguished. In order to avoid this, he sought both to support anti-Habsburg campaigns, and to force the Emperor (at least in Hungary's case) to re-affirm the religious and other rights of his subjects in Habsburg-controlled territories.<sup>75</sup>

#### *Daring Forays and Mixed Results*

With Ferdinand busy trying to suppress the rebellion in Bohemia, Bethlen mounted an offensive in August 1619 to take control of Royal Hungary. By October, the Prince had conquered the capital of Royal Hungary, today's Bratislava, and Upper Hungary. At Bratislava, Bethlen was handed the Crown of St Stephen, the traditional power symbol of the King of Hungary. At this point, the Transylvanian Prince mounted his most daring of offensives: in November 1619, his forces joined Count Thurn's Moravian and Czech troops and they attempted a siege of Ferdinand II's seat of power, Vienna. To Ferdinand's relief, Poland sent troops to his rescue and forced the allied Protestant forces to abandon the siege.<sup>76</sup> A truce was agreed in 1620 between the Prince and the Emperor, but this was not to last long. After imperial victory at the Battle of White Mountain in November, during which Bethlen's troops were unable to provide help to Friedrich V's forces in time,

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<sup>75</sup> See article by Á. R. Várkonyi, 'Historical personality, crisis and progress in 17th century Hungary', *Studia historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 71, 265-99.

<sup>76</sup> Charles W. Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1618-1815*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 31-2. Henceforth Ingrao.

Ferdinand was able to direct his attention to Hungary. He re-conquered Royal Hungary and weakened Bethlen's position, who then initiated peace negotiations. Bethlen used the title of the King of Hungary, which had been offered to him by the Hungarian estates in 1620, as a bargaining tool. He agreed to relinquish the title in exchange for the Emperor's promise to re-affirm the 1606 Peace of Vienna, a treaty which among other things affirmed the Hungarian Protestants' right to worship. Their agreement became known as the Treaty of Nikolsburg, and in its conclusion Bethlen achieved one of his primary aims when he had launched his initial offensive against the anti-Protestant Ferdinand II.<sup>77</sup>

In the time following 1621, Bethlen fought as part of an alliance of anti-Habsburg powers,<sup>78</sup> including Denmark, England, and the Netherlands.<sup>79</sup> This resulted in two further offensives against Ferdinand II which although daring, did not secure any lasting achievement. His campaign of 1623 to 1624 and of 1626 only resulted in further confirmations of the Peace of Nikolsburg, although they were known as the Peace of Vienna and the Peace of Pressburg respectively.<sup>80</sup> Although the Prince still had ambitious plans to continue his assault on Habsburg authority in Hungary in the next couple of years, he contented himself in the short term with plans to strengthen his authority through a careful choice of bride.

### *Matrimony and Death*

The death of Bethlen's first wife Zsuzsanna Károlyi in 1622 presented the Prince with opportunities to improve his dynastic and military position. Unsurprisingly in an age in which marriage was used to cement relationships between dynasties and to strengthen power,

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<sup>77</sup> For details on these years see Tóth, pp. 266-70.

<sup>78</sup> Kósary, p. 172.

<sup>79</sup> Ronald G. Asch, *The Thirty Years War; The Holy Roman Empire and Europe, 1618-1648* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1997), pp. 70-1, 86-90. Henceforth Asch.

<sup>80</sup> Péter, pp. 324-5.

Bethlen was careful to choose a bride who would help him to secure his position in Hungary. Given the acrimony between the two powers, it must have been a mild shock when Bethlen made overtures to Ferdinand II regarding his interest in marrying one of the the Emperor's daughters, Cecilia Renata (1611-1644), who later became the Queen of Poland.<sup>81</sup> Although Bethlen's proposals were rejected, they can be seen as a canny attempt to encourage the Emperor to cede power over Hungary to the Prince as the consort of his daughter.

Five years later, Bethlen made a second attempt to marry his way into a position of greater influence. This time he was successful, and in March 1626 he married Katherina of Brandenburg (1604-1649), the sister of Georg Wilhelm, the Elector of Brandenburg (1595-1640). In doing so, he gained access to the most elite circle of Protestant princes in the Holy Roman Empire. It also brought him closer to Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden (1594-1632), who had married the Elector of Brandenburg's daughter, Maria Eleonora (1599-1655) in 1620. Nevertheless, Bethlen was unable to capitalize on this new position due to his death three years later, in 1629, which put an end to plans to reunite Hungary and to protect its Protestants.

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<sup>81</sup> Péter, p. 325.

## State of Research

My assessment of the state of research into the image of Bethlen Gabor in radical Protestant propaganda of the Thirty Year's War will be brief, because very little has been written on the topic. Bethlen is an extreme example of a trend in academic research which has virtually ignored some figures of the war but concentrated intensely on others, chief among them Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden and Count Tilly.

To date, there are only two sources which comment on the Prince of Transylvania's depiction in propaganda. These are Georg Kristóf's article *Die Gestalt Gabriel Bethlens in der zeitgenössischen deutschen Dichtung* (1931)<sup>82</sup> and Wolfgang Harm's second compendium of early modern broadsheets, entitled *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts: Die Sammlung der Herzog-August-Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel* (1980).<sup>83</sup> While both provide certain insights, they are unable, alone or together, to provide an overview of the radical Protestant propagandistic campaign aimed at gathering support for the Prince.

Of the two sources, Kristóf's work is more panoramic in its analysis of Bethlen's image in propaganda. Given the focus of my own thesis, it is only of limited use as it concentrates the majority of its attention on the Prince's image in Catholic (or Lutheran) propaganda. For most of the article, Kristóf demonstrates that Bethlen was attacked in propaganda by writers antagonistic towards Friedrich V, both Catholic and Lutheran, who used Friedrich V's defeat and Bethlen's association to the Turks to discredit the Transylvanian.

On the three pages that do concentrate on radical propaganda that aimed to promote a positive image of Bethlen Gabor, there is useful information on attempts to present him as a

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<sup>82</sup> Georg Kristóf, 'Die Gestalt Gabriel Bethlens in der zeitgenössischen deutschen Dichtung' *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 11 (1931), pp. 98-112.

<sup>83</sup> Wolfgang Harms, *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts: Die Sammlung der Herzog-August-Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, Teil 2: Historica* (Munich: Kraus, 1980). Henceforth Harms.

saviour of the Protestant faith and as a hero defending his land from Catholic Habsburg and Ottoman Turk incursions. This supports my thesis and provides analysis of sources that I also believe are worthy of closer investigation. In short, though, Kristóf's focus is different from my own and his commentary on radical Protestant sources is of limited use due to its brevity.

With respect to the commentary on Bethlen's image in Harm's second broadsheet compendium, it can only serve as an orientation on individual pieces of propaganda. In a similar way to Kristóf, it investigates Catholic and Protestant broadsheets on the Prince. Yet unlike Kristóf, it does not investigate connections between the pieces of propaganda or identify trends in the Prince's presentation. In the context of my own investigation it is relevant only because of the detail it provides on several of the sources that have been selected for closer analysis. While its interpretation of some broadsheets can be very useful, Harms's compendium is perhaps of greatest value as a source of re-printed primary materials.

## Primary Materials

Of the two Protestant figures investigated in my thesis, Bethlen Gabor seems to have been the more controversial. This fact is perhaps surprising when one considers that it was Gustavus Adolphus, rather than Bethlen Gabor, who invaded the Empire and temporarily controlled parts of its territory. In fact, while there is only a very small minority of surviving texts that are critical of the King,<sup>84</sup> the case of propaganda on Bethlen Gabor is a different story entirely. My research shows that the positive and radical Protestant texts on the Prince are in the minority, while the rest of the texts that focus on him were either neutral reports on his involvement in the Bohemian conflict or were pieces critical of him.

I shall begin my review of the primary materials on the Prince with a summary of the radical pro-Bethlen pieces of propaganda that are the focus of this chapter. I have identified fifteen pro-Bethlen sources, eight broadsheets and seven pamphlets. The broadsheets were published exclusively between the years 1619 and 1621, meaning that they correspond to the most significant phase of Bethlen Gabor's activity in the war. The pamphlets' year of publication has a wider span, ranging from 1618 to 1626, with the final pro-Bethlen pamphlet being an account of the Prince's marriage to Catharine of Brandenburg and their wedding festivities.<sup>85</sup> These seven broadsheets and eight pamphlets are the only ones that I can categorize as radical Protestant publications with certainty. This is because they try to

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<sup>84</sup> See primary materials section on Gustavus Adolphus in Chapter Two. Of course, after Gustavus Adolphus's death the popularity of the Swedes suffered more generally. Both the Jesuits and the Saxons produced material critical of the Swedes after 1632, depicting them respectively as lacking God's support and as being obstacles to peace. The Germans also became increasingly war-weary after the King's death. See Böttcher, pp. 353, 360.

<sup>85</sup> *Umbständtliche Relation Deß Bethlehem Gabors/ mit der Chur- Brandenburgischen Princessin Catharina/ zu Cascha gehaltenen Beylagers* (1626), 4 pages. Herzog August Bibliothek, shelf mark: A: 160.7 Quod. (51). All further references to material from the Herzog August Bibliothek will be abbreviated to HAB followed directly by the source's shelf mark. The shelf mark of material from other archives and libraries will also follow the name of the institution.

glorify Bethlen Gabor, they advocate unconditional support for his campaign, and they endeavour to neutralize images of him as Turkish vassal. As a general rule, the majority of the broadsheets contain a large image of the Prince and are accompanied by a text stressing his Christian virtue. In contrast to the broadsheets, the longer form of the pamphlets allows them to depict his positive qualities and his allegiance to the Christian cause in greater detail. Typical examples of these two forms of propaganda include the broadsheet *GABRIEL BETHLEN D. G. PRINCEPS TRANSYLVANIAE* (1619)<sup>86</sup> and *Copia Eines Sendschreibens* (1619).<sup>87</sup>

There are a number of other texts and broadsheets that are more difficult to categorize and due to this they have been excluded from my investigation. Some of these texts include Bethlen's printed correspondence with other Protestant powers. The purpose behind the publication of some of the letters is unclear because they can contain both positive and negative connotations. An example of this group is *Copey Schreibens / welches der Bethlen Gabor / an die Stände in Mähren / sub dato 8. Januarij 1621. gethan* (1621).<sup>88</sup> It is difficult to gauge whether this source actually is a printed letter between the Prince and the Moravians, who both formed part of a wider anti-Habsburg alliance at the time. It presents the Transylvanian on the one hand as being angry with the Moravians for not having upheld

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<sup>86</sup> Jakob Grandhomme, *GABRIEL BETHLEN D. G. PRINCEPS TRANSYLVANIAE PART. REGNI HUNGARIAE DOMINUS, ET SICULORUM COMES, &c.* (1619) Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Gotha/Erfurt: Biogr gr 2° 00593/02 (564).

<sup>87</sup> *Copia Eines Sendschreibens / So von Bethlehem Gabor dem Fürsten in Sibenbürgen / auß Weissenburg / sub dato den 20 Augusti dieses ablauffenden Jahrs / An die Herrn Directores deß Königreiches Böhme abgelauffen. Auß welchem der Ausländischen / vnnd dem Türcken verpflichteten Potentaten affection vnd fürnemen gegen der Christenheit zu ersehen. Auß dem Latein in vnser Teutsches durch einen Philohistorem fleissig vbersetzt. Gedruckt im Jahr Christi 1619.* (1619), 7 pages. HAB: A:32.26Pol. 13. Henceforth *Copia Eines Schreibens*.

<sup>88</sup> *Schlesischer Zustand / Das ist / Acta vnd Schrifftten / so nach der Böhmischen Niederlag wegen der Schlesier vnd andere Länder / zwischen elichen Potentaten abgangen [...] X. Copey Schreibens / welches der Bethlen Gabor / an die Stände in Mähren / sub dato 8. Januarij 1621. gethan* (1621), 35 pages. HAB: 46.4 Politica. Section X on Bethlen pages 33-5.

their agreements with him by surrendering to Catholic forces. This image of an irate Transylvanian prince, who evidently does not possess the virtue of magnanimity that was required of a Christian ruler,<sup>89</sup> does not reassure the audience that Bethlen Gabor is a friendly figure who they can trust. On the other hand, the letter gives the reader the impression that Bethlen Gabor is a passionate defender of the Protestant faith who is upset that the Moravians have surrendered so easily to Habsburg Catholic authority. This makes the source difficult to classify as either a positive or a negative piece of propaganda. Aside from pamphlets such as this, there are also broadsheets which appear to take the same ambivalent attitude towards Bethlen Gabor. These include *Böhmischer Jesuiten Kehrauß* (1620)<sup>90</sup> and *Contrafactvr Des Hvngarischen Blvtfahnen* (1620).<sup>91</sup> *Kehrhauß* recognizes that the Prince is an ally but seems wary of him at the same time, warning him against an alliance with the Turks and expanding his sphere of power.<sup>92</sup> *Contrafactvr Des Hvngarischen Blvtfahnen* is a broadsheet which enjoyed a number of re-prints<sup>93</sup> and testifies to a public that was half suspicious, half fascinated by the Prince's apparently indecipherable policies.<sup>94</sup> Additionally, there are sheets which adopt a neutral attitude towards Bethlen Gabor and include him in metaphorical summaries of the Bohemian conflict. *Deß Adlers vnd Löwen*

<sup>89</sup> See Rainer A. Müller, 'Die deutschen Fürstenspiegel des 17. Jahrhunderts. Belehrungslehren und politische Pädagogik', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 240, 3 (June 1985), 571-97. A list of virtues required of a prince is provided on p. 576. Henceforth Müller.

<sup>90</sup> *Böhmischer Jesuiten Kehrauß/ und Teutsche WeckUhr. Wunderliche Geheymnussen und nachdenckliche Propheceyungen/ von dem jetzigen Zustand deß Römischen Reichs : Als: I, Jesuiter Pilgramschafft/ so sie zu ihrer suchenden restitution angestellet. II, Böhmischer Lautenklang/ wegen auffgerichter Confoederation. III, Dreyfaches Ungleich/ vom jetzigen Religionstreit/ [et]c. IIII, Türckischer WarnungsBott in Ungarn geschickt; Und V. Auffwecker der Alten Teutschen an ihre Nachkommen/ neulicher zeit Warnungsweise abgefertiget* (1620). HAB: IH116.

<sup>91</sup> *Contrafactvr Des Hvngarischen Blvtfahnen* (1620). HAB: IH92.

<sup>92</sup> See the image entitled *Actus X* on the broadsheet and the short comment on *Actus X* in the text below the images.

<sup>93</sup> Adaptations of the sheet include *Bethlen Gabors Blutfahnen / Welchen derselbige zu Newsol von rothem Damaschket machen/ mit gegenwertigen Figuren und Worten mahlen/ und Emerico Turczo als Landfenderichen solenniter uberlieffern lassen* (1620). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz: Einbl. YA 5160 kl.

<sup>94</sup> Harms, p. 296.



*Kampff* (1621)<sup>95</sup> and *Schlaffender Löw* (1621)<sup>96</sup> are examples of more or less neutral portrayals. Both present Bethlen as one of a group of Protestant powers supporting Friedrich V who are battling against Catholic figures, and the sheets remain largely matter-of-fact.

Curiously, sheets which are not clear in their attitude towards Bethlen Gabor seem to make up at least half of the sources I have located. This could be a reflection of the general public's own uncertainty regarding the significance of Bethlen Gabor and his intervention. To some people he must have embodied the impossible: he was a Christian prince, defensive of his religion, but also a ruler who was helped to power and supported in his campaigns by the Muslim Sultan, arguably the most feared enemy of the whole of Christendom. These contradictory aspects of Bethlen's identity and rule had the potential to alienate public opinion, which tended to seek clear 'black and white' certainties: figures were normally characterized as Christian and against the Turks, or as non-Christian and a threat to the faith. Bethlen Gabor seemed to occupy a grey area in between these positions.

Of course, critical Lutheran and Catholic propagandists, who were interested first and foremost in denouncing Bethlen Gabor due to his support of Friedrich V and his disobedience to Habsburg authority, were not interested in depicting these grey areas. Instead, they sought to do away with all ambiguity and to present the Transylvanian as an untrustworthy, greedy crypto-Muslim. One of the most prominent examples of this campaign is the broadsheet *Trewhertz warnung. An die gantze werthe Cristenheit* (1620).<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> *Deß Adlers vnd Löwen Kampff* (1621). HAB: IH81.

<sup>96</sup> *Schlaffender Löw* (1621). HAB: IH82.

<sup>97</sup> *Trewhertz warnung. An die gantze werthe Cristenheit, das man sich in gegenwertiger zeit, für den einstbleichenden Türckischen Bluthundt wol vorzusehen hat* (1620). Henceforth *Warnung* Reprinted in John Roger Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet 1600-1700*, 10 vols, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz,

Playing on general fears of Turkish invasion, it is a rallying call for Christendom to unite against the Prince and his Turkish allies. This theme is echoed in *Ein Spiel fengt sich gar leichtlich ann* (1621),<sup>98</sup> a broadsheet which is thought to reflect general concerns about a Turkish invasion of Europe which surfaced due to Bethlen Gabor's political ties to the Ottomans and his anti-Habsburg offensives.<sup>99</sup>

The same campaign presented Bethlen Gabor's defiance of Habsburg authority as an act that had angered God. This is evident in the *Mißgeburt* broadsheets (1620) by Ioannes Bocatius<sup>100</sup> and Peter Isselburg.<sup>101</sup> Despite some differences between the sheets, including the size of the graphic and whether the text was exclusively in German or divided into German and Latin halves, their message is the same: Bethlen's election as protector of Hungary in 1620 has led God to send a sign of his displeasure. This has come in the form of the birth of a two-headed boy, one of whose heads has died and the other has been baptized according to Christian tradition. Although it caters to the seventeenth-century

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1986-2010), III (1991), p. 375. Henceforth Paas followed by volume number. The first reference to a volume will also include year of publication.

<sup>98</sup> *Ein Spiel fengt sich gar leichtlich ann* (1621). HAB: IH96.

<sup>99</sup> Harms, p. 294.

<sup>100</sup> Ioannes Bocatius, *Den 24. Augusti 1620. ist dise Mißgeburt/ in dem Dorff Garck/ eine halbe meil von der Leutsch in Zips/ oder Ober Hungern/ geboren worden/ der ober Kopff ist Todt/ der under aber Lebendig gewest/ und getaufft worden* (Augsburg: Wolfgang Kilian, 1620). Bavarian State Library, Munich: Einbl. VIII, 20 i.

<sup>101</sup> Peter Isselburg, *Icon, Sive Vera Repraesentatio Bicipitis Monstrosi Partus, Qui XXIV. Mensis Augusti, Stilo Gregor. Die, Anni Gratiae MDCXX. Garckii in Regno Ungariae, in Scepusio, Sic dicta provincia, in hunc mundum editus fuit* (Nuremberg, 1620). Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg: in H61/2 TREW.316. Title of accompanying German text: *Warhaffte unnd eigentliche Contrafactur einer seltzamen Zweyköpffigen Wunder-Mißgeburt/ so Montags den 14(24) Augusti dieses 1620. Jahrs/ zu Garck/ im Königreich Ungarn (ein halbe Meil wegs von Leuterhofen/ im Zisper Ländlein gelegen) eben auff den Tag/ da Bethlen Gaber zum Ungarischen König Erwehlet worden/ auff diese Welt geborn ist*. See Isselburg's variant on this sheet: Peter Isselburg, *Anno, quo GabrleL BethLeM, Del Gratla fIt ReX HVngariae: DIE XXIV. AUGUSTI LUNAE, STILO GREGOR. NATUS EST QUI INFRA EXPRIMITUR, MONSTROSUS PARTUS IN PAGO GARK, medio militari Leuthehovia, in Scepusio sito: qui superiore mortuo, inferiore vivo capite, baptizatus est* (1620). Stadtbibliothek, Ulm: Einblattedruck 982. Title of accompanying German text: *Montags den 24. Augusti neues Calenders 1620. ward ein solche Geburt in dem Dorf Garck ein halbe Meil von Leuthehofen / in Lepusi gelegen / zur Welt bracht: ist getaufft worden / nach dem das Oberhaupt verstorben / das ander aber noch bey Leben gewest*.

appetite for sensationalist literature,<sup>102</sup> it is undoubtedly also designed as a metaphor to undermine Bethlen Gabor's claim to authority over Hungary. He is a false, unchristian head, destined to be outlived by a (Habsburg) Christian one.

The last body of writing which presented unfavourable depictions of Bethlen Gabor was the propaganda campaign directed at Friedrich V following his defeat at White Mountain. In a sense, these pieces of propaganda are more likely to be evidence that Bethlen Gabor was caught in propagandistic cross-fire directed at Friedrich V rather than actual criticism of the Transylvanian's actions and character. Following the Palatine's flight from Prague to safety in the Netherlands, a particularly vicious campaign sought to humiliate the Elector, his allies, and the Protestant Union for their failure to assert themselves in battle against Catholic forces. Examples of this include *Der Vnion Misgeburt* (1621)<sup>103</sup>, *Kurtzer bericht* (1621)<sup>104</sup> and *Wol proportionierte vnnd all zu sehr erhitzte Badstub* (1622).<sup>105</sup> They respectively present the Protestant Union as a careless lady,<sup>106</sup> a corpse in a funeral procession, and as poorly organized. Possibly the least harmful to the image of the Transylvanian Prince is the broadsheet *Post Bott* (1621),<sup>107</sup> in which Bethlen is just one of many characters who are questioned by a messenger regarding the location of the Elector. This sheet is almost entirely aimed at deriding the Elector for his flight and exile. The sheets *Wachender Adler* (1621)<sup>108</sup> and *Newes KönigFest* (1621)<sup>109</sup> are much more damaging to Bethlen Gabor's

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<sup>102</sup> Wolfgang Harms and others, *Illustrierte Flugblätter des Barock. Eine Auswahl* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1983), p. 90. Henceforth Harms *Barock*.

<sup>103</sup> *Der Vnion Misgeburt* (1621). HAB: IH130.

<sup>104</sup> *Kurtzer bericht: wie des treves in niederlandt schwester, die Vnion in ober Teutschland gestorben, vnd ihrem bruder dem Treves [...] im todt nachfolgen thut* (1621). HAB: IH132.

<sup>105</sup> *Wol proportionierte vnnd all zu sehr erhitzte Badstub : sampt seinem vbel qualifiziertem Bader oder Schröpffer/ auch nicht wol zu friednem Badgast* (1622). HAB: IH131.

<sup>106</sup> Harms, p. 334.

<sup>107</sup> *Postbott* (1621). HAB: IH90.

<sup>108</sup> *Wachender Adler* (1621). Bavarian State Library, Munich: Einbl. V,8 b,2.

<sup>109</sup> *Newes Königfest* (1621). HAB: IH94.

image. The former portrays Bethlen as a fox attempting to topple a column on which an eagle sits, and above him is the label 'listiger Bethlem'. The latter broadsheet's image of the Prince is even more negative: he is portrayed as a court fool, dancing in front of a roomful of dignitaries. The text of *Newes KönigFest* explains that Bethlen Gabor will never enjoy peace due to his foolish behaviour.<sup>110</sup> Although the sheet is designed to show Friedrich's lack of power in Europe, it depicts allies, including Bethlen Gabor, in an equally critical light.

### *Summary of Propaganda on the Prince: Why the Lack of Support?*

There are several possible reasons that explain the low number of positive representations of the Prince. The first is that Bethlen Gabor was a Calvinist prince who defended the Calvinist Palatine Elector's cause. This strong association with Calvinism meant that the Prince was probably not supported by as many writers as the Lutheran Gustavus Adolphus, who enjoyed the favour of both radical Calvinists and Lutherans. This Calvinist link was also to the detriment of Bethlen's image because it led to his inclusion in the merciless criticism of Friedrich V after the Elector's challenge to Catholic Habsburg authority failed.

The second reason for the probable reluctance of some radical propagandists to support the Prince would have been his association to the Turks. This idea of Bethlen Gabor's Turkish allegiance seemed to have become embedded in European minds after the Prince had received Turkish help to ascend to the Transylvanian throne in 1613.<sup>111</sup> Among the exceptions to this rule was England, which considered him to be the 'indefatigable Eastern opponent of Central European Habsburg Power' and a Protestant figurehead who inspired hope.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> See paragraph 17 of broadsheet's text.

<sup>111</sup> See Depner, p. 32, and Kosáry, p. 171.

<sup>112</sup> Kosáry, p. 162.

The final reason for a general lack of support could have been due to the ephemeral and ultimately ineffectual campaigns of the Prince. He was quite active in the years between 1619 and 1622, but his achievements did not amount to much more than a re-affirmation of the religious and legal rights of the Hungarians under Habsburg rule. This modest success stands in marked contrast to the spectacular victories of Gustavus Adolphus. The movements of the Swedish King were felt acutely by many Protestants of the Empire, and his success generated strong support from radical Protestant writers. Put simply, the Swedish King had a much greater impact on the fortunes of the German Protestants.

Despite the smaller amount of propagandistic support that the Prince received, the positive portrayals of the Prince still merit investigation. They show how a concerted campaign tried to gain support for foreign Protestant allies even if its chances of successful persuasion were small. They also provide insight into what the writers believed would constitute arguments persuasive enough for readers to ignore the opaque past and allegiances of the Prince and to accept him as one of their political leaders. The materials are also a testament to the determination of these radical Protestant writers, who were daring enough to try to re-shape the image of a sly ally of the Turks into one of a Christian leader whose distinguishing features were piety and bravery.

### **Protestant Propaganda and the Jesuits**

Before I begin my investigation of the propaganda campaign aimed at promoting Bethlen Gabor of Transylvania, it is important to give a few background details on the Society of Jesus, also known as the Jesuit Order. This is because the Order features in many of the pieces of propaganda analyzed in this dissertation. They were considered to be symbols of Catholic corruption and ambition at its very worst, and the activity of the Jesuits was used to justify both of the foreign allies' campaign in the Empire as well as to criticize German Catholic leaders for allowing them to influence imperial policy.

Founded in 1540 by Pope Paul III in a bull entitled *Regimini militantis ecclesiae*, the Order of the Jesuits was a new type of religious brotherhood that was not bound to the traditional duties of other, older Orders that were often resident in monasteries. Far from retreating from the worldly sphere and being bound by the duty of hourly prayer, these so-called 'agents of the pope' were assigned a much more active role in contemporary society. Instructed to exert a direct influence on political and societal affairs, the Jesuit Order was designed to represent and carry out the interests of the Holy See. It was to this Roman Catholic court alone that each member of the Jesuit clergy swore an oath of allegiance.<sup>113</sup>

The purpose of the Order was two-fold: first, to engage in missionary activities on all continents known to the Europeans at the time and second, to modernize Catholic higher education.<sup>114</sup> This second aim was, of course, linked to criticisms that had been levelled at the Catholic Church during the Reformation because complaints regarding a corrupt and

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<sup>113</sup> Silvia Serena Tschopp, 'Politik im theologischen Gewand: Eine jesuitisch-lutherische Kontroverse im Kontext des Dreißigjährigen Krieges' (Institut für Europäische Geschichte, Mainz, forthcoming), fourth page of article. Henceforth Tschopp *Politik*.

<sup>114</sup> Tschopp *Politik*, p. 4.

badly educated Catholic clergy led to the need for a better trained and morally stricter Catholic clerical body.

Within a short time following their establishment, the Jesuits soon became Rome's most effective weapon against the alleged 'heresies' of Calvinism and Lutheranism. In his work on the renewal of Catholicism between 1540 and 1770, R. Po-Chia Hsia states that the Jesuits came to represent one of the central forces behind the Catholic recovery in Central Europe.<sup>115</sup> They were able to exert influence over contemporary affairs due to the prominent positions they secured as father confessors at European courts. Here they served religious and worldly potentates and were successful due to a mix of advantageous qualities: they were mobile, highly educated and their position allowed them to exert influence over a wide range of public affairs.<sup>116</sup> The number of high-ranking European rulers who had Jesuit father confessors is astonishing: Hsia states that the Jesuits had access to the consciences of all German Emperors after Ferdinand II, all French kings from Henry III to Louis XV and to many rulers of Portugal, Poland and Spain.<sup>117</sup>

The Jesuits were furthermore able to make an impact on societal affairs due to the educational services they provided. Often offered for free, Jesuit institutions became a popular medium of education, especially for the nobility. The Order developed a reputation for providing disciplined, high-quality Catholic education. With time, they were able to educate a number of Catholic pupils who went on to occupy powerful positions in the Empire, among them are two leaders discussed in my investigation: Maximilian of Bavaria

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<sup>115</sup> R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540-1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 27, 77.

<sup>116</sup> Tschopp *Politik*, p. 4.

<sup>117</sup> Hsia, p. 33.

and Ferdinand II of Styria<sup>118</sup> were both educated at the Jesuit university of Ingolstadt. The Jesuit educational system also directly contributed to the establishment of a better trained and better disciplined Catholic clergy. This demonstrates the fact that the Catholic Church, through its establishment of the Jesuit Order, was successful in responding to Protestant and internal Catholic criticism.

Known for their zealous efforts to restore the authority of the Pope and for their unwillingness to compromise in confessional affairs, the Jesuits soon gained the enmity of the other Christian confessions in the Empire,<sup>119</sup> who had good reason to consider the Order to be a threat to their faith. Perceived as a means used by the Pope to regain influence in the Empire after a loss of papal authority in the wake of the Reformation, the Jesuits were despised by both the Lutheran and Calvinist camps. The Jesuits' subordination to Rome also linked the Order to foreignness and to ideas of hostile influences attempting to penetrate the Empire. This was not helped by the fact that many Jesuits, particularly in the early years of the Order, were indeed non-Germans<sup>120</sup> or had been educated abroad. This includes one of the Order's founders, the Spaniard Iñigo de Loyola, who had enormous influence in shaping the character of the Order<sup>121</sup> and who swore absolute obedience to the Pope.<sup>122</sup>

Suspicion of the Order due to its goals and its foreign ties was increased because of the tireless campaigning of the Jesuits against heresy, which was primarily directed at Protestantism. The Jesuits sought to strengthen the claim of Catholicism to be the only valid

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<sup>118</sup> Hsia, pp. 31-33.

<sup>119</sup> Evans, p. 42.

<sup>120</sup> Evans, p. 41.

<sup>121</sup> Hsia, p. 31.

<sup>122</sup> Hsia, pp. 26-7.



Christian faith through Catholic education, principally through the use of the stage and of polemic public literature in the form of broadsheets and pamphlets.<sup>123</sup>

As a result of these activities and their intransigent and radical Catholic stance in general, the Jesuits were repeatedly accused in Protestant propaganda of stirring up trouble in the Empire and the Habsburg crown lands, and of threatening their peace and security. Among other things, they were accused of sin and corruption,<sup>124</sup> yet this line of attack was not specific to the Jesuits because similar accusations had been levelled at the Catholic Church during and even before the Reformation.

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<sup>123</sup> Examples of the different media utilized by the Order include *Cenodoxus* (a play on Catholicism and heresy) and pamphlets such as the controversial *Augapfelstreit* during the Thirty years War. The *Augapfelstreit* will be discussed in Chapter Three.

<sup>124</sup> See Pfeffer's section on 'Die Jesuitenflugblätter', pp. 37-45.

## Section One: The Portrait of a Christian Prince

The investigation into Bethlen Gabor's image will begin with an analysis of a group of broadsheets that present portraits of the Transylvanian Prince. This group comprises half a dozen broadsheets, two of which depict a portrait of the Prince from the waist upwards, and four of which are equestrian portraits. All contain a large image of Bethlen Gabor and either little or no explanatory text beneath it. The portraits with text are largely directed at a German-speaking audience, though a few are additionally aimed at a wider, educated European audience as well because they contain passages or translations in Latin. This first section concentrates on the portraits of Bethlen Gabor from the waist upwards, and focuses on a representative example entitled *Bildnus Herrn Bethlehem Gabors* (1621).<sup>125</sup> This source has been selected for close analysis because of its accompanying text, which makes it a persuasive piece of propaganda.<sup>126</sup> *Bildnus* is made up of a portrait image of the Prince which takes up approximately four fifths of its size, and a text below which makes up the remaining fifth of the space. There are sixteen lines of text in all, which divide into eight rhyming couplets. The text not only supports some of the visual elements, but also offers information on Bethlen Gabor's reasons for intervention in the war.

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<sup>125</sup> *Bildnus Herrn Bethlehem Gabors etc.* (1621). Paas, III, P-819. Henceforth *Bildnus*.

<sup>126</sup> This makes it arguably more potent than the other portrait of Bethlen Gabor from the waist upwards. A reprint of this second portrait broadsheet can be found in Paas, III, p. 523.



Bildnis  
Herrn Bethlehem Gabor's etc.



**H**ie steht rechte eigen abgemahle  
 Durch ein förmlichen Schnitt  
 Gabriel Bethlehems gestalt  
 In Ungarischen Habit:  
 Ein Fürst in Siebenbürgen bestelt  
 Vom Türckn als sein Vasall:  
 Zum Herrn in Ungarn auch erwählt  
 (Wie man sagt überall.)

Als er bey Vierzig Jahr alt war/  
 Im Monat Julio/  
 Da man Tausent/Sechshundert Jahr  
 Und Zwanzig zählte also.  
 Hilff Gott: damit Fried grün vnd blühe  
 Ohn einig Blut vnd Mord/  
 Das Pur-lauter, ohn alle mühe  
 Fortwachs dein Götlich Wort.



As Astrid Heyde points out in her investigation of portrait propaganda produced to support Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, the publication of portraits was a long-established propagandistic tradition. Portraits had been used by Protestant propagandists since the early years of the Reformation and stressed the protective and leadership qualities of Lutheran commanders. They were employed in order to highlight that military leaders were the 'shield and protection' of their Protestant subjects, and in this the portraits mirrored Protestant attitudes towards figures of authority.<sup>127</sup> They also reflected public interest in and even admiration of the depicted figure.<sup>128</sup>

This tradition provides the context of the portraits produced to support Bethlen Gabor in Protestant propaganda. Using a propagandistic tradition stemming from the years immediately following the establishment of the Protestant faith, radical writers supported allies of the Protestant campaign such as Bethlen Gabor of Transylvania, Christian IV of Denmark<sup>129</sup> and Gustavus Adolphus using portrait images.

Although it has been established that the portraits have a Protestant tradition, can one say for sure that the portraits of Bethlen Gabor were produced by the radicals of the Protestant camp? Yes. This is evident simply in the propaganda's positive portrayal of a foreign, Calvinist ally who supported the Elector Palatine. This was an attitude that would not have been shared by the quietists of the Lutheran camp, a minority who opposed foreign intervention in the Empire and challenges to the authority of the Emperor. In addition, the moderate Lutherans of the party, who made up the majority of the Protestant grouping, also desired to remain loyal to the Emperor, although, perhaps contradictorily, sought at the

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<sup>127</sup> Astrid Heyde, *Die Darstellungen König Gustav II. Adolfs von Schweden. Studien zum Verhältnis von Herrscherbild und Herrschermithos im Zeitraum von 1607 bis 1932*. (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Kiel, 1995), pp. 312-3. Henceforth Heyde.

<sup>128</sup> Heyde, p. 288.

<sup>129</sup> Heyde, p. 313.

same time to retain all of their religious and legal rights in spite of imperial policy. These two factions' attitude did not result in the publication of fiercely anti-imperial propaganda that supported foreign Protestant allies unconditionally. Instead, this was the position advocated only by the radical Protestants, who believed in the right of resistance and that one must always choose defence of God's word when faced with any conflict of interest between religious and political authorities. They led the fight for German Protestant religious and legal rights and against Habsburg and papal imperialism.<sup>130</sup> They drew inspiration from their Huguenot and Dutch co-religionists<sup>131</sup> and were the faction within the camp that supported Friedrich V of the Palatinate and his allies.

Consequently, we can see that that the portraits produced in the name of Bethlen Gabor drew on traditional Protestant propaganda but were themselves a reflection of radical Protestant attitudes. More subtle than the sheets investigated in the following sections of this chapter, the portrait broadsheets are softer in their method of persuasion, principally aiming to present a sympathetic and dignified image of the Prince. This message is conveyed in *Bildnus*, above all, by its image, a close-up portrait of Bethlen Gabor which covers roughly two-thirds of the broadsheet's space. The illustration of the Prince is fitted inside an oval which contains a capitalized sentence of text in Latin. This text is used to spell out the Prince's dignities, and labels him the Prince of Transylvania and 'part' King of Hungary, undoubtedly an allusion to his capture of most of Habsburg-controlled Hungary in 1621, the broadsheet's year of publication. This decorative sentence is a means of introduction to Bethlen Gabor aimed at an educated audience versed in Latin. The same information is

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<sup>130</sup> Böttcher, pp. 333-35.

<sup>131</sup> Böttcher, pp. 325-6.

repeated in the German text below the image, and reminds all audiences of the princely dignities of the Transylvanian leader.

The image's depiction of Bethlen Gabor's attire also aims to convince the audience that he is a European prince, rather than an oriental power. The text below the image (lines 3-4) indicates that Bethlen is dressed in Hungarian clothing. Even if the German audience is not aware of what Hungarian attire actually looks like, his presentation in such clothing and its explanation as Hungarian works towards a neutralization of hostile Catholic images which make Bethlen's clothing seem indistinguishable from that of the Turks. The most prominent example of this idea comes in the broadsheet *Trewhertz warnung* (1620). Its image portrays Bethlen Gabor in oriental, Turkish clothing, and its first lines read 'Türkischer Bethlehem / Vnd Mahometischer Gabor / An alle fromme / Christliche / vnnd Trewhertzige / so wol Hoch als Niederdeutsche / zur Warnung an tag geben' (pp. 1-6).

In its attempt to distance Bethlen Gabor from images of Turkish allegiance, *Bildnus* is related to the pamphlet *Copia Eines Sendschreibens* (1619). *Copia* claims to be a letter from Bethlen Gabor to the leaders of Bohemia and it frames the Prince's campaign as a bid to save both Hungary and Christian Europe from the threat of Turkish invasion. This ties in with *Bildnus's* insistence that the Prince is wholly Christian, even if he was placed on the throne by the Ottomans. *Copia* seeks to neutralize the idea that Bethlen is a vehicle of Turkish policy by demonstrating how passionate he is about defending Christian Europe from Turkish incursion:

Dieweil aber weder deß Durchläuchtigsten Königes Ferdinandi Würde / noch durch  
anderer Fürsten Zuthat / soviel vermöcht / das hochschädliche Feuer in der  
Christenheit zu dempffen vnd zu leschen / sondern durch täglich gewachsene

Schwierigkeit vnd Verbitterung weit umb sich gegriffen / vnd in Schwung kommen / vnd wir bey so beschaffenen gefehrlichen dingen [...] sitzen [...] daß vnser Land im Angesicht der Türcken gelegen / welche wie die Fluhten deß weitten Meers nicht ruhen können / immer ihre Ohren auch zu der Christen geringsten Zwytracht offen halten / Sonderlich weil sie jetzo mit Persien vnd in Asia Friede halten [...] vnd dahero leichtlich Vnruhe zustehen könne / vnnd sie in benachbarte örter einzufallen Gelegenheit [haben] [...] vns solches abzuwenden [...] gebührte / haben wir vns beflissen [...] zu Erhaltung des Christlichen Wesens / zu kommen. (*Copia Eines Sendschreibens*, pp. 1-2)

*Bildnus* repeats its idea of a legitimate Christian, European prince through other details in its image. The sceptre held in the Prince's right hand is one of the most powerful symbols of this message. In sixteenth and seventeenth-century imagery, the sceptre symbolized justice, power, the upholding of the law and God-given rule.<sup>132</sup> This symbol of lawful, Christian rule is complemented by the facial expression of the Prince, made up of a slight smile, vigilant eyes, and a calmness connoting control of emotions. These expressions arguably correspond to some of the virtues expected of a Christian prince at the time, which included kindness, clemency, moderation and a sense of justice.<sup>133</sup> The connotations of the portrait are deliberate and designed to counteract the idea that the Prince is an unpredictable and intimidating figure, aiming to replace them instead with ideas of his virtue and trustworthiness. The intent behind this portrayal is to increase support for Bethlen Gabor

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<sup>132</sup> Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne, *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1996), pp. 1266-9. Henceforth *Emblemata*.

<sup>133</sup> Müller, p. 576. The mentioned virtues were listed in the *Fürstenspiegel* of the period that were designed to educate Christian princes on correct forms of behaviour.

among the moderate Protestants by stressing that he is a virtuous ally worthy of Protestant support.

The text beneath the portrait supports its message. Although it mentions the Prince's placement on the throne of Transylvania by the Turks, a fact that was already commonly known in Europe, it counteracts this reference to the Ottoman by stating in the next line that he has been elected the King of Hungary. This second statement helps to weaken the image of Bethlen as a power supported only by the Turks: the reference to his Hungarian election suggests that he has been invested with power by Hungarian authorities and consequently has Christian European support. In short, the image and text complement one another and stress that Bethlen Gabor is a legitimate ruler who possesses a number of the virtues required of a Christian prince. The description of these virtues is designed to inspire trust that Bethlen Gabor is a Protestant ally, and words to this effect are also placed at the end of the text:

Hilff Gott: damit Fried grün vnd blühe

Ohn einig Blut vnd Mord/

Das Pur-lauter / ohn alle mühe

Fortwachs dein Göttlich Wort. (*Bildnus*, lines 13-16)

These last four lines seek to assure the reader that Bethlen Gabor is intervening in order to re-establish peace in the Empire, and not to ignite war. It also links him to a divine, peaceful mission. As mentioned in reference to the pamphlet *Copia*, this was a message conveyed in other pieces of propaganda which sought to present the Prince's intervention in the Empire in terms of an attempt to resolve the conflict between Ferdinand II and the Elector Palatine and to prevent Turkish invasion. In summary, *Bildnus* and the other portraits of Bethlen



Gabor are designed to convince the audience that Bethlen Gabor is a Christian prince, with a benevolent character, whose motives are peaceful. This message aimed to deconstruct previous negative images of the Prince and encourage a moderate audience to accept him as an unthreatening and deserved Protestant ally.

## Section Two: Bethlen Gabor, The Virtuous Liberator

The equestrian broadsheet *Princeps* (1619) seeks to glorify Bethlen Gabor as a powerful military leader and to legitimize his actions on religious grounds. This broadsheet belongs to a group of three equestrian portraits on the Prince designed by Protestant propagandists in the early years of the war. Confusingly for researchers wishing to discuss them, all three broadsheets belonging to this 'portrait' group are entitled *GABRIEL BETHLEN D. G. PRINCEPS TRANSYLVANIAE, PART, REGNI HVNGARIAE DOMINVS ET SICVLORVM COMES*, even though they are in fact distinct sheets. All are equestrian portraits which show Bethlen Gabor on a rearing horse. *Princeps*, for example, the sheet investigated focused on in this study, has an image of warring soldiers in the background and text in Hungarian and Latin as well as German. Yet a sheet with the same title published a year later, has a text entirely in Latin and does not contain a battle scene in the background.<sup>134</sup> The final broadsheet which bears the same title depicts soldiers on the march in the background of the equestrian image and is not accompanied by any text at all.<sup>135</sup> *Princeps* has consequently been selected for analysis in place of other equestrian portraits on the Prince due to its accompanying text. This feature is not included in other equestrian sheets, which arguably makes *Princeps* a more potent piece of propaganda.

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<sup>134</sup> *GABRIEL BETHLEN D. G. PRINCEPS TRANSYLVANIAE PART. REGNI HUNGARIAE DOMINVS, ET SICVLORVM COMES, &c.* (1620). Paas, III p. 469.

<sup>135</sup> *GABRIEL BETHLEN D. G. PRINCEPS TRANSYLVANIAE PART. REGNI HUNGARIAE DOMINVS, ET SICVLORVM COMES, ETC.* [1619-20(?)]. Paas, III, p. 109. This broadsheet contains no date of publication.



(Text beneath image cropped)

*Princeps* is dominated by an equestrian image of Bethlen Gabor. The Prince wears majestic clothes and displays masterful control of a rearing horse with a magnificent bridle and saddle cloth. In the background, troops are engaged in battle. On the image's top left-hand side is an arm reaching out from a cloud, holding a sword, and framed by the Latin motto *consilio firmata deu*. This is reminiscent of the emblem entitled *Lex Regit et Arma Tventvr*,

which will be discussed below. On the top right-hand side of the image are three coats of arms set in a circle. Above this circle are two lions, each holding one side of a crown.

While the image comprises roughly two-thirds of the whole broadsheet, the remaining third is made up of text. This text is divided into three columns that break down into a large and a small section. Each of the columns targets a separate linguistic audience because they are written in Hungarian, Latin, and German respectively. Yet the information contained in each column is largely the same. The Latin column, for instance, has virtually the same message as the German text, although it does give extra detail in a few places.<sup>136</sup> Given that this investigation concentrates on radical German Protestant propaganda, the following section of analysis will focus on the column of German text.

In contrast to the non-equestrian portraits, all of which seek to present a sympathetic and dignified image of the Prince, the equestrian portraits have a slightly different function. Although their purpose has not yet been comprehensively investigated, equestrian portraits are considered to be a method used to portray a prince or leader as an earthly, religious, and military authority in one. They were the form *par excellence* used to convey a ruler's absolute power to govern, and were an established propagandistic tradition that had been used since antiquity.<sup>137</sup> One of the most famous examples of the bronze equestrian sculptures, on which the later portraits were based, is that of the Roman Emperor Marcus

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<sup>136</sup> The Latin elaborates in some places that the German doesn't, for instance adding that he is the 'God-given' ruler of Transylvania, or that his virtue is 'second to none.' My thanks to doctoral candidate Jasmin Allousch of the Goethe University of Frankfurt for her translation of the Latin column and assistance in comparing it to the German text of *Princeps*.

<sup>137</sup> For more information on equestrian portraits see Volker Hunecke's *Europäische Reitermonumente: ein Ritt durch die Geschichte Europas von Dante bis Napoleon* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2008), Ulrich Keller's *Reitermonumente absolutistischer Fürsten. Staatstheoretische Voraussetzungen und politische Funktionen*, Münchener Kunsthistorische Abhandlungen, 2 (Munich and Zurich: Schnell und Steiner, 1971) and Angelos Tillios's *Die Funktion und Bedeutung der Reiter- und Pferdeführerdarstellungen auf attischen Grab- und Weihreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts vor Chr.* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2010).

Aurilius on the site of the Capitol. The popularity of equestrian portraits as a propagandistic technique is evident in the depictions of a number of figureheads of the Thirty Years' War, including Christian IV, Ferdinand II, Friedrich V, Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, Johann Georg of Saxony and General Pappenheim.<sup>138</sup> Consequently, in the context of propaganda on Bethlen Gabor, a well-established technique of portraying power is used in order to persuade the moderate Protestant reader that Bethlen Gabor was a legitimate and powerful political and religious authority.

The broadsheet is linked to the political and military events of its year of publication in 1619. This year saw Bethlen Gabor make his first foray into the Bohemian conflict and in doing so draw the attention of the German public. Exploiting the fact that Ferdinand II was busy wrestling for control of Bohemia, Bethlen Gabor was able to capture Upper Hungary as well as the capital of Royal Hungary. He explained his march into Royal Hungary in terms of a bid to free the country from Habsburg absolutism and to help his Protestant ally Friedrich V of the Palatinate. This dominant position over a large swathe of Hungary by late 1619 was an unexpected event. The Transylvanian's sudden appearance on the political stage, as a daring and successful opponent of the Austrian Habsburgs, prompted radical Protestant propagandists to produce writing in support of his campaign, which sought to rally support for his anti-Habsburg cause and was directed at the moderate Protestants. This largely Lutheran group would not have been particularly keen on supporting the Calvinist ally of the Elector Palatine, whose associations to the Ottoman Empire were infamous. The radical propagandists' main tactic was to show that Bethlen Gabor's aggressive intervention in the politics of the Empire was legitimate and unavoidable, and to use political, moral and religious argument to gain acceptance of him as a Protestant ally.

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<sup>138</sup> Heyde, p. 204.

These events of 1619, and the need to produce material for a Protestant audience wary of a Calvinist prince with Turkish ties, provide the context and historical background to the publication of equestrian broadsheets such as *Princeps* in 1619 and 1620. As indicated by the percentage of the broadsheet dedicated to its image, one of the ways in which *Princeps* attempts to persuade the audience that Bethlen Gabor was a worthy ally is through providing them with an awe-inspiring image of the Prince. He wears majestic clothing, sits gracefully on a rampant horse, and rides confidently into battle. His cape billows in the wind, creating the sense of movement, and the sheathed sword to the right of his thigh suggests readiness for battle. In an echo of *Bildnus*, the Prince also holds a sceptre in his hand. Yet in contrast the calm, static image of *Bildnus*, in which the sceptre rests close to Bethlen Gabor's body, this symbol of legitimate power and rule is held up to the sky. This places it close to the Latin motto in the image's left-hand corner, which it points to. The motto, which reads *consilio firmate deu*, roughly translates as 'supported by God's plan'. Although this would have been understood only by the elite, Latin-educated readers of the broadsheet, it still provides insight into the sheet's message: Bethlen Gabor's campaign in Hungary and his defence of Friedrich V is depicted to be supported and willed by God.

This majestic equestrian image of Bethlen, accompanied by an emblem in the top left-hand corner, are used to give Bethlen authority. The emblem consists of an armoured arm reaching from the clouds, and clasping a sword that has a crown around its blade. The emblem is a particularly powerful way to remind the audience of Bethlen's power and legitimacy. The inscription of the Latin motto translates as 'the rule of law must be upheld by weapons', and the fact that the arm stems from the heavens indicates that it is God's law that is being defended by Bethlen Gabor. The educated among the audience that read the broadsheet would also have been familiar with the subscription of the old emblem, which

translates as ‘das Gesetz regiert, und die Waffen des Fürsten schützen das Volk gegen seine Feinde, das die heiligen Befehle des Gesetzes ausführt.’<sup>139</sup> In this emblem we see not only how the broadsheets could be read on different levels according to the education of the audience, but also how sophisticated the campaign was, as it incorporated well-known emblems and was deliberately working with repetition of familiar images to achieve its aims. The same also goes for the sceptre that Bethlen Gabor touches the emblem with. Building on the message of the emblem itself, it is used to associate the Prince with its traditional associations of justice, law-abidance, God’s grace, and virtue.<sup>140</sup>

The image of a prince defending God’s law and protecting his Christian flock from the enemy additionally plays on the concept of a *militia christiana*. This concept had been used since the Middle Ages to legitimize military conflict by citing religious reasons.<sup>141</sup> Its argument was that war waged in God’s name was wholly justified. The image and Latin motto are examples of how *Princeps* tries to convince the pious seventeenth-century audience that Bethlen Gabor is completing a divine mission. This intention is also evident in the German column of text underneath the image, which has positive religious connotations regarding the Prince’s campaign. Its eighteen lines are divided thematically. The first five give an introduction to the Prince, presumably in response to the general curiosity prompted by the sudden spotlight on the mysterious Calvinist prince:

Schaw an / Leser / diß tapffre Bild

B E T H L E N G A B O R den Fürsten mild /

In Siebenbürgen / thewr vnd werth /

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<sup>139</sup> *Emblemata*, pp. 1848-9.

<sup>140</sup> *Emblemata*, pp. 1266-9.

<sup>141</sup> Heyde, p. 203.



Uhralt es Stammes / hoch geziert

Von Tugendt / Mannheit / Gottsfurcht auch / (*Princeps*, lines 1-5)

These lines seek to convince the audience of Bethlen Gabor's dignity and virtue. Positive adjectives such as *tapffre*, *mild*, *thewr* and *werth* give the impression of a heroic and highly regarded prince, while the final lines praise the Transylvanian in more conventional terms as an established, God-fearing Christian prince. The design of this introduction is to counter the audience's mistrust of the Prince due to his Turkish associations. In contrast to *Bildnus*, the *Princeps* sheet makes no reference whatsoever to the Turkish Empire. Instead, it concentrates on putting to rest any doubts regarding the Christian integrity of the Prince by giving details on his virtue, his seat of power, and his ancient pedigree. Of particular significance here is also the reference to Bethlen's God-fearing nature: this helps to counter the image promoted by Catholics that Bethlen was in fact a Muslim in disguise, acting on behalf of the Turkish Empire.

Following the emphasis on the dignity and piety of Bethlen Gabor, lines six to nine explain the reasons why he has re-captured Royal Hungary from Habsburg Catholic control. They serve to stress his military strength, and illustrate that he is an assertive military leader:

Hungarn bedrangt durchs Römisch Joch /

Begehrt sein Hülff / bald war er auff /

Bracht vierzig tausent Mann zu hauff /

Nimbt ein gantz Hungarn ohne Blut / (*Princeps*, lines 6-9)

These lines stress Bethlen's military clout, his fearlessness to act and convey his quick reactions. The very fact that he is able to raise an army of forty thousand men so quickly



indicates that he has substantial military resources at his disposal. The next lines highlight the efficacy and military skill of Bethlen's forces. This signals not only Bethlen's mastery of the art of war, but also suggests a widespread approval of his campaign in Hungary which meant that the army did not encounter much resistance. The intent behind this portrayal is to inspire awe and respect of the Prince as a skilful military leader.

These lines additionally couch Bethlen Gabor's invasion in terms that the Protestant audience can relate to: in a similar way to Martin Luther's campaign, Bethlen's fight is defensive in nature, and he is responding to protect his compatriots from the abuses of Roman Catholicism. In framing Bethlen Gabor's campaign in this way, *Princeps* plays on the idea of a right to resistance that had been used by the German Protestants in the sixteenth century. It was based on the idea that obedience to authority is the rule provided that the authority did not interfere with religious affairs, and argued that one must always choose defence of God in any conflict between religious and political authorities.<sup>142</sup> The text consequently provides the German Protestant audience with the argument that Bethlen is legitimately resisting Catholic Habsburg rule because of its threat to religious and other freedoms. This portrayal also guards against accusations of greed and the suspicion that Bethlen Gabor was seeking to extend his power and sphere of influence. It was particularly important to combat this idea, because according to Roman tradition which had been revived in the sixteenth century, war waged out of desire for power was considered to be nothing more than robbery.<sup>143</sup> Defensive wars, on the contrary, were considered to be the most just reason for war during the early modern period. This defence could even take the

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<sup>142</sup> Böttcher, p. 334.

<sup>143</sup> Franz Bosbach, *Monarchia Universalis: Ein politischer Leitbegriff der frühen Neuzeit* Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 32 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988), p. 94. Henceforth Bosbach.

form of an offensive as long as it was at its basis a preventative measure.<sup>144</sup> Bethlen Gabor's offensive campaign was consequently framed in propaganda including *Princeps* as a measure to prevent the Hungarian Protestants from surrendering to the pressure of Roman Catholicism.

Following this careful portrayal of Bethlen's offensive to be justified, bloodless, and religiously motivated, lines ten to fourteen attempt to soften the audience's attitude towards the Prince even further. They highlight once more his virtue and engagement for the rights of the Hungarian Protestants:

Das laß dir seyn ein Helden gut!

In alte Freyheit alles setzt /

Wie Hercules, der Held so werth /

Nicht mehr als Helffers Rhum begehrt. (*Princeps*, lines 10-14)

This emphasis on heroism aims to convince the audience that Bethlen Gabor is not to be feared. As mentioned above, the temporary capture of Hungary led some to suspect Bethlen of greed. They considered his invasion to be opportunistic and an attempt to usurp a legitimate ruler, Ferdinand II, of his territory during a moment of weakness. The repeated references to bravery, including Bethlen's comparison to Hercules, aim to calm concerns over possible ulterior motives of the Prince. The argument is that Bethlen is endowed with traditional Christian virtues. Far from being an aggressor, he has been compelled to help, and his offensive is not self-serving but altruistic because his campaign stems from sympathy for the oppressed and defence of their rights and freedoms. Again, this image seeks to gain the overall approval of the moderate Protestants for his challenge to Habsburg

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<sup>144</sup> Bosbach, p. 102.

authority. It also helps to neutralize allegations that his invasion has been ordered by the Turks. The blame for Bethlen Gabor's forced intervention is placed instead on the shoulders of tyrannical Catholic authorities. This underlines the message that Bethlen and his army pose no threat to the Protestants of the Empire. After asserting that the Catholics are the 'wrong-doers', the text's final four lines put pressure on the readers to support Bethlen Gabor's campaign because it is God-willed:

O Höchster Gott / in deiner Handt

Hast aller Menschen Hertz vnd Landt /

Gib Einigkeit an allem Ort /

Daß wir dich preisen hie vnd dort. (*Princeps*, lines 15-18)

While the first three quarters of the text serve to sweep away any negative images of the prince, this last quarter adopts a more instructive tone. Constructed as a plea to God, it calls on him to bring unity to the Christian camp. It is not difficult to see that it is a call to the German Protestants to unite behind Bethlen Gabor, who is portrayed to be fighting the immoral forces of Catholicism.

In sum, Bethlen is glorified as the liberator of Hungary from the yoke of Catholic oppression, and presented as a credible and virtuous representative of the Protestant cause. His background is portrayed to be impeccable, and his personal and military qualities both admirable and exceptional. *Princeps's* depiction of Bethlen defending Hungarian Protestants from Catholic oppression also gives the impression that he demonstrates the Christian princely virtue of justice, an idea echoed in the *Bildnus* broadsheet. This encourages the belief that he can be trusted by the Protestants and does not intend to abuse his power. The issue of friend and foe is also addressed by the text's deliberate non-

reference to the Prince's Calvinist and Turkish ties, while the common Catholic fiend is placed in the forefront of the reader's mind. The text complements sheets such as *Bildnus's* image of a benevolent, Christian prince and seeks additionally to inspire a sense of awe by emphasizing his military might, his altruism, and his heroism. Due to the fascination surrounding Bethlen Gabor at this time, due to his sudden appearance on the European scene, the sheet can also be understood as a response to public curiosity concerning his 'otherness'. While it is clear that Bethlen is a Foreign Other in the sense that he does not share the same linguistic and national boundaries as the German Protestants, the broadsheet plays down his linguistic and national otherness and highlights him as an exotic and fascinating Other, stressing his bravery and his noble Hungarian pedigree. All of the ideas present in *Princeps* are designed to overcome the German Protestants' suspicion that Bethlen Gabor might be a Calvinist rebel, or worse, a Muslim in disguise. *Princeps* endeavours to reassure the moderate readers that Bethlen Gabor is a figure worthy of respect and is a friend, rather than a foe, of the German Protestants of the Empire.

### Section Three: The Avenger of Catholic Abuse

The broadsheet *Meßkram*,<sup>145</sup> published in 1619/20, is a piece of radical propaganda that builds on Bethlen Gabor's presentation as a Christian prince fighting against Catholic violations in Hungary. Playing on events of 1619, it uses the image of Bethlen Gabor as a punisher of Jesuit abuses in order to convince the audience that he is an assertive and virtuous force of justice. In this, it is closely related to the message of pamphlets such as *Hungarischer Trawrbott*.<sup>146</sup> Like the broadsheets *Bildnus* and *Princeps*, *Meßkram* enjoyed a number of re-prints. This suggests that the sheet was a successful piece of radical propaganda, and of all the pieces of propaganda studied in this chapter, *Meßkram* is arguably the most shocking satirical broadsheet.



<sup>145</sup> *Siebenbürgischer in Vngern außgelegter Meßkram : welchen der Fürst in Siebenbürgen vnter den Jesuitern/ München vnd aufrührerischen Pfaffen mit grosser Verwunderung im Königreich Vngern außgelegt vnd hauffenweiß verpartirt hat* (1619). HAB: IH110. Henceforth *Meßkram*.

<sup>146</sup> *Hungarischer Trawrbott / welcher deß Königreichs Ungarn gefährlichen Zustandt / wie der Fürst in Siebenbürgen / Bethlehen Gabor mit in sechzig tausendt Mann in dasselbe eingefallen / die vornembsten Vestungen / Städt und Päß einnimbt/ Auch wie er sonsten darinnen hauset / den Steyermärckern grosse Forcht einjaget / vnd was sich sonsten hin vnd wider begiebet / vnd zutregt / umbständlich erzehlet* (Magdeburg: Francke, 1619), 8 pages. HAB: A: 202.63 Quod. 78. Henceforth *Trawrbott*.

(Text below image cropped)

The image of *Meßkramm* covers roughly one third of the broadsheet's space, and is the most shocking of all of the radical broadsheet images that feature the Prince. It depicts Bethlen Gabor assisting the castration of Jesuits in Hungary, and plays on the real-life expulsion of the Jesuits from the Hungarian territory captured by Bethlen's forces in 1619.<sup>147</sup> On the image's bottom right-hand side is a *Postbott* or messenger, who walks towards the tailor in the middle of the image in order to provide him with news. The tailor, holding a yardstick and wielding enormous scissors, is the most dynamic figure of the illustration. This is because he is in the process of castrating Jesuits. A group of Jesuits stand chained to the left of the tailor in the background, and another is tied to a bench a short distance from the tailor, awaiting his fate. The Jesuit is naked from the waist down and is held in place by Bethlen Gabor and an unnamed assistant. On the bottom left-hand side of the sheet is the tailor's wife, who seems distressed by the scene of Jesuit castration, and on the top left-hand side of the sheet is another woman, who is engaged in close discussion with a free Jesuit. The scene is set in what looks like a public square and there is a backdrop of a city behind it.

The text beneath the image consists of one hundred and twenty-five lines, which divide into sixty rhyming couplets. The text comprises a dialogue in which the *Postbott*, the *Schneider*, and the *Schneiders Weib* are each allocated one column of speech. The tailor's speech is the longest and the messenger's speech the shortest, although even this short speech of thirty-one lines is much longer than the texts of the equestrian and portrait propaganda investigated earlier. The text is crucial to explaining the image of the broadsheet. In contrast

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<sup>147</sup> Harms, p. 258.

to other broadsheets of the Thirty Year's War, whose simple graphic would have been decipherable without the help of an accompanying text, *Meßkramm* relies on its text to be read or sung to its audience in order to clarify its image's meaning.

*Meßkramm*'s first column of text comprises the dialogue of the messenger, whose function is to inform the audience of Bethlen Gabor's capture of Hungary and to explain why the Prince is now severely punishing the Jesuits. This first column is crucial in setting the moralistic tone of the sheet and in establishing the argument that Bethlen Gabor is a force of justice and piety. It does this by using the messenger's voice to explain that after invading Hungary and inspecting the Jesuit monasteries, Bethlen Gabor was so appalled by Jesuit behaviour and practices that he has decided to purge Hungary entirely of their influence:

Ein Postbott

Hört wunder wunder / über Wundr /

Ich bring mit etwas news jtzunder /

Auß Vngerland nicht ohn gefehr /

[...] Dann es geht Wunderseltzam zu.

Der Siebenbürgisch Fürst bekandt /

Ist ankommen in Vngerland /

Hat etlich Clöster visitirt,

Die Jesuiter Examiniert,

Wie dann die Münche auch deßgleichen /

Ihr viel haben nicht könn entweichn.

Insonderheit welche Er vermeint /

Daß es die größten Meutmacher seynd.

Dieselben (es hilfft kein verbittn)

Die müssen all sein außgeschnittn.

Praelaten / Abt / Prior / Bursier /

Jesuiten es hilfft nichts für.

Die guten Patres müssen ebn /

Ihre Fraterculos hergebn.

Dann man schneit ihnen ohne grauß /

Den Plunder gantz vnd gar herauß,

Sie mögn dran sterben oder genesn /

Acht man nicht viel Ihr grosses wesn.

Die Münch / Pfaffen vnd Jesuitn /

Entlauffn / vnd wolln nicht sein verschnittn (*Meßkramm*, lines 2-4, 7-27)

The text does not elaborate much on the reasons why the Jesuits are being punished. This task is left to the second and third columns of dialogue. What is shown at this point is the swift action being taken by the Prince in order to cleanse Hungary of what he perceives to be unsavoury Catholic elements. This constitutes the main argument of *Meßkramm* and is its first attempt to convince the moderate Protestant audience that Bethlen Gabor's intervention in Hungary is legitimate on moral grounds. As mentioned in the analysis of *Princeps*, Protestant propagandists sought to gain support for Bethlen Gabor's campaign by



showing that it corresponded to reasons for war that were considered to be just. While *Princeps* focused on the idea of a defensive and preventative war to protect the Hungarian Protestants, *Meßkramm* works on similar lines, depicting the Prince to be coming to the aid of co-religionists and neighbours suffering injustices. This in turn reinforces the image of Bethlen as a Christian prince evident in *Bildnus* and *Princeps*, given that help of the oppressed was traditionally considered to be a kingly duty.<sup>148</sup>

Even though it has not named the Jesuit vices, the text is playing on the fear and hatred of the Order that was already prevalent in the German Protestant community.<sup>149</sup> The broadsheet's assertion that Bethlen Gabor is a punisher of Catholic abuses not only aims to convince the audience that his own attitude and sense of morality mirror their own, but also that he is an assertive and determined force of good.

The next column of dialogue comments on the treatment of the Jesuits from the perspective of the tailor. It qualifies the messenger's description of Jesuit punishment by stating that the immoral behaviour of these corrupt Catholics should not go unpunished. This continues the defamation of the Jesuits' character by presenting them as hypocrites and participants in licentious behaviour. Yet the messenger's speech also weaves in political and confessional arguments alongside the moral one. While he initially advocates a moderate position towards the handling of corrupt Jesuits,<sup>150</sup> he later becomes angry at the thought of their possible violations and reflects on the revenge he would take if the allegations are true:

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<sup>148</sup> Bosbach, pp. 102-3.

<sup>149</sup> R. J. W. Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy: An Interpretation* (Oxford: Clarendon 1979), p. 42. Henceforth Evans *Monarchy*. See Maria Pfeffer's section on 'Die Jesuitenflugblätter', pp. 37-45.

<sup>150</sup> Harms, p. 258.

Ists war / was man zu dieser zeit /

Von Jesuitem starck außgeit,

Nemlich / wie sie mit Wort vnd Schrifften /

Allenthalben viel Vnglück stifften.

Grossen Herren stehn nach dem lebn /

Krieg / Auffruhr anrichten darnebn,

Vnsern Weibern Kinder anstelln /

Fromme Leut darzu nach sein wölln:

Darzu vnter eim Heilign schein /

So heimtückisch sich schleichen ein:

Gschieht Ihn nicht vnrecht vmb ein Haar /

Das man Sie aus schneit gantz vnd gar.

Solt Ich erfahren (wie man seydt)

Es sey in kurtz oder langen zeit:

Das einr an meinem Weib solt hengn /

Ich wolt Ihn recht an Ihn setzn /

Meine scharffe Scheer an ihn wetzn.

Er solt gewiß darzu nicht lachn /

Meim Weib der Possn nicht viel mehr machn. (*Meßkramm*, lines 63-81)

This paragraph consequently associates the Jesuits with a variety of negative qualities in order to whip up further anti-Jesuit and anti-Catholic sentiments. In addition, the tailor's allegations arguably make the messenger's description of the Jesuits' moral depravity seem the least serious criticism of the Catholic Order. Accusing it of murdering princes, starting wars, and propagating false religious teachings, *Meßkramm* provides evidence of a campaign that sought to denounce the Catholics using political and confessional arguments as well as moral ones. This description of the Catholic perversion of political, confessional and moral norms seeks to further strengthen the idea that Bethlen Gabor's expulsion of the Jesuits is justified and that he is a legitimate force of justice.

The broadsheet seeks to expel any remaining doubt regarding the legitimacy of Bethlen Gabor's actions in its final column of speech, which describes the Jesuits' licentiousness from the perspective of the tailor's wife, a victim of Jesuit corruption. She gives detail on her extra-marital activity with her Jesuit Father and provides a damning and worrying account of how the Order is undermining piety in Hungarian society. Her corruption by the Jesuits is evident not only in her confession of adultery and betrayal, but also in her lack of remorse. In the image of the wife in the broadsheet, she covers her forehead with the back of her hand in an expression of horror, and her speech expresses regret only at the fact that her Jesuit Father Pater Niclaus will no longer be able to satisfy her sexual desires after his castration:

Ach wie bin Ich zu dieser zeit /

So gar ein Vnglückhafftig Weib /

Gestriges Tags hab Ich vernommn /

Vnd hab gar böse Post bekommn.

Wie daß der Siebenbürg zur frist /

In Vngern eingefallen ist.

Alle die sich an Ihm ergebn /

Den thut Er nichts an ihren lebn.

Aber Münch vnd Jesuitn /

Soll Er viel haben ausgeschnittn.

Darunter soll Pater Niclaus fein /

Soll mirs nicht gehn durchs Hertz hinein?

Den Abt / Subprior soll Er auch /

Ausschneiden lassen nach seim brauch.

Darzu noch manchen Geistlichen Mann /

Die mir viel guter Dienst gethan.

Ist das nicht grosse Tyranny /

Die man an Priestern übt so frey.

Welche doch stets in solchen sachn /

So gute Possel Arbeit machn. (*Meßkramm*, lines 84-103)

*Meßkramm's* text consequently presents a damning portrayal of the Jesuits and a glorifying one of Bethlen Gabor. The broadsheet's characters provide evidence of Jesuit wrong-doing and justify the Transylvanian Prince's treatment of the Order. Although this broadsheet has been described as anti-Jesuit propaganda with a moralistic slant, I wish to qualify this view by demonstrating that the source also belongs to a campaign aimed at gaining support for

the Calvinist prince Bethlen Gabor. I do not deny that it vilifies the Jesuit Order but in my view this is a deliberate technique designed to build bridges between the moderate Protestant audience and Bethlen Gabor. The portrayal of the Prince's contempt for the Order is a means through which the writer seeks to establish common ground between the two parties, and to convince the audience that Bethlen Gabor's attitudes reflect their own.

Furthermore, its repeated mention of Bethlen Gabor and his tough stance on the Jesuits is evidence of the text commenting positively on the Prince. If *Meßkramm* constituted a text designed only to denounce the Jesuits, then it would not differ much from *Jesuitische Walfarths Leistung* (1619)<sup>151</sup> or *Der vertriebenen Jesuiter auß den Königreichen Böheimb vnd Hungarn* (1619).<sup>152</sup> These sheets both use the expulsion of the Jesuits from Hungary and Bohemia as an opportunity to denounce them, and provide evidence of how it was standard to comment on their sexual depravity,<sup>153</sup> but hardly mention Bethlen Gabor. The portrayals of Bethlen Gabor at the centre of this anti-Jesuit movement in Hungary is what makes *Meßkramm* special, because it uses the expulsion of the Jesuits to convey the positive effect he is having on the country. It also builds on other pieces of radical Protestant propaganda which used hatred of the Jesuits to justify the Prince's campaign. One of these is the fifteen-page pamphlet *Trawrbott*, mentioned in the opening paragraph of this section. Like *Meßkramm*, it accuses the Jesuits of propagating sinful teachings in Hungary and in doing so

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<sup>151</sup> *Jesuitische Walfarths Leistung/ Welche die aus den Königreichen und Ländern/ Böheimb/ Hungern und Mehrern außgejagte und vertriebene Jesuiter/ mit grosser Andacht/ nach Amsterdam zu S. Raspino und Pono zureisen höchlichen verursacht* (1619). Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle: AB 153555 (6).

<sup>152</sup> *Der vertriebenen Jesuiter auß den Königreichen Böheimb vnd Hungern vorgenommene Wallfahrt zu den Heiligen Raspino vnd Pono/ nach Amsterdam ins Zuchthauß* (1619). HAB: Einbl. Xb Fm 124.

<sup>153</sup> Line 46 of *Jesuitische Walfarths Leistung*, for instance, lists *Unzucht* or illicit sexual relations as one of the Jesuits' defining characteristics, and alleges that they keep mistresses in their monasteries on lines 61-2. In *Der vertriebenen Jesuiter* the accusation of sexual depravity is more subtle, as lines 71-2 state simply that the Jesuits act as if they are not familiar with women. Maria Pfeffer also points out in her discussion of Jesuit propaganda that one of the criticisms levelled at the Jesuits time and again was that of adultery. See Pfeffer, p. 37.

corrupting its people. They are also depicted to pose a direct threat to Bethlen's life due to their purported plan to assassinate him. This has led Bethlen Gabor to lead a campaign to expel them for the good of the country:

Es wird vor glaubwürdig außgegeben / daß etliche Jesuitische Catholiken / umb deß Fürsten in Siebenbürgen Leben / deß Bethlehem Gabors gespielt haben / ihne also umb sein Hals zubringen / derewegen er sich über alle solche Practicanten machen wil / pfuy der Jesuitischen Lehr / welche ein rechter unheylsamer Krebs ist / Königreich vnd Lande zuverderben / vnd auffzureiben. (*Trawrbott*, p. 9)

Consequently, and in the same way as *Trawrbott*, *Bildnus* and *Princeps*, *Meßkramm* asserts that Bethlen Gabor is a Christian prince who is a pious force. It does not mention the Prince's *Gottesfurcht* like *Princeps* does, but it does convey his commitment to standards of Christian piety by describing his decisive action to cut out all of the Jesuit influence in Hungary. In the same way that *Bildnus* and *Princeps* convey the idea of a Christian prince who displays the required virtue of justice, so does *Meßkramm*. The reader, confronted with an image of widespread moral degeneracy in Jesuit-controlled Hungary, is left with little choice but to endorse Bethlen Gabor's action, and the radical propagandist has achieved his aim.

Equally visible in *Meßkramm* is the sense of the fearlessness and boldness of the Prince. This is conveyed in *Princeps* through its image of Bethlen Gabor riding confidently into battle on a majestic warhorse. *Meßkramm* mirrors this idea by describing the Prince's swift and authoritative action as soon as he became aware of the extent of Jesuit corruption following his inspection of their monasteries. When summing up the intent of *Meßkramm*, attention should be given to the title of the broadsheet, which is indicative of its content and the

message that it seeks to convey: *Siebenbürgischer in Vngern außgelegter Meßkram: welchen der Fürst in Siebenbürgen vnter den Jesuitern/ München vnd aufrührerischen Pfaffen mit grosser Verwunderung im Königreich Vngern außgelegt vnd hauffenweiß verpartirt hat.* This reflects the message of the propaganda previously discussed in this chapter: Bethlen Gabor is a force of good in the battle against Catholic attacks on Protestant integrity, and that his intervention in Hungary and the politics of the Empire should be viewed with 'admiration' by the Protestant public.

#### Section Four: In Defence of the Faith

The broadsheet *Contrafactur*,<sup>154</sup> published in 1620, plays on the religious sensibilities of the German Protestant audience in order to persuade them to support Bethlen Gabor's campaign. In its description of violations committed by Catholic Habsburg authority in Hungary, it is closely related to the Protestant pamphlets *Regni Hungariae Occupatio* (1619)<sup>155</sup> and *Gründlicher vnd wahrhafftiger Bericht auß Prag* (1619).<sup>156</sup>

*Contrafactur* reflects the need in 1620 to underline the religious motivations behind Bethlen Gabor's aggressive anti-Habsburg campaign. As is well-known, Bethlen Gabor had appeared suddenly on the European stage in August of 1619, after which date he mounted a successful campaign to capture Habsburg-administered Royal Hungary. His new-found position of power generated public interest and created a need to explain the Prince's

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<sup>154</sup> *Wahre Contrafactur vnnd Abbildung / deß Durchleuchtigen / Hochgebornen Fürsten vnd Herren / Herrn Betlehem Gabor / Fürsten in Siebenbürgen / u. Sampt einem Gespräch zwischen demselben vnd der Religion / sampt dero zugethanen gemeinen Landsständen gegenwertiges Kriegswesen betreffendt* (1620). Paas, III, p. 98. Henceforth *Contrafactur*.

<sup>155</sup> Lorenz Emmerich, *Regni Hungariae Occupatio. Oder Kurtze Summarische doch gründtliche Relation / von dem Fürsten in Siebenbürgen Bethlehem Gabor / wie ihre Fürstliche Durchl: unversehens / vnd wider aller Menschen Gedancken / deß Königreichs Hungarn sich bemächtigt / vnd die Königliche Cron zu Preßburg zu seinen Händen bekommen / vnd was darüber vor Scharmützel vorgangen / warumb / vnd aus was vrsachen Sie aber solches gethan habe / sind die praetendirenden Motiven etlicher massen auß beygefügem Extract, auß einer vom Herrn Palatino, im Namen Käys: Mayest: zu dem Francisco Redaij nach Ungarischen Thürna abgesandten Person Relation, welche sie beedes Herrn Palatino vnd ihrer Fürstlichen Durchl. mündlich vnd Schriftlich / vorgebracht zuvernemen. Darbey auch die waare erzehlung der Dreytägigen Schlacht vnd Scharmützel / bey Vien vorgangen / in welcher auff beeden seyten etliche tausend geblieben / sampt andern Particularn gefunden wirdt. Gedruckt zu Prag / bey Lorenz Emerich. Im Jahr Christi 1619* (Prague: Emmerich, 1619), 8 pages. HAB: A:198.14 Hist. 12. Henceforth *Occupatio*.

<sup>156</sup> *Gründlicher vnd wahrhafftiger Bericht auß Prag. Wie sich der Bethlehem Gabor Fürst in Siebenbürgen auffgemacht / den bedrangten Böhmen vnd Mähren mit 50000. Mann zu Hülff kommen / Auch wie er sehr viel Städt vnd Vestung in Ungarn eingenommen vnd besetzt. Von dem Monat Oktob. biß in den Monat Novembris dieses 1619. Jahrs. Deßgleichen was sich mit den Ungar-Mähr- vnd Tampierischen Volck begeben vnd zugetragen / wie Graff Tampier einen Anschlag auff Preßburg gehabt / darüber er mit den Ungarn vnd Mähren in eine Schlacht gerahten / also daß Graff Tampier biß auff's Häupt erlegt / vnd in 5000 Mann. verlohren / vnd sehr viel verwund worden. Item was sich in Böhmischen vnd Bucquoyischen Läger begen vnd zugetragen. Gedruckt zu Prag bey Carol Schwing / Im Jahr 1619* (Prague, 1619), 7 pages. HAB: M: G1 402. Henceforth *Bericht*.



actions and motives. If we look back to the introduction to this chapter, much of the material produced on the Prince at this time was either neutral or wary of him because his motivations seemed difficult to decipher. A minority of publications did speak in defence of the Prince, and this is the group to which *Contrafactur* belongs. It sought to encourage the moderate German Protestant audience to not be afraid of him, but to view him as a passionate defender of the Protestant faith.

*Contrafactur* displays many similarities to the sources already investigated. Its image, for instance, is reminiscent of the *Princeps* and *Meßkramm* broadsheets. As in *Princeps*, Bethlen is depicted in the centre of the sheet and is a dignified figure wearing decorated, majestic clothing. Similar to *Meßkramm*, the Prince is highlighted as an authoritative figure who is taking action; while *Meßkramm* portrays him participating in Jesuit castration, *Contrafactur* shows him standing proudly in front of an assembly of Hungarian compatriots and dignitaries, discussing his campaign. Both sheets also present Bethlen Gabor collaborating with the Hungarians, suggesting that he has popular support in Hungary and represents the interests of Hungary as a whole.

**Wahre Contrafactur vnnnd Abbildung / deß Durchleuchtigen**  
**Hochgebornen Fürsten vnd Herren / Herrn Bethlen Gabor / Fürsten in Siebenbürgen / 2c. Sampt**  
**einem Gespräch zwischen demselben vnd der Religion / sampt dero jugethanen gemeinen Landeshänden**  
**gegenwertiges Kriegswesen betreffend.**



(Text below image cropped)

Aside from the similarities between the graphic of *Contrafactur* and those of other pro-Bethlen broadsheets, there are some important differences. The most obvious is the sizeable number of Hungarians who stand around the Prince in support of him. This crowd of people contrasts sharply with the single portraits of the Prince and even with the *Meßkramm* sheet, which portrays eleven characters in total. Bethlen is surrounded by no less than twenty-four figures in *Contrafactur*, who represent the estates of Hungary and ordinary Hungarians. This makes *Contrafactur* the only sheet to present visually Bethlen Gabor's support in the highest circles of Hungarian society and in Hungary generally. Their approval is also indicated by the spears, broken rakes, and even a barbed club that they are depicted to be holding, a sign that they have taken up arms to defend his cause.

Furthermore, in contrast to the *Princeps* image, which shows soldiers in its background engaged in battle, the image of *Contrafactur* concentrates more on preparation for war rather than an active campaign. This is evident in the background of the image, in which there is not a scene of war but instead canons poised on a hillside next to a fortress in the top left-hand side of the graphic. To the right of this, and in the rest of the background are bleak mountains. The barren landscape suggests that the Prince and his forces are on the move and are not located in any particular location or city. This certainly corresponds to the context of 1620, in which the Prince weighed up his moves carefully both before and after the Battle of White Mountain and mounted several short campaigns.

The text of the sheet comprises one hundred and fifty-six lines which divide into seventy-two rhyming couplets, which makes it the longest broadsheet text on the Prince. While its content is related to that of *Meßkramm* in respect of its religious and moral themes, it none the less contrasts to *Meßkramm*; the text focuses its energy more intensely on glorifying Bethlen Gabor by using religious rhetoric, and it is an altogether more serious text. Its message is not diluted via the addition of elements designed to improve general moral standards,<sup>157</sup> and it does not dedicate many lines to the vilification of the Jesuits, although Catholic criticism still abounds. Instead, it stresses the absolute necessity of the Prince's campaign and claims it is part of the battle between the forces of good and evil. This idea is a successful propagandistic technique which has its roots in the Middle Ages.<sup>158</sup> This line of argument is related to another technique used in *Contrafactur* and indeed by radical

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<sup>157</sup> For more details on how broadsheets were used as a means to pressure society into conforming to social norms and behaving piously see Michael Schilling's article 'Das Flugblatt als Instrument gesellschaftlicher Anpassung', in *Literatur und Volk im 17. Jahrhundert. Probleme populärer Kultur in Deutschland*, ed. by Wolfgang Brückner and others (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1985), pp. 601-26. Henceforth Schilling *Anpassung*.

<sup>158</sup> Bosbach, pp. 158-60.

Protestant propagandists throughout the war, in particular during the Bohemian phase. Its design was to convince the moderate Protestants to back Friedrich V and his allies' campaign (and later in the war Gustavus Adolphus's military operation) by portraying the conflict not as a local one or a disagreement between two powers, but as a wider battle against Catholic wrong-doers that was pivotal to the survival of Protestantism as a whole.<sup>159</sup>

The text's structure is that of a dialogue between three parties, although the parties speaking in the dialogue do not correspond entirely to the parties illustrated in the broadsheet's image. The very first column of verse, for instance, is not attributed to the members of the Hungarian estates or to Bethlen Gabor, but instead to a personification of the Protestant Faith itself. The opening section of dialogue consequently comprises a dramatic plea for help from the Protestant Faith, which calls on Bethlen Gabor to save it from Catholic oppression, idolatry, and the anti-Christian Pope. Evoking the vivid image of a hero using his sword and shield in order to battle a poisonous dragon, the Protestant Faith explains the context of Bethlen's campaign by imploring him to uphold God's honour and doctrines and to protect his co-religionists from danger:

O Ach vnd wee / Jammer vnd Noht /

[...] Die siebenköpffig gifftig Schlang /

Thut mir gar grossen vbertrang /

Will mich mit gantzer Macht vertreiben /

Vnd mein Lehr allenthalb auffreiben /

[...] Die Kirchen seind eim Jahrmarckt gleich /

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<sup>159</sup> Böttcher, pp. 327, 330-1.

Da was ihm gliebet kaufft der Reich /

Wer Gelt hat kaufft in gutem Preiß

Ablaß / mit sampt dem Paradeiß /

[...] Hingegen muß die Heilig Schrifft

Vom Bapst verhaßt seyn wie ein Gifft.

Singe man ein Psalm / lißt man die Bibel /

So erhebt sich bald mit zorn groß vbel.

Drumb frommer Held Betlehem Gabor /

Hilff mir Vndertruckten empor:

Errett die Evangelisch Lehr /

Wegen deß Herren Christi Ehr.

Verhüt daß nicht die Römisch Meß /

Dein Glaubensgnossen all aufffreß /

Den vngehewren Drachenwildt /

Verjag mit deinem Schwert vnd Schilt /

Erzeig dein Eyfer bständiglich /

Vnd streit für d Kirchen Ritterlich. (*Contrafactur*, lines 2, 4-7, 14-31)

This opening section consequently seeks to convince the moderate Protestant audience that Bethlen Gabor's campaign is legitimate due to the grave danger that the Protestant Faith is currently facing. It plays on fears of Catholic plans to eliminate the Protestant religion

entirely and also draws on the iconographic reference of the 'seven-headed snake', or the apocalyptic beast, used since the Reformation. This image was used to vilify the Church of Rome, as the seven heads of the beast were argued to symbolize the seven hills of Rome. References to the beast, and the Whore of Babylon who rode it, thus came to be connected to the Pope and the Church of Rome. Martin Luther himself was one of the main propagator's of this image due to his work *Von der babylonischen Gefangenschaft der Kirche* (1520). We see here that the broadsheet is employing imagery that has been tried and tested since the Reformation. Further evidence of this comes in the overall framing of Bethlen Gabor engaged an apocalyptic battle between good and evil. The Prince's intervention is depicted in a figurative sense as a ray of light during the Protestant Faith's greatest hour of need: this play on darkness and light is another standard feature of Reformation propaganda and shows that a sophisticated campaign is playing to its audience's expectations. In doing so it uses well-known imagery in order to convince the moderates that the struggle of the Calvinist princes Friedrich V and Bethlen Gabor against the Habsburgs is relevant to their own lives.

The second dialogue section builds on the religious rhetoric of the first by depicting Bethlen Gabor responding heroically to this religious call-to-arms. In a verse reminiscent of pro-Gustavus Adolphus sources of the next chapter, Bethlen Gabor is claimed to be a weapon sent by God. Using passionate speech, he declares his willingness to lay down his own life in defence of the Church, his Hungarian fatherland, and to avenge the injustices perpetrated by the Catholics. His speech echoes the fears expressed by the personified Protestant Faith regarding its survival, and reinforces the link between a need for Protestant defence and the arrival of Bethlen Gabor's campaign. Consequently, and in an extension of the

representations in *Bildnus*, *Princeps*, and *Meßkramm*, Bethlen Gabor is portrayed as a religious hero and a staunch defender of the Protestant Faith:

Was du thust klagen klag ich auch /

[...] So lang mir aber GOtt der HErr

Sein Gnad verleicht / will ich dein Lehr /

Von Christo meim HErrn vnd Heyland /

Handhaben in dem gantzen Land.

Der HErr der mich erkaufft so thewr /

Hilfft mir wider den Drach vnghewr.

[...] Wider den Bapst vnd seine Rott /

Die Christum halten für ein spott /

Weil mir Gott lob / dwarheit bekandt /

Steh ich ihr bey mit gwehrter Handt /

[...] Wir sind Gott vnd dem Vatterland /

Zu dienen schuldig allesampt /

Drumb mag ich nun mein Gut vnd Blut /

Der angefochten Kirch zu gut /

Die Tyranny vnd Falschheit viel /

Erlitten hat ohn maß vnd ziel /

Deß der Bapst allein die vrsach ist /

Wies offenbar zu dieser frist /

Da Gott das fromb vnschuldig Blut /

Zu rechnen nun anfangen thut.

Wer nun sein Trew dem Herrn Gott /

Erweisen will in dieser Noht /

Der tritt zu mir vnd faß ein Hertz /

Gott wird vns helffen ohne Scherz.

Für d Kirchen vnd fürs Vatterland /

Versamble sich der gmeine Standt /

Vnd grieff mit mir behertzt zur Wehr /

Erretten wolln wir Gottes Ehr. (*Contrafactur*, lines 35, 37-42, 45-48, 53-70)

The third and fifth columns of text contain the speech of the Hungarian estates and the Hungarian population. They hail Bethlen Gabor as their hero and give him every assurance that they are also willing to sacrifice everything in his campaign to rid Hungary of Catholicism and to aid him in his support of the Bohemians. These sections of dialogue are designed to persuade the reader that Bethlen's campaign is willed by the Hungarian people and is not unilateral or opportunistic power politics. The lines aim to demonstrate that the Prince is considered to be a hero in his homeland and a Hungarian political and military leader, not a vassal of the Turks who is at odds with Hungarian Christian culture. His positive appraisal by high-ranking Hungarian Protestants encourages their counterparts in the German Protestant camp to adopt a similar attitude, because his altruistic defence of the faith suggests that he does not pose a threat to the Protestants of the Empire. Instead,



he should be celebrated as a counterweight to aggressive Catholic powers whose aggression is intolerable.

The Hungarians' speech also reinforces the complaints of the Protestant Faith and Bethlen Gabor concerning Catholic violations both inside and outside Hungary. This trio of parties decries Catholic tyranny and the pressure that the Catholics are applying on Protestants to make them convert. Catholicism is depicted to be having a detrimental effect on Protestant society. It is both endangered and being corrupted by the Catholics. This portrayal builds on the Protestant Faith's own pessimism and description of the commodification of the Church into a market in which the rich can buy themselves a place in heaven. The Hungarians blame the Catholics for their current state of poverty and express fears concerning a Catholic plan to drive them into Turkey, or even to treat the Hungarians in a similar way to the Bohemians, i.e. by withdrawing their religious rights and forcing their conversion. The speech of the estates consequently strengthens the case that the oppression of the Protestants in Hungary has reached intolerable levels, compelling the Hungarians and their heroic defender Bethlen Gabor to take action:

Die gemeinen Landleuth.

O Frommer Fürst o thewrer Held /

[...] Der Feind hat doch fast alls verhergt /

Vnd vns viel schöner Plätz zerstört /

[...] Drumb kommen wir zu euch getretten /

Vnd thund euch vnderthänigst bitten

Wollen vns bey dem Vatterlandt /

Schirmen mit ewrer Helden Hand.

[...] Die Landsständ.

[...] Die Tyranny vnd grosser Zwang /

Damit man vns thut vbertrang /

Ist gar zu groß / der bitter Todt /

Ist nit so herb als diese Noht. (*Contrafactur*, lines 71-2, 74-5, 82-5, 105, 116-19)

This presentation of the Hungarian Protestants calling on Bethlen Gabor to put an end to their oppression by the Catholics is complemented by similar portrayals in the pamphlets *Occupatio* and *Bericht*. The eight-paged *Occupatio* reminds the reader of the military help that the Austrian Habsburgs are receiving from the Spanish Habsburgs and portrays Bethlen as the Hungarians' saviour from both these Catholic forces. The Hungarians do not wish to become the next victims, after Bohemia, of a united Austro-Spanish Catholic campaign:

Eben dieses haben auch die Hungarische Stände [...] sich besorget / es werde sie der Reyhe den spanischen Dantz zu dantzen gewiß nicht überhupffen [...] Hierzu haben sie deß Bethlehem Gabors Fürsten inn Siebenbürgen hülff erlangt vnd bekommen.  
(*Occupatio*, p. 3)

This argument is echoed in *Bericht*, a seven-page pamphlet which focuses on Bethlen's defence not just of the Hungarians, but of the Moravians and Bohemians who are under attack from the Catholic army. This provides evidence of a coherent campaign to present Bethlen Gabor as a hero coming to the aid of oppressed European Protestants:

Dieweil Graff Tampier in Mähren so vbel gehauset / ist solches dem Bethlehem Gabor Fürst in Siebenbürgen zu Ohren gebracht worden / derwegen er sich mit 50000 Mann

(den betrangten Mährer vnd Böhmen zu Hülff kommen) auffgemacht. Sein Intent [solt] seyn / wie gemelt / den confoederirten Landen zu Hülff zu kommen. (*Bericht*, p. 2)

The fourth and sixth sections of dialogue in *Contrafactur* are spoken by Bethlen Gabor. He responds to the speeches of the ordinary and noble Hungarians. The fourth verse contains the first reference to Bethlen's strong belief that he will be victorious due to God's blessing of his campaign, which in turn provides the moderate German audience with compelling grounds to support him. This is rooted in the early modern belief that all events on earth are attributable to God's divine will.<sup>160</sup> In the light of this, victory or defeat in battle was often perceived to be a sign of God's approval or disapproval of a campaign or party. The propagandist cleverly reminds the audience of this belief because at the time of publication, Bethlen Gabor's forces remained undefeated and had even gained high-regard among the European public as one of the few forces able to credibly challenge Habsburg authority.<sup>161</sup>

This fourth dialogue section is also noteworthy for a memorable quip that attempts to turn the tables on the Catholics' own criticism of Bethlen Gabor. This comes in the Prince's own assertion that the Catholics are, in fact, much worse than the Turks. He says this in response to the speech of the Hungarian estates, who fear that the Turks may soon attack, and assures them that of the two enemies, the Catholics are the worst. Their practices and the piggish Jesuits, or *Esauiter*, are to blame for weakening the Christian faith and for causing Christian suffering:

Der Türck halt mehr auff Trew vnd Ehr /

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<sup>160</sup> Silvia Serena Tschopp, *Heilsgeschichtliche Deutungsmuster in der Publizistik des Dreißigjährigen Krieges : pro- und antischwedische Propaganda in Deutschland 1628 bis 1635* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1991), p. 91. Henceforth Tschopp.

<sup>161</sup> Kosáry, p. 162.

Dann daß er sich zum Feinde kehr /

Der Feind mit seinen Esawiten /

Wird (wills Gott) gehn bald zu scheiten /

Gott wird sein liebe Christenheit /

Bhüten für solchem Herzenleyd.

Untrew sein eygnen Herrn schlecht /

Meineyd hat manchen starcken gschwecht.

Darumb ihr meine Brüder trew /

Mit euch verbind ich mich auffs new /

Für Gotttes Kirch und Vatterland /

Nimb ich die Wehr in meine Hand /

Bleibt nur bey mir vnd folgt mir nach

Gott wird erzeigen seine Rach.

Dann es ist doch sein Sach allein /

Sein Wort vñ Kirch leydt zwang vñ pein. (*Contrafactur*, lines 89-104)

The sixth, final dialogue section musters all of its force in order to convince the reader on religious and moral grounds that Bethlen Gabor's struggle is divinely willed and worthy of German Protestant support. The Prince's speech in this column declares that he has been sent by God to liberate the suffering Bohemians. It evokes sympathy for their plight and reiterates that the Catholics have dug their own grave in their persecution of innocent Protestants and that God will not allow this to go unpunished. The tone is severe and

uncompromising. The emotional intensity of the preceding columns of text crescendoes: this is the last call to arms to fight for God's cause. Re-iterating that his campaign is part of a divine plan, Bethlen Gabor orders the readers to act on God's behalf:

GOtt hat der Böhmen seuffzen ghört /

Vnd dero Feinden Gwalt zerstört /:

Ihr böse Rahtschläg schön entdeckt /

Vnd sie in grosses Elend gsteckt.

Wer seim Nächsten ein Gruben grabt /

Derselb gmeinlich zum erst drein trabt /

Auff ihrn Kopff der Stein ist gfallen /

Also solls gehn den Falschen allen.

Ich danck euch alln zugleich ihr Herrn /

Wir wölln vns widern Feind wol wern /

Auff vnser seit der HErr gwiß steht /

Vnd stäts umb vnser Läger geht /

Sorgt vnd wacht für vns Vätterlich /

Wie es am tag ganz sichtbarlich

Was vns vom Feind vor vielen Jahren /

Feindseltges ist widerfahren /

Das hat der HErr im Himmel gsehn /

Drumb laßt ers nit ohngstrafft hingehn.

Es hat Gott für die Böhmen gstritten /

Die so viel Zwang vnd Gwalterlitten /

Denselben ein König geschenkt /

Vnd Unglück auff ihr Feind verhengt:

Legt d Harnisch an / vnd holt die Spieß /

Zu streiten nun niemand verdrieß /

Es brüht GOtt vnd das Vatterlandt /

GOtt leistet vns Hulff vnd Beystandt. (*Contrafactur*, lines 129-54)

These final lines demonstrate how *Contrafactur* arguably achieved the greatest emotional impact on the audience in comparison to the other propaganda material of this chapter. It plays on fears of Catholic oppression and attempts to legitimize Bethlen Gabor's campaign in terms of divine justice and liberation. These arguments are designed to correspond to the moderate Protestants' own belief in legitimized resistance to authority if it meddles in religious affairs.

The depiction of the dire circumstances suffered by the Hungarian and Bohemian Protestants aims to evoke the sympathy of the readers, and the combined pleas of the Hungarians and from the personified Protestant Faith present a powerfully persuasive case that Bethlen Gabor's campaign is pivotal to the future maintenance of the faith.

In short, the broadsheet exerts immense pressure on the audience to give its approval to Bethlen Gabor's campaign. His intervention is portrayed not as a local battle but one that is of relevance to all Protestants. Portraying the outcome of the campaign to be the

Protestants' survival or elimination, *Contrafactur* seeks to make the readers feel grateful for Bethlen Gabor's efforts and to support him in his divinely willed endeavour.

## Conclusion

The goal of the radical Protestant propagandists was to secure approval of the moderate Protestants for Bethlen Gabor's campaign. They had a number of obstacles to overcome in order to achieve this. Among the greatest was the idea that Bethlen Gabor was not a true Christian prince, and that his campaign was of little relevance to the Protestants of the Empire.

The propaganda of the radicals addressed these issues in a number of complementary portrayals of the Prince. All of them stressed his Christian mission. This was made to seem plausible by emphasizing the suffering of the Bohemian and Hungarian Protestants and their calls for assistance to the Transylvanian Prince.

This depiction of Protestants enduring Catholic attacks was also a device to ensure that the German Protestants could relate to Bethlen Gabor's campaign. If they could identify with the suffering of other Protestants, it was harder for the audience to dismiss Bethlen Gabor's actions. Additionally, this portrayal helped to legitimize the Prince's intervention in the eyes of the German Protestants, who had fought similar battles against the Catholics themselves, famous examples including the Schmalkaldic War against Catholic Emperor Charles V and Martin Luther's own struggle against hostile Catholic authorities. The portrayal of the battle as a defensive one against corrupt Catholics made the propaganda all the more effective because it linked it to a tradition in Protestant propaganda which stretched back to the foundation of Protestantism in the sixteenth century.

Aside from Bethlen's efforts being justified in terms of a rescue of Hungarian and Bohemian Protestants, the propagandists were careful to make sure that the audience could not dismiss the Prince's campaign as a local battle between Habsburg Catholic authorities and



the Protestants of southern and central European lands. This was achieved by the argument in sources such as *Contrafactur* that what was at stake was the fate of the whole of Protestantism, which was being threatened by the amassed forces of Roman Catholicism. The intention behind this portrayal was to make Bethlen Gabor's intervention seem relevant to all Protestants and to increase the significance of his campaign. The propagandists realized that they had to make the argument personal and relevant to the lives of the German Protestants in order to ensure their emotional investment in his struggle. A strong and favourable reaction to Bethlen Gabor's campaign could only be achieved if the audience felt a tangible connection between events in Hungary and their own personal security. This is what led to the presentation of Bethlen's intervention as a crucial chapter in the battle for the survival of the Protestant faith against its Catholic enemies.

The idea that the military operation had broad relevance to the Protestants was consequently a cornerstone of the campaign. Another primary objective was to convince the moderate Protestants to disregard all previous images of the Prince to which they had been exposed. This goal aimed to neutralize Catholic propaganda that had denounced Bethlen Gabor as a greedy, Turkish-influenced, crypto-Muslim, and to counterbalance critical Lutheran portrayals of Friedrich V and his Calvinist ally in Transylvania. Efforts to combat these negative images are evident in all of the propaganda investigated in this chapter: they are visible in references to Bethlen Gabor's virtues in terms of a Christian prince, his personal piety, and his concern for the future of the Protestant faith. Broadsheets including *Meßkramm* and *Contrafactur* even stressed the extreme lengths to which he was going in order to uphold the faith and standards of piety in Christian society. This message is evident in the memorable images of his involvement in the castration of

Jesuits and their expulsion from Hungary, and in his spirited call-to-arms to Protestants and Hungarians to assist him in defeating the poisonous snake of Catholicism.

In conclusion, the moderate Protestant audience was subjected to acute pressure to approve of Bethlen Gabor's campaign and to support it. His fight was framed in terms accepted by the Protestants themselves as legitimate grounds for resistance. He was portrayed to be aiding oppressed Protestants from elimination. The fate of the Protestant faith itself was portrayed to be hanging in the balance due to the force of the Catholic attack that was being waged against it. With constant references to heroism and Christian virtue helping to neutralize connotations of the Prince as opportunistic and Turkish-influenced, obstacles to accepting him as trustworthy were removed. Consequently, in the wake of this small but potent campaign, it is reasonable to assume that a pious seventeenth-century audience would certainly have reflected on the merits of Bethlen Gabor's religious mission and may have considered it to be at least partially acceptable. This is no small feat given the great mistrust and probable scepticism with which the Transylvanian was regarded before the campaign was launched.

## Gustavus Adolphus: Historical Introduction

### *Birth and Early Life*

Gustavus Adolphus was born in the royal residence of Stockholm, Sweden, on December 9 1594. His parents were Charles IX of Sweden (1550-1611) and Christine of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp (1573-1625). He followed a formidable educational programme which was delivered by the learned pedagogue Johan Schroderus. At the heart of the programme were the Latin classics and foreign languages. Already fluent in Swedish and German due to his parents, Gustavus Adolphus was taught Latin, went on to master French, Italian and Dutch, and by the end of his life understood Spanish and English and knew some Greek, Polish, Russian<sup>162</sup> and Scots. The instructor Schroderus additionally schooled the young prince in law, history, Swedish legend, theology, the art of war and in new military tactical innovations. Gustavus Adolphus was raised a sound Lutheran, and the examples of both his father Charles IX and his tutor Johan Schroderus encouraged him to be less doctrinally rigid. This came in useful later during his intervention in the Thirty Years' War, when his tolerance of Calvinists provided him with more options when he searched for allies in the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>163</sup>

### *Sweden in the Seventeenth Century*

Before the beginning of Gustavus Adolphus's reign in 1611, Sweden was an underdeveloped country on the periphery of the European political scene.<sup>164</sup> Although it was undoubtedly a regional power in the north of Europe due to its control of Finland and Estonia, and in view

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<sup>162</sup> Jörg-Peter Findeisen, *Gustav Adolf. Der Eroberer aus dem Norden* (Gernsbach: Casimir Katz, 2005), p. 100. Henceforth Findeisen.

<sup>163</sup> Michael Roberts, *Gustavus Adolphus*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (London and New York: Longman, 1992). Details on Gustavus Adolphus's education on pages 19-21. Henceforth Roberts.

<sup>164</sup> Unless referenced otherwise, see Roberts, Chapter 1, pp. 1-18 for evidence of all of the information in this paragraph.

of its dominance over much of the Baltic Sea, the country had more weaknesses than strengths. One weak point was its lack of industry. Ninety-five percent of the country's population lived from agriculture, and Sweden's only major industry was copper mining. Its lack of development was reflected in the very small number of large towns in Sweden, and the country's population totalled little over one million people.<sup>165</sup> Although Sweden had gained independence from Denmark and Norway's Scandinavian Union in 1523, and had acquired more territory in the sixteenth century, its new-found independence was fragile and its possessions were burdensome. Denmark sought to re-integrate Sweden into the Union,<sup>166</sup> and Russia desired to regain control of Finland, a territory that had been appropriated by Sweden during the period of the 'Tatar yoke',<sup>167</sup> a time of Russian weakness when the defeated Russian states were forced to submit to Mongol rule. Nevertheless, despite some unfavourable circumstances, Sweden had some strengths: its gun foundries were highly successful in the European market and the country was able to raise substantial revenues from the tolls it levied in the Swedish-controlled eastern Baltic.<sup>168</sup> This provided the country with much-needed income.

At the start of the seventeenth century, then, Sweden was autonomous yet underdeveloped, and a regional power that was surrounded by hostile neighbours. Yet in spite of these less than ideal conditions, the seventeenth century was to witness Sweden's rise to power, and its ascent was in large part due to Gustavus Adolphus's skills as ruler. His progressive, bold and astute leadership led Sweden to experience its golden age. By the

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<sup>165</sup> Johannes Burkhardt, 'Warum hat Gustav Adolf in den Dreißigjährigen Krieg eingegriffen? Der Schwedische Krieg 1630-5', in *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg. Facetten einer folgenreichen Epoche*, ed. by Peter C. Hartmann and Florian Schuller (Regensburg: Pustet, 2010), pp. 94-107, (p. 103, 107). Henceforth Burkhardt.

<sup>166</sup> Roberts, p. 5.

<sup>167</sup> Roberts, p. 5.

<sup>168</sup> Asch, p. 101.

1630s, Sweden's profile in Europe had risen greatly, and it had come to be considered as one of Europe's four greatest powers, equal in rank to Spain, France and the Austrian Habsburgs.

### *Coronation and Conflict*

Gustavus Adolphus ascended to the throne of Sweden at just 16 years of age in 1611. He faced immediate challenges to his country. The first of these was the War of Kalmar with Denmark, and defeat obliged Sweden to agree to the disadvantageous Peace of Knäred in 1613.<sup>169</sup> Despite this setback, Gustavus Adolphus's next two conflicts with neighbouring powers ended more successfully. Through the Treaty of Stolbovo in 1617, Sweden denied Russia access to the Baltic Sea, and acquired the provinces of Ingria and Kexholm as well as several fortresses.<sup>170</sup> Sweden also profited from the Truce of Altmark with Poland in 1629. The Truce enabled Sweden to tighten its grip on the newly acquired Livonia, and freed its hands for a military offensive in the Empire.<sup>171</sup> Poland had long been a thorn in Sweden's side, and would continue to be so later in the century. This was a legacy that Gustavus Adolphus had inherited from his father Charles IX. Sigismund III Vasa (1566-1632), the King of Poland, had been the rightful King of Sweden between 1587 and 1599 before he was violently and unconstitutionally driven from the throne by his uncle Charles IX. This usurpation, as well as further Swedish incursions into territory under the influence of the

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<sup>169</sup> Roberts, pp. 32-4.

<sup>170</sup> Roberts, pp. 36-9.

<sup>171</sup> Asch, p. 103. Livonia was a region on the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea, north of Lithuania. It comprised nearly all of modern-day Latvia and Estonia. Sweden gained control of most of it after the Livonian War (1558-82).

Polish crown, generated periodic conflict between the two countries that lasted throughout the century.<sup>172</sup>

*The Progressive King: The Reform and Development of Sweden*

Due to his father's tyrannical style of rule, one of the most pressing tasks at the start of Gustavus Adolphus's reign was a rapprochement with the nobility and the estates of Sweden. Both had been alienated by Charles IX's bullying tactics because the Lutheran King had often extorted cooperation from the Swedish Diet by threatening to abdicate. In view of this, Gustavus Adolphus was compelled to sign a charter before his coronation promising that he would respect the Swedish constitution. This was designed to restore confidence between the crown and the Swedish people.<sup>173</sup>

But Gustavus did not need his subjects to impel him to lead the country in a responsible manner. By his own volition, the King instigated a wide range of reforms designed to strengthen the country from within and to improve the living standards of its population. Reforms included the establishment of a high court, the empowerment of the Swedish Council, and a tighter regulation of the Swedish Diet. The King also improved the effectiveness of government and of local administrations by choosing a middle way between centralized government and allowing local authorities a certain amount of autonomy. This led among other things to a more exact collection of taxes and a more effective conscription of soldiers. Gustavus Adolphus additionally sought to boost the country's wealth and to develop more industry by promoting trade companies, founding cities, and by attracting foreign experts and traders to Sweden in order to support its development. The ordinary subjects of Sweden also benefitted from the King's initiatives thanks to his promotion of

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<sup>172</sup> Roberts, pp. 8-9, 53-7, 184.

<sup>173</sup> Roberts, pp. 21-4.

education. Aside from establishing countless primary and secondary schools, Gustavus Adolphus also reformed the University of Uppsala. By the end of his reign, he had changed Sweden for the better. Relations between the crown and its subjects were more harmonious, governmental institutions had become more effective, and Sweden had begun to embark on a path of greater development which was to lead it to its golden age.<sup>174</sup>

### *Swedish Intervention*

After securing truces with Denmark, Russia and Poland, Gustavus Adolphus turned his attention to the Holy Roman Empire in 1630. His reasons for intervention are still disputed but probably included a mix of religious, political and security factors, as well as a sense of destiny.

Religious motivations have been dismissed by Johannes Burkhardt as possibly the least plausible reason as to why Gustavus Adolphus intervened in the Empire.<sup>175</sup> This is not to say that the Protestant faith was unimportant to him. He was a pious man who lived in a religious age. But it is unlikely that religion was the decisive factor in his decision to war with the Emperor. Evidence to support this statement includes how Gustavus Adolphus ignored pleas for help from the German Protestants in the 1620s, and how he concluded an alliance with France, a Catholic ally, to whom he promised in the Treaty of Bärwalde not to endanger the Catholic faith in the Empire.<sup>176</sup> It is also argued that the danger to the Protestant faith in the Empire was not as great as later historians believed. The Edict of Restitution called only for the return of Catholic bishoprics and Church territory that had been seized by the Protestants after the conclusion of the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. This revision of the Peace

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<sup>174</sup>For all of the information contained in this paragraph see Roberts, Chapter 6 'Reforms: Domestic', pp. 73-89.

<sup>175</sup> Burkhardt, pp. 96-9.

<sup>176</sup> Burkhardt, p. 99.

did not outlaw Protestantism, and its implementation did not obstruct the German Protestants' right to worship. Instead, recourse to the Peace as a document of law is even argued to have solidified the legal position of the Protestants in the Empire.<sup>177</sup>

Political grounds are often cited beside religious ones to explain Gustavus Adolphus's invasion. According to the main political argument, Sweden wanted to prevent Habsburg expansion and was defending itself against an expansive neighbour. Its decision to act hinged on control of the Baltic Sea. This was considered to be a Swedish sphere of influence and the development of a Habsburg fleet on the northern coast of the Empire is thought to have been perceived as a challenge to Swedish dominance in the area. Control of the Baltic Sea was crucial to Sweden's influence in the North and to its own security. The fact that this maritime goal to push back the Austrian Habsburgs led Gustavus Adolphus to conquer Bavaria and even plan to take Vienna is considered by Burkhardt to be serendipitous: the King had never expected his campaign to be so successful.<sup>178</sup> Due to his unexpected death, it is impossible to tell what his ultimate political goal was. Opinion is still divided as to whether Gustavus Adolphus sought to become the next emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, or whether he sought instead to establish a northern European Empire after defeating the Austrian Habsburgs. The political arguments used to explain the King's actions are arguably more plausible than ones centred on religious concerns.<sup>179</sup>

Another theory on Sweden's intervention is that it waged war as a means to secure and protect itself financially. The tolls levied on ports along the Baltic Sea were an important source of revenue for the country. In this regard, the ports that lay on the northern coast of the Empire represented an attractive potential source of revenue. It certainly made sense

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<sup>177</sup> Burkhardt, pp. 96-100.

<sup>178</sup> Burkhardt, pp. 102.

<sup>179</sup> Burkhardt, pp. 101-3.



from a financial perspective for Gustavus Adolphus to continue and to expand this source of revenue. In the last ten years of his reign, for example, he was able to increase the yearly income from tolls six fold, from 85,000 to 600,000 Reichstaler.<sup>180</sup>

*Re-establishing Gothic Greatness: The Most Decisive Reason for War?*

The most recent theory claiming to explain Sweden's bold move to invade is based on the belief that Sweden saw itself as a country destined to rule over Europe and perhaps even the world. At first sight this seems far-fetched, but one must remember that France and the Austrian Habsburgs also used claims of universal authority in order to legitimize their own battles. While pro-Habsburg propaganda claimed that the authority of the emperors to rule descended from a line of Roman emperors dating back to antiquity, Sweden used its own legends and past to justify its ambition for greater authority over Europe. To do this, it looked back to the country's Gothic history to do this. Claiming to be the successor of a conquering Gothic civilization, Sweden believed itself to be destined to continue in the path of its glorious ancestors. The belief in its destiny to become a great power once again explains Sweden's aggressive behaviour in the Thirty Years' War and is thought by Burkhardt to have heavily influenced its foreign policy.<sup>181</sup>

There is evidence that indicates Gustavus Adolphus's own belief in Sweden's destiny to follow on from the Goths. When he was invested with the power of government, for example, he dressed up as the Gothic King Berik and claimed that the only reason why the Goths did not conquer the world was to leave Sweden something to do. His royal title labelled him, among other titles and dignities, as the King of the Goths. Furthermore, in the speech that the King gave to parliament before he left for the Empire, he referred to the

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<sup>180</sup> Burkhardt, pp. 103-4.

<sup>181</sup> Burkhardt, pp. 105-7.

successful conquests of Sweden's Gothic ancestors, and was about to set sail in a flagship that was decorated with Gothic warriors.

In short, Sweden's actions are thought to parallel those of other European powers throughout the Thirty Years' War. At a time when no single European country ruled supreme over Europe, several powers, including Sweden, France and the Austrian Habsburgs, all sought to secure the number one spot for their leader, their dynasty, and their people. All three powers used ideologies to justify their claim to legitimate hegemony in Europe, and Sweden's Gothic conquest ideology was simply the Swedish model. It has also been argued that the seventeenth century was a time when Sweden first sought to define itself, and that European recognition of its Gothic roots was key to this self-definition. In order to gain this recognition, and to prove to Europe that its claim to be the descendant of a great Gothic power was in fact true, Sweden needed Gustavus Adolphus to wage war. In this scenario, Sweden's Empire in the Baltic, which included Finland, Estonia, and Livonia, could have constituted a microcosm of Sweden's goal of wider Gothic expansion.<sup>182</sup>

#### *A Difficult Start, Victory and Martyrdom*

The King entered the Empire following the defeat of Christian IV of Denmark and his allies, at a time when the war was considered by some to be over.<sup>183</sup> The Catholic Habsburgs reigned supreme in the Empire thanks to the military skill of the Catholic League and of General Wallenstein's army. Yet despite Catholic dominance, the recently imposed Edict of

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<sup>182</sup> Burkhardt, pp. 105-7.

<sup>183</sup> Burkhardt, p. 95.

Restitution, and the occupation of parts of northern Protestant territory, Gustavus Adolphus was not welcomed with open arms by the Protestant princes of the Empire.<sup>184</sup>

On the contrary, the King found it difficult to find allies, despite the fact that he had already helped to rescue Stralsund from Catholic attack and that propaganda portrayed his arrival positively.<sup>185</sup> The single power openly to defy the Emperor at this time and to forge an alliance with Gustavus Adolphus was Magdeburg,<sup>186</sup> a city symbolic of Protestantism due to its successful resistance to Habsburg attack during the Schmalkaldic War (1546 to 1547) in the preceding century.<sup>187</sup> Other alliances followed, but they were achieved more due to a surrender to pressure rather than personal conviction. Duke Bogislaw XIV of Pomerania, for instance, only entered into an alliance with the Swedish King after being compelled to do so.<sup>188</sup>

Fortunately for Gustavus Adolphus, resistance to his arrival and to his army softened dramatically due to two factors. The first was the Sack of Magdeburg by the Imperialists in May 1631. It provoked a public outcry and persuaded a number of princes to ally themselves with Sweden, including the Elector of Brandenburg,<sup>189</sup> Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar and Wilhelm V of Hessen-Kassel, among others.<sup>190</sup> The Elector of Saxony even temporarily entered into an alliance with the King. The second factor conducive to acceptance of the Swedes was a string of victories they achieved over the Catholic side,

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<sup>184</sup> Asch, pp. 104-5. For more information on Habsburg hegemony in the Empire at this time see Asch, Chapter 3 '1629: Counter-Reformation and Habsburg Supremacy', pp. 73-100.

<sup>185</sup> Böttcher, pp. 328-32.

<sup>186</sup> For information on the alliance see Markus Meumann, 'Die schwedische Herrschaft in den Stiftern Magdeburg und Halberstadt während des Dreißigjährigen Krieges (1631-1635)', in *Die besetzte res publica* (Berlin: Lit, 2006), pp. 239-267.

<sup>187</sup> Asch, pp. 105-6.

<sup>188</sup> Roberts, p. 131.

<sup>189</sup> Asch, p. 106.

<sup>190</sup> Roberts, p. 139.

including at the Battle of Breitenfeld in September 1631. This encouraged popular support and was bolstered by a propaganda campaign emphasizing the virtue of the King and the alleged religious nature of his intervention.<sup>191</sup> The Battle of Breitenfeld was arguably the climax of Gustavus Adolphus's campaign. For this battle the King joined forces with another respected Lutheran power of the Empire, Elector Johann Georg I of Saxony. Together they defeated the army of the Catholic League under the command of Count Tilly. Following Count Tilly's death eight months later in April 1632, Gustavus Adolphus was able to achieve what had probably seemed an impossible feat two years earlier: he marched further south and took control of previous bulwarks of Catholic authority. They included Mainz, the seat of an ecclesiastical elector,<sup>192</sup> and most of Bavaria, prompting the powerful Duke of Bavaria to flee from his residential city of Munich.<sup>193</sup>

The King's momentum was halted abruptly by General Wallenstein at the Battle of Lützen in August 1632. Gustavus Adolphus became separated from his cavalry while leading a charge, and was shot by an Imperialist horseman.<sup>194</sup> His death was greatly mourned. Local authorities in the Empire decreed days of prayer and repentance, and masses were held in commemoration of the King.<sup>195</sup> A wave of publications swept the Empire. They praised the King as the Protestants' saviour and characterized him as a selfless hero, brought to heaven early by God, who had fought for the religion and freedom of the German nation.<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>191</sup> Böttcher, pp. 344-50.

<sup>192</sup> Roberts, pp. 139-43.

<sup>193</sup> Parker, p. 116.

<sup>194</sup> Roberts, p. 179.

<sup>195</sup> Böttcher, pp. 350-3.

<sup>196</sup> Paas, John Roger, 'The Changing Image of Gustavus Adolphus on German Broadshets, 1630-3', *Journal of the Warburg and Courthauld Institutes*, 59 (1996), 205-44 (p. 238-44). Henceforth Paas *Image*.

Sweden's grand plan to take Vienna<sup>197</sup> was abandoned, but it remained in the war in order to secure *satisfactio* and *assecuratio*, i.e. war indemnity and territorial security. Both were achieved by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648.<sup>198</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> Paas *Image*, p. 237. Reference to his 'obsession with the dream of total victory' over the Imperialists see Roberts 160.

<sup>198</sup> Franz Brendle, 'Der Westfälische Frieden als Kompromiss. Intentionen, Grundsätze und Inhalte der Friedensverträge', in *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg. Facetten einer folgenreichen Epoche*, ed. by Peter C. Hartmann and Florian Schuller (Regensburg: Pustet, 2010), pp. 173-83 (pp. 176-7).

## Primary Materials

My intention is not to give an overview of all of the propagandistic materials produced on the King. This would entail an analysis that exceeds the scope of this dissertation. Instead I will begin by summing up some of the facts and figures on the materials in order to give an impression of the percentage of positive versus critical sources on the King, before I go on to explain my own selection of radical Protestant texts.

Broadsheet expert John Roger Paas estimates that roughly speaking the number of individual broadsheets printed in favour of the King is two hundred.<sup>199</sup> Set against this figure it is perhaps surprising that there is only a handful of critical, Catholic publications. It can only be surmised as to why this number of critical broadsheets is so small. Paas believes it is due to a self-imposed Catholic censorship stemming from a belief in the divine right of rulers.<sup>200</sup> Yet I am not wholly convinced by this hypothesis, especially if we take into account the Catholics' lack of hesitation to criticize Bethlen Gabor, who was formally recognized as the rightful leader of Transylvania by the Austrian Habsburgs. Whatever the reasons are, there is no doubt that the Empire was flooded with pro-Swedish broadsheets, especially when one considers that the print-run of each individual broadsheet was between one thousand and one thousand five hundred prints.<sup>201</sup> With regard to the number of pro-Swedish pamphlets, no-one has yet provided a precise figure, yet they certainly number in the hundreds. Proof of this can be found in the catalogue of the Herzog August Library or on the online search engine for seventeenth-century German texts, VD17.<sup>202</sup> Astrid Heyde's two volume doctoral dissertation on the topic provides a comprehensive survey of all types

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<sup>199</sup> Paas *Image*, p. 207.

<sup>200</sup> Paas *Image*, p. 206.

<sup>201</sup> Rosseaux, p. 113).

<sup>202</sup> [www.vd17.de](http://www.vd17.de) [accessed 27.3.12].

of propaganda produced on the King. Since my focus is on radical Protestant propaganda aimed at gaining approval of Gustavus Adolphus and his army, I shall now discuss materials demonstrative of this argument.

My focus is on pamphlets and broadsheets dating from 1629 to 1632, the years during which Gustavus Adolphus prepared and mounted the Swedish campaign in the Empire. The broadsheets typically contain an image that is accompanied by a text, usually three to four verses long and composed of rhyming couplets. The shortest broadsheet text contains just one line, written in prose, while the longest broadsheet is one hundred and fifty-four lines long divided into seven verses. The pamphlets I have selected are all written in prose, and range from between three and fifty-five pages.

These sources are all representative of an argument that I have found running through radical Protestant propaganda aimed at gaining endorsement of foreign allies. These sources portray foreign allies and their forces as German-friendly, Christian, virtuous and trustworthy. They argue that German Protestant support of the allies is legitimate and necessary in order to counter Catholic aggression. By using a number of arguments, the sources try to neutralize the idea that the non-German allies are foreign invaders.

The primary sources that I shall examine first are representative of the initial wave of propaganda that sought to gain public sanction of the King's intervention. As Paas has pointed out, this propaganda sought to justify Gustavus Adolphus's arrival in the Empire by evoking the image of a legitimate military leader<sup>203</sup> who faced political and religious threats. One of the main materials to be examined in the first section is a well-known pamphlet claiming to be the King's official declaration of war. I consider this source to be

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<sup>203</sup> Paas *Image*, p. 206.

representative of an argument used at the start of Gustavus Adolphus's campaign which defended his intervention on political grounds, and which attempted to warm the German audience to the King by highlighting the bonds between the German and Swedish Protestant communities. I then build on this analysis by examining another body of radical sources that promoted the King as a suitable leader of the German Protestants, highlighted his Christian virtue and contrasted him with the Holy Roman Emperor.

In the second section of the chapter I shall examine sources that depict the King and his troops to be pious Christian forces. The broadsheets I analyze in this section often contain an illustration of Gustavus Adolphus or his soldiers and are accompanied by verse. Some of these sources play on the religious sensibilities of the audience, highlighting the religious motives of the King's intervention rather than the political ones. With regard to sources on the Swedish army itself, I shall examine the publication of a behaviour manual that the Swedish forces allegedly had to abide by. I also analyze further sources that portray the Swedish army as unthreatening and gauge their effectiveness.

In sum, I have chosen these individual sources because I believe them to be representative of a campaign to gain approval of Gustavus Adolphus and his forces. My work is original because it argues that the neutralization of the idea that Gustavus Adolphus is a foreign invader was accompanied by a similar argument related to his forces. It is my contention that the propagandists also attempted to quell fears concerning his multi-national and intimidating army. I use the materials discussed above in order to gauge how propagandists attempted to build bridges between the foreign monarch and the German Protestant audience, and my overarching aim is to determine whether propagandists adopted a



specific approach when trying to gain support for foreign allies such as Gustavus Adolphus and Bethlen Gabor.

## State of Research

This section is divided into two parts. The first investigates the most comprehensive works in the field and assesses to what extent they cover issues relevant to my own thesis. The second part examines studies that analyze propaganda on Gustavus Adolphus but for reasons that are less closely related to my own. In a concluding paragraph I shall summarize the relevance of all of these works to my dissertation.

### *Part 1*

A source that forms the basis of several studies into the image of the Swedish King is Diethelm Böttcher's article 'Propaganda und öffentliche Meinung im protestantischen Deutschland 1628-1636' (1954). It provides comprehensive examination of the way in which Gustavus Adolphus was stylized in propaganda before and after his death,<sup>204</sup> and how Sweden's forces were portrayed between 1632 and 1636. Böttcher not only examines the ways in which Gustavus Adolphus was presented during those years, but also comments on the impact of the propaganda on contemporary Protestant opinion. His article highlights points of the King's campaign that precipitated waves of propaganda and he sheds light on some of the authors of propagandistic publications. His work is of particular importance to my own because it comments on the way in which Gustavus Adolphus and his radical supporters paved the way for a Swedish intervention via propaganda, and it examines the different ways in which both German and Swedish propagandists sought to secure the loyalty of the German Protestants to the foreign monarch's campaign. The final section of Böttcher's study provides details on the extent to which the propagandists were successful in persuading the German Protestants to accept the Swedish campaign both before and

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<sup>204</sup> Böttcher, pages 350-67 deal with propaganda produced on the Swedes after the King's death.

following the King's death. Böttcher indicates that while Gustavus Adolphus was eventually acknowledged as a leader and a saviour of the German Protestants, there was little backing of his successor and chancellor Axel Oxenstierna in 1633-4, when the Swedes came to be considered by many to be an obstacle to peace.<sup>205</sup> His study shares similarities with my dissertation because it demonstrates the ways in which sympathy and support were gained for the monarch. It also distinguishes between the conservatives, the moderates, and the radicals of the Protestant camp. The major distinction is that Böttcher's relatively short study does not include analysis of broadsheet material, focusing exclusively on pamphlet propaganda. In addition, only the first half of the article studies material produced before Gustavus Adolphus's death. In resume, Böttcher provides an overview of the themes of the propaganda that portrays Gustavus Adolphus favourably, but his analysis is limited to one type of printed material. Furthermore, it is beyond the scope of the article to investigate individual documents at length. He excludes the analysis of the radical Protestant propagandists' presentation of the Swedish army, examining instead Saxon criticism of the Swedish army in the years following the King's death.<sup>206</sup>

John Roger Paas's article 'The Changing Image of Gustavus Adolphus on German Broadsheets, 1630-3' (1996) is another major piece of secondary literature of great value to my investigation. In a reverse of Böttcher's work, Paas concentrates exclusively on the broadsheets that depict Gustavus Adolphus rather than the pamphlets. His aim is to demonstrate the way in which the King's image changed in broadsheets as his intervention gained momentum.<sup>207</sup> Although Paas focuses on radical Protestant propaganda, he is more concerned with developments and trends in broadsheet propaganda rather than analyzing

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<sup>205</sup> Böttcher, pp. 358-61.

<sup>206</sup> Böttcher, pp. 360-5.

<sup>207</sup> Paas *Image*, p. 205.

ways in which the King was made to seem attractive to a German audience. Like Böttcher, Paas's article is relatively brief, so he does not analyze any one primary source in depth. Moreover, he does not examine portrayals of Gustavus Adolphus's army, which is central to my own investigation. As the publisher of seven volumes of reprinted broadsheets of the seventeenth century, Paas is in an ideal position to provide an overview of the broadsheet propaganda on the King. Of particular value are his estimations of the numbers of broadsheets that were produced year for year between 1630 and 1633,<sup>208</sup> and his conclusion on the development of the King's image during this time span. He argues that there were three ways in which Gustavus Adolphus was presented from his initial arrival until just after his death: his portrayal as an accepted military leader, his image as a providential saviour and the depiction after his death as a selfless, heroic victim.<sup>209</sup> In his concentration on broadsheets and in his efforts to provide accurate estimates of the numbers produced, Paas's article is related to the older work of Elizabeth C. Lang, who covers similar issues in her doctoral dissertation 'Friedrich V, Tilly und Gustav Adolf im Flugblatt des Dreißigjährigen Krieges' (1974).<sup>210</sup>

Silvia Serena Tschopp's *Heilsgeschichtliche Deutungsmuster in der Publizistik des Dreißigjährigen Krieges: Pro- und antischwedische Propaganda in Deutschland 1628 bis 1635* (1991) builds on Diethelm Böttcher's study but analyzes just one specific thread of the propaganda campaign: the justification of Gustavus Adolphus's intervention on religious

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<sup>208</sup> Paas *Image*, p. 230.

<sup>209</sup> Paas *Image*, pp. 205, 244.

<sup>210</sup> Elisabeth C. Lang, 'Friedrich V, Tilly und Gustav Adolf im Flugblatt des Dreißigjährigen Krieges' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Texas, 1974). Henceforth Lang.

grounds.<sup>211</sup> Tschopp analyses a wide range of primary material and is thorough in her unravelling of the biblical argumentation used to lend legitimacy to the Swedish monarch's campaign. She devotes a large proportion of the study to the parallels drawn between him and figures and events of the Bible that were used to stylise him as a prophesied hero, an equivalent of biblical saints, and in terms of a weapon sent by God to ward off the demonic forces of the Apocalypse. Her investigation is relevant to my own because it shows how propagandists sought to convince the pious German Protestants to support the King. It also indicates how propagandists tried to legitimize his campaign by portraying him to be a religious hero, a tactic that aimed to neutralize mistrust of Gustavus Adolphus and his forces.

Tschopp pursues a similar line of argument in her article 'Argumentation mit Typologie in der protestantischen Publizistik des Dreißigjährigen Krieges' (1993), in which she argues that both Gustavus Adolphus and Friedrich of the Palatinate were supported by propaganda campaigns that used religious argument.<sup>212</sup> Tschopp shows that the propagandists stylised the King in similar ways to that of other leading figures of the Protestant campaign. In doing so, she demonstrates that Gustavus Adolphus was promoted by many propagandists as the new leader of the Protestant camp, despite his foreign provenance. Her study proves that the King was endowed with positive religious associations that were also bestowed on German Protestant leaders. This adds depth to my own argument that a sophisticated propaganda campaign presented Gustavus Adolphus as an acceptable ally to the Protestants

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<sup>211</sup> Silvia Serena Tschopp, *Heilsgeschichtliche Deutungsmuster in der Publizistik des Dreißigjährigen Krieges : pro- und antischwedische Propaganda in Deutschland 1628 bis 1635* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1991). Henceforth Tschopp.

<sup>212</sup> Silvia Serena Tschopp, 'Argumentation mit Typologie in der protestantischen Publizistik des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', in *Mittelalterliche Denk- und Schreibmodelle in der deutschen Literatur der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Wolfgang Harms and Jean-Marie Valentin, Chloë, Beihefte zum Daphnis, 16 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1993), pp. 161-73. Henceforth Tschopp *Typologie*.

of the Empire and worthy of their support. While Böttcher's study is short and wide-ranging, Tschopp's two works focus on just one type of argument in the propaganda materials. Neither scholar links the King's image to the treatment of other foreign allies of the Protestant campaign, for instance Bethlen Gabor, nor analyzes how the Swedish forces were presented positively in broadsheets. The religious focus of Tschopp's work relates to Wolfgang Harms's article 'Gustav Adolf als christlicher Alexander und Judas Makkabäus. Zu Formen des Wertens von Zeitgeschichte in Flugschrift und illustriertem Flugblatt um 1632' (1985),<sup>213</sup> which focuses on parallels drawn between Gustavus Adolphus and figures from the Bible and antiquity.

Another work relevant to my own is Christine Bachmann's *Wahre vnd eygentliche Bildnus: Situationsbezogene Stilisierungen historischer Personen auf illustrierten Flugblättern zwischen dem Ende des 15. und der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (2001), which I consider to be the most up-to-date research into Protestant propaganda on the presentation of the Swedish King.<sup>214</sup> In a similar way to Böttcher, Bachmann provides an overview of the different methods and techniques used by Lutheran and Calvinist writers to present Gustavus Adolphus to the Germans in a positive light. She analyzes his presentation as a King legally defending his realm, a weapon sent by God to save the Protestants, a traditional hero and as an embodiment of virtue. Her work is useful to my dissertation because it demonstrates how propagandists sought to gain the sympathy and support of the German Protestants for the Swedish campaign via the deliberate positive depiction of the King in

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<sup>213</sup> Wolfgang Harms, 'Gustav Adolf als christlicher Alexander und Judas Makkabäus. Zu Formen des Wertens von Zeitgeschichte in Flugschrift und illustriertem Flugblatt um 1632', *Wirkendes Wort*, 35 (1985), 168-83. Henceforth Harms *Wirkendes Wort*.

<sup>214</sup> Christine Bachmann, *Wahre vnd eygentliche Bildnus: Situationsbezogene Stilisierungen historischer Personen auf illustrierten Flugblättern zwischen dem Ende des 15. und der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2001), pp. 173-87.

contemporary media. Nevertheless, there are significant differences between our focal points. Although she discusses some Protestant propaganda, Bachmann dedicates a significant portion of her study to the presentation in Catholic publications of the principal figures in the war. Furthermore, while she discusses the portrayal of Kaiser Ferdinand II, Friedrich of the Palatinate, Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, General Tilly, and Johann Georg of Saxony, she does not investigate other foreign allies of the Protestants such as Christian IV of Denmark or Bethlen Gabor of Transylvania. Consequently, her study does not show how foreign leaders aside from Gustavus Adolphus were treated. Her focus on Catholic propaganda describing Duke Maximilian and Emperor Ferdinand II also means that her goal does not include the establishment of links between strands of the radical Protestant campaign, an important issue in my own investigation.

A study in some ways similar to Bachmann's is Maria Pfeffer's *Flugschriften zum Dreißigjährigen Krieg* (1993), which investigates the presentation in propaganda of Gustavus Adolphus, as well as a number of other figures and events of the war.<sup>215</sup> Pfeffer looks at both Catholic and Protestant propaganda and her aim is not to provide a comprehensive view of the propaganda on the topic of the King, but to analyze a small number of previously undiscovered materials and their connection to known pieces of propaganda. She does not link her examination of Gustavus Adolphus to propaganda on other foreign allies of the Protestant camp and her work supports Tschopp's later study of the use of religious argument to glorify and elevate the status of the King. Her work differs from Tschopp's because Pfeffer argues that the comparison drawn between Gustavus Adolphus and biblical

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<sup>215</sup> Maria Pfeffer, *Flugschriften zum Dreißigjährigen Krieg: aus der Häberlin-Sammlung der Thurn- und Taxisschen Hofbibliothek*, ed. by Bernhard Gajek, Regensburger Beiträge zur deutschen Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft, Series B Investigations, 53 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1993).

figures was not always intended to portray him as the latest representative of a tradition of revered religious heroes, but was sometimes simply a means of raising his profile.

Carlos Gilly's 'The "Midnight Lion", the "Eagle" and the "Antichrist": Political, religious and chiliastic propaganda in the pamphlets, illustrated broadsheets and ballads of the Thirty Years War' (2000) examines the so-called lion of midnight prophecy which was linked to Gustavus Adolphus and Friedrich V of the Palatinate.<sup>216</sup> This prophecy is alluded to in a number of broadsheets and pamphlets of the Thirty Years' War. Gilly's article is of particular interest to my own investigation because it demonstrates how the prophecy passed onto Gustavus Adolphus after Friedrich V of the Palatinate failed to realise its promises. In a similar way to Tschopp's article on typological argument, Gilly offers insight into how the Protestant propagandists used certain methods of depiction in order to make Gustavus Adolphus's image partly echo that of Friedrich V. In doing so, he lends weight to the theory that Gustavus Adolphus's image was constructed in a similar way to other Protestant leaders in an effort to strengthen his appeal to a German Protestant audience. Gilly also shows how Gustavus Adolphus's foreign provenance was portrayed in a positive light by propagandists playing on the prophecy because they presented his northern origin as proof of his connection to the legend. Gilly argues that the motif of the lion from the north was used to glorify the King, strengthen his political legitimacy and to present him as a defender of the Protestants chosen by God. These are arguments pertinent to my own analysis.

The last work to be considered in this section is Werner Milch's 'Gustav Adolf in der deutschen und schwedischen Literatur' (1977), which, although containing some outdated information, provides excellent insight into the various types of media which attempted to

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<sup>216</sup> Carlos Gilly, 'The "Midnight Lion", the "Eagle" and the "Antichrist": Political, religious and chiliastic propaganda in the pamphlets, illustrated broadsheets and ballads of the Thirty Years War', *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis*, 80, 1, (2000), 46-77.



stylise the Swedish King in a positive light.<sup>217</sup> His work is highly relevant to the questions discussed in my investigation because it comments on the way in which Protestant writers portrayed Gustavus Adolphus to be a defender of the values and traditions that were close to the German Protestants' heart. Milch's analysis lends weight to the argument that there were concerted attempts to make the King's actions seem acceptable to the Germans in order to gain support for his campaign. Milch argues, for instance, that Swedish ideals were made to appear synonymous with German ones. The main difference between Milch's work and my own is the time period on which it focuses. For the majority of his investigation, Milch concentrates on Gustavus Adolphus's presentation in German and Swedish publications following the Thirty Years' War, in particular the King's image during the nineteenth century. This means that while his insights into the portrayal of the King during the Thirty Years' War are of great value to my examination, they are relatively brief and lack detail on specific methods used to highlight Gustavus Adolphus to be a hero whose ideals and agenda were compatible with the German Protestants' own.

## *Part 2*

This second part analyzes the relevance of works which engage with propaganda on Gustavus Adolphus within the scope of larger, wide-ranging studies. These works stem from interdisciplinary investigations or from the disciplines of History, Media Studies, Theology and History of Art. On account of the fact that these works cannot easily be classified as

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<sup>217</sup> Werner Milch, 'Gustav Adolf in der deutschen und schwedischen Literatur', *Germanistische Abhandlungen*, 59 (1977), 11-42. Some of the information contained within his analysis seems either outdated or overly simplified, in particular as regards the German Protestants' attitudes towards the Swedish king and Emperor Ferdinand II. For example, Milch claims that the German Protestants did not care what drew Gustavus Adolphus to the Empire, so great was their yearning for change (p. 14). Equally, Milch does not seem to be aware of the different factions that made up the Lutheran and Calvinist camps, in particular that of the conservative quietists who never broke their loyalty to the Emperor, as he states that the Protestants in general despised their 'weak' Emperor Ferdinand II (p. 21). This was certainly not the view of the loyal, conservative Lutherans.

studies into the propaganda of Gustavus Adolphus, their function and relevance to the current investigation are examined on a case-by-case basis.

The earliest works which include material useful for the analysis of the presentation of Gustavus Adolphus are reproductions of text and folk songs from the Thirty Years' War, such as Julius Otto Opel and Adolf Cohn's nineteenth-century work *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg. Eine Sammlung von historischen Gedichten und Prosadarstellungen* (1862), Emil Weller's *Die Lieder des Dreißigjährigen Krieges. Nach den Originalen abgedruckt* (1855), Franz Wilhelm von Ditfurth's *Die historisch-politischen Volkslieder des dreißigjährigen Krieges* (1882), and Johann Scheible's *Die fliegenden Blätter des XVI. und XVII Jahrhunderts* (1850).<sup>218</sup> However, in spite of the fact that they all contain reproductions of Protestant writing on Gustavus Adolphus, these collections are of only limited value to my research. While they are attempts to reprint material from broadsheets, folk songs, and other seventeenth-century publications, the information contained in several of these works is too unreliable for inclusion in my investigation.<sup>219</sup>

The twentieth century provided a second wave of collections of reprinted primary sources, several of which are much more helpful to the investigation of the depiction of Gustavus Adolphus. Examples include Wolfgang Harm's *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und*

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<sup>218</sup> Julius Otto Opel and Adolf Cohn, eds, *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg. Eine Sammlung von historischen Gedichten und Prosadarstellungen* (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1862), Emil Weller, *Die Lieder des Dreißigjährigen Krieges. Nach den Originalen abgedruckt* (Basel: the author, 1855; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1968), Franz Wilhelm von Ditfurth, *Die historisch-politischen Volkslieder des dreißigjährigen Krieges*. ed. by K. Bartsch (Heidelberg: Winter, 1882), Johann Scheible, *Die fliegenden Blätter des XVI. und XVII Jahrhunderts. Mit Kupferstichen und Holzschnitten. Zunächst aus dem Gebiete der politischen und religiösen Caricatur. Aus den Schätzen der Ulmer Stadtbibliothek* (Stuttgart: Scheible, 1850).

<sup>219</sup> This is due to the lack of bibliographical data, such as the year of publication and the provenance of the original texts, together with corrections to the seventeenth-century spelling in an effort to produce a regular orthography.

17. Jahrhunderts (1980)<sup>220</sup> and his co-authored work *Illustrierte Flugblätter des Barock: Eine Auswahl* (1983).<sup>221</sup> Harm's *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter* is of particular importance because his compendium draws from a wide range of libraries and it attempts to reproduce the entirety of the broadsheets printed during the time span I focus on. Harms provides full bibliographical details and a large number of the re-printed broadsheets on Gustavus Adolphus are accompanied by a commentary. Three of John Roger Paas's ten-volumes of *The German Political Broadsheet 1600-1700* (1985-2010) reproduce an equally extensive collection of broadsheets from the years of Gustavus Adolphus's campaign but without commentary on individual broadsheets.<sup>222</sup>

Other broadsheet collections are not as exhaustive as the Harms and Paas compendiums, or as useful for the examination of Gustavus Adolphus's image. Examples of these works include Elmer A. Beller's *Propaganda in Germany during the Thirty Years War* (1940), which reprints a selection of broadsheets from the war and provides English translation, but offers little or no analysis.<sup>223</sup> Equally, Margot Lindemann's *Pressefrühdrucke aus der Zeit der Glaubenskämpfe (1517-1648)* (1980) does not provide sufficient bibliographical detail in order to locate the cited propaganda.<sup>224</sup>

The last body of work connected to my investigation is not related sufficiently closely to be

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<sup>220</sup> The most useful for my study are Wolfgang Harms's *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts: Die Sammlung der Herzog-August-Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, Teil 2: Historica* (Munich: Kraus, 1980) and *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts: Die Sammlungen der Hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek in Darmstadt* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1987).

<sup>221</sup> Wolfgang Harms and others, *Illustrierte Flugblätter des Barock. Eine Auswahl* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1983).

<sup>222</sup> John Roger Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet 1600-1700*, 10 vols (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986-2010).

<sup>223</sup> Elmer A Beller, *Propaganda in Germany during the Thirty Years War* (New York: Princeton University Press, 1940). Henceforth Beller.

<sup>224</sup> Margot Lindemann, *Pressefrühdrucke aus der Zeit der Glaubenskämpfe (1517-1648)*, (Munich: Saur, 1980).

of direct relevance. This includes a number of studies into Gustavus Adolphus's image in propaganda following his death. Examples include Frank Liemandt's *Die zeitgenössische Reaktion auf den Tod des Königs Gustav II Adolf von Schweden* (1998),<sup>225</sup> Olaf Mörke's "'Der Schwede lebet noch'" – Die Bildformung Gustav Adolfs in Deutschland nach der Schlacht bei Lützen' (2007),<sup>226</sup> and the majority of Astrid Heyde's dissertation on *Die Darstellungen König Gustav II. Adolfs von Schweden: Studien zum Verhältnis von Herrscherbild und Herrschermythos im Zeitraum von 1607 bis 1932* (1995).<sup>227</sup>

There are also works which look at propaganda on Gustavus Adolphus in the framework of studies into early modern print culture and specific authors. The focal points of these works are too far removed from my own to be of relevance. They include analyses of the reports on Gustavus Adolphus's campaign in Germany by non-radical authors, for instance Annette Hempel's *Eigentlicher Bericht / So wol auch Abcontrafeytung: Eine Untersuchung der nicht-allegorischen Nachrichtenblätter zu den Schlachten und Belagerungen der schwedischen Armee unter Gustav II Adolf (1628/30-1632)* (2000)<sup>228</sup> and studies of particular authors such as Julius Wilhelm Zinzgref, evident in Michael Schilling's 'Der "Römische Vogelherd" und "Gustavus Adolphus": neue Funde zur politischen Publizistik Julius Wilhelm Zinzgrefs'

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<sup>225</sup> Frank Liemandt, *Die zeitgenössische Reaktion auf den Tod des Königs Gustav II Adolf von Schweden*, European University Studies, Series I, German Language and Literature, 1662 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1998), Olaf Mörke, "'Der Schwede lebet noch'" – Die Bildformung Gustav Adolfs in Deutschland nach der Schlacht bei Lützen', in *Gustav Adolf, König von Schweden. Die Kraft der Erinnerung: 1632-2007*, ed. by Maik Reichel (Döbel: Stekovics, 2007), pp. 83-92.

<sup>226</sup> 'Olaf Mörke, "Der Schwede lebet noch" - Die Bildformung Gustav Adolfs nach der Schlacht bei Lützen in *Gustav Adolf - König von Schweden. Die Kraft der Erinnerung 1632-2007*, eds. Maik Reichel and Inger Schuberth (Döbel: Stekovics, 2007), pp. 83-92.

<sup>227</sup> Astrid Heyde, *Die Darstellungen König Gustav II. Adolfs von Schweden. Studien zum Verhältnis von Herrscherbild und Herrschermythos im Zeitraum von 1607 bis 1932* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Kiel, 1995), 2 vols.

<sup>228</sup> Annette Hempel, *Eigentlicher Bericht / So wol auch Abcontrafeytung: Eine Untersuchung der nicht-allegorischen Nachrichtenblätter zu den Schlachten und Belagerungen der schwedischen Armee unter Gustav II Adolf (1628/30-1632)*, European University Studies, Series III, History and Allied Studies, 878 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2000).

(1981).<sup>229</sup>

### *Conclusion*

A number of works investigates the image of Gustavus Adolphus and considers the way in which he is portrayed in order to legitimise his intervention on political and religious grounds. While some of these studies are closely related to my own, their parameters are different. Some concentrate on Catholic propaganda and others on pamphlets or broadsheets exclusively. A number of investigations focuses on just one type of argument, and none takes into account descriptions of Gustavus Adolphus's forces as part of the pro-Swedish campaign. Nor do these studies engage with the parallels between the presentation of the King and other foreign allies such as Bethlen Gabor of Transylvania, nor do they link different strands of the radical Protestant propaganda campaign together in order to discern broader intentions. In view of this state of research, my investigation into the portrayal of Gustavus Adolphus and his forces in radical Protestant propaganda represents an entirely new approach to the field.

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<sup>229</sup> Michael Schilling, 'Der "Römische Vogelherd" und "Gustavus Adolphus": neue Funde zur politischen Publizistik Julius Wilhelm Zinckgreffs', *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, 31 (1981), 283-303.

## Section One: The Benefits of Swedish Invasion

The investigation into the presentation of Gustavus Adolphus in radical Protestant propaganda will start with material from the start of the Swedish intervention. This material uses primarily political arguments in order to justify the King's campaign, and argues that the Swedish people and the Protestants of the Empire are related communities which share both common bonds and enemies. The first source to be examined is *Ursachen* (1630),<sup>230</sup> a pamphlet eighteen pages long that was published in Stralsund in 1630.

*Ursachen* is representative of a number of sources, including *Mandat* (1630)<sup>231</sup> and *Articul* (1629),<sup>232</sup> which sought to justify the Swedish campaign to the moderate Protestants by citing reasons that were accepted as legal grounds for war in the seventeenth century. Together they argue that the Swedish intervention is unavoidable due to the threat posed by Habsburg aggression. Other sources which demonstrate this argument include *Hoch-Teutschen Morgen-Wecker* (1628),<sup>233</sup> *Colloquium Politicum* (1632),<sup>234</sup> *Schwedische Weck*

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<sup>230</sup> Johannes Adler Salvius, *Ursachen / Dahero Der Durchleuchtigste vnd Großmechtigste Fürst vnd Herr / Herr GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS Der Schweden / Gothen vnnd Wenden König / GroßFürst in Finland / Hertzog zu Ehsten vnd Carelen / Herr zu Ingermanland / ic. Endlich gleichfalsz gezwungen worden / mit dem Kriegsvolck in Deutschland vberzusetzen vnnd zu verrucken. Aus dem Lateinischen verdeutschet / Stralsund / Im Monat Julio Anno M. DC. XXX. in der Ferberischen Druckerey* (Stralsund, Ferberische Druckerey, 1630), 18 pages. HAB: M: Gl 964 (2). Henceforth *Ursachen*.

<sup>231</sup> *Copia des Mandats / So Ihr Königl. Mayest. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, der Schweden / Gothen vnd Wenden König / etc. An die Vnterthanen der beyden Fürstenthümer des Mecklenburger Landes / abgehen lassen. Gedruckt im Jahr / 1630* (1630), 7 pages. HAB: A: 197.1 Hist. (12). Henceforth *Mandat*.

<sup>232</sup> *Articul der zwischen dem Durchleuchtigen / Großmechtigen Fürsten vnd Herrn / Herrn Gustaff Adolphen / der Reiche Schweden [...] Königs [...] an einem [...] Rath / Alter vnd hundert Männer / der [...] Stadt Stralsund in Pommern. Anders Theils Zu dero [...] Seehafen / gegen allerhandt [...] Gewaltsame [...] Attentaten Rechtmessige Defension, Schutz vnd Schirm / getroffener vnd auffgerichteter Alliance vnd Verbündtnusse* (1629), 3 pages. HAB: A: 173.6 Quod (17). Henceforth *Articul*.

<sup>233</sup> *Der Hoch-Teutschen Morgen=Wecker. In welchem alle Pöpstliche vnd des Papstes Anhangs Practicken / wider die Teutschen Stätte / die Cronen Engelland / Dennemarck / vnd Schweden / auch eins theils die Herren Staden von Holland / u. begriffen seind. Von einem des Vatterlands getrewen Patrioten / auß einem Jesuiterischen / an einen anderen Jesuiten zu Hildesheim abgangenen / vnd auffgefangenen Schreiben / verteutschet / vnd menniglichem zu guter nachrichtung / an tag*

*Uhr* (1632)<sup>235</sup>, and *Der Deutschen Wecker* (1631),<sup>236</sup> all of which urge the Protestants to join the Swedish campaign before it is too late. *Ursachen* has been selected for analysis as a representative source because it articulates clearly the idea of a legitimate, unavoidable campaign being undertaken in the interests of the Protestants.

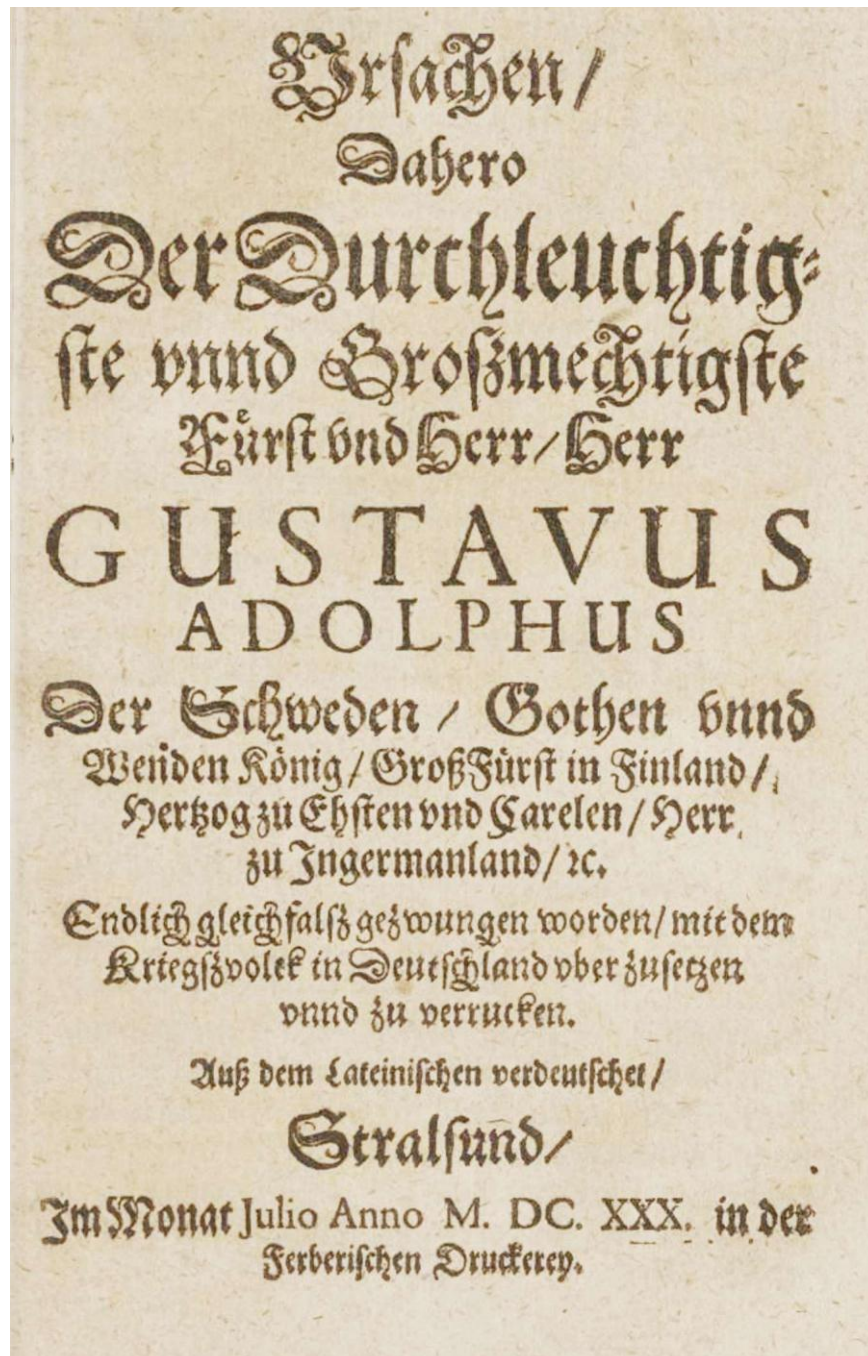
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*gegeben* (1628), 15 pages. HAB: A: 35.1 Pol. (4). Henceforth *Morgen Wecker*. I shall return to this source in chapter four.

<sup>234</sup> *Colloquium Politicum, Uber die Frag: Warumb solt ich nicht Schwedisch seyn? Das ist/ Ein kurtzes Gespräch/ zwischen einem Kayserischen und Evangelischen/ da etliche bewegliche Ursachen angeführet und erörtert werden/ Ob man es dieser Zeit lieber mit dem Schweden/ als mit dem Käyser/ halten soll? : Insonderheit Dem gemeinen Mann/ welcher ohne das gantz irr gemacht worden/ zu lesen nützlich* (1632), 38 pages. HAB: A: 50.5 Pol. (24). I shall also return to this source in chapter four.

<sup>235</sup> *DIEGERTICUM SUECICUM. Schwedische Weck Uhr* (1632). HAB: IH203.

<sup>236</sup> *Der Deutschen Wecker* (1631). HAB: 65.1 Pol. (2).



*Ursachen* exploits the turmoil in the Empire caused by the Edict of Restitution and its implementation in order to pressure the audience into approving of the Swedish campaign. The Edict shook the Protestants' faith in the neutrality of the Empire's authorities, and caused a sizeable percentage of the Protestant camp to come to the conclusion that action



had to be taken.<sup>237</sup> As Diethelm Böttcher outlines in his work on Protestant public opinion between 1628 and 1636, the conservative Protestants suffered a perceptible drop in their numbers following the Edict. At this time, members formerly belonging to the conservative ranks came to adopt the same stance as the moderates. This was the belief that although loyalty to the Emperor was still important, the time had come to oppose hostile imperial policies that were perceived to have been instigated by those with a negative influence on the Emperor.<sup>238</sup> The Jesuits were considered to be among the principal culprits in this respect, and this is evident in the propaganda responding to the Sack of Magdeburg which accused the Emperor of having submitted to Jesuit plans to create a universal Catholic monarchy.<sup>239</sup>

The growth in the numbers of moderates and the openness of this group to resistance of imperial policy were seized on by radical Protestants who had always argued in favour of a more militant attitude toward Catholic authorities. This led to the publication of numerous pieces of propaganda, including *Ursachen*, which argue that the Edict and the imperial occupation of northern Protestant territories were precursors to grander Catholic plans, meaning that resistance was necessary and justified. Research has shown that this propaganda, directed at a moderate audience, did not stem exclusively from the radicals of the Empire, but also from neighbouring Protestant countries that were alarmed at the advance of militant Catholicism in the Empire.<sup>240</sup> This included Sweden, which sent Swedish agents into northern German towns in advance of its intervention with the express goal of

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<sup>237</sup> Böttcher, p. 335.

<sup>238</sup> Böttcher, pp. 333-4.

<sup>239</sup> Asch, p. 106.

<sup>240</sup> Unless otherwise referenced, for evidence of the information contained in this paragraph see Böttcher, pp. 327-33.

stirring up animosity against the Pope, the Jesuits, and imperial authority.<sup>241</sup> Other Protestant countries involved in the propagation of anti-Habsburg and anti-Catholic writing in the Empire were the Netherlands and Denmark. Together with publications originating from inside the Empire, these pieces of propaganda urge the moderate Protestants actively to oppose hostile imperial policies. In doing so, they help to pave the way for support of Sweden, which was portrayed to be a power equally threatened by the Habsburgs and being forced to take action. *Ursachen* can consequently be seen building on a number of works advocating resistance and is one of the earliest works pushing for the moderate audience to support the arrival of the Swedes in the Empire. As its title indicates, *Ursachen* serves to explain to the moderate Protestant audience the reasons why Sweden feels compelled to defend itself and to enter the conflict in the Empire.

From the outset we can see that the piece is perfectly adapted to its German Protestant audience. This is because it explains the reasons why Sweden is being forced to intervene in terms that were accepted to be legitimate grounds for war in the Holy Roman Empire in the seventeenth century. According to these terms, the most just reason for war was defence against hostile forces, and this constitutes the line of argument that runs through the entire pamphlet. Due to the Protestants' acceptance of these terms as legitimate reasons to wage war, defensive grounds were often cited by powers in the seventeenth century in order to justify their campaigns.<sup>242</sup> It is no different with the case of Sweden in the Thirty Years' War, and this argument of defence provides evidence of a sophisticated propagandistic strategy to frame Gustavus Adolphus's intervention in terms that were difficult for the moderate Protestants to denounce as illegal. In fact, the idea of a defensive war against a Habsburg

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<sup>241</sup> Spiegel, Alfred, *Die Gustav-Adolf-Zeitlieder* (Augsburg: Heuser, 1977), p. 27. Henceforth Spiegel.

<sup>242</sup> Bosbach, p. 102.

House seeking limitless power and expansion was a tried and tested method in Protestant propaganda that had been successful in earlier battles against the Habsburgs.<sup>243</sup> A case in point is the propaganda of the Schmalkaldic War, during which the Protestant princes justified their resistance to Charles V's policies by presenting their actions as defence against an attempt to establish a universal monarchy.<sup>244</sup> Consequently, we see in *Ursachen* a successful formula which is being adapted to the context of a Swedish act of self-defence against expansive and hostile Habsburg plans. *Ursachen* repeats the idea that the Swedes are the victims of an offensive led by the Habsburgs. It argues that the Austrian Habsburgs have instigated a number of measures designed to weaken Sweden and to expand into the country's traditional spheres of influence. Its principal arguments are that the Habsburgs have encouraged Poland to attack its Swedish enemy,<sup>245</sup> that they are challenging Sweden's authority in the Baltic, and that they are deliberately damaging its trade. *Ursachen* depicts the persecution of Swedish traders at German ports as follows:

Vnd [...] damit sie das Königreich Schweden von aller menschlichen Gesellschaft Bündnissen verstossen möchten / haben sie Ihrer Königl. May. vnschuldige Vnterthanen / wenn solche wegen Kauffmanschafft in die Seehäfen deß Deutschen Landes angeländet / ihrer Güter mit Gewalt entsetzet / die Schiff arrestiret vnd vnbilliger Weise beraubet: Auch [...] ihre außgeschickte bey denen von Lübeck vnd andern Vandalischen oder Hanße Stätten mehr / vnter dem Schein / als ob sie die

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<sup>243</sup> Bosbach, pp. 87, 96.

<sup>244</sup> Judith Pollmann, 'Eine natürliche Feindschaft: Ursprung und Funktion der schwarzen Legende über Spanien in den Niederlanden, 1560-1581,' in *Feindbilder: Die Darstellung des Gegners in der politischen Publizistik des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1992), pp. 73-93 (p. 80). Henceforth Pollmann.

<sup>245</sup> *Ursachen*, pp. 3, 14.

Commerciën denselbigen allein zuschanzen wolten / nur dahin gezeiet / damit sie die Unterthanen deß Königreichs Schweden gantz abdringten. (*Ursachen*, pp. 3-4)

*Ursachen* argues that the Habsburgs are trying to isolate Sweden by obstructing its trade with the Empire and cutting its contact to allies, and portrays them to be victimizing Swedish traders in the process. This description presents the Swedish state to have further legitimate grounds to intervene, this time in the name of the protection of its abused subjects and in defence of its established alliances, since helping the oppressed and one's allies were considered to be just reasons for war.<sup>246</sup> The intervention is also made more acceptable to the moderate reader through a reminder that the challenge to Swedish activity in the Baltic has potentially damaging consequences for the German Protestants of the northern territories, given that they are dependent on the trade of the Baltic Sea and could be subjected to piracy if Swedish authority in this area is compromised.<sup>247</sup>

Additionally, this reminder demonstrates the second argument which runs through the pamphlet to encourage the moderate audience to sanction Gustavus Adolphus's campaign. This is the claim that Swedish interests equal German Protestant interests. Sweden is presented as a protective force that seeks to shield both its own people as well as the Protestants of the Empire from Catholic Habsburg domination. *Ursachen* widens the context of the intervention by portraying imperialist expansion into the Baltic Sea to constitute a new chapter of Catholic infringements of Protestant rights. In fact, Ferdinand II's promotion of General Wallenstein to the newly created post of the Admiral of the North and Baltic Seas is presented to be part of Catholic plan to conquer northern Germany and submit the Baltic Sea to Habsburg domination. According to this depiction, the Habsburg fleet already has:

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<sup>246</sup> Bosbach, pp. 102-3.

<sup>247</sup> *Ursachen*, pp. 4-5.

Schiffe vnd Rüstung zu Wasser in Bereitschaft [...] auff daß sie den in ihren Gemuth gefasten Gifft in das Balthische Meer selbst außspeyen köndten: Inmassen [...] die Außbriefung deß Tituls von dem Generalat vber des Balthische Meer / wie auch Einnemung so wol auff dem Lande durch Meckelburg vnd Pommern vornehmer Plätzen vnd Vestungen / als an dem Wasser / der Seehäfen vnd Porten / wie auch anderer Sachen / welche darauff erfolget / viel offener angezeigt. [...] [Es] ist gewiß / nach dem sie ihnen den Seehafen Stralsund / zu auffenthalt ihrer Meer Rauberey außlesen [...] ihre Macht vber das Meer selbst außstrecken theten.

(*Ursachen*, p. 4)

In essence, *Ursachen* presents the German and the Swedish Protestants to be in a similar situation. Each community is threatened by Catholic Habsburg plans to expand into the north. *Ursachen* argues that this will lead to occupation, maritime lawlessness and piracy. In the light of both communities' desire for peace, autonomy and security, the Swedish campaign is presented as a defence of the interests of both Protestant communities. This portrayal aims to counterbalance the idea that the Swedish King may be a foreign invader and to build bridges between Gustavus Adolphus's campaign and the lives of the moderate Protestants. It seeks to convince them to voice support of Sweden's intervention due to its relevance to their own well-being, and in view of the seemingly interwoven destiny between both religious communities.

This idea of a King stepping in to ensure the freedom and security of both his own subjects and his Protestant neighbours is summed up towards the end of the pamphlet:

[Der König] protestiret [...] zu seiner vnd der seinigen / auch der allgemeinen Freyheit Schutz; biß so lang die Freunde vnd Benachbarten in den Standt gesetzt werden / in

welchem vor diesem Kriege die gantze Nachbarschaft ruhiglich geblühet / vnd aus welchem fürnemblich die Stadt Stralsund / das Balthische Meer / vnd das König Reich Schweden sich ins künftige gewisserer Versicherung wird getrösten können: Also zweiffelt der König nicht [...] vnd verhoffet gewißlich / alle Deutschen werden sich so wol freundlicher / als auch die gantze Christenheit / diese seine Unschuld vnd gerechte Wege der Waffen / zu solcher ungerechten Verfolgung rechtmessig zu widertreiben gerichtet / günstig Ihnen gefallen lassen. (*Ursachen*, p. 16)

The King is consequently claimed to be the opposite of the occupying Catholic forces in the north. He does not oppress but liberates instead, and his mission is not hostile but a campaign to restore peace. In this portrayal we see a reflection of the propaganda on Bethlen Gabor, which also argues that he is a prince who desires peace but is being forced to act in order to liberate Hungarian and Bohemian Protestants.

Another parallel between the campaigns designed to support the foreign allies is the insistent message that Catholicism is a destructive force that must be stopped. As discussed in my analysis of the sources supporting Bethlen Gabor, *Contrafactur* and *Meßkramm*, Catholicism is considered to exert a corrupt influence and to be a poisonous serpent poised to launch a deadly ambush on the Protestant faith. *Ursachen* intensifies this sense of threat. Unlike the propaganda promoting Bethlen Gabor, which could only use the examples of Hungary and Bohemia to convince the Protestants that they were in danger, it draws on the first-hand experience the German Protestants had gained of Catholic aggression in the Empire by the time of *Ursachen's* publication. Due to this new set of circumstances, *Ursachen* uses the arguably more potent metaphor of fire in order to describe the threat posed by Catholicism at the time of the Swedish intervention. This creates a sense of

immediacy and puts the moderate audience under considerable pressure to give their approval to the campaign. Gustavus Adolphus is depicted as being forced to fight fire with fire, for the sake of his own land as well as that of his neighbours:

Ihre Königliche Mejestät ist [...] von vielen Ständen in Deutschland erinnert worden / sich zeitlich vorzusehen / weil dieses Feuer noch in Ober Deutschland brenne / vnd nicht gedencke / daß gegen dieselbige die Feinde sich freundlicher erzeigen würden / wann man ihnen etwas näher zukommen / gestattete: Sondern Ihre Königliche Majestät müsse die Waffen alsbalden ergreifen / in Deutschland kommen / vnd mit gemeiner Macht das allegemeine Feuer außleschen: Mit der gewissen Erinnerung / daß es auch Ihrer Königlichen May. Sachen anlangte / wenn dero benachbarten Provintzen in dem Feuer stünden. Es hat auch Ihrer Königl. May. dazumal nicht gemangelt / entweder an stadlicher Gelegenheit / weil die Innländer sie baten / vnd die Außländer zureitzeten: Oder an gerechter Sache / weil die Freunde vnterdrucket / vnd sie von ihren Anverwanten vmb Hülff vnnd Beystand zum höchsten ersuchet würden. [...] [Auch] Ihre Königl. May. [...] bey sich erachtet / die Andere [Protestanten] hetten auch dergleichen Sitten vnd von Natur eingepflantzte Tugenden. (*Ursachen*, pp. 1-2)

According to this description, Sweden and the German Protestants share not only a common enemy, but the same moral values and virtues. This, together with references to the two groups constituting friends and neighbours, creates the image of a connected Protestant community. *Ursachen* builds on the idea that the Swedish campaign is logical by arguing that danger to one part of the community is perceived to be a threat to the health of the community as a whole, and necessitates action. In addition, the portrayal of Gustavus

Adolphus's concern for the safety of the Swedish and German Protestants presents him as a protective, patriarchal figure. It encourages the moderates to accept that he is an ally rather than an enemy, a friend rather than a foreigner. The articulation of his high regard for the German Protestants and of his assertiveness are designed to engender in the moderate audience a sense of trust in and gratitude towards the King.

The reference to the Swedish people asking their King to help, i.e. 'weil die Innländer [...] baten' conveys a sense of concern among the general Swedish population for the German Protestants and reinforces the idea that Gustavus Adolphus is not acting unilaterally or solely in the interests of the Swedish state. His own people have called on him to help the neighbouring German Protestants, and he is providing that assistance willingly. He additionally understands that the fate of both Sweden and the German Protestants is hanging in the balance. *Mandat*, a source related to *Ursachen*, also articulates clearly the idea of an intertwined Protestant community threatened by Catholic violence. Claiming to be a letter by Gustavus Adolphus addressed to the Protestants of Mecklenburg in the north of the Empire, it reads:

Wir [...] [befinden] Vns in viel wege verbunden / Vns vnserer so nahen  
Blutsanverwandten / wider dergleichen verfasten vnd verdamlichen Gewalt vnnd  
Beträngnis / durch [...] Beystandt des Allerhöchsten [...] anzunehmen / daß sie zu dem  
ihrigen fördersambst völlig wider gelangen mögen / zumal Vns / als einem Glied der  
Evangelischen Kirchen / obliegen wil / auff die Conservation Vnserer allein  
seligmachenden Religion [...] ein wachendes Auge zu haben. (*Mandat*, p. 3)

This demonstrates the way in which Gustavus Adolphus is stylized in order to gain the support of the moderates: he is highlighted to be the new defender of the Protestant



Church and its followers. In view of this, he is embarking on a mission to relieve the German Protestants from oppression because he feels that it is his duty to do so. Furthermore, the reference to the Germans as his blood relatives reminds the readers of Gustavus Adolphus's German heritage: Gustavus Adolphus's mother was, after all, Christine of Holstein Gottorf and his wife was also a German, Maria Eleonora, the daughter of Elector Johann Sigismund of Brandenburg. This gives readers another reason to believe in his genuine desire to help due to his relationship to them. In fact, the lexical field of family, neighbours and friends, evident in the words *freundlich*, *Freunde*, *benachbarten* and *Anverwanten* that are threaded through *Ursachen* are indicative of the intent that informs it. On the one hand, it is designed to build bridges between Sweden and Protestant Germany, and on the other it operates as a legitimizing strategy because the protection of neighbours, and the assistance of allies, friends and the persecuted were all considered to be legitimate reasons for war. This depiction of Gustavus Adolphus as a ruler with close links to the German Protestants and Princes of the Empire is evident in several broadsheets of the war. Examples include *Summarische Delineatio*<sup>248</sup>, a genealogical table which claims that the King is a descendent of the burgrave of Nuremberg, *So sehet Ihr*,<sup>249</sup> a portrait of Gustavus Adolphus alongside his wife Maria Eleonora, *Heroes Anagrammatisati*,<sup>250</sup> which commends the military strength of the King and the Saxon and Brandenburg Electors, and *Triga Heroum*,<sup>251</sup> a portrait which celebrates Martin Luther, Gustavus Adolphus and the Elector of Saxony as Protestant

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<sup>248</sup> *Summarische Delineatio vnd Anweisung / welcher gestalt der Durchleuchtigste vnd Großmächtigste Fürst vnd Herr / Herr Gustavus König in Schweden / Gothen vnd Wenden / v. Mit etlichen Europäischen Königen / Churfürsten vnd Fürsten / von dem Anno 1398. Den 21. Januarij Abgestorbenen Friderico Gefürsten Burggrafen zu Nürnberg / v, verwandt vnd befreundet seyn* (1632). Paas, VI (1998), P-1653.

<sup>249</sup> *So sehet Ihr welchen der HERR erwehlet hat. Denn Ihm ist kein gleicher in allem Volck. Da Jauchzet alles Volck vnd sprach Gluck zu dem Könige* (1632). Paas, VI, P-1633.

<sup>250</sup> *HEROES ANAGRAMMATISATI* (1632). Paas, VI, p. 254.

<sup>251</sup> *Triga Heroum Invictissimorum pro veritate Verbi Dei & Augustanæ Confessionis, Verbo, Ferro & Sanguine pugnantium* (1632). HAB: IH220.

heroes. All of these sheets claim that the King is a friend and protector of the German Protestants, and a figure of trust. This makes *Ursachen* representative of a specific propagandistic argument: the German Protestants have absolutely nothing to fear from Swedish invasion, but can count on Sweden's help because it is a related community and a new defender of the Protestant Church. Repetition is an important technique to remind the moderates time and again that it is the German Catholics who are the enemy, and the party encroaching on the German Protestants' liberty, rather than Gustavus Adolphus and his army. In order to convince the audience of this, *Ursachen* presents the parties in dichotomous terms: the Swedes are portrayed to be peace-loving but forced to defend themselves and their neighbours, while the Catholics are presented as the enemies of peace who are brutally destroying the Empire:

Niemand [könne] länger Frieden haben / als seinem Nachbar beliebe oder gefalle:  
Solches [...] hat mit ihrem Schaden in vorgangenen Jahren erfahren vnd erfähret es  
noch täglich / die Königliche Majestät in Schweden. Denn ob sie wol keines Dinges sich  
embsiger bemühet vnd befließen [...] denn daß sie mit allen ihren angrenzenden /  
vnd Insonderheit / den Ständen der Deutschen Nation vnverfälschte Freundschaft  
erhalten möchte / damit der Friede vnd die Ruhe [...] blühete / vnd die Commerzien  
vnd andere Dinge / so dem Frieden anhengig / zu der benachtbarten Völcker Nutzen /  
erhalten wurden: Hatt sie doch nichts mehr erhalten können [...] [wegen] deß  
gemeinen Friedes Hassern (nach dem dieselbe fast das gantze Deutschland mit Mord  
vnd Brand verwüstet). (*Ursachen*, p. 1)

This portrayal again echoes the propaganda that highlighted Bethlen Gabor positively in terms of a force of justice and as a pious, peace-loving prince. Similarly, Gustavus Adolphus

is depicted as displaying the virtues expected of a Christian power because he pursues peace as well as the execution of justice. These portrayals point to a common strategy that was employed in order to present foreign allies positively. *Ursachen* and its related sources provide the audience with a powerful argument to accept Gustavus Adolphus's intervention due to its legitimate grounds and its goal to protect the German Protestants from their enemies. In the following section I shall look at how other strands of the Protestant campaign tried to play even more greatly on the religious sensibilities of the moderates in order to gain their support, and to calm fears over the arrival of an intimidating and powerful Swedish army.

## Section Two: A Divine Mission

This second section investigates material which presents Gustavus Adolphus and his army as pious and trustworthy forces. In order to do this it concentrates on a succinct broadsheet representative of this argument, entitled *Gebett*.<sup>252</sup> *Gebett* is typical of a large number of radical Protestant broadsheets and pamphlets which stress that Gustavus Adolphus is on a religious mission to liberate the German Protestants and to protect them from the Catholics. Other broadsheets and pamphlets which depict the King in similar ways include *Schwedische Rettung der Christlichen Kirchen*,<sup>253</sup> *Zustand der Christlichen Kirchen*,<sup>254</sup> *Wahre Contrafactur vnd Bildtnis*,<sup>255</sup> *Schwedischer Beruff*,<sup>256</sup> *Schwedischer Zug*,<sup>257</sup> *Schwedischer Ankunfft*,<sup>258</sup> and *Colloquium Politicum* to name a small selection.<sup>259</sup> As will also be discussed below, *Gebett* has also been selected because it is a work that highlights the determination of the propagandists to exploit all avenues in order to gain Protestant approval of the Swedish campaign.

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<sup>252</sup> *Das Gebett So Ihr Kön: May: in Schweden Anno 1630. im Monat Aprill in der Insel Riga ankommen/ da Er alßbald auff seine Knye nidergefallen/ mit auffgereckten Händen zu Gott in Himel gethan* (Augsburg: Mannasser, 1630). Bavarian State Library, Munich: Einbl. V,8 a,19. Henceforth *Gebett*.

<sup>253</sup> *Schwedische Rettung der Christlichen Kirchen. Anno 1631* (1631). HAB: IH205.

<sup>254</sup> Lukas Schnitzer, *Zustand der Christlichen Kirchen Anno 1630* (1630). HAB: IH204.

<sup>255</sup> *Wahre Contrafactur vnd Bildtniss der hier auff Erden bedrengten/ vnd in Höchster gefahr schwebenden/ doch aber endlich erlöseten Christlichen vnd rechtgläubigen Kirchen* (1630). HAB: IH209.

<sup>256</sup> *Schwedischer Beruff/ Das ist: Abtreibung/ etlicher vngereimbter Judiciorum, von den jetzigen verenderungen im Röm: Reich/ vnd rechter grundt derselben* (1631). HAB: IH207.

<sup>257</sup> *Schwedischer Zug/ Das ist: Guter Anfang zu der instehenden Göttlichen Hülffe/ und Exempel der rechten Buß* (1632). HAB: IH208.

<sup>258</sup> *Schwedischer Ankunfft vnd forthgang im Reich/ Das ist: Glückliche Continuation der Göttlichen hülffe : nebenst angehefftem wüten dr Tyrannen böser Unthaten/ vnd Pharisäischen Rhatschlägen/ so jetzo im schwange gehen* (1631). HAB: IH206.

<sup>259</sup> For an examination of the way in which various types of religious argument were used to gain support for the King, and in particular arguments from the perspective of salvation history, see Tschopp.

Das Gebett  
**So Ihr Kön: May: in Schweden Anno**  
 1630. im Monat April in der Insel Riga ankommen /  
 da Er auß bald auß seine Ruhe nitbergefallen / wie auß  
 gerechten Händen zu Gott in Himm: gehan.



**N**ach Gott / der du vber  
 Himm: vnd Erden auch  
 das wilde Meer herrschest /  
 wie soll ich dir gungsam  
 danken / daß du mich dise  
 gefährliche Rast so gnä-  
 diglich beschützet hast / auch  
 danck ich dir von äußersten  
 meines Herzens / vnd biete  
 wie du weißt / dz diser mein  
 Zug vnd Intenc nicht zu  
 mein / sonder eintz vnd als  
 tein zu deinen Ehren / vnd  
 deiner armen vnd betrang-  
 ten Kirchen zu trost vnd  
 hilff angezehe / vnd geneigt /  
 so wollest mir auch / so fern  
 das Gründlein von dir be-  
 stitit vorhanden / darinnen  
 du deinem Volck vnd Auß-  
 erwählte Hilff senden wilt  
 ferner Gnad vnd Segen /  
 auch sonderlich gut Wetter

vnd Wind verkehren vnd  
 bescheren / daß ich mein hin-  
 derlassene Armada / die ich  
 auß mancherley Nationen  
 versamblet / mit fröhlichen  
 Augen bald bey mir sehen /  
 vnd dein heilig Wort for-  
 setzen möge / Amen. Vnd  
 als seine Mäch solch sein in  
 brünstig Gebete vñ Herz-  
 brennende Wort gehöret /  
 haben sie sich des wainens  
 nit engehalten können / vnd  
 als er solches gesehen / hat  
 er ihnen freundlich zu ge-  
 sprochen / vnd gesagt / mein  
 wainet nur nicht / sonder  
 bettet fleißig / je mehr bet-  
 tens / je mehr siegens / hat  
 darauff 200. Schiff mit  
 Volck ans Land eretē las-  
 sen / vnd die andern 200.  
 anderstwo Comandirt.

An Augspurg bey Hans Jerg Wannasser / auffm Creutz

*Gebett*, like the sources *Ursachen* and *Mandat* examined in section one, was produced at the start of the Swedish campaign. It provides insight into the ways in which radical propagandists sought to generate enthusiasm for the Swedish campaign at a time when

morale in the Protestant camp was low following the defeat of Christian IV of Denmark.<sup>260</sup> While *Ursachen* and *Mandat* use primarily legal arguments in order to justify the intervention, and appeal to the Protestants by highlighting its benefits to them, *Gebett* focuses on the religious motivations behind the campaign. In order to do this, the broadsheet presents Gustavus Adolphus to be a Christian ruler of deep religious conviction who is fulfilling a divine mission. The image on the broadsheet draws immediate attention to this piety. It depicts him kneeling in prayer, with his gaze directed to the heavens while he addresses God. The image is explained in the title of the broadsheet, which states that Gustavus Adolphus knelt to pray on reaching land after his voyage to the Empire. This image of humility and piety aims to counter fears of a foreign invader pursuing worldly, expansionist goals. It also helps to calm fear of an intimidating, multinational army soon to enter the Empire. It argues that Gustavus Adolphus is a military leader following the instruction of God, meaning that the scores of soldiers to his left as well as the armada on his right are all tools of a religious power. The implication is that the German Protestants have nothing to fear because a religious authority that is in charge of an army is unlikely to allow its forces to engage in arbitrary acts of brutality. *Gebett's* image of a kneeling general is also a sign of the determination of the radical propagandists to portray all Gustavus Adolphus's actions positively and to endow them with symbolic meaning. For instance, according to historical accounts of the King's arrival on the mainland, he tripped and fell from the plank of his ship while disembarking.<sup>261</sup> This potentially embarrassing incident was subsequently re-cast by radical propagandists as a deliberate act underlining the intensity of

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<sup>260</sup> Böttcher, p. 326.

<sup>261</sup> Spiegel, p. 27.

the King's faith. It attests to the propagandists' endeavours to maintain at all costs the image of a magnificent, awe-inspiring and pious King.

The forty-six lines of prose underneath the image of the King explain in detail the religious mission behind the Swedish campaign. The first thirty-one lines relay the words of the alleged prayer. Following this, its effect on the advisors who stand in close proximity to the King is summed up in five lines, while the final ten lines report Gustavus Adolphus's commands to his troops after reaching land. The prayer, the majority of the broadsheet's text, aims to demonstrate to the audience that the King is embarking on a religious, rather than a worldly, campaign. This is explained after Gustavus Adolphus thanks God for his divine protection during the crossing from Sweden to the mainland:

Mein Zug vnd Intent [sind] nicht zu mein / sonder enig vnd allein zu deinen Ehren /  
vnd deiner armen vnd betrangten Kirchen zu trost vnnd hilff angesehe[n] / vnd  
geneigt / so wöllest mir auch / so fern das Stündlein von dir bestimmt vorhanden /  
darinnen du deinem Volck vnd Außgewählte Hülff senden wilt ferner Gnad vnnd Segen  
/ auch sonderlich gut Wetter vnd Wind verleyhen vnd bescheren / daß ich mein  
hinderlassene Armada / die ich auß mancherley Nationen versamlet / mit fröhlichen  
Augen bald bey mir sehen / vnd dein heilig Werck fortsetzen möge / Amen. (*Gebett*,  
lines 10-31)

The implication is that Gustavus Adolphus has been sent by God to protect his flock of chosen ones on earth. The goal of the Swedish campaign is unambiguous: it is to rescue the distressed Protestant Church and is presented as a holy work.

This interpretation reflects the argument evident in numerous pieces of propaganda that the King was a contemporary equivalent of biblical figures such as Moses,<sup>262</sup> Joshua,<sup>263</sup> Judas Maccabeus,<sup>264</sup> David<sup>265</sup> and Gideon.<sup>266</sup> Like these figures, Gustavus Adolphus is depicted to have been entrusted with the task of steering God's flock through times of great peril, leading it to safety and either thwarting or destroying its enemies. In her study of religious propaganda that stylized the King as a saviour leading the Protestant Church to its final victory over the forces of evil, Tschopp notes that the King was not only compared to figures from the Bible and antiquity, but was in some cases presented as superseding them.<sup>267</sup> The emphasis on the close relationship between God and Gustavus Adolphus evident in *Gebett's* presentation of the King, is part of a legitimizing strategy: a pious seventeenth-century audience alert to the parallels between biblical history and their own times could hardly reject a mission that re-ignited the struggle and ultimate triumph of the Jews of the Old Testament and was led by a commander who gloried in the same divine support as Moses, David and Joshua.

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<sup>262</sup> *CUM DUPLICANTUR LATERES VENIT MOSES* (Nuremberg, 1631). HAB: IH201.

<sup>263</sup> *Triumph vber die Herrliche vnd fast unerdenckliche Victori* (1631). Reprinted in Wolfgang Harms's *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts / Die Sammlungen der Hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek in Darmstadt* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1987), pp. 224-7. Henceforth Harms Darmstadt.

<sup>264</sup> *Gottes und deß Heyligen Römischen Reichs Liecht-Butzer. Das ist/ Kurtze Erklärung/ wie das Geist- und Weltliche Liecht im Heyligen Römischen Reich/ nemlich die Augspurgische Confession unnd Religion-Fried/ von den Papisten wollen versteckt und gelöscht werden/ und was Gestalt diese Liechter von Ihr Königlichen Majestätt in Schweden wider herfür gezogen und gebutzet worden/ daß sie dem gantzen Reich zu gutem wider hell und klar leuchten : Allen unpassionirten Teutschen Herten zur Gedächtnuß und Nachrichtung* (1632), 22 pages. HAB: A: 218.21 Quod. (15). See also Harms Alexander.

<sup>265</sup> *Colloquium Politicum*.

<sup>266</sup> *Leipzigische Schluß-Predigt/ Von der Fürsten guten Fürstlichen Gedancken/ Als der von Churfürstlicher Durchläuchtigkeit zu Sachsen/ Herrn Herrn Johan Georgen/ &c. angestellte hochansehliche Convent der ... Evangelischen vnnd Protestirenden Chur-Fürsten vnd Stände glücklich geschlossen vnd geendet worden. ... : Mit angeheffter Verantwortung der Predigt/ so aus dem drey vnd achtzigsten Psalm im Eingang des hochansehlichen Convents gehalten/ vnd von einem Liechtschewenden Pöpstischen Lästerer angezannet worden / Verfertiget durch Matthiam Hoe von Hoenegg* (1631), 16 pages. HAB: A: 317.15 Theol. (8).

<sup>267</sup> Tschopp, p. 100.



This campaign builds on the political arguments used in *Ursachen* and develops the case that the military operation of the Swedes is both politically and religiously legitimate.

As a result, *Gebett's* portrayal of divine approval pushes the reader toward acceptance of the Swedish mission. Pressure is also added through the reminder in the text of the threat that the Protestant Church is facing. This reference to their personal danger combined with the reassurance that there exists a divine plan to protect them encourages the readers to drop all resistance to Gustavus Adolphus. In these arguments we see an echo of the propaganda on Bethlen Gabor and further evidence of a cohesive, sophisticated campaign when it came to the presentation of foreign allies. Like *Gebett*, for instance, sources such as *Contrafactur* also highlight the danger faced by the Protestant Church and argue that Bethlen Gabor was a hero sent to defend the Protestant faith from extinction.

*Gebett* also attempts to pave the way to acceptance of the King's multinational army. It achieves this by informing the reader in advance that it is made up of a number of different nationalities, and it stresses the enthusiasm of these forces to help Gustavus Adolphus to carry out his divine operation. The lines describing this follow Gustavus Adolphus's prayer and focus on the reaction of the King's advisors, whose piety is conveyed in their response to their leader's devotion:

Vnd als seine Räth solch sein inbrünstig Gebett vn Hertzbreennende Wort gehöret /  
haben sie sich deß wainens nit enthalten können / vnd als er solches gesehen / hat er  
ihnen freundlich zu gesprochen / vnd gesagt / mein weinet nur nicht / sonder bettet  
fleissig / je mehr bettens / je mehr siegens / bat darauff 200. Schiff mit Volck ans Land  
trette[n] lassen / vnd die andern 200. Anderstwo Comandirt. (*Gebett*, lines 31-46)

According to this portrayal, prayer is a weapon being used by the Christian Swedish forces against the enemy. The effectiveness of this approach is rooted in the early modern belief that all events on earth, both past and future, are the result of divine will.<sup>268</sup> This being so, God's approval of the Swedish campaign must result in victory and the prayers of his troops will surely be answered and granted. This emphasis on Swedish piety – be it the King's or his troops' – plays on the deep religious instincts of the seventeenth-century reader, encouraging him or her to sanction foreign intervention. Furthermore, the depiction of such a holy corps is intended to inspire awe and persuade readers that in supporting the Swedish they are backing the right side. In consequence, the readers of *Gebett* are left with the distinctly positive impression that they will soon see the arrival of an exemplary Christian army on the Empire's soil. This impression is reinforced by a number of other pieces of propaganda studied below, which focus on portraying the Swedish army as pious, anti-Catholic, and of extraordinary talent.

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<sup>268</sup> Tschopp, pp. 91-2.

### Section Three: The Pious Army

Another piece of propaganda that presents the king as a model general and religious minister to his army is *Kriegsrecht*.<sup>269</sup> This pamphlet, which was reprinted in the 1630s and the 1640s, claims to be the official code of conduct adhered to by the Swedish army and to be signed by each of the troops as a binding contract. It is fifty-five pages long, written in prose, and details the twenty-four rules that must be followed in the Swedish military. By the year of its initial publication in 1632, the Swedish army had already been active in the Empire for two years. This means that the pamphlet's aim is not to calm fear over the arrival of the Swedish forces in the Empire, but to persuade the moderates that the good behaviour of the Swedes will continue. This focus links it to a number of other pieces of propaganda. These include *Victori-Schlüssel*,<sup>270</sup> which praises the discipline and piety of the army, *Christliche KriegsGebett*,<sup>271</sup> which prints the prayers allegedly recited by the soldiers, and *Extract*,<sup>272</sup> a copy of a speech ostensibly given by Gustavus Adolphus to his army in which he reminds his soldiers to maintain high standards of order and discipline. All such

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<sup>269</sup> *Schwedisches Kriegs-Recht / oder Articuls-Brieff / deß Durchleuchtigsten / Großmächtigsten Fürstens und Herrns / Herrns Gustaff Adolffs / der Reiche Schweden / Gothen und Wenden Königs / Großfürsten in Finland / Hertzogen zu Ehesten vnd Carelen / Herrn zu Ingermanlandt / u. Sampt angeheffter General: vnnd Obergerichts-Ordnung / vnd deß General Auditors, wie auch General-Gewaltigers / u. Ampt und Bestallungs Puncten. Auß Befelch deß Woledlen Gestrengen Herrn Bernhard Schaffelitzkhi von Muckendell / u. Ritttern vnd Obristen / u. zu Roß und Fuß / u. Gedruckt zu Heylbrunn / im 1632. Jahr* (Heilbronn, 1632), 55 pages. HAB: M: Rh 430. Henceforth *Kriegsrecht*.

<sup>270</sup> *Königl-Schwed. Victori-Schlüssel, mit welchem der durchleuchtigste [...] Fürst [...] Herr Gustavus Adolphus, der Schweden [...] König in dem H. Röm. Reich teutscher Nation, zu desselbigen gefallenen Justici-Wercks, und Religions Freyheiten ^&c. wider auffhelffung, durch so vielen vortrefflichen Victorien glücklichen ein: und durchgebrochen hat / Allen Kriegs Fürsten [...] beschrieben, und auff einem Cartel [...] vorgestellt durch einen Liebhaber teutscher Freyheit* (1631), 21 pages. HAB: A: 31.2 Pol. (8). Henceforth *Victori-Schlüssel*.

<sup>271</sup> *Christliche KriegsGebett, Welche In dem Schwedischen Feldtläger gebräuchlich / Angeordnet Durch Johannem Botvidi [...]* (1631), 20 pages. HAB: A: 50.5 Pol. (22). Henceforth *Christliche KriegsGebett*.

<sup>272</sup> *Extract dero Königl. Mayst. in Schweden, eyfferige Klag und Erinnerung, an dero Soldaten und Commandanten* (1632), 8 pages. HAB: A: 202.63 Quod. (66). Henceforth *Extract*.

propaganda was designed to encourage readers to continue to support the Swedes and to view them as an exemplary Christian force.



This concern to reassure German Protestants that they can trust a pious Swedish army to protect them is indicative of a related aspect of the propaganda campaign. This is the presentation of the forces as a *militia Christi*, that is, a Christian force which trusts in the weapons of God and the power of prayer in order to defeat the enemy.<sup>273</sup> We have already seen evidence of this in *Gebett's* portrayal of Gustavus Adolphus urging his army to pray more in order to generate military success. *Kriegsrecht* builds on *Gebett's* portrayal by characterizing Gustavus Adolphus as a ruthless enforcer of religious and moral standards in order to ensure further success and Christian conduct. The observance of religious rules is presented to be of utmost importance to the King. This message is indicated by the fact that religious stipulations number among the very first conditions of the contract, and it is also made clear by the penalties set out for their transgression. According to *Kriegsrecht*, for instance, blasphemy constitutes a breach of contract that is punishable by death:

Welcher Reuter oder Soldat GOttes Wort / es geschehe auff was Maß oder Weiß /  
beym Trunck / oder mit nüchterem Munde / verachtet / davon lästerlich und spöttlich  
redet / vnd dessen mit zweien Zeugen uberwisen würde / der soll ohn alle Gnade / am  
Leben gestrafft werden. (*Kriegsrecht*, p. 5)

This example is representative of the overwhelming majority of *Kriegsrecht's* stipulations because soldiers' non-compliance with them typically warrants the death penalty. The uncompromising attitude it portrays the King to have on these issues emphasizes his religious zeal and suggests that his greatest allegiance is not to his men, but to the word of God and to the rules of his Church. This encourages the audience to believe that Gustavus Adolphus can be trusted as a leader of the Protestant camp because he acts consistently to

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<sup>273</sup> See Tschopp pages 183-91.

defend the principles of the Protestant Church, and devout subjects have nothing to fear from a monarch who roots out soldiers who are badly behaved. Whether or not this was in reality enforced is another matter, but it is certainly the case that the only criticism of the Swedish army in public media came after Gustavus Adolphus's death, when occupied territories of the Empire were forced to pay for the army when its own subsidies became insufficient.<sup>274</sup>

The pamphlet builds on its demonstration of the King's encouragement of Christian behaviour by portraying his insistence on the troops' regular worship:

Damit auch eine wahre Gottesfurcht in der Kriegs-Leute Herzen einwurzeln möge / So wollen vnnd verordnen Wir hiermit / daß von allem Kriegsvolck täglich deß Gottesdienstes mit Singen vnd Betten / Morgends vnd Abends im Läger abewartet.

(*Kriegsrecht*, p. 7)

Once again we encounter the idea of the praying *militia Christi* and we see that the King uses religious ritual to bind his men together and to give structure to their lives. One could argue that his devotion to principled and blameless living, coupled with the powers he is invested with to punish non-compliance with these principles, present him as an exemplary military Christian leader. To his men, he is the leader of the flock, possessing a life and death power over them. The pious among them are saved, that is spared punishment, and granted the privilege of enjoying further life. The sinners, however, who spurn the commandments of the manual, are condemned, sentenced to death, and banished from the Christian community. This presents the idea that Gustavus Adolphus and his army are a microcosm of the wider Christian cosmos. Gustavus Adolphus is the shepherd of the herd, who leads by

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<sup>274</sup> Tschopp, pp. 129-30, see also footnote 224 on page 130 for sources critical of army after the Peace of Prague.

example. His congregation receive a mix of encouragement and coercion in order to steer them towards the path of virtue and salvation. They demonstrate their faith through agreeing to adhere to strict moral principles, and show these principles in their actions, serving as liberators of the Empire's oppressed. This presentation is designed to inspire the awe of the audience and to lead it to the view the King and his troops are an exemplary military wing of the Protestant camp. Viewed alongside *Gebett*, we can also see in closing that the inspiration of awe, and the presentation of the King as worthy of respect were important features of a campaign seeking to gain approval of Gustavus Adolphus by means of his glorification.



#### Section Four: Foreigners of Pedigree

The final section of this chapter looks at sources depicting Gustavus Adolphus's army and it provides evidence of the methodical treatment of foreign allies in order to win the support of the German Protestants. It investigates three interconnected sources which describe the heterogeneity of Gustavus Adolphus's army positively,<sup>275</sup> entitled *Kurtze Beschreibung*,<sup>276</sup> *Auß Lap vnd Liefflandt*,<sup>277</sup> and *Seltzames Gespräch* respectively.<sup>278</sup> The first two show how propagandists glorified Sweden's international forces in similar ways to the King, and the third strengthens my case that there was a unified approach when it came to the presentation of foreign forces. This contention is based on the source's assertion that the soldiers' values and beliefs mirror the German Protestants' own, an argument also evident in propaganda portraying Bethlen Gabor and Gustavus Adolphus.

All the sources are broadsheets and portray a selection of the international soldiers that made up the contingents of Gustavus Adolphus's army. The wide-ranging nationalities that

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<sup>275</sup> I have also located the pamphlet *Kurtze Beschreibung Der Lappländer Sitten/ Gebräuche wie auch Kriegsübungen/ Deren Königl. Mayst. in Schweden/ etliche Compagnia/ zusam[m]t iren Reinigern oder ReinThiern/ wie auch Schlitten unnd ettlich tausent Beltz/ dero KriegsVolck/ darmit den Winter im Feld vor Kälte zu verwahren/ auß Lappland/ den 29. Novembris/ in hinder Pommern/ ankommen : Gedruckt erstlich zu Strahlsund (1630), 4 pages. HAB: A: 50.9 Pol. (20) and the broadsheet *Kurtze Beschreibung/ Der Achthundert Irren oder Irrländer/ Welche Königliche Mayestät in Schweden newlichst zu Stetin ankommen/ sampt deren Lands-Art/ Gewohnheit/ Sitten/ Kleydung/ Wehr vnd Waffen (1631). HAB: Dep. 4.9 FM 19. However, these are more factual descriptions of the Lapp (or Finnish) and Irish cultures and countries, rather than attempts to glorify the Lapps or Irish as soldiers of Gustavus Adolphus's army. They were probably printed to satisfy public curiosity.**

<sup>276</sup> *Kurtze Beschreibung/ deß auß Irrland/ Königl. Majestat in Schweden ankommenden Volcks/ von dero Lands Art/ Natur/ Waffen vnnd Eigenschafft (1632). HAB: IH225. Henceforth Kurtze Beschreibung.*

<sup>277</sup> *Auß Lap vnd Liefflandt (1632). Bavarian State Library, Munich: Einbl. V,8 a,63. Henceforth Auß Lap vnd Liefflandt.*

<sup>278</sup> *Seltzames Gespräch : So in dem Königl. Schwedischen Lager zwey frembde Nationen/ als ein Lappländer mit einem Newen aukommenden Irrländer/ von den jetzigem Zustand und Kriegswesen gehalten/ etc. (Stetin, Schröter, 1632). Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/ Gotha:Poes 8° 02403/09. Henceforth Seltzames Gespräch.*



were present in the Swedish army attracted the attention of the contemporary public<sup>279</sup> and created a demand for further information on them. They also attracted the attention of Catholic propagandists, who sought to undermine faith in Gustavus Adolphus's campaign by portraying his soldiers as hostile, ungodly, and foreign invaders. This is evident in the broadsheets *Kurtze Beschreibung / des auß Irr= vnd Lappland*<sup>280</sup> and *Kurtze Beschreibung / deß auß Irrland*,<sup>281</sup> both of which argue that the Empire is being overrun by corrupt outside forces. In addition, an untitled sheet, which is likely to have been written by the Catholics, accuses the Finnish of bad husbandry and wanton brutality.<sup>282</sup> Depicting a pregnant sow being slaughtered, its inscription reads 'O We ist das nit zu erbarmen das einer in seiner Mutterleib nicht sicher ist'. It is not clear whether the positive Protestant broadsheets came first, and the Catholics responded to them, or vice versa. The three broadsheets entitled *Kurtze Beschreibung* — the one pro-Swedish and the two anti-Swedish broadsheets — contain the same positive illustration, although this is not necessarily a sign that the critical sheets were adaptations of originally Protestant ones. Sheets were sometimes printed with a neutral or even positive image of a figure or figures who were then criticized in the accompanying text in order to trick readers from the opposite confessional camp to read

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<sup>279</sup> Harms, p. 496.

<sup>280</sup> *Kurtze Beschreibung / des auß Irr= vnd Lappland / der Königl. Majestat in Schweden ankommenden Kriegs Volck ins Teutschland / von dero Lands Art / Natur / Speiß / Waffen vnd Eygenschafft* (1632). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz: Einbl. YA 6372 m. The sheet's title closely resembles the positive Protestant broadsheet examined in this chapter and its image is identical. This was probably a ploy to attract Protestant readers who mistook it for the Protestant sheet. Its twenty rhyming couplets are highly critical of the Swedish army.

<sup>281</sup> *Kurtze Beschreibung / deß auß Irrland / der Königl. Majst. in Schweden ankommendenen [sic] Kriegs Volck ins Teutschland / von dero Lands-Art / Natur / Speiß / Waffen vnd Eygenschafft* (1632). Paas, VI, p. 87. The only difference between this sheet and the above piece of Catholic propaganda is its title, which is almost identical to the Protestant broadsheet apart from the word 'ankommendenen.'

<sup>282</sup> Paas, V (1996), p. P-1327.

them.<sup>283</sup> Whatever the case, radical Protestant propagandists felt the need to introduce the soldiers to the moderate audience in a positive way, and to reassure them that soldiers hailing from far-flung lands had no malevolent intentions towards them.

I have touched on evidence of this campaign to describe Swedish forces positively in the last two sections, but the material analysed in this final section is different because it discusses the heterogeneity of the Swedish army and does not simply portray it as a homogenous group of pious and disciplined Swedes. As established, the need to address the medley of nationalities in the Swedish army was either due to the Catholics targeting it as a weak point to exploit in scare-mongering propaganda, or simply because the public was able to see that the Swedish army comprised soldiers from different nations, a fact that generated curiosity.

Of course, all armies involved in the Thirty Years' War were to some extent ethnically as well as confessionally mixed. Protestants fought in Catholic armies and vice versa, and there were soldiers from all corners of Europe fighting in the Empire due to conscription in the countries engaged in the war. Sweden, for example, numbered among the countries involved in the conflict that implemented a policy of compulsory conscription of soldiers within its own borders as well as in its occupied neighbour, Finland.<sup>284</sup> In addition, the fact that soldiering was a form of paid employment contributed to the ethnic and confessional diversity of the armies. General Wallenstein is well-known for raising mercenary troops by offering payment, particularly for troops in his native Bohemia.

In contrast to other European powers, Sweden had less manpower to draw on because of its relatively small population of one million inhabitants. Figures suggest that the war caused

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<sup>283</sup> Wolfgang Harms, 'Feindbilder im illustrierten Flugblatt der Frühen Neuzeit' in *Feindbilder. Die Darstellung des Gegners in der politischen Publizistik des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* ed. by Franz Bosbach (Cologne: Böhlau, 1992), pp. 141-79 (p. 156). Henceforth Harms *Feindbilder*.

<sup>284</sup> For information in this paragraph see Parker, 'The Universal Soldier', pp. 171-86.

depopulation in Sweden and Finland that was unprecedented and placed unbearable strains on society.<sup>285</sup> The lack of available native soldiers meant that a high proportion of Sweden's military forces was not Swedish. Due to its possessions in the Baltic, it was able to recruit soldiers from the non-Swedish territories that it controlled, such as Livonia, Finland, and Estonia.<sup>286</sup> It also recruited soldiers from other European countries, including the Empire, Ireland, England, and Scotland. The Scottish soldiers have even left behind a legacy in modern Sweden: evidence of Scottish names can still be discerned in the Swedish aristocracy.<sup>287</sup>

An examination of the numbers involved reveals why Sweden needed reinforcements. It is estimated that the size of the Swedish army in 1630 was forty thousand,<sup>288</sup> growing to over one hundred thousand in 1632.<sup>289</sup> Given that the population of Sweden was only one million, it is unlikely that Sweden would have been able to gather together such a large military force using only native recruits. In fact, Asch states that in 1631, only one fifth of the Swedish army comprised Swedes, and that later in the war the number of Swedish natives dropped to just ten percent.<sup>290</sup> For reasons that are not entirely clear given the small minority of troops made up by these nationalities, the Irish, the Finns (or Lapps) and the Livonians seemed to catch the attention of both the Protestant and Catholic propagandists, or, perhaps these were the groups that most fascinated the general public and generated demand for publications on them. Estimations of total numbers are sketchy, but as far as the Scots, Irishmen and Englishmen are concerned, it is estimated that approximately six

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<sup>285</sup> Parker, p. 173.

<sup>286</sup> Asch, p. 164.

<sup>287</sup> See John Hennig's article 'Irish Soldiers in the Thirty Years War', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 82, 1 (1952), 28-36. Henceforth Hennig.

<sup>288</sup> Paas *Image*, p. 218.

<sup>289</sup> Roberts, p. 162.

<sup>290</sup> Asch, p. 164.

thousand arrived at the mouth of the Oder in 1631. The impact of these three ethnic groups is also debated. While some research states that they had little bearing on the outcome of the battles,<sup>291</sup> other investigation claims that the Scots, for instance, played no small role, and even credits them with the successful defence of Stralsund.<sup>292</sup> Whatever the case, soldiers who came from these ethnic groups were defended or promoted in radical Protestant propaganda, thus providing further evidence of a unified campaign in the treatment of foreign allies and their forces.

*Kurtze Beschreibung*, for example, glorifies the international troops of the Swedish army, and so draws on the technique used to present both Gustavus Adolphus and Bethlen Gabor. This glorification is creative and bold in the radical propagandists' presentation of the Irish, who are praised in *Kurtze Beschreibung* as the most hardy and resourceful of the Swedish soldiers. This is conveyed in the illustration of the broadsheet which portrays four Irishmen, one of which is barefoot. The lack of shoes is not a sign of poverty, but an indication that he is capable of enduring difficult conditions. The four Irish troops stand confidently on a grassy knoll, and carry different weapons. Two of them carry a bow and arrow, while the third rests a musket on his shoulder. This image suggests readiness for battle and skill in different arms. Behind the men are rows of soldiers marching forward in orderly lines. This conveys a sense of discipline and below the image is the broadsheet's only line of text, designed to strengthen the case that the Irish soldiers are able to survive in harsh circumstances.

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<sup>291</sup> Hennig, pp. 31-2.

<sup>292</sup> George A. Sinclair, 'Scotsmen serving the Swede', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 9, 33 (October 1911), 37-51 (pp. 37-8).



The text immediately under the image reads:

Es ist ein Starckes dauerhafftigs Volck behilft sich mit geringer speiß hatt es nicht brodt so Essen sie Würtzeln, Wans auch die Notdurfft erfordert können sie des Tages Vber die 20 Teützscher meilweges lauffen, haben neben Musqueden Ihre Bogen vnd Köcher vnd lange Messer. (*Kurtze Beschreibung*, line 1)

As Harms points out in his analysis of the broadsheet, the depiction of the Irish as willing to scour the earth for food could also be an attempt to present them as modest and as a people who show no sign of the deadly sin of gluttony or immoral self-indulgence, remaining instead in a state of innocence.<sup>293</sup> This echoes descriptions of Gustavus Adolphus himself, who is called time and again a paradigm of virtue, an outstanding role-model, and, as Tschopp demonstrates in her work on pro- and anti-Swedish propaganda, even superior

<sup>293</sup> Harms *Feindbilder*, p. 151.

to figures of the Bible. These portrayals are all intended to inspire the audience's respect and admiration for the Swedish King and his forces.

Further evidence of this campaign comes in the broadsheet *Auß Lap vnd Liefflandt*. Four fifths of its space is taken up by an illustration of a Lapp, an Irishman, a Scotsman, and a Livonian. Similar to the other international soldiers he accompanies, the Livonian is a northern European. The Livonians inhabited a territory along the Baltic Sea known as Livonia, which is now part of the modern day states of Estonia and Latvia. The soldiers' northern European provenance is a characteristic that they share and it is additionally apparent in the Nordic furs worn by the Lapp and the Livonian, as well as the fact that the Livonian is riding on a reindeer. The men are also connected in their readiness for battle. Between them they carry an array of weapons, including a spear, a dagger, a musket, a bow and arrow and a sword. This echoes the image of the armed Irishmen in *Kurtze Beschreibung* and indicates to the audience that the international troops of the Swedish army are geared for battle and unified in their intent. In addition, the illustration of weapons was probably included to satisfy public curiosity regarding the weaponry and defences of the foreign troops. This provided the audience with factual information on the troops in accompaniment to propagandistic text and image.





The text below the image of *Auß Lap vnd Liefllandt* also reflects that of *Kurtze Beschreibung*.

Although it takes the form of nine rhyming couplets rather than one line of prose, it states succinctly that Gustavus Adolphus's international soldiers possess extraordinary talents:

Sie können frost vnd hunger tragn,

Zu aller zeit den feindt nach jagn;

Die Lapländer auff ebner Erd,

Sollen schnell lauffen wie ein Pferd;

Des gleichen auch die auß Liefllandt,

Reitten auff dem Reinhir genandt,

über land vnd Eÿß wa sie hin eÿllen,

In einem tag bey dreisich meyllen;

Die ihrländer thun lauffen baß,

ohn sincken vbr einen moraß;

Die Schotlander vnder dem Schne,

Sich halten frisch, wie ich versteh (*Auß Lap und Liefflandt*, lines 7-18).

We encounter here once again a concerted effort to present the foreign troops as physically strong and capable of great endurance. There is a celebration of the stamina and resilience that derive from the soldiers' ability to survive in the harsh climes of their Nordic origins. The emphasis on these qualities is designed to highlight their usefulness and value. The international soldiers are not a motley crew of random foreign mercenaries, but constitute Gustavus Adolphus's special forces. Their perfect adaptation to a range of environmental conditions suggests that they are an asset to the Swedish army, giving it an advantage over enemy forces which are perhaps not as flexible or multi-skilled. This strengthens the case that Gustavus Adolphus and his forces are of extraordinary talent and constitute a special, remarkable team worthy of support. Individually and as a group, the sources *Ursachen*, *Gebett*, *Kriegsrecht*, *Kurtze Beschreibung* and *Auß Lapp und Liefflandt* present a powerful case to the readers and listeners that the piety, discipline and skill of the Swedes merit their respect and allegiance, not least because these forces have come to protect the German Protestants from danger and to prevent the Catholics from extending their attack into northern Europe.

The final source of this chapter, *Seltzames Gespräch*, provides further evidence of a campaign aimed at lessening resistance to the international troops in the Swedish army, although it does not use glorification as its primary means to achieve this. Instead, it demonstrates links to the arguments used in *Ursachen* to engender within the Protestant



community a sense of confidence in Gustavus Adolphus. This is because it aims to build bridges between the audience and the foreign forces in order to convince them that they hold similar values and can be trusted. *Seltzames Gespräch* consists of an illustration showing a Finn, a Lapp and an Irishman, with two paragraphs alongside it giving introductory information on the soldiers.

*Seltzames Gespräch!*  
**So in dem Königl. Schwedischen Lager zwey frembde Nationen/ als ein**  
 Lapländer mit einem Neuen ankommenden Iriländer/ von den jetzigen Zustand und  
 Kriegswesen gehalten/ etc.  
 In solchem Habit gehen die Lapländer. Also sehen die 2000. zu Stetin ankommene Iriländer oder Iren auß.

Die Lapländer seynnd  
 Personen fast kurze/ nie/  
 verständige Menschen/  
 über vier oder fünf/  
 Schuh nicht lang/  
 tragen lange Haar/ so  
 sie in einem Ropf ge/  
 stochren/ auff den Hü/  
 den hienunder hän/  
 gen/ haben breite flache/  
 Angesichter/ schwarz/  
 farbig/ einen großen/  
 Kopff/ kleine Augen/  
 kurze Schenkel/ die  
 gar krumm sind/ dann  
 ihre Knie nicht wie vn/  
 ser vorhen/ sondern  
 aufwärts stehen/ und  
 sind schnell mit lauffen/  
 und springen dermaß/  
 sen/ daß ihnen leicht/  
 lich nicht nachzufol/  
 gen/ Ihre Kleider sind  
 von Sämsen oder  
 Reithieren Häuten/  
 und das Nauch in  
 Winter kein/ und in  
 Sommer kaiser schen/  
 ren.



Die Iriländer seyn  
 starke/ kranckhafte  
 Leute/ beschaffen sich mit  
 geringen Speise/ haben  
 sie nicht Brodt/ so fön/  
 nen sie drey oder vier/  
 Tage gar wol hinar/  
 leiden/ essen darfür  
 Wasser Kresse/ Wur/  
 geln und Grass/ wann/  
 auch die Not erfordert/  
 können sie des Tages  
 über die 20. Meilen  
 lauffen/ haben neben  
 den Musqueten/ ihre  
 Degen und lange Mess/  
 ser daben.

Frage sich/ es nicht  
 die hundert Fliegen/  
 weil so häufig in  
 Deutschland vor ein/  
 icken Jahren geflogen/  
 kommen/ wie auch die  
 fremden Vögel/ so  
 niemand kennen/ und  
 vorhin gesehen haben  
 wollen/ diese fremde  
 Vögel bedrückt ha/  
 ben?

Lapländer.  
 Daß dich das tausent und bog hundert/  
 Hab ich mich doch bald kranck gewundert/  
 Ich mach dich in die Hölle rücken/  
 Was haben wir doch hier zu suchen.  
 Hier in dem weiten fremden Lande/  
 Ist das nicht Speer/ ist das nicht Schand/  
 Daß wir nicht können mit Ruh sitzen/  
 Dabein/ und müssen hauffen schwigen.  
 Wer Teuffel hat den Krieg angfangen/  
 Ich weis er were schon gegangen/  
 So daß ich nicht viel hundert Meilen/  
 Hieher zu diesen Lande eilen.  
 Ich seß dabein im Gehölz/  
 Grimm und still mit meinem Pökel/  
 Mich dünkt es müssen seine Leute  
 Hier seyn/ daß sie in solchem Circire  
 Leben/ und ihr eigenes Reich  
 Derwüsten fast der Erden gleich.  
 Ach sich/ was ich ich ohn gescheh/  
 Für einen kommen jemand er her/  
 Glück zu mein Freund/ ihr kompt mir für/  
 Als werd ihr nicht zu Hause hier/  
 Weil ihr so seltsam wunderlich/  
 Auch aussieht fast wie ich.

Iriländer.  
 Es mag seyn/ Ihr habt nicht gelogen/  
 Ich bin fast eben so weit gezogen/  
 Gleich wie ihr was doch für Christen/  
 Regiert hier/ daß wir armen Iren  
 So gar weit von der Wasse und Land/  
 Daß hieher werden abgefañd/  
 Hab ich doch nie von diesem Drey/  
 Jemals ein einzig Wort gehört/  
 Ihr der ihr hier fast länger seht/  
 Erzieht mir doch die Gelegenheyt/  
 Ich weis zum Hinder selber nicht/  
 Wer doch das Spiel darangericht/  
 Lapländer.

Es ist ein Keil sol Teufel heißen/  
 Dem soll wir heißen abschmeissen.  
 Ein theil heißen auch Jesuiten/  
 Das sind die rechten christlichen Blüthen/  
 Ein theil heißt man die Lügner/  
 Und in Summa die Papisten/  
 Diese Keil wie ich höre/  
 Wolln alle Gewalt und Ehre/  
 Jedes Land und alles Geld/  
 Allein haben in der Welt.  
 Ja sie wollen seyn wie Fürsten/  
 Strogen wie die Kragbüßten/  
 Höher wolken solche Himmel/  
 Segn/ als ist der liebe Himmel.  
 Den wir jetzt nun unser König/  
 Geben weder Heller noch Pfennig/  
 Sondern wil sie schmeissen und schelten/  
 Daß Hört und sein Wort mehr sol gelten/  
 Darumb und auff diese massen/  
 Hat er uns hieher helen lassen/  
 Daß wir dieselben stolzen Keil/  
 Mit unsern kappen künfftigen Quert/  
 Wol und oft solen halsamten/  
 Und mit Knüttelsalbe schmelzen/  
 Solten sie so lange treffen/  
 Wiß sie wieder in Sanct Steffen/  
 Hier aus diesem Lande lauffen/  
 Und die Sünde dort verkaufen.

Iriländer.  
 Stich/ Stich/ ist das die Sachse/  
 Ich bin ich nicht ein alber Dache/  
 Ich habe von ihren lahmen Fragen/  
 Lange bey uns hören schwagen.  
 Aber das ist gar der Pringer/  
 Daß dieselben Grillensänger/  
 Und die Ehr- und Bravenschänder/  
 Jetzt verderben so viel Länder.  
 Lapländer.

Das ist war und in beyde recht/  
 Ich wir armen lappischen Bawern/  
 Ob uns gleich die weite Welt/  
 Für frech und kühne Leute helt/  
 Dennoch sind wir noch sanft und milde/  
 Bey weiten nicht so frech und wilde/  
 Daß wir unser eigen Vaterland/  
 Wir also machen zu Spott und Schand/  
 Und unsere Reichs eigne Glieder/  
 Nachbarin/ Freund und unser Brüder  
 Also um das Ihre brechen/  
 Und die Kinder machen zu Knechten.  
 Ich weis gewis daß ihr ingelichen/  
 Daß nicht thut in euren Reichen/  
 Ja in der Wüsten Tartari/  
 Hab ich auch das gesehen nie.

Iriländer.  
 Bog Kraut und Loch/ Bog Pulver Bley/  
 So schlage Gott vom Himmel drein/  
 Ehers hier zu also jämmerlich/  
 So sag ich frey/ es reuet mich/  
 Daß ich bin in das Land kommen/  
 Ich habe sonst ein anders vernommen/  
 Als wenn es hier im Römischen Reich/  
 Jungler recht und schmeere gleich/  
 Hier wohnte die Burchigkeyt/  
 Macht und Gewalt ohn Krieg und Creyt/  
 So hör und sch Ich/ daß regiert/  
 Was sich sonst bey uns nicht gebürt/  
 Daß dieses Reich an Tyrannen/  
 Dem Türcen vberlegen sey.  
 Ach Hohn und Spott/ Ach große Schand/  
 Ach Jammer/ Dorch/ Dorch dem Lande/  
 Daß sich von uns muß lassen lehren/  
 Wie es sich seihen kan vermehren/  
 Ich dächte/ es solte besser seyn/  
 Wenn die hier zu uns kämen kein/  
 Und uns der albern Nation/  
 So geben eine Correction.

Lapländer.  
 Jawol/ gericht nicht lieber Iren/  
 Ein feres Pferd das ist nicht Irer/  
 Diese Leute die hier wohnen/  
 Kan ich mit schülen wol verschonen/  
 Denn ihre Eren und Teufel Muth/  
 Hat sie bracht um ihr Haab und Gut.  
 Die flugen Spanter und die Weißchen/  
 Wolten mit ihren Geist verdrücken/  
 Daß Land/ daru wolten sie  
 Hier stießen eine Monarch/  
 Und daß will noch zur Zeit nicht seyn/  
 Drum es se alle in gemeln/  
 So heffig sehr thut verdrücken/  
 Daß sie wolten Leute erschnecken/  
 Eh die Wüschse ist geladen/  
 Und auff trucken Lande haben.  
 Ich weis zwar mehr/ ich will nicht sagen/  
 Es hat sich viel mehr jugetragen.  
 Ihr Posten sind so groß gestärkt/  
 Daß es ein edlischer Lappe merket/  
 Zwey Wörlein haben in seht ein D/  
 Die kühn die Jesuiten so.

Iriländer.  
 Es nun so laßte immer hin/  
 Daß leben ihrem Muth und Sinn/  
 Wir wolten unsre Degen und Messer/  
 Auch ein wenig weihen besser/  
 Auf den Tyll und die Lüge/  
 Auf den Tyrannen mit der Zigel/  
 Wenn gleich wir als grobe Hachn/  
 Mit Cavallern Freundschaft machen.  
 Lapländer.  
 Darer/ mein lieber Iriländer/  
 Wir wolten sehn/ was es beste kan/  
 Es ist wol möglich/ daß ein Lappe/  
 Ein Wüschsen schneist auff seine Kappe.

A M E N.

Below the image and the introductory information to its left and right is a dialogue. In this dialogue, which comprises seventy-six rhyming couplets and nine verses, the three soldiers discuss the reasons for their presence in the Empire. The reasons they give parallel those in *Ursachen* and *Gebett*. For instance, the foreign soldiers have come to the Empire in order to give the German Protestants support and to drive back menacing Catholic forces. This message is stated by the Lapp in the seventh verse:

Diese Leute / die hier wohnen /

Kan ich mit schelten wol verschonen /

Dann ihre Trew vnd Teutscher Muth

Hat sie bracht umb ihr Haab vnd Gut.

Die klugen Spanier vnd die Welschen

Wolten mit ihrem Gifft verfälschen

Diß Land / darzu wolten Sie

Hier stifften eine Monarchi (*Seltzames Gespräch*, lines 120-7)

A further connection to the pro-Swedish argument in *Ursachen* is evident in another view attributed to the representatives of the ethnic minorities: they feel compelled to come to the Empire due to the threat that Catholicism poses to their own countries. Once again we encounter the legitimizing argument that foreign armies are being forced to lead a defensive war against Catholic enemies for their own sake and on behalf of and other Protestant communities. This claim is part of an overarching strategy of the campaign to convince the readers that Swedish invasion is in their own and other Protestants' interests, and to encourage them to view the troops as liberators and saviours rather than foreign

invaders. The stress given to the idea that these forces do not intend to stay in the Empire is another device used to reassure the moderate Protestants. Far from attempting to colonize German Protestant territory, the soldiers' love of their homeland and their impatience to return is highlighted. This sentiment is expressed in the first verse by the Lapp as follows:

Was haben wir doch hie zu suchen /

Hier in dem weiten frembden Lande /

Ist das nicht Spott / ist das nit Schande /

Daß wir nicht können mit Ruh sitzen

Daheimb / vnd müssen haussen schwitzen.

[...] Wer Teuffel hat den Krieg angefangen /

Ich wolte er were schon gehangen /

So dörrft ich nicht viel hundert Meylen /

Hieher zu diesen Landen eylen.

Ich säß daheim im Gehölze /

Fromb vnd still mit meinem Pelze. (*Seltzames Gespräch*, lines 5-15)

In another echo of *Ursachen*, the reader is put under pressure to accept Swedish help due to the perhaps exaggerated depiction of the threat that Catholicism is said to pose. *Seltzames Gespräch* argues that Count Tilly must be driven out, that Catholic tyranny reigns supreme in the Empire, and that the Pope is about to subject the whole of Europe and even the world to a new Catholic yoke:

Lapp [...]

Ich weiß zum Hencker selber nicht /

Wer doch das Spiel hat angericht.

Es ist ein Kerl soll Tylli heissen /

Den sollen wir helffen abschmeissen.

Ein theil heissen auch Jesuiter /

[...] Ein theyl heist man die Ligisten /

Vnd in Summa die Papisten /

[...] Wollen alle Gewalt vnd Ehre /

Jedes Land vnd alles Gelt /

Allein haben in der Welt.

Irrländer [...]

Hier wohnte die Gerechtigkeit /

Macht vnd Gewalt ohn Krieg vnd Streit /

So hör vnd seh ich / daß regiert /

Was sich sonst bey vns nit gebührt /

Daß dieses Reich an Tyranny /

Dem Türcken vberlegen sey.

Lapp [...]

Ihr Possen sindt so grob gestärkt /

Daß es ein tölpischer Lappe merckt.

(*Seltzames Gespräch*, lines 37, 44, 46-8, 94, 103-8, 117, 136-7.)

This demonstrates another propagandistic technique that runs through a large number of radical Protestant propaganda arguing in favour of the Swedish intervention: it deliberately describes the campaign in eschatological, dichotomized terms in order to pressure the audience to resist Catholic authority. More specifically, it presents the Swedish forces' battle against the Catholic forces inside and outside of the Empire as being part of one of the final battles between the forces of Christ and the forces of the antichrist on earth.<sup>294</sup> This adds a sense of immediacy to the Swedish campaign and intensifies the pressure to choose a side and support it. The portrayal of characters in the dichotomized terms of good and bad was a propagandistic technique with roots in the Middle Ages<sup>295</sup> that was designed to make the choice of allegiance simple, even inevitable. The presentation of Catholic forces as wholly bad and Swedish and Protestant forces as wholly good in radical propaganda of the war was intended on the one hand to reassure the audience that they were on the path of virtue and should continue to remain steadfast in their support the Protestant campaign, and on the other hand to discourage them from harbouring allegiance to Catholic figureheads, including Emperor Ferdinand II. As the Bible was the reader's highest source of authority, the Protestant side portrayed itself to be the army of Christ faithful to God's law, while support of the Catholics was made to appear tantamount to collusion with the forces of the devil.

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<sup>294</sup> This is particularly evident in the sheets depicting the Swedish forces' capture of Augsburg. See for example *Die betrangte Stadt Augsburg* (1632). HAB: IH221.

<sup>295</sup> Harms *Feindbilder*, pp. 159-60. See also Michael Walter's chapter 'Der Gegner als endzeitlicher Widersacher. Die Darstellung des Feindes in der jüdischen und christlichen Apokalyptik', in *Feindbilder. Die Darstellung des Gegners in der politischen Publizistik des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* ed. by Franz Bosbach (Cologne: Böhlau, 1992), pp. 23-40.

We see in *Wahre Contrafactur*, *Ursachen* and *Seltzames Gespräch*, to name just a few representative examples, that Protestant propagandists were keen to highlight parallels between the values and desires of the foreign Protestant forces and those of the German Protestants. The aim of this was to create an image of the foreigners that the German Protestants could identify with, and to neutralize the idea of foreignness by insisting that there were no differences between the mindsets of the foreign allies and their own. The propagandists repeated the idea of a common set of Protestant values as well as the idea of a common enemy. Each of these pull and push factors persuaded the readers that the presence of the non-German Protestant forces in the Empire was a tolerable and perhaps even beneficial arrangement.

*Ideas of Foreignness and Self: The Issue of Otherness in the Protestant Campaign*

Following our discussion of the foreign troops of Gustavus Adolphus's army, it must also be borne in mind that the campaign to garner support for Bethlen Gabor and Gustavus Adolphus touches on the important questions of the Self and Other, as they were understood in the seventeenth century. Indeed, one of the aims of the propaganda effort was to convince the audience that both Bethlen Gabor and Gustavus Adolphus did not represent the Other, but were reflections of the German Protestant community and mirrored its values and concerns.

In Bethlen Gabor's case, we see in Catholic propaganda that there were attempts to cast him in the role of the Muslim, Turkish Other. This was a category of alterity that was prominent in Europe due to Turkish advances into European territory in the medieval and early modern period. The fear of the Muslim Other was sparked, among other factors, by four Turkish military operations: these were the capture of Constantinople in 1453, the

Turkish expansion into Hungary in 1526, and the sieges of Vienna in 1529 and 1683. Turkish attack and fear of it were reflected in the 'Turkish sermons' held in churches of the Empire throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in which the Turks were described as Christendom's arch enemy, but who, despite their military superiority, were destined to be defeated by the Christians in accordance with God's will.<sup>296</sup>

Ideas of Turkish brutality, excessive sexual appetite and lust for territorial expansion were reflected in seventeenth-century literature. Prominent examples include Andreas Gryphius's *Catharina von Georgien* (1657) and Daniel Casper von Lohenstein's *Ibrahim Bassa* (1653) and *Ibrahim Sultan* (1673). Perhaps surprisingly, not all depictions of the Muslim or Turkish Other were negative, a fact attested to in a number of European works that express a fascination for the Exotic Oriental Other. A chief example of this is Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*, which presented Muslim characters as exhibiting the same levels of bravery and the same sophistication of manners as their European counterparts.<sup>297</sup> Some European courts and contemporaries were open to Turkish influences because of their curiosity in its burgeoning culture and its exotic products. This is evident in the so-called court-sponsored Orientalism in France, which led to the consumption of silk, spices, coffee, tea, cotton cloth, china and gems, and the discussion of new ideas regarding politics, science and absolutism.<sup>298</sup>

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<sup>296</sup> Norbert Haag, "'Erbfeind der Christenheit.'" *Türkenpredigten im 16. Und 17. Jahrhundert*, in *Repräsentationen der islamischen Welt im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. By Gabriele Haug-Moritz and Ludolf Pelizaeus (Münster: Aschendorff, 2010) pp. 127-50, p. 149.

<sup>297</sup> Mara Wade and Glenn Ehrstine, *Foreign Encounters in German Literature Before 1700*, Daphnis 33 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), pp. 5-31, pp. 22-4.

<sup>298</sup> Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, *Orientalism in Early Modern France: Eurasian Trade, Exoticism, and the Ancien Regime* (Oxford: Berg, 2008). For information on popular 'exotic' imports, see 'Domesticating the Exotic: Imports and Imitation', pp. 205-31, for science see 'Orientalism as Science: The Production of Knowledge under Louis XIV', pp. 101-37, and for Turkish influence on despotism see 'Orientalism, Despotism, and Luxury', pp. 257-91.

Despite the different kinds of Muslim Other, however, – be they negative or positive – Protestant propagandists were careful not to label Bethlen Gabor as belonging to any category of Other at all. Instead, his protective instincts towards Protestantism were brought to the fore, and his fight was depicted to be one directed against the Catholic Other that was closer to home.

A similar strategy was employed to rid Gustavus Adolphus of any connotations of alterity, although, in comparison to Bethlen Gabor, the task in itself was not as great a challenge. Gustavus Adolphus had no connections to the Turks and even had a German mother. Both of these factors made it easier for the propagandists to convince the audience that he belonged to a common community of religious and moral values. Unlike Bethlen Gabor, who had spent time at the court of the Sultan, there was no question that Gustavus Adolphus's religious convictions may have been contaminated by Islamic influences, so making him open to charges of religious alterity.

As was the case with Bethlen Gabor, Gustavus Adolphus's instinct to protect the wider Protestant community was accentuated, and his consideration of the German Protestants as his neighbours, brothers, and co-religionists was also brought to the fore. This impression of united Protestant interests helped to mould an identity for the King as part of the Protestant Self, rather than an Other demarcated by geographical or national boundaries. The image of the King as a protector of the Protestants also framed him in a patriarchal light, as a leader protecting his flock, and helped to neutralize the idea of an invading, foreign Other.

The real Other was constructed in radical Protestant propaganda along religious and moral boundaries; it was the Catholics who were portrayed as the Other because of their allegedly

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heretical and immoral behaviour. This included the wilful massacre of the Protestants of the Empire, and their unreserved support for the Antichrist incarnate, the Pope. The propagandists' presentation of the true enemy, as the Catholic Other, was based on the argument that during the Thirty Years' War this represented a more threatening foe than the Turkish Other. In doing so, they refocused German attention on the religious Other within German society, rather than the Muslim Other outside of it. In so doing, they sought to re-align the German Protestant Self along religious rather than linguistic, national, or geographical boundaries, meaning that co-religionists from Sweden or Hungary could be welcomed as part of the community, while representatives of German Catholic authority should be mistrusted, resisted and Protestants should even be encouraged to take up arms against them. The Catholics were made to seem the epitome of a foreign, corrupt, and religious Other: foreign in their links to Rome and Spain, corrupt in their thirst for Protestant blood, and religiously other in their perversion of the Christian faith and their worship of the Antichrist.

## Conclusion

The radical propagandists tried to convince the moderates to approve of the Swedish intervention by glorifying Gustavus Adolphus, justifying his campaign, and by building bridges between the King, his forces, and the German Protestants.

The material that justified the Swedish campaign used arguments that had been tried and tested in earlier Protestant propaganda, in particular during the Schmalkaldic War. It presented the King's campaign to be legitimate because it was an act of self-defence against a provocative and threatening enemy. Sources such as *Ursachen* argue that Gustavus Adolphus was a king fulfilling his duty as a Christian leader to protect his own people and his faith. The argument that the King also considered it his duty to defend his co-religionists the German Protestants, who were his allies, neighbours, and friends, was equally important. However, the propagandists maintained, the King did not make this decision alone. The campaign was further justified by the presentation of the Swedish intervention as a non-autocratic act: although Gustavus Adolphus was a firm proponent of it, the Swedish people themselves called on their King to act, while the German Protestants of the Empire, a related religious community, had also called on him for help. The depiction of a defensive war and a Christian ruler fulfilling the duties expected of him sought to neutralize the idea of a foreign invader taking advantage of the turmoil in the Empire. This interpretation also sought to encourage the moderates to trust the King, whose campaign was an attempt by one neighbour to help another. In short, *Ursachen* explained the Swedish campaign in terms that made it seem beneficial to the moderates as well as an inevitable consequence of Catholic hostility.

The broadsheet *Ein Seltzames Gespräch* built on the argument of *Ursachen* by extending its portrayal of the King to the Swedish forces themselves. In direct parallel to the presentation of the King's reasons for war, the propaganda explains the engagement of soldiers from across Europe in the Swedish campaign as a consequence of the Catholic threat posed to the Protestant faith and their own autonomy. Furthermore, the emphasis on the soldiers' piety in *Kriegsrecht* and the troops' determination to shield the German Protestants from attack in *Seltzames Gespräch* are deliberate echoes of the presentation of their leader. Like him, they are compelled to counter increasingly militant Catholic powers. The intent of such propaganda was to reassure readers that those involved in the Swedish campaign understood, just as their commander did, the Protestants and sought to offer the Germans support and solidarity. The promotion of trust between the moderate audience and the Swedish forces was crucial to the propaganda campaign: allegiance to the Swedish offensive could only be achieved if the moderate audience trusted in the benevolent intent behind it.

In essence, the radicals presented heterogeneous forces as unified in their intent and belief. This intent and belief was described as mirroring the German Protestants' own because each party desired release from Catholic attack and the freedom to practise its faith. Thus the propaganda created the idea of an overarching consensus between the Swedish forces and the Protestants of the Empire. Each side was depicted to be dependent on and to have a connection to the other: the German Protestants were reliant on the Swedish forces for their defence, and the international army and its leader viewed the German Protestants as a line of defence against Catholic expansion that was in desperate need of support. Since the German Protestants' elimination was portrayed as bringing Catholic powers closer to invasion of further Protestant countries, the propagandists were successful in giving the

audience plausible reasons to believe that the success of the Swedish campaign was linked to Protestant Europe's survival and to its own greater good.

While the propaganda discussed above attempted to legitimize the Swedish campaign and to present it as being essential to the German Protestants' survival, a final strand sought to gain the Protestants' approval by inspiring feelings of respect, even admiration. This strand, represented by the sources *Gebett* and *Kriegsrecht*, plays on the religious sensibilities of a devout Protestant audience and portrays Gustavus Adolphus and his forces as exemplary Christians. The King was portrayed as an enforcer of moral rectitude and a promoter of religious worship, who harnessed the divine weapon of prayer in order to assure military success. The audience was encouraged to believe that troops of the Swedish army adhered to exceptionally high standards of order, discipline, and piety. This gave readers further assurance that they could place their trust in the Swedish army and encouraged loyalty to it. This was not an army of mercenaries that would maraud and plunder. Rather, it was a *militia Christiana*, a holy Christian army supported by God. The reassurance that the Swedish army was the arm of God and therefore destined for success was a powerful argument in the propagandists' campaign to win German Protestant allegiance. By means of such argumentation and suggestion the propagandists sought not just to break down scepticism towards Swedish motivation and resistance to Gustavus Adolphus and his army but to generate a sense of admiration. According to the propagandists, they were agents of divine will, a force that no devout Protestant would want to resist, and objects worthy of the highest levels of respect and devotion.

The certainty of success was implied in further sources such as *Auß Lapp und Liefflandt* and *Kurtze Beschreibung*, which suggested that the multinational forces of the King were also

multitalented, and their resilience and extraordinary skills put the Swedish army at a great advantage. While their presentation was designed to engender admiration and awe, this was not just because they were agents of a divine mission; their capacity for endurance was described as no less than remarkable.

Through the references to Gustavus Adolphus and his extraordinary troops, we can also see the propagandists responding to the public fascination surrounding the Swedes, and giving their 'otherness' positive connotations. In order to counteract any notions of the Swedish intervention constituting an invasion by a foreign Other, the audience is encouraged to view the Swedes and their allies as the extraordinary Other, possibly even a miraculous Other due to the feats that they are able to accomplish. While this does not eradicate the idea that the Swedes are different from the German Protestants, it presents their alterity in the most positive light possible, satisfying public curiosity and diminishing any angst of the foreign Other.

In conclusion, it is highly likely that the campaign designed to gain support for the Swedish campaign was successful. It systematically broke down barriers between the German Protestant audience and the Swedish forces by portraying Gustavus Adolphus's campaign as acceptable on political, religious and moral grounds. The audience was given plausible reasons to believe that the campaign was in its and other Protestant communities' best interests, and that the divinely sanctioned campaign against enemy Catholic forces would be a success. These were all tactics that pulled the audience towards allegiance to the Swedes, while other images put pressure on the readers to end their loyalty to Catholic authorities. This is evident in the repeated idea of the Catholics as the enemy. Moreover, the constant reference to the danger they posed to the German Protestants put the readers under

pressure to place themselves under Swedish protection. These push and pull strategies were powerful motivators and shall be investigated further in the next two chapters examining anti-German Catholic sources.

## Duke Maximilian of Bavaria: Historical Introduction

### *Maximilian, Bavaria, and the Catholic Cause*

Maximilian of Bavaria was born in Munich on the 17<sup>th</sup> April 1573 to Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria and Princess Renata of Lorraine. He received an education that focused on religion, law, Bavarian affairs and the art of war. Unsurprisingly given the religious fervour of his father, who spent four hours a day in prayer, the primacy of religious matters over all other considerations was stressed time and again throughout the education of the young prince.<sup>299</sup> His educational programme helped to mould him into a pious believer and later a defender of the Catholic Church. In this he continued the example of the previous three dukes of Bavaria. Wilhelm IV (1493-1550), for example, the great-grandfather of Maximilian, had been decidedly hostile to the Reformation and had established Bavaria as a bulwark against Protestantism. Some people regarded him as the primary reason why Catholicism did not perish in the Empire in the wake of the Reformation. He was able to avert a total victory of Protestantism by fighting alongside Emperor Charles V (1500-1558) against the Protestant princes of the Schmalkaldic League during the Schmalkaldic War (1546-7). Under his rule, Bavaria was one of the few secular territories in the Empire able to resist the Reformation almost unconditionally.<sup>300</sup> His son Albrecht V (1528-1579) built on this legacy by greatly strengthening the position of Catholicism in Bavaria itself. He encouraged the unfolding of the Counter-Reformation in the duchy and permitted the Jesuits to gain influence over the University of Ingolstadt and to shape the religious education of his subjects.

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<sup>299</sup> Kurt Pfister, *Kurfürst Maximilian I von Bayern* (Munich: Ehrenwirth, 1980), pp. 22-37. Henceforth Pfister. These pages provide evidence of all of the historical information on this page.

<sup>300</sup> Pfister, p. 22.

Albrecht V's son and Maximilian's father, Wilhelm V (1548-1626), remained loyal to the Catholic cause via the promotion of Jesuit methods of teaching in schools and universities, the exclusion of Protestant nobility from local government, the expulsion of non-noble subjects practising the new faith<sup>301</sup> and through the Catholic education of his son. His determination that Maximilian continue in his footsteps was made clear in his will, which forcefully called on Maximilian to maintain the Catholic faith, to defend Catholic religious jurisdiction, the Catholic clergy and the possessions of the Church, to ensure his subjects' adherence to strict religious morals and to protect Bavarian Catholics from birth onwards in times of peace and war. All of these instructions were observed and implemented by Duke Maximilian.<sup>302</sup> This linked him to his immediate forebears who championed the Catholic cause and cemented Bavaria's role as a bastion of Catholicism and as a crucial ally of Rome. In fact, the Bavarian Wittelsbach dynasty twice prevented the Reformation from reigning triumphant in the Empire. While Albrecht V and Wilhelm V stood firm as Catholic figureheads in the Empire in times of peace, Duke Maximilian was to follow his great-grandfather Wilhelm IV's example by supporting the Habsburg House three generations later against a renewed Protestant bid to assert itself against Catholic rule.<sup>303</sup>

### *An Exemplary Ruler*

The Duke was criticized before the outbreak of war for his role in the subjugation and re-Catholicization of Donauwörth. Donauwörth was an imperial city in which the Protestant majority had persecuted the Catholic minority but over which Maximilian technically had no legal jurisdiction.<sup>304</sup> Yet aside from his role in this event, there is general agreement among

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<sup>301</sup> Pfister, pp. 30-1.

<sup>302</sup> Pfister, p. 50.

<sup>303</sup> Pfister, pp. 23-4.

<sup>304</sup> See Pfister's chapter on the incident, entitled 'Die Donauwörther Fahnenschlacht', pp. 80-93.



historians that he had an outstanding record as a prince in peacetime and within his own territory.<sup>305</sup> In a reign which lasted over half a century (1598-1651), he secured unity of confession, re-gained the support of the Bavarian nobility and re-organized the state finances of the duchy.<sup>306</sup> Even though his father Wilhelm V could not be criticized for his commitment to Catholicism, he had been unable to balance state finances and this had caused tension between himself and the Bavarian nobility, who were reluctant to help him to pay off his debts.<sup>307</sup> This was one legacy that Maximilian was determined to break with and he set about sanitizing the state finances so that they would generate a surplus rather than a deficit. This was part of a wider and ultimately successful plan of the Duke to boost the Bavarian economy, finance and trade. Maximilian deliberately sought the economic prosperity of Bavaria because he recognized that wealth attracted respect and authority. It was also a prerequisite for the maintenance of an army, and Bavaria's financial and military resources were the main reason why it was able to play such a decisive role in the course of the war.<sup>308</sup>

Sanitization of the state and the Church went hand in hand, as the Duke sought to achieve a uniform Catholic state in which his subjects were encouraged to follow his own example of *Pietas Bavariae*. Maximilian Lanzinner has concluded that no other Bavarian Wittelsbach founded as many monasteries, schools, pilgrimage churches, hospitals and fraternities as

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<sup>305</sup> See Maximilian Lanzinner, 'Maximilian I. von Bayern: Ein deutscher Fürst und der Krieg', in *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg: Facetten einer folgenreichen Epoche*, ed. by Peter C. Hartmann and Florian Schuller (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 2010), pp. 80-94 (p. 82). Henceforth Lanzinner. Lanzinner states here that although the Duke's actions in war are sharply criticized by historians such as Ricarda Huch, Eberhard Straub, Günter Barudio and Cicely V. Wedgewood, his policy during peacetime is viewed much more favourably. Maximilian Lanzinner himself and Andreas Kraus number among the greatest voices of praise for the Duke in the years preceding the outbreak of war.

<sup>306</sup> Lanzinner, pp. 82-5.

<sup>307</sup> Pfister, pp. 41-2.

<sup>308</sup> Pfister, pp. 52-5.

Maximilian.<sup>309</sup> His efforts to better religious and moral discipline in Bavaria were sincere, even if they were judged by some contemporaries to be excessive. This is not surprising given the flood of edicts published by the Duke aimed at improving moral standards, a number of which can only be classed as bizarre. Some for example urged continual fasting, while others forbade inappropriate behaviour such as Lederhosen worn above the knee or the loss of more than fifteen Kreuzer per day in card games.<sup>310</sup>

Visitors to the Bavarian court and to the duchy itself gave positive appraisals of the general level of piety and morality. Kurt Pfister quotes one visitor as having stated that ‘Überflüßigem Essen und Trinken, Spielen, zu vielem Jagen und anderen Vanitäten fragen Ihre Durchlaucht nit nach’. Pfister also quotes a Dutch doctor who described members of the Bavarian court as ‘mäßig, sittenstreng und rechtschaffen; jedes Laster ist an diesem Hof verbannt; trunksüchtige, leichtsinnige, und träge Menschen haßt und verachtet der Fürst: alles ist auf Tugend, Mäßigkeit und Frömmigkeit gerichtet’.<sup>311</sup>

It is evident that contemporary observers believed the Duke to be an advocate of modesty, morality and virtue, and these are views endorsed by Pfister. The Duke shunned vanity, sin and excessiveness, even going as far as announcing edicts against wearing opulent clothes and jewellery in favour of more modest attire.<sup>312</sup> Maximilian’s personal motto echoes this attitude, with *Gloria fumum spernit magnanitas, ambitio quaerit*<sup>313</sup> translating as ‘a noble character rejects ambition’s hunt for ephemeral glory’. This reflects his self-definition as a champion of morals and piety and a critic of ambition and vanity. As I shall demonstrate later in this chapter, this self-definition was contrary to claims in propaganda at the time.

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<sup>309</sup> Lanzinner, p. 83.

<sup>310</sup> Lanzinner, pp. 82-3.

<sup>311</sup> Pfister, p. 57.

<sup>312</sup> Pfister, p. 68.

<sup>313</sup> Pfister, p. 65.

### *Maximilian and the Jesuits*

The religious edicts mentioned above were part of a wider strategy to establish a Catholic state with high standards of religious and moral discipline. Maximilian's efforts in this area have been described as 'religious policing' and the decrees that he passed were directed at the clergy as well as at the general population.<sup>314</sup> His actions stemmed from a desire to implement the reforms agreed at the Council of Trent (1545-63),<sup>315</sup> and meant that his policies were in line with the Jesuit Order's own: to improve standards of piety and to strengthen the Catholic faith.

Duke Maximilian consequently carried on where the previous Bavarian dukes had left off: he allowed the Jesuits to play a leading role in secondary schools and in higher education and continued both to help fund their activities and to work in partnership with their Order. Maximilian's strict censorship of all 'heretical' writings, for instance, was complemented by the establishment of a form of publishing cooperative led by the Jesuits. This was highly successful and worked towards propagating sanctioned religious texts. The partnership between the Order and the Duke was also evident at court. Maximilian's father confessors were Jesuits and the Order had a large influence over questions of Bavarian ecclesiastical and cultural policies. There is evidence that the public would also have been aware of the close relationship between the Pope, the Jesuits and Duke Maximilian, not least due to the publication of a glorifying broadsheet dedicated to the Duke's father confessor Dominicus of Jesus Mary, in which it is stated that the Pope sent the Father to give the Duke courage in his defence of the Catholic Church.<sup>316</sup> None the less, their say in these affairs did not mean

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<sup>314</sup> Lanzinner, pp. 82-3. English translation is my own.

<sup>315</sup> Pfister, p. 66.

<sup>316</sup> *Jesus Maria. Diß ist die Bildnuß deß ehrwürdige[n] Vatters/ Bruders Dominici a Jesu Maria, auß Arragonia bürtig/ deß Ordens der allerheiligsten Jungfrawen Mariae vom Berg Carmel/ der*

that the Jesuits were able to dictate policy to the Duke. Despite the fact that contemporaries and propagandists complained that the Jesuits exercised an excessive influence over the Emperor and the princes of the Empire,<sup>317</sup> Maximilian always protected the rights of the state against infringements by the Church. This attitude came to be known as the *Praxis Bavariae* in Rome, which was quite compliant to Bavarian will.<sup>318</sup> The Holy See had maintained close relations with Bavaria since Wilhelm IV's reign in a deliberate attempt to keep this important western territory committed to the Catholic cause. This is reflected in the Holy See's approval of the policy whereby the second sons of the dukes of Bavaria were consistently appointed to the See of Cologne, a practice that continued well into the eighteenth century.<sup>319</sup> The close relationship between the Bavarian Wittelsbachs and the Pope did not change during Maximilian's reign, especially since Maximilian became a new saviour and patron of the Old Church and proved successful in rescuing it once again from extinction in the course of the war.<sup>320</sup> Evidence of the special treatment given to the Duke by Rome is particularly evident in the years 1620-3, during which the Pope awarded the Duke's Catholic League one tenth of all of the Church's Italian income.<sup>321</sup>

#### *A Reward for Help: The Electoral Dignity and the Outbreak of War*

Although Maximilian went on to play a leading role in the war due to the financial and military resources at his disposal, he was by no means eager to enter into the conflict when

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*Carmeliten Brüder so mit blossen Füßen einher gehen/ zuvor obersten Propsts/ welcher von Rom auß von dem Bapst Paulo V. zu dem Durchleuchtigsten Hertzog in Bayrn als ein Botschaffer geschickt worden* (1622). Reprinted in Paas, IV (1994), p. 126.

<sup>317</sup> Pfister, p. 45.

<sup>318</sup> Pfister, pp. 66-7. This page provides evidence for all information not already referenced in this paragraph.

<sup>319</sup> Pfister, pp. 24, 32-3.

<sup>320</sup> Pfister, pp. 72-3.

<sup>321</sup> Pfister, p. 135.

it first erupted in 1618. He also did not jump to the aid of his cousin,<sup>322</sup> Ferdinand II, the Archduke of Styria. This was because Maximilian sought foremost to shield his Bavarian subjects from the impending disaster.<sup>323</sup> Despite this noble intent, the Duke was not allowed the luxury of remaining a passive observer: it was not long before the soon-to-be Emperor Ferdinand called on the Duke for help as the leader of a defensive alliance of Catholic princes known as the Catholic League. Together they signed the defensive Treaty of Munich,<sup>324</sup> which secured Ferdinand help from the League army. While the written contract was not in itself controversial, a verbal agreement made alongside it was to prove incendiary, because Ferdinand promised Maximilian that if his rival to the Bohemian throne, the Elector Palatine Friedrich V, was defeated, the Duke would be granted parts of the Palatine dominions and a transfer of the electoral dignity from the Palatine branch of the Wittelsbach dynasty to the Bavarian one.<sup>325</sup>

This sowed the seeds for future woe in the Empire because the agreement was legally dubious, showed clearly the Emperor's Catholic bias and was a hindrance to later peace negotiations. Nevertheless, in 1619 the agreement to transfer the electoral dignity was a necessary evil for Ferdinand II, whose Austrian Habsburg House had never been so close to total obliteration.<sup>326</sup> For the Duke of Bavaria, it represented an opportunity that could not be resisted. Ever since the Golden Bull of 1356 had granted one of the seven electoral dignities to the Palatine Wittelsbachs, rather than to the Bavarian Wittelsbachs, generations of Bavarian leaders had fought persistently but hopelessly for inclusion in this elite electoral circle. With the transfer of the Palatine dignity to the Bavarian Wittelsbachs, Bavaria would

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<sup>322</sup> Lanzinner, p. 86.

<sup>323</sup> Pfister, p. 120.

<sup>324</sup> Asch, p. 59.

<sup>325</sup> Asch, p. 59.

<sup>326</sup> Pfister, p. 123.

not only gain more influence in the Empire because it would now be involved in the election of future emperors, but its dukes would also possess greater prestige and honour, as they would finally belong to the highest rank of princes within the Empire. This had been a long-term desire of the Bavarian Wittelsbachs<sup>327</sup> and especially of Duke Maximilian. The Duke's desire for greater dignities in the Empire was also evident in the lavish extension of his palace in Munich. He sought to transform it into one of the most prestigious palaces of the Empire. Praised as an eighth wonder of the world by contemporaries, its impressiveness is underlined by the fact that during his invasion of Bavaria during the war, Gustavus Adolphus said that he regretted not being able to roll the Munich residence back with him to Stockholm.<sup>328</sup>

#### *War and the Bavarian Agenda*

The impact of Bavaria on the course of the war is considerable and has even led some historians to accuse Duke Maximilian of being one of its main instigators.<sup>329</sup> As is already evident, Duke Maximilian was a power politician,<sup>330</sup> a fact which ultimately complicated and prolonged the war. His agreement to intervene on the Catholic Habsburg side only after he was offered territorial and other rewards<sup>331</sup> is an example of this and shows that despite his deep personal piety, dynastic consideration was his primary motivation. Lanzinner has concluded that Maximilian based his decisions in wartime on three factors. These were the retention of the electoral dignity, the defence of princely liberties and the achievement of

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<sup>327</sup> Lanzinner, p. 92

<sup>328</sup> Pfister, pp. 72-3.

<sup>329</sup> Günter Barudio, *Der Teutsche Krieg 1618-1648*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Berlin: Siedler, 1998), p. 16. Henceforth Barudio.

<sup>330</sup> Lanzinner, p. 92.

<sup>331</sup> Lanzinner, p. 86.

confessional advantage.<sup>332</sup> Nevertheless, it must be noted here that the second factor was not entirely altruistic because Maximilian only stepped in to protect princely liberties when he saw his own ones threatened by a resurgent Austrian Habsburg power.<sup>333</sup>

It is evident from the above that the Bavarian agenda throughout the war was at least partly self-interested because the Duke fought to secure his traditional rights and new acquisitions even if this hindered the achievement of peace in the Empire. The first phase of the war in which Maximilian was involved, between 1619-23, shows this pattern clearly: Spanish troops and the Duke's League forces defeated Friedrich V's armies at White Mountain in 1620, but the transfer of the electoral dignity in 1623, as a reward for his help, prevented a definitive conclusion to the Palatine question and prolonged the war.<sup>334</sup> How was this so? The Palatine question concerned the status of Friedrich V as a prince who had been deprived of his lands and his electoral dignity. Its non-resolution in the early years of the war arguably escalated the conflict because foreign powers felt compelled to intervene on his behalf. In the mid to late 1620s, for instance, Protestant powers such as Denmark, England and the Netherlands demanded the conclusive reinstatement of the Elector Palatine and defended his cause militarily.<sup>335</sup> This prompted the Emperor to call on General Wallenstein to defend him against pro-Friedrich forces, and his success sparked European fears of Catholic Habsburg domination which drew Sweden into the war. If the Bavarian Duke had agreed to surrender the Palatinate land and dignity early in the war, this foreign Protestant intervention may not have been necessary, and the war might not have developed into a European conflict. And it was not only European Protestants who were

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<sup>332</sup> Lanzinner, p. 91.

<sup>333</sup> Lanzinner, p. 88.

<sup>334</sup> Lanzinner, pp. 86-7.

<sup>335</sup> Asch, pp. 85-9.

dragged into the war due to the non-resolution of the Palatine affair. Spain, for instance, was highly reluctant for Ferdinand II to award Duke Maximilian the Palatine dignity because it wanted a quick resolution to the Palatine question that would enable it to resume its war with the Netherlands.<sup>336</sup> But Maximilian's refusal to return the Palatine dignity meant that Spain remained tied to the war in the Empire, as a militarily weak Ferdinand II was reliant on its help. It is the dogged persistence of the Duke to retain possessions of Friedrich of the Palatinate, among other reasons, which led the historian Günter Barudio to label him 'einer der Hauptverantwortlichen dieses Krieges'.<sup>337</sup>

#### *1620-1629: Success and Excessive Ambition*

A string of Catholic victories in the 1620s made Count Tilly, the general of the Catholic League, and General Wallenstein, the head of the imperial army, the military victors of the decade. Their seemingly unbeatable troops secured victory at White Mountain (1620), the Battle of Wimpfen (1622), the Battle of Höchst (1622), the Battle of Stadtlohn (1623), as well as over Christian IV of Denmark at Lutter am Barenberg (1626). The same period saw the pacification of Bethlen Gábor (1626) and the occupation of the Upper and Lower Palatinate.<sup>338</sup>

Perhaps surprisingly given the resurgence of Catholic and imperial power in the Empire, Protestant powers at this time seemed unable to build an effective anti-Habsburg coalition.<sup>339</sup> An anti-imperial bloc did materialize, though, when at the summit of his power, the Emperor made the most fateful mistake of his career: the announcement of the Edict of Restitution (1629). This imperial demand for the return to the Catholic Church of all land

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<sup>336</sup> Lanzinner, p. 87.

<sup>337</sup> Barudio, p. 16.

<sup>338</sup> Asch, pp. 65-72, 88-91.

<sup>339</sup> Asch, pp. 80-91.



that had been secularized since 1555 effectively reignited the war and led it into a new phase, as powers from inside and outside of the Empire felt compelled to intervene in the conflict.

The Edict is a further reason why Maximilian of Bavaria is held as one of the principal instigators of the war and hindrances to its resolution. Lanzinner has shown that initially, Maximilian was one of its keenest proponents and has even described him as ‘the father of the Edict’.<sup>340</sup> The Duke had a vested interest in the Edict’s announcement because he believed that a continuation of the war would help him to keep hold of his newly acquired electoral dignity. This is why he advocated the Edict of Restitution: he hoped that it would hinder peace negotiations that could potentially lead to the restoration of Friedrich V.<sup>341</sup> Accordingly, Maximilian insisted not only on the announcement of the Edict, but also on its immediate implementation.<sup>342</sup> Since Emperor Ferdinand II was dependent on Duke Maximilian’s Catholic League for further help, he felt compelled to agree to this in order to retain the support of Duke Maximilian as well as the Catholic ecclesiastical princes for his campaign.<sup>343</sup>

#### *1630-1648: Pleas for Peace and Heavy Setbacks*

The final phase of the war saw Duke Maximilian forced to tread carefully. Although he had insistently called on Ferdinand II to implement the Edict of Restitution, he soon realized the error of his design to subject the Empire to Catholic Habsburg will.<sup>344</sup> Alarmed at Catholic aggression and the seemingly absolutist tendencies of Emperor Ferdinand II, powers such as

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<sup>340</sup> Lanzinner, p. 86.

<sup>341</sup> Asch, p. 97.

<sup>342</sup> Lanzinner, p. 88.

<sup>343</sup> Asch, pp. 94-100.

<sup>344</sup> Lanzinner, pp. 88-9.

Sweden and France allied themselves with Protestant princes of the Empire and began to reverse Catholic fortune. For the first time since the outbreak of war, Bavaria was to feel the brute and destructive force of the conflict when Gustavus Adolphus invaded Bavaria in 1632. The Swedish king had defeated Maximilian's Catholic League comprehensively at the Battle of Breitenfeld in 1631,<sup>345</sup> and with General Tilly dead,<sup>346</sup> an exposed Maximilian sent urgent calls for help to General Wallenstein, before fleeing from Munich to Regensburg. Areas that could not pay war contributions to the Swedish soldiers were treated brutally. This was noted bitterly by the Duke in a letter to General Wallenstein: 'Der Schwede haust in meinem Land ärger als der Türke mit Brennen und Niederhauen der Weiber wie der Kinder von fünf und sechs Jahren. Das hat er bislang in anderen Ländern nicht getan. Es ist daraus zu spüren, wie er gegen mich gesinnt ist'.<sup>347</sup> Bavaria was to suffer the same fate on two further occasions, as it was plundered by French and Swedish troops in 1646 and 1648 respectively.<sup>348</sup>

Peace negotiations had not been a priority before the Edict of Restitution. But in the wake of an alarming increase in Habsburg power in the Empire in the late 1620s, largely thanks to the assistance of General Wallenstein, Duke Maximilian entered into peace negotiations with other princes in earnest from 1630 onwards. Maximilian was irritated by the substantial power wielded by the General in the name of the Emperor and Protestant princes feared that the General would be used to bully them into submission to imperial demands<sup>349</sup>. The collective aim of the princes at this time, regardless of their individual confession, was to secure their freedom vis-à-vis the Emperor. They took a step towards this

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<sup>345</sup> Asch, pp. 106-7.

<sup>346</sup> Parker, p. 116.

<sup>347</sup> Pfister, pp. 205-7.

<sup>348</sup> Lanzinner, pp. 89-90.

<sup>349</sup> Asch, p. 98.

goal by successfully calling for Wallenstein's dismissal. The Duke went on to advocate a general amnesty as well as the withdrawal of the Edict of Restitution in order to bridge the gap between the princes of the Empire. Nevertheless, arguing strongly for the princes' liberty and freedoms<sup>350</sup> did not mean that the Duke was willing to surrender the goal of retaining the electoral dignity and the Upper Palatinate for the Bavarian Wittelsbach dynasty, a point which was still controversial.

In his insistence on acquiring and retaining the electoral dignity, the Duke had already gained the enmity of Spain. This stemmed from the fact that the non-resolution of the Palatine question bound Spain to further military engagement in the Empire, even though its most pressing task was to subjugate the rebellious Netherlands.<sup>351</sup> An ambassador of the Spanish branch of the Habsburg dynasty even came to describe the Duke in 1648 as 'el mayor enemigo de toda la Augustísima Casa', that is, the greatest enemy of the Habsburg House. This statement reflected Spain's anger, in 1648, at Maximilian's success in peace negotiations which secured Bavaria a hereditary electoral dignity, the Upper Palatinate and the county of Cham, but which compelled Emperor Ferdinand III to agree to offer no help to the Spanish Habsburg House in its war against France.<sup>352</sup>

### *Conclusion*

Lanzinner's article on the Duke asserts that the guiding principle of his entire reign was rationality. His strength, according to Lanzinner, was his ability to match the available resources to clearly defined goals.<sup>353</sup> This idea is certainly evident in Maximilian's agreement to provide assistance using his military strength in exchange for the electoral dignity and

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<sup>350</sup> Lanzinner, pp. 88-9.

<sup>351</sup> Lanzinner, pp. 86-7.

<sup>352</sup> Lanzinner, p. 90.

<sup>353</sup> Lanzinner, p. 93.

Palatine territory. It is still difficult to sum up the goals of the prince because confessional, dynastic and princely considerations were often interwoven.<sup>354</sup> Actions that arose from these inseparable interests have led historians to view the Duke through different lenses, all of which undoubtedly capture elements of his character. Duke Maximilian consequently remains a complex and multifaceted figure, who was pious and desired salvation,<sup>355</sup> but who was also an ambitious power politician determined to extend his worldly honours. He was also one of the few princes to live through the entirety of the Thirty Years' War, and exerted a considerable influence on its course.

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<sup>354</sup> Lanzinner, p. 91.

<sup>355</sup> Lanzinner, p. 93.

## State of Research

A comprehensive study of Maximilian of Bavaria's portrayal in Protestant propaganda of the Thirty Years' War has yet to be completed. While there are disparate and limited commentaries on the presentation of the Duke in individual broadsheets, there has been no study drawing together the threads of these findings or giving an overall impression of the treatment of the Bavarian in Protestant propaganda.

There is discussion of propaganda on the Duke in Christine Bachmann's work *Wahre vnd eygentliche Bildnus*,<sup>356</sup> but this is from a primarily Catholic perspective. She focuses on representations of the Duke in the years immediately following the success of Spanish and Bavarian troops at White Mountain in 1620. Yet her study of Maximilian's image is still relevant to my investigation of his treatment in Protestant propaganda because it gives clues as to why radical Protestant propagandists worked with certain themes later in the war when they focused their attention on the Duke.

Bachmann speaks, for instance, of Catholic and Bavarian propaganda which aimed to legitimize the Duke's legal position as a new elector in 1623 by presenting him as the antithesis of Friedrich V of the Palatinate. In order to achieve this, the propaganda stressed that the Duke was an exemplary princely figure who incorporated all of the virtues that Friedrich V did not. Maximilian was portrayed as 'cleansing' Bohemia and the Upper and Lower Palatinate of Friedrich's influence and arrogance, and the propaganda justified the transfer of the Upper Palatinate to the Duke in the light of his extraordinary capacity to manage territories well, a trait which the Palatine Elector was portrayed to be lacking.

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<sup>356</sup> For evidence of the information given in this section on Maximilian's image in Catholic propaganda, see Christian Bachmann's chapter 'Stilisierungen Ferdinands II. und Friedrichs V. sowie Maximilians von Bayern nach der Schlacht am Weißen Berg', pp. 154-73.

The same campaign compared Maximilian to Judas Maccabeus and drew parallels between the Duke and rulers from antiquity. It also portrayed his actions within the context of salvation history. He was highlighted as a character sent by God to defend the Christian faith, and whose victory in battle and growth in power were proof of his legitimacy, his power of prayer and of God's approval.

This being so, Bachmann's analysis is highly relevant to my own for two reasons. The first is that her research brings to light common ways in which figures were glorified and criticized in propaganda. The second is that when her study is seen in the light of later anti-Bavarian propaganda, one can make out earlier Catholic praise of the Duke being inverted in order to 'expose' his true nature to a Protestant audience. I will analyse this later in the context of specific pieces of propaganda directed at the Duke, but it suffices to say here that Catholic praise of Duke Maximilian for his piety, strength, defence of religion and morality were turned against him later in the war by the Protestant radicals, some of whom may well have been pro-Friedrich Calvinists attempting to exact revenge.

Aside from Bachmann, there is some commentary on the Bavarian's presentation in Wolfgang Harms's second broadsheet compendium, but references to the Duke are often brief. It is often the case that the sheets depicting the Duke also feature popular subjects of research such as Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden or the Jesuit Order, with the result that most of the commentaries devote their attention to these subjects. In the light of this, the analyses in Harm's second compendium can serve only as introductory material to the portrayal of the Duke, functioning as pointers to the themes and designs behind individual broadsheets. Harms's second broadsheet compendium also contains a number of broadsheets which refer to the Duke but which are not accompanied by any analysis at all.

This state of research means that the current study of the Duke's presentation in radical Protestant propaganda is entirely new, and highlights once again the imbalance in previous research into the propaganda of the war, which has focused on characters such as Friedrich of the Palatinate and Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. It also underlines the similarity between Duke Maximilian of Bavaria and Bethlen Gabor as neglected figures of study. Both are referred to briefly in commentaries on broadsheets in the second Harms compendium, and each has a single small piece of research dedicated to their portrayal.

In addition, the lack of attention given to their portrayal in war propaganda contrasts sharply with the amount of research dedicated to them as historical figures. Bethlen Gabor, for example, is recognized as one of the most important leaders in Hungarian history due to his defence of the country in the face of Habsburg and Turkish expansionist ambitions.<sup>357</sup> Similarly, Duke Maximilian of Bavaria has been singled out as Bavaria's 'greatest electoral prince'<sup>358</sup> and has attracted sustained interest from historians of local and national history due to his influence in establishing Bavaria as a European heavyweight and for his impact on the politics of the Empire. A summary of this interest can be found in an article on the Duke by Maximilian Lanzinner, the final pages of which provide an overview of twentieth-century research into the Duke.<sup>359</sup>

As I am breaking new ground with this study of propaganda directed at the Duke, I have adopted the following approach which combines historical works, secondary opinion, propaganda theory and my own analysis. I draw as much as I can from the small amount of secondary analysis on certain individual broadsheets featuring the Duke, and I conduct my

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<sup>357</sup> This is evident in my first chapter's discussion of the prince.

<sup>358</sup> Andreas Kraus, *Maximilian I: Bayerns großer Kurfürst* (Styria: Pustet, 1990). Appraisal evident in title.

<sup>359</sup> Lanzinner, pp. 91-3.

own analysis of broadsheets and other written publications which have so far not received attention. As background aids to my analysis I use the latest research on the Duke produced by historians, and I draw on general works and theories on the methods and techniques of seventeenth-century propagandists. In short, I am using a combination of my own and secondary opinion, together with the work of historians into the seventeenth-century printing press in order to conduct this first comprehensive investigation into the portrayal of Maximilian of Bavaria in Protestant propaganda of the Thirty Years' War.



## Primary Materials

The materials that I will analyse in this chapter are all the pieces of radical Protestant propaganda that I have been able to locate on the topic of the Duke. This amounts to roughly a dozen pieces of propaganda in all, which collectively provide evidence of a sophisticated Protestant campaign to stigmatize the Duke.

Yet these are not the only pieces of propaganda to comment on the Duke. Early on in the war Maximilian of Bavaria was the subject of a number of positive (most likely Catholic) portrayals. This means that in sum, I have identified approximately two dozen propagandistic publications on Duke Maximilian through my study of the compendium collections of Wolfgang Harms<sup>360</sup> and John Roger Paas, as well as the holdings of the Herzog August Bibliothek and the online catalogue of the *Verzeichnis der Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts*.<sup>361</sup> The existence of early, positive depictions of the Duke and later negative ones demonstrates that his presentation was linked to his fortunes during the war. He was glorified, for instance, in a number of pro-Bavarian broadsheets in the early years of the war due to his successful defence of the Catholic Habsburg cause. This propaganda included images of the Duke as a mighty bear,<sup>362</sup> illustrations of his military successes<sup>363</sup> and three

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<sup>360</sup> The most useful of which is his second compendium (1980), referred to in this dissertation as Harms. The second most relevant work is referred to in the dissertation as Harms *Darmstadt*.

<sup>361</sup> Weblink: [www.vd17.de](http://www.vd17.de) [accessed 2.12.11].

<sup>362</sup> It is still not entirely clear whether these broadsheets stemmed from conservative Lutheran (possibly Saxon) or Catholic authors. Both were defensive of Habsburg authority in the Empire and staunchly anti-Calvinist. In any case they were pro-Bavarian and did not stem from radical Protestant propagandists, who never championed Habsburg authority. See Bachmann's discussion of *Deß Adlers vnd Löwen Kampf* (1621) HAB: IH81, *Triumphierender Adler* (1621) HAB: Einbl. Xb FM 91) and *Schlaffender Löw* (1621) HAB: IH82, pp. 169-72.

<sup>363</sup> *Ein warhafftige Neue Zeitung. Vnd gründtlicher Bericht / wie ihrer Fürstl: Durchl: Hertzog Maximilian in Bayrn Obrister: Die schöne Statt Pilsen eingenommen / vnd wie er daselbst sey eingezogen / den 4. April diß 1621. Jahrs / In ein Lied verfaßt / Im Eben: Ach höchster GOTT inns Himmels Sahl* (Augsburg, 1621). Reprinted in Paas, III, p. 286. See also *Warhafftige Neue Zeittung/ von der Graffschafft Camb: so von Ihr Fürstl: Durchl: Maximilian in Bayrn Anno 1621. den 15 September*

equestrian portraits.<sup>364</sup> This spate of propaganda was nevertheless short-lived, and after the publication of a positive broadsheet in 1623 publicizing the official transfer of Friedrich V's electoral dignity to the Duke,<sup>365</sup> the next batch of broadsheets commenting on him was decidedly less flattering.

All but one of the highly negative portrayals of the Duke appeared at the beginning of the 1630s and presented him as a symbol of Catholic greed and sin. It is this later spate of propaganda which is the focus of this chapter, and I will gauge how propagandists attempted to denounce the Duke following his flight from Bavaria and the plundering of his homeland by the Swedes.

Although I will provide more detailed introductions to the sources in the following analysis sections, I shall provide a brief overview here of the types of materials that I have located. All but one of the publications I shall analyse are broadsheets that were published between 1630 and 1634. The image on the broadsheet dominates in the majority of these, while the text beneath the image is usually used to crystallize its message. While all of the broadsheet texts have been written in rhyming couplets, some are also set within the framework of a play, or a dialogue. Within the broadsheet group, the longest publication contains 36

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*belegert/ und endtlich den 25. September erobert und eingenomen ; sampt derselben zugehört/ Stätt und Marckflecken* (1621). HAB: IH99.

<sup>364</sup> The first equestrian portrait, with two glorifying sentences in Latin, is *MAXIMILIANVS COMES PALATINVS RHENI SVPERIORIS AC INFERIORIS BOIARIAE DVX*. (1620). Reprinted in Paas, III, p. 159. The second equestrian portrait, which contains numerous verses praising the Duke, is entitled *Der Durchleuchtigst Fürst vnd Herr / Herr Maximilian Pfalzgraff bey Rhein / Hertzog in Ober vnd Nider Bayrn u. Deß Catholischen Bundts General Oberster* (1620). Reprinted in Paas, III, p. 158. The final equestrian portrait depicts the Duke holding a globus cruciger, a symbol of Christian authority. Its title is. *SERENISSIMUS ET POTENTISSIMUS PRINCEPS AC DOMINUS. DN: MAXIMILIANUS, DEI GRATIA COMES PALATINUS AD RHENUM, UTRIUS O BOIARIAE DUX, S.R.IMP ARCHI=DAPIFER ET PRINCEPS ELECTOR ETC: M. DC. XXIII* (1623). Reprinted in Paas, IV, p. 133.

<sup>365</sup> *Wahrhaffter Bericht / der zu Regensburg den 25 Newen oder 15. Alten Februarij Anno 1623. Vorgangnen ChurPfälzischen Belehnung* (1623). Illustration of Maximilian being granted the Palatine electoral privileges, with list below illustration of the dignitaries who attended the ceremony. Reprinted in Paas, IV, p. 132.

rhyming couplets, while the shortest contains just ten. The longest source overall is the single pamphlet that I have located on the topic of the Duke. This is eight pages long, and typically for a pamphlet it is not written in verse and does not contain an illustration at the beginning. It is also the only source not to have been written in the 1630s, dating instead from 1625. Yet despite the variations between the broadsheets and the pamphlet, all have overarching themes and point toward a coherent campaign directed against the Duke. Focusing on the sin, immorality, and foreign corruption of the Duke by playing on common themes of greed, theft, and Jesuit collusion, they aim to present the Bavarian as a thoroughly reprehensible symbol of German Catholicism.

## Section One: Duke Maximilian, a Bear Brought to Heel

The broadsheet *Kurtzweilige Comedia allen Lustsüchtigen Esauitern zum wohlgefalln gehalten in Beÿern im monat maÿ 1632*<sup>366</sup> presents the deterioration of the Catholic position in 1632 as a play, in which Catholics are paraded and humiliated on stage by victorious Protestant figures. At the centre of this ridicule is a bear, representing Duke Maximilian, who is stripped of its dignities by a lion representing King Gustavus Adolphus.



(Text below image cropped)

The broadsheet uses a busy image of animals on a theatre stage in order to capture the attention of the reader. This image takes up roughly one half of the whole broadsheet, and contains three monkeys, two bears, two leopards, a lion, an eagle, a cockerel and a rat. While most of the animals play a passive role as onlookers, sitting in the wings on the left hand side of the stage, the leopards, the bears, the lion and one of the monkeys play more active roles. Above all others, the feline creatures are at the forefront of the action. The leopards for instance are parading one of the bears using a nose ring and whips, while the lion is stripping the second bear of its possessions. As a result of the lion's actions, a number of precious objects lie on the floor of the stage next to the second bear, including an

<sup>366</sup> *Kurtzweilige Comedia allen Lustsüchtigen Esauitern Zum wohlgefalln gehalten in Beÿern im monat maÿ 1632* (1632). HAB: IH162. Henceforth *Comedia*.

electoral cap, a sword and a globus cruciger. The final figure of action is a monkey at the front of the stage. He is gesturing to the 'audience', who are not spectators but a warring mass of soldiers. He waves a stick with a pair of glasses attached to the end of it, and behind him lies an array of religious objects, chief among them a bishop's crook, a mitre and a rosary.

Above each animal is a number, and these numbers are used in the text beneath the image to indicate which animal figure is speaking in its sections of dialogue. There are eight sections of dialogue and 60 lines of speech in all. These divide up into a total of 30 lines of rhyming couplets. This textual section beneath the image makes up the second half of the broadsheet.

The sheet uses a theatrical stage in order to convey its message. The main reason for this setting is to attract readers to the sheet via the promise of entertainment. It plays on the popularity of the English travelling theatre of the seventeenth century, which was forced to try its fortune in the Empire due to intense competition in England. The broadsheet uses one of the travelling theatre's most famous comedic characters, Pickelhering, to draw the audience in. Pickelhering was a standard comedic type who was famous, above all, for being a guarantor of amusing entertainment.<sup>367</sup> He is thought to be a representation of the Elizabethan clown, and acted as a bridge between the audience and the action of a play. Often wearing a peculiar costume and a grotesque mask, he heightened the tragedies in which he appeared and employed amusing, exaggerated movements.<sup>368</sup>

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<sup>367</sup> Harms, p. 518.

<sup>368</sup> Sarah Stanton and Martin Banham, *The Cambridge Paperback Guide to Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 70.

In *Comedia*, the tragedy Pickelhering is highlighting is the Duke of Bavaria's own. He stands at the front of the stage, waving a newly-cleaned pair of glasses in the direction of the audience. His words are directed at now absent Jesuits, whose flight from the stage is symbolized by the array of abandoned religious objects that lie at his feet. He draws even greater attention to the humiliation being suffered by the captured Duke by appealing to the Jesuits to return, offering them glasses so that they can view closely the Bavarian bear, their champion, being stripped and paraded on stage:

6. Bicklhäring.

Prill / prill / Christalline prill

Die kan hier käuffn wer da wil

Zurück Bischoff vnd Pfaffenknecht

Hier seynd die Prillen so euch gerecht /

[...] Ey bleibt doch hier so schnell nit laufft

[...] Ein jeder dadurch sehen wird /

Was braun der Baer vor schmuck gtragn

Wer ihm die Mütz vom Kopffgschlag (Comedia, 30-34, 36, 38-40)

These lines by Pickelhering demonstrate the intention of the broadsheet: in the form of a comedy, with serious implications, it aims to highlight to the audience the Duke of Bavaria's loss of face and inferior position following the invasion of southern German and Bavarian territory by Swedish forces in 1632. This change in fortune was made possible due to Gustavus Adolphus's victory at Breitenfeld over Duke Maximilian's Catholic League General Tilly's army in 1631. It constituted a major turning point in the war because the Catholic

hegemony over the Empire crumbled. As a consequence, Maximilian's own territory of Bavaria was invaded by Swedish troops in the spring of 1632, and shortly afterwards Maximilian's residential capital, Munich, was occupied by enemy forces.<sup>369</sup> This event constituted a symbolic defeat for Catholicism, because Bavaria had represented a bulwark of Catholic authority, the cell in which the ideas of the Counter-Reformation had taken form, and whose strength had been the only reason why the Catholic faith had survived in the Empire in the wake of the Reformation.<sup>370</sup>

Bavaria's exposure to plundering Swedish soldiers is emphasized in the broadsheet by the helpless Catholic figures and the bullying Protestant ones. The isolation and vulnerability of Duke Maximilian at this moment, due to his inability to secure military help in time and forced flight to Regensburg is reflected on stage by the bears' forced movement led by aggressive leopards and a dominant lion.

As for the identity of the lion, it is no doubt a representation of King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. Following his invasion in 1630, he was depicted in many broadsheets as a lion because Protestants connected the King with Paracelsus's prophecy of the 'lion from the north', a mythical figure who was said to be destined to rescue the Christians from danger. This was due to the parallels between the image of a 'golden lion' and Gustavus Adolphus's blond hair, the allusion to the north and the King's Swedish provenance, the prophesied destiny of the lion to defeat an eagle, and the King's challenge to the Austrian Habsburgs, a dynasty which was often represented by the figure of an eagle.

Although the figure represented by the lion is easy to decode, the identity of the leopards is not, although they are undoubtedly meant to represent high-ranking helpers or

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<sup>369</sup> Asch, pp. 106-7.

<sup>370</sup> Pfister, pp. 22-3.

sympathizers of Gustavus Adolphus's campaign in the Empire. We can only speculate whether they represent high-ranking officers in the Swedish camp, for instance the Swedish commanders Axel Oxenstierna or Gustav Horn, or whether they signify highly valued German Protestant allies of 1632 such as the Elector of Saxony, the Elector of Brandenburg, or Gustavus Adolphus's courageous and loyal supporter William V, Landgrave of Hessen-Kassel.<sup>371</sup>

Equally unclear is whether both bears are meant to be representations of the Duke, or just one. The electoral cap lying on the ground by the bear being dealt with by Gustavus Adolphus is most certainly Duke Maximilian. Yet it is difficult to judge from the speech of the leopards whether the bear they are parading is a second representation of the Duke or Count Tilly. They label the bear a fool and make it clear that his position of authority has been reversed. They also make it clear to the bear that they are now the dominant force and that he must pay them war contributions. This could apply to a defeated Tilly, whose armies used to demand war contributions from occupied territories to fund their soldiers, or the Duke, whose Bavarian cities now had to pay contributions to Swedish soldiers in order to buy themselves security from plundering.

On a related note, the modern-day reader may also ask themselves why, in radical propaganda, the Duke was portrayed (at least once in *Comedia*) as a bear, even though in the twenty-first century, the animal most commonly associated with Bavaria is a lion. The answer lies in images of the Bavarian Duke that preceded his presentation in Protestant material such as *Comedia* of the 1630s. As mentioned in reference to Bachmann's work earlier in this chapter, the image of a mighty bear attacking enemies of the Habsburg House

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<sup>371</sup> Roberts, p. 172.



was used in anti-Calvinist propaganda in the early stages of the war to portray the Duke as a courageous, powerful and intimidating imperial ally.

This came after Maximilian of Bavaria's Catholic League troops decisively defeated Friedrich V's army at the battle of White Mountain in 1620,<sup>372</sup> paving the way for a string of Catholic Habsburg victories. In 1620 and 1621 alone, the Protestant territories of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Lusatia were subdued, and the Catholic Duke's army occupied the Calvinist Upper Palatinate. The following year, Elector Friedrich V's remaining Lower Palatinate stronghold was also brought under Spanish and Bavarian control.<sup>373</sup> In the light of this success, in particular in the first years of the war, the image of the Duke as a powerful bear was born. This stemmed from anti-Calvinist broadsheets, produced by Catholics or conservative Lutherans loyal to the Habsburg House, and included *Keyserliche Schlacht vnd Victoria in Böhmen*<sup>374</sup> (1621), *Newe Warheit*<sup>375</sup> (1621, below), and *Gehaime Andeutung vber den vermainten König*<sup>376</sup> (1621, below). These portrayed the Duke as a bear fighting on the

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<sup>372</sup> Asch, p. 65.

<sup>373</sup> Asch, pp. 65-72.

<sup>374</sup> Paas III (1991), p. 271.

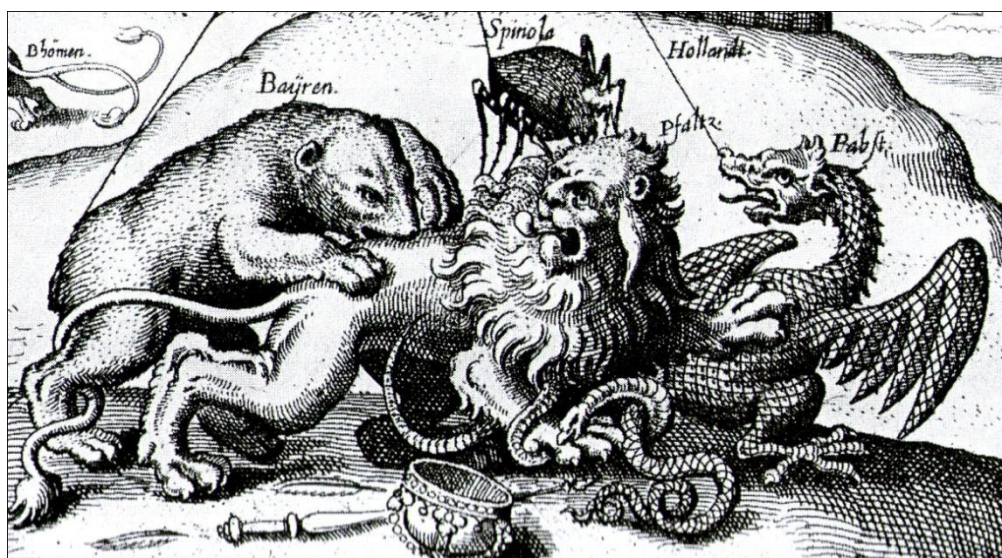
<sup>375</sup> Paas III, p. 340. Strictly speaking, this particular copy of the broadsheet has no title. Most of the other prints, however, carry the title *Newe Warheit* and have largely identical images.

<sup>376</sup> *Gehaime Andeutung uber den vermainten König* (1621). HAB: XFilm 1:583.

Habsburg side against Friedrich V. of the Palatinate:



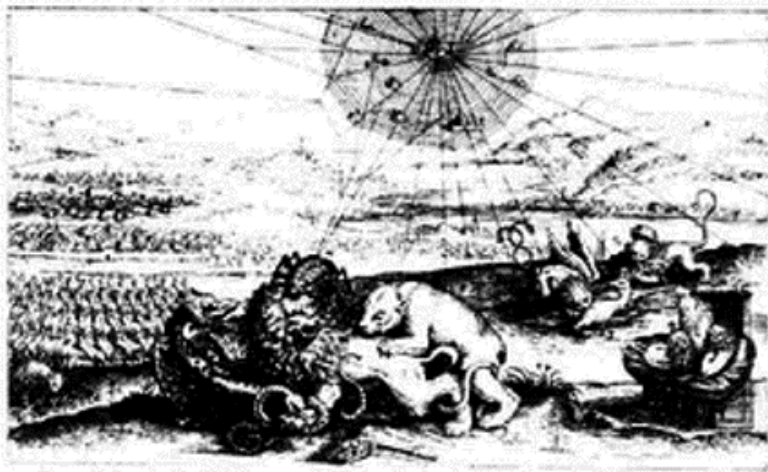
(Text below image cropped)





*(Wider image cropped)*

## Geheime Andeutung vber den vermainten König.



*(Text below image cropped)*

The image of the bear becomes relevant to my own study when it was inverted by radical Protestant propagandists in the 1630s. In the first few years of that decade, the image of the Bavarian bear was re-employed to reduce the Duke to a sinful and laughable Catholic figure. This was most likely Protestant revenge, as writers subverted an image that had been previously employed by Catholic or conservative Lutheran propagandists against them. The reasons for its selection were logical and satirical. It was logical that Protestant propagandists recycled the image of the bear because its previous use meant that it had an established connection to the Duke, making it instantly recognizable by contemporary readers as a representation of him. Furthermore, the connection of 'bear' to Maximilian of Bavaria would have been easily decoded by a public used to deciphering etymological references to public figures. In this context, the bear is an obvious choice of animal for the representation of the Duke because the German word *Bär* is close to the word *Bayer*. Play on etymology in order to link figures to animals or insects with desirable or undesirable

characteristics was a common technique of seventeenth-century propaganda.<sup>377</sup> It is evident, for example, in the title of the *Comedia* broadsheet, whose reference to the Jesuits using the spelling *Esauiter* rather than the neutral, standard *Jesuit* is a deliberate attempt to link them to the word *Sau*, or pig. On a related note, *Esauiter* could also be a play on the Biblical Esau who was tricked by his brother into swapping his birthright for food. The connection of the Jesuits to this event could also be a way to link them to stupidity or carelessness. The apparently anti-Christian nature of the Jesuits was additionally conveyed in other Protestant propaganda using etymological distortion. This was achieved by using the spelling *Jesuwider* rather than the *Jesuit*, implying that they are anti-Jesus. A final example of this propagandistic technique is evident in the image of the broadsheet *Newe Warheit* above, as a spider, in German *Spinne*, is used to depict the Spanish army general Ambrosio Spínola. This link aimed to demonstrate his lethal capability, serving as a warning to potential adversaries of the Catholic Habsburg campaign. In negative, Protestant portrayals, he was instead presented as a thorn in the Protestants' side, a play on the similarity between his surname and the Latin for thorn, *spina*.<sup>378</sup>

Aside from the use of the bear in anti-Calvinist propaganda and due to its etymological link to the Duke, the last reason for the image's re-employment by Protestant propagandists lay in its satirical potential. At the time of the Thirty Years' War, political satire was another popular propagandistic technique, and it was used to establish the incongruity between the positive traits a figure was claimed to have, and their actual, less-than-desirable characteristics. This made pieces of propaganda entertaining, shocking, and memorable.<sup>379</sup>

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<sup>377</sup> Harms *Feindbilder*, pp. 150-1.

<sup>378</sup> Harms *Feindbilder*, p. 151.

<sup>379</sup> William A. Coupe, 'Political and Religious Cartoons of the Thirty Years' War', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 25 (1962), 65-86 (p. 74). Henceforth Coupe.

Coupe's research into propaganda of the war asserts that the ridicule of the enemy in political satire released tension through laughter and was designed to provide the readers with relief from anxiety, meaning that they were left aware of the mentioned dangers, but not transfixed by fear of them.<sup>380</sup> The humour of the satire was argued to have balanced the emotional impact of the broadsheet, as the perhaps shocking revelation of the sin or wickedness of the sheet's target was tempered by the laughable incongruity between the figure's claimed virtue and actual vice. Through my own research of broadsheets of the Thirty Years' War, though, I do not find this argument universally convincing. Although it is most certainly true in some cases, such as the ridicule of Count Tilly in propaganda following his greatest defeat, it is not the rule for all pieces of political satire that I have investigated. When one considers the case of the corrupt, frustrated Bavarian bear presented in the broadsheet *Der Bär hat ein Horn bekommen* (discussed below), for example, one sees that the satire was not always reassuring. The mentioned sheet reveals the sinfulness of the bear and his weakened position, and stands in contrast to earlier images of the pious and invincible bear. If anything, the revelation of the sin of a powerful, influential Duke can only have heightened anxiety. This is because in the pious readers' minds, he was not only a military threat, but possibly a spiritual one to those over whom he exercised influence. It cannot have been reassuring to the Protestants to be told that the head of the Catholic League, a force which could potentially occupy and control Protestant territory in the case of military success, was a profoundly sinful figurehead.

In any case, whatever effect political satire may have had on seventeenth-century readers, its very use is also a sign of a time in which political rather than purely theological questions predominated. In the sixteenth century, for instance, religious figures such as Martin Luther,

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<sup>380</sup> Coupe, p. 80.

Philipp Melanchthon, and Jean Calvin drove change in the Empire. But by the seventeenth century it was recognized that statesmen including the Elector of Saxony, Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden and Emperor Ferdinand II, rather than priests such as Luther, were now exercising the greatest impact on the Empire's affairs.<sup>381</sup> This was reflected in propaganda that focused on the actions and effects of political personalities, rather than the implications of religious reform.

Returning to the political satire provided by the image of the bear in *Comedia*, one can see that the subverted image of a virtuous, powerful bear provided Protestant propagandists with a rich vein of satirical imagery, making their propaganda both striking and amusing. This is evident in *Comedia's* presentation of the Bavarian bear(s) as weak and humiliated, unable to mount a defence and being harshly punished for his own moral failings. The bear's fall from grace is made into a theatrical spectacle, and the bear's desperate situation is reflected in the inactivity and body language of other Catholic representations of the sheet. Chief among these is an eagle perched high above the stage. Designed to represent the Austrian Habsburg Ferdinand II, now possibly exposed to Swedish invasion due to the collapse of the Catholic League, it hangs its head and laments the misery of an uncertain fate, stating 'das Spiel mir gros nachdencken gibt. Werd drübr matt / kranck vñ betrübt'. (*Comedia*, 56-7).

The inclusion of a miserable eagle could be another indication that the sheet is taking revenge on earlier anti-Calvinist images of an invincible Habsburg-Bavarian partnership. Their power has been broken, and Catholic virtue is also shown to be severely lacking. Aside from the criticism of the Duke uttered by the Protestant animals, the idea is also portrayed

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<sup>381</sup> Coupe, p. 80.

through the words of the only remaining representative of Catholic spiritual authority on the stage. The single Jesuit who has not fled the stage cries out 'Hilff Jupiter Himml vnd Erdn / Was wil aus diesem Spiel noch werdn' (28-9). Here we see a connection to their description as Esauiter in the title of the broadsheet: possibly in an allusion to the carelessness or stupidity of Esau, who was tricked by his brother into forfeiting his birthright, the stupidity of the Jesuits in supporting the losing side is brought to the fore. And lastly, *Comedia* can be seen undermining the piety and virtue of both spiritual and political representatives of Catholicism by depicting the Jesuit as a rat who calls to non-Christian Gods for help.

The presentation of the Protestant figures of the broadsheet stands in stark contrast to its Catholic one. Far from seeming desperate or exposed, the main Protestant representatives are characterized by vitality and are highlighted as executors of justice. Their harsh treatment of the two bears on stage is explained as just punishment of the violations that the Catholics have committed in the Empire. This aggression comes as a surprise to the bear representing Maximilian, which is not used to being on the receiving end of punishment or being told what to do: 'Wie kom zu diesem Tantz ich doch / Daß ich nun erst mus lernen noch' (*Comedia*, 1-3). This sentiment is echoed by the second bear, and prompts the lion Gustavus Adolphus to remind them harshly of their transgressions and failures:

4. Löw.

Du bromst du bitst so sehr du wilt /

Dein Lamentiren nun nichts gilt

Wegn dein Falschheit vnd gros Vntrew

Mustu zum Pfaffen an die Rew

Vnd ob dichs schon im Hertzen kränckt

[...] Augsburg / Mönchn vnd Inglstadt /

Nehm ich dir weg ohn alle Gnad

Dazu den ChurRock ziech dir aus /

Weil du drinn halten vnrecht haus. (*Comedia*, 17-21, 23-6)

These criticisms allude to the Duke's determination to take possession of Friedrich of the Palatinate's land and electoral dignity, despite the dubious legality of it all, as well as his connection to the Sack of Magdeburg because he was the political leader of the Catholic League that was responsible for the atrocity. As is evident in the quotation, and as is similar to the pattern discussed in the previous chapter, *Comedia* shows that Gustavus Adolphus is a virtuous, pious, and victorious Protestant figurehead. He possesses the moral high ground as the arbiter of justice, and his success in this role is evident in his superior position to the Duke. This reassures the reader once again that allegiance to the Swedish King is an act of religious morality and patriotism, because the Duke is accused of deceit and lawlessness as well as disloyalty to the Empire.

The characterization of the Swedish King as a force of justice, punishing abuses, seeks to justify the new, offensive position of the Protestant party following the defeat of the Catholic League at Breitenfeld which gave the Swedes the opportunity to penetrate southern, Catholic-dominated territory. By reminding the reader of the dubious legality of the electoral transfer, *Comedia* argues that Protestant aggression against Catholic figureheads such as the Duke is justified in the light of abuses they have committed. This is part of the broadsheet's attempt to ensure the continued support of the moderate Protestants of the Empire, who believed in the preservation of the Protestant right to



worship but who were not keen to rebel against Catholic Habsburg forces. At the same time, *Comedia* tries to dissipate fears of domination by the Swedish King by presenting him as virtuous and an upholder of the law.

A further example of Swedish Protestant virtue as opposed to Bavarian Catholic lack of morals is evident in the lion's dismissal of the bear's attempt to buy its way out of retribution (lines 15-17). This shows that bribery cannot overturn the Swedish moral compass. In a dichotomous portrayal, Gustavus Adolphus executes justice, demonstrating one of the central virtues of the Christian prince. At the same time, Maximilian's assumption that the Swedish king can be bribed points to his own obsession with worldly goods, a preoccupation which is at odds with his supposed dignity as a Christian prince. It also shows that he has no qualms in attempting to pervert the course of justice. Even though the King has made him aware of his crimes, he is not interested in just atonement. Instead, he seeks to escape punishment by undermining the morality of the representative of the law through bribery.

From a wider perspective, Maximilian's depiction in *Comedia* demonstrates that he is devoid of most of the characteristics required of a Christian prince according to the *Fürstenspiegel* of the period. The *Fürstenspiegel* were manuals designed to instruct princes on how to embody the ideal qualities of a Christian ruler, who was expected in turn to demonstrate and enforce these noble Christian virtues on their dominion. Although these virtues could vary slightly, they generally included prudence, justice, magnanimity, moderation, kindness, faith, honesty, courage and clemency.<sup>382</sup> In its portrayal of Duke Maximilian as a prince who fails to meet the expectations placed on him as a Christian prince, in particular regarding

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<sup>382</sup> Müller, p. 576.

justice (due to theft of possessions), moderation (in Sack of Magdeburg) and honesty (negated by bribery), *Comedia* attempts to lend weight to the radical Protestant argument that German Catholic, pro-Habsburg forces can no longer be tolerated. Of course, this presentation was not aimed at influencing the radical Protestant themselves, but stemmed from radicals within the Protestant group who were determined to persuade the conservative and moderate Lutherans to end their loyalty to figures of Catholic Habsburg authority on grounds of the military and spiritual threat they posed. As I will demonstrate in the following sections of analysis, the repeated claim that Duke Maximilian of Bavaria was an unchristian potentate was characteristic of this campaign.

To sum up, the dancing and paraded bears are the first example in my study of how Protestant propagandists attempted to present the Catholic Duke (and possibly his ally Count Tilly) as fallen and sinful; the reduction of a once powerful bear into a pathetic beast could be interpreted as evidence being given to a pious Protestant audience of a higher power exacting retribution in the Empire and re-balancing it in favour of the Protestants. This idea is designed to secure their continued allegiance to an increasingly aggressive Protestant campaign against the Catholics. Furthermore, the humiliation of the bears and the articulation of their sins undermine previous Catholic depictions of the Duke as a righteous defender of Habsburg authority and help to further justify military aggression against them. *Comedia* characterizes the Duke as a sinner who is being forced to pay for his crimes by depriving him of his belongings and exhibiting him for the derision of the public. This payment takes the form of emotional and physical punishment, and is the opposite to the payments in which he is normally involved, whereby others are forced to 'pay the price' of his politics, be it the loss of life in Magdeburg, or via financial contributions to his occupying League troops. This is neatly summed up by the second verse of the broadsheet:

2. Leoparden.

Du bist ein Schalk in deiner Haut

[...] Hastu den Konick können lecken

Im Römischen Reich an allen Ecken

So las dich jtz auch tribulirn

Vnd bey der Naas herüberführn. (*Comedia*, 4-10)

## Section Two: The Foolish and Sinful Bear

The broadsheet *Neue Zeitung / Der Bär hat ein Horn bekommen*<sup>383</sup> (1633) mocks the Duke for the loss of Palatine territory and hints that his quest for further power in the Empire was driven by foolishness and Jesuit influence. His ridicule links *Neue Zeitung* to radical propaganda of the 1630s which, as we have seen, presents him as a humiliated Catholic figurehead following the Swedish invasion of Bavaria in 1632. Showing similarities to the *Comedia* broadsheet, it builds on the idea of a Duke closely allied to the Jesuit Order and connects him to the figure of the fool.



(Text below image cropped)

The image of *Neue Zeitung* contains two Jesuits, a fool, a bear and a lion. Echoing the image of the broadsheet *Comedia*, the bear represents Duke Maximilian and is being humiliated by a Swedish Protestant lion. The lion of *Neue Zeitung* ridicules the bear by placing a horn on

<sup>383</sup> *Neue Zeitung / Der Bär hat ein Horn bekommen* (1633). HAB: IH235. Henceforth *Neue Zeitung*.

its head. The lion humiliating the bear is unlikely to be a representation of Gustavus Adolphus, who was no longer alive in 1633. Instead, it is probably a general symbol of the Swedes,<sup>384</sup> and the lion's dominance over the bear is used to reflect the occupation of Bavarian and Upper Palatine territory by Swedish forces.

The Jesuits to the bear's left are recognizable as members of the Order due to the Jesuit caps they are wearing. One of them has his arm outstretched and is attempting to place an electoral cap on the bear's head. This attempt is in vain because the horn already on the bear's head leaves no space for a second item. The foolishness of the Jesuit attempt to put an electoral cap on the bear's head is symbolized by the fool who stands in between the two Jesuits. His presence undermines the integrity of the Jesuits and the bear as a collective group. The negative symbol of the fool on the left-hand side of the sheet stands in direct contrast to the positive symbol of a godly hand on the top right-hand side of the sheet. It points towards the Swedish lion from the clouds and indicates divine support of the Swedish Protestant campaign.

There is a single letter of the alphabet above all of the figures in the image except for the bear. They range from A to D and are connected to the text beneath the image because the letter is used to show which figure is speaking in its four sections of dialogue. There are sixty lines of text in total, which divide into twenty-five rhyming couplets and ten lines of a biblical psalm. While the psalm is used to glorify the martyred Gustavus Adolphus as a hero sent by God to rescue the Christians, the dialogue sections focus on the connection between the horn and the Duke.

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<sup>384</sup> Harms, p. 528.

The Jesuits have only small speaking roles in the overall dialogue, and mainly complain that the electoral cap that they keep trying to fasten onto the Duke's head will not stay put. Their complaints are ridiculed by the lion, which points out that the reason why the cap does not fit onto the bear's head is due to the large horn already occupying the spot. A key message of the broadsheet is contained in these first three sections of dialogue between the Jesuits and the lion. These lines claim that Jesuit plans to increase the power of the Bavarian Duke have failed because Sweden has undermined the Duke's authority and humiliated him. He has been forced to flee Bavaria and temporarily to abandon claims to Friedrich's Upper Palatinate territory.

In portraying the Jesuits to be behind plans to secure Maximilian the electoral dignity, the broadsheet can be seen re-directing some criticism away from the Duke and placing it onto his Jesuit advisors. In doing so, it hints that the Duke's power politics were partly driven by the Jesuits at his Munich court. This depiction serves to give the impression that the Duke's controversial war policy is the result of the implementation of Jesuit advice.

The idea that the Jesuits exercise a decisive influence on the Duke's policies is evident in the image of *Neue Zeitung* because it is members of the Jesuit Order who are trying to secure him the electoral dignity, rather than the Duke himself, who seems primarily to be trying to defend himself against the lion. The most assertive agents of the sheet are the Jesuits and the lion, whose actions oppose one another. Each of them seeks to decide the fate of the bear, while the bear itself is paralyzed in the crossfire and seems unable to exercise control over its own affairs. This sense of ducal powerlessness is emphasized in the text of the sheet because the bear is the only figure of the image who is denied a speaking role altogether. While the broadsheet *Comedia* offers the bear an opportunity to speak, which it used to try

to bribe its way to freedom, *Neue Zeitung* gives the impression that the bear has been silenced, and no longer possesses the power or right to negotiate. It is remarkable that secondary literature has not picked up on this point. In commentary provided on the sheet in the Harms' compendium,<sup>385</sup> there is mention of the meanings attached to the horn as a symbol of the Duke's loss of power and of the Duke's 'lack of speaking role', but these points are not connected to one another. This is curious because the two seem to complement each other well; the feeble resistance of the Duke in the image is mirrored in the text: his ineffectiveness in defending himself and deciding his own fate is reflected in his lack of voice.

Due to their prominence in the Munich court, where they served as advisors to the Duke, the Jesuits' inclusion in *Neue Zeitung* and in other broadsheets is unsurprising. As mentioned in the introduction to the thesis, the Jesuits were symbols of foreign and papal influence, and of Catholic ambition and corruption at their worst. This made them despised by the Protestants and this was reflected in a whole strain of Protestant propaganda dedicated to vilifying them.

Their inclusion in *Neue Zeitung* is not to be confused with the seventeenth-century propagandistic method of softening the criticism of a figure of authority by demonstrating that their actions stem from evil Jesuit advisors. This was a device employed to air grievances while at pains not to be seen attacking a figure of authority directly.<sup>386</sup> As it was accepted that a ruler's authority was based on divine and natural law, such a direct attack was considered by some to be improper.<sup>387</sup> The deflection of criticism onto the entourage or

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<sup>385</sup> Harms, p. 528.

<sup>386</sup> Pfeffer, p. 37.

<sup>387</sup> Paas *Image*, p. 206.

advisors of a ruler was also designed to protect the author from punishment by the figure targeted in the propaganda.

Due to the anonymous nature of the anti-Catholic propaganda on Duke Maximilian, which meant that the author did not need to fear punishment for its publication, it is more likely that the inclusion of Jesuits in *Neue Zeitung* is an example of the seventeenth-century technique of 'denigration by association' or 'negative localization', whereby a targeted figure was placed next to a negative figurehead or placed in a negative setting in order to damage his or her reputation.<sup>388</sup> The Protestant public, for example, would have been well aware of the negative associations of the Jesuits, who were portrayed time and again in propaganda as 'murderers, preparers of poison, adulterers, bloodthirsty, and rapacious'.<sup>389</sup> The positioning of the Jesuits in close proximity to the Duke is consequently a deliberate attempt to stigmatize him for being in league with agents of the devil and papal forces hostile to the interests of the Empire. The use of anti-Jesuit argumentation in order to justify Protestant aggression has been provided in broadsheets analysed earlier in the thesis, such as *Siebenbürger in Vngern ausgelegter Meßkramm*.<sup>390</sup> As discussed in chapter one, this broadsheet accuses Jesuit priests of corruption, adultery and undermining the faith and liberties of the Protestants in Hungary. The Jesuits evident in *Siebenbürger in Vngern ausgelegter Meßkramm* and *Neue Zeitung* also show that the Protestant campaign repeated images time and again in order to re-enforce its message.

The sheet juxtaposes its criticism of Catholic figures such as the Jesuits with its praise of the Swedish Protestants and the now deceased Gustavus Adolphus. The psalm that follows the

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<sup>388</sup> Harms *Feindbilder*, p. 153.

<sup>389</sup> Pfeffer, p. 37.

<sup>390</sup> *Siebenbürgischer in Vngern außgelegter Meßkram : welchen der Fürst in Siebenbürge nvnter den Jesuitern/ München vnd aufrührerischen Pfaffen mit grosser Verwunderung im König Empire Ungern außgelegt vnd hauffenweiß verpartirt hat* (1619). HAB: IH110.



initial three sections of dialogue seeks to remind the audience that the Bible heralded the arrival of a hero who would save the Christians in their time of need:

Psalm 89. v. 20.

Ich hab einen Held erwecket / der helffen sol: Ich hab erhöht einen Außerwehlten  
aus dem Volck [...] Die Feinde sollen ihn nicht vberweltigen / vnd die vngerechten  
sollen ihn nicht dempffen / sondern ich wil seine widersacher schlagen vor ihm her /  
vnd die ihn hassen / wil ich plagen / aber meine Gnade vnd Warheit soll bey ihm seyn.

(*Newe Zeitung*, 19-27)

This psalm, combined with an allusion to the power politics of the Jesuits and the Duke, reinforces the dichotomy, also evident in *Comedia*, of sinful German Catholics and righteous Swedish Protestant forces. Since Gustavus Adolphus was at this point no longer alive, the inclusion of this psalm can be understood as an attempt to convince the Protestant camp (and in particular the moderate party within it) to continue to support the Swedish campaign. Its reminder of a 'hero sent by God to save the Christians', an allusion to the endeavours of Gustavus Adolphus, shows that the piece fits within the framework of a propaganda campaign that followed the Swedish King's death. This attempted to prolong loyalty to the Swedes by evoking in the German Protestants a sense of debt to the Swedish campaign. It portrayed the King as a martyr who sacrificed himself to save the Protestants and to whom the German Protestant party now owed further loyalty.<sup>391</sup>

The second half of the dialogue section follows the pro-Swedish psalm, and is taken up entirely by the speech of the fool Jonas, who stands between the two Jesuits attempting to increase the authority of the bear. Jonas's speech seeks to characterize the bear as sinful by

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<sup>391</sup> Böttcher, p. 352.

alluding to the meaning(s) of the horn placed on its head. The fool is identified as Jonas, who was Maximilian of Bavaria's court fool. It was his job to tell the truth to the Duke and to provide him with warnings.<sup>392</sup> At the same time, Jonas can also be understood as a symbolic fool, included in *Neue Zeitung* in order to add several layers of meaning to the image and text.

The figure of the fool adds a multi-dimensionality to *Neue Zeitung* that the broadsheet *Comedia* does not contain. The latter's use of the Elizabethan clown Pickelhering was included only on the basis of heightening the humour of the sheet and attracting the audience via the promise of entertainment. While the fool Jonas also heightens the attractiveness of *Neue Zeitung* because he is a character offering a different perspective, he adds levels of depth to *Neue Zeitung* that the clown Pickelhering does not. This is because he represents a different type of tradition and fulfils different functions, chief among them the revelation of truth and the reflection of sin.<sup>393</sup> Seen from this angle, Jonas the fool is a much greater danger to the reputation of those he accompanies because traditionally his comments undermine those groups.

One of the first and prime examples of this function of the fool is Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff*, published in Basel in 1494,<sup>394</sup> which used the figure of the fool to personify different kinds of sin and erroneous behaviour. The fool was used not so much to expose the evil of these groups, but to act as a mirror to the error of their ways and so encourage them to improve. In confronting sections of society with their own weaknesses and immoral behaviour, Brant sought to raise awareness of the damage caused by ignorance. In short, he

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<sup>392</sup> Harms, p. 528.

<sup>393</sup> *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit. Manufaktur – Naturgeschichte 8*. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2008), pp. 1048-56. See entry under Narrenliteratur. Henceforth *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*.

<sup>394</sup> Sebastian Brant, *Das Narrenschiff* (Basel: Dieter Wuttke, 1494; repr. Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1994).

used the figure of the fool to reflect the sin of sinners back to them. His work was a bestseller after its publication, and was still popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the course of the sixteenth century, the fool gained in popularity and was increasingly used as a mask of truth and as a vehicle to address taboo topics. He also took on the role of a negotiator between parties and was used to warn others of the consequences of their vices and of their distance from God. By mirroring sin, speaking the truth, and giving warnings, the fool was used to encourage reflection and a return to more sensible behaviour.<sup>395</sup>

In fact, the *Narrenschiff* is part of a long and complex story of the development of the fool in German literature of the early modern period. With the publication of other widely read works such as Erasmus von Rotterdam's *Lob der Narrheit* (1509), *Ein kurtzweilig Lesen von Dyl Ulenspiegel* (1510), Thomas Murner's *Von dem groben Lutherischen Narren* (1522) and later in the seventeenth century Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus* (1668), among others, the fool took on a number of roles and functions. Among the roles he assumed were those of a socially inept idiot, a hopeless idealist, an idiotic yet wise court jester, a vagabond trickster and adventurer, a sinner who is far from God and risks forsaking salvation, and a travelling theatre fool.<sup>396</sup> All of these roles were used to demonstrate to the audience the importance of closeness to God and avoidance of the devil and his works, and the distinction between sin and truth, idiocy and reason. This close connection with the morality of the period made the fool an effective propaganda tool; he was easily recognizable and

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<sup>395</sup> For more information on Brant's use of the term fool see Klaus Haberkamm's "'vff rechtem weg" oder "doren weg"? Eine Fallstudie zum Narrenbegriff in Sebastian Brants *Narrenschiff*", in *Der Narr in der deutschen Literatur im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Bern: Lang, 2009), pp. 63-83.

<sup>396</sup> Christine Baro, 'Von Idiotie bis Ironie. Figuration des Narren in Dramatik und Epik am Beispiel von Jörg Wickram', in *Der Narr in der deutschen Literatur im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Bern: Lang, 2009), pp. 125-45, pp. 126-8.

could be endowed with different qualities depending on the desire of the propagandist. The figure of the fool as a vehicle of satire reached its climax in the seventeenth century,<sup>397</sup> a fact reflected in its inclusion in *Neue Zeitung*. Jonas's role in the broadsheet corresponds to several of the traditional functions mentioned above because: his presence highlights the foolishness of the Jesuits' plans and he speaks the truth concerning the significance of the horn.

The first allusion he makes to the horn links it directly to the Jesuits. He reminds the audience of the Jesuits' encouragement of adultery and refers to a piece of propaganda dedicated to the topic entitled *Das Jesuiterhütlein* (1580).<sup>398</sup> This work by writer and satirist Johannes Fischart (1546-1591), whose work represents an important stage in the tradition of the fool within the German tradition, (whose works on the fool also included *Eulenspiegel Reimenweis* (1572), detailed the alleged sexual hedonism in the Jesuit stronghold of Dillingen. Drawing on the traditional label applied to the cheated husbands as the *Gehörnete*, Jonas's allusion to this work associates licentiousness and adultery with the behaviour of the Jesuits.<sup>399</sup>

In the light of this tradition of the horn being used as a symbol of humiliated husbands subjected to cuckoldry, the position of the horn on the Duke's head hints that he is in a

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<sup>397</sup> *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, p. 1052.

<sup>398</sup> Johannes Fischart, *Die Wunderlichst Vnerhörtest Legend vnd Beschreibung Des Abgeführten / Quartirten / Gevierten vnd Viereckechten Vierhörnige Hütleins. Samt Vrsprungs derselbigen Heyligen Quadricornischen Suiterhauben vnd Cornutschlappen: Etwan des Schneiderknechts F. Nasen gewesen Meysterstücks. Gestellt zu Vierfach Ablaßwürdiger Ergetzlichkeyt den Lieben Vierdächtigen Ignazischen Vierhornigen Quadricorniten / vnd Lugiollischen Widerhörnigen Cornuten: Oder (wie sie gern heysen) Jesuiten / oder Würdigen Herrn der Societet Jesu: Auch zu gefallen dem obberürten Meyster-Haysen / das er daß Neu Meysterstück dises Würffelhütleins / Vrthym vnd beisassen wölle. Alles Durch Jesuwalt Pickhart / den Vnwürdigen Knecht der Societet der Glaubigen Christi. Anno M. D. LXXX. (1580), 33 pages. Weblink to work: <http://www.zeno.org/Literatur/M/Fischart,+Johann/Satire/Das+Jesuiterhütlein> [accessed 2.1.12]*

<sup>399</sup> Harms, p. 528.

similar position to husbands whose wives have been seduced by Jesuits. This relates to his Jesuit advisors and hints that his blind trust in them has left him in a humiliating position because the Jesuit-encouraged procurement of Palatine possessions (evident in the image of *Newe Zeitung*) has led to his forced flight from Bavaria following Swedish invasion.

Jonas also connects the horn in to Daniel's vision (Daniel 8. 1-14) in order to characterize the Jesuits and the Duke as anti-Christian. In Daniel's vision, Persia and Greece are represented by a ram with two horns and a goat with just one. Daniel sees the single horn of the goat break up into four smaller horns and his vision goes on to concentrate on the rise to power of a wicked king who challenges the army of the Lord. This vision is then interpreted as an apocalyptic vision that refers to the end of time (Daniel 8. 15-25).

A pious seventeenth-century audience, which would have been highly familiar with the Bible, would have been aware of the description and interpretation of this vision. Jonas's link between the horn on the bear's head and Daniel's vision of the horn is consequently intended to stigmatize the Duke by connecting him to the wicked king described in the passage. This wicked king who challenges the army of the Lord is commenting on the Duke's participation, as head of the Catholic League, in attacks on Swedish Protestant forces. By forging this link, *Newe Zeitung* aims to transfer the negative traits of the wicked king in Daniel's vision onto the Duke himself. This king is described as powerful, corrupt, and a man who destroys many, including mighty men and holy people. Its association of the horn with the Duke can be understood as a somewhat belated Protestant response to Maximilian's role in subjugating Friedrich of the Palatine's lands in the early 1620s. The Duke is depicted to mirror an evil figure in the Bible due to his defeat of the mighty Elector Palatine and the decline in 'holy people' due to the re-Catholicization of Bohemia.

The effect of these portrayals is to strengthen the idea that Duke Maximilian and the Jesuits are impious and anti-Christian. This message is designed to encourage the moderate Protestants to support the Protestant forces' campaign in the south of the Empire, which had been successful in ousting the Duke from his Bavarian territory. Between 1631 and 1633, it became necessary for the Protestants to re-emphasize the righteousness of their cause because for the first time in the war they could not frame their cause entirely as defence against Catholic attack. Now that they were in a more dominant position and in control of some Catholic areas, they began to justify their attack by laying greater emphasis on the evil and sinfulness of the enemy. Evidence of this comes in the anti-Maximilian campaign in the early years of the 1630s which sought time and again to undermine Maximilian's reputation as a Christian prince.

The broadsheet *Comedia*, for example, demonstrates that the Duke failed to match up to the ideal princely qualities of justice, moderation and honesty. It achieved this by describing the Duke's power politics, vanity and attempt to escape justice. Building on this characterization, *Neue Zeitung* demonstrates the Duke's inability to serve as a role-model of the Christian faith, a key quality required of a Christian prince. This is because the image of the Duke as a virtuous Christian is undermined by the connotations of the horn, which link him to corruption and the destruction of clerics and holy soldiers. These repeated allusions to the unchristian qualities of the Duke and to his failure to match up to the ideal princely qualities expected of him provide evidence of a cohesive campaign that repeated ideas in order to convince the audience of their validity.

In relation to the broader thesis, it is evident that the general intention of Protestant propagandists was to portray the foreign Protestant(s) as good, and the German Catholics as

bad. I have shown that all three German Catholic figures of *Neue Zeitung* are characterized negatively because their prime motivation is the acquisition of further power, rather than more noble or Christian pursuits, such as the lion's mission to save the Christian flock. The only exception to this is the Bavarian court fool, who does not pursue the same goals as the other Catholic characters, but he still builds on their negative presentation by commenting on their piety or lack of it. In addition, and as I have demonstrated in earlier sections, the foreign Protestant figure in *Neue Zeitung* is portrayed positively as a divinely supported, virtuous hero.

The portrayal of Protestant and Catholic figures is dichotomised in *Neue Zeitung* due to the intent to convince the reader that support of a foreign Protestant figure is justifiable in the light of German Catholic sin. In *Neue Zeitung* I have identified the tendency to stigmatize German Catholics as representative of foreign, sinful forces, while foreign Protestant figureheads are portrayed as defenders of the people of the Empire and of the Protestant confession in particular. The amount of commentary on 'good' and 'bad' foreignness in the sheet is remarkable. On the one hand we see a punished Duke, whose dynasty has cultivated close links with papal Rome and is shown to be surrounded by power-hungry Jesuit agents, and on the other is a symbol of Sweden, whose invasion of the Empire is depicted positively as God-willed and an act of justice. The overarching message is that the sinful Roman Catholic figures, who do not have God's approval, fail, while the virtuous and pious Protestants, led by a divinely appointed foreigner, restore justice in the Empire.

In summary, the sheet builds on the portrayal of Maximilian's loss of face after Sweden's invasion of Bavaria. His desired extension of power, symbolized by the electoral cap, has been denied. This reflects the Duke's temporary loss of power following his flight from

Bavaria in 1632, after which his Bavarian and Upper Palatinate lands were occupied, making his claim to the Palatine electoral dignity vulnerable. The positioning of the horn on the bear's head in *Neue Zeitung* mocks him for this turn of events and seeks to present the once powerful Catholic Duke as a Jesuit-linked, weak, and corrupt Catholic figure. This complements his description in *Comedia*, in which the Jesuits' and bear's symbols of power lie discarded on the ground and the bear desperately seeks to escape justice using bribery.

In contrast to *Comedia*, though, *Neue Zeitung* uses more complicated text and imagery in order to stigmatize the Duke and the Jesuits of his Munich court. This makes the sheet more difficult to understand than *Comedia*, whose image of a bear being punished on stage and whose text detailing the crimes of the Duke do not require much deciphering. The greater difficulty in interpreting *Neue Zeitung* lies in its use of multidimensional symbols such as the fool and the horn, as well as its allusions to other pieces of propaganda when making its argument. This means that only an educated audience, aware of the traditions of the fool, the meanings of the horn, and well-read in other propagandistic publications, such as the work by Johannes Fischart, would have understood all of the ideas presented in the broadsheet. This demonstrates that not all broadsheets were directed at the same target audience. Unlike *Comedia*, which could have been read aloud to an audience and understood without difficulty, *Neue Zeitung* demands detailed knowledge of past publications, biblical imagery and cultural tradition. The first requirement narrows the field considerably because knowledge of Johannes Fischart's work would have required literacy and a humanist education, reserved for the more affluent, educated minority of seventeenth-century society. In fact, a study into the intended readership of Fischart's works concludes that his readership had to be aware of a whole canon of literary and historical works in order to understand fully the references, quotes, terminology and images



of Fischart's works.<sup>400</sup> As a result, the connection to Fischart's *Das Jesuiterhütlein*, demonstrated by *Neue Zeitung*, indicates that only a highly educated audience would have understood the entirety of its content, and that it was more intellectually demanding than *Comedia*. The less fortunate and less educated would only have understood the very basics of *Neue Zeitung*, gathering from the image and the perhaps cryptic-sounding text (when read aloud) that a bear, the famous symbol of the Bavarian Duke, was being punished by a lion, a famous symbol of Gustavus Adolphus. The fool and Jesuits in the image would have served to undermine the integrity of the Bavarian bear, while the psalm praising the Swedes would have reinforced the idea of a virtuous Swedish force that was worthy of further support. Within the framework of the campaign, this would have strengthened the image of Gustavus Adolphus as a lion punishing the defeated bear, Duke Maximilian. It also would have reinforced the idea that the Duke is being punished for his sins and his foolishness, even if the additional symbols in the broadsheet, and their connotations, may not have been understood by the entirety of the audience.

The marked contrast between the bear and the lion, possibly the most outstanding feature of the sheet, is designed to reassure the moderate Protestants that they are making the right decision to continue to support the Swedes. The Duke is portrayed as suffering humiliation following an unsuccessful policy to snatch power and territory from the Elector Palatine, while the Swedes' success is connected to divine favour. In addition, Maximilian's snatch of power from the Calvinist Elector Palatine reveals him to be engaged in exactly the type of power politics of which Gustavus Adolphus was initially accused. This hints that it is

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<sup>400</sup> Ulrich Seelbach, *Ludus lectoris. Studien zum idealen Leser Johann Fischart's* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2001). See in particular chapter seven 'Die Wissensbereiche der idealen Leser Fischart's', pp. 267-89.

not the Swedish state but rather the German Catholic Duke who is driven by worldly pursuits, while the Swedish Protestants are fulfilling a godly mission in the Empire.

### Section Three: Bavaria, Greedy Catholics, and the Antichrist.

The third part of this chapter focuses on a sheet from the *Pfaffengasse* series called *Bon Aviso*.<sup>401</sup> The *Pfaffengasse* broadsheets appeared in 1631, 1632 and 1633, and were used primarily to mock the Jesuits, but also the Duke, following Swedish invasion of the south of the Empire. The publications most relevant to my study of the Duke's image are *Die Pfaffen gass* (1631<sup>402</sup>, 1633<sup>403</sup>), *Der Mitternächtische Lewe / welcher in vollen Lauff durch die Pfaffen Gasse rennet* (1632<sup>404</sup>) and *Bon Aviso Aus der Pfaffengasse Im Jahre 1632* (1632). Of the three broadsheets making up the *Pfaffengasse* series, *Bon Aviso* has been selected for analysis because it contains the greatest amount of criticism directed at the Duke. It also represents the climax of the *Pfaffengasse* criticism as it is the most extreme in its support of the Swedish campaign and in its rejection of the German Catholics. It presents contemporary events in the context of an apocalyptic battle between the forces of good and evil, and is of particular interest due to its articulation of Bavaria's significance in the divine mission being undertaken by Gustavus Adolphus.

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<sup>401</sup> *Bon Aviso Aus der Pfaffengasse Im Jahre 1632* (1632). Sächsische Landesbibliothek / Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden: Hist.Germ.C.16,misc.18. Henceforth *Bon Aviso*.

<sup>402</sup> *Die pfaffen Gass* (1631). HAB: 420 Novi, fol. 444.

<sup>403</sup> *Die pfaffenGass* (1633). HAB: IH217.

<sup>404</sup> *Der Mitternächtische Lewe/ welcher in vollen Lauff durch die Pfaffen Gasse rennet* (1632). HAB: IH216.

# BON AVISO

## Aus der Pfaffengasse

### Im Jahr 1632.



**A**ch Wunder Glück und Freud' / Ach Gottes grosse Thaten /  
 Wie wohl und immer wohl ist nunmehr doch geraten /  
 Der Lutheraner Angst / Sie ist verkehrt in Freud' /  
 Von eines Lebens Lauf / in gar geschwinder Zeit /  
 In einen Feisten Vort / in eine breite Bassen /  
 Das war nur stets gewohnt zuschwelgen vnd zufrassen /

Die andern Nachbarn bald erführen neue Wehre /  
 Das ihre Pfaffengass schon weit eröffnet were /  
 Und wie der Lühne Lew schon setzte weiter fort /  
 Und woll vernehmen nicht auch den geringsten Ort /  
 Da wurde ein Aufschauß / die Pfaffen knechte klagten /  
 Warum die Heiligen setzten ihnen Hilff vertragen /

(Remaining text cropped)

Most of the image of *Bon Aviso* is taken up by a map of the south of the Empire. Twelve cities are shown on the map, and are identified by small sketches of their cityscape and a label above the city. All of the illustrated cities form part of the 'Priest's Alley' or *Pfaffengasse*, a derogatory term used to describe the Catholic bishoprics along the Rhine. The Rhine and Main rivers are also depicted, and on the image's bottom right-hand side is a lion, which is about to attack a bear and an eagle. To the right of the bear are three Catholic priests who are fleeing the scene.

While the image and title comprise roughly one third of the broadsheet, the remaining two thirds are taken up by a text commenting on and explaining the image. The text contains seventy-two lines in all, which divide into 36 rhyming couplets. The text is used to ridicule the Catholic camp, mocking Duke Maximilian, Emperor Ferdinand II and Spain for being unable to hinder Gustavus Adolphus's march south. It explains that the cities printed on the

map signify those that have already been captured by Swedish forces, along with those that it believes soon will be.

*Bon Aviso* frames Gustavus Adolphus's triumph over the Priests' Alley as part of a divine plan to destroy the Papacy, and connects the Duke to foreign powers and to impiety in an attempt to drive the readers into Gustavus Adolphus's arms. This builds on propaganda I have investigated earlier in this chapter which depicts representatives of Catholicism in the Empire such as the Jesuits and the Duke of Bavaria as foreign-linked, sinful figureheads. This idea of a Protestant people liberated from threatening Catholic forces thanks to Sweden is evident at the beginning of the text, which jubilantly describes the turning of the tables achieved by the Swedish King:

Ach Wunderglück vnd Freud! Ach Gottes grosse Thate!

Wiewohl vnd immer wohl ist nunmehr doch gerathen

Der Lutheraner Angst / Sie ist verkehrt in Frewd /

Von eines Lewenslauff / in gar geschwinder Zeit. (*Bon Aviso*, 1-4)

While some of the text goes on to echo the Schadenfreude expressed in the other two *Pfaffengasse* sheets regarding the capture of southern Catholic towns and the flight of the clergy, the sheet makes a significant departure from this theme because it attributes the extraordinary success of Gustavus Adolphus to a divine plan to defeat the Roman Catholic Pope:

Sagt nun ihr Pfaffenknecht' ob das sind Menschen=Thaten /

Die jetzt und bringen Euch in so sehr grossen Schaden.

Ich sage das / daß solchs nicht Menschen=Wercke seyn /

Gott selbst ist darbey der Lew [Gustavus Adolphus] thets nicht allein.

Den hat Gott außgerüft der sol ein Ende machen /

Dein Papstthumb / vnd was ihm anhangt in bösen Sachen (*Bon Aviso*, 61-6)

This sets the invasion of the Catholic bishoprics along the Rhine, as well as the duchy of Bavaria, in the context of a scheme to destroy the Roman 'Anti-Christ'. Gustavus Adolphus's campaign is portrayed as the procession of a divine army which, on its way to Rome, is destined to defeat successively the German representatives of Roman Catholicism. At the same time, the King is ousting the 'connected evil elements' of Catholicism: the rapacious Catholic clergy and *Pfaffen*, or bishops:

Vnd [sie] waren nicht begnügt an ihrer breiten Gassen [i.e. wealthy bishoprics] /

Sie wolten noch darzu viel Häuser haben dran /

Seht! Bald solch geistloß Volck gar ritterlich rant an

Ein Lew aus Mitternacht mit einen grossen Sausen /

Darvon diß Pfaffen Volck erschrack in ihren Klausen /

Einstheils zum Behren lieff / eins theils zum Adler kam /

Eins theils zum Spaniol / ein theils zum Bapst nach Rom.

Ja alle Heiligen die solten Sie erretten

Auß dieses Löwens Zorn (*Bon Aviso*, 10-18)

The above articulation of the destination of fleeing Catholic clerics contributes to the construction of Maximilian of Bavaria's image in propaganda: the 'bear' is one of four powers, including Emperor Ferdinand II, Spain and the Pope, whose territories are willing to

offer refuge to Catholic clerics. Given that these are referred to later in the text as *Pfaffenknecht* or servants of the Pope, this paints Bavaria as pope-friendly and as one of four powerful centres of Catholic authority. Another link between Bavaria and the Jesuits is made later in the text, which alludes to the impiety of the Duke:

[...] sie [Maximilian of Bavaria, Ferdinand II., Spain and the Pope] solten doch  
zertreten

Des Lewens Grausambkeit vnd seine grosse Macht /

Ihn wieder jagen weg hienein nach Mitternacht.

Hierauff der Adler zwar / sein höchste Macht versuchte /

Der Behr sich lehnt auch auff / vnd seinen Vortheil suchte /

Die Hülff des Spaniers war da verhanden schon /

Der Lew zertrat sie bald / gab ihnen ihren Lohn

Kund' also keine Macht dem Lewen vnterdrücken. (*Bon Aviso*, 18-25)

This description of the bear seeking his advantage echoes the accusation of rapacity directed at the Catholic priests, and is another reference to the trend in Protestant propaganda of depicting the Duke as interested in worldly gain. This is because although this line can be read neutrally as the Duke seeking to gain advantage for the Catholic side, it carries an undertone that criticizes him of intervening in the war for ulterior motives rather than support of the Catholic cause. This connects it to other propaganda that accuses the Duke's of power politics during the war.

Another connection between *Bon Aviso* and other broadsheets is the repeated idea of the superiority of Gustavus Adolphus vis-à-vis the Duke and his Catholic allies. Like these sheets,

*Bon Aviso* justifies this superiority not only on military but also on moral grounds. It also attributes the Swedish monarch's success to God's support for a holy campaign in the Empire and portrays the Swedish mission as part of that of a predetermined eschatological battle between good and evil. It is in this context that one can identify how the sheet is commenting on the Duke: he is clearly shown to belong to the 'evil' group of Catholics. Being one of the four poles of Roman Catholic authority, Bavaria is depicted as destined to crumble under Sweden's holy crusade. It is situated on a Swedish trajectory that spans from the north, through the cities illustrated in the image of *Bon Aviso*, and towards the remaining power blocks of Bavaria, Austria, and the Italian Papacy. Bavaria is consequently a point along the road towards the complete destruction of Roman Catholicism:

Den [Gustavus Adolphus] hat Gott außgerüft der sol ein Ende machen /

Dein Pabstthumb / vnd was ihm anhangt in bösen Sachen /

Drumb O du Antichrist / verhanden ist die Zeit /

Da dein geraubtes Gut wird werden lauter Beut /

Der Anfang ist gemacht / das End wird bald hergehen /

Dann Bäyern Cölln vnd Trier / den Tantz schon auch ansehen /

Der Lentz vielleicht den Pabst möchte ruffen auch darzu /

Hiermit wird geben Gott den Lutheranern Ruh / Amen. (*Bon Aviso*, 65-72)

This makes for a bold statement, reflecting the confidence of the Protestant party in early 1632 that the Papacy is soon to fall victim to the Swedish sword. It also seeks to convince moderate Protestants to support the Swedes by legitimizing their campaign as just. It does this not only by alluding to Catholic impiety, but also to acts of Catholic aggression in the



Empire. This idea is achieved by the reference to returning goods 'stolen' by the Catholics back to the Protestants as 'booty'. This could be an allusion to the war contributions that the Protestants had to pay the imperial army throughout the war, or a reference to the rights that the Catholics tried to withdraw from the German Protestants through the Edict of Restitution. In other words, *Bon Aviso* uses allusions to Catholic impiety and aggression to convince the non-radicals of the Protestant party that Swedish aggression towards the Catholic bishoprics in the south of the Empire, as well as towards Bavaria and possibly imperial and papal territory in the future, is justified. By reminding the reader of the aggressive anti-Protestant policy of the Emperor evident in the Edict of Restitution, it attempts to weaken the moderate Protestants' remaining bonds of loyalty to Catholic imperial authority. It also tries to persuade them to support the Swedes' campaign by emphasizing that the Protestant side are the victims of Catholic abuse which is now being avenged.

The revenge is also portrayed as fitting in the light of the original crime: Duke Maximilian is one of a number of powers allied with the Pope whose ruthless eviction by the Swedes is to be seen as punishment for their own snatching of other peoples' goods. The image of Catholic greed additionally complements the message of other broadsheets which accuse the Duke of coveting the power and land of Friedrich V. of the Palatinate. This repeated idea is proof of a propagandistic campaign that sought to outline the impiety of the Duke by commenting on his alleged power politics in the course of the war. The campaign also negates Maximilian's positive portrayal in Catholic propaganda at the start of the war. While the Catholics portrayed him as a brave defender of the Catholic Habsburg House, Protestant propaganda undermines this image by exposing the worldly ambitions behind his involvement. The impression given to the reader is that the Duke constitutes a worldly

power who seeks to exploit Imperial and Protestant vulnerability for his own personal gain. This also hints that he only simulates imperial loyalty and possesses a distinct lack of Christian charity. Again, this has the effect of weakening any resistance on the part of a moderate Protestant reader to an offensive against the Duke. If he is not truly loyal to the Emperor and demonstrates unchristian traits, why should he be spared occupation by the justice-dealing Swedes?

This constitutes the underlying intent of the sheet: to convince conservative and moderate Lutherans, who were reluctant to rebel against Catholic and imperial figureheads of authority, that high-ranking Catholics in the Empire could no longer be considered neutral arbiters of justice or pious Christian authorities.

In conclusion, one can see in *Bon Aviso* a consolidation of previous images of the Duke as well as a number of new departures. While the Duke's inferiority in the face of divinely-backed Swedish forces is once again reiterated in the light of southern invasion, a new angle is added by describing his imminent defeat within the wider context of a long-prophesied final battle between the forces of good and evil. Similarly, the Duke's is accused once more of greed, although this is presented in a wider framework of Catholic sin, as it is presented as symptomatic of high-ranking Catholic representatives in general during the war. In a word, the Catholics are portrayed to have no qualms in stealing territory from others.

A further point worthy of mention is that *Bon Aviso*, together with all of the broadsheets that attack the Duke, highlights his link to the Jesuits. *Bon Aviso* achieves this by highlighting Bavaria as one of four powers that displaced agents of the Pope would likely seek shelter when fleeing a vengeful Swedish army.

Furthermore, the mention of Bavaria as one of these four powers open to Jesuit refugees depicts the Duke to be in league with hostile anti-Protestant forces from both inside and outside the Empire. The Jesuits are unwelcome papal representatives in German territory, and Bavaria's inclusion in a group containing the Pope and Spain also links him to foreign enemies of the German Protestants. In this there is again a repetition of previous ideas: German and foreign Catholics are bad in the light of the threat they pose and due to their impiety. German and foreign Protestants by contrast are connoted positively in view of their rejection of Catholic abuse and virtuous, God-willed campaign. *Bon Aviso's* contribution to these ideas is only to intensify their strength. It does this by stressing the wider framework of these good and bad forces, as it sets them in an apocalyptic context. This was another tried and tested technique of the seventeenth century, as propagandists sought to stigmatize targets of criticism by presenting them as evil agents ushering in the Apocalypse. The technique was also designed to convince the readers that that they were on the path or virtue and that they must remain steadfast against the enemy.<sup>405</sup>

In short, *Bon Aviso* encourages the reader to shun Maximilian of Bavaria as a symbol of Catholic wrong-doing. He is shown to be part of a number of dangerous and corrupt Catholic powers seeking to halt Sweden's religious crusade, and as one of a series of figures and powers that will receive retribution for their crimes in the Empire. Bavaria's imminent capture is shown to be part of a scheme of divine justice, and this scheme is set to culminate, as God intends it to, in the elimination of Roman Catholicism in the Empire and in the defeat of the Antichrist himself.

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<sup>405</sup> Harms *Feindbilder*, pp. 158-61.

#### Section Four: A Sinner Receiving Treatment

The broadsheet *Ein Fremder Artzet ist komen an Der die plinten Recht heillen kan*<sup>406</sup> depicts the Swedish invasion of Bavaria in 1632 as an operation in which Gustavus Adolphus removes the cataracts of Duke Maximilian of Bavaria. The first half of the broadsheet is taken up by an image which features Count Tilly, Gustavus Adolphus, Duke Maximilian, three Jesuits and one Dominican. While the Jesuits are labeled as such, the Dominican is identifiable in the light of his distinctive dress. This consists of a white woolen gown, a white scapular and a hood. Count Tilly sits on the far right-hand side of the sheet, with one hand covering an eye that has already been operated on. In the centre of the image is 'doctor' Gustavus Adolphus, who is operating on Duke Maximilian's eye. To the left of the Duke stand a group of concerned Jesuits and a Dominican.

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<sup>406</sup> *Ein Fremder Artzet ist komen an Der die plinten Recht heillen kan* (1632). HAB: IH172. Henceforth *Ein Fremder Artzet*.



(Text below image cropped)

The image of *Ein Fremder Artzet* is connected to a series of sheets directed at the Duke that have already been studied in this chapter. Their common characteristics are a superior Swedish force, an inferior Duke, and the influence of Jesuit / Catholic clergy. There are other links as well. The broadsheet *Comedia*, for instance, intensifies ridicule of the Duke by offering his Jesuit supporters glasses so that they may view their master's punishment. In a similar way, *Ein Fremder Artzet* plays on the theme of vision and links it to the punishment of the Duke.

The text of the sheet also demonstrates a number of links to propaganda directed at the Duke, chief among them its theme of impiety and Jesuit corruption. The text takes up the second half of the broadsheet and is used to comment on the operation shown in the

illustration. It contains thirty-four lines in all, which divide into seventeen rhyming couplets. The rhyming couplets make up six sections of dialogue in which the *Beyr*, the *Jesuitten*, the *Artzet* and Count *tille* speak to one another. The text of *Ein Fremder Artzet* begins its satirical characterizaton of the Duke by presenting him as a sick patient who is being ‘properly’ dealt with by a foreign doctor:

Ein Fremder Artzet ist komen an.

Der Beyr

[...] ich [leid] sehr grossen Schmertzen

Es thut mier weh in meinem Herzen [...]

Kömpf eben der frembt artzet her

Der dient mir recht zu den Sachen

Er kann mich witter sehent machen. (*Ein Fremder Artzet*, 4-5, 9-11.)

In showing the Duke to be sick and being treated by a foreign doctor, the text is referring metaphorically to the events of 1632. In this year, the Swedes defeated the Catholic League army, which had been created by Duke Maximilian, at the Battle of Rain in April 1632. This paved the way for Swedish invasion of Bavaria. *Ein Fremder Artzet* uses this Catholic defeat to ridicule the Duke, as the occupation of Bavaria is presented metaphorically as a painful Swedish operation. The wounded Tilly on the right of the sheet, who sits with his eyes closed and his head cast downwards after having undergone Swedish surgery, is an allusion to the lethal injuries sustained by the general of the Catholic League during the above-mentioned battle against the Swedes. Tilly’s impotence and the Duke’s precarious position at the mercy of the foreign doctor mirrors the vulnerability of Bavaria at the time, because it

was temporarily defenseless and subjected to ruthless plundering and occupation by the Swedes. Its use of the image of the doctor and Count Tilly as a patient also relates it to another Protestant broadsheet published in the same year, entitled *Der alte Teutsche Zahnbrecher* (1632).<sup>407</sup> Commenting satirically on Count Tilly's failure at Breitenfeld, it shows the Count being treated for toothache by a German dentist. Like *Ein Fremder Artzet*, it depicts the Count as a vanquished opponent of the Protestant campaign. This sense of Catholic defeat and despair is reflected in the dialogue of *Ein Fremder Artzet*, in which the Duke and Count Tilly state:

Der Beyr.

[...] Ich sinn ich dencke hin vnd her,

Das mein land wird so leer (1, 6-7)

[...] Der tille.

Ich bin an dem staren gestochen sehr.

Ich betarf hinfort kein stechens mer. (*Ein Fremder Artzet*, 32-4)

After alluding to the state of the Catholic campaign and to Bavaria's misfortune, the sheet goes on to clarify the reasons why the Duke and his territory have been targeted by the Swedish Protestants. In this, it links up to other broadsheets that I have analysed on the Duke because it explains the invasion to be punishment for Catholic abuses and as a measure to protect the German Protestants.

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<sup>407</sup> *Der alte Teutsche Zahnbrecher: Welcher die verlogene exsincerirte Auffschneider vnnd Confect-Fresser/ (weil sie schwartze/ stinckende/ wurmstichtige/ böse Zähne darvon bekommen/) ; Allamodisch vnd besser dann kein Charlantan cujoniret, oder wolt ich sagen curiret* (1632). HAB: IH183.

It does this by honing in on the impiety of the Duke and of the Catholic clergy around him. The Catholic clerics pictured in the image observe the Duke's operation anxiously. The Dominican's inclusion among the group of clerics is unsurprising because they were viewed by the Protestants with great mistrust: like the Jesuits, they were staunch defenders of Rome and of Catholic orthodoxy.<sup>408</sup> Hatred of the Dominican Order is reflected in a number of radical Protestant broadsheets produced during the war. A key example is the broadsheet *Der Jesuiter / sampt ihrer Gesellschaft / Trew vnd Redligkeit* (1632).<sup>409</sup> Designed to arouse the curiosity of even Catholic readers due to its seemingly uncontroversial image of a Jesuit conversing with a Dominican, both holy men are brutally exposed when the reader of the sheet lifts the flaps of paper over each of their faces. Both flaps show that underneath the pious exterior of each of the men is the head of a wolf. The broadsheet's aim is to reveal the Dominican and Jesuit's true, wolf-like nature, hinting that they are wolves dressed in sheep's clothing.<sup>410</sup>

Of course, despite the curiosity the sheet may have aroused in Catholics, it was undoubtedly directed at the Protestant camp. As Coupe points out, political and religious satire of the war never intended to convert those from other confessions, but to express attitudes and to encourage co-religionists by revealing the perfidy of the enemy.<sup>411</sup> Bearing this in mind, one can see that *Ein Fremder Artzet*, like the other broadsheets I have already analysed, expresses the opinion of the radicals of the Protestant camp and aims to encourage the moderate Protestants to adopt a more extreme anti-Catholic stance.

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<sup>408</sup> R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540-1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) p. 28. Henceforth Hsia.

<sup>409</sup> *Der Jesuiter / sampt ihrer Gesellschaft / Trew vnd Redligkeit* (1632). HAB: IH123.

<sup>410</sup> Harms *Feindbilder*, p. 150.

<sup>411</sup> Coupe, p. 67.



*Ein Fremder Artzet* seeks to achieve this aim by playing on the general Protestant fear of a crusading Jesuit and Dominican clergy, portrayed in the image as the Duke's advisors. The text substantiates this idea by claiming that the Duke's actions and policy are influenced by these papal agents. This comes when the Duke blames his own short-sightedness, the text's metaphor for his misguided policy, on the influence of the clergymen around him:

Ach ich hab mich vmbgesehn an allen orden

Ich bin schier blind dran worden

Drom leid ich sehr grossen schmerzen. (*Ein Fremder Artzet*, 2-4)

This depiction aims to strengthen the idea that the Duke's policy is led by Catholic clerics and is consequently threatening to the Protestants of the Empire, a circumstance that justifies Swedish aggression against the Duke in Bavaria. I have also identified the argument that the Duke's policy is damaging and Jesuit-led in *Comedia*, *Neue Zeitung* and *Bon Aviso*. The repetition of this argument in *Ein Fremder Artzet* consequently provides further evidence of a coherent and cohesive propagandistic attack on the Duke.

The positioning of the Jesuits, a Dominican and the disgraced Count Tilly in the company of the Duke can additionally be seen as an example of the technique of denigration by association. This is because the Duke is positioned next to members of the most vilified Catholic Order in the Empire, as well as in the company of a general of the Catholic League who, after reducing the Protestant city of Magdeburg to ashes,<sup>412</sup> was fiercely attacked in a

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<sup>412</sup> For accounts of the destruction of the city see Tobias von Elsner, 'Magdeburg – Opfertod und Kriegsverbrechen', in *Der Du gelehrt hast meine Hände den Krieg* (Altötting: Geiselberger, 2007), pp. 59-62, Hans Medick, 'Historical event and contemporary experience: the capture and destruction of Magdeburg in 1631', *History Workshop Journal*, 52 (2001), 23-48, Matthias Pühle, *Ganz verheeret! Magdeburg und der Dreißigjährige Krieg* (Magdeburg: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 1998), and Michael Kaiser, "'Excidium Magdeburgense.'" Beobachtungen zur Wahrnehmung von Gewalt im Dreißigjährigen Krieg', in *Ein Schauplatz herber Angst* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 1997), pp. 43-64.

short but substantial wave of broadsheets. The brutal incineration of the city and of most of its 20,000 inhabitants in April 1631<sup>413</sup> made it easy for propagandists to label him a failure, a sinner, a rapist (alluding to the image of spoiling a *Magd*) and a vagabond. Before Magdeburg, Protestant propagandists were not able to find a weakness of the Count to attack in writing due to his ascetic lifestyle,<sup>414</sup> but after the atrocity they made full capital of his disastrous blunder, turning him into a figure of ridicule.<sup>415</sup> They sought to alter the widely held perception of the general as a man of impeccable reputation by presenting him as a fallen and deeply flawed Catholic leader. In view of this, the inclusion of Count Tilly in the company of the Duke is a deliberate attempt to denigrate by association: it reminds the reader that the Duke is in league with a general widely condemned in the Empire for his sin.

The portrayal of Maximilian connected to Count Tilly and influenced by the Jesuits is not the only way in which *Ein Fremder Artzet* attempts to portray the Duke as impious and a threat to the German Protestants. It also portrays him as guilty of attempts to eliminate their Christian confession entirely. This accusation lends substance to the broadsheet's intent to persuade the moderate Protestants that the invasion of Bavaria by the Swedes is legitimate in view of the threat that he represents. Set against this threat, and in a dichotomous portrayal, it describes Gustavus Adolphus as a force of justice sent by God to punish this enemy of the Christian flock. In doing so, it echoes the image of *Newe Zeitung*, in which a divine hand points at the Swedish King from the clouds, signalling divine support for the lion's obstruction of the Duke's power politics. In a similar show of ducal menace and of Protestant righteousness, *Ein Fremder Artzet* informs the reader that God has ordered the

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<sup>413</sup> Parker, 112.

<sup>414</sup> Pfeffer, p. 57. See chapter on 'Tilly im Flugblatt des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', pp. 50-9 for more detail on his treatment by Protestant propagandists in the wake of Magdeburg.

<sup>415</sup> Pfeffer, p. 50.

Swedish King to exact retribution in the light of the crimes that Duke Maximilian has committed against the Christian confession:

Der Artzet.

Vnd weils dann nicht kan anders seyn.

Wag ichs in Gottes Namen fein

Vnd will dier ietzund den Staren stechen

Alles Vnglück will ich an dier Rechen

Das dü getan hast zu aller frist.

Vnd dich auf gelönt wider Jesumchrist

Gottes wort vnd die Convection

Hat bey dier Sollen zu boden gon

Das hat verhiet der gerechte Gott.

Der hilft vns frei aus aller noht (*Ein Fremder Artzet*, 18-28)

This articulation of Maximilian's attempt to undermine the word of God and to eliminate the Protestant confession represents a new departure on the theme of the impiety of the Duke. In contrast to sheets such as *Neuwe Zeitung* and *Comedia*, which mention bribery and power politics in order to undermine the Duke's reputation as a Christian prince, *Ein Fremder Artzet* goes further by presenting the Duke as an enemy of Christianity. The intention behind this depiction of the extreme threat posed by the Duke is to put pressure on the moderate Protestant audience to accept Gustavus Adolphus as their leader and saviour against such evil forces. In the same way that Gustavus Adolphus is presented in the

image as a doctor to Maximilian, the readers are encouraged to embrace him as a solution to the challenges they face.

The final line of the above quotation also contains a reference to the Church song *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*, written by Martin Luther, in order to encourage allegiance to the Swedish King. It borrows from Psalm 46 and is a song that was directed against the followers of Catholicism, who were accused by some Protestants to be denying the word of God.<sup>416</sup>

This line from *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* is included in *Ein Fremder Artzet* due to the symbolic power it carried as a battle song during the Reformation. Its employment is used to remind the reader that the Protestants are still at battle with enemies of God's word, and that it is Gustavus Adolphus rather than Martin Luther who is now defending their cause. The Psalm also fits Gustavus Adolphus because both he and Martin Luther were Lutheran leaders.

The negative presentation of the Duke stands in stark contrast to the positive descriptions of the King of Sweden. The guise of a doctor is used as a metaphor for the King's position in and effect on the Empire, demonstrating not only that he is in a position of authority, but that he has a positive, even healing effect. His 'treatment' of powerful Catholic figureheads such as Maximilian and Count Tilly emphasizes not only the new status quo regarding the ascendancy of the Protestant forces, but also shows that the defects of one camp are rectified by the other, conferring a sense of superiority on the Protestant camp. The Duke's own admission of guilt strengthens the impression of Catholic criminality and reinforces once again the idea that Swedish retribution is just:

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<sup>416</sup> See Michael Fischer's article at: [http://www.liederlexikon.de/lieder/ein\\_feste\\_burg\\_ist\\_unser\\_gott](http://www.liederlexikon.de/lieder/ein_feste_burg_ist_unser_gott) [accessed 5.1.12]. Click on 'Edition A' to read the lyrics of *Ein feste Burg*.

Der Beyr. F.

Vnd weil ichs wolverdienet hann.

O Sancta Maria hilf mir darvon. (*Ein Fremder Artzet*, 15-17)

By ascribing wholly negative attributes such as guilt and a threatening anti-Protestant attitude to Maximilian, the sheet seeks to repel the readers from him and to drive them into the arms of the Swedish King, whose foreignness and positive effect are stressed by the broadsheet's title *Ein Fremder Artzet*. This broadsheet is not the only one to celebrate Gustavus Adolphus as a reliever of Bavarian and Catholic suffering. In the broadsheet *AUGUSTA ANGUSTIATA, A DEO PER DEUM LIBERATA* (1632),<sup>417</sup> the King is portrayed as coming to the aid of a woman beggar. She is a personification the city of Augsburg and praises the Swedes for delivering the bi-confessional Bavarian city from tyranny and the clutches of the devil.<sup>418</sup> *AUGUSTA ANGUSTIATA* is closely related to the broadsheets *Die betrangte Stadt Augspurg* (1632)<sup>419</sup> and *Die durch Gottes Gnad erledigte Stadt Augspurg* (1632).<sup>420</sup> All comment on the fact that in 1629, Emperor Ferdinand II ordered the confessionally mixed Augsburg to accept complete Catholic domination. This subjugation by Catholics is represented in *Die betrangte Stadt Augspurg* by the image of a seven-headed apocalyptic monster representing the papacy and a monster bearing down on the city, both of which are disgorging Jesuits into it.<sup>421</sup> *AUGUSTA ANGUSTIATA* and *Die durch Gottes Gnad erledigte Stadt Augspurg* present Gustavus Adolphus as the saviour of the city from such evil

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<sup>417</sup> *Augusta Angustiata, A Deo Per Deum Liberata : Teutsch: Geängstigt ward Augspurg die Stadt: Gott durch Gott ihr geholffen hat* (1632). HAB: 420 Nov. 2° fol. 164.

<sup>418</sup> Harms, p. 464.

<sup>419</sup> *Die betrangte Stadt Augspurg* (1632). HAB: IH211.

<sup>420</sup> *Die durch Gottes Gnad erledigte Stadt Augspurg* (1632). HAB: IH222.

<sup>421</sup> Beller, p. 42.

forces, the latter sheet even portraying a slain monster and an apocalyptic beast at the King's feet.

These sheets and the ones already analysed show that Gustavus Adolphus was presented repeatedly as a force for good in the Empire who avenges Catholic injustices. *Ein Fremder Artzet* demonstrates this by presenting the Duke as a body of disease that must be cured by the Swedish King.

The diseased eye of the Duke can also be seen as an example of the seventeenth-century propagandistic technique of *monstrare*. This involved the revelation of a targeted figure's ugly or monstrous form in order to comment on their true nature.<sup>422</sup> In the Duke's case, his presentation as a man of ill-health could be an example of the technique being used to demonstrate his imperfection.

The metaphor of disease could also have been used to link the Duke metaphorically to sin because sickness connoted an inversion of the natural order and a disturbance of nature. This means that the sickness of the Duke could contain an allegation of allegiance to the devil, because in the eyes of those who saw the world as a manifestation of God's will, the disturbance of God's natural order could be seen as a sign of interference by the devil.<sup>423</sup> Seen from this angle, Maximilian's debility is a strategy employed by the propagandist to present the Duke as a Catholic figurehead who has turned his back on God and has consequently incurred divine wrath.

The depiction of the Duke's persecution of Christians and of his proximity to impious characters such as the Jesuits and Tilly corresponds to another technique of seventeenth-century propaganda. It is the revelation of the 'truth' about a person by revealing an

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<sup>422</sup> Harms *Feindbilder*, p. 154.

<sup>423</sup> Harms *Feindbilder*, pp. 154-5.

incongruity between their public image and their inner qualities.<sup>424</sup> *Ein Fremder Artzet* and the other broadsheets I have analysed show that one of the principal incongruities exposed by the Protestant campaign was the Duke's position as a figure of Catholic authority and his contradictory unchristian traits and actions.

A final point in my analysis of the portrayal of Gustavus Adolphus as a doctor operating on the cataracts of the Duke is the connection between the sheet's 'eye' theme and another branch of war propaganda. This is because the use of optic imagery in *Ein Fremder Artzet* could be a new contribution to a long-running debate that was played out in a series of broadsheets at the end of the 1620s. There was a flurry of broadsheets between 1629 and 1631 produced by Saxon theologians and by Jesuits from Ingolstadt. These debated the merits or otherwise of the Protestant interpretation of the *Confessio Augustana*. Approved by Duke Johann Georg of Saxony and published under the auspices of the Saxon court preacher Matthias Hoe von Hoenegg, the first sheet of the series alluded to the Augsburg confession as an *Augapfel*. The following replies and reactions in broadsheets by the theologians all contained the word 'eye' in their title, making new contributions to the debate instantly recognizable.<sup>425</sup> Examples include *Wer Hat das Kalb ins AVG geschlagen?*,<sup>426</sup> *Scharffes Rundes Aug: Auff den Römischen Papst gericht*,<sup>427</sup> *Dillingischer*

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<sup>424</sup> Coupe, pp. 73-5.

<sup>425</sup> Details on the Augapfel debate provided by Harms, p. 438.

<sup>426</sup> Laurenz Forer, *Wer hat das Kalb ins Avg geschlagen? : Das ist/ HochNothwendige/ vnd Vnumbliche Frag/ Auß dem Euangelischen AugApffel/ Ob Der Augspurgischen Confession Verwandte Prediger/ oder aber die Jesuiten den Religion Friden im H. Röm. Reich vmbstürzten? ; Durch ein kurtzes Sendschreiben des tewren Mans D. Martini Lvtheri An seine Diener am Wort erörtert/ vnd mit beständigem Grund beantwortet / Allen lieben Teütschen zur wolmainenden Vnderricht/ vnd Erinnerung [...]* (Dillingen: Sutor, 1629), 65 pages. HAB: A: 502.9 Theol. (2).

<sup>427</sup> Georg Landherr, *Scharffes Rundes Aug: Auff den Römischen Papst, vnd der allein Seligmachenden Kirchen gericht. In welchem etliche AdmirationPuncten oder verwunderungen antreffen de immediatè, den Römischen Bischoff, vnd Consequenter die gantze Christliche Geistlichkeit, kürztzlich verfast sind worden. Wider Deren Sächsischen ChurFürstlichen Theologen Augapfel [...]* so [...] Anno

*Kälber-Artzet / Der das Kalb ins Aug geschlagen*<sup>428</sup> etc. In this context, *Ein Fremder Artzet*'s theme of eye surgery could also be seen as a foray into the debate. The depiction of Swedish-Protestant superiority through the metaphor of eye surgery lends itself to the interpretation that the Protestant interpretation of the *Confessio Augustana* is indeed correct because the Swedish doctor is shown to be correcting a dysfunctional Catholic *Augsapfel*.

In addition to the sheet's connection to the *Augsapfel* controversy, it could also be a link to the tradition of the *Narreschneiden*, and provides further proof of a sophisticated campaign that deliberately played on tradition, repetition, and well-known images. The tradition of the *Narrenschneiden* was created by Hans Sachs as a means of defending the Reformation.<sup>429</sup> A prolific poet and a composer of eighty-seven carnival plays, Sachs used his works to promote the ideas of the Reformation, human virtue, and to denounce general vices. In his well-known play the *Narrenschneiden*, a man is cured of his idiocy through the extraction of a number of different types of fool from his stomach. The doctor then tells his patient that his own erroneous behaviour was the source of his accumulation of fools.<sup>430</sup> In connection to this, we can see *Ein Fremder Artzet* using the metaphor of an operation in the

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1628 zu Leyppzig in Druck gegeben / Widerlegt, Durch R. P. Georgium Landherren der H. Schrifft Doctorn Prediger Ordens (Prague, 1629), 64 pages. HAB: A: 313.10 Theol. (2).

<sup>428</sup> Laurenz Forer, *Dillingischer Kälber-Artzt/ Der das Kalb ins Aug geschlagen/ : Das ist/ Fernere Erörterung der hochnohtwendigen Frag auß dem Euangelischen Aug-Apffel/ Ob Der Augspurgischen Confession verwandte Prediger/ oder aber die Jesuwider deß heylsamen Religion Friedens im H. Röm. Reich Feindt/ Verächter und Zerstörer seyen? ; Durch ein kurtzes Sendschreiben deß H. Vatters Ignatii Lojolæ An seine gantze Gesellschaft die Jesuwider/ der Gestalt erörtert/ daß mit beständigem Grundt erwiesen wird/ daß nicht Luther oder die Diener am Wort/ sondern die Jesuwider vnruhige Auffwigler vnd Friedenstörer seyen [...]* (1629), 88 pages. HAB: A: 502.9 Theol. (5).

<sup>429</sup> For more information on Hans Sachs's use of the fool see Hélène Feydy's 'Der Narr bei Hans Sachs', in *Der Narr in der deutschen Literatur im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Bern: Lang, 2009), pp. 103-25.

<sup>430</sup> Wolfgang Spiewok, *Das deutsche Fastnachtspiel. Ursprung, Funktionen, Aufführungspraxis* (Greifswald: Reineke, 1997), pp. 69-78.



same way as Hans Sachs: the suffering of the patient presents him as an inferior character and in need of remedy.

The idea of a remedying doctor additionally leads to a new quality being transferred to the image of the Swedish King in Protestant propaganda: mercy. This comes alongside the established theme of the King as an enforcer of justice and a tool of God. This is evident because although the King as a doctor has the power of life or death over his enemy, he shows compassion and restraint, choosing to correct and heal his enemy while he is weak, rather than destroying him. This strengthens the argument that the moderate Protestants can trust the King because his moderation and generosity, even to his enemies, suggests that Swedish intervention and expansion in the Empire is not to be feared.

Similar to other broadsheets on the Duke, the dichotomy of good and bad figures as well as the contrast between impiety and piety is again embodied in the idea of Maximilian of Bavaria as the antithesis of Gustavus Adolphus. *Ein Fremder Artzet* presents Gustavus Adolphus as guided by God, while Maximilian is simply a puppet of agents of Rome. It also emphasizes Gustavus Adolphus as virtuous and a defender of God's word. Maximilian, by contrast, persecutes the pious and is a ruthless element that disturbs the peace of the Empire. Lastly, through the metaphor of the operation on the Duke's eye, *Ein Fremder Artzet* presents Gustavus Adolphus in an abstract sense as the bringer of light, and as a remedy to Catholic darkness and short-sightedness.

In the context of this thesis *Ein Fremder Artzet* provides further evidence of the Duke's presentation as an unchristian German Catholic figurehead whose reprehensible behaviour merits punishment by a foreign Protestant leader. Shown to be influenced by

representatives of foreign Catholic power, Maximilian, and not Gustavus Adolphus, represents the true threat to German culture and faith in the Empire.

## Section Five: The Indigestible Politics of the Duke

This final section focuses on the single Protestant pamphlet critical of the Duke. Entitled *Bayrische Kranckheit*, the pamphlet is eight pages long, written in prose, and was published first in 1625.<sup>431</sup> In view of its greater length when compared to a single-sided broadsheet, the pamphlet has the additional advantage of being able to develop its themes in greater detail: it is not as limited for space. *Bayrische Kranckheit* uses its extra space to full advantage as it extends the attack on Duke Maximilian's reputation as a Christian prince. It does this by focusing on two cardinal sins that he is accused of committing: greed and gluttony. While the first of these sins links the pamphlet to the broadsheets *Comedia* and *Neue Zeitung*, the second sin represents a new departure in the criticism of the Duke. The pamphlet criticizes Duke Maximilian for both sins by using the device of a dream that is recounted to him by his court jester Jonas. Like the broadsheet *Neue Zeitung*, *Bayrische Kranckheit* demonstrates how the radical propagandists made use of the figure of the fool as a mechanism to expose sin and to reflect the truth. The pamphlet is also reminiscent of the broadsheet *Ein Fremder Artzet* and Hans Sachs's *Narrenschnitten* because it uses the metaphor of sickness and remedying. But while *Ein Fremder Artzet* uses the metaphor of a doctor performing surgery in order to demonstrate the Bavarian's inferiority and impiety, *Bayrische Kranckheit* uses the imagery of a painfully bloated Duke in order to reflect the folly of his expansionist power politics.

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<sup>431</sup> *Bayrische Kranckheit oder Geschwulst des Magens / An welcher I. F. Durchl. in Bayern todtkranck vnd hart darnieder liegt / Sampt deroelben Cur: Das ist: Ein Medicin=Politisches Bedencken / Daß Dem Hertzog in Bayrn Maximiliano, die Chur=Pfaltz zu restituieren, dann selbige seinem eignen Herrn vorzueinthalten / viel nützlicher vnd rathsamer sey: Auch mit solcher allzeitigen Restitution, seinem vor Augenschwebenden grossen Schaden / wolbedächtlich vnd reifflich vorkommen / vnd gar abwenden könne / möge / vnd billich solle. Durch Vnterschiedliche / Hoch=vnd Vielerfahrene Parnassanische Medicos gestellt. Im Jahr der Verenderung. 162. (1625), 8 pages. HAB: Yv 2 464.8° Helmst. (4). Henceforth *Bayrische Kranckheit*.*



(Title page of *Bayrische Kranckheit*. Page 1 of 8)

*Bayrische Kranckheit* is of great value to my study of the image of Duke Maximilian in Protestant propaganda because it represents a piece that was successful with the Protestant audience. This is evident in the four print-runs that the pamphlet enjoyed: it was printed and re-printed respectively in 1624, 1625, 1631 and 1632. Undoubtedly connected to the years in which it was published, *Bayrische Kranckheit* can be understood initially as an attack on the Duke following his occupation of Palatine territory in the early 1620s and the

electoral transfer in 1623, and gained renewed relevance once again in the 1630s, when the Duke attracted attention after being chased from Bavaria by the Swedes.

The reasons behind the popularity of the pamphlet can be found in its themes and devices. In a certain sense, it could be seen as a precursor of the broadsheets of the 1630s, a successful model whose themes were imitated and referred back to by the later, briefer broadsheet publications. This is why the pamphlet is one of the most important sources critical of the Duke. It encapsulates a number of successful methods and ideas used by the Protestant propagandists to ridicule the Duke and in so doing lays the foundation for a cohesive anti-Bavarian campaign.

The pamphlet consists of Jonas the fool's narration of a dream that he has had which features the Duke. It contains comical imagery of the Duke suffering the consequences of over-indulgence and self-caused illness. This use of comedy shows that the pamphlet follows the aim of seventeenth-century political satire to ridicule the enemy and to provide relief from tension through humour, leaving the reader comforted rather than traumatized by the image of the enemy.<sup>432</sup> Although it has already been pointed out that the propaganda discussed in this chapter does not always achieve this aim, *Bayrische Kranckheit* fits this tendency. The dream is used to comment from an abstract perspective on the illegality of the Bavarian's occupation of Palatine land and on his acquisition of the Palatine electoral dignity. This message is made clear by depicting metaphorically the mismatch between the Duke and his new possessions. Jonas does this by describing the inedible objects that have been consumed by the Duke, including the towns and cities of Minneburg, Hilsbach, Heidelberg, Mannheim and the territory of the Upper Palatinate, as well as

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<sup>432</sup> Coupe, p. 80.

buildings and objects such as the Calvinist library of Heidelberg and its works.<sup>433</sup> The opening pages of the pamphlet explain that the Duke's state of illness has been caused by his own change of diet, a metaphor for his own decision to pursue expansionist policies. The violation of natural boundaries, a metaphor of geographical ones, as well as the skin irritation caused by the electoral cap, an allusion to the uproar in the Empire at his acquisition of the electoral dignity, are described in the pamphlet's opening pages:

[Ein] Diener [...] zeigte [...] an / daß der Hertzog in Bayern todtkranck were / habe grosse Bangigkeiten / grosse Geschwulst des Magens / der Leib sei ihm auffgeloffen / wie ein Trommel / habe grosse Kopffwehe / vn[d] keinen schlaff darbey / man habe zwar viel Medicos zu sammen beruffen lassen / die weren gleichwol quo ad causam morbi [=cause of illness] nicht allerding einig / etliche hieltens vor eine Wassersucht [...] weil der Bauch so hart geschwollen [...] Andere vnd sonderlich ein junger Medicus [...] sol etwas umbständlicher als andere causa morbi reden vnd helt darvon / diese Kranckheit vrsprünglich vom Haupt herrüre / weil ihm Hertzogen durch das Hermelin Futter / damit die Curhaube gefüttert [...] so solches [...] nicht gewohnt [...] vnnd [...] weil er eine zeitlang seine dietam geendert / vnd gar viel starcken Wein aus dem grossen Faß zu Heydelberg / nacher München führen lassen / getruncken [...] vnd darzu [kam] ein zimliche Melancoley / dann die Bibliothek zu Heydelberg ihm unzehliche superstitiones, denen er Beyfall thut / gezeigt / geschlagen: darauff dann viel Cruditates, vnd diese Intemperies gefolgt / vnd solche grosse Bläsungen vnd Geschwulst entstanden. (*Bayrische Kranckheit*, pp. 2-3)

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<sup>433</sup> *Bayrische Kranckheit*, pp. 6-7.

The comic imagery described above shows why *Bayrische Kranckheit* was popular with the Protestant audience. Descriptions of ducal suffering are peppered throughout the whole text and cover the discomfort caused by vomiting, sickness, headaches, tumours, allergic reactions and the breaking of wind. Additionally, these lines of entertainment are typical of seventeenth-century satire because they are generated by incongruity,<sup>434</sup> in this case between the undignified bodily functions of the Duke, described in the greatest detail, and the dignified position that the Duke seeks to maintain. An additional incongruity which provides entertainment is the idea of an incapacitated and enfeebled Duke, an image which bears little resemblance to the Duke's status as an influential defender of Roman Catholicism, encapsulated in Catholic propaganda of the early 1620s which presented him as a powerful bear.

One of the greatest and most humorous mismatches or incongruities described in the text is the Catholic Duke's ingestion of Friedrich of the Palatinate's Calvinist library of Heidelberg. More than any other image, this one highlights the inappropriateness of the Duke's theft of belongings to which he has no claim to whatsoever. The unsuitability of the library for the Duke is demonstrated by a graphic depiction of its indigestibility:

Der Doctor [...] griff E. F. D. [Eure Fürstliche Durchleuchtigkeit] den Pulß / vndauff den Bauch [dann] schüttelte den Kopff [...] Es stund nicht lang an / so wurde E. D. gantz bleich / begehrte wieder vber sich / liessen einen grossen mächtigen Wind von sich / von lauter Angst vnnd Bangigkeit / darauff brach die gantze Obere Pfaltzherauß/ darauff sagte der schöne Doctor, [...] Es ist aber noch etwas im Magen / so nicht hinein gehört / nun vollends heraus mit / gehet in einem hin / darauff wurgete sich E.

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<sup>434</sup> Coupe, p. 74.

D. noch einmal / da kamen ein gantzer Hauffen Bücher heraus / sagt der Cammerknecht [...] das ist die Calvinische Bibliothek von Heydelberg / darauff sagte E. D. Jtzt ist mir leichter / gebt mir Wasser / daß ich das Maul ausschwencke. (*Bayrische Kranckheit*, p. 7.)

Later descriptions of regurgitated cities, towns, and territories in the pamphlet give the impression not only that the Duke's actions are 'indigestible', but that they could stem from gluttony. Given that this constitutes a deadly sin, it casts serious doubt on the piety of the Duke as a Christian prince. It also aims to convince the moderate Protestants that defiance and rejection of this figurehead of imperial, Catholic authority is justifiable on religious grounds. By accusing the Duke of succumbing to greed and gluttony, two of the seven deadly sins (the remaining five being wrath, sloth, pride, lust and envy), *Bayrische Kranckheit* shows that from the first publication designed to vilify the Duke in 1624, a chief characteristic is the demonstration of his unchristian, even sinful qualities. That this was a successful approach is borne out by the popularity of the pamphlet and the repetition of these themes in later broadsheets. Examples include *Comedia* and *Newe Zeitung*, both of which focus on the sin of greed.

Although the Duke is not depicted in the presence of Jesuits, making it unique when compared to the broadsheet propaganda directed at him in the 1630s, he is still linked to other foreign and papal-friendly powers. This is indicated through the inclusion of a Spanish doctor in the fool's narrative. It is to this foreign figure that the Duke turns for medical advice (p. 3). This supportive Spanish figure could on a figurative level allude to Maximilian's reliance on powers such as Spain to maintain his 'position of health' (i.e. his acquisitions), as



it was Spanish troops under Ambrosio Spinola who aided Maximilian both at White Mountain and during his conquest of the Lower Palatinate.

Of course, in reality, Spanish assistance to the Duke and to Emperor Ferdinand II was not entirely altruistic. Control of the Lower Palatinate was crucial to Spain as it provided a useful base for its troops ahead of a resumption of war with the Netherlands. Moreover, the idea of a Spanish doctor caring for a Bavarian patient did not correspond to the realities of the often tense relationship between Spain and Duke Maximilian, caused in great part due to the Duke's refusal to relinquish the Palatine dignity and in doing so to abate the tensions in the Empire.<sup>435</sup>

Though only a small part of the pamphlet, its description of Spanish-Bavarian relations provides evidence of an anti-Maximilian campaign whose very first publication connected him to foreign, Catholic elements that were despised and feared by the German Protestants. It is another reason why the pamphlet can be considered as connected to or even a precursor of the broadsheets of the 1630s because its portrayal of a Spanish doctor consulted in times of need mirrors the broadsheets' presentation of the Duke's reliance on Jesuit advisors.

In sum, *Bayrische Kranckheit* presents the reader with an image of a Duke who, in pursuing power politics in the Empire, is committing two of the seven deadly sins. The intention behind this presentation is to associate the Duke himself with sin and to undermine his authority as a champion of Catholicism. This idea is complemented by his portrayal as a sinner who is being made to suffer for his abuses. His portrayal as a sick man could even be interpreted as a depiction of divine punishment from God for his wrongdoing, an image

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<sup>435</sup> Lanzinner, pp. 87, 89-90.

which is echoed in the horn on the Duke's head in *Neue Zeitung* and the assertion in *Ein Fremder Artzet* that a Swedish doctor has been sent to punish the Duke for his treatment of Christians. The description of the punishment of a sinful German Catholic figurehead is also designed to encourage the reader to believe that they belong to the camp favoured by God, as they see clearly the impiety of the other side and evidence that Catholic transgressions are not going unpunished. Following the pattern of the broadsheets from the 1630s, it is clear that one of the main vehicles for demonstrating the impiety of the Duke is a portrayal of his policy as a crime, expressed in *Bayrische Kranckheit* through the imagery of self-caused bodily illness. In a similar way to their treatment of Count Tilly later in the war, Protestant propagandists used political blunders of the Catholics, such as Maximilian's embroilment in the Palatine affair, against them. By presenting Maximilian's occupation of Palatine lands as an act of gross over-consumption, *Bayrische Kranckheit* convincingly subverts the image of an austere, model Catholic figurehead and encourages the moderate Protestant party to reject him.

## Conclusion

Although the occupation of the Lower and Upper Palatinate by Bavarian and Spanish troops had been achieved in 1622, and the electoral transfer had been formally accorded the Duke in a ceremony in 1623, the weak position and low morale of the Protestant camp at this time meant that only one pamphlet dared criticism of Duke Maximilian's power politics in public media before 1630. But events of the early 1630s and the corresponding revitalization of the German Protestant camp provided propagandists with the opportunity to rebuke the Duke for his violations of the norms of the Empire, and for his expansive Catholic policies.

This took the form of a unified campaign which focused on proving that the Duke was impious and did not fit the ideals of a Christian prince. Although the individual pieces of propaganda used different aesthetics to depict this, there are similarities in their images as well as a repetition of ideas in their texts which give their anti-Maximilian campaign coherence and cohesion. Examples of the intertextuality evident in the campaign include the repeated use of the image of a defeated bear, the use of the fool as a vehicle for truth, the metaphors of sickness and of vision, and the emphasis on the influence of papal-linked Jesuits on the Duke. These ideas were used to portray the Duke time and again as inferior, worldly, unchristian and staunchly anti-Protestant.

This revelation of the Duke's association with the deadly sins of gluttony and greed also sought at the same time to drive the Protestants further into Gustavus Adolphus's arms. The Swedish King was presented emphatically in every broadsheet as the antithesis of the impious Duke. This portrayal of moral corruption, designed to undermine the Duke's reputation as a Christian prince, additionally represented a symbolic attack on the piety of

the German Catholics as a whole, since the Duke was a prominent Catholic figurehead and the leader of the Catholic League.

The idea of Catholic impiety and Swedish virtue was also repeated to reassure Protestant readers that Gustavus Adolphus's invasion of Bavaria was justified, and to comfort them with the thought that a previously intimidating Catholic figurehead had been disabled. This presented the King as the restorer of balance and virtue in the Empire.

In the campaign's antithetical depiction of Duke Maximilian and King Gustavus Adolphus, it used a technique that had been tried and tested since the Middle Ages. This was to portray the conflict in the dichotomous terms of good and bad, presenting the world as a battleground between the forces of good and evil. Depicting events in these terms convinced the pious readers that they were on the path of virtue and that they must remain steadfast against the enemy.<sup>436</sup> In the context of the Protestant campaign, the association of the Duke with sin and Gustavus Adolphus as a saviour sent by God re-enforced this idea of the duality of the world and reassured the reader that adherence to the Protestant Swedish campaign was the right choice.

The campaign also highlighted corrupt and foreign influence in the Empire to be a uniquely Catholic problem. While the Duke is advised by foreign-linked Catholics and pursues hostile ambitions, Gustavus Adolphus fights for the interests of the people of the Empire, as an agent of justice, order, and piety. This gives the audience every reason to reject Duke Maximilian and to believe that Gustavus Adolphus was the defender of its political and religious integrity.

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<sup>436</sup> Harms *Feindbilder*, pp. 158-60.

## Emperor Ferdinand II: Historical Introduction

### *A Catholic Upbringing (1578-1618)*

Ferdinand II of Styria (1578-1637) was born in Graz to parents Maria of Bavaria (1551-1608) and Charles II Archduke of Austria (1540-90). He received a strict Catholic upbringing, during the course of which he was sent to Bavaria at the age of twelve and studied at the Jesuit University of Ingolstadt.<sup>437</sup> This prolonged period of education in Bavaria was a direct result of the wishes of his mother Maria, who was determined that he should not to be influenced by the Protestant ideas that were in circulation in Austria.<sup>438</sup> The success of his mother's strategy can be seen in the young prince's vow to re-Catholicize the lands he was to inherit.<sup>439</sup> It has been argued that his education made him strongly dependent on Jesuit advice,<sup>440</sup> in particular from his confessional fathers, although Thomas Brockmann's investigation into the topic refutes this.<sup>441</sup>

### *The Early Years of Rule (1618-22)*

Ferdinand II acceded to the throne of Bohemia in 1617 and was elected King of Hungary in 1618. He then became Holy Roman Emperor following the death of Emperor Matthias in 1619. He was not graced with an easy first few years as King and Emperor, nor with a peaceful reign overall. Instead, beginning with the rebellion in Bohemia in 1618, his

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<sup>437</sup> Johann Franzl, *Ferdinand II. Kaiser im Zwiespalt der Zeit* (Graz: Styria 1978), pp. 22-32. Henceforth Franzl.

<sup>438</sup> Angelika Franz, 'Der fromme Eiferer', *Der Spiegel: Geschichte*, 1. August 2011, p. 45. Henceforth Angelika Franz.

<sup>439</sup> Günther Franz, 'Glaube und Recht im politischen Denken Kaiser Ferdinands II', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 41 (1958), 258-270 (p. 258). Henceforth Franz.

<sup>440</sup> Franz, p. 259. On this page he quotes Ferdinand II's dependency on his Jesuit confessional fathers as the equivalent to that of 'a sheep to his shepherd.'

<sup>441</sup> Thomas Brockmann, *Dynastie, Kaiseramt und Konfession. Politik und Ordnungsvorstellungen Ferdinands II. im Dreißigjährigen Krieg* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2011), p. 455. Here Brockmann argues that there is no evidence to suggest that theological advisors exerted a dominant influence over his decisions. Henceforth Brockmann.

authority was challenged several times. Brockmann's research into the topic has concluded that these challenges stemmed from fear of Habsburg policies, but instead of stemming them, they had the converse effect of forcing Ferdinand to re-assert control over his own territories and the Empire. This re-assertion of power had the subsequent effect of providing 'evidence' of absolutist tendencies, provoking further challenges and continuing the cycle.<sup>442</sup>

Ferdinand, however, was not completely blameless in this scenario. For the fears which sparked challenges were based at least partly on Ferdinand's own character and wishes. If one considers the troubles in Bohemia, for example, while Ferdinand himself was certainly not responsible for the rebellion, it probably did not help that he had a reputation as a fervent advocate of Catholicism with a strong sense of rulership.<sup>443</sup> Indeed, fear of a future revocation of the Letter of Majesty (a document assuring the Protestants of Bohemia the right to freedom of religious expression) due to Ferdinand's strong Catholic prejudice was a key factor in the rebellion. The Bohemians consequently deposed Ferdinand in favour of the Calvinist Elector Friedrich V of the Palatinate in 1619.<sup>444</sup>

Despite his lack of military and economic resources,<sup>445</sup> the Emperor was still able to mount a successful offensive against Friedrich of the Palatinate's allies after securing help from Maximilian of Bavaria's Catholic League, as well as troops from the Spanish branch of the Habsburg dynasty. This led to the defeat of the Protestant forces at White Mountain near Prague in November 1620. It was from this moment onwards that Ferdinand II went on the offensive, using the opportunity presented by the rebellion to weaken both the power of

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<sup>442</sup> Brockmann, pp. 448-50.

<sup>443</sup> Brockmann, p. 447.

<sup>444</sup> Ingraio, p. 31.

<sup>445</sup> Brockmann, p. 448.

the estates and the foothold gained by Protestantism in his hereditary possessions.<sup>446</sup> It is difficult to discern whether Ferdinand would have been as aggressive in his re-Catholicization of his hereditary possessions had the rebellion not taken place. Whatever the case may be, it certainly reinforced the link in his own mind that Protestantism basically equalled disobedience.<sup>447</sup> He thus saw a policy of merciless re-Catholicization as being the best way both to further the Catholic cause and to regain control over his possessions.<sup>448</sup>

In this context, Catholicism was used as a weapon to re-impose Catholic Habsburg authority over Austria and Bohemia. Ferdinand ruthlessly replaced over three quarters of the Protestant Bohemian aristocracy with 'faithful' Catholic aristocratic families and used the same strategy in Inner Austria.<sup>449</sup> Through the execution of 28 leaders of the Protestant rebellion, together with the exile of Protestant clergy and the curtailment of Protestant worship until it was effectively banned,<sup>450</sup> Ferdinand II was able to achieve an authority over the Habsburg hereditary territories which previous Habsburg rulers such as Emperor Matthias had been unable to attain.<sup>451</sup>

All the while and due to the delicate situation between the Catholic, Lutheran and Calvinist confessions living cheek by jowl in the Empire, Ferdinand was careful to portray his reassertion of Catholic authority as a simple matter of ruler versus unruly subjects, despite the total suppression of the Protestant religion in his hereditary lands.<sup>452</sup>

Some scholarly opinion maintains that the Bohemian rebellion reinforced Ferdinand's perception that Protestants cannot make faithful subjects, leading him to believe that the

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<sup>446</sup> Brockmann, pp. 447-50.

<sup>447</sup> Evans *Monarchy*, p. 68.

<sup>448</sup> Franz, p. 263.

<sup>449</sup> Gonda, pp. 95-6.

<sup>450</sup> Evans *Monarchy*, pp. 70-1.

<sup>451</sup> Brockmann, pp. 447-49.

<sup>452</sup> Brockmann, pp. 447-49.

only way to ensure unity and obedience in the Holy Roman Empire was to re-convert it to Catholicism.<sup>453</sup> Yet research by Brockmann promotes the view that Ferdinand was willing to honour the religious freedoms previously accorded to the Christian confessions of the Empire and even if he did not desire the heterodoxy to last in the long-term, he was not prepared to lose everything by trying to root it out.<sup>454</sup> References to Ferdinand as tough<sup>455</sup> and Jesuit-like<sup>456</sup> in his campaign against the Protestants may also need revision. There is reason to believe, for example, that the Emperor was not completely unfeeling towards those who did not adhere to Catholicism or desire Habsburg rulership. This is evident, for example, in his reluctance to approve the death warrant of the 28 leaders of the Bohemian rebellion. Ferdinand finally agreed to it but only after much persuasion, eventually signing it with a trembling hand and tears in his eyes.<sup>457</sup>

### *The Height of Power (1622-29)*

Following White Mountain, Ferdinand promptly imposed an imperial ban on Friedrich V of the Palatinate, despite its dubious legality.<sup>458</sup> A string of Catholic victories over Friedrich's allies in the early 1620s then enabled the Emperor to strengthen his position both within his hereditary territories as well as in the Empire. Yet some concessions still had to be made in order to reward past assistance and to ensure future help. Ferdinand's cousin, Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, was particularly demanding in this respect and achieved, despite

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<sup>453</sup> See Evans *Monarchy*, pp.68-9, Franz pp. 263-4.

<sup>454</sup> Brockmann, pp. 454-9.

<sup>455</sup> Franz, p. 258.

<sup>456</sup> Franz, p. 260.

<sup>457</sup> Angelika Franz, p. 48.

<sup>458</sup> Asch, pp. 69-70.



Ferdinand's reluctance, the transfer of the Palatinate electoral dignity and control over Friedrich V's lands as a deposit until the Emperor could compensate the Duke fully.<sup>459</sup>

Ferdinand reached the height of his power towards the end of the 1620s, after a short-lived attempt by Christian IV of Denmark to lead a Protestant offensive against the Emperor failed miserably in 1627. Habsburg victory even culminated in the presence of imperial forces in the north of the Empire as they had forced Danish cavalry to retreat as far as Jutland.<sup>460</sup> In contrast to earlier research which presented this advance northwards as part of a wider imperial plan<sup>461</sup> [echoing arguments in Protestant propaganda]<sup>462</sup>, Thomas Brockmann's investigation of this argues that the imperial presence in the north was unplanned and simply a happenstance of the war with Denmark. Be that as it may, the happenstance did inspire ambitions in the Emperor which, although short-lived, were real. These included the idea of creating an imperial fleet in the Baltic Sea<sup>463</sup> and a step was made towards this by bestowing General Wallenstein with the title 'General of the Oceanic and Baltic Seas'.<sup>464</sup>

At this point, in the closing years of the 1620s, Ferdinand overstepped the mark and committed the gravest error of his career:<sup>465</sup> the announcement of the Edict of Restitution (1629). This was a harsh imperial fiat which reclaimed for the Catholic Church land that had been secularized since the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. The Edict, coupled with the imperial occupation of large areas of the Protestant north of the Empire, caused upset among

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<sup>459</sup> Brockmann, pp. 448-53.

<sup>460</sup> Paul Douglas Lockhart, *Denmark in the Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648. King Christian IV and the Decline of the Oldenburg State* (London: Associated University Press, 1996), pp. 155-6. Henceforth Lockhart. See also Asch, pp. 90-1.

<sup>461</sup> Franz, p. 269.

<sup>462</sup> Karl Nolden, *Die Reichspolitik Kaiser Ferdinands II. in der Publizistik bis zum Lübecker Frieden 1629* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cologne, 1958), pp. 191-2. Henceforth Nolden.

<sup>463</sup> Brockmann, pp. 449-53.

<sup>464</sup> Asch, p. 93.

<sup>465</sup> Angelika Franz, p. 49.

Protestant and Catholic princes alike.<sup>466</sup> Ferdinand's newly acquired grip on the Empire was being felt by all and was perceived by most of the princes as a violation of their rights and privileges.<sup>467</sup> The fact that it was unleashed in the name of Catholicism made no difference to even the Catholic princes, as the Edict symbolized the dominant position that Ferdinand had gained in the Empire and was consequently perceived more as an advance in Habsburg power than as a general victory for Catholicism. This changed the dynamics of the war: the shift in the balance of power between the princes and the Emperor meant that political concerns rather than religious ones now became the main source of unrest in the Empire.<sup>468</sup>

### *The Reversal of Fortune (1629-32)*

The announcement that General Wallenstein was to be appointed admiral of an imperial fleet, coupled with the Edict of Restitution, set in motion a train of events which were to reverse the Emperor's position of power in the Empire entirely. Sweden, seeing its security threatened by imperial plans,<sup>469</sup> entered the war with the intention of driving imperial forces back southwards.<sup>470</sup> And even the Catholic Electors of the Empire, worried by what appeared to be the absolutist tendencies of Ferdinand II, demanded the dismissal of General Wallenstein and the disbandment of his intimidating forces at the Regensburg electoral Diet of 1630.<sup>471</sup> Although Ferdinand agreed to this because he sought the electoral College's approval of his son Ferdinand III as the next King of the Romans, the conflict between himself and the Electors was by no means over. For despite all pleas from the latter, including Maximilian of Bavaria, to amend or even to abolish the Edict due to its

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<sup>466</sup> Franz, p. 265.

<sup>467</sup> Gonda, p. 98.

<sup>468</sup> Angelika Franz, p. 49.

<sup>469</sup> Roberts, p. 63.

<sup>470</sup> Asch, p. 103.

<sup>471</sup> Gonda, p. 98.

aggravation of the already acute confessional tensions in the Empire, Ferdinand proved intransigent to all requests for compromise. His Jesuit father confessor Wilhelm Lamormaini, who acted as the Emperor's representative at Regensburg, said only that the Edict must stand firmly, whatever evil might come of it.<sup>472</sup>

This was a second grave error on the part of the Emperor because his unwillingness to compromise did nothing to slow the war, and ultimately led even the staunchly loyal Elector of Saxony to ally himself with the Swedish Protestant army. Their union bore fruit shortly afterwards, as the Saxon-Swedish defeat of Count Tilly's imperial army constituted the first major Protestant victory in the course of the war. This was to prove a turning point to the detriment of the Emperor, as the Battle of Breitenfeld near Saxony was the beginning of a string of Swedish victories.<sup>473</sup> This led to the astonishing situation, at the end of 1631 and at the beginning of 1632, in which Gustavus Adolphus had taken up residence in the electoral bishopric of Mainz,<sup>474</sup> had six armies in other parts of the Empire and had plans afoot to conquer Bavaria and then proceed onwards to capture Vienna.<sup>475</sup>

### *Reprieve and Finale (1632-36)*

Despite Swedish success in its bid to overrun Bavaria, Ferdinand II was offered a reprieve in 1632 from the prospect of a besieging Swedish army due to the death of Gustavus Adolphus in the Battle of Lützen against General Wallenstein. This swung circumstances back in imperial favour, as the loss of a unifying Swedish figurehead caused turmoil within the Protestant camp. In a reflection of earlier years, Sweden and Saxony could no longer agree

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<sup>472</sup> Robert S. J. 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: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), p. 125. Henceforth Bireley.

<sup>473</sup> Asch, pp. 106-7.

<sup>474</sup> Roberts, pp. 143-4.

<sup>475</sup> Roberts, pp. 162-3.

on a single plan of action and both wanted to lead the German Protestants in different directions. While Gustavus Adolphus's trusted confidant and general Axel Oxenstierna argued for continued solidarity in a bid to wipe out the threat posed by the Habsburgs to Europe, Saxony's desire to make peace with the Emperor struck a chord with the increasingly war-weary German public and despite Swedish protests and threats, many princes of the Empire signed a peace treaty with terms highly favourable to the Emperor at the Peace of Prague in 1635.<sup>476</sup>

If the peace had been maintained, this would have constituted an imperial coup, as Ferdinand would have secured a position of authority in the Empire and over its princes, despite a very serious challenge to his own power in the preceding years.<sup>477</sup> Yet unfortunately for the Habsburg Emperor, forces from outside the Empire were unwilling to accept the peace and the concomitant restoration of Habsburg power. Sweden refused to withdraw its troops before it had received full compensation for its 'forced' intervention,<sup>478</sup> and France actively joined Sweden in its continued anti-Habsburg stance. This re-ignited the war. Ferdinand's last achievement before his death in 1637 was the election of his son Ferdinand III as the next King of the Romans. This ensured that the Austrian Habsburg dynasty would continue to rule over the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation for at least one more reign.<sup>479</sup>

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<sup>476</sup> Böttcher, pp. 350-62.

<sup>477</sup> Asch, pp. 110-7.

<sup>478</sup> See Roberts, pp.154-5, 183. This compensation was desired by Gustavus Adolphus from as early as 1630 in the form of land in the north of the Empire to serve as a buffer from imperial attack and was attained by Axel Oxenstierna in the form of monetary and territorial compensation at the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

<sup>479</sup> Angelika Franz, p. 49.

## State of Research

At present there are three studies which have discussed propaganda on Emperor Ferdinand II. These are Karl Nolden's *Die Reichspolitik Kaiser Ferdinands II. in der Publizistik bis zum Lübecker Frieden 1629* (1958),<sup>480</sup> Diethelm Böttcher's article 'Propaganda und öffentliche Meinung im protestantischen Deutschland 1628-1636' (1977)<sup>481</sup> and two sections of Christine Bachmann's work *Wahre vnd eygentliche Bildnus*, entitled respectively 'Ferdinand II. von Habsburg und Friedrich V. von der Pfalz als Rivalen um den böhmischen Königsthron' and 'Stilisierungen Ferdinands II. und Friedrichs V. sowie Maximilians I. von Bayern nach der Schlacht am Weißen Berg'.<sup>482</sup> These works, together with my own investigation, aim to qualify the claim still prevalent in some research that the Emperor was not subjected to criticism in public media during the war.<sup>483</sup>

Although these works are useful, they also demonstrate that further research is necessary, in particular regarding the Emperor's image in the later years of his reign. The focus of all previous research has also been significantly different from my study, as this has not concentrated on the way in which foreignness and sin were used to stigmatize Ferdinand II as a hostile force in the Empire, or how he was linked to representatives of foreign Catholicism including the Jesuits, the Pope and Spain.

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<sup>480</sup> Karl Nolden, *Die Reichspolitik Kaiser Ferdinands II. in der Publizistik bis zum Lübecker Frieden 1629* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cologne, 1958). Henceforth Nolden.

<sup>481</sup> Diethelm Böttcher, 'Propaganda und öffentliche Meinung im protestantischen Deutschland 1628-1636', in *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg. Perspektiven und Strukturen*, ed. by H. U. Rudolf, Wege der Forschung, 451 (1977), pp. 325-67.

<sup>482</sup> Christine Bachmann, *Wahre vnd Eygentliche Bildnus: Situationsbezogene Stilisierungen historischer Personen auf illustrierten Flugblättern zwischen dem Ende des 15. und der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2001), pp. 142-54, 154-73.

<sup>483</sup> Pfeffer, p. 37, for example, states that 'die massive Kritik an den Jesuiten ist oft Vorwand für indirekte Kritik am Kaiser, den die Flugblattverfasser nie persönlich anzugreifen wagten.' And Harms claims similarly in his *Feindbilder* article that Count Tilly and the Jesuits 'übernahm[en] stellvertretend [das Feindbild] für den in der Publizistik so gut wie nie direkt angegriffenen Kaiser', p. 157.

Possibly the most comprehensive study to date remains Karl Nolden's 231-page dissertation from 1958. It has similarities with the current investigation because it analyses Protestant sources critical of the Emperor's policies in the late 1620s.<sup>484</sup> It could be argued, though, that Nolden does not provide a complete picture of reactions in propaganda to imperial policy because he only focuses on the years 1618-29. This time frame means that Nolden's analysis of reactions to imperial policy ends at precisely the time when Ferdinand's policy, specifically in the form of the announcement of the Edict of Restitution, caused the most upset in the Empire.

For it was 1629 which saw the largest swing in opinion in the Lutheran and Calvinist camps and led them to adopt a more critical stance toward the Emperor, as the Edict made them realize that action had to be taken in order to protect their interests.<sup>485</sup> This unpopular Edict, coupled with the intervention of Gustavus Adolphus on the Protestant side, provoked discussion on the ideal qualities of a ruler and gave rise to unflattering comparisons between Ferdinand II and the Swedish King<sup>486</sup> which do not fall within the scope of Nolden's study.

Diethelm Böttcher's article, promisingly entitled 'Propaganda und öffentliche Meinung im protestantischen Deutschland 1628-1636', suggests that this gap in research into the later years of Ferdinand's reign may have been filled, for these are precisely the years which are not included in Nolden's study. This is not the case. For although the article focuses on a timeframe not covered by Nolden and years during which the Emperor was harshly criticized, the main focus of the article is on propaganda produced for or by the Swedish camp. Although it does overlap at times with discussion of the criticism of Ferdinand II,

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<sup>484</sup> See Chapter Three of Nolden, pp. 125-189.

<sup>485</sup> Böttcher, p. 333-5.

<sup>486</sup> As we shall discuss later in analysis of the pamphlet *Colloquium Politicum*.

charting the the development of public media encouraging resistance to imperial policy and linking the Emperor to sin and hostile foreign Catholic powers, this analysis is often sporadic and brief. The majority of the article focuses on the development of a campaign in favour of the Swedish king's intervention in the Empire and mentions anti-imperial arguments only within the framework of the reasons given to support the Swedish campaign. Despite its brevity, Böttcher's article still numbers among the very few works that are related to my own, as it touches on the branch of propaganda attempting to stigmatize Catholic potentates as sinful and to encourage support of foreign Protestant allies as a justifiable patriotic and religious act. My own research into the portrayal of Ferdinand II seeks to build on this and to extend previous research on propaganda aimed at a Protestant audience.

The last academic work which falls under the category of research into the image of the Emperor in Protestant propaganda, Christine Bachmann's *Wahre vnd eygentliche Bildnus*, is most useful in providing information on the portrayal of the Emperor in the initial three years of the war. This offers an insight into Catholic and Lutheran attitudes towards the Emperor as he grappled both with a rival to the Bohemian throne and with revolts in his hereditary lands. Bachmann provides useful detail for my study as she demonstrates that at the beginning of the war, when the Emperor's energies were focused primarily on his hereditary possessions, a united political and propagandistic front between the Lutheran and Calvinist parties had not yet developed. Instead, there is clear evidence to suggest that Lutheran and Catholic publicists published for the most part complementary works, aiming to emphasize the divine right of the Emperor to rule over his hereditary lands and the Empire and to criticize Friedrich of the Palatinate and the Calvinist party in general for overstepping the mark.

Nevertheless despite its usefulness, Bachmann's work differs considerably from the subject of my own investigation. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, it has a relatively limited focus on the Emperor's image during his rivalry with Friedrich V of the Palatinate and in the immediate wake of imperial victory at White Mountain and is secondly due to the primary sources used by Bachmann, which are exclusively broadsheets. In my view, Bachmann's sections on propaganda on the Emperor can only be considered as a short introduction to his image in broadsheets at the beginning of the war and should be read in conjunction with other work focusing on the negative criticism on Ferdinand II. This is because Bachmann's focus on the complementary positive images stemming from the Lutheran and Catholic camps at the beginning of the conflict, when read in isolation, could give a distorted image of his treatment in propaganda of the war.

In summary, my thesis aims to build on the small body of research already undertaken and to provide deeper insight into one of the strategies employed to undermine German Protestants' support for the Emperor. It examines the attempt to drive the German Protestants into the arms of seemingly virtuous foreign figureheads by stigmatizing German Catholic leaders such as Ferdinand as sinful, foreign and anti-German.



## **Primary Materials and the Context of Propaganda on the Emperor**

### *Was Ferdinand Partly Responsible for the Criticism?*

The following section is designed to provide background information on the propaganda directed at the Emperor. This is necessary due to his exceptional position in the Empire, as unlike other figures previously studied in this dissertation, he was a representation of authority to both the Catholic and Protestant camps and he was theoretically supposed to be protected from critical publications by censorship laws which prohibited such writings.

I shall investigate the factors that brought about a body of writing critical of the Emperor and pursue the question whether it can be argued that the Emperor was partly to blame for the proliferation of such hostile texts? Or was it solely the Edict of Restitution which brought about such hostility?

If one views the beginning of the war through the lens of Christine Bachmann's work, it seems that while Ferdinand was largely occupied with suppressing the rebellions in his hereditary possessions, he was portrayed favourably in propaganda stemming from both the Catholic and Lutheran camps. Critical publications seem to have been low in number and limited in impact. What circumstances, then, could explain the turn of events which resulted in the policies and actions of the Austrian Emperor attracting a considerable amount of hostile press as the war drew on? Could it be that the Emperor was himself partly to blame for an increasing amount of anti-imperial publications?

There are several factors that substantiate this claim. One theory is that the Emperor pursued controversial policies while never really providing the princes with a forum for debate. In fact, during the entirety of his reign, he did not once convene an Imperial Diet. As a consequence, one of the few forums through which the legality of imperial policy could be

discussed was through pamphlets known as *Denkschriften*, which were circulated at princely courts and served as a platform of discussion.<sup>487</sup>

This meant that writings discussing the pros and cons of imperial policy, including points critical of the Emperor's actions, circulated in the Empire and effectively informed a wide audience. The arguments contained in the *Denkschriften* filtered down to several classes of society and even exercised influence on contemporary affairs, such as a swell of public support for the Bohemian rebellion due to a heightened public awareness.<sup>488</sup>

The circulation of critical writings on the topic of Ferdinand II was simultaneously countered by efforts to eliminate them by confiscation and book burning. After 1620, Counter-Reformation ideologists such as Vincenzo Carafa, Superior General of the Jesuits between 1645 and 1649, and Wilhelm Lamormaini, who remained Ferdinand II's Jesuit father confessor throughout the war, 'banned' rival publicity while at the same time producing their own publications.<sup>489</sup> Within the context of Habsburg-controlled Central Europe, the most effective weapons of the Austrian Habsburgs against pro-Protestant controversial publications (which were particularly regular in Western Hungary<sup>490</sup>) was the forced shutting down of rival presses as well as the establishment of 'official' imperial ones which were able to achieve almost a monopoly status.<sup>491</sup>

Yet however repressive imperial efforts were, the question still remains that if Ferdinand had allowed the princes of the Empire to meet and to discuss policy and if the policies

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<sup>487</sup> Parker, p. 99.

<sup>488</sup> Parker, p. 99.

<sup>489</sup> Evans *Monarchy*, p. 103.

<sup>490</sup> Evans *Monarchy*, p. 102.

<sup>491</sup> Evans *Monarchy*, p. 104.

themselves had not been so controversial, would the Emperor have attracted so much attention and criticism?

There is reason to believe that the answer is no. Christine Bachmann's analysis of the Emperor's image in propaganda during his duel with Friedrich of the Palatinate for the crown of Bohemia makes it clear that during the years 1618-22, most of the portrayals of the Emperor, including those by the Lutherans, were positive.<sup>492</sup> This conclusion is confirmed by Diethelm Böttcher's analysis of the propaganda of the early years of the war, when Ferdinand confined his activities to his own hereditary lands. He states that at that time, only a small group campaigned for Friedrich V and for resistance to the Emperor, while the majority of writings urged all Germans to remain loyal to Ferdinand II.<sup>493</sup>

In fact, following Friedrich V's defeat at White Mountain and even after the execution of the leaders of the Bohemian insurrection, the majority of the Protestant camp, which at that time consisted of the conservative, loyal quietists and the moderate Protestants, were happy to believe imperial Catholic propaganda that stated that the conflict was 'kein Krieg gegen die Augsburger Konfession und die ständische Libertät! [Sondern] Bestrafung der Rebellen! Wiederherstellung des Friedens! [und eine] stricte Beachtung der Reichsverfassung'.<sup>494</sup>

It was due to Emperor Ferdinand's unleashing of the Edict of Restitution as well as his unwillingness to compromise on its severity that public opinion swung against him. It caused many conservative Lutherans to enter the 'moderate' camp, which advocated imperial

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<sup>492</sup> Bachmann, pp. 141-73.

<sup>493</sup> Böttcher, p. 325.

<sup>494</sup> Böttcher, pp. 325-7.

loyalty but at the same a defence of their religious and legal rights,<sup>495</sup> and generated for the first time propaganda that was primarily critical, and not understanding, of his actions.

This took place towards the end of the 1620s. Even the efforts of the staunchly loyal Saxon Elector Johann Georg were futile. On the occasion of the centenary of the Augsburg Confession, he produced pro-imperial propaganda which argued that the Emperor was only defending himself against rebels.<sup>496</sup> It appears that no-one paid much heed to this material. On the contrary, radical Protestant propaganda increasingly began to reflect the attitude of the Protestant camp, which viewed the Edict of Restitution as well as the imperial and military activity in the north of the Empire as signs of an increasingly anti-Protestant and absolutist Emperor. This latter sentiment was also an anxiety shared by the Catholic princes and ultimately culminated in both confessions demanding the dismissal of General Wallenstein. Put simply, the German population felt let down by the imperial policies, which they believed symbolized a hispanized imperial House,<sup>497</sup> or put differently, an Austrian Habsburg House heavily influenced by foreign Catholicism.

It can consequently be argued that Ferdinand himself was at least partly responsible for his negative image in contemporary publications, as critical writing gained a foothold in public imagination only when his hard-line policies forced the princes of the Empire to organize some form of resistance. This is evident in the fact that while his actions were not perceived as hostile to the Empire, such as during the time of the conflict in Bohemia, radical, anti-imperial propaganda was by far in the minority of the publications on the topic of the Emperor and achieved only negligible effects. As Böttcher expresses it, the Edict of Restitution did more to swing public opinion against the Emperor and to open Protestant

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<sup>495</sup> Böttcher, pp. 333-5.

<sup>496</sup> Böttcher, p. 327.

<sup>497</sup> Böttcher, p. 327.

eyes to hostile intent than almost a decade of Bohemian-Palatinate propaganda managed to do.<sup>498</sup>

Hence it was only following the occupation of the north by imperial forces, the territorial reward of Wallenstein and the Edict of Restitution that writing critical of the Emperor was for the first time able to strike a chord with large swathes of the Protestant audience. Anti-imperial propaganda was only truly able to proliferate and be successful when signs of unabashed and hostile imperial intent could no longer be ignored.

### *Magdeburg: A Case in Point*

A key example of imperial policy generating its own bad publicity is the Sack of Magdeburg. This city, a symbol of Protestant defiance,<sup>499</sup> became the first Protestant power in the Empire to enter into an alliance with Gustavus Adolphus and openly to defy the Emperor.<sup>500</sup> After holding out for a considerable amount of time while being besieged by Count Johannes Tsaercles von Tilly's army, its defences finally crumbled on the 20<sup>th</sup> May 1631, and it was promptly burnt to the ground by a raging and out-of-control imperial army. As Ronald Asch puts it, the atrocities of that day caused a flood of anti-imperial pamphlets and poems that accused the Emperor of Jesuit seduction and desires to convert the Empire into an absolute monarchy mirroring Spain.<sup>501</sup> Protestant outcries were heard far and wide:<sup>502</sup> Parker, for instance, speaks of 20 newspapers, 205 pamphlets and 41 broadsheets that were published and circulated, not just in the Empire, but in many parts of Europe, including

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<sup>498</sup> Böttcher, p. 333.

<sup>499</sup> Asch, p. 105.

<sup>500</sup> Roberts, p. 130.

<sup>501</sup> Asch, p. 106.

<sup>502</sup> See Birgit Emich, 'Bilder einer Hochzeit: die Zerstörung Magdeburgs 1631 zwischen Konstruktion, (Inter-) Medialität und Performanz', in *Kriegs-Bilder in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2009), pp. 197-235, and Michael Schilling, 'Die Zerstörung Magdeburgs in der zeitgenössischen Literatur und Publizistik', in *Konfession, Krieg, und Katastrophe* (Magdeburg: Verein für Kirchengeschichte der Provinz Sachsen, 2006), pp. 93-111.

London, Paris, Amsterdam, Stockholm and even in Rome and Madrid, all of which described the shocking bloodshed of Magdeburg.<sup>503</sup>

Although such brutal treatment of towns that resisted sieges was not unusual,<sup>504</sup> the scale of the atrocity was, given that around 20,000 people perished there that day.<sup>505</sup> Magdeburg subsequently constituted a turning point because the Emperor could no longer count on residual loyalty among the majority of Protestants after this event.<sup>506</sup> Still it is worth noting here that the complete incineration of Magdeburg was not deliberate,<sup>507</sup> and its pillage and destruction were more due to the fact that Count Tilly lost control of his own troops after the hard siege of Magdeburg finally bore success.<sup>508</sup> In any case, though, the damage was done: it simply counted, along with imperial actions of the late 1620s, as another example of Ferdinand's allegedly ruthless ambition to exterminate the Protestants.

Additionally, it cannot have helped that immediately after the bloodbath of Magdeburg, its obliteration was heralded as a great success in Catholic propaganda, which held Magdeburg before the German Protestants as an example of Catholic victory, even reporting Count Tilly to have said that Magdeburg's *Starrsinn* had left him with no choice but to take it by storm and he urged all Protestants to consider the example of Magdeburg when contemplating resistance to Ferdinand II.<sup>509</sup>

The example of Magdeburg begs the overarching question of whether the city would have felt the need to ally itself with Sweden in the first place, if imperial forces had not put such

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<sup>503</sup> Parker, p. 112.

<sup>504</sup> Michael Kaiser, 'Die "Magdeburgische" Hochzeit 1631: Gewaltphänomene im Dreissigjährigen Krieg. Historisches Ereignis, historische Tradition und Deutungen', in *Leben in der Stadt. Eine Kultur- und Geschlechtergeschichte Magdeburg* (Cologne: Böhlau 2004), pp. 196-213.

<sup>505</sup> Parker, p. 112.

<sup>506</sup> Asch, p. 106.

<sup>507</sup> Roberts, p. 136.

<sup>508</sup> Parker, p. 112.

<sup>509</sup> Böttcher, p. 344.

pressure on the north via occupation and the release of religious *Seligmacher* into Protestant territory in order to implement the Edict and to convert non-Catholic congregations.<sup>510</sup> And in turn, if Magdeburg's alliance had not led to its incineration, would there have been such a number of anti-imperial publications at that very time? In the case of Magdeburg, the answer seems obvious: the sudden advance of aggressive Habsburg Catholic policy in the Empire could well have contributed to an equal force of counter-resistance, which resulted in defensive alliances and a wave of media critical of Ferdinand's policies.

There is consequently good reason to argue that Ferdinand contributed to his own negative portrayal in Protestant propaganda. Even in the first few years of the war, most of the propaganda from the Catholic and Protestant camps was firmly in his favour. Although writing critical of some of his policies was in circulation due to the lack of a platform of debate, this did not seem significantly to have undermined Ferdinand's authority or led to a mass of critical portrayals.

It was only after invasion of Protestant territory, the Edict of Restitution and the announcement of imperial plans for the Baltic Sea that negative depictions of the Emperor began to outweigh the positive ones. After Swedish victories, some publications were particularly outspoken and direct in their criticism of the Emperor. An example of this is the broadsheet entitled *Warnung Mercury der Götter Bottenn*. Taking the form of a rebus poem, it warns Emperor Ferdinand to cease all hostilities unless he wants to face the wrath of Sweden.<sup>511</sup>

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<sup>510</sup> Böttcher, p. 332.

<sup>511</sup> *Warnung Mercury der Götter Bottenn* (1632). Reprinted in Paas, VI (1998), p. 196.

It can thus be concluded that while there was always writing critical of the Emperor during the Thirty Years' War, its success depended at least partly on his own treatment of both the Protestants and the princes of the Empire as a whole. A willingness to listen to the princes of the Empire, or even to lessen the severity of the Edict due to the pleas of the Electors, may have gone a long way to soothe anxieties in the Empire and to prevent the Protestants from adopting a more critical stance. Signs of compromise may have meant that even in the face of a body of critical publications on the Emperor, the Protestant princes and population may not have felt so desperate that they saw open resistance, unfavourable treaties with Sweden or the publication of anti-imperial propaganda as their only options.

#### *Propaganda on the Jesuits and the Emperor*

As mentioned in chapter one, the Jesuits were repeatedly accused in Protestant propaganda of stirring up trouble in the Empire and in the Habsburg crown lands. This criticism stemmed from their reputation as intransigent defenders of the Pope and of Catholic orthodoxy. They were accused of sin and corruption,<sup>512</sup> and were targeted by Protestant propagandists who sought to blame them for aspects of imperial policy. For this reason, this chapter's analysis of propaganda on Emperor Ferdinand II also contains an element of anti-Jesuit criticism. This criticism is unsurprising given the Emperor's close ties to the Jesuits from his childhood onwards. As mentioned in the biographical introduction to Ferdinand II, he was educated by strict Catholic Jesuits at a university chosen by his mother in her desire to remove him from all Protestant influences.<sup>513</sup> He was later accompanied throughout the entirety of his reign by a Jesuit confessor,<sup>514</sup> and it is thought that one father confessor in particular, Wilhelm

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<sup>512</sup> See Pfeffer's section on 'Die Jesuitenflugblätter', pp. 37-45.

<sup>513</sup> Angelika Franz, p. 45.

<sup>514</sup> Franz, p. 259.



Lamormaini, exerted a certain amount of influence on the policy of the Emperor, accompanying him during thirteen years of imperial service.<sup>515</sup>

Now that I have described the proximity of the Jesuits to the Emperor throughout his involvement in the first eighteen years of the war (1618-36), I shall now begin my analysis of the portrayal of the relationship of these two forces in Protestant propaganda.

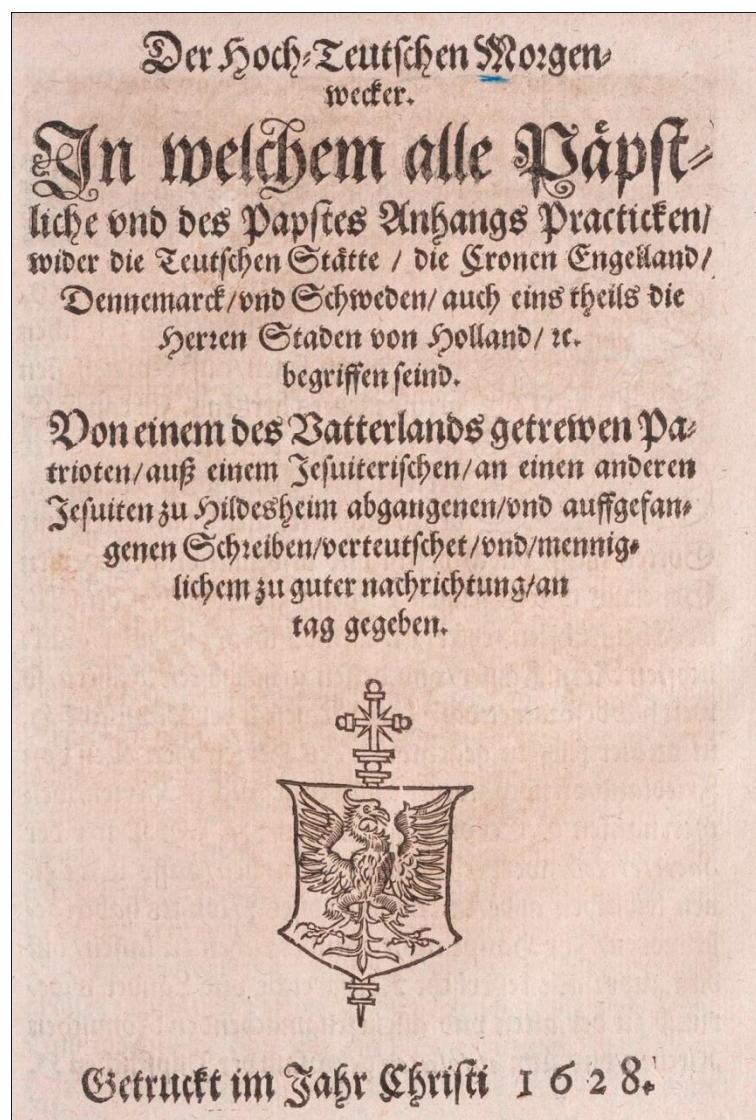
Chief questions include was the Emperor depicted as a helpless puppet of Jesuit plans, or as their fervent advocate? What were the overarching goals of Emperor Ferdinand II and the Jesuits, as portrayed in propaganda? Was there a unified portrayal of the relationship between the Jesuit Order and the leader of the Austrian Habsburg House? And lastly, what was the intent behind 'revealing' the close collaboration between the Jesuits and the Emperor?

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<sup>515</sup> Bireley, p. 3.

### Section One: Warning, Imperial Jesuit Plans Afoot

A 15-page pamphlet published in 1628 and entitled *Hoch-Teutschen Morgen=Wecker*<sup>516</sup> paints the image of an Emperor driving and shaping Jesuit plans designed to re-Catholicize the Holy Roman Empire and to subject it to papal will. Claiming to be the copy of a letter written by Ferdinand II's Jesuit father confessor Wilhelm Lamormaini, *Morgen Wecker* seeks to expose Jesuit and imperial designs which are dizzying in their ambition.



<sup>516</sup> For full bibliographical details see Chapter Two, Section One. Henceforth *Morgen Wecker*.

The 'letter' describes among other things plans to stamp out Protestantism in the Empire once and for all and to take control of the Netherlands, Denmark and the Baltic and North Seas.

*Morgen Wecker* has been selected for analysis because it serves as the starting point for a series of five anti-imperial pamphlets in the late 1620s, all of which provide insight into Ferdinand II's image in radical Protestant writing. Being the first of this series of critical publications, *Morgen Wecker* sets the tone of anti-imperial criticism and functions as a template for future pamphlets of the series. This group of pamphlets strove to reveal the 'truth' behind Vienna's policies and to warn the audience that the pressure under which the Hanseatic cities were placed in the late 1620s was part of a wider plan of Protestant enslavement to which Vienna, Rome and Spain sought to subject Europe.<sup>517</sup> There is evidence to suggest that the series enjoyed some popularity, as an abundance of prints and in some cases re-prints have survived until the present day, particularly in the case of *Magna Horologii Campana*.<sup>518</sup> This could be indicative of popular demand and a sign that the publications struck a chord with the contemporary audience. In any case, its message

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<sup>517</sup> Böttcher, p. 331.

<sup>518</sup> *Magna Horologii Campana, Sonans & exsuscitans ad justissima æquissimaque arma militaria recipienda, & longam exoptatam Pacem recuperandam : Das ist: Eine aller Welt hellautende Seiger-Glocke/ oder Wecker/ Den vor Gott vnd aller Welt höchst recht- vnd billichmäßigen Defensions-Krieg wiederum von den sämtlichen Conföderirten vnd Interessirten Christlichen Evangelischen Königen/ Chur-Fürsten/ Potentaten/ Republ. vnd Communen an die Hand zu nehmen/ den so lang gewünschten edlen Frieden in Deutschland vnd andern angränzenden benachbarten Ländern der Christenheit dermahl einsten hinwiederumb zu erlangen / Durch einen wohlmeinenden/ guthertigen/ trewen Deutschen Patrioten [...] an Tag gegeben* (1631), 136 pages. HAB: H: S 78.4° Helmst. (6) First print in 1629, reprints in 1631 and 1632. See online German catalogue of seventeenth century texts - VD17, Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts - for evidence: <http://gso.gbv.de/DB=1.28/SET=9/TTL=1/NXT?FRST=1/SHRTST=25>. Author unknown but debated in Böttcher, p. 330, footnote 17. Conclusion seems to be that pamphlet stems from a German emigrant living in the Netherlands, who was close to Christian of Halberstadt.

was still relevant several years after *Morgen Wecker's* publication, as the broadsheets *Schwedische Weck Uhr*<sup>519</sup> and *Der Deutschen Wecker*<sup>520</sup> show.

Aside from the thematic similarities of the *Wecker* series as warnings to the German Protestants in the late 1620s, their connection is also evident in the imagery of their titles. Four of the five publications, for instance, refer in their title to bell-ringing as part of a deliberately repeated metaphor of 'sounding the alarm'. The pamphlets are entitled, in chronological order, *Morgen-Wecker*, *Hansischer Wecker*<sup>521</sup> *Nachklang des Hänsischen Weckers*,<sup>522</sup> and *Magna Horologii Campana*. The remaining pamphlet of the series and the sole publication which does not explicitly refer to bell-ringing, is still thematically similar in its title to the 'wake-up call' of the others. Alluding to the revelation of truth, it is entitled *Wilt du den Käyser sehen*,<sup>523</sup> and is a warning regarding the danger posed to the German Protestants by Emperor Ferdinand II.

All of the pamphlets were published between 1628 and 1629. The authors have been identified as the Danish diplomat Jakob Steinberg (*Morgen Wecker*), the Swedish special envoy Christian Ludwig Rasche and Dutch resident Foppius van Aitzema (*Hansischer Wecker*), Christian Ludwig Rasche again (*Nachklang des Hänsischen Weckers*) and the

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<sup>519</sup> *DIEGERTICUM SUECICUM. Schwedische Weck Uhr* (1632) HAB: IH203.

<sup>520</sup> *Der Deutschen Wecker* (1631). HAB: 65.1 Pol. (2).

<sup>521</sup> *Hansischer Wecker, das ist: Trewhertziger Warnung an die arbare HaenseStaedte, so den 16. Julij jtztlauffenden 1628. Jahrs in Lübeck beysammen sein werden / Durch einen getrewen Patrioten kürztlich delineiret* (Hamburg 1628), 8 pages. HAB: A:173.6 Quod (42). Author named in text: Johann Altringer. Probable authors identified in research: Christian Ludwig Rasche and Foppius van Aitzema, Henceforth *Hansischer Wecker*.

<sup>522</sup> Christian Ludwig Rasche, *Nachklang Deß Hänsischen Weckers: Das ist / Copey Schreibens/ eines Patritii von Braunschweig/ An Einen Raths verwandten der Stadt Hamburg / darinnen derselbige wieder die allenthalben leuchtende und scheinende Friedens Grillen und Friedens Brillen/ den gantz kläglichen [...] Zustandt der HänseStädte für Augen stellet [...] Wie solchem über dem Häupt Schwebendem Unheil durch Göttlichen Beystandt annoch für zukommen sey.* (1629), 22 pages. HAB: M:Gm 2087 (5).

<sup>523</sup> Levin Marschall, *Wilt du den Kayser sehen? So Siehe hinten in diesen Brieff* (Mülhausen, 1629), 22 pages. HAB: A:67.6 Pol (1).

Danish politician Levin Marchall (*Wilt du den Käyser sehen*). *Magna Horologii Campana* is the only pamphlet whose author cannot be identified definitively. Böttcher's study into the text's creator attributes the pamphlet to a German emigrant living in the Netherlands.<sup>524</sup> One must be reminded here, however, that none of the above-mentioned pamphlets actually bear the author's name. Like virtually all of the Protestant propaganda I have investigated, the pamphlets were printed anonymously for fear of imperial punishment. The writings themselves were most likely prompted by authors' fears stemming from the imperial occupation of the coasts of the Baltic Sea and the perceived threat emanating from Catholic forces.

Indeed, the fact that the first pamphlet of the *Wecker* series was published in 1628 is not surprising given the circumstances at that time. For by 1628, the year that preceded the height of the Counter-Reformation and the summit of the Emperor's power, Ferdinand II had, from a Protestant perspective, achieved a frighteningly dominant position over the Empire. The conclusion of the Peace of Lübeck with Christian IV of Denmark in 1629 two years earlier<sup>525</sup> had signalled arguably the second most significant defeat of the Protestant party since White Mountain and saw imperial forces reach and occupy northern territories of the Empire after forcing Christian IV to retreat as far as Jutland.

Occupation by imperial armies in parts of the north was a highly uncomfortable situation for the Protestant camp, whose morale had been low since the defeat of its short-lived Danish defender.<sup>526</sup> Its anxiety had increased in the years following the Peace of Lübeck in particular in the light of Ferdinand II's obvious shows of Catholic bias. The prime example of these was the reward of General Wallenstein for his assistance in defeating Christian IV:

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<sup>524</sup> Böttcher, pp. 328-30. References in text but discussed in detail in footnotes 11, 12, 15, 16 and 17.

<sup>525</sup> Lockhart, pp. 192-4.

<sup>526</sup> Böttcher, p. 326.

Ferdinand gave him the territory of the dispossessed Dukes of Mecklenburg,<sup>527</sup> which added to the Bohemian possessions he had been granted in 1623 when he was awarded the title of the Duke of Friedland,<sup>528</sup> as well as through his appointment of Wallenstein as the admiral of the North and Baltic Seas. These acts simultaneously demonstrated Catholic partiality and signalled future imperial plans for the north of the Empire. Printed in 1628, *Morgen Wecker* is undoubtedly a product of Protestant fears at that time.

As already established, only one of the authors of the *Wecker* series is thought to be German, while the others were Danish, Swedish and Dutch. This shows that although the series was undoubtedly directed at a German Protestant audience, the *Wecker* publications stemmed at least as much from the fears of Protestants in neighbouring countries as from the German Protestants' own anxieties. Böttcher links the publication of *Morgen Wecker* to Wallenstein's attack on the Hanseatic city of Stralsund, an event he believes was interpreted by foreign Protestant powers as the beginning of the implementation of Habsburg plans for the Baltic, which prompted Danish diplomat Jakob Steinberg to publish *Morgen Wecker* and which caused Sweden to increase its own propagandistic efforts.<sup>529</sup> In consequence, the *Wecker* series can be viewed as propaganda stemming from radical Protestants both from within and outside of the Empire, all of whom attempted to shape the perception of Emperor Ferdinand II in order to influence the course of events to come.

*Morgen Wecker* must have attracted attention in the Empire after its publication, primarily due to its polemic content and its great hostility towards the Emperor. Arguably, it can be considered as the description of a 'worst-case scenario' that was designed to spur the Protestants into action against the imperial occupation of their territory. Suspicious of the

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<sup>527</sup> Parker, p. 70.

<sup>528</sup> Parker, p. 86.

<sup>529</sup> Böttcher, pp. 328-9.

Jesuits, intimidated by Wallenstein's occupying forces and unhappy at the announcement of imperial intent to develop a power base in the north, the author of the pamphlet encourages resistance to all three forces by painting a scenario tantamount to the sum of all Protestant fears: a Jesuit and imperial plot to use General Wallenstein as a weapon against the German Protestants and as a means to force their conversion to Catholicism.

The opening page of *Morgen Wecker* echoes these ideas, as the allegedly intercepted joint imperial-Jesuit writing 'reveals' the successful attempt undertaken by Ferdinand and his Jesuit collaborators to make General Wallenstein renew his oath to enforce a vigorous policy of re-Catholicization and subjugation to the Pope, both in the Empire and beyond:

Liebster Bruder in Christo. Ich kan [...] zu [...] continuation vnserer vertrauten Christlichen correspondenz / nicht verhalten / daß ich es / mit Gottes hülff / durch befehl vnd information des Herren Generals vnser seligen Ordens zu Rom / bey dem Aller=Christlichen / eyferigst=Catholischen / vnd aller=glücklichsten Röm:Käyser / vnd dessen geheimbsten Rähten / soweit hab beförderet: daß [...] deß Herren Hertzogen von Friedland [General Wallenstein] auff's neue einen leiblichen ayde [...] haben geschworen / Ihr Haupt nicht [...] ruhen zu lassen / biß daß zuvor alle ketzerische Königreiche vnd Länder widerumb zu der alten vnd allein seligmachenden Römischen Kirchen / vnd zum *absoluten* gehorsam der Pöpstlichen H. sie volkömlich gebracht habe. (*Morgen Wecker*, p. 2)

This opening page sets the tone of the pamphlet, which works with fear in order to prompt the Protestants into action. It also establishes the context of a ruthless and ambitious imperial and Jesuit scheme. It is realistic to assume that a contemporary audience would have been well aware of the danger and the determination of the Jesuits. In her work on the

Catholic Counter-Reformation in Europe, the historian R. Po-Chia Hsia described them as tools of papal supremacy, troops battling for 'Christ'<sup>530</sup> and one of the central forces behind the Catholic recovery in central Europe.<sup>531</sup> Due to these qualities and others, the Jesuits were subject to uninterrupted vituperative attack in Protestant propaganda throughout the war.<sup>532</sup> Some of this anti-Jesuit propaganda was not anonymous because even high-ranking Protestant clerics also belonged to those who publicly condemned the Order. An example of this is the publication of a sermon by the Saxon Court preacher Matthias Hoë von Hoenegg, who described a prominent Jesuit personality as an 'Ehrloses Lästermaul', a 'Blutthundt', 'Lotterbub', 'Bapstliche Blättling' and 'Liechtschewender Lästerey'.<sup>533</sup>

In view of their well-known reputation as papal troops, together with their defamation as dishonourable, bloodthirsty and depraved individuals,<sup>534</sup> the Jesuits were likely to have been believed by the reader to be more than capable of undermining Protestantism in the north. This makes the scheme seem realistic, as the ideas in *Wecker* served to reinforce fears of Jesuit activity that were current in the Empire, thus building on ideas of which a receptive audience would have been aware.

The credibility of this pamphlet, which purports to be a genuine imperial document, is increased by the detail it provides on the alleged offensive. For instance, specific Protestant

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<sup>530</sup> Hsia, p. 31.

<sup>531</sup> Hsia, p. 77.

<sup>532</sup> Pfeffer, p. 37.

<sup>533</sup> As quoted in Tschopp *Politik*. The pamphlet from which the original quotations were taken is: Matthias Hoë von Hoenegg's *Recepisse, Daß D. Matthiæ Hoe Churfürstlichen Sachsischen HoffPredigers zu Dreßden Leipzigsche Schlußpredig/ vnnd derselben angeheffte Verantwortung seiner auch zu Leipzig gehaltener Conventspredig/ Wider Mein Provisional Vidimvs, Mir Joanni Oedikhovio Nemeto, Theolog. Doct. Zu recht vberliffert/ von mir mit Fleiß durchsehen/ vnd wegen vieler darinnen begangenen Fähler/ Wechselstreichen/ schmähhlichen Anzügen/ vnd ohnverantwortlichen Bößlein/ jhme Authori zur Revision wieder heymgeschickt. Getruckt zu Meyntz Durch Hermann Meres/ im Jahr Christi 1631.* (1631), 2 pages. Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek; 4° Gs Flugschr. 1402), pp. 156-7.

<sup>534</sup> Pfeffer, pp. 37-45.



centres of power such as Magdeburg, Hildesheim, Braunschweig, Hannover and Hamburg are mentioned by name and the strategy to overwhelm and capture these strongholds are discussed in detail:

Die [protestantischen] Stätte / welche im Land ligen / alß Magdeburg [...] Hannover / vnd alle andere / welche keine Hülff oder assistentz von der See her haben können / sollen vnder allerhand pretexten ersuchet werden / guarnison zu pferd vnd zu fuß eynzunehmen: vnd so sie sich dessen verwäigeren / gestracks beläget / vnd mit gewalt eroberet werden. In diser classe soll ewer Statt Hildesheim (weil man darzu den besten pretext / vnd eine grosse reichthumb darinn zu gewarten hat) die erste seyn. Vnd möchte daselbst wol ein blutig exempel [...] fürgehen / dardurch bey den anderen die accommodation desto mehr zu facilitiren. (*Morgen Wecker*, p. 3)

*Morgen Wecker* consequently gives the alarming impression that the Jesuit and imperial plans are advanced and pitiless. As is evident in the quotation above, for example, Hildesheim is singled out for a particularly gruesome fate. Presented as a good starting point for the campaign, it is to be made a bloody example of in order to lessen the resistance of other cities on the Catholic warpath. In reality, this scenario has been designed by the author in order to lessen the resistance of the Protestant readers to the idea that they must break their loyalty to the Emperor. The pamphlet, by depicting an Emperor in agreement with a most brutal and merciless anti-Protestant scheme, discourages the Protestant readers from maintaining a moderate stance. Instead of remaining loyal to Ferdinand while being prepared to defend themselves if need be, they are encouraged to adopt a radical stance, declaring Ferdinand to be an enemy to Protestantism and agreeing to a counter-offensive designed to dismantle the imperial foothold in the north. Only this more radical

position will help to stop the Catholics in their tracks before they have the opportunity to launch a new, aggressive campaign.

Given that the success of the sheet depends on the reader believing that a grand scheme of imperial and papal enslavement is about to be implemented, the author skilfully chooses his wording in order to convince the audience that the pamphlet stems from Jesuit hands. As evident in the two quotations above, for instance, the opening paragraph begins with 'liebster Bruder', alluding to correspondence from one religious brother to another and later speaks of '[die] allein seligmachend[e] Römisch[e] Kirch[e]', a formulation often used to justify the pre-eminence of the Catholic confession over rival Christian groups. The second quotation revealing the planned capture of Protestant cities also demonstrates the much-criticized Jesuit 'trait' of greed. This is because Hildesheim is selected as a target due to the wealth that can be extracted from it. Allusions such as these, including references to the Protestants as heretics throughout the whole of *Morgen Wecker*, seek to give an impression of authenticity and to heighten the impact of the pamphlet as a hard-hitting exposé of imperial and Jesuit collaborative designs.

Yet in spite of scaremongering tactics concerning predicted Catholic offensives, the author of *Morgen Wecker* does work with some elements of truth. Its assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the Protestant camp, for instance, is realistic and the Catholic plans it outlines are technically feasible. It describes for example a Protestant camp that is capable of defence but has already been partially subdued, with just one sole Lutheran prince remaining (i.e. the Elector of Saxony) who is realistically capable of resistance to imperial forces. This accurately reflects of the situation in the Empire in the late 1620s. It is also not too far a stretch of the imagination to believe the pamphlet's claim that imperial strategy is

to keep the Elector of Saxony pacified while imperial plans unfold, before revoking concessions made to him at a later date. Furthermore, later in the text, when plans for weakening Sweden and Denmark are discussed, the pamphlet refers to imperial plans to encourage Poland to continue its war against the Swedes in order to undermine this Protestant power. This claim is most certainly based on elements of truth, as the Habsburgs did offer Poland aid in its ongoing conflict with Sweden. These examples demonstrate that a mix of realistic-sounding projections and the weaving in of actual fact were techniques used by the author to heighten the credibility of *Morgen Wecker* and to construct an image of Ferdinand II as an Emperor who had already begun to unfurl Catholic tentacles seeking to sap and strangle Protestant prey.

I have demonstrated that *Morgen Wecker* describes a grand scheme in which imperial forces are set to launch an aggressive offensive against the Protestant powers of the Empire as well as against the independent Protestant states of the Netherlands, Denmark and Sweden. Such an undertaking obviously necessitates the approval of Ferdinand II as head of the Holy Roman Empire, and his permission is described in the opening page of the pamphlet. But how is his role in these plans and in their development explicitly described? Is he a passive assistant to plans principally conceived by the Jesuits, or does he play a greater and more active role in the whole process?

The answer is not to be found at the beginning or in the middle of the pamphlet, but in its final two pages. For while Ferdinand's agreement is understood implicitly throughout the main body of the text, its final section is designed as a rude awakening due to the new light it sheds on the Emperor. Leading the reader to re-evaluate the whole of the previously

described offensive, it reveals that the Emperor is not a mere puppet or assistant to the plans, but rather the mastermind behind them:

Dieses [the letter] hab ich / auff außtrücklichen befelch Ihrer Käys:Maj: [...] geschrieben. [...] Dises ist ein werck / darauff die vollkommenheit der Catholischen Kirchen bestehet: vnd ich wolte [...] wünschen [...] [dass] diser vnser so gute saamen / in einen guten acker geworffen / Gott gefällige tausentfältige fruchte herfür brächte.

(*Morgen Wecker*, pp. 14-15)

The pamphlet is consequently presented as a letter that has been dictated according to the express orders of the Emperor himself and represents Ferdinand II's own ideas that have been put to paper by a Jesuit scribe (possibly his confessional father Wilhelm Lamormaini). As a result, it is Ferdinand's will and faith that are depicted to be the driving forces behind the plot to subjugate the Protestants and to restore the authority of the Catholic Church and the Pope in the Empire.

Now that the reader knows that this intercepted letter from one Jesuit to another is an expression of Ferdinand's will, specific sections of the text take on a heightened significance. In particular the middle section of the pamphlet is so written that it encourages the moderate Protestant reader, who has hitherto been reluctant to revolt against imperial authority, to adopt a more radical stance. The pamphlet argues that that the crusade against Protestantism justifies the use of violence and deceit against those who deny the Catholic faith. This includes the treatment of the Saxon Elector, who must be lied to in order to keep him unaware of genuine imperial intentions:

Allein Chur Sachsen [...] hat noch viel gelts / groß Land vnd Leuth. Aber [...] damit er den braten noch desto weniger schmäcken möge [i.e. so that he does not realize what

the real imperial plans are] / soll man ihme / biß daß die [protestantischen] Stätte [...] bezwungen seind / concediren, eynraumen vnd verstatten / alles das jenige / das man hernach eben so leichtlich / alß es concedirt ist / widerumb nemmen kan. Dann den Ketzeren glauben zu halten / ist [...] nicht anders / alß den Catholischen glauben verläugnen / vnd den armen verführten seelen mit voller post oder carriere zu der Hölle helfen. (*Morgen Wecker*, p. 5)

This makes for extremely effective propaganda because Ferdinand is presented as a ruthless zealot who subscribes to the maxim that the means justify the ends. This suggests that in effect, violence and deceit are sanctioned in order to convert the Protestants into Catholics. This Machiavellian attitude was legitimized by the fact that the re-Catholicization would lead to the saving of the heretical protestant soul.

Later in the same section, a view is attributed to the imperial camp that is articulated in a way deliberately designed to alienate the Protestant reader even further from Ferdinand II. A particularly insulting analogy is introduced which presents the Protestants as armed maniacs against whom deceit is the only option:

Seind die Catholischen bißhero nicht grosse Narren gewesen / daß sie ihr versprechen den Lutheranern vnd Calvinisten so lang gehalten haben? Es ist eben so viel / alß wann jemand [...] einem tollen wütenden Menschen / welcher ein blosses Messer / oder ein ander tödliches Wehr ergriffen / denselben vor schaden zu behüten / mit guten Worten vnd versprechen / ein bessers dafür zu geben / das Messer mit listen auß den händen könnte bringen / vnd ihme / zu folge seiner zusag / solches darnach widerumb gebe: solte man denselben nicht für einen doppelten Narren halten [...] vnd ihme auch zuschreiben all den schaden / so darauß folgen wurde? (*Morgen Wecker*, p. 5)

This passage argues that the Protestants are to be treated as dangerous and insane, a state which justifies the breaking of promises and the betrayal of their trust for their own greater good, not to mention for the security of the Catholics. The heretics must be saved from themselves. This fits in with the wider purported plans to disarm the Protestants, a process which includes the systematic capture of the Hanseatic cities in the north of the Empire, the storming of landlocked Protestant cities and a long-planned attack on electoral Saxony in order to crush Protestantism in the Empire once and for all.

Consequently, *Morgen Wecker* strives to undermine the image and reputation of Emperor Ferdinand II. The Protestant camp was always aware that the institutions of the Empire such as the Aulic council and indeed the Austrian Habsburg House itself was skewed in Catholic favour and had partly accepted this fact.<sup>535</sup> Yet the idea of the Catholic Emperor as the originator of plans for the total extermination of the Protestant faith both within and outside the Empire takes this bias to an extreme. Such extreme anti-Protestant policies would have been associated primarily with Spain, the Jesuit Order, or the Pope in Rome rather than the Austrian Emperor himself, who would have still been expected to feel a sense of duty to the Constitution and to the Peace of Augsburg. The intention behind this depiction is to eradicate vestiges of Protestant loyalty to a Catholic Emperor presented as malevolent and corrupt.

This interpretation contrasts starkly with Diethelm Böttcher's own analysis of the pamphlet, who maintains in his discussion of *Morgen Wecker* that the pamphlet is an example of how the Protestant publicists raged against the Pope, Spain, the Jesuits, General Wallenstein etc., but were deliberately careful and considerate in their treatment of Emperor Ferdinand

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<sup>535</sup> Brockmann, pp. 455-9.

II.<sup>536</sup> Yet I do not find this to be a convincing assessment of the text's content: for how can a 'letter' that reveals plans amounting to the total elimination of Protestantism in northern Europe and which additionally claims to represent the express instructions of Ferdinand II, be at all considered as an example of the gentler treatment of the Emperor in Protestant criticism? Surely the opposite is the case. By portraying Ferdinand as the motor and vehicle of the ruthless and bloody scheme, is he not placed at the very centre of harsh and radical criticism? The intention is not to shock the reader by the idea that there is papal, Spanish, or Jesuit involvement in such plans, which was to be expected. Rather, the aim of the pamphlet is to dismay the Protestants by the presentation of the Emperor not as a puppet of foreign Catholic will but as the driving force behind the eradication of Protestantism in the Empire. The pamphlet attempts to extinguish the last glimmer of hope that he will at least honour the religious rights that had already been accorded, even if he did not agree with Protestantism per se. Such a concentrated effort to drive a wedge of hostility between the Protestants and the Emperor due to an aggressive policy normally associated with foreign powers can therefore not be considered as an example of 'gentle Protestant criticism'. I have additionally located further evidence aside from the *Wecker* series that substantiates my view. The pamphlets *Colloqvium, Oder Gespräch / zwischen PAVLO V. Römischen Bapst / Kön. Würde in Spanien / vnd Ertzhertzogen Ferdinando zu Oesterreich* (1632),<sup>537</sup> and

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<sup>536</sup> Böttcher, p. 331.

<sup>537</sup> *Colloqvium, Oder Gespräch / zwischen PAVLO V. Römischen Bapst / Kön. Würde in Spanien / vnd Ertzhertzogen Ferdinando zu Oesterreich / u. Darinnen allerhand Mittel vnd heimliche Vorschläg an die Hand gegeben vnd erörtert werden / auff welche vnser geliebtes Vatterlandt / Teutscher Nation / zu vberziehen / vnd vnter das Joch zu bringen. Auß den heimlichen Vnderredungen der Jesuiten zu München vnd Ingolstatt verfasst / im Jahr 1608. Vnd an jetzo allen Protestirenden Evangelischen Fürsten vnd Ständen deß Reichs / zur trewhertzigen Warnung an Tag gegeben. Getruckt im Jahr Christi / M DC XXXII (1632), 7 pages. HAB: 20.2 Quod 1s. Henceforth Colloquium.*

GoldWage (1633),<sup>538</sup> all present Ferdinand as an extremely hostile, anti-Protestant force who must be resisted at all costs.

*Morgen Wecker* consequently attempts to demonstrate that Emperor Ferdinand II's attitude and policies have come to reflect those of his Jesuit advisors and the influences of his strict Jesuit education. It is implied that Ferdinand II can no longer be seen despite a Catholic bias as a largely neutral authority over the Empire. Instead, his collaboration and unity with agents of the Pope is brought to the fore. The complementarity of their wishes, demonstrated by the overlapping of the Emperor's 'speech' to his Jesuit scribe with the well-known goals of the Jesuit Order itself, shows that Ferdinand has become synonymous with foreign, hostile Catholic powers that threaten Protestant culture. As such, he is no longer a guarantor of the peace and security of the Germans in the Empire, but a threat to them. Portrayed as a reflection of papal and Jesuit ambition, he is depicted as intent on doing anything and everything in order to destroy the Protestants, including treachery, invasion and mass murder.

This is part of a wider attempt to convince the German Protestants that they must band together and resist imperial advances in the Empire. Evidence of this comes in *Morgen Wecker's* claims that one of the principal imperial strategies is to spread mistrust inside the Protestant camp so that its various constituents do not come to one another's assistance, roughly corresponding to a policy of 'divide and rule'. The pamphlet argues that the key to Catholic success is the continued disunity among the Protestant princes of the Empire and

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<sup>538</sup> *GoldWage / Auff den nöhtigen Aufzschlag der vnlengst entstandenen Frag: Ob dem Keyser der beschlossene Krieg anzukünden sey. Sampt Einer SPECIFICATION der anwesenden Stände vnnd Städte zu Heylbrunn / vnd was darbey vorgangen. praesentirt, Vnd redlichen Patrioten vnvergreifflich an die Hand gegeben Zu Heilbrunn / Durch: Ehrenhold Wagenern. Im Monat Martio. ANNO M. D.C. XXXIII (1633), 28 pages. HAB: 32.17 Pol 11s.*



the absence of alliances with foreign Protestant powers such as Denmark, the Netherlands and Sweden.

*Morgen Wecker* consequently works with fear in an attempt to pressurize the reader to act quickly against the imminent threat of Habsburg aggression. An anti-imperial stance is encouraged not only due to the grand scale of the offensive against almost the whole of northern Protestant Europe, but also as light has been shed on Ferdinand's true attitude toward the German Protestants: they represent the equivalent of deranged and dangerous subjects, a fact which justifies their ruthless subjugation.

To summarize, the pamphlet does not allow the possibility of any further loyalty to the Emperor. As the Emperor is in unison with the directives of the Jesuits and the Pope, the readers are given no alternative but to take to arms in order to prevent their own imminent destruction. Furthermore, the idea of resistance to Ferdinand is promoted as a patriotic one because the pamphlet warns that he is a threat to the entire Empire. Seen within this context, *Morgen Wecker* presents the printing of an alleged imperial letter as a wake-up call and as a last opportunity for the inhabitants of the Empire to fight off an offensive before it is too late.

## Section Two: The Fruits of Spain, Ferdinand II as a Spanish-Jesuit Coup

Other radical propaganda which describes the relationship between Ferdinand and the Jesuits does not entirely correspond to the image presented in *Morgen Wecker*. In contrast to *Morgen Wecker*, which portrays Ferdinand II to be the dominant force, other publications portray the relationship between the Emperor and the Jesuits to be skewed in the opposite direction. These texts depict the Emperor to be under the control of the Jesuits, who are able to manipulate and control the entirety of his actions and policies. Publications such as these show that there were different images of the Emperor in circulation.

The source *Spannische Kappe* (1634)<sup>539</sup> is studied in this section as it is representative of the argument that the Emperor was firmly in the grip of the Jesuits. In this way it is similar to *Colloquium Politicum, uber die Frag: warumb solt ich nicht schwedisch seyn?* (1632), which presents the Emperor as a Jesuit puppet,<sup>540</sup> and the pamphlet *Die zwar vielen vnangenehme [...] Frag* (1633), which ends with the argument that the Austrian House can only repair the damage it has done by freeing itself of Jesuit and papal bondage.<sup>541</sup> *Spannische Kappe* has been selected for detailed analysis above these other sources because it presents in detail the purported long-term influence that the Jesuits have exercised on the Emperor, and the way that he is viewed and used by the Order.

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<sup>539</sup> *Spannische Kappe Das ist Vngefahrlicher DISCURS oder erörterung der Frage / Ob das Hauß Spanien dann eben so gar groß vnd mächtig / daß sich alle Welt vorausß aber Teutschlandt davor fürchten müsse? Gestellet durch Einen trewen Teutschen Patrioten vnd beständigen Liebhaber seines Vaterlandes. [...] Gedruckt zu Franckfurt / Im Jahr M. DC. XXXIV.* (Frankfurt, 1634), 29 pages. HAB: A: 65.1 Pol. (4). Henceforth *Spannische Kappe*.

<sup>540</sup> *Colloquium Politicum*, page 15.

<sup>541</sup> *Die zwar vielen vnangenehme / Gleichwol aber sehr merck: vnd Sonderliche Frag: Ob nicht deß Ertzhertzoglichen Hauses Oesterreich Ruin / Fall / Auß: vnd Abschaff: oder Verstossung von deß Röm. Reichs Cron vnd Scepter dar / vnd für der Thür? Nicht so wol auß Weltlichen / als Heilschrift mit der Augenschein: ja Handgreifflichen Erfahrung wol vbereinstimmenden Gründen zwar kürztlich / doch nach der Gnüg erwiesen. M.DC. XXXIII.* (1633), 16 pages. HAB: 48.3 Pol 14s. Jesuit passage referred to is on page 16.

The 29-page pamphlet, which centres on the influence of Spain in the Empire and on the Habsburg/Catholic designs behind the war, presents the Emperor as a Spanish and Jesuit possession.<sup>542</sup> Alluding to a grand Spanish Habsburg scheme to unite the Holy Roman Empire and Spain under one universal Habsburg monarchy, the Jesuit education of Ferdinand II is portrayed as the fruit of persistent Spanish efforts to gain control of the Austrian Habsburg House.



<sup>542</sup> *Spannische Kappe*, p. 4.

Printed in 1634, this radical piece of propaganda could well belong to a Swedish propagandistic campaign between the years 1632 and 1635<sup>543</sup> which attempted to stifle reconciliation between the princes and the Emperor of the Empire. The need for such a campaign arose from the disunity which became painfully evident after the Protestant camp lost its unifying figurehead Gustavus Adolphus at the Battle of Lützen in 1632. Following his death, squabbles emerged in the Protestant camp, in particular between the Saxon Elector Johann Georg and the new leader of the Swedish command, Axel Oxenstierna, regarding the immediate goals of the Protestant campaign. While Johann Georg advocated peace negotiations with the Habsburg Emperor and reflected the attitude of an increasingly war-weary German population,<sup>544</sup> Axel Oxenstierna (reflecting primarily Swedish interests) urged further resistance to the Austrian Habsburg House in order to break its hegemony in the Empire once and for all. This was Sweden's public goal at the time, but equally demonstrated that Sweden only desired peace under certain conditions. The reason for this lay in the private aim of the Swedes not to sign any peace treaty until they had achieved such a conclusive victory that they could dictate its terms to include Swedish *assecuratio* and *satisfactio*. Satisfaction according to these terms would entail the cession of territory in the north of the Empire which would serve as a 'buffer zone' to increase Sweden's security, as well as the payment of high compensation costs to reimburse the country for its forced intervention.<sup>545</sup>

It is consequently within the context of Sweden seeking to drive a wedge between the German Protestants and the Emperor that *Spannische Kappe* was published. Through a discussion of Ferdinand's relationship to Spain, and to the Jesuits, the pamphlet seeks to

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<sup>543</sup> Böttcher, pp. 350-4.

<sup>544</sup> Böttcher, p. 353.

<sup>545</sup> Roberts, pp. 62, 72, 154-5, 183.

discourage the audience from making peace with the Emperor by presenting the Habsburg dynasty as a threat to the German Protestants, the Holy Roman Empire and even to Europe itself.

*Spannische Kappe's* principal depiction of Ferdinand's relationship to the Jesuits. comes towards the beginning (pages three and four), which assert that after years of attempting to establish a universal monarchy, but being hampered by the valiant efforts of foreign powers as well as the princes and Electors of the Empire, Spain's efforts have finally borne fruit via the Jesuit education of Ferdinand II, which has moulded him into the ideal puppet for Jesuit and Spanish plans:

Daß die Herrn Spaniarden auß angebohrner Hoffart / Geld / vnd Ehrgeitz / lange mit diesem Hauptgebeude der vermeinten [universal] Monarchie umbgangen / ist nunmehr gnung bekant / weil durch Gottes Gnade / vnd deß glorwürdigsten Königs in Schweden / auch anderrein=vnd außländischer eyfriger Potentaten vorsichtigkeit / ihnen die Masque redlich von der Nasen geruckt worden. Es ist vnlaugbar [, dass] [...] schon [...] in den vorigen Teutschen Kriegen [Spanien] [...] die beste occasion von der Welt darzu gehabt / aber die Außländischen Stände / sonderlich Franckreich [...] vnd Churf. Moritzen<sup>546</sup> hohes Ansehen / zuförderst aber Gottes willen haben es damals nicht zulassen wollen. Nachmals haben sie bey dem Ferdinando I. Maximiliano II. Vnd Rudolpho II. auch mit|gewalt angebäumet / Es hat aber auch deren keiner [...] Ohren darzu gehabt [...] Bey dem jtztigen Käyser Ferdinando II. Ist es ihnen (ihrem vemeinen

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<sup>546</sup> This refers to Elector Moritz of Saxony (1521-1553), who supported Emperor Charles V in his struggle against a band of Protestant princes during the Schmalkaldic War (1546-7), and was rewarded for his loyalty with an Electoral Dignity, but turned against the Emperor in 1552 in order to prevent King Phillip II of Spain being named as the next Holy Roman Emperor. Charles's brother and deputy of the Habsburg German lands, Ferdinand I, was selected as his successor instead, an action which separated the Habsburg lands into Spanish and Austrian parts. For information on these events see Gonda, pp. 55-61.

nach) erst recht gelungen. denn der war in der schoß der Christlichen Kirchen / das ist / von den Jesuiten erzogen worden / er hatte / wie es in öffentlichen druck ein zwiefach juramentum Fidelitatis gegen der Röm: Kirche abgeleget / vnd schon eine gute Proba seines Catholischen eyfers in Steyer-marck gethan / er war in ihren augen das tügligste Subiectu zu diesem Handel vnd mit einem Wort zusagen / ihr mancipium [= formal purchase, possession, slave<sup>547</sup>]. (*Spannische Kappe*, pp. 3-4.)

Put simply, *Spannische Kappe* portrays Ferdinand II as a slave to the Jesuits. The oaths that he swore to the Pope during a week-long stay in Rome during his childhood, in which he vowed to re-Catholicize both his hereditary lands and the Empire itself,<sup>548</sup> are alluded to as evidence of his successful training by Jesuit hands, as is his suppression of Protestantism in his home territory of Steiermark.

His description as their ‘subject’ and ‘possession’ addresses one of the questions of this section because it shows that *Spannische Kappe* presents Ferdinand II still to be firmly under the sway of the Jesuits, a fact that is explained in terms of his education. This description corroborates Silvia Serena Tschopp’s finding, who in her study on religious propaganda relating to Gustavus Adolphus comments that Ferdinand II was often presented in war propaganda as a ‘Fanatiker, Katholik und Jesuitenknecht’.<sup>549</sup> Ronald Asch also supports this view, stating that in the wake of Magdeburg, the Empire was swamped with pamphlets accusing the Emperor of having been seduced by Jesuits who wanted to transform the Empire.<sup>550</sup> *Spannische Kappe*’s portrayal consequently has an impact on Ferdinand’s suitability as leader of the Holy Roman Empire, because the text suggests that the ruler is

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<sup>547</sup> <http://www.latin-dictionary.net/q/latin/mancipium.html>

<sup>548</sup> Günther Franz, pp. 258-9.

<sup>549</sup> Tschopp, p. 319.

<sup>550</sup> Asch, p. 106.

controlled by hostile papal agents, whose agenda to root out Protestantism in the Empire and to restore loyalty to the Pope was no secret. That these so-called troops of the Pope are also collaborating with Spain re-enforces this idea of Ferdinand as a hostile figure to the German Protestants. This is because Ferdinand is depicted to be under the persuasion of not one but two feared representatives of foreign Catholicism.

The text's play on 'good' and 'bad' foreignness in the above quotation is also worthy of comment. It is evident that in the Empire's bid to preserve its autonomy, foreign powers such as Sweden and France are singled out for their role in helping the Germans to ward off hostile Spanish Catholic offensives. This builds on the thesis developed in the first two chapters of my investigation, because the intervention of foreign potentates is justified in Protestant propaganda by presenting them as 'German-friendly' defenders of the Empire's interests. Such powers are also presented as friendly because they collaborate with native defenders of the Empire, including the princes and the Electors. Moreover and as in the first two chapters of my investigation, the idea of friendship with foreign powers and the legitimacy of their interventions are encouraged through the assertion that they represent God's will. The argument that France aided the thwarting of Spanish schemes not permitted by God, for instance, would also have provided the reader with assurance that support of foreign powers was an act of Christian faith.

In contrast to the foreign powers supportive of the Empire and implicitly of Protestantism too, Ferdinand II is shown to belong to an altogether different and unwelcome foreign sphere: one which seeks to harm the Empire and represents a threat to its culture. This message overlaps with that of *Morgen Wecker*, although the role played by Ferdinand in the power structures does not. For the Austrian Emperor is described as a cog in the machine of

a host of foreign Catholic powers who are conspiring to overthrow the status quo in the Empire in order to bring it in line with their own Catholic vision. This contrasts with *Morgen Wecker's* presentation of the Emperor as the driving force of such plans. In *Spannische Kappe*, it is Spain that is at the forefront of the plotting, and who is wholly supported in its actions by the Jesuits. Jesuit help also implies the consent to Spanish plans of another Catholic power unbending in its desire to re-Catholicize the Empire: the Pope, who was the Jesuits' political and spiritual authority.

The implicit argument behind this portrayal is that Ferdinand as head of the Holy Roman Empire can no longer be trusted. This argument is rooted in his portrayal as a leader moulded by agents of the Pope and directed by this Order and Spain. Furthermore, he can no longer be said to represent the interests of the Empire and of its people: instead, he must be seen as a weapon that is being used against them, because he represents the most apt tool yet developed by Spain and the Jesuits to subject the Empire to their will. This encourages the reader to believe that continued resistance to Ferdinand II is a patriotic act, for reconciliation with the Emperor will only mean the continued presence of a Catholic figurehead who slavishly supports plans of Catholic foreign powers that endanger peace and the confessional culture of the Empire. The contrast between *Morgen Wecker* and *Spannische Kappe* is thus one of nuance, as the former presents the Emperor as actively assisting in anti-Protestant plans, while *Spannische Kappe* presents Ferdinand to be passively allowing himself to be used as a weapon against Protestantism. Though the connotations are different and largely involve the degree of free will the Emperor is able to exert vis-à-vis the Jesuits, the effect is the same: one way or another, Ferdinand must be resisted because he represents a danger to the Protestant confession.



### *Conclusion on Ferdinand and the Jesuits in Protestant Propaganda*

Both pieces of propaganda studied here present the image of an Emperor who has strong links to the Jesuits. The sources' only difference is which of these two forces they portray to be dominant over the other. *Morgen Wecker* gives the impression that Emperor Ferdinand II is the driving force, while *Spannische Kappe* presents the Emperor as being utterly dominated by the Society of Jesus.

Regardless of who is depicted as the dominant force, the effect is largely the same. The audience is given the impression that the Emperor can no longer be trusted and that he is an embodiment of foreign and hostile will. Given that the imperial plans and Jesuit plans outlined in the investigated sources are vehemently anti-Protestant, it is clear that this propaganda aimed to alienate the Protestant camp from Ferdinand II.

The sources work with hostile and intimidating images of Ferdinand in order to eliminate any residual loyalty among the moderate Protestants in particular, who constituted a large portion of the Protestant camp and seemed to seek the impossible in hoping for a full restoration of their rights while remaining faithful to the Emperor at the same time.<sup>551</sup>

It is not difficult to see why the portrayal of Ferdinand as Jesuit-friendly was chosen in an attempt to drive a wedge between him and the Protestants. As already demonstrated, it is undeniable that the Emperor had a strong link to the Jesuits and their collaboration would have been apparent to the contemporary public. This was visible in the Emperor's Jesuit education, his lifelong use of theological advisors and his accompaniment by prominent Jesuit father confessors such as Wilhelm Lamormaini. His promotion of the Order on an institutional level must have also been obvious: the Emperor supported wholeheartedly the

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<sup>551</sup> Böttcher, p. 334.

growth of the Jesuit Order. Shortly after his death, for instance, there were two dozen Jesuit colleges, nine further ones under development and just thirteen years after the end of his reign, the Jesuits had come to control or run the entirety of the monarchy's major universities.<sup>552</sup> Public demonstrations of Ferdinand's trust in and proximity to the Order, for instance when his confessor Wilhelm Lamormaini represented him at the Regensburg electoral Meeting in 1630, must have seemed like further evidence of the Emperor and Jesuit Order's strong collaboration and unity in will.

The life of the Emperor was thus closely interlinked with the Society of Jesuits. As a typically pious Habsburg Emperor,<sup>553</sup> who was arguably the first Habsburg ruler to embrace fully the Counter-Reformation, it is evident that he shared some of the ambitions of the Jesuit Order, which sought tirelessly to restore the Catholic Church as the only valid Christian confession in Europe and to reconvert the Protestant masses.

Ferdinand demonstrated this Catholic zeal by first suppressing Protestantism within his own Austrian archduchies. Later, in the first decade of the war, he implemented Counter-Reformation policies in Bohemia, Moravia and to a lesser degree in Silesia and Lusatia. At the same time as revealing himself to be a bold anti-Protestant figurehead, he empowered the Catholic Church and the Society of Jesuits in particular to help him in his endeavour. Expelling Protestant clergy from the above-mentioned territories and threatening the remaining Protestant nobles and laity with conversion or exile, Ferdinand made the work of the militant Jesuit Order easy. The long-heralded goal of complete conversion of the Protestants seemed at least in Ferdinand's crown lands to be on the path of success, as Ferdinand allowed a veritable small army of international clerics to enter these largely

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<sup>552</sup> Ingraio, p. 37.

<sup>553</sup> Ingraio, p. 33.

Protestant territories with a mission to re-Catholicize all of their inhabitants. The greatest contribution to this movement was made, as is to be expected, by the radical Society of Jesus.<sup>554</sup>

In turn, the Catholic clergy and the Society of Jesus sang the Emperor's praises and strengthened his authority wherever they could. A famous example of this is the Emperor's confessional father Wilhelm Lamormaini, who extolled the virtues of the Emperor following his announcement of the Edict of Restitution.<sup>555</sup> Similar acts of mutual imperial-Catholic support included Catholic clerics' public endorsement of Ferdinand's Providential interpretation of many events of the war, including the survival of his government officials at the Defenestration of Prague, the Victory at White Mountain and his rescue from two sieges. This interpretation and its public support gave the impression of a divinely backed imperial-Catholic campaign. And last but not least, the Catholic clergy emphasized the Habsburg dynasty's link to saints, popularized legends linking the Habsburgs to the Eucharist and used popular devotion to propagate the idea that God had entrusted the Habsburg dynasty with the mission of defending the True Church against its opponents.<sup>556</sup>

The above being the case, it is not surprising that Ferdinand was portrayed in propaganda as a figurehead firmly in league with the Jesuits. Their support for one another was not hidden from the public, but emphasized. The Emperor's display of support for the Jesuits was lavish through his promotion of their educational establishments, and he made use of their militant energies in the reconversion of his crownland subjects. Their additional involvement in major political decisions, such as the decision to literally tear up the Letter of

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<sup>554</sup> Ingrao, pp. 34-39.

<sup>555</sup> Bireley, p. 78.

<sup>556</sup> Ingrao, p. 37.

Majesty,<sup>557</sup> and their support in implementing the Edict of Restitution, all gave the impression that the Emperor was pursuing policies which corresponded entirely to the wishes of the Jesuit Order.

The propaganda investigated in this section consequently played on contemporary fears of an Emperor that did not only seek to reconvert Protestants in his own hereditary possessions, but in the Empire as well. Following the success and rapidity of Catholic conversion in the crown lands and the dominant position the Emperor gained over the Empire, the propaganda makes the prospect of a Habsburg and Jesuit-led crusade against the Protestants of the Empire seem a real and credible possibility, among other techniques via 'exposing' letters approved by Ferdinand himself.

Although this proved to make credible and successful propaganda due to paranoia concerning Jesuit and imperial policies, it must not be forgotten in closing that Ferdinand II was not, in spite of all appearances, a fanatical pupil of the Jesuits. Instead, it must be remembered that Ferdinand saw in Protestant rebellion a threat to order and to Habsburg authority, in both his hereditary lands as well as in the Empire. Coming to power in the middle of a crisis in 1618, during which he was besieged twice and deposed from the Bohemian crown by a Calvinist pretender, Ferdinand II forged a strong link with the idea that Protestantism caused unrest and encouraged disobedience to Catholic Habsburg authority.<sup>558</sup>

In this context, Ferdinand's re-assertion of Catholicism can be understood as a tool used to re-stamp the authority of his own dynasty on the lands over which he ruled. The link between the rebels and Protestantism provided him with a legitimate pretext to hit two

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<sup>557</sup> Ingraio, p. 35.

<sup>558</sup> Evans *Monarchy*, p. 68.

birds with one stone: the expulsion of subjects resistant to Catholic Habsburg authority could be combined with the implantation of Catholic noble families and with the general conversion of the territories in order to eliminate the danger of confessional strife. Of course, Ferdinand also saw reconversion as a worthy goal in itself, as it concerned the salvation of souls, but in particular at the beginning of his reign, he undoubtedly used the imposition of Catholicism in his crown lands as a means to regain control over territories and populations that had mounted serious challenges to his authority.

In sum, one can see that a conscious collaboration between Ferdinand II and the Jesuit Order, partly due to confessional belief, partly due to dynastic peril, led to a concerted and largely successful effort to re-convert the Habsburg crown lands and to further the Catholic cause in the Empire. Fears of this collaboration were played on in radical Protestant propaganda from the late 1620s onwards, which used the idea of a Jesuit-friendly and Jesuit-controlled Emperor to encourage the Protestant audience to reject Ferdinand as a figure of neutral authority. Describing the Emperor as a Jesuit possession and as the instigator of a bloody imperial campaign to silence the Protestants once and for all, the propaganda urged the readers to believe that loyalty to Ferdinand II was no longer an option. By stressing that the Emperor was an aggressive force who was in league with hostile representatives of foreign will, the propaganda called on the Protestant audience to wake up to imperial danger before it would be too late. The following, final two sections of analysis demonstrate a similar argument in which Ferdinand II was depicted to be close to another hostile representative of foreign Catholicism: Spain.

## Spain: A Fearsome Catholic Power

In order for us to understand why another strain of Protestant propaganda sought to denounce Ferdinand II by associating him with Spain, it is worth briefly outlining this Catholic country's position and reputation at the time. The following paragraphs seek to explain the reasons why Spain was both feared and despised, and how propaganda of the war can be seen as part of a long-running tradition of anti-Spanish criticism.

### *The Greatest European Power*

At the dawn of the seventeenth century, Spain was the dominant power on the European continent. It loomed large on both the European and world stage due to possessions in Europe, America, Africa and the Far East, a large portion of which were acquired in the sixteenth century.<sup>559</sup>

Its ruthless quest to establish Catholicism in these dominions, the intimidating fleet and armies at its disposition, as well as its attacks on European countries in the last decades of the sixteenth century all led to hostile images of Spain that continued well into the seventeenth century, despite the fact that Spain's policy of domination and conversion had in certain respects quietened down.<sup>560</sup> So-called evidence of a continued expansive Spanish policy was perceived in the country's dogged determination to claim possession of the entirety of the Netherlands, despite the fact that this war had already brought the Spanish crown finances close to collapse several times.<sup>561</sup>

Unbeknown to the rest of Europe, this war was actually a sign of Spain's (economic) weakness, rather than its strength. For Spain found itself miserably ill-equipped to compete

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<sup>559</sup> Asch, p. 41.

<sup>560</sup> Asch, pp. 35-6.

<sup>561</sup> Asch, p. 42.

with the Dutch in the grain, dried fish, and textile industries and was additionally unable to ward off Dutch encroachment on Spanish and Portuguese spheres of influence in Asia.<sup>562</sup> Spain's assaults on the Netherlands consequently stemmed more from desperation than confidence.

### *Lingering European Mistrust*

It was fear of Spain's power and intentions, as well as its continued aggression against the Netherlands which led several European countries to view Spain with great mistrust and suspicion. Possibly the most mistrustful and hostile of all was France, whose foreign policy was at times undoubtedly shaped by fear of Spanish attack.<sup>563</sup> Sharing a border to the east with the Austrian branch of the Habsburgs and to the south with the Spanish wing, France saw Spain as well as the connected Habsburg dynasty as a threat to its security and was determined not to fall victim to a joint Habsburg assault.<sup>564</sup>

In the seventeenth century, this mistrust of Habsburg power and a desire to weaken it were the main factors which led France to intervene in the Thirty Years' War. France provided financial assistance to enemies of the Austrian Habsburgs and in the later years of the war raised troops of its own to battle against this wing of the Habsburg dynasty. In a parallel show of Habsburg hostility, France also declared war on Spain in 1629, and waged war against this Habsburg heavyweight until 1659.<sup>565</sup> Both acts were attempts to weaken what was perceived as an intimidating and powerful Habsburg dynasty, the main threat of which was considered to emanate from the more ambitious the Spanish wing.<sup>566</sup>

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<sup>562</sup> Asch, pp. 42-3.

<sup>563</sup> See for example Asch's discussion of French policy from 1629 and into the 1630s, pp 119-25.

<sup>564</sup> Bosbach, pp. 101-2.

<sup>565</sup> Asch, p. 79.

<sup>566</sup> Bosbach, pp. 97, 101.

France was not alone in its hostility and mistrust. European countries that had been previous targets of Spain or which were currently engaged in warfare with it were well aware of the threat that it posed. This included England, whose monarch Elizabeth I had successfully warded off an invasion by the Spanish armada in 1588 and whose successor James I pursued an appeasement policy in the seventeenth century because he could not afford a Spanish war,<sup>567</sup> Italy, which was largely dominated by Spain in the first few decades of the seventeenth century,<sup>568</sup> and the above-mentioned Netherlands, which fought a bitter War of Independence between 1568 and 1648<sup>569</sup> in a bid to extricate itself from a Spanish Habsburg grip.

*Spain and the Austrian Habsburgs: An Uneasy Relationship*

The relationship between the Austrian and Spanish Habsburg Houses was complicated and at times both a blessing and a curse. The Thirty Years' War is a chief example of this, as a militarily weak Ferdinand II gratefully accepted Spanish help in the initial stages of the war, but in doing so simultaneously gained the enmity of a growing number of outside powers keen to reduce the threat posed by Spain to the European balance of power.<sup>570</sup>

Ferdinand II's acceptance of Spanish help consequently secured and paradoxically threatened his position, because the collaboration between both wings of the Habsburg dynasty heightened the general paranoia concerning the House's designs for Europe. Yet in reality, the two branches were never as close as they seemed. Mutual assistance, for instance, was not always guaranteed. There are numerous examples of how in the course of the war, help was offered by one side of the dynasty to the other when this help

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<sup>567</sup> Asch, p. 39.

<sup>568</sup> Asch, p. 79

<sup>569</sup> Asch, pp. 34-5, 127.

<sup>570</sup> Ingraio, p. 44.



strengthened its own position, but assistance was denied when it did not offer any obvious advantages.

Key examples include the above-mentioned Spanish help at the start of the war. It was actually in Spain's interests to aid the Austrian Emperor at that time, because Ferdinand II was a pivotal ally in its struggle against the Dutch and Friedrich V, the latter of which posed a threat to Spanish supply lines between Spanish territory in Italy and the Netherlands.<sup>571</sup> That being so, both branches profited following the defeat of Friedrich V at White Mountain: Ferdinand II had defeated his Bohemian rival, simultaneously strengthening his authority over his crown lands, and Spain was granted temporary control over the strategic Rhenish Palatinate ahead of its resumption of war with the Dutch Republic.<sup>572</sup>

Along similar lines, the Austrian Habsburg House was not afraid of defying Madrid's wishes when these were not considered to be in Austria's best interests. Instances of this include Ferdinand II's refusal to heed Spain's advice not to transfer Friedrich V's electoral Dignity to Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, Austria's unwillingness to provide Spain with assistance in the Netherlands and Austria's unilateral decision, to the outrage of the Spanish statesman Conde-Duque Olivares, to withdraw from the Spanish war against Mantua.<sup>573</sup>

Thomas Brockmann's study into the politics of Ferdinand II has concluded that although each wing of the Habsburg dynasty was dependent on the other and desired to maintain the unity between the Houses, they each also tried to gain the maximum yield from this constellation in relation to their individual dynasties. Each branch strove to secure the other's help in their own affairs, while endeavouring not to promise involvement in the

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<sup>571</sup> Ingraio, p. 32.

<sup>572</sup> Ingraio, p. 44.

<sup>573</sup> Brockmann, p. 462.

other wing of the dynasty's local crises. On this account, in order to secure help, each side of the Habsburg House adopted the strategy of portraying what was essentially a local crisis as one that threatened the whole of the Habsburg dynasty.<sup>574</sup>

Yet the decisive factor as to whether assistance was granted was not always determined by the positive return that a helping branch could expect to receive. Part of the reason for their uneasy relationship, in particular on the side of the Austrian branch, was due to internal opposition to their union. Ferdinand II, for instance, reached a 'critical limit' in the assistance he was able to provide Spain during the Thirty Years' War. An overstepping of this mark, due to the tensions involved, could have resulted in a rift between the Austrian Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria, as well as the Catholic princes of the Empire.<sup>575</sup>

There was in fact a long-running resentment of Spain among the princes of the Empire, because the Austrian link to this Catholic power was held for the reason behind a century-long conflict with France.<sup>576</sup> In addition, and as was to be expected, the Protestants of the Empire were particularly fearful and mistrustful of Austria's connection to Spain, and feared that Spain would seek to establish the Inquisition in the Empire, and eventually a universal monarchy, both of which would have dire consequences for the Protestant confessions. Although these fears were mostly paranoia and were voiced primarily in propaganda (as discussed below), the Protestant princes were right to believe that Spain and its influence worked against them: Charles V, for instance, Holy Roman Emperor between 1519-1556 and ruler of the Spanish Empire between 1516-1556, was known for his attempts to maintain religious uniformity in the Holy Roman Empire. Considered to be an element of Spanish influence, the desire to rid the Empire of this culminated in Charles's brother, the Roman

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<sup>574</sup> Brockmann, p. 461.

<sup>575</sup> Brockmann, p. 461.

<sup>576</sup> Ingraio, p. 48.

King Ferdinand I, rather than his son, King Philip II of Spain, succeeding him as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>577</sup> The link between Spain and anti-Protestant attitudes was also evident in the later Emperors Rudolph II and Matthias I. Both were educated at the court of Philip II of Spain, and are jointly thought of as being the originators of the Habsburg belief that only a uniform Catholic society could be trusted to remain loyal.<sup>578</sup>

Austria's relationship to Spain could indeed be useful, but proved at times to be detrimental to peace within the Empire. The Austrian Habsburg House had to tread carefully in order to avoid the wrath of Spain's European enemies,<sup>579</sup> and was only really able to evade war with Spain's archenemy France through the Ferdinand III's decision to disassociate the Austrian from the Spanish Habsburg House. This was achieved by signing a separate peace with France at the Peace of Westphalia which effectively denied Spain help in its struggle against this rising European power.<sup>580</sup>

In the following analysis it will become evident how the reality of the relationship between the wings of the Habsburg dynasty is presented in all altogether different light so as to present the dynasty as a force to be feared.

### *The Black Legend*

Within the context of propaganda directed at Spain, alleged atrocities committed by the Spanish<sup>581</sup> led to the creation of the so-called Black Legend in the sixteenth century.<sup>582</sup> The Legend was made up of four strands of criticism, which combined to create a severely hostile image of Spain. It criticized the country for the following alleged traits: the brutality and

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<sup>577</sup> Ingraio, pp. 26-7.

<sup>578</sup> Ingraio, p. 29-30.

<sup>579</sup> Ingraio, p. 27.

<sup>580</sup> Ingraio, p. 52.

<sup>581</sup> Pollmann, p. 73.

<sup>582</sup> Pollmann, p. 75.

arbitrariness of the Spanish Inquisition, the vice of King Philip II, the inherent immorality of the Spanish people and Spain's desire to establish a universal monarchy.<sup>583</sup>

Originating in Italy, the Black Legend was propagated most widely by the Dutch, and variants of it existed in England, France, and in the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>584</sup> All of the above-mentioned accusations levelled at Spain and its people were described in the Black Legend to stem from one sole attribute: the 'Spanish' element of the Spaniards. This was said to be at the root of their criminal behaviour, and had developed due to the mix of Spanish blood with that of the Pagans, Jews and Moors. The Black Legend alleged that this mixture of blood had created a society with a corrupt character and whose defining features were arrogance, brutality, and thirst for power.<sup>585</sup>

But what was the purpose behind the circulation of such a 'Legend'? The answer is simple: it made for effective propaganda. Blending patriotism with xenophobia, it was designed to evoke a militant response from its readers. Although it is difficult to define exactly what was meant by 'self' and 'foreigner', as touched on earlier in this dissertation in the section on the Other, the question of national identity was a sensitive one. There were different kinds of xenophobia in the Empire in the Early Modern Period, including those stemming from religious boundaries as well as national insecurities. Of course, there was xenophobia against the religious Other due to their non-Christian practices and the possible threat they posed to Christendom. This has been already been discussed in the section on the Muslim and Oriental Other. Yet there was also xenophobia against other social and political influences that were feared to be diluting German identity and tradition. This type of xenophobia is evident in the so-called 'Allamodo' propaganda, which was directed against

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<sup>583</sup> Pollmann, p. 74.

<sup>584</sup> Pollmann, pp. 75-7.

<sup>585</sup> Pollmann, p. 74.

French, Spanish, and Italian fashions and manners. This propaganda focused in particular on courtiers and noblemen from these countries, and made fun of their alleged bragging, foppishness, indolence, stilted speech,<sup>586</sup> as well as their overly-flamboyant hairstyle and dress. This propaganda tried to dissuade the German audience from imitating their Latinate neighbours, and encouraged them to keep to German traditions.

Although at its root, the Black Legend constituted anti-Catholic propaganda, and in this was closely linked to Protestantism, propagandists had found that anti-Catholic propaganda on its own was not always incendiary enough in order to produce a crusading response from its target audience. The idea of a homeland and a native culture under threat from corrupt foreigners, however, was able to provoke (and justify) stronger responses.<sup>587</sup>

It is for this reason that the Black Legend was used as a rallying call during several wars in Europe in the sixteenth century. An example is the Schmalkaldic War (1546-47), when Charles V attacked the Schmalkaldic League that had formed to protect the Protestant Church. During this conflict, the Black Legend was used to legitimize resistance to the Emperor, as well as to guard against the accusation of treason.<sup>588</sup> The propaganda described the Emperor and the Empire as being threatened by foreigners, most prominently by Italian clergy, but also by the Spanish, and used the traditional argument that resistance to the Emperor could be justified in the light of an Emperor surrounded by evil and foreign advisors.<sup>589</sup>

This example highlights the way in which the Black Legend functioned *de facto* as anti-Catholic propaganda, although it was cloaked in patriotic rhetoric. During the Schmalkaldic

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<sup>586</sup> See Pfeffer's section *Ein "Alamode"-Flugblatt*, pp. 45-50.

<sup>587</sup> Pollmann, p. 92.

<sup>588</sup> Pollmann, p. 78.

<sup>589</sup> Pollmann, p. 79.

War, it was able to portray the battle as one between the Empire and hostile foreigners.<sup>590</sup> The focus of the propaganda was consequently not religion, but a supposed war of cultures, which had the advantageous side-effect of not alienating German Catholic readers. Consequently, the Black Legend was highly effective as it was able to legitimize rebellion by playing on patriotism and xenophobia. It depicted Emperor Charles V as hispanized and consequently keen to establish a universal monarchy (discussed below) and to introduce the Spanish Inquisition in the Empire. Its focus on protection of one's own culture against outside invasion also linked the Black Legend to arguments used in previous conflicts. This justified rebellion in the light of upholding old values and lent the arguments of the Black Legend a sense of continuity.<sup>591</sup> The whole time, though, the Protestant-driven Black Legend was undermining the authority of the highest representative of Catholicism in the Empire, and can even be seen as an extension of arguments used by Martin Luther himself, who criticized foreign and Catholic others.<sup>592</sup>

In short, we can see that Spain was both unpopular and hated in many parts of Europe, and that this hatred manifested itself in the publication and circulation of hostile propagandistic tracts in a number of European countries. This means that there was a well-known tradition of writing that presented seventeenth-century Spain as a hostile and Catholic power, which in a sense prepared the way for the perception of Spain in the Thirty Years War. In the following analysis, I will demonstrate the way in which these stereotypical views inform the presentation of the Spanish in the propaganda of the Thirty Years' War.

### *Spain and the Universal Monarchy*

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<sup>590</sup> Pollmann, p. 79.

<sup>591</sup> Pollmann, p. 80.

<sup>592</sup> Pollmann, p. 79.

As mentioned in the above discussion of the Black Legend, Spain was accused in propaganda of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of desiring to establish a universal monarchy. But what was meant by this? And why was there so much propaganda dedicated to the topic?

The definition of a universal monarchy could be vague,<sup>593</sup> but it was generally used to describe a power with hegemony over a group of other states or powers. A universal monarch was a figurehead able to make laws for the world, and who lent authority to powers beneath him.<sup>594</sup> 'World' in this context was often understood as the 'world of Christendom' or 'Europe', all of which were considered to be synonyms.<sup>595</sup>

Given that Spain was a dominant and expansive power in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was at this country that the accusation of desiring to establish a universal monarchy was most often levelled,<sup>596</sup> because it was perceived to pose the greatest threat to the sovereignty of the other European states. Spain's association to the idea no doubt deepened fear and negativity towards the country, especially since the concept of a universal monarchy was held as an immoral one, believed to stem from ambition and rapacity.<sup>597</sup>

In his discussion of the term as it was used in the Thirty Years' War, Franz Bosbach explains that this accusation was an excellent way to discredit the accused monarch or power because Roman tradition, which had been revived in medieval times and in the sixteenth century, propagated the idea that war waged for desire and power was nothing more than

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<sup>593</sup> Bosbach, p. 88.

<sup>594</sup> Bosbach, pp. 89-90, 92.

<sup>595</sup> Bosbach, p. 93.

<sup>596</sup> Bosbach, p. 88.

<sup>597</sup> Bosbach, p. 94.

robbery. This exposed the accused monarch to criticism for being 'pravus, impius and iniustus', or wicked, impious, and unjust.<sup>598</sup>

As Spain was linked to Austria dynastically via the Habsburg House, opponents of either branch often cited an alleged Habsburg intent to establish a universal monarchy in Europe or over the world as a means to justify their opposition or rebellion in propaganda. This accusation helped revolts against Habsburg authority to gain some legitimation because the founding of such a monarchy was regarded as a breach of law and consequently made resistance to the Emperor / higher authority permissible.<sup>599</sup>

Through this introduction it has been demonstrated that Spain's success in the sixteenth century and its rise to the status of a great power led to fierce criticism of the country in that and the following century, times when the other European states saw in Spain a threat to their own sovereignty and to the general peace in Europe.<sup>600</sup> Readers of Protestant propaganda in the Holy Roman Empire would have been well aware of Spain's presentation as a corrupt power desiring a universal monarchy. In fact, there were over 270 pamphlets published in the course of the war which discussed Spain's purported desire for world domination,<sup>601</sup> and many on the topic of the Black Legend. As I will discuss in the analysis sections below, radical propaganda aimed to denounce Ferdinand II by building on these depictions, as his ties with Spain and his agreement to its plans were emphasized to the reader.

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<sup>598</sup> Bosbach, p. 94.

<sup>599</sup> Bosbach, p. 87.

<sup>600</sup> Bosbach, pp. 94-5.

<sup>601</sup> Peer Schmidt, *Spanische Universalmonarchie oder „teutsche Libertet“; Das spanische Imperium in der Propaganda des Dreißigjährigen Jahres* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2001). Henceforth Schmidt.



### Section Three: Spain and Austria in [Un]holy Union

Although there is a host of propaganda focusing on the relationship between the Austrian and Spanish Habsburg Houses, *Colloquium* (1632) and *Spannische Kappe* (1634) have been chosen for detailed analysis in this chapter. This is because they are linked to number of other relevant sources that denounce the Emperor by connecting him to Catholic powers, principally Spain and the Pope. One such source is *Die zwar vielen vnangenehme [...] Frag*<sup>602</sup> (1633), which is forceful in its view that the Austrian Habsburg House is doomed to crumble and perish due to its promotion of the anti-Christian policies of the Pope, its general corruption and sinfulness, and its worship with Spain of the 'whorish' animal of war.<sup>603</sup> Yet *Die zwar vielen vnangenehme [...] Frag* has not been selected for analysis as it does not go into enough detail on the specifics of the relationship between the Austrian and Spanish Habsburg branches. Similarly, the pamphlet *Ein sonderbare Missiv*<sup>604</sup> (1620) makes much of Spain's corrupt influence on the Empire<sup>605</sup> and plays on elements of the Black Legend,<sup>606</sup> but it does not mention Ferdinand II's stance on the issue. A final useful source which links Spain and Catholicism to religious strife in the Empire is the pamphlet *Nun bin ich einmal*

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<sup>602</sup> *Die zwar vielen vnangenehme / Gleichwol aber sehr merck: vnd Sonderliche Frag: Ob nicht deß Ertzhertzoglichen Hauses Oesterreich Ruin / Fall / Auß: vnd Abschaff: oder Verstossung von deß Röm. Reichs Cron vnd Scepter dar / vnd für der Thür? Nicht so wol auß Weltlichen / als HeilSchrift mit der Augenschein: ja Handgreifflichen Erfahrung wol vbereinstimmenden Gründen zwar kürztlich / doch nach der Gnüg erwiesen. M.DC. XXXIII (1633), 16 pages. HAB: 48-3-pol-14s. Henceforth *Die zwar vielen vnangenehme [...] Frag*.*

<sup>603</sup> *Die zwar vielen vnangenehme [...] Frag*. These views are expressed on pages 15, 11, and 6-8 respectively.

<sup>604</sup> *Ein sonderbare Missiv / oder Denckwürdiges Schreiben an Ihre F. Durchl. auß Bayern H. Maximilianum / verfertigt vnd abgangen Durch Christophorum von Vngersdorff intercipirt durch G. O. Anno M. DC. XX. Poco faggio sipnò dir colui, che perde il suo per acquistar l'altrus (1620), 18 pages. HAB: 37 Pol 9s. Henceforth *Ein sonderbare Missiv*.*

<sup>605</sup> *Ein sonderbare Missiv*, pp. 13-15.

<sup>606</sup> *Ein sonderbare Missiv*, pp. 11-12.

*Catholisch worden* (1630),<sup>607</sup> which discusses Catholicism in the Empire and its links to Italy, Spain, foreignness and disunity,<sup>608</sup> but does not articulate clearly enough their connection to Ferdinand II and to the Austrian Habsburg House. By contrast, *Colloquium* and *Spannische Kappe* constitute the sources which most clearly articulate Ferdinand II's relationship to Spain and use this Spanish association to denounce him in propaganda.

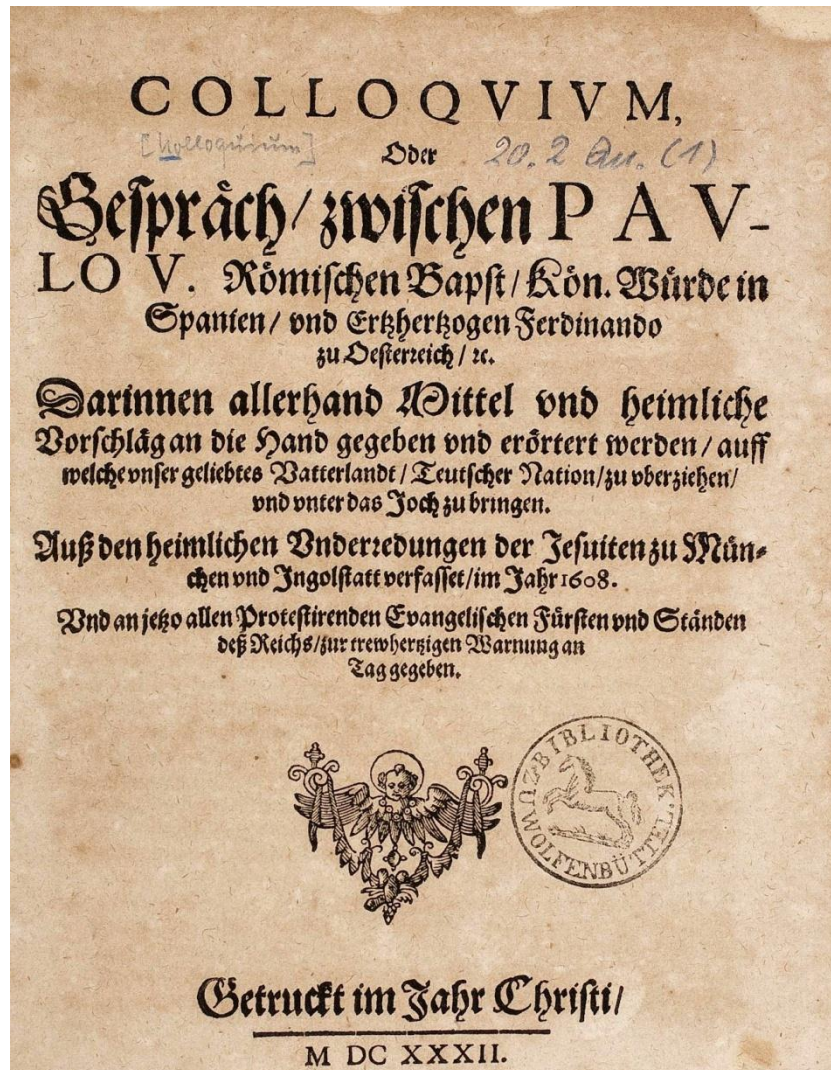
Published in 1632, *Colloquium* depicts the alleged plans of Ferdinand II, Spain (presumably alluding to Phillip III), and Pope Paul V in 1608 to defeat the Protestants of the Empire and the Netherlands. Plans to submit the Empire to a Catholic yoke is a pattern of argument that has already been discussed in relation to Emperor Ferdinand II and the Jesuits' presentation in *Morgen Wecker* (1628). *Colloquium* builds on this description of Catholic plots but portrays the Spanish Habsburg House, rather than the Jesuit Order, as Emperor Ferdinand II's principal co-conspirator. It additionally differentiates itself from *Morgen Wecker* by using a retrospective lens that is designed to provide 'proof' of the implementation of long-running Catholic plans. It links events before 1632 to the purported goals of the Pope, Spain, and Ferdinand II (then Archduke of Austria) in 1608. This differs from the largely anticipatory perspective of *Morgen Wecker*, which mainly warns of what is to come. *Colloquium*, by contrast, gives the impression of an offensive that is already well underway. Both pamphlets are similar in function as they serve as 'warnings' of the dangers posed to the Empire by collaborating Catholic forces, be they imperial-Jesuit or imperial-Spanish alliances.

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<sup>607</sup> *Nun bin ich einmal Catholisch worden / vnd habe mich endlich accommodiret. In welchem Die REw vnd Gewissens Angst der Abgefallenen entdeckt. Auch allen / so wohl Abgefallenen / als Ertzpäbstlern / gute Mittel vnd heilsame Vorschläge gethan werden / wie sie ihr Gewissen befriedigen vnd in so schweren Fällen mit GOTTes Hülffe ihnen selbst wiederumb rahten können. Im Jahr O PII estote patientes, In fline ViDebIMVs CVIVs sit conl. Erstlich gedruckt zu Leipzig / In verlegung GOTTFRIED GROßENS / Buchhändlers* (1630), 32 pages. HAB: s-311-4f-helmst-5s. Reprinted in 1631. Henceforth *Nun bin ich einmal Catholisch worden*.

<sup>608</sup> *Nun bin ich einmal Catholisch worden*, pp. 8-9.

*Colloquium's* focus on the latter alliance and the agreements made between Ferdinand II and the Spanish Habsburg House is evident in its title page:



The main aim of *Colloquium* is to function as an exposé of the bad behaviour of the Emperor as well as to reveal the secret agreements that he has entered into with hostile Catholic powers. It is designed, as is indicated in the last lines of the title page above, to show the Protestant princes and subjects of the Empire the root cause of the war: plans of Protestant elimination driven by Emperor Ferdinand II and Spain. Its year of publication, 1632, is also surprising given the special events of that time.

In late 1631 and in early 1632, King Gustavus Adolphus reached the zenith of his power, before unexpectedly dying in the Battle of Lützen on the sixteenth of November.<sup>609</sup> The plenitude of his power in 1632, as well as his untimely death, led a wave of pro-Swedish propaganda to sweep over the Holy Roman Empire, as the Protestants' confidence initially rode high,<sup>610</sup> but which later in the year had to be bolstered due to a wavering enthusiasm for the Swedes following the death of their charismatic leader. During a year in which the German Protestant party was unified under Gustavus Adolphus, but which was led following his death to reflect on the merits of reconciliation with Emperor Ferdinand II,<sup>611</sup> it is not surprising that the radical propagandists produced texts particularly critical of the Emperor at this time.

They sought to capitalize on the opportunity afforded by these events to strengthen their overarching campaign, which was to persuade the moderate Protestants to break their loyalty to the Emperor once and for all. As a result, they linked the virtue of Gustavus Adolphus and the 'righteousness' of the Protestant cause to the divine support apparently being shown on the battlefield. And in times of Swedish-Protestant tragedy, such as the King's death or the Sack of Magdeburg, the radicals stressed with renewed vigour the dangers posed to the German Protestants by figures such as Emperor Ferdinand II. These years even saw some writers advocating the jettison of the entire Imperial Constitution.<sup>612</sup>

*Colloquium* belongs to this branch of propaganda which sought to encourage sustained loyalty to the Swedish campaign.<sup>613</sup> By painting a hostile image of the Emperor, it is

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<sup>609</sup> See Michael Robert's portrayal of this year in the chapter 'The Plenitude of Power', pp. 141-61.

<sup>610</sup> Böttcher, pp. 347-51.

<sup>611</sup> Böttcher, pp. 351-55.

<sup>612</sup> Böttcher, p. 349.

<sup>613</sup> Böttcher, p. 352.

designed to push the Protestants further into the arms of the Swedish King or towards his replacement Axel Oxenstierna.

Loyalty to the Swedish campaign is encouraged via the revelation of a threatening alliance between Spain, Emperor Ferdinand II, and the Pope. The main thrust of the pamphlet's content is that these three powers are working together in order to subjugate the Protestants of the Empire and in Ferdinand's crown lands. The first page of the dialogue between the Catholic trio provides evidence of this. Spain vows to the Pope that it will deal with the German Protestants as soon as the Netherlands have been pacified. At the same time, Ferdinand laments that the 'heretical' princes of the Empire will not provide any further war contributions towards battle against the Turks. Protestant non-cooperation is depicted to stem from their awareness of where the money is being channelled, i.e. to aid Spain in its war against the Netherlands and to fund the Emperor's war against the Protestants themselves:

Bapst. Herzlieber Sohn [...] wollen die Ketzterische Fürsten vnd Stände die begehrte Contribution vnder dem Schein deß Türcken Kriegs proponirt, noch nicht verwilligen?

Ferdinand. Allerheiligster Vatter im wenigsten nicht [...] sie seyen in Erfahrung kommen / wie vff E. H. Begehren / ein grosser Theil so vieler Million / die so viel Jahr hero zu dem vorgewendten Türckischen Krieg erlegt / seyen in Spanien vnd Niederlanden geschleiffet worden / vnd weil an jetzo der Hertzog in Bayern auff E. H. Begehren / ein stattliche Kriegsmacht viel Jahr her zusammen bracht / vnd ihm mit Donawerth so wol gelungen / so fürchten die Ketzerische Stände / solch Kriegsmacht möchte auch wider sie gebraucht werden.

[...] Spanien. Allerheiligster Vatter [...] so wollen Wir vnser Kriegsmacht nach gemachtem Frieden mit den [niederländischen] Staden / durch Vnser Hertzogthumb Meyland / dann auch durch Tyrol ins Bayerlandt führen / vnd die Ketzterische Stände bald vnter den Gehorsam der Römischen Kirchen helffen bringen. (*Colloquium*, pp. 3-4)

This opening page consequently portrays the war as nothing more than a pretext for Spain and Austria to subjugate the Protestants. As a result it quickly becomes apparent that *Colloquium* blurs fact and fiction. While it is true that the war was sparked by religious tensions, and that Spain helped Emperor Ferdinand to defeat the Protestant forces defending Friedrich V at White Mountain, *Colloquium* tries to convince the reader that a general defeat of Protestantism was the objective of the collaborating Habsburg Houses long before the war began. Consequently, past events are skewed to make them seem part of a long-term offensive.

The above quotation is also demonstrative of *Colloquium's* agenda: it presents Emperor Ferdinand II and Spain's policies as intertwined and heavily anti-Protestant. This emphasis on their unity of action, and to an extent on their synonymy, goes hand in hand with the idea of an Emperor who is unsuitable as a neutral arbiter of justice. The description of his Catholic prejudice makes him seem threatening to the peace and subjects of the Empire. This is because his loyalty is shown to be firmly to Spain and the Catholic cause rather than to the Imperial Constitution. He is depicted to be protective only of the Catholics of the Empire, and does not object to the foreign Catholic power of Spain invading the Empire in order to bring its subjects back to obedience to the Roman Catholic Church. This shows a

lack of respect in particular for the concept of *cuius regio, eius religio*,<sup>614</sup> that is, the right of the princes of the Empire to decide the confession of their subjects. If we link this portrayal to the questions posed in the introduction to this section, we see that the relationship between Emperor Ferdinand II and Spain is presented as harmonious and symbiotic. Both are bound together by their loyalty to the Catholic cause and by their goal to eliminate Protestantism within their spheres of influence.

*Colloquium* presents Spain and Austria as warriors of the Catholic cause throughout its text. In an echo of propaganda depicting the Emperor and the Jesuit Order's plans, Ferdinand is revealed to be ready to use deceit and betrayal in order to achieve the re-Catholicization of the German Protestants. This willingness is evident in his wholehearted agreement with papal plans to turn the Lutherans and the Calvinists against one another, so that they can be suppressed with greater ease. This mirrors the argument expressed in *Morgen Wecker*, and provides further evidence of a concerted campaign to present Ferdinand II as a treacherous Emperor.

However, and at the same time, *Colloquium's* insistence on the danger posed by Spain is one of the main features that distinguishes it from *Morgen Wecker*, whose shrill tones stem principally from the argument that the Pope and his Jesuit minions are about to overthrow Protestantism in the Empire. The pamphlets' structure and form are also different: *Morgen Wecker* consists of fifteen pages and is written in the form of a letter from one Jesuit to another, while *Colloquium* has just seven pages and is structured as a three-way dialogue. While it can be assumed that the author of *Colloquium* was aware of the content of *Morgen Wecker* due to its popularity, the former should not be considered as a direct 'response' to

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<sup>614</sup> Asch, p. 10.

the latter, despite the 'echoes' that can be distinguished between them. Instead, they can be seen as two independent yet mutually supportive documents: although *Colloquium* is not confirming the prognostications made in *Wecker*, it serves as further 'proof' that Catholic powers are still doggedly pursuing their plan of Protestant obliteration.

In fact, *Colloquium* emphasizes that the Emperor's is willing to use all force and means necessary to achieve his goal. This reinforces the idea that he is not interested in the Empire's peace, or the welfare of its non-Catholic inhabitants. Catholic supremacy is all that matters:

Bapst. [...] Wann dann die Ketzer durch das Mittel getrennet seynd / so muß man die Calvinischen erstlich vberziehen / vnd damit sie kein Hülff haben möchten / solle der Imperator alle die in die Acht thun vnd erklären / so den Calvinischen helffen / vnnd hierdurch den Lutherischen die Hand biethen / biß solche Art vertilget / dann soll er auch den Lutherischen den Religions Frieden auffheben / die dann als ein schwacher Hauff leichtlich zu zwingen werden seyn.

Ferdinand. Wir haben mit Vnsern Räthen der Societet Jesu / auff diesen Weg längst gedacht / dadurch die Lutherische vnd Calvinische Ketzer zu trennen. (*Colloquium* , pp. 4-5)

*Colloquium* consequently accuses the Emperor of betrayal and warmongering. And these are not the only negative traits that the source ascribes to the Emperor. It is not long before he is charged with foolishness because the pamphlet hints that his own backstabbing of his subjects will be paid in like kind. In a simultaneous demonstration of Ferdinand's alleged stupidity and a continuation of the theme of Catholic deceit, the source reveals that the Emperor himself is being manipulated, as the Pope intends to depose him and to place



Phillip III of Spain at the head of a new Catholic Europe as soon as re-Catholicization is completed:

Bapst. Hertzlieber Sohn [...] wir wollen die Lutherischen Stände bald zur Einigkeit der Römischen Kirchen vnd vnserm Gehorsam bringen. Wann solches verrichtet / so soll nicht allein der Venediger / sondern auch der Holländer vnd deß Königs in Franckreich / vnd deß in Engelland Hochmut vnd Trutz bald ein End nehmen / allein du vnser lieber Sohn Philippe / wende Fleiß an / vnd laß den Staden alle mögliche Mittel fürtragen / damit nur ein Zeitlang im Niderland ein Fried gemacht werde / vnnd du mit deiner Macht in Teutschlandt kommen mögest / so soll Vnser Vornehmen in wenig Jahren zu einem guten End gelangen: Vnd du Vnser liebster Sohn / sollest zu einem Catholischen König vnnd Monarchen vber gantz Europam von Vns gemacht werden / welches wir dir jetzo heimlich vnd in ein Ohr sagen / darmit es dein Schwager Ferdinandus nicht höre. (*Colloquium*, p. 5)

This presents the reader with the frightening image of papal plans to bring the whole of Europe back within the Catholic fold, and to place Spain at the head of a newly created Catholic Europe. The irony of Catholic-backstabbing cannot have escaped the reader, as it is made clear that Ferdinand's betrayal of his own subjects paves the way for his own ultimate betrayal by Spain and the Pope. Once again, *Colloquium* echoes the theme of *Morgen Wecker*: the audience is warned that the Emperor is blindly following Catholic plans which will have disastrous consequences for the Empire. The above quotation also demonstrates further links between this source and other anti-Spanish propaganda due to its mention of a universal or European monarchy led by Spain. As mentioned in the introduction to this section, there was a huge body of pamphlets which warned of an impending Spanish

universal monarchy and informed the audience of the Black Legend before, during, and after the Thirty Years' War.

The quotation also shows that although the united Habsburg goals of re-Catholicization are the same, their union is not portrayed as a partnership of equals. Indeed, the source depicts the Pope to hold the Spanish Habsburgs in much greater esteem than the Austrian ones. Possibly due to Spain's greater military power, the source portrays the Pope to be leading Ferdinand II towards his own demise, while at the same time carving out a greater destiny for Phillip III. The irony of Ferdinand implementing a policy which will lead ultimately to his own demise ridicules the Emperor. This portrayal is an attempt at humour designed to make the reader laugh at the foolishness of Ferdinand II and to release tension. As Coupe points out, and as I have discussed earlier in this dissertation, the use of humour and satire in seventeenth-century publications was a technique designed to balance out the more shocking revelatory elements of polemic writing in order to leave the reader informed and aware, rather than petrified.<sup>615</sup> In my opinion, though, this instance of humour demonstrates that Coupe's theory does not hold true for all sources of propaganda. Instead, one can see that some attempts at humour were unsuccessful in relieving the reader's tension. The description of a conniving Emperor, for example, who will in turn meet his own comeuppance by a conniving Pope, cannot have afforded the reader any comfort at all. Especially when they see that the result of Ferdinand's deposition would be a radical overhaul of the Empire in which Spain would become its new leader. This scenario destroys any sense of initial Schadenfreude at Ferdinand's downfall, and leaves the reader with only the frightening image of a naively pro-Catholic Emperor, who is about to open the door to a Spanish power that has already eliminated all challenges to Catholic orthodoxy in its native

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<sup>615</sup> Coupe, p. 80.

territory. This shows that Coupe's identification of humour as a means to release tension depends in large part on the skill of the propagandist. If the writer is not careful, the humour can fall flat and even intensify fears. This is the case with the above joke, as a Protestant reader cannot have enjoyed the image of a Catholic leader being replaced by one with an even greater reputation as a champion of Catholicism.

This portrayal of Ferdinand as an imminent victim of hostile, foreign Catholic powers presents a highly negative image of him to the audience. It builds on the opening pages' depiction of him as an untrustworthy, staunch advocate of Protestant elimination, and it reveals him additionally to be a fool. This echoes the sentiment of page three of *Spannische Kappe*, discussed in the Jesuit section of this chapter, in which Ferdinand is described as an unwitting slave to Catholic designs. Both sources present the same image of an overzealous Catholic Emperor, who can no longer be trusted, and who is about to cause, directly or indirectly, havoc in the Empire. Consequently and in the same vein as other analysed sources on the Emperor, *Colloquium* is a warning: the Protestants must recognize that they are being threatened by anti-Christian forces, above all the Emperor, Spain, and the Pope, and they must unite in order to survive Catholic plotting. This warning is summed up in the closing paragraph of the pamphlet, which stands apart from the 'revelatory' dialogue and is written in bold. Combining patriotic and religious rhetoric, it urges the German Protestants to reflect on their situation and to recognize the dangers that they face:

O Ihr Edlen Teutsche Fürsten vnd Stände / erkennt durch Gott / was dieser abgesagte  
Feind alle Rechtgläubige Christen durch deß Satans vnd der Jesuiten Antrieb /  
Blutdurstigen beschlossen.

Derohalben thut mit ewern Vnderthanen rechtschaffene Buß / last ab von Verachtung  
 Göttliches Worts / wachet / betet / mit höchster Einigkeit zusammen / so werdet ihr  
 endlich mit Gott den Sieg erhalten.

Es seyen auch alle Fürstliche Persohnen hiermit gewarnet / dann mann ihnen  
 allenthalben mit Gifft / mit Fewr / mit schiessen vnd andern heimlich oder öffentlich  
 nachzutrachten bestellt. Der Allmächtige wolle sie alle bewahren. (*Colloquium*, p. 7)

In conclusion, one can see that many of the characteristics that defined the relationship between Ferdinand and the Jesuits reappear in the portrayal of Ferdinand's relationship with Spain and the Papacy. This repetition of related ideas suggests a unified Protestant campaign to undermine the Emperor's authority over Protestants throughout the Empire. This creates a forceful argument to reject the Austrian Emperor as a neutral arbiter of justice, peace and as a defender of the Imperial Constitution, as an interconnecting propaganda campaign confronts the reader with the same image time and again: the Pope, the Jesuits and the Habsburgs are all working to re-subject the Empire to a Catholic, papal yoke.

#### Section Four: The Hispanized Austrian House of Habsburg

While *Colloquium* describes the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs' unity of action, *Spannische Kappe* builds on this depiction by focusing on Spain's influence on the Austrian Emperor Ferdinand II. It attempts to discourage the reader from remaining loyal to the Austrian Habsburg House by portraying it as hispanized. This extends the ideas of *Colloquium* because *Spannische Kappe* claims that the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs' indivisibility is evident not only in terms of their policy, but also in the light of symmetrical mindsets and sinfulness. The following section seeks to investigate the way in which *Spannische Kappe* presents a hispanized image of Ferdinand II in the framework of a wider argument that the Emperor is anti-Protestant and foreign Catholic-controlled.

The beginning of the text provides a useful starting point for analysis of the hispanized image of the Emperor. This part of the twenty-nine page pamphlet has been touched on earlier in this chapter due to its description of Ferdinand II as a Jesuit-Spanish coup. As has been discussed, it portrays the Jesuit education of the Emperor to be the fruit of deep-rooted efforts by Spain to gain sway in the Empire, and characterizes him as a Jesuit-Spanish slave. In this assertion, the way in which *Spannische Kappe* extends the ideas of *Colloquium* becomes apparent: while the latter portrays the two Habsburg powers as bound together by their commitment to the Catholic cause, the former argues that this Catholic zeal has its root in the conditioning of the Austrian Emperor by the Spanish Habsburgs.

In the same initial pages of the pamphlet, *Spannische Kappe* attempts to provide proof of the successful 'Spanish' education of the Austrian Emperor by citing Ferdinand's policy of Protestant persecution within his hereditary territory of Steiermark.<sup>616</sup> In doing this,

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<sup>616</sup> *Spannische Kappe*, pp. 3-4.

*Spannische Kappe* creates a link between the idea of a hispanized Emperor and the current threat posed to the Protestants of the Empire by Catholic forces. Its argument is that Ferdinand became staunchly anti-Protestant due to his exposure to Jesuit-Spanish conditioning, and proved this early on by embarking on a campaign of re-Catholicization in his own lands. This provides a framework of interpretation for Ferdinand's actions in war leading up to *Spannische Kappe's* publication in 1634. The pamphlet argues that he is a hispanized Emperor enforcing harsh Catholic policies in the Empire. This would not have been a very reassuring image to the moderate Protestant readers, who still sought a peaceful reconciliation with the Emperor and a re-affirmation of their religious rights. Instead, mention of Ferdinand's campaign of Protestant persecution would serve to plant doubts in the reader's mind as to the willingness of the Emperor to compromise. The emphasis on his harsh treatment of the Austrian Protestants makes his actions seem to echo those of the Spanish Habsburgs in their own dominions, who ruthlessly enforced religious uniformity in Spain and propagate Catholicism in the New World. The intent behind this characterization of Ferdinand as a persecutor of the Protestants is to persuade the reader that Ferdinand displays the same tendencies and follows the same policies as the monarchs of Spain. This portrayal encourages the readers to view the entire Habsburg dynasty as a homogenous, hispanized, threatening enemy.

The idea of the Austrian and Spanish House constituting one and the same threat is further evident in *Spannische Kappe's* description of the reasons behind the outbreak of war. The conflict is claimed to stem both from the impiety of the general population and from the insatiable thirst of the Habsburg House to dominate the Empire and beyond:

Fragt man nun nach den Vrsachen [des Kriegs] / so werden sich deren eigetlich zwey befinden / als 1. Vnsere vberheuffte Sünden/ damit wir Gott den HErrn schwerlich ja also gar erzürnet / daß er vns [...] ein Gebiß in Mund legen müssen / vnd [...] ein jeder die schwere Zorn straffe vor sich auff seinem Rücken mehr den gnungsamb fühlet.

Die andere Vrsache / so das arme Teutschland in ruin gesetzt / ist die vnersäthliche begierde zu herrschen / darinnen dann vor andern das Hauß Spanien / vnd neben ihme das Hauß Oestereich so gantz ersoffen / daß es ihme auch eine Monarchiam vnd absolute beherschung deß Röm. Reichs vnd der gantzen Welt einbilden dürffen / daran es auch nunmehr mit höchster mühe vnd vnsaglichen kosten / so viel lange Jahr gearbeitet / vnd / wie sich viel bedüncken lassen / albereit ein ziemblich Fundament darzu gelegt. (*Spannische Kappe*, p. 2.)

Once more this builds on the portrayal of Ferdinand II evident in *Colloquium*, which reveals seemingly long-running plans of the Habsburgs (and the Pope) to re-Catholicize the Empire, as well as to establish a Universal Habsburg Monarchy in Europe. Consequently, the section quoted above plays on the patriotic sensibilities of the reader, as the attack is depicted to be aimed at destroying the Imperial Constitution and endowing the Habsburg House with supreme powers. The message behind this portrayal is that it is a patriotic act to resist Emperor Ferdinand II because he and the Spanish Habsburgs are trying to dominate the Empire.

The symbiosis between the Spanish and Austrian Habsburg House is repeated throughout the text, as is Ferdinand's will to allow Spanish policy to unfold in the Empire. An example of this is the source's portrayal of the Bohemian rebellion against Austrian Habsburg rule in 1618. It argues that this was viewed by Spain and the Jesuit Order as an opportunity to lay

the foundation of a Universal Monarchy in the Empire. Describing the time immediately preceding the outbreak of the rebellion, *Spannische Kappe* states:

Die Spanische Monarchi war im Fundament richtig [...] vnd fehlete nur daran / daß man es vollents richten vnd in die hohe bringen solte. Die [...] haben [...] umb eine gute occasion vnd einen solchen Krieg in Teutschland [gewartet] / do Spanien durch seine eingebildete macht meister spielen könnte. Do kam nun die Bömische vnruhe [...] Es ist nicht zusagen / wie die Jesuiter / also rechte schaden frohe / vber diesem unwesen / gefrohlocket / sonderlich wie die Schlacht vffn Weissenberge [...] do vermeinten sie / das Spiel were gewonnen / vnd alle Ketzer stecken in Sacke.  
(*Spannische Kappe*, p. 8.)

This adds weight to the earlier argument that the war was seized on by the Habsburg House as an opportunity to take control of the Empire: the quotation describes how news of the Bohemian rebellion caused Jesuit and Habsburg delight. *Spannische Kappe's* repetition of the idea that the war is being used as a pretext for the establishment of a Habsburg Universal Monarchy additionally links it to the large body of Black Legend propaganda material. As mentioned in the introduction to Spain in the seventeenth century, this propaganda consisted of four criticisms: the brutality and arbitrariness of the Spanish Inquisition, the vice of Philip II, the inherent immorality of the Spanish, and Spain's alleged desire for a Universal Monarchy.<sup>617</sup> Due to its portrayal of the Austrian Habsburg Emperor's involvement in plans for a Universal Monarchy, *Spannische Kappe* is transferring elements of the Black Legend onto the Austrian Emperor in order to hispanize his image. Further examples of transfer include references to the Austrian Emperor's immorality in the form of

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<sup>617</sup> Pollmann, p. 74.



betrayal and greed and his description as a portal through which the Spanish Inquisition is to be introduced to the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>618</sup>

Of all of these 'transferred' Spanish elements, it is perhaps the idea of Ferdinand II as desiring to become a universal monarch that does the most damage to his image. This is because it exposes Ferdinand II most severely to the criticism of impiety, because critics of the concept of a Universal Monarchy denounced it as stemming from ambition and rapacity. This argument was rooted in Roman tradition that was revived in medieval times and in the sixteenth century, which claimed that war waged out of desire for power was nothing more than robbery. His portrayal as an advocate of the Universal Monarchy consequently exposes him to the criticism of being corrupt, wicked, and unjust.<sup>619</sup> Equally, the Universal Monarchy idea associates him with a distinctly negative form of rulership: despotism. This links *Spannische Kappe* to a text by the Dutch author Marmix that was published uninterruptedly in the course of the war. Marmix synonymised the idea of a Universal Monarchy with tyranny and absolute domination, forms of rule which were normally associated with the Turks, the Tatars, and the Russians.<sup>620</sup>

This makes *Spannische Kappe* representative of a number of portrayals of Ferdinand II and the Austrian Habsburg House throughout the war. As has been demonstrated in previous academic research, for example, pro-Swedish propaganda accused the 'united' Habsburg House of attempting to establish a Universal Monarchy, and this was used as an argument to justify the Swedish intervention.<sup>621</sup> Propaganda such as this aimed to create a wedge between the German Protestants and the Emperor by signalling that a universal monarchy

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<sup>618</sup> *Spannische Kappe*, p. 4.

<sup>619</sup> Bosbach, p. 94.

<sup>620</sup> Bosbach, p. 96.

<sup>621</sup> Bosbach, pp. 98, 101.

would lead to the withdrawal of princely liberties and the elimination of the new religious confessions.<sup>622</sup>

Complementary to this portrayal of Habsburg conniving to seize control of the Empire is the emphasis on the identical way in which they treat their enemies. Both branches are depicted to use dishonesty, cunning, and ruthlessness. Two examples of this come roughly a quarter of the way into the pamphlet. The Elector of Saxony, for instance, is held as an example of a power that is slyly manipulated by the Habsburgs, whose joint tactic is to pacify him with goods and 'sweet-talk' so that he does not come to the aid of the wider Protestant party. Similarly, the Palatine Elector Friedrich V is described as another victim of Spanish-Austrian plans, although his treatment is much more brutal. The merciless plundering of his lands, together with his own persecution, are portrayed as a shocking demonstration of Habsburg aggression towards 'innocent, high-ranking potentates' and is summarized as a typical example of Austro-Spanish 'gratitude for loyal service':

Man nehme nur [...] Durchl. Churf. zu Sachsen / zu einem lebendigen Exempel. Dann weil ihnen nicht vnbekant / daß Ihr. Durchl. an Seyten der Evangelischen das Haupt [ist] [...] so achteten sie vor eine Notturft / daß man Ihr Durchl. vor allen Dingen / es geschehe vff waß mittel es immer wolle / begütigte vnd deß Käysers Parthie gewogen machte / hilff Gott / wie wuste man da so süße zu pfeifen / vnd mit macht vff zu schneiden [...] (*Spannische Kappe*, p.6)

[Weil] daß höchstgedachte Ihr Churf. Durchl. [Friedrich V.] nicht in allen mit ihnen zustimmten / des Reichs vnd ihre eigene hoheit hintan setzen / der Babylonischen Huhre flattiren / daß Edict billigen / vnd also gar mit Füßen vber sich gehen lassen

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<sup>622</sup> Bosbach, p. 96.

wolten / Da [...] hat man höchstgedachte Chruf. Durchl. gantz vnverschuldeter weise mit Fewr vnd Schwerdt zuverfolgen / vnd ihr also den gewöhnlichen Spanischen vnd Oestereichischen danck zugeben angefangen [...] ich [habe] in den historicis [...] kein einig Exempel gefunden / do man einen solchen wolverdienten Potentaten so schimpfflich hindergangen / vnd der höchsten trewe / mit höchster vntrewe gelohnet.

(*Spannische Kappe*, p. 7.)

This last paragraph consequently portrays the Austrian and Spanish Habsburg branches to be synonymous in the way that they treat subjects who do not agree with their policies: they pacify powers they must tread carefully with, and mercilessly persecute weaker ones. In a reflection of Black Legend propaganda on the sinfulness of Spain, the quotation delivers a harsh blow to Ferdinand II's reputation as a pious Catholic by describing him as seeking to flatter the Whore of Babylon. Generally acknowledged as a figure of evil in Christianity, an associate of the Antichrist and bearer of the unenviable title 'Babylon the Great, the Mother of Prostitutes and Abominations of the Earth', the pamphlet's deliberate association of the Babylonian Whore to Ferdinand II casts considerable doubts on his piety and encourages the pious Protestant reader to reject the Emperor on both religious and moral grounds. It also attempts to connect Ferdinand II to the Church of Rome, who had been linked in propaganda of the Reformation and beyond to the Babylonian Whore. The Babylonian Whore's link to the Apocalypse also frames the Austrian and Spanish Habsburgs as associates of the anti-Christ and as belonging to the eschatological forces of evil.

The utterly corrupt character of Ferdinand II is further demonstrated by a portrayal of his disrespect for Imperial Law, and the impact that general lawlessness has had on the Empire.

This builds on Ferdinand's portrayal as a mirror of Spain because they are both actively undermining the Empire:

Mit was vor einen betrübten Elenden müseligen zustande dieser zeit / vnser  
 allgemeines liebes Vaterland begriffen / wie es mit Mord / Raub / Brandt / Fewr vnd  
 Schwerdt / Hunger / Thewrung / Pestlantz vnd allen andern Vnglück vnd Landplagen  
 erfüllet [...] Teutschland hat je vnd alle zeit seinen Kopff vnd Scepter vber andere  
 nationes erhaben [...] Es war in aller Welt beruffen / wegen seiner Gottesfurcht /  
 gerechtigkeit / Trew / Ehr vnd Redligkeit / wegen der schönen harmonie seiner  
 republic [...] jederman hat sich vber den Reichsverfassungen / abschieden / vnd der  
 guldenen Bulla verwundern müssen / vnd [...] hoch[...]loben / da das Haupt vnd  
 glieder noch mit ernst darüber hielten / vnd sich einmüthig darnach reguliren müsten  
 / Jtzt aber / da das Haupt selber / vnd theils der vornembsten Glieder Hand darvon  
 abziehen / ist sie in warheit [...] zu nichte worden / In Summa Teutschland ist einer  
 gebrochenen Stadt zuvergleichen / darvon man die [...] merckmahl nur noch ein wenig  
 sehen kan. (*Spannische Kappe*, p. 1)

Within the context of the repeated references to the Universal Monarchy elsewhere in the text, the reader could consider this disregard for imperial law as another sign that the Habsburg Houses are successfully preparing the way for a radical re-structuring of the Empire by weakening its structures.

It is worth mentioning here that the depiction of the Emperor as a hispanized power determined to establish a Universal Monarchy in the Empire additionally links the pamphlet to older, established patriotic arguments dating back to the propaganda of the Schmalkaldic

War.<sup>623</sup> This shows that *Spannische Kappe* skilfully employs tried and tested arguments as a means of legitimizing the idea of rebellion against the Habsburg Emperor. The deposition of the Ferdinand II was advocated by the radical Protestants from the very beginning of the war, but as rebellion against authority was considered to be unlawful by the moderate and conservative Protestants of the camp, pamphlets such as *Spannische Kappe* had to frame their argument in such a way that mutiny against the Emperor could be construed as both lawful and unavoidable. This was achieved by referring back to precedents such as the Schmalkaldic War as well as traditional arguments such as the Habsburg's desire for a Universal Monarchy. These reminded the reader of instances in which disobedience was / is the only option, and can be considered lawful, because resistance against imperial authority was considered to be legitimate if the opponent had violated law.<sup>624</sup> In stressing the efforts of the Austrian and Spanish Houses to establish a Universal Monarchy in the Empire, by any measure an extreme breach of law, radical propagandists were using an argument based in legal terms which aimed to convince the moderate Protestants of the necessity of adopting a militant anti-imperial stance.

In the light of the above analysis, it is clear that *Spannische Kappe* works with ideas of a hispanized Austrian Emperor and fears of the introduction of a Universal Monarchy by the Austrian and Spanish Habsburgs to encourage the reader to reject Ferdinand II on religious and patriotic grounds. It also presents us with a much darker image of the Emperor when compared to *Colloquium*. For *Colloquium*'s worst criticism of the Emperor is that he is an untrustworthy, Catholic-biased fool, who does not realize that by championing the Catholic cause he is also opening the door to usurpation by Spain. *Spannische Kappe*, by contrast,

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<sup>623</sup> Pollmann, p. 80.

<sup>624</sup> Bosbach, p. 87.

goes much further in inflicting damage to the Emperor's reputation. Personal defects of the Emperor, which are not mentioned in *Colloquium*, such as a lack of self control, come to the fore, as does the more serious criticism of impiety, which is conveyed via an allusion to Ferdinand's desire to please the Babylonian Whore, as well as references to greed, and ruthlessness.

This focuses on Ferdinand's alleged general moral corruption and criminality, as he is depicted to no longer adhere to the enshrined agreements of the Golden Bull and engaged in acts of manipulation and destruction of resistant Electors. And lastly, *Spannische Kappe* is much more intent than *Colloquium* on 'hispanizing' Ferdinand II, as word combinations such as 'spanisch-oestereichisch danck' and the emphasis on parallels between Ferdinand's character and the criticisms of the Black Legend give the appearance of a Habsburg House homogenous in its Spanish characteristics. Transferring Spanish seventeenth-century stereotypes onto the image of the Emperor and linking drawing on earlier patriotic Protestant propaganda, the propaganda works with tried and tested techniques of Catholic stigmatism.

Despite the difference in the specific content and severity of the criticism shown by the two analysed sources, they are most definitely designed with the same intentions in mind. These are to persuade the Protestant readers that the Austrian Emperor can no longer be regarded as a figure of trust or authority. Instead, he is presented as a lawless, plotting anti-Protestant power, in league with Spain and other hostile, foreign Catholic representatives. The repeated mention of an imminent Universal Monarchy in both sources is an attempt to encourage the reader to believe that resistance to imperial power is legitimate because the Emperor is gravely violating imperial law by attempting to seize control of the Empire.

The pamphlets consequently represent a rallying call to the Protestants to break their loyalty to the Emperor and to resist him actively and vehemently, should they want to preserve the Empire in its current legal and religious form. They appeal to the patriotism of the Protestant readers as well as to their religious conscience, urging them to recognize the hispanized and impious nature of Emperor Ferdinand II and to act against him before it is too late. This message is summed up near the beginning of *Spannische Kappe*, which reminds the readers that now they are aware of the danger, they have a responsibility to act:

Aber [...] wer gläubet vnsern Worten? Viel haben diese trawhertzige warnung / zu ihrem höchsten schaden / auß hoffart / andere auß Nachlässigkeit / etzliche auch auß eingewanten Trewen Teutschen vffrichtigkeit vnd all zugrossen confidentz in die Käysl. Syncerationes, (die doch mit Spanischem Saltz abgewürtzet waren) dahin vnd in Wind geschlagen. Viel haben [...] deß Nachtbarn Hauß brennen lassen [...] aber die Hände [...] in den schoß geleget / Jtzt / da die Schaaffe fast gar auß dem Stall / bemühet sich jederman die Thür zubeschliessen (*Spannische Kappe*, p. 2)

## Conclusion

In a similar way to the propaganda directed against Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, we see that a sophisticated network of Protestant texts worked with similar ideas in order to discredit the idea of the Emperor as a neutral arbiter of justice

One line of argument sought to undermine the Emperor's authority by demonstrating his decisions were not his own. Either due to Catholic coercion or indoctrination, these texts depicted him to be implementing a harshly anti-Protestant policy in the Empire caused by foreign Catholic influence. Another line of argument was that he was a zealous proponent of anti-Protestant policy. Texts championing this idea portrayed the Jesuits and other foreign Catholic elements in his entourage as collaborators rather than manipulators of the Emperor. This portrayal was possibly the most shocking idea placed before the Protestant reader, who was perhaps more accustomed to the charge of an Emperor being led astray by Jesuit advisors than the idea of him constituting a wholehearted persecutor of the Protestants.

All of the propaganda that put forward these arguments stemmed from the radicals of the Protestant party, who attempted to make full capital of Catholic abuses in the late 1620s and of the Protestant victories of the 1630s. This was their moment to convince the German population not only that they were right to reject that Emperor, but that they needed to unite once and for all against Catholic authority.

Their attack on the Emperor's reputation can partly be blamed on his own policy, as the Edict of Restitution provided radical propagandists with seemingly legitimate proof of their allegations of an Emperor intent on destroying the Protestant confession in the Empire. It also cannot have helped Ferdinand's claim to be a neutral authority when he allowed



himself to be represented at meetings as important as the Regensburg Electoral Meeting in 1630 by his Jesuit father confessor, Wilhelm Lamormaini. This father's intransigence when met with demands from Catholic and Protestant princes to soften the Edict of Restitution, claiming that he was defending the Emperor's own decision, only added fuel to the argument that the Emperor was a pupil of the Jesuits and reflected their hardline attitudes.

Despite the Emperor's own role in generating bad publicity, it cannot be denied that the ultimate success of propaganda did not depend entirely on how convincing its arguments were, but instead on the political movements to which they were linked. Propaganda was more a reaction to events rather than their cause, and this is reflected in the dates of critical propaganda directed at the Emperor. As shown in the first half of the chapter, for instance, the first examples of harsh criticism of the Emperor came following the Edict of Restitution and the occupation of the north of the Empire by Wallenstein. These are the events which triggered powers such as Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands and the northern Hanseatic cities to become nervous and to generate material denouncing Ferdinand II's imperial policy.

Similarly, later in the war, Swedish success precipitated waves of propaganda that encouraged further support of the Protestant campaign by underlining the improved position of the Protestants of the Empire. While undoubtedly popular at the time, the fragility of the propaganda campaign and its dependence on continued military and political success is evident particularly in the two years following Gustavus Adolphus's death. Here we can see that support for a continued, aggressive Protestant campaign sagged dramatically, and in the absence of the elan provided by Swedish success, the war-weary

Protestants of the Empire were more than happy to sign the Peace of Prague with the Emperor in 1635.

In conclusion, the propaganda which commented on the Emperor can be seen as successful in capitalizing on Protestant disappointment in imperial policy and in extending the popularity of the Swedish cause by underlining its connection to the position of the Protestants in the Empire. While commenting on contemporary events, it encouraged the German Protestants to adopt a more radical approach and to reject some of the greatest representatives of Catholic authority in the Empire. Nevertheless, its arguments were only successful in convincing the Protestant reader of their validity when proof of their arguments was seemingly reflected in contemporary events. The idea of a truly anti-Protestant Emperor was only partially accepted by moderate Protestants when they witnessed the implementation of the Edict of Restitution. And the righteousness of the Swedish was credible and legitimized only when God's favour was evident on the battlefield. In the absence of a victorious Swedish King, though, and in the light of an Emperor ready to compromise on the Edict of Restitution in 1635, the propaganda of the radicals is ultimately revealed to be ineffective in changing the attitude of the moderates for a meaningful duration. In their conclusion of peace with the Emperor in 1635, even though it was not to last, the majority of the Protestant camp demonstrated that despite all of the radical propaganda it had digested, it was more in favour of accepting a Catholic-biased Emperor than enduring any further years of war.

## **Conclusion to Dissertation**

My investigation shows how, in four cases, radical propagandists encouraged a moderate Protestant audience to end its loyalty to German Catholic leaders and to support foreign Protestant allies. The propagandists linked Duke Maximilian of Bavaria and Emperor Ferdinand II to corruption and hostile Catholic policies, and presented Bethlen Gabor and Gustavus Adolphus as leaders who had the interests of the German Protestants and their faith at heart. The aim of the propagandists' campaign was to gain approval of the foreign allies' intervention in the Empire, and to encourage a more militant attitude towards Catholic authorities.

This was no simple task because the change in attitude that the radicals called for was only partly compatible with the beliefs held by the moderates of the camp. The radicals advocated an end to tolerance of so-called Habsburg and papal imperialism, and saw independence of Catholic authorities as crucial to securing the German Protestants' freedom and rights. This view was only partly shared by the moderate Protestants, who desired a preservation of their faith and rights, but were reluctant to break their allegiance to Habsburg authority. In order to counter this reluctance, the radical party launched a campaign designed to prove to the moderates that their two desires of freedom of worship and tolerance of Catholic authority were incompatible. Its goal was to pressure the moderate audience into deciding that the preservation of their rights to freedom of worship was more important than allegiance to the Empire's Catholic authorities. Since the moderates already shared some of the radicals' willingness to oppose the Emperor, as they believed that it was legitimate to resist policies instigated by characters with a negative

influence over him,<sup>625</sup> the radicals had a basis for consensus which they sought to build on. This area of common interest set the stage for a campaign that urged the moderates to stand by their faith, including through the support of foreign Protestant leaders, and actively to resist hostile German Catholic policies.

My investigation focuses on four strands of this sophisticated, interconnected campaign. It demonstrates how the moderates were pulled towards foreign Protestant leaders who were depicted as protectors of the German Protestants and avengers of Catholic and Habsburg violations. These foreign rulers were held up as examples of virtuous and alternative leaders for moderates to re-orient themselves towards, as well as role-models who contrasted sharply with corrupt figures of Catholic authority in the Empire. Propaganda on Bethlen Gabor and Gustavus Adolphus represents two of the four strands designed to convince the moderates to change their attitudes and to become loyal to new Protestant authorities. The other two strands demonstrate that alongside the campaign in favour of foreign Protestant leaders, and closely connected to it, was a stream of publications aimed at pushing the moderate audience away from German Catholic figureheads. Duke Maximilian and Emperor Ferdinand II are portrayed to be the opposite of the virtuous Protestant allies, and are represented time and again as impious, hostile, and under the control of foreign agents of Catholicism. The following summary of my analysis of these four strands provides proof of a cohesive and coherent campaign that deliberately presented the two foreign princes and the Catholic leaders in similar ways.

I shall focus first on the propaganda which denounces Duke Maximilian of Bavaria and Emperor Ferdinand II. In essence, the presentation of both leaders as impious and staunch

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<sup>625</sup> Böttcher, p. 334.

enemies of the Protestants is designed to pressure the moderates into believing that their compromise solution of loyalty to the faith and to Catholic authority was impossible. Radical propagandists emphasize the Catholic bias of both men, and argue that it prevents them from acting as neutral authorities or arbiters of justice. This emphasis seeks to undermine the trust between the moderates and the Catholic authorities because the latter are presented as unreliable. The propagandists make much of alleged proof of this bias by reminding the readers of Maximilian's reward of an electoral dignity for his help in defeating Friedrich V of the Palatinate, and of Emperor Ferdinand II's unleashing of the Edict of Restitution.

Many sources present the Duke and Emperor's bias to be extreme, arguing that their hatred of the Protestants have taken the form of large-scale projects to eliminate or convert non-Catholics. According to the propagandists, Ferdinand II assists the Jesuits, Spain and the Pope to subject the Empire, Europe, and even the world to a Catholic yoke. And Duke Maximilian is portrayed as enthusiastically aiding Catholic plans which are allowing him to usurp Protestant land and property, above all that of Friedrich V of the Palatinate. In short, both Catholic leaders are characterized as agents of a militant and intolerant Catholicism.

The alleged danger that they pose to the Protestant flock is just one side of the campaign. Interwoven in the rhetoric of danger are references to the impiety and moral failings of each man. These references are intended to persuade the pious audience that both the Emperor and the Duke should be shunned for religious and moral reasons. On a moral plane, both men are linked to foolishness. This is evident in the Emperor's presentation as a naive ruler manipulated by foreign, corrupt forces such as the Jesuits, the Pope, and Spain. In several broadsheets, the Duke is also portrayed to be under the influence of the Jesuits and guilty of

foolishness. Indeed, in one broadsheet he is depicted being paraded and whipped as a punishment for foolish and illegal power politics. Another broadsheet links the Duke explicitly to the figure of the fool, as his court jester Jonas is illustrated alongside a group of Jesuits seeking to influence the Duke's affairs.

These portrayals of foolishness, which aim to undermine the authority of the Catholic leaders, are complemented by the related theme that both leaders fall short of the ideal of the Christian ruler. Far from constituting role-models of Christian virtue, they are presented as greedy and as waging war for private interests. This portrayal contrasts with the ideal of the Christian prince, who is expected to be a model of justice and to conduct war on legitimate grounds such defence or to protect his people. Ferdinand II shown to fall foul of this ideal because he is accused of going to war against non-Catholics over whom he reigns, and therefore fails to fulfil his duty of protection. On a similar note, Duke Maximilian is depicted as a less than exemplary ruler who attempts to pervert justice rather than uphold it, as well as being a weak and defeated military power. These ideas are conveyed in his presentation as a bear attempting to bribe a force of justice (Gustavus Adolphus) to allow him to escape punishment, and in his portrayals as a sick patient and a captured, humiliated bear. Both Catholic men are also accused in propaganda of general moral degeneracy, evident in repeated portrayals of corruption, lying and hypocrisy. Ferdinand II, for example, is described as concealing his true intentions from his Protestant subjects, including the calculated pacification of the Saxon Elector, while simultaneously preparing a large-scale attack. Duke Maximilian's moral corruption is evident in his fixation on titles and worldly possessions. These negative ideas seek to dissuade further the moderate Protestant audience from allegiance to figures who not only pose a direct threat to them, but also lack the moral and religious discipline required of legitimate Christian rulers.

According to the radical campaign, God also disapproves of both men. In fact, his divine disapproval is so great that he is taking radical action: Gustavus Adolphus is presented as God's solution to the hostile Catholic policies being implemented by Catholic rulers against the Protestants of the Empire. The wrong-doing of the Catholic leaders is argued to be reflected in the string of divinely sanctioned victories achieved by Gustavus Adolphus, who avenges the Catholic abuses in the Empire. Since God is depicted to be on Gustavus Adolphus's side, support of Duke Maximilian and of the Emperor, who are closely aligned with the Pope, Spain and the Jesuits, is presented to be tantamount to allegiance to the antichrist and his forces. Their support is also portrayed as deeply unpatriotic, because obedience to imperial authority is made to appear synonymous with treachery and a surrender of the Empire to the Jesuit, papal, and Spanish forces. This intensifies the pressure on the Protestant audience to reject German Catholic forces.

In sum, the Duke and the Emperor are portrayed as dangers to the Protestants in the Empire and unworthy of further tolerance on moral, religious and political grounds. This propaganda plays on the pious readers' loyalty to their own faith, portrayed as threatened, and appeals to their moral conscience. It also exploits their partial willingness to oppose policies of the Emperor that stemmed from their perception of a manipulative and Protestant-hostile entourage. In view of the centrality of religious belief to the lives of the Protestants, as well as the moderate Protestants' openness to limited rebellion, it is likely that the arguments presented in radical propaganda went some way to radicalize their viewpoint. We must also not forget that current events undoubtedly helped to substantiate the radicals' claims, as I will discuss in detail below, and that a re-orientation of loyalties was encouraged by a campaign highlighting the suitability of alternative figureheads, including Bethlen Gabor of Transylvania and Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden.

This two-pronged campaign, designed to convince the readers to change their allegiances, can be seen as a deliberate push-pull strategy. The techniques described above are a first prong employed to push the audience away from the Duke and the Emperor. It is complemented by a second prong of propagandistic writing that uses gentler 'pull' tactics to re-orient the moderates towards new protectors. This second prong glorifies foreign Protestant figures crusading against the Habsburgs, and aims to soften resistance to their interventions in the Empire. Both propagandistic campaigns are complementary and aim to drive a wedge between the audience and the Catholic authorities while forging bonds between the Protestants and their supportive allies.

My analysis demonstrates that the foreign allies Bethlen Gabor and Gustavus Adolphus are highlighted by the campaign as figures of authority who are worthy of German Protestant allegiance. This was no easy task because neither ally was welcomed in the Empire with open arms. Gustavus Adolphus was initially an unwelcome guest in northern Germany, where few princes were interested in an alliance, and Catholic propaganda played on fears of an intimidating, alien Swedish army. A Catholic campaign also denounced Bethlen Gabor in the Empire due to his links to the Turkish Sultan. And we must also not forget that at the time of Bethlen Gabor's intervention, many of the moderate Protestants of the Empire, and certainly the conservatives, did not support Bethlen Gabor and had sympathy with the Emperor's bid to recover Bohemia. My investigation shows that radical Protestant propagandists responded to these unfavourable circumstances by portraying both men as heroic, awe-inspiring military commanders. Both are depicted in equestrian portraits, a propagandistic technique dating to antiquity, which is used to legitimize their religious, political and military authority. Writers also published other visual images of the men conveying their virtue and piety. The focus on both leaders' Christian virtue is a cornerstone



of the campaign designed to prove their worthiness of Protestant support, and it is emphasized time and again how both men conform to the virtues expected and required of a Christian ruler. The virtues include a sense of justice, moderation, and Christian piety. The defence of the faith and the protection of their subjects are further duties that are shown to be carried out faithfully by both men. In an extension of this, Bethlen Gabor and Gustavus Adolphus are portrayed as rulers concerned about the threat to Protestantism emanating from outside of their native lands, and for the safety of other Protestant communities. This concern and duty to protect the faith are arguments that are employed repeatedly to legitimize both foreign allies' intervention on religious and political grounds. It also aims to portray their campaigns as beneficial to the German Protestants, rather than as attempts to extend their own political power.

Indeed, to come back to the point raised in the introduction, there is a deliberate attempt by the propagandists to emphasize the common ground between the German Protestants and the foreign allies. Building bridges between the foreign leaders' campaign and the interests of the German Protestants is a key feature of the radical publications. Indeed, the radicals are careful to present foreign intervention in terms that the moderate readers can relate to and give them reasons to support it. This leads to a repetition of the idea that foreign Protestants are being forced to lead a defensive campaign against threatening Catholic forces. The effect of this is a framing of their intervention in terms that are difficult for the moderate audience to disagree with, as they parallel the justification of the Protestant princes' resistance to Emperor Charles V during the Schmalkaldic War. The description of the foreign allies' defence in these terms also make their campaigns echo Martin Luther's own resistance of the abuses of the Catholic Church, abuses which could not be ignored and which led the very instigator of the Reformation to make a stand.

In fact, descriptions of Catholic abuse and corruption accompany most explanations of the necessity of the foreign leaders' campaign. This corruption is attributed mostly to the Jesuits, considered to be a source of impiety, but also to the Pope and Spain. All are accused of pursuing ambitious plans to eliminate the Protestants at all costs. This complements the ideas of the 'push' propaganda which presents resistance of the German Catholics to be necessary on moral, religious, and political grounds. The foreign allies are portrayed as doing this very thing, and as examples to follow: Bethlen Gabor is argued to be saving Hungary from the abuses of a Jesuit-led Catholic Church, and Gustavus Adolphus is portrayed as the liberator of Catholic-occupied northern Germany, and as an avenger of a Catholic side unafraid of obliterating the symbolic town of Magdeburg. In fact, the 'pull' prong of the propaganda campaign presents Bethlen Gabor and Gustavus Adolphus as the antithesis of the German Catholic forces. Both men are presented as protective, liberating powers, and attention is given to portraying their armies as unthreatening to the German Protestants. Bethlen Gabor, for instance, is presented in one broadsheet surrounded by countrymen passionate to relieve Hungary and other countries from the snake of Catholicism, while Gustavus Adolphus's army is described as Christian, pious, and of extraordinary talent.

In short, at a time when Catholic and Protestant forces were waging war in the Empire, Bethlen Gabor and Gustavus Adolphus are presented as exactly the kind of champion that the Protestant camp is lacking. They are depicted as exemplary, virtuous defenders of the faith, and as trustworthy, unifying figures behind whom all Protestants can stand. An emphasis on their military prowess reassures the moderate audience that allegiance to these men is a safe bet, and this depiction was boosted by the real-life ability of both men to stand up to and to achieve victories over their Catholic adversaries. I would argue that

the presentations of the foreign allies stylize them as following in the footsteps of other Protestant princes who had defended the Empire against Catholic Habsburg hostility. The same argument of a just, defensive war waged on primarily religious grounds can be found running through propaganda of the Schmalkaldic War as well as the materials promoting foreign allies of the Thirty Years' War. The audience is urged to believe in both cases that resistance to imperial authority is justified, and that the defenders of the Protestants are capable of carrying the Protestant camp through a period of renewed Catholic hostility and attack. It also links the foreign allies to a German Protestant tradition of defence and reinforces the idea of common ground between the foreign rulers and the German Protestants.

All four strands I have analyzed play on the religious sensibilities of a pious seventeenth-century audience. They highlight the danger that German Catholic leaders posed to the Protestant faith and present foreign-born military leaders as the solution to this threat. The suitability of the foreign allies as leaders of the German Protestant camp is substantiated by their characterization as exemplary religious campaigners, military leaders, and political defenders. This is highlighted through comparisons drawn between them and a number of demonized German Catholic rulers, chief among them Duke Maximilian, Emperor Ferdinand II and Count Tilly. Propagandists deliberately describe the foreign allies and the German Catholic leaders in black and white terms in order to encourage the reader to believe that Bethlen Gabor and Gustavus Adolphus are wholly good, and that Duke Maximilian and Emperor Ferdinand II are wholly bad. The foreign leaders are champions of the faith and of the rights of Protestants both inside and outside of the Empire, while Catholic leaders are denounced as corrupt, foreign-linked powers intent on undermining Protestant rights and their freedom of worship. In portraying the battle between these dichotomized forces as

undecided, and as crucial to the future well-being of the German Protestants, propagandists put the audience under considerable pressure to reject German Catholics and to endorse the campaigns of the foreign allies.

As is to be expected, truth only partly informs the writing produced by the radicals. The agenda of Bethlen Gabor and Gustavus Adolphus to protect first and foremost their own territories from Habsburg domination is played down. By contrast, their genuine desire to save the Protestant faith from extinction is greatly emphasized.

The presentation of the Catholic leaders involves a similar distortion of the truth. It does not matter that Duke Maximilian of Bavaria was known as a thrifty, pious leader in his native Bavaria. Or that like any power involved in war negotiations, he sought to reap the maximum yield from a costly military engagement in the Empire. The radicals are only interested in the 'spin' that they can put on Maximilian's Catholic offensives. Accordingly, his electoral reward and his booty in war are portrayed as reflections of an obsession for worldly titles and of his submission to Jesuit influence. The Protestant audience is also never made aware of the fact that Ferdinand II was highly reluctant to implement the Edict of Restitution, and that he had been pressured into doing so by his ally the Bavarian Duke. Furthermore, and contrary to rumour, Ferdinand had never allowed his policy to be dictated by the Jesuits or Spain. In fact, as powers struggling primarily to maintain their own position in Europe, the two sides of the Habsburg House were never as close or as powerful as radical Protestant propaganda makes them out to be.

After this summary of the methods used to encourage the moderate audience to support Bethlen Gabor and Gustavus Adolphus and to withdraw their allegiance from the German Catholic leaders Duke Maximilian of Bavaria and Emperor Ferdinand II, the question arises

as to how effective was this radical propaganda? It is important to remember here that public opinion was not only formed by propaganda, but also by the political events themselves on which it commented. Events which provoked an initial reaction of joy or horror, for example, were often seized on by propagandists who sought to push public opinion further in one direction or the other. In this context, we can say that the success of radical propagandists was based on intensifying feelings already generated by events of the war.

The portrayal of Bethlen's expulsion of the Jesuits from Hungary, for instance, plays on the feelings of hatred already present in the Protestant camp towards the Catholic Order, and encourages acceptance of Bethlen by presenting him as a crusader against such evils. Similarly, the depiction of Gustavus Adolphus's military victory over Count Tilly at Breitenfeld aims at intensifying hatred of the Count that had already been generated by his Sack of Magdeburg. The propagandists also play on feelings of resentment towards Duke Maximilian and Emperor Ferdinand II that had been caused by their policies that were detrimental to Protestant interests. The Duke's creation of the Catholic League, his support of Jesuits and his occupation of Protestant territory, for instance, generated a mistrust that is intensified in propaganda presenting him as Jesuit-controlled, impious and as a failed military leader.

Propagandists also seek to strengthen resentment against the Emperor in the time following his announcement of the Edict of Restitution. Since a rejection of the Emperor by the moderate Protestants was perhaps the greatest challenge for the radical propagandists, the Edict and its initial implementation provided them with the perfect opportunity to intensify doubts concerning the Emperor's neutrality and intent to respect his agreement with the

Protestants. In short, this one event opened the door to a radical campaign that plays heavily on fears of Habsburg Catholic domination and persecution. The same Edict also arguably opened the door to acceptance of Gustavus Adolphus's invading army, as propaganda offers moderate Protestants the comforting image of a brave Protestant king stepping in to protect them from this threat.

In conclusion, events of the war and fears held by the Protestants regarding the bias of German Catholic leaders are played on by a sophisticated campaign aimed at achieving a change of attitude among the moderate Protestants. It is likely that, even if for only a temporary period, propaganda did contribute to a change in attitude and even of allegiance. In the case of Bethlen Gabor, propaganda probably culminated in the moderate Protestants suspending their mistrust of him. Radical propaganda contests the negative images circulated by Catholic propagandists, and presents the reader with plausible reasons to believe that the Prince is not an invading Turkish force. After all, his country was half-occupied by the Catholic Habsburgs, and propaganda explains the Prince's fight in terms reminiscent of the German Protestants' own battle to live according to their own religious conscience. The description of the Prince's military skill in conquering most of Hungary without bloodshed, his commitment to the Protestant faith, as well as a repetition of his demonstration of Christian virtues would also have contributed to warming the moderate audience to his campaign by inspiring their respect on military and religious grounds. A similar strategy is used to gain support for Gustavus Adolphus, and there is evidence that the campaign met with much greater success. His invasion is also presented as defensive, his virtue and piety are emphasized, and the benefit of his campaign to the German Protestants is repeated. The repetition of the same ideas in the propaganda promoting Bethlen Gabor and Gustavus Adolphus also suggests that propagandists considered those

arguments to be persuasive ones. This success of their campaign with regard to Gustavus Adolphus is evident in the amount of propaganda that was consumed by the Protestant masses at the time of his campaign: if it had not struck a chord with the Protestant population, the propaganda would not have sold in such great numbers. Of course, the success of the campaign can be seen as a reflection of the success of Gustavus Adolphus's own intervention, because it intensifies the excitement and joy generated by a defender of the Protestant cause who appeared to enjoy divine support. The mass mourning in the Empire in the wake of the Swedish king's death, including in Saxony, is a sign that the majority of the Protestants, including the moderates, did support his campaign, and the radicals' propaganda undoubtedly contributed to this. This loyalty to Gustavus Adolphus also hints at the success of the second 'pull' prong of the radical campaign, as it is unlikely that the majority of the Protestants supported the Catholic enemies of the King at the same time. It is highly probable that the Emperor and the Duke, through excessively Catholic-biased policies, contributed to their loss of support among the moderate Protestants and to the collapse in the belief that they were neutral, non-hostile authorities. This, combined with positive presentations of alternative, Protestant-friendly figureheads and their seemingly divinely endorsed success, allowed propagandists to paint both men convincingly as reprehensible figures. My examination consequently provides proof of a sophisticated, interconnected campaign that enjoyed a considerable amount of success, as it is likely to have persuaded a moderate audience, if only temporarily, to voice approval of foreign leaders' campaigns and to suspend their allegiance to bulwarks of German Catholic authority.

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*Der Mitternächtische Lewe/ welcher in vollen Lauff durch die Pfaffen Gasse rennet (1632) HAB: IH216*

*Der vertriebenen Jesuiter auß den Königreichen Böheimb vnnd Hungern vorgenommene Wallfahrt zu den Heiligen Raspino vnd Pono/ nach Amsterdam ins Zuchthauß (1619). HAB: Einbl. Xb Fm 124*

*Der Vnion Misgeburt (1621). HAB: IH130*

*Deß Adlers vnd Löwen Kampf (1621). HAB: IH81*

*Die betrangte Stadt Augspurg (1632). HAB: IH211*

*Die durch Gottes Gnad erledigte Stadt Augspurg (1632). HAB: IH222*

*DIEGERTICUM SUECICUM. Schwedische Weck Uhr (1632). HAB: IH203*

*Die pfaffen Gass (1631). HAB: 420 Novi, fol. 444*

*Die pfaffenGass (1633). HAB: IH217*

*Die zwar vielen vnangenehme / Gleichwol aber sehr merck: vnd Sonderliche Frag: Ob nicht deß Ertzhertzoglichen Hauses Oesterreich Ruin / Fall / Auß: vnd Abschaff: oder Verstossung von deß Röm. Reichs Cron vnd Scepter dar / vnd für der Thür? Nicht so wol auß Weltlichen / als HeilSchrift mit der Augenschein: ja Handgreifflichen Erfahrung wol vbereinstimmenden Gründen zwar kürztlich / doch nach der Gnüg erwiesen. M.DC. XXXIII (1633), 16 pages. HAB: 48.3 Pol 14s*

*Ein Fremder Artzet ist komen an Der die plinten Recht heillen kan (1632). HAB: IH172*

*Ein sonderbare Missiv / oder Denckwürdiges Schreiben an Ihre F. Durchl. auß Bayern H. Maximilianum / gefertigt vnd abgangen Durch Christophorum von Vngersdorff intercipirt durch G. O. Anno M. DC. XX. Poco faggio sipnò dir colui, che perde il suo per acquistar l'altrus (1620), 18 pages. HAB: 37 Pol 9s*

*Ein Spiel fengt sich gar leichtlich ann (1621). HAB: IH96*

*Ein warhafftige Newe Zeitung. Vnd gründtlicher Bericht / wie ihrer Fürstl: Durchl: Hertzog Maximilian in Bayrn Obrister: Die schöne Statt Pilsen eingenommen / vnd wie er daselbst sey eingezogen / den 4. April diß 1621. Jahrs / In ein Lied verfaßt / Im Eben: Ach höchster GOTT inns Himmels Sahl (Augsburg, 1621). Paas, III, p. 286*

Emmerich, Lorenz, *Regni Hungariae Occupatio. Oder Kurtze Summarische doch gründtliche Relation / von dem Fürsten in Siebenbürgen Bethlehem Gabor / wie ihre Fürstliche Durchl: unversehens / vnd wider aller Menschen Gedancken / deß Königreichs Hungarn sich bemächtigt / vnd die Königliche Cron zu Preßburg zu seinen Händen bekommen / vnd was darüber vor Scharmützel vorgangen / warumb / vnd aus was vrsachen Sie aber solches gethan habe / sind die praetendirenden Motiven etlicher massen auß beygefügtem Extract, auß einer vom Herrn Palatino, im Namen Käys: Mayest: zu dem Francisco Redaj nach Ungarischen Thürna abgesandten Person Relation, welche sie beedes Herrn Palatino vnd ihrer Fürstlichen Durchl. mündlich vnd Schrifftlich / vorgebracht zuvernemen. Darbey auch die waare erzehlung der Dreytägigen Schlacht vnd Scharmützel / bey Vien vorgangen / in welcher auff beeden seyten etliche tausend geblieben / sampt andern Particularn gefunden wirdt. Gedruckt zu Prag / bey Lorenz Emerich. Im Jahr Christi 1619 (Prague: Emmerich, 1619), 8 pages. HAB: A:198.14 Hist. 12*

*Extract dero Königl. Mayst. in Schweden, eyfferige Klag und Erinnerung, an dero Soldaten und Commandanten (1632), 8 pages. HAB: A: 202.63 Quod. (66)*

Fischart, Johannes, *Die Wunderlichst Vnerhörtest Legend vnd Beschreibung Des Abgeführten / Quartirten /Gevierten vnd Viereckechten Vierhörnige Hütteleins. Samt Vrsprungs derselbigen Heyligen Quadricornischen Suiterhauben vnd Cornutschlappen: Etwan des Schneiderknechts F. Nasen gewesenenen Meysterstücks. Gestellt zu Vierfach Ablaßwürdiger Ergetzlichkeit den Lieben Vierdächtigen Ignazischen Vierhornigen Quadricorniten / vnd Luguillischen Widerhörnigen Cornuten: Oder (wie sie gern heysen) Jesuiten / oder Würdigen Herrn der Societet Jesu: Auch zu gefallen dem obberürten Meyster-Haysen /das er daß Neu Meysterstück dises Würffelhütteleins / Vrth-ym vnd beisassen wölle. Alles Durch Jesuwalt Pickhart /den Vnwürdigen Knecht der Societet der Glaubigen Christi. Anno M. D. LXXX. (1580), 33 pages). Weblink to work: <http://www.zeno.org/Literatur/M/Fischart,+Johann/Satire/Das+Jesuitenhüttelein> [accessed 2.1.12]*

Forer, Laurenz, *Dillingischer Kälber-Artzt/ Der das Kalb ins Aug geschlagen/ : Das ist/ Fernere Erörterung der hochnohtwendigen Frag auß dem Euangelischen Aug-Appffel/ Ob Der Augspurgischen Confession verwandte Prediger/ oder aber die Jesuwider deß heylsamen Religion Friedens im H. Röm. Reich Feindt/ Verächter und Zerstörer seyen? ; Durch ein kurtzes Sendschreiben deß H. Vatters Ignatii Lojolæ An seine gantze Gesellschaft die Jesuwider/ der Gestalt erörtert/ daß mit beständigem Grundt erwiesen wird/ daß nicht Luther oder die Diener am Wort/ sondern die Jesuwider vnruhige Auffwigler vnd Friedenstörer seyen [...] (1629), 88 pages. HAB: A: 502.9 Theol. (5)*

Forer, Laurenz, *Wer hat das Kalb ins Avg geschlagen? : Das ist/ HochNothwendige/ vnd Vnumbliche Frag/ Auß dem Euangelischen AugApffel/ Ob Der Augspurgischen Confession Verwandte Prediger/ oder aber die Jesuiten den Religion Friden im H. Röm. Reich vmbstürzten? ; Durch ein kurtzes Sendschreiben des tewren Mans D. Martini Lvtheri An seine Diener am Wort erörtert/ vnd mit beständigem Grund beantwortet / Allen lieben Teütschen zur wolmainenden Vnderricht/ vnd Erinnerung [...]* (Dillingen: Sutor, 1629), 65 pages. HAB: A: 502.9 Theol. (2)

GABRIEL BETHLEN D. G. PRINCEPS TRANSSYLVANIAE PART. REGNI HUNGARIAE DOMINUS, ET SICULORUM COMES, ETC. (1619-20). Paas, III, p. 109

GABRIEL BETHLEN D. G. PRINCEPS TRANSSYLVANIAE PART. REGNI HUNGARIAE DOMINUS, ET SICULORUM COMES, &c. (1620). Paas, III p. 469

*Gehaime Andeutung uber den vermainten König* (1621). HAB: XFilm 1:583

*GoldWage / Auff den nöhtigen Aufzschlag der vnlengst entstandenen Frag: Ob dem Keyser der beschlossene Krieg anzukünden sey. Sampt Einer SPECIFICATION der anwesenden Stände vnnd Städte zu Heylbrunn / vnd was darbey vorgangen. praesentirt, Vnd redlichen Patrioten vnvergreifflich an die Hand gegeben Zu Heilbrunn / Durch: Ehrenhold Wagenern. Im Monat Martio. ANNO M. D.C. XXXIII. (1633), 28 pages. HAB: 32.17 Pol 11s*

*Gottes und deß Heyligen Römischen Reichs Liecht-Butzer. Das ist/ Kurtze Erklärung/ wie das Geist- unnd Weltliche Liecht im Heyligen Römischen Reich/ nemlich die Augspurgische Confession unnd Religion-Fried/ von den Papisten wollen versteckt und gelöscht werden/ und was Gestalt diese Liechter von Ihr Königlichen Majestätt in Schweden wider herfür gezogen und gebutzet worden/ daß sie dem gantzen Reich zu gutem wider hell und klar leuchten : Allen unpassionirten Teutschen Herten zur Gedächtnuß und Nachrichtung* (1632), 22 pages. HAB: A: 218.21 Quod. (15)

Grandhomme, Jakob, GABRIEL BETHLEN D. G. PRINCEPS TRANSSYLVANIAE PART. REGNI HUNGARIAE DOMINUS, ET SICULORUM COMES, &c. (1619). Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha: Biogr gr 2° 00593/02 (564)

*Gründlicher vnd wahrhaftiger Bericht auß Prag. Wie sich der Bethlehem Gabor Fürst in Siebenbürgen auffgemacht / den bedrangten Böhmen vnd Mähnern mit 50000. Mann zu Hülff kommen / Auch wie er sehr viel Städt vnd Vestung in Ungarn eingenommen vnd besetzt. Von dem Monat Oktob. biß in den Monat Novembris dieses 1619. Jahrs.*

*Deßgleichen was sich mit den Ungar- Mähr- vnd Tampierischen Volck begeben vnd zugetragen / wie Graff Tampier einen Anschlag auff Preßburg gehabt / darüber er mit den Ungarn vnd Mähren in eine Schlacht gerahten / also daß Graff Tampier biß auff's Häupt erlegt / vnd in 5000 Mann. verlohren / vnd sehr viel verwund worden. Item was sich in Böhmischen vnd Bucquoyischen Läger begen vnd zugetragen. Gedruckt zu Prag bey Carol Schwing / Im Jahr 1619 (Prague, 1619), 7 pages. HAB: M: Gl 402*

*HEROES ANAGRAMMATISATI* (1632). Paas, VI, p. 254

*Hoë von Hoenegg, Matthias, Recepisse, Daß D. Matthiæ Hoe Churfürstlichen Sachsischen HoffPredigers zu Dreßden Leipzigsche Schlußpredig/ vnnd derselben angeheffte Verantwortung seiner auch zu Leipzig gehaltener Conventspredig/ Wider Mein Provisional Vidimvs, Mir Joanni Oedikhovio Nemeto, Theolog. Doct. Zu recht vberliffert/ von mir mit Fleiß durchsehen/ vnd wegen vieler darinnen begangenen Fähler/ Wechselstreichen/ schmählichen Anzügen/ vnd ohnverantwortlichen Bößlein/ jhme Authori zur Revision wieder heymgeschickt. Getruckt zu Meyntz Durch Hermann Meres/ im Jahr Christi 1631 (1631), 2 pages. Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek: 4° Gs Flugschr. 1402*

*Hungarischer Trawrbott / welcher deß Königreichs Ungarn gefährlichen Zustandt / wie der Fürst in Siebenbürgen / Bethlehem Gabor mit in sechzig tausendt Mann in dasselbe eingefallen / die vornembsten Vestungen / Städt und Päß einnimbt/ Auch wie er sonsten darinnen hauset / den Steyermärckern grosse Forcht einjaget / vnd was sich sonsten hin vnd wider begiebet / vnd zutregt / umbständlich erzehlet (Magdeburg: Francke, 1619). HAB: A: 202.63 Quod. 78*

*Isselburg, Peter, Anno, quo GabrieL BethLeM, Del Gratla fIt ReX HVngariae: DIE XXIV. AUGUSTI LUNAE, STILO GREGOR. NATUS EST QUI INFRA EXPRIMITUR, MONSTROSUS PARTUS IN PAGO GARK, medio militari Leuthehovia, in Scepusio sito: qui superiore mortuo, inferiore vivo capite, baptizatus est (1620). Stadtbibliothek, Ulm: Einblattdruck 982*

*Isselburg, Peter, Icon, Sive Vera Repraesentatio Bicipitis Monstrosi Partus, Qui XXIV. Mensis Augusti, Stilo Gregor. Die, Anni Gratiae MDCXX. Garckii in Regno Ungariae, in Scepusio, Sic dicta provincia, in hunc mundum editus fuit (Nuremberg, 1620). Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg: in H61/2 TREW.316*

*Jesuitische Walfarths Leistung/ Welche die aus den Königreichen und Ländern/ Böhaimb/ Hungern und Mehrern außgejagte und vertriebene Jesuiter/ mit grosser Andacht/ nach Amsterdam zu S. Raspino und Pono zureisen höchlichen verursacht (1619). Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle: AB 153555 (6)*

*Jesus Maria. Diß ist die Bildnuß deß ehrwürdige[n] Vatters/ Bruders Dominici a Jesu Maria, auß Arragonia bürtig/ deß Ordens der allerheiligsten Jungfrawen Mariae vom Berg Carmel/ der Carmeliten Brüder so mit blossen Füßen einher gehen/ zuvor obersten Propsts/ welcher von Rom auß von dem Bapst Paulo V. zu dem Durchleuchtigsten Hertzog in Bayrn als ein Bottschaffer geschickt worden (1622). Paas, IV, p. 126*

*Königl-Schwed. Victori-Schlüssel, mit welchem der durchleuchtigste [...] Fürst [...] Herr Gustavus Adolphus, der Schweden [...] König in dem H. Röm. Reich teutscher Nation, zu desselbigen gefallenen Justici-Wercks, und Religions Freyheiten ^&c. wider auffhelffung, durch so vielen vortrefflichen Victorien glücklichen ein: und durchgebrochen hat / Allen Kriegs Fürsten [...] beschrieben, und auff einem Cartel [...] vorgestellt durch einen Liebhaber teutscher Freyheit (1631), 21 pages. HAB: A: 31.2 Pol. (8)*

*Kurtze Beschreibung/ Der Achthundert Irren oder Irrländer/ Welche Königliche Mayestät in Schweden newlichst zu Stetin ankommen/ sampt deren Lands-Art/ Gewohnheit/ Sitten/ Kleydung/ Wehr vnd Waffen (1631). HAB: Dep. 4.9 FM 19*

*Kurtze Beschreibung Der Lappländer Sitten/ Gebräuche wie auch Kriegsübungen/ Deren Königl. Mayst. in Schweden/ etliche Compagnia/ zusam[m]t iren Reinigern oder ReinThiern/ wie auch Schlitten unnd ettlich tausent Beltz/ dero KriegsVolck/ darmit den Winter im Feld vor Kälte zu verwahren/ auß Lappland/ den 29. Novembris/ in hinder Pommern/ ankommen : Gedruckt erstlich zu Strahlsund (1630), 4 pages. HAB: A: 50.9 Pol. (20)*

*Kurtze Beschreibung / deß auß Irrland / der Königl. Majst. in Schweden ankommenenden [sic] Kriegs Volck ins Teutschland / von dero Lands-Art / Natur / Speiß / Waffen vnd Eygenschafft (1632). Paas, VI, p. 87*

*Kurtze Beschreibung/ deß auß Irrland/ Königl. Majestat in Schweden ankommenden Volcks/ von dero Lands Art/ Natur/ Waffen vnnd Eigenschafft (1632). HAB: IH225*

*Kurtze Beschreibung / des auß Irr= vnd Lappland / der Königl. Majestat in Schweden ankommenden Kriegs Volck ins Teutschland / von dero Lands Art / Natur / Speiß / Waffen vnd Eygenschafft (1632). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz: Einbl. YA 6372 m*

*Kurtzer bericht: wie des treves in niederlandt schwester, die Vnion in ober Teutschland gestorben, vnd ihrem bruder dem Treves [...] im todt nachfolgen thut (1621). HAB: IH132*

*Kurtzweilige Comedia allen Lustsüchtigen Esauitern Zum wohlgefalln gehalten in Beÿern im monat may 1632 (1632). HAB: IH162*

Landherr, Georg, *Scharffes Rundes Aug: Auff den Römischen Papst, vnd der allein Seligmachenden Kirchen gericht. In welchem etliche AdmirationPuncten oder verwunderungen antreffen de immediatè, den Römischen Bischoff, vnd Consequenter die gantze Christliche Geistlichkeit, kürztlich verfast sind worden. Wider Deren Sächsischen ChurFürstlichen Theologen Augapfel [...] so [...] Anno 1628 zu Leypzig in Druck gegeben / Widerlegt, Durch R. P. Georgium Landherren der H. Schrifft Doctorn Prediger Ordens (Prague, 1629), 64 pages. HAB: A: 313.10 Theol. (2)*

*Leipzigerische Schluß-Predigt/ Von der Fürsten guten Fürstlichen Gedancken/ Als der von Churfürstlicher Durchläuchtigkeit zu Sachsen/ Herrn Herrn Johan Georgen/ &c. angestellte hochansehliche Convent der ... Evangelischen vnnd Protestirenden Chur-Fürsten vnd Stände glücklich geschlossen vnd geendet worden. ... : Mit angeheffter Verantwortung der Predigt/ so aus dem drey vnd achtzigsten Psalm im Eingang des hochansehlichen Convents gehalten/ vnd von einem Liechtschewenden Pöpstischen Låsterer angezannet worden / Verfertiget durch Matthiam Hoe von Hoenegg (1631), 16 pages. HAB: A: 317.15 Theol. (8)*

*Magna Horologii Campana, Sonans & exsuscitans ad justissima æquissimaque arma militaria recipienda, & longam exoptatam Pacem recuperandam : Das ist: Eine aller Welt hellautende Seiger-Glocke/ oder Wecker/ Den vor Gott vnd aller Welt höchst recht- vnd billichmäßigen Defensions-Krieg wiederumb von den sämptlichen Confœderirten vnd Interessirten Christlichen Evangelischen Königen/ Chur-Fürsten/ Potentaten/ Republ. vnd Communen an die Hand zu nehmen/ den so lang gewünschten edlen Frieden in Deutschland vnd andern angränzenden benachbarten Ländern der Christenheit dermahl einsten hinwiederumb zu erlangen / Durch einen wohlmeinenden/ guthertzigen/ trewen Deutschen Patrioten [...] an Tag gegeben (1631), 136 pages. HAB: H: S 78.4° Helmst. (6)*

Marschall, Levin, *Wilt du den Kayser sehen? So Siehe hinten in diesen Brieff* (Mülhausen, 1629), 22 pages. HAB: A:67.6 Pol (1)

*MAXIMILIANVS COMES PALATINVS RHENI SVPERIORIS AC INFERIORIS BOIARIAE DVX. (1620). Paas, III, p. 159*

*Newes Königfest* (1621). HAB: IH94

*Neue Zeitung / Der Bär hat ein Horn bekommen* (1633). HAB: IH235



*Nun bin ich einmal Catholisch worden / vnd habe mich endlich accommodiret. In welchem Die REw vnd Gewissens Angst der Abgefallenen entdeckt. Auch allen / so wohl Abgefallenen / als Ertzpäbstlern / gute Mittel vnd heilsame Vorschläge gethan werden / wie sie ihr Gewissen befriedigen vnd in so schweren Fällen mit GOTTes Hülffe ihnen selbst wiederumb rahten können. Im Jahr O PII estote patientes, In fIne ViDebIMVs CVIVs sit conl. Erstlich gedruckt zu Leipzig / In verlegung GOTTFRIED GROßENS / Buchhändlers (1630), 32 pages. HAB: s-311-4f-helmst-5s*

*Postbott* (1621). HAB: IH90

Rasche, Christian Ludwig, *Nachklang Deß Hänsischen Weckers: Das ist / Copey Schreibens/ eines Patritii von Braunschweig/ An Einen Raths verwandten der Stadt Hamburg / darinnen derselbige wieder die allenthalben leuchtende und scheinende Friedens Grillen und Friedens Brillen/ den gantz kläglichen [...] Zustandt der HänseStädte für Augen stellet [...] Wie solchem über dem Häupt Schwebendem Unheil durch Göttlichen Beystandt annoch für zukommen sey.* (1629), 22 pages. HAB: M:Gm 2087 (5)

Salvius, Johann Adler, *Ursachen / Dahero Der Durchleuchtigste vnd Großmechtigste Fürst vnd Herr / Herr GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS Der Schweden / Gothen vnnd Wenden König / GroßFürst in Finland / Hertzog zu Ehsten vnd Carelen / Herr zu Ingermanland / ic. Endlich gleichfalsz gezwungen worden / mit dem Kriegsvolck in Deutschland vberzusetzen vnnd zu verrucken. Aus dem Lateinischen verdeutschet / Stralsund / Im Monat Julio Anno M. DC. XXX. in der Ferberischen Druckerey.* (Stralsund, Ferberische Druckerey, 1630), 18 pages. HAB: M: Gl 964 (2)

*Schlaffender Löw* (1621). HAB: IH82

*Schlesischer Zustand / Das ist / Acta vnd Schrifften / so nach der Böhmischen Niederlag wegen der Schlesier vnd andere Länder / zwischen elichen Potentaten abgangen [...] X. Copey Schreibens / welches der Bethlen Gabor / an die Stände in Mähren / sub dato 8. Januarij 1621. gethan* (1621), 35 pages. HAB: 46.4 Politica

Schnitzer, Lukas, *Zustand der Christlichen Kirchen Anno 1630* (1630). HAB: IH204

*Schwedischer Ankunfft vnd forthgang im Reich/ Das ist: Glückliche Continuation der Göttlichen hülffe : nebenst angehefftem wüten dr Tyrannen böser Unthaten/ vnd Pharisäischen Rhatschlägen/ so jetzo im schwange gehen* (1631). HAB: IH206

*Schwedischer Beruff/ Das ist: Abtreibung/ etlicher vngereimbter Judiciorum, von den jetzigen verenderungen im Röm: Reich/ vnd rechter grundt derselben (1631). HAB: IH207*

*Schwedische Rettung der Christlichen Kirchen. Anno 1631 (1631). HAB: IH205*

*Schwedischer Zug/ Das ist: Guter Anfang zu der instehenden Göttlichen Hülffe/ und Exempel der rechten Buß (1632). HAB: IH208*

*Schwedisches Kriegs-Recht / oder Articuls-Brieff / deß Durchleuchtigsten / Großmächtigsten Fürstens und Herrns / Herrns Gustaff Adolffs / der Reiche Schweden / Gothen und Wenden Königs / Großfürsten in Finland / Hertzogen zu Ehesten vnd Carelen / Herrn zu Ingermanlandt / u. Sampt angeheffter General: vnnd Obergerichts-Ordnung / vnd deß General Auditors, wie auch General-Gewaltigers / u. Ampt und Bestallungs Puncten. Auß Befelch deß Woledlen Gestrengen Herrn Bernhard Schaffelitzkhi von Muckendell / u. Rittern vnd Obristen / u. zu Roß und Fuß / u. Gedruckt zu Heylbrunn / im 1632. Jahr. (Heilbronn, 1632), 55 pages. HAB: M: Rh 430*

*Seltzames Gespräch : So in dem Königl. Schwedischen Lager zwey frembde Nationen/ als ein Lapländer mit einem Newen aukommenden Irrländer/ von den jetzigem Zustand und Kriegswesen gehalten/ etc. (Stetin, Schröter, 1632). Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/ Gotha: Poes 8° 02403/09*

*SERENISSIMUS ET POTENTISSIMUS PRINCEPS AC DOMINUS. DN: MAXIMILIANUS, DEI GRATIA COMES PALATINUS AD RHENUM, UTRIUS O BOIARIAE DUX, S.R.IMP ARCHI=DAPIFER ET PRINCEPS ELECTOR ETC: M. DC. XXIII (1623). Paas, IV, p. 133*

*Siebenbürgischer in Vngern außgelegter Meßkram : welchen der Fürst in Siebenbürgen vnter den Jesuitern/ München vnd aufrührerischen Pfaffen mit grosser Verwunderung im Königreich Vngern außgelegt vnd hauffenweiß verpartirt hat (1619). HAB: IH110*

*So sehet Ihr welchen der HERR erwehlet hat. Denn Ihm ist kein gleicher in allem Volck. Da Jauchzet alles Volck vnd sprach Gluck zu dem Könige (1632). Paas, VI, P-1633*

*Spannische Kappe Das ist Vngefahrlicher DISCURS oder erörterung der Frage / Ob das Hauß Spanien dann eben so gar groß vnd mächtig / daß sich alle Welt voraus aber Teutschlandt davor fürchten müsse? Gestellet durch Einen trewen Teutschen Patrioten vnd beständigen Liebhaber seines Vaterlandes. [...] Gedruckt zu Franckfurt / Im Jahr M. DC. XXXIV. (Frankfurt, 1634), 29 pages. HAB: A: 65.1 Pol. (4)*

Steinberg, Jakob, *Der Hoch-Teutschen Morgen=Wecker. In welchem alle Pöpstliche vnd des Papstes Anhangs Practicken / wider die Teutschen Stätte / die Cronen Engelland / Dennemarck / vnd Schweden / auch eins theils die Herren Staden von Holland / u. begriffen seind. Von einem des Vatterlands getrewen Patrioten / auß einem Jesuiterischen / an einen anderen Jesuiten zu Hildesheim abgangenen / vnd auffgefangenen Schreiben / verteutschet / vnd menniglichem zu guter nachrichtung / an tag gegeben. Getruckt im Jahr Christi 1628* (1628), 15 pages. HAB: A:35.1 Pol (4)

*Summarische Delineatio vnd Anweisung / welcher gestalt der Durchleuchtigste vnd Großmächtigste Fürst vnd Herr / Herr Gustavus König in Schweden / Gothen vnd Wenden / v. Mit etlichen Europäischen Königen / Churfürsten vnnd Fürsten / von dem Anno 1398. Den 21. Januarij Abgestorbenen Friderico Gefürsten Burggrafen zu Nürnberg / v, verwandt vnd befreundet seyn* (1632). Paas, VI, P-1653

*Trewhertz warnung. An die gantze werthe Cristenheit, das man sich in gegenwertiger zeit, für den einstbleichenden Türckischen Bluthundt wol vorzusehen hat* (1620). Paas, III, p. 375

*Triga Heroum Invictissimorum pro veritate Verbi Dei & Augustanæ Confessionis, Verbo, Ferro & Sanguine pugnantium* (1632). HAB: IH220

*Triumphierender Adler* (1621). HAB: Einbl. Xb FM 91

*Triumph vber die Herrliche vnd fast unerdenckliche Victori* (1631). Harms Darmstadt pp. 224-7

*Umbständtliche Relation Deß Bethlehem Gabors/ mit der Chur- Brandenburgischen Princessin Catharina/ zu Cascha gehaltenen Beylagers* (1626), 4 pages. HAB: A: 160.7 Quod. (51)

*Wachender Adler* (1621). Bavarian State Library, Munich: Einbl. V,8 b,2

*Wahre Contrafactur vnd Bildtniss der hier auff Erden bedrengten/ vnd in Höchster gefahr schwebenden/ doch aber endtlich erlöseten Christlichen vnd rechtgläubigen Kirchen* (1630). HAB: IH209

*Wahre Contrafactur vnnd Abbildung / deß Durchleuchtigen / Hochgebornen Fürsten vnd Herren / Herrn Betlehem Gabor / Fürsten in Siebenbürgen / u. Sampt einem Gespräch*

*zwischen demselben vnd der Religion / sampt dero zugethanen gemeinen Landsständen gegenwertiges Kriegswesen betreffend* (1620). Paas, III, p. 98

*Warhaffte Newe Zeittung/ von der Graffschafft Camb: so von Ihr Fürstl: Durchl: Maximilian in Bayrn Anno 1621. den 15 September belegert/ und endlich den 25. September erobert und eingenomen ; sampt derselben zugehört/ Stätt und Marckflecken* (1621). HAB: IH99

*Wahrhaffter Bericht / der zu Regensburg den 25 Newen oder 15. Alten Februarij Anno 1623. Vorgangnen ChurPfälzischen Belehnung* (1623). Paas, IV, p. 132

*Warnung Mercury der Götter Bottenn* (1632). Paas, VI, p. 196

*Wol proportionierte vnnd all zu sehr erhitzte Badstub : sampt seinem vbel qualifiziertem Bader oder Schröpffer/ auch nicht wol zu friednem Badgast* (1622). HAB: IH131

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