Rebellious Heretics and Faithful Martyrs
Media Polemics and the Symbolic Language of the 'Bohemian Question' Throughout the Thirty Years' War

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Abstract

The Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) stands as one of Europe's defining conflicts. It is often referred to as Europe's last religious war, yet questions of how much religion truly underwrote the war's bloodshed yield varying conclusions. This work investigates the origins of the pervasive perception that religion was a primary concern that provoked thirty years of protracted and far-flung warfare. Justification for this evaluation is found in the birthplace of the war, the Kingdom of Bohemia. Specifically, conceptions of religious and political collaboration, which had been cultivated over the Bohemian Reformation, pervaded justifications for the evangelical Estates of Bohemia's insurrection in 1618. This particular lexicon of unrest informed affective media products from the subsequent 'Bohemian Phase' and was quickly assimilated into a wider European context. From its origin in the Bohemian context, to its appropriation and application to other cases of radicalization, the particular details shifted to suit various circumstance, yet the underlying dynamics of intertwined religious and political conflict stuck throughout the war. The persistence of themes of traditional religious liberties, inviolable constitutional frameworks, and the just rule of kings, born in revolutionary Bohemia, outlived the kingdom's experiment with self-rule, and survived to define historical perception of the war's entirety.

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Introduction

"The contemporary histories of the Thirty Years War, and many later works based upon these, are very largely indebted - not always to the advantage of unadulterated historical truth - to its pamphlet literature. Without some knowledge of that literature it is impossible to understand the force of the blasts of fierce hatred and wild fear which swept over a distracted nation; or to form a conception of the mass of misrepresentation, perversion, and falsification with which the newsletters and historical narratives of the time had to deal." [1]

Figure 1: Wachender Adler - The Watchful Eagle.[2]

Between 1618 and 1648, much of Europe's political structure was violently uprooted, its

economies were ravished, and some eight million lives were lost. Even before fighting had

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[1] A. W. Ward, G. W. Prothero, and Stanley Leathes, eds., *The New Cambridge Modern History, Volume 4: The Thirty Years' War*, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906).

[2] "*Wachender Adler*" reproduced in Johann Scheible, *Die Fliegenden Blätter des XVI. Und XVII. Jahrhunderts, in sogenannten Einblatt-Drucken mit Kupferstichen und Holzschnitten, zunächst aus dem Gebiete der politischen und religiösen Caricatur [The Flying Leaves of the sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries, in so-called One-leaf Prints with Copper Engravings and Woodcuts, First from the Field of Political and Religious Caricature]* (Stuttgart, 1850).

officially ceased, the conflict had been deemed a 'Thirty Years' War'.[3] The war's christening as such was far from benign; references to a singular conflict encompassing thirty years of warfare reverberated throughout specifically Protestant accounts of the newly pacified tumult. Immediate historicization in England and Germany fashioned continuity out of a Protestant struggle for religious and constitutional liberties against Catholic (Habsburg) repression. Histories penned in Europe's Catholic polities tended to portray the warfare of these thirty years as segmented, and frankly rebellious, attacks against the divine right of Habsburg emperors. As much as these Catholic accounts attempted to diffuse the religious and constitutional arguments of their Protestant counterparts, the dramatic reconfiguring of the Holy Roman Empire's confessional and political structure following the Peace of Westphalia belies any notion of the Thirty Years' War as fundamentally non-religious.[4]

The presence of religious motivations in the Thirty Years' War is undeniable, yet historiography's sustained emphasis on the war's confessional underpinning is a much more tendentious claim. Indeed, as the war progressed, shifting political and military circumstances often led to trans-confessional collaboration and even intra-confessional combat. Despite this, historians – from Samuel Pufendorf in the seventeenth century, Friedrich Schiller in the eighteenth, and a vibrant plethora from the nineteenth, twentieth, and current twenty-first

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[3] The term 'Thirty Years' War' was apparently used for the first time by deputies of the bishopric of Bamberg at the Westphalian Peace Congress. See: Konrad Repgen, "Seit Wann Gibt Es Den Begriff ‚Dreissigjähriger Krieg'?,Since when was the term ‚Thirty Years War'?]" in *Weltpolitik, Europagedanke, Regionalismus: Festschrift Für Heinz Gollwitzer*, ed. H. Dollinger and et al. (Münster, 1982), 59–70; Geoffrey Parker, ed., *The Thirty Years' War* (New York: Routledge, 1984).

[4] For an investigation on the concept of early modern religious war, and the application of the epithet to the Thirty Years' War, especially following France's trans-confessional involvement in 1635, see: Cornel Zwierlein, "The Thirty Years' War—A Religious War? Religion and Machiavellism at the Turning Point of 1635," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Thirty Years' War*, ed. Peter Schroder and Olaf Asbach (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014), 231–43.

centuries – confront confession as inextricable from this Thirty Years' War.[5] I argue that this is due to the distillation of a resonant argumentative discourse from the war's first 'Bohemian Phase' which was depicted and communicated to the masses through various products of affective media. The Bohemian Phase (1618-21) occurred in congress with rapid advancements in the proliferation capabilities of contemporary media products. For that reason, it was able to propagate a symbolic narrative which the remainder of the war continued to adopt and adapt. It was this discourse which, through flurries of leaflets and memoranda of kings, defined the ethos of the Thirty Years' War despite its incongruity with reality. Therefore, the specific religious-political circumstances which led to blows in the Kingdom of Bohemia in 1618 functioned as continent-wide justification for a European war, as well as the key to the persistence of confessional legitimation well beyond religion's involvement as a primary mover.

The Kingdom of Bohemia developed its religious reformation in tandem with an increasingly oligarchic Estates structure throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Military successes tied to their reformed 'Utraquist' Church underpinned Bohemia's reliance on its Estates' ability to successfully check sovereign authority. The kingdom negotiated religious dualism prior to the sixteenth century's Protestant Reformation and subsequently progressed along a starkly different path than Germany's 'confessional' model. By the turn of the seventeenth century, certain religious parties among Bohemia's Estates became disaffected by

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[5] Pufendorf, a prominent German jurist and historian, describes 'The Thirty Years' War' in his 1667 book *The Present State of Germany.* Samuel Pufendorf, *De Statu Imperii Germanici Liber Unus [The Present State of Germany]* (Geneva, 1667) Subsequent accounts of the Thirty Years' War have continued to lay particular stress on the confessional aspect of the conflict. See: Friedrich Schiller, *The History of the Thirty Years' War*, trans. A. J. W. Morrison (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1846); Anton Gindely, *History of the Thirty Years' War*, trans. Andrew Ten Brook, vol. 1 (New York, 1884); and newer works following the 'religious turn' of the last half of the twentieth century. See: Robert Bireley, "The Thirty Years' War as Germany's Religious War," in *Krieg Und Politik 1618-1648*, ed. Konrad Repgen (Munich, 1988), 85–106; Johannes Burkhardt, *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg [The Thirty Years' War]* (Frankfurt am Main, 1992).

the realities of their representative role—they articulated their grievances through a distinctly 'Bohemian' method of protest. This protest, and the subsequent 'rebellion' and confederation of the Bohemian Estates, were framed within traditionally 'Bohemian' conceptions of religious toleration which were inextricably tied to constitutional concerns over the authority of the specifically Habsburg monarch. These themes underwrote a wide array of media products which were distributed throughout Europe, originally pertaining to the specific Bohemian context, then later reformulated to suit other participants in the Thirty Years' War.

Medium and Message in Early Modern Europe

The present study concerns itself with the propagandistic function of early modern media, the messages these products expounded and the medium through which they were proliferated. Media production, and the influence it had over populace and policy, expanded immensely following the invention and subsequent popularization of the movable type printing press in the fifteenth century.[6] The capabilities of this new technology were demonstrated through the sixteenth century's Lutheran Reformation and its cultivation of a polemic climate structured around vast distribution networks and prolific pamphlet production. By the turn of the seventeenth century, the reproductive capacity of media production, and the distributional sphere over which news spread, flourished. Technical advancements in production progressed hand in hand with the continuous elaboration of what Jürgen Habermas termed the "public sphere."[7] Far from Habermas' "Bourgeois Public Sphere," however, the public sphere of early modern media

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[6] Henri-Jean Martin and Lucien Febvre, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800* (London: Verso, 1976).

[7] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1993).

was a multiform and multivalent structure; media production, especially in its popular manifestations like poems, songs, or pamphlets, permeated disparate social strata.[8]

In the attempt to analyze a broad swath of propagandistic media, this work's analysis apprehends a realistic amalgam of new and constantly developing print media as well as dynamic older media of idea distribution. Modern works on the media of the print revolution correctly emphasize the persistence of older forms of communication—manuscripts, as well as oral traditions, coexisted with and flourished amongst new production methods. Although his assertion that "medium is the message" unduly subverts the agency of the receiver, Marshall McLuhan appropriately stresses the role that medium plays in an item's interpretation.[9] The spectrum of media under analysis in this thesis, from pamphlets and broadsheets, to public rituals and oral traditions, necessitates scrutiny of both the message itself and the efficacy of the individual medium in shaping the resonance of the message.

The events of Bohemia's 'rebellion' were by no means necessarily the first phase of a European war. The early years of the seventeenth century were replete with political upheavals premised on similar incongruities of religious identities and the legal apparatus constructed to accommodate them.[10] What set Bohemia's actions apart, therefore, was not merely the actions in

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[8] For recent case studies of the 'evanescence' of the early modern public sphere see: Massimo Rospocher, ed., *Beyond the Public Sphere: Opinions, Publics, Spaces in Early Modern Europe* (Bologna: Società Editrice il Mulino, 2012); For individual regional exploration of the impact of print media on public spheres see: Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Jeffrey K. Sawyer, *Printed Poison: Pamphlet Propaganda, Faction Politics, and the Public Sphere in Early Seventeenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Bronwen Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, the City, and Early Modern Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

[9] Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962).

[10] For recent refutations of the Thirty Years' War's inevitability see: Peter H. Wilson, "The Causes of the Thirty Years War 1618-48," *English Historical Review* 123, no. 502 (2008): 554–86; Johannes Burkhardt, "Die Böhmische Erhebung: Kriegsbeginn 1618 [The Bohemian Uprising: The Beginning of War 1618]," in *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg. Facetten Einer Folgenreichen Epoche [The Thirty Years' War. Facets of a Subsequent Epoch]*, ed. Peter C. Hartmann

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themselves, but rather, their symbolic resonance throughout the contemporary European context. Through flurries of media products following each development of the Bohemian conflict, its situation gained continental recognition, and its specific grievances were assimilated into the broader contemporary lexicon of unrest. The relative abundance of supposedly representative popular media from the Bohemian Phase and, indeed, the Thirty Years' War's first half, rationalized the emphasis historians have attributed to the dominant early-war narrative. Confessional themes were exaggerated and widely proliferated through media because of their popular resonance and echoed through propaganda's reality forming qualities.[11] Through these media products, Bohemia and the ethos underlying its 'rebellion' gained vast trans-regional significance, beginning and abetting the Thirty Years' War. Narratives of the Thirty Years' War were fashioned out of the discursive bedrock formed during the Bohemian Phase, fleshed out by affective media, then historicized by subsequent generations.

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and Florian Schuller (Regensburg, 2010), 47–57; Georg Schmidt, *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg [The Thirty Years' War]* (Munich: Beck, 1995).

[11] Allan Rachlin, *News as Hegemonic Reality: American Political Culture and the Framing of News Accounts* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1988); Noam Chomsky, *Media Control: The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2002); Henry Roediger and James Wertsch, "Creating a New Discipline of Memory Studies" 1, no. 9 (2008): 9–22.

Heresy, Majesty, and the Path to the Window

> "This nation is by nature impetuous and wild, it cannot be overwhelmed by
> reasonable arguments, and if it is not overcome by goodness and kindness, it
> will become recalcitrant . . ."

Archbishop of Prague, Johann Lohelius, 1614[12]

The historical background that created the framework for perception of the Thirty Years' War as a confessional conflict is fundamental to what was to follow. What was an "impetuous and wild" nature to Prague's Archbishop in 1614 was, in fact, a particular national ethos cultivated over a nearly two hundred-year period of innovation and conflict. Viewed from the vantage of those loyal to and employed by the Roman See, Bohemia's ethos was one of unrest and disobedience. From such a perspective, the Kingdom of Bohemia had spent its last two centuries nurturing heretics such as the emblematic Jan Hus, repelling crusades led by proper Catholic Monarchs, periodically oppressing its own Catholic inhabitants, and – by the time of Lohelius' comments – had coerced a vulnerable Emperor into sanctioning its own unique brand of heterodoxy. Although he remained imprecise on the details, Lohelius' prediction indeed bore fruit. Who would have guessed that, in 1618, Bohemians would instigate rebellion through their age-old method of public protest, wagering high stakes that they would not throw out the baby with the dirtied bath water in which it appeared to be drowning. This 'defenestration', carried out by the Bohemian Estates, lit the powder keg of the Thirty Years' War. While the following prolonged war was not inevitable – indeed, insisting on the inevitability of any given event leaves us on shaky ground – it was greatly facilitated by this first radicalization.

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[12] Fr. J. Zoubek, "O věcech církevních na Poděbradsku, 1550-1665, [On Church Affairs in Poděbrady, 1550-1665]" *Časopis českého musea [Magazine of the Czech Museum] 52 (1878): 58 Cited in:* Zdeněk V. David, *Finding the Middle Way: The Utraquists' Liberal Challenge to Rome and Luther* (Washington D. C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2003) 157.

In order to understand the first radicalization of the Thirty Years' War, Prague's 'Second Defenestration', further explication of the contexts within Bohemia is warranted. It is precisely within the above-mentioned centuries of unrest and disobedience – first generally, then more rapidly crystalizing into concrete rationalization in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries – that justification for this event lies. This rationalization on behalf of the Bohemian Estates was predicated on precisely that Bohemian ethos, fashioned through conflict, and structured around the preservation of religious privileges through political representation. The resulting self-conception of the Protestant Bohemian Estates greatly (and tragically) overestimated the practical capacity of the Estates to revolt and successfully exact concessions in the religio-political context of 1618.

Identity, as a group or individual affiliation, is subject to an inexhaustible variance of factors; the further we deconstruct the intertwined web of influences on historical actors, the more our oft-explored categories (i.e., class, region, religion, gender, etc.) fail to provide sufficient depth of meaning. For the purposes of this chapter, 'identity' fortunately sheds some of its accrued ambiguity through an analysis of it as essentially a contemporary caricature of identity. That is, a perceived Bohemian identity that framed and justified the actions of members of the Bohemian Estates, regardless of their adherence to it. The analysis of this chapter follows Peter H. Wilson's emphasis on the "militant" actions of a few, but rather than placing emphasis on "fundamentalist" religious justification, it attempts to demonstrate a more nuanced context of these individuals' social and political contexts.[13] It remains important to emphasize the legitimacy of religious belief in early modern Europe, while acknowledging as well the

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[13] Peter H. Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy: A History of the Thirty Years War* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009).

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application of pragmatism by religious individuals functioning in the political realm. In terms of identity, no individual sufficiently to embodied the entire stock of a certain national identity. Instead, collections of romanticized fabrications were invoked when it became necessary, whether within interpersonal interaction or diplomatic relations. For the militants in the Bohemian Estates whose religious and (notably) political autonomy was threatened by dynastic succession, it was crucial to frame their actions within a long-established collection of the facets of Bohemian identity.

In order to illuminate the structure of this general Bohemian identity, it is necessary to analyze its constituent elements, i.e., the kingdom's major developmental moments and the subsequent way in which they became consolidated into a sufficiently convincing spectrum of Bohemian values and characteristics. While the events themselves carry *a priori* significance for their contemporary audience, their synthesis over time, through affective media, cultural practices, and other avenues, had more significance as collective memory was built and disseminated. As time elapsed between the occurrences themselves, politically active "reinterpretations of the past"[14] were created by those seeking to invoke past narratives for present change. Of most significance in the Bohemian context is the religio-political turmoil ushered in by the 'murder' of Jan Hus by the Council of Constance and the Roman Church's subsequent relentless persecution of Bohemia's native faith. Hus remained at the forefront of a

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[14] A key phrase and topic of Phillip Haberkern's masterful work on the shifting and combative utility of the memory and image of Jan Hus in and outside Bohemian culture, Phillip N. Haberkern, *Patron Saint and Prophet: Jan Hus in the Bohemian and German Reformations*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016) 2; earlier analysis of the development and proliferation of Hus's likeness and memory in the Bohemian Reformation's first century is provided in Thomas A. Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride: The First Reformation in Hussite Bohemia* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1998).

pantheon of the Bohemian Reformation's martyr saints for the movement's duration and beyond, as the representation of Bohemia's tragic plight and adherence to truth in the face of persecution.

Much of the kingdom's identity was formed around something of a victim complex, with the specters of Bohemia's various interlocutors and nemeses serving their own roles in defining the ethos of a Bohemian martyr state. However, Bohemia's frequent altercations served not only to enculture the ethos of a victim, as the Kingdom was successful often enough and obtained outstanding privileges with sufficient frequency during the two centuries of its Reformation; this aspect of successful negotiations with royalty, also occupied a position of great importance. Over the course of the Bohemian Reformation Bohemia persevered, even flourished, and attained a position of individuality and freedom unmatched by its contemporaries. Regardless, however, liberties gave way to radicalization. Explanation of this radicalization must take into account a spectrum of historical experiences, including the way they became remembered, memorialized, and subsequently applied to the arguably incompatible context of 1618. Through the delineation of this web of Bohemian identity, the motivations – or at least the justifications – of the defenestration's perpetrators can be anchored within the incoherence between self-perception and reality.

Building a Bohemian

Bohemian identity throughout the kingdom's first full century of Reformation (15th c.) took shape primarily through various gauntlets of contention against internal and external forces.[15] In accordance with contemporary realities, these battles were staged around issues of

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[15] These sorts of pressures took the form of legal negotiations and proclamations as well as popularly distributed polemical manuscripts and, from the later fifteenth century onwards (at a steadily increasing rate), polemic print products. Anti-Hussite polemics from the fifteenth century have been collected and are available, see Pavel Soukup, Repertorium operum antihussiticorum, on-line database, www.antihus.eu Accessed on March 7, 2017.

inextricable religious and political values; faith-based privileges carried implications to political structure in much the same way as legal negotiations impacted religious structure and practice. In Bohemia's case, doctrinal divergence from the Roman Church gained clear political connotations when Bohemian nobility overwhelmingly identified with the Bohemian "Utraquist"[16] Church and against the constraints of Roman Catholicism. Channels of popular media, concocted by an established Utraquist intelligentsia, infused the Bohemian public with ideas of religious and political individualism, underpinned and affirmed by the kingdom's overwhelming military and political successes of the fifteenth century. Initiated through these avenues, dogmatic proliferation served to dovetail the popular veneration of individual Utraquist champions, paving the way for both a positively delineated and distinct religious identity, with a political identity forged through the resulting negative associations with Roman Catholic states and sovereigns.

Law of God – 'Hussite' Trial by Iron and Fire

Europe's first Reformation took shape in the waning years of the fourteenth century, nurtured under the auspices of Bohemian King and Emperor, Charles IV. This Bohemian Reformation was no antecedent to the sixteenth century's later Protestant Reformation; it featured its own unique articulation of faith which developed a rather complicated relationship to the Roman Church and, therefore, those adhering to it. Under the rule of Charles, this Bohemian heterodoxy grew hand-in-hand with Bohemia's ascendance to European centrality and Prague's establishment as an imperial capital. The foundation of Charles' university in 1348, and the

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[16] Derived from their emphasis on communion "sub utraque specie," in both kinds (i.e. bread and wine). They are also, less commonly, referred to as 'Calixtines' because of their (varying degrees of) veneration of the communion chalice. However, Utraquist is by far the most common and self-stated name for the mainline Bohemian reformed Church following the 'Hussite Wars'.

diverse minds it attracted from throughout the kingdom and continent, greased the wheels of Bohemian theological development. It was in this university setting that most scholars identify the genesis of the Bohemian reform movement, expounded by prodigious public preachers such as Konrad Waldhauser and Milič of Kroměřiž who adamantly denounced the ubiquitous monetization of religious practice which was both seen and felt in their contemporary society.[17] These sorts of ideas, coupled with strains of individualistic reform from Wycliffe's England,[18] permeated Prague's academic culture under Charles's son and successor, Václav IV, and was adapted to reflect beliefs pertenant to its university practitioners, inextricably couched in the status and identity of Bohemia.

The period of doctrinal elaboration and entrenchment of Bohemia's reformed faith following Charles' death in 1378 was enacted by a cast of influential figures, although posterity often distills it as primarily led by Jan Hus in particular.[19] The symbollic importance of Jan Hus to both early and advanced stages of the reform movement, and Hus's primacy as patron saint of the Bohemian Reformation was (and remains) a cornerstone of post-Hus Bohemian identity. Theologically, the Bohemian Reformation stressed a set of crucial tenets of their belief, namely: frequent communion for clergy and lay individuals; veneration of the chalice; the participation in communion of children; eschatological tendencies; the true presence in Eucharist; and a self-perception of the movement as preserving continuity from the patristic Church.[20] This set of

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[17] Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

[18] The exact extent of Wycliffe influence on the Bohemian Reformation is debated to this day. See: Vilém Herold, "How Wyclifite Was the Bohemian Reformation?" Trans. Zdeněk V. David. In *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* Vol 2. Ed. Zdeněk V. David and David R. Holeton (Prague, 1998) 25-38.

[19] E. H. Gillett, *The Life and Times of John Huss; Or, The Bohemian Reformation of the Fifteenth Century*, 2 vols. (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1863).

[20] David R. Holeton, "The Bohemian Eucharistic Movement and its European Context," *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*. Vol. 1. Ed. Zdeněk V. David and David R Holeton (Prague, 1996) 23-48.

fundamental dogma for the Bohemian Reformation became synonymous over time with Hus despite its multifaceted and (allbeit rather short) longue durèe gestation period.

Beyond his doctrinal contributions to the Bohemian reform movement, Hus, and his trial and execution by the Council of Constance in 1415, was transformed into the cornerstone of an evolving 'Hussite' and Utraquist identity. The tribulations of this paradigmatically pious figure took on a life of its own through overtly partisan accounts of his trial and death, composed in passio style, suggesting Hus's similarity to Christ himself.[21] The contours of commemoration of Hus bears witness to the contexts of the period in which the invocation occured. However, it must be kept in mind that, while agents acted to promote the cult of Hus, detractionary campaigns utilized similar media to tear it down. Therefore, the attributes which gain particular prominance in Bohemian sources can be seen as answers to their antagonists, and as the building blocks of a defined collective perception.

The proliferation of a defined perception of any individual, shifting though it may have been, was dependent on effective channels of mass media. The utility of pre-printing press modes of mass dispersion have been demonstrated to have been comparable equivalents to the propagandistic outputs of, say, the Lutheran Reformation, often referred to as the first mass-media campaign.[22] The focus on methods for the oral vernacular proliferation of ideas has become prominant in social history of the late medieval and early modern eras. The Bohemian case specifically, centered around the memory of Jan Hus, exudes this type of pre-printing press culture of 'Oral Pamphlets' most emphatically in its utilization of ideologically laden vernacular

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[21] David R. Holeton and Hana Vlhová-Wörner, "A Remarkable Witness to the Feast of Saint Jan Hus," *The Bohemian Reform and Religious Practice*. Vol 7. Ed. Zdeněk V. David and David R. Holeton (Prague: 2009) 156-184.
[22] R. W. Scribner, *For the Sake of the Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

songs.[23] The efficacy of these popular songs is supported by the extensive efforts expended by the Council of Constance to suppress songs celebrating Hus, and even public singing in general. They were sung nonetheless. Hus was praised as a martyr, one who had suffered for the truth: a perfect exemplar for those who continued to fight for justice. In fact, these songs carried the implicit message that the audience ought to continue Hus's battle against the continued evils of the Roman Church.[24] Identification and emulation of Hus formed crucial aspects of the Bohemian identity defined through religious terms and having coersive military implications.

Institutional actions also effected 'Hussite' cohesion. In the year following Hus' immolation at Constance in 1415, Prague's Archbishop levied an interdict on the city, hoping to douse the flames of unrest which had fed upon the council's incendiary decision.   However, the official ban on preaching only served to fuel the surging 'Hussite' movement, as the chapels vacated by Catholic priests were occupied by Bohemian Utraquist priests who simply ignored the order. It was in this period that the early themes of Hus's legacy became solidified, from there to be applied broadly to the entire community of 'faithful' Bohemians. The discourse was forged around an age-old apocalyptic dichotomy, wherein the conflict between God and Satan is periodically embodied in the temporal world. For the influential preacher Jakoubek of Stříbro, the conflict was between the nascent Bohemian apostolic church and the Antichrist, embodied by the institutional Church and later more concretely identified by others as the Roman Church.[25] The murder of Hus became the point of confirmation for Bohemian partisans that the

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[23] Marcela K. Perett, "Vernacular Songs as 'Oral Pamphlets': The Hussites and Their Propaganda Campaign," *Viator*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (2011).

[24] František Svejkovský, Veršované skladby doby husitské [Versed Compositions from the Hussite Era] (Prague 1963); and Bohuslav Havránek, Výbor z české literatury doby husitské [The Committee of Czech Literature Hussite Period], 2 vols. (Prague 1963).

[25] Jakoubek's sermons reflected these themes. A postilla he produced provides the most direct apocalyptic juxtapositions; it is held in Prague as MS NKP VIII E 3. The apocalyptic comparisons explicitly naming the Roman Church as complicit with the Antichrist are also in Prague as MS NKP VI E 24.

institutional Church had abandoned the true word of God. This theme, namely, the concept that

their faith was pure unadulterated Catholicism and that their adherents were a chosen people and

that 'faithful' Bohemians were a new Israel, persecuted accordingly, gained momentum

throughout the 'Hussite Wars' and continued to sow the seeds of Bohemian religious identity

long after.

From the time of its thirteenth century crusades against the northern pagans, Bohemia, its

ruler and even people, perceived the kingdom as uniquely Christian. The introduction of

Bohemia's fifteenth century reform context, which claimed to uphold the patristic Church from

which Rome had strayed, gained urgent and empowering meaning through eschatological

interpretations.[26] If Bohemia was the last bastion of God's truth, it must be fought for with no

reservation; thus, Bohemia persisted in deflecting wave after wave of crusader armies from 1419

to 1434. Their triumph, represented in the Council of Basel's acceptance of the terms of the

Compactata in 1436, affirmed the provenance of Bohemia's Reformation and validated Hus's

legitimacy as "patron saint and prophet"[27] of the kingdom.

Beyond Hus, Bohemian representatives demonstrated continuous identification with, if

not total adherence to, the Four Articles of Prague throughout negotiations to resolve the

'Hussite' Wars.[28] These articles represented the moderate theological insistences, embodying

the acceptable overlap of Bohemia's radical Reformation and its moderate Utraquism. Clearly

articulated, the Articles demanded "both kinds of communion for the laity, free preaching of the

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[26] Petr Hlaváček, "Christianity, Europe, and (Utraquist) Bohemia: The Theological and Geographic Concepts in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times," *The Bohemian Religious Reform and Practice*. Vol 7. Ed. Zdeněk V. David and David R. Holeton (Prague: 2009) 19-41.

[27] Haberkern, *Patron Saint and Prophet* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

[28] Thomas A. Fudge, *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437: Sources and Documents for the Hussite Crusades* (Burlington, Ashgate Publishing Company, 2002).

Word of God, freeing the Church from the shackles of material wealth and earthly power"[29] and secular authority to enforce the punishment of severe sins.[30] Due to its role as the middle road between the two poles of Bohemian reform, the Four Articles of Prague functioned as the basic framework of Bohemian Reformation identity. In it, radical and moderate elements persisted, leveling the ground for broad Utraquist identification following the extirpation of the reform's radical variant following the battle of Lipany in 1434.[31] Thus, as a religious movement, Bohemia's Reformation, and specifically the Utraquism represented in the Four Articles of Prague, served as an oft-invoked set of identifiers, poignantly differentiating Bohemian Utraquists, common and noble, from Roman adherents far and wide.

Institutional Identity – Estates Oligarchy

Bohemian identification with their reformed doctrine was not restricted solely to matters of faith. It was also mobilized as political leverage for nobility contesting the Crown's influence within the kingdom. In fact, the perseverance of the Bohemian Reformation owes much of its longevity to its acceptance and backing by prominant Bohemian noblity during some of the movement's most tenuous years. Key developments in the Bohemian corporate state (*Ständestaat*) during the years of 'Hussite' unrest institutionalized the practical authority of a pluralistic community of Estates.[32] Elaboration of the Estates system during this period facilitated the development of associative identities among the Estates of the fourteenth century (Nobility, Knights, and Towns) whereby the dominance of any one could override the authority

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[29] David, *Finding the Middle Way* (Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2003) 25.

[30] An English translation of one version of the Articles can be found in: Josef Macek, *The Hussite Movement in Bohemia* (Prague: Orbis, 1958) 128-129.

[31] F. M. Bartoš, *The Hussite Revolution, 1424-1437*, trans. John M. Klassen, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).

[32] Winfried Eberhard, "The Political System and the Intellectual Traditionds of the Bohemian Ständestaat from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century," in: *Crown, Church and Estates: Central European Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed., R. J. W. Evans and T. V. Thomas (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991) 23-47.

of even the Crown. Through this partisan representative system the Utraquist faith of the Bohemian Reformation was guaranteed security within the Kingdom, tied, for better or worse, to the power balance of Bohemia's oligarchic Estates.

The legal structure of Late-Medieval Bohemia took shape following a centuries-long contention for authority between the representative Estates (i.e., nobility) and the Bohemian Kings. Bohemian nobility clung to well-established and comprehensive authority throughout the Medieval period. Since 1212, the Kingdom secured an elective monarchy,[33] and later that century, a land court (*zemský soud*) was established to handle land disputes between Bohemian nobility.[34] These privileges ensured both limited imperial interference by its Crown and fostered an insular noble class, endowed with symbolic and institutionalized authority within the Kingdom. Following the extinction of the male line of Bohemia's native Přemyslid dynasty in 1306, the Estates granted hereditary succession to the Luxembourg dynasty in exchange for a number of agreements. From John of Luxembourg's accession in 1310 to the end of his son Charles' reign in 1378, a conception of *land law* emerged, couched in ancient Bohemian tradition, which vested the nobility of the Estates[35] power to judge any and all on their adherence to the common good. This idea was expressed in the royalist Ondřej z Dubé's codification of the Bohemian land law, *Pravá Zemská Česká* (1343-1394),[36] as well as in the uprising of nobility against Václav in 1394.[37] As the fifteenth century approached, it became clear that the authority

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[33] Kamil Krofta, "Bohemia in the Fourteenth Century," *The Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. VII, *Decline of Empire and Papacy*. Eds. J. R. Tanner, C. W. Previté-Orton, and Z. N. Brooke, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932) 155.

[34] Jeanne E. Grant, *For the Common Good: The Bohemian Land Law and the Beginnings of the Hussite Revolution* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

[35] Nobility was one of only two Bohemian Estates (the other was the Ecclesiastic estate). Prelates would later be removed as an Estate and replaced by Towns and Gentry.

[36] Grant, *For the Common Good: The Bohemian Land Law and the Beginnings of the Hussite Revolution 56-63*.

[37] Hugh LeCaine Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2004).

of Bohemia's nobility had transformed from what had amounted to mere posturing under Charles IV to fully articulated and institutionalized legal heft under his son Václav.

The ability of Charles IV to moderate the dominance of Bohemian nobility was due in large part to his ability (and opportunity) to pit the two extant Estates against each other. By encouraging incongruities between the Estate of the nobility and that of the prelates, Charles was able to limit the number of Bohemian Diets (Sněm) necessary for him to convene. Under Václav, however, the theological developments of the Bohemian Reformation began to gain more widespread acceptance amongst the Estates of Bohemia. The royal towns, which had bolstered their influence as an Estate under Václav, were situated firmly behind the Reformation. The powerful influence of the royal towns, and the tacit acceptance of Reformation partisan politics by the nobility, underpinned a united political front in support of Reformation policy.[38] Václav's death in 1419 immediately followed the first revolutionary acts of 'Hussite' unrest and abetted yet further autonomy for the Estates.

This autonomy, grounded in long-developed conceptions of traditional Bohemian representational duties and facilitated by recent aggrandizement of certain Estates, was concretized in the 1421 Land Diet of Čáslav. The representatives at the Land Diet discussed the prospect of confirming Václav's would-be successor, Sigismund, as King of Bohemia. The discourse of this Diet concerned primarily legal and political authority, interpreted as being derived foremost from the Czech language, kingdom, and people.[39] This represented a fairly standard, if not conservative, interpretation of contemporary political views on Estates-mediated

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[38] David, *Finding the Middle Way* (Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2003) 24-32.
[39] Grant, *For the Common Good: The Bohemian Land Law and the Beginnings of the Hussite Revolution 119-126*.

sovereignty.[40] However, the Bohemian Estates at Čáslav premised the political and legal

acceptance of a Bohemian King on his adherence to the law of God and his intent to enforce the

Four Articles of Prague.[41] The Bohemian Estates had incorporated the religious statutes of the

nascent Bohemian Reformation into their interpretation of the kingdom's 'common good'.

When the Land Diet of Čáslav rejected Sigismund and instituted a twenty-member directorate of

Estates members in place of a king, it became clear that the Bohemian Estates had, at least

pragmatically, embraced the Four Articles of Prague, and had assimilated the identity of the

Bohemian Reformation into the kingdom's legal apparatus.

The tenuous unification of radical and moderate Reformation parties through the Four

Articles of Prague provided the movement with yet another platform of Estates-driven political

backing. The moderate dogma espoused through these Articles provided the theological

foundation for the support of a significant portion of Bohemia's nobility and burghers, in

addition to the dominant majority of the kingdom's population.[42] The strength of the Estates

system, led by the nobility and towns, buttressed the perpetuation of Utraquism as a tenet of

Bohemian institutional identity. In concert with the immensely popular identification of

Bohemians with their national reformed Church, the partisan identification of the nobility and

towns to Utraquism guaranteed its survival so long as the oligarchy of the Estates persisted along

similar lines of representative influence. As it stood during and immediately following 'Hussite'

warfare, the conception of Bohemian representative Estates tied its Utraquist identity to the

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[40] Otto Brunner, *Land and Lordship: Structures of Governance in Medieval Austria*, trans. Howard Kaminsky, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992).

[41] Grant, *For the Common Good: The Bohemian Land Law and the Beginnings of the Hussite Revolution 124*.

[42] Jaroslav Pánek, "The Question of Tolerance in Bohemia and Moravia in the age of Reformation," in: *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*, Ed. Ole Peter Grell and Bob Schribner (Cambridge, 1996) 231-248.

maintenance of a static climate of political and religious support. The political status of

Bohemia's native faith was, thus, firmly tied to the representative composition of its Estates.

A Bohemian Confession and the Fetters of Majesty

The Kingdom of Bohemia emerged from its 'Hussite' period sporting new and innovative

legal formulations which dictated implementation of religious tolerance tied to the kingdom's

representative Estates. Maintenance of Bohemia's strictly dualistic religious tolerance was

dependent on the composition and relative authority of members of the Estates. While the binary

dominance of Utraquist and Catholic representatives persisted into the sixteenth century, the

growth of other religious groups later in the century threatened the balance. Eventually, religious

composition of the authoritative Estates swung away from the Utraquists and attempts were

made to establish a Bohemian Confession. The marriage of religious tolerance policy to the

power balance of the Estates resulted in the dominance of a hegemonic minority. In 1609, these

parties saw their ambitions rewarded; the 'Letter of Majesty' granted broad 'confessional'

privileges to each Bohemian non-Catholic faith. It was not, however, a victory for all affected

parties, and indeed, the 'Letter of Majesty' laid the foundation on which the Evangelical Estates

'revolted' in 1618.

Toleration Sub Utraque Specie

Terms of settlement between Bohemia's moderate Utraquist party and the Council of

Basel became land law in 1436 through what is known as the *Compactata*.[43] The agreement

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[43] The text of a 1434 iteration is published in František Palacký, ed., *Archiv Cesky* vol. 3 (Prague, 1844) 398-404. The *Compactata* and its significance to the Bohemian Reformation is covered in English in: František Kavka, "Bohemia," *The Reformation in National Context* ed. Robert Scribner, Roy Porter, Mikulas Teich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 131-154 and the Bohemian involvement in the Council of Basel is presented in: E. F. Jacob "The Bohemians at the Council of Basel, 1433," *Prague Essays* ed. R. W. Seton-Watson (Oxford, 1949) 81-123.

sanctioned two Churches, Utraquist and Catholic, each granted their own functioning consistory for the administration of ecclesiastic matters. It was unique amongst contemporary acts of toleration in that it sanctioned a strictly national Church and in its humanist approach to matters of faith. Individuals, instead of princes or manorial overlords, were granted the privilege of adhering to whichever of the two available faiths they chose. Due to its conciliar origins and its vast pragmatic concessions, the *Compactata* was never formally accepted by the papacy. The *Compactata* was, however, tacitly acknowledged under the authority of the Roman See until its abrogation under the authority of Pope Pius II in 1462. Despite this revocation of its international ecclesiastic legitimacy, the *Compactata* retained its function as land law within the Kingdom of Bohemia. Having lost one pillar of its theoretical legal support, the *Compactata* and the dualism it enforced throughout Bohemia became dependent on the authority of the kingdom's increasingly hegemonic Estates system.

Under the rule of Bohemia's only Utraquist king, Jiří z Poděbrady, internal religious affairs continued implementation of religious toleration premised on the stipulations of the *Compactata*. Following Jiří's death in 1471, Bohemia was once again ruled by a Catholic king, Jagiellon Vladislav II. The new king confirmed religious privileges along the lines of the *Compactata,* yet the majority Utraquist population was wary of their new Catholic monarch. The situation posed the threat of dual persecution: institutional persecution issued from the top down, and potential military intervention by any number of Catholic monarchs acting at the behest of the Roman See. When Vladislav II did attempt to re-Catholicize the kingdom in the early 1480s, the Estates took the lead in acting against it. The Prague uprising of 1483 stemmed Vladislav's attempts through shows of violent force, and members of the Estates subsequently initiated negotiations between Catholic and Utraquist parties for a permanent solution. The two

parties sought to continue policies of strict dualism despite the proliferation of faiths Bohemia

had hosted and elaborated ever since the conclusion of its 'Hussite' wars. The result of these

negotiations, the 1485 Peace of Kutná Hora, reiterated Bohemia's formal dualism, once again

legalizing the Catholic and Utraquist Churches and excluding other expanding and increasingly

influential religious groups.

Foremost among those disaffected Bohemian Churches was the Unity of the Brethren

(Jednota bratrská), inheritors of radical 'Hussite' doctrine who professed strict non-militant

biblicism. It was a rapidly expanding Church that ascended to prominence in the middle of the

fifteenth century and prospered in Bohemia and Moravia despite its illegality.[44] Bohemia's

repudiation of its legality in the Peace of Kutná Hora further marginalized the burgeoning

movement and even initiated wholesale persecution of the Church and its members. This action

underlines the expanded role of Bohemia's Estates, specifically the nobility, in two important

ways. Negotiating the 1485 settlement was done on their prerogative, and the arrangement was

dictated by those who stood to gain the most from the 'new' legal configuration. After

Bohemia's legal structure was strategically reconfigured to benefit those dominant nobles of the

Estates, the persecution of dissident Churches in the kingdom was largely, though not entirely,

stemmed by their reluctance to abide by these royal commands.[45] The Peace of Kutná Hora and

its immediate aftermath, from 1485 until 1526, positioned the nobility at the head of the

Bohemian Estates and as an effective foil to royal authority.[46]

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[44] Rudolf Říčan, *The History of the Unity of Brethren* (Winston-Salem, NC: The Moravian Church in America, 1992).
[45] At least seven Unity members were executed under the auspices of the 1508 St. James Mandate. See: Lawrence P. Bruck, *The Roman Monster: An Icon of the Papal Antichrist in Reformation Polemics*, (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2014) 49-71.
[46] The formal settlement of questions of religious tolerance in Bohemia allowed for the renegotiation of alliances within the body of the Estates, abetting trans-'confessional' union between the predominantly Utraquist lower nobility and Catholic higher nobility. This alliance sought to effectively marginalize the influence of Bohemia's

As Winfried Eberhard points out, in Bohemia it was no sixteenth century anomaly that the nobility felt themselves entitled to definitive authority. Indeed, "[a]s early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, the noble *Landesgemeinde* had already developed the ideology that it, and not the King, was in possession of the fundamental constitutional prerogative."[47] However, as the stipulations of the Peace of Kutná Hora, originally slated to last thirty-one years, were extended in perpetuity in 1512, these dynamics of the Bohemian Reformation were soon to feel the impact of Germany's Lutheran Reformation and the associated, 'confessional' dynamics it brought.

Confessional Conflict, Representative Resolution

Bohemia's religious settlements pre-dated the rise of Lutheranism and were structured along vastly different conceptions than Augsburg's *cuius regio, eius religio*. Religious pluralism in Bohemia[48] allowed for intimate coexistence between members and churches adhering to disparate faiths; the formal procurement of religious privileges was left as the responsibility of the Estates. Therefore, as was the case negotiating the terms of the Peace of Kutná Hora, concessions were dependent largely on the religious constitution of dominant Estates members. When Ferdinand I ascended to the Bohemian Crown in 1526 as the first of a long string of Habsburg sovereigns, he confirmed the Peace of Kutná Hora's religious concessions. This confirmed the maintenance of ostensible religious dualism despite Bohemia's pronounced blurring of 'confessional' boundaries as a result of penetration of its neighbors' reform

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royal towns (typically the bastion of Utraquist support in the Estates) and facilitated the '1500 Vladislav Land Ordinance' which restructured the relative authority of the Estates, putting the barons above towns, knights, and even the Crown. See: Jaroslav Boubín, "The Bohemian Crownlands under the Jagiellons (1471-1526)," In *A History of the Czech Lands,* Ed. Jaroslav Pánek and Oldrich Tuma (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2009) 176-183.

[47] Winfried Eberhard, "The Political System and the Intellectual Traditions of the Bohemian Ständestaat from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century," In *Crown, Church, and Estates: Central European Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Ed. R.J.W. Evans and T.V. Thomas (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991) 33.

[48] Formally dualism, yet undeniably pluralistic in practice.

movements into certain of Bohemia's regions and demographics, as well as continued growth of its own non-sanctioned Brethren Church. Lutheranism gained popularity among primarily German nobility in Bohemia's border regions and royal cities, while many of the kingdom's other reformed faiths distinguished themselves from contemporary Utraquism which, not without precedent, leaned more towards Catholicism than newer reformation movements. Bohemia's religious climate occupied large swaths of the Reformation spectrum.

Ferdinand interpreted his confirmation of religious liberties in strict binary terms, viewing only the Catholic Church and those Utraquists who adhered to the faith's moderate variant as sanctioned. Although members of clearly illegal faiths[49] suffered persecution in Ferdinand's early years, Lutherans avoided wholesale persecution through their influence in the Estates, while other evangelical Churches were able to persist under ostensible protection as a variant of the Utraquist faith.[50] This ambiguity of Bohemian 'confessions' has led historiography to develop the errant notion of "Old-Utraquism" as a stagnant pseudo-Catholic faith posturing as reformed, whereas Bohemia's Lutherans, "Neo-Utraquists" and Brethren carried the true Reformation spirit.[51] This misevaluation is entirely due to a process which Zdeněk David has termed the "plebianization of Utraquism."[52] Essentially, as the Estates took an increasingly oligarchic role over debates of religious toleration, Utraquism, as it was prior to Lutheran influence, lost much of its institutional influence as compared to the demographically

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[49] Anabaptists, Waldensians, as well as more radical variants of Bohemian reform movements.

[50] Pánek, "The Question of Tolerance in Bohemia and Moravia in the age of Reformation," in: *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*, (Cambridge, 1996) 231-248.

[51] Zdeněk V. David, "The Strange Fate of Czech Utraquism: The Second Century, 1517-1621," *Journal of Ecclesiastic History* 46, no. 4 (1995): 641–68.

[52] David argues for the "plebeianization of Utraquism" in the context of the debate over the 'Bohemian Confession of 1575'. I find his argument convincing and would argue that the social cleavage he mentions has its roots much earlier in the sixteenth century. See: Zdeněk David, "The Plebeianization of Utraquism: The Controversy over the Bohemian Confession of 1575," In: *Finding the Middle Way: The Utraquists' Liberal Challenge to Rome and Luther* (Washington D. C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2003) 168-197.

superior Lutheran, Brethren, and more radically reformed Utraquist nobility. While it remained the only sanctioned non-Catholic Church in Bohemia, Utraquism, and its *via media* reform initiative, was relegated primarily to a less influential demographic; while maintaining the majority throughout the populace, it lacked the influential nobility of its reform counterparts.

Therefore, when the Bohemian Estates staged a failed rebellion against Ferdinand in 1546-47 and he subsequently instigated unilateral persecution of non-Catholics, preservation of non-Roman faiths was led by the politically dominant reformed faiths. The dualism of the Peace of Kutná Hora remained intact, yet circumvention was now made nearly impossible as Ferdinand strove to enforce his previously laissez faire policies. Despite cracking down on non-Catholic adherence in Bohemia, Ferdinand's policy failed to extirpate even those faiths dissenting from legal Utraquism. Instead, systematic persecution drew the disaffected parties together. From the 1550s onward, the evangelical Estates of Bohemia – sympathetic if not adherent to the Brethren or Lutheran faith – strove to craft a common 'confession' under which each of Bohemia's reformed faiths would be legally recognized and free to practice.[53] The approach was modelled after the confessional model espoused in Germany, yet still distinctly tied to the Bohemian Estates' representative structure.

Negotiations came to a head in 1575 when the king-emperor Maximillian II was attempting to secure the election of his son, Rudolf, as King of Bohemia in an effort to elevate his qualifications for subsequent imperial election. Bohemia's Lutherans pushed for the acceptance of the Augsburg Confession, but Utraquists, Brethren, and even Maximillian saw the imposition of an illegal foreign faith as unacceptable. Thus, representatives of each non-Roman

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[53] Graeme Murdock, "Central and Eastern Europe," In: *The European Reformations*, Ed. Alec Ryrie (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006) 36-56.

group worked to pen a uniquely Bohemian confession. The process, instigated in part by the

removal of the *Compactata* privileges from Land Law in 1567,[54] was led by the Estates, with

equal representation, if not authority, of each of Bohemia's reformed faiths. When the

Bohemian Diet concluded, the new 'Bohemian Confession' expounded concepts of

representation for each of the non-Catholic faiths under an umbrella *sub utraque* group.

Negotiations over this new confession exemplify the late sixteenth century Bohemian trend of

non-confessional 'confessionalization', Estates-driven and collaborative in theory. The

Bohemian Confession attained only tacit approval by Maximillian in 1575; Lutherans and

Brethren persisted unmolested, yet not entirely legalized, while Utraquism retained its monopoly

on non-Catholic religion.

Formal implementation of a non-Catholic 'confessional' party, under which Utraquist,

Brethren, and Lutheran Churches each held representation took a backseat to royal prerogative

following 1575's tacit concession. Lutheran and Brethren Estates continued to pursue

legalization under such a framework and, in 1608, recognized an opportunity in the dynastic

struggles of their king and Emperor, Rudolf II. Rudolf was under the threat of armed invasion

by his brother Matthias who had begun securing alliances and territories in an attempt to unseat

the seemingly ineffectual Bohemian King. The Estates capitalized on this *Bruderzwist* and cast

their lot behind Rudolf, expecting compensation for their loyalty. Over nearly a year of

negotiation following the successful repulsion of Matthias' 1608 putsch, Rudolf reluctantly

agreed to approve a "Letter of Majesty." The Letter of Majesty confirmed religious privileges

and defined an institutional role for Bohemia's *sub utraque* Churches along the lines of the

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[54] This was a reaction to the religious and political realities of the time—toleration was guaranteed on a loose framework, to be negotiated by the Diet of the Estates.

Bohemian Confession.[55] This verbal commitment remained shaky until, in 1609, the Estates

mobilized the Bohemian military against their Emperor. This action, accompanied by vitriolic

petitioning of individual Estates members, secured the official issuance of the "Letter of

Majesty" in 1609.

In negotiating the 'confessional' terms of the Letter of Majesty, a curious about-face took

place: The Utraquist party joined with the Lutheran and Brethren parties in advocating for the

litigation. To an outsider, it seems odd that the holder of non-Catholic religious monopoly

would willingly promote a document which relegated them to merely one of three. Zdeněk

David offers several justifications for Utraquism's compromise; two of the dominant theories

reflect that it was the lesser of two evils and that it continued a long tradition of Bohemian

religious compromise.[56] Regardless, from 1609 on, Lutheranism, Utraquism, and the Unity of

Brethren were each represented under the *sub utraque* party outlined in the Letter of Majesty.

From its incorporation on July 9, 1609, the Letter of Majesty signaled a new

configuration of Bohemian religious plurality. Utraquism resigned its monopoly on non-Roman

faith in favor of a representative body comprised of each *sub utraque* faith approved under the

Bohemian Confession. Utraquists, Brethren, and Lutherans were administered to by a common

consistory and each was to appoint 'defensores' whose duty it was to defend all *sub utraque*

faiths against injustice. The Letter of Majesty provided a theoretical framework under which

each non-Roman faith held equal representation as a member of a tripartite 'confession'. In this

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[55] Jaroslav Pánek, "The Religious Question and the Political System of Bohemia before and after the Battle of White Mountain," In: *Crown, Church and Estates: Central European Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. R. J. W. Evans and T. V. Thomas (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991) 129-148.
[56] Zdeněk David, "A Cohabitation of Convenience: The Utraquists and the Lutherans Under the Letter of Majesty, 1609-1620," *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice,* Vol. 3. Ed. Zdeněk David and David R. Holeton (Prague, 2000) 173-214.

sense, Bohemia maintained its characteristic religious dualism; the amalgam *sub utraque* party contended with *sub una* to uphold approved statutes of toleration. The legal unification of the *sub utraque* party blurred lines of representation; while each of its three faiths retained varying levels of ecclesiastic autonomy, as a political unity *sub utraque* acted on behalf of each of its constituent faiths.

A Fall from on High – Throwing Identity out the Window

Once the political hegemony of the Lutheran and Brethren faiths was institutionally articulated and legalized through the Letter of Majesty's creation of a tripartite Protestant 'confessional' group, the resulting *sub utraque* party began to pursue the enforcement of the letter's other religious concessions. The letter granted freedom of practice to faiths in adherence to the Bohemian Confession of 1575 and guaranteed non-interference into Utraquist religious practice through stipulations of a supplementary document, the "Porovnání."[57] Rudolf's Letter of Majesty fully authorized Lutheran, Brethren, and Utraquist religious practices, yet – through constructing the *sub utraque* party as a comprehensive entity – it politically marginalized the Utraquist Church as a 'state within a state'. The agreement turned what had formerly been an independent Utraquist consistory and fashioned a joint *sub utraque* consistory, dominated by the administratively dominant Lutheran and Brethren members.[58] This cohabitation of inequalities led to the political disaffection of Utraquist representatives, while *sub utraque* administrators appropriated their explosive history of productive radicalization.

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[57] David, "A Cohabitation of Convenience," *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice,* (Prague, 2000) 173-214.

[58] Only three percent of Bohemian nobility professed Utraquist adherence in the early decades of the seventeenth century. See: Josef Pekař, *Dějiny Československé [History of Czechoslovakia] (Prague: Nákladem Historickeho Klubu V Praze, 1922).*

When Bohemia's evangelical Estates staged their protest against administrative miscarriages of royal policy, their claims were articulated as partisan action within the kingdom's dualistic configuration of religious toleration. Those radical Estates acted on behalf of the *sub utraque* party in specific response to perceived abrogation of stipulations laid out in the Letter of the Majesty pertaining to jurisdiction of ecclesiastic land. Latent confessional tensions over Protestant churches built on ecclesiastic land in the Bohemian towns of Broumov and Hrob boiled over following the confirmation of Ferdinand of Styria as successor to King Matthias. The church in Hrob was razed and representatives from Broumov were imprisoned after failing to comply with royal demands. This served as the 'tipping point' for the *sub utraque* Estates, which to that point had begrudgingly endured infringements on the Letter of Majesty. Defensors and Estates of the evangelical faith were called to discuss these and other administrative infractions on religious toleration. The mood was set, and when Matthias addressed a letter of sharp rebuke to the convened representatives, their response – directed at the local administrators they believed to be responsible – was severe.

Although the method chosen to mete out retribution against the royal chancellors was the traditional Utraquist 'Defenestration', the decision to radicalize tensions in this way was not linked specifically to Utraquist actors. Indeed, the towns, the most influential appendage of Utraquist representation in the Estates refused to join the uprising up to the day of its actualization.[59] Nevertheless, the 'rebelling' Estates made the conscious decision to utilize the historical memory of the Utraquist Church, even going so far as to cite slights made to an Utraquist Estates member in their justification for the Defenestration. Its traditional place as the

[59] David, "A Cohabitation of Convenience," *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice,* (Prague, 2000) 212-214.

Czech national Church and its long history of extracting political accommodation presented the best chances for the fulfilment of their demands. In this instance, the policies of religious toleration devised in Bohemia facilitated the unsanctioned appropriation of Utraquist identity. Furthermore, this event underscores the way that religious sentiment was often utilized in matters of state – as a one of many avenues for political posturing.

Conclusion

The long process of Bohemian identity formation occurred around a shifting and multifaceted relationship between religion and politics. When the Bohemian Reformation took shape, its cultivation of a religious identity was able to bridge boundaries and dominate socially, politically, and even militarily. However, the predominance of non-Roman faith in Bohemia was consistently complicated by royal authority, nearly always wielded by a Catholic monarch. Eventually contestations raised by disaffected religious and political groups forced the Bohemian dualism of the *Compactata* and the Peace of Kutná Hora to adopt a form of multi-confessional dualism. The new religious system under the Letter of Majesty, however, lent the perspective of representative authority, while in truth, it maintained, even perhaps strengthened, the former hegemonic status quo. Thus, when the Bohemian religio-political identity was drawn on again to redress grievances and illicit change in 1618 it failed spectacularly.

The failure of the evangelical Estates to successfully negotiate compromise was due to a developing new wave of politically repressive religious policy, led foremost by future Emperor and Bohemian King, Ferdinand. The Estates' their attempt to radicalize the religious situation was predicated on traditional Utraquist historical memory and the misinformed belief that their

demands would be met. Utilization of traditional Utraquist unrest tactic within the representative

dualism established by the Letter of Majesty was bound to fail; the past successes of the

Utraquist Church hinged entirely on Utraquist hegemony over one or multiple aspects of society.

With the *sub utraque* party sporting diverse aims, unity over radicalization was unlikely. The

progression of Bohemian political protection of religion was a crucial feature for the cultivation

of the Thirty Years' War. Two-hundred years of development, culminating in the confessional

climate of the early seventeenth century, came to an end over the unsatisfactory maintenance of

legal provisions. Evangelical and royal parties implemented both political and religious avenues

to articulate their aggression, and often the two appeared indecipherable.

Spilled Blood Seen Through Dried Ink

"May will not pass without difficulty in the places and the
affairs, especially where the commons otherwise have great
freedom, because everything is ready shattered"

Johannes Kepler, 1617[60]

As the royal counselors disappeared out the window of Prague Castle they, and the perpetrators of their defenestration, fulfilled Kepler's prediction and marked the departure from a latent conflict of political and religious ideology to a potent act of insurrection. From that point onwards, the gears of rebellion were set in motion – the Kingdom of Bohemia had articulated its claims against their elected Habsburg sovereign. What was left to determine was through what means Bohemia's uprising would be ameliorated. Not just the actual events, but the manner in which they were communicated through contemporary media, transformed this uprising into a symbolic movement which informed the discourse of continental war long after its conclusion.

The course of the 'rebellion' and the way it was represented speak to its role in precipitating the war which would continue twenty-seven years after its 'Bohemian Phase.' If we are to accept historiography's title of progenitor given to the Bohemian 'Revolt' it remains crucial to emphasize the continuity Bohemia's conflict held relative to the war's other phases. Viewed through its potent performative actions and elaborative media productions, the Thirty Years' War originated in Bohemia through more than merely the first step in militarization. In fact, through its media productions, the Bohemian Phase articulated and firmly entrenched justifications through which the apparently disparate Palatinate, Spanish, Danish, Swedish and French phases of the war were waged.

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[60] Johannes Kepler's prediction for May 1618 in his *Prognosticon Astrologicum* (1617), In Hans Sturmberger, *Aufstand in Böhmen. Der Beginn des Dreissigjährigen Krieges* [Uprising in Bohemia. The Beginning of the Thirty Years' War], (Munich/Vienna, 1959), 7.

In analyzing the deterministic role the Bohemian Phase served for the Thirty Years' War at large, the conflict must be approached through its own ideological and military phases. The Bohemian conflict can be bookended by the defenestration in 1618 and its symbolic conclusion culminating in the execution of Bohemian nobility in Prague's Old Town Square in June of 1621. Between the initiation and suppression of the Bohemian Revolt, several distinct developments shaped the rhetoric which underpinned Bohemia's religious and political claims against its ruler. Bohemia's call for a confederation following the defenestration, the usurpation of Ferdinand and subsequent election and coronation of Frederick, as well as the ebbs and flows of military campaigns and political posturing each become emblematic of the kingdom's intent.

As Roger Chartier explicates in his work on France, the Early Modern state had at its disposal four avenues for propagandistic legitimization: literary and rhetorical; symbolic; ceremonial; and iconographical.[61] These categories were not limited to the French context. Indeed, within the territories of the Bohemian Crown they served to shape the content and form of both official and popular appeals to legitimacy throughout the Bohemian Phase. Each of Bohemia's performative actions was carried out purposefully with ideologically polemic underpinnings. The underlying religious and political rationale and their polemic counterarguments were explicated through flurries of media production in the wake of each event. Pamphlets abounded, songs were sung, and a burgeoning continental public sphere emerged, one which dovetailed with advances in print media and dissemination hubs. Through the ideology espoused in these media, from both Bohemian and imperial vantages, the events were presented as each side wanted them to be seen. Through these ideologically charged

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[61] Roger Chartier, "Construction de l'État moderne et formes culturelles: Perspectives et questions [Building the Modern State and Cultural Forms: Perspectives and Questions]" in *Culture et idéologie dans la genèse de l'État modern [Culture and Ideology in the Genesis of the Modern State]*, (Rome: École française de Rome, 1985).

media, focused on the poignant moments of Bohemia's rebellion, a narrative emerges. It is a constructed narrative, yet a functional one, informing the contemporary audience of the formative events of the Bohemian Rebellion.

This chapter presents extant media productions corresponding to the rebellion's previously mentioned ideological focal points articulated though several discrete phases and moments within the conflict. The rhetoric employed by partisan actors will be parsed chronologically, corresponding to the identified flash points, and will be attributed cogency through thematic categories. Through an evaluation of the media, a discourse of repeated tropes emerges emphasizing constitutional rights, religious values, and imperial hegemonic aims. Media's role as an agent of change is widely acknowledged. It is my intention to identify the methodologies put in action to affect change, what the desired change entailed, and the way the tools of change were assimilated within societies. With that in mind, analysis of contemporary media will be oriented towards extracting these elements and exposing the ideological underpinnings of the tropes revealed.

The Performative Function of a Window

In the search to identify the underlying currents guiding performative actions of the Bohemian 'Rebellion' we must begin with the act which set the unrest in motion: defenestration. The act of forcibly removing persons from a room via the (ideally high) window was, by 1618, an already established political maneuver.[62] The "First Defenestration of Prague" took place on July 30, 1419 and served as the instigation for the lengthy 'Hussite Wars.'[63] Since its Hussite

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[62] For a detailed analysis of defenestration as a ritual performance see: James R. Palmitessa, "'Send the Traitors Through the Window!': Emotion, Performance and Ritual in the Prague Defenestration of 1618," in *Emotions and Material Culture*, (Vienna: Der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003), 85-99.

[63] Howard Kaminsky, "The Prague Insurrection of 30 July 1419," Medievalia et Humanistica XVII (1966), 106-26.

incarnation, throwing people out of windows carried with it certain socio-political implications within the Kingdom of Bohemia. These connotations, initially explicated in 1419, embody motifs of Hussite insurrection: perceived miscarriage of justice, specifically in regard to religious and political liberties, by an administrative body and their redress through spontaneous and violent political action.

Insofar as defenestration originated as a spontaneous violent act, it had been justified as having societal legitimacy. When thirteen city councilors were thrown from the new and old city halls in 1419, justification for the act involved the validity of political claims and the righteousness of an associated 'cause.' Neither the claims nor the cause was ever refuted, only assuaged with the *Compactata* in 1436.[64] The same claims to administrative abuse were invoked in 1483 when the Jagiellonian King Vladislav filled the city councils with loyalists. Within days, bodies flew from the windows of the New Town City Hall. It is significant, however, in the later New City Hall defenestration, that the councilors had been killed prior to their forced expulsion. This indicates that the act of throwing a body from a window had, as early as 1483, gained connotations distinct from other varying forms of political violence. This evocation facilitated defenestration's employment within a Bohemian context in which it took on ready-made symbolism and poignantly invoked the memory of Jan Hus. Defenestration unseated those corrupted through high office; it articulated the voice of the righteous people; and, in its culmination, threw the corrupt into the hands of those they had betrayed. In an anthropological sense, defenestration served as a very powerful violent act laden with

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[64] R. R. Betts, "Social and Constitutional Development in Bohemia in the Hussite Period," *Past & Present* no. 7, (1955) 37-54.

symbolism. None who stood witness would have considered the act as merely violence as such, but as violence with an explicit socio-political purpose.[65]

Through this interpretive lens, an evaluation of the media of the 1618 defenestration requires that the defenestration itself must be viewed as the initial media production. Indeed, the perpetrators of the 1618 defenestration saw themselves as chastised in their political efficacy, their religious rights impinged upon in much the same way as their predecessors of 1419 and 1483. Upon convening an informal diet of the evangelical members of the Estates to discuss breaches of the Letter of Majesty and the imminent religious threat posed by Emperor Matthias's successor, Ferdinand, these Protestant members of the Estates received a letter of harsh rebuke. Commanded in this letter to have no more such meetings, their next meeting was held in secrecy. The meetings held in the Carolinum on May 21st and the house of Albrecht Smiřický the next day addressed the issue of recourse, and arrived at a consensus that the offenders among the councilors must die. The methods of this murder were debated, and it was agreed at first that a stabbing best suited the situation, despite vocal calls for them to be thrown from a window.[66] The councilors were not, however, stabbed, but were thrown from a window. In opting for a defenestration, the Estates projected their actions through their perceived historical and political contexts to indicate their conception of the fateful mission.[67]

The voices which called out for defenestration at the deliberative meeting the night before the event argued the manner by which the act should be justified, and consequently

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[65] Christian Krohn-Hansen, "The Anthropology of Violent Interaction," Journal of Anthropological Research, Vol. 50, No. 4, (1994) 367-381.
[66] Palmitessa, "'Send the Traitors Through the Window!'" In *Emotions and Material Culture* (2003).
[67] The political significance of memory in the Bohemian reform context is examined in: Kateřina Horníčková, "Memory, Politics and Holy Relics: Catholic Tactics amidst the Bohemian Reformation," In *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice.* Vol. 8. Ed. Zdeněk V. David and David R. Holeton (Prague: 2008) 133-142.

remembered. The question was not whether violence should be committed, but rather, the form it should take. If we accept the supposition by David Riches and others that the main purpose of social-political violence is, in fact, the means through which it is justified, the various underpinnings of the specific act become crucially important.[68] In the seventeenth century Bohemian context, expropriating such a socially familiar act as defenestration was an act of self-fashioning the new rebellion's identity by implying historical continuity from the time of Hus. In its bare bones, defenestration represented a ritualized act in the political sphere, and if ritual truly is "the lifeblood of revolution,"[69] in the Bohemian context defenestration was the necessary transfusion.

Popular Politics

No matter how potent an act defenestration was within the Bohemian context, it was an act performed by a select few and directly witnessed only by those involved. Therefore, any attempt to gauge the effect of this event upon its contemporary audience must concern itself with the avenues through which the occurrence was disseminated to the public. First among these are the immediate productions directly from the Bohemian Estates and their responses from the Emperor. These sources build a framework of explicit grievances and justifications, and evince the initial incompatibility of the two parties. Only after comprehending the official products of the Bohemian Revolt, and the themes stressed through them, should one move then to popular media products not directly produced by these entities. Although the specificity of Bohemian justifications becomes less concretely Bohemian as they are utilized within other contexts, it is in this first phase that the foundation was conceived which supported the subsequent productions,

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[68] David Riches, ed., *The Anthropology of Violence* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1986).
[69] David Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

where established themes were proliferated and exacerbated, over time assimilating with and modifying the context in which they were produced.

Two days following the defenestration, the Bohemian Estates issued an Apologia explaining the circumstances which led up to the fateful day and justifying the validity of their actions. The document was addressed to then-emperor Matthias but, significantly, was translated into many languages and distributed throughout Europe.[70] Through this public act, the Bohemian Estates brought their local conflict to the European stage. That the popular press was deliberately selected to be a contested battlefield was exemplified by Matthias's response, published as an open letter.[71] Each party argued their position based on just rule defined through constitutional statutes elaborating the governance of the Bohemian Crown Lands. The Bohemian Estates made it clear that the rebellion was not directed at the current emperor but rather at certain imperial advisors who had perverted the authority of the emperor by infringing on the rights of the Bohemian Confession. Specifically, it was the Letter of Majesty and its provisions that was under threat from those who they had defenestrated, along with Prague's nefarious Jesuits.[72] The Estates were careful to preserve their relationship with the Emperor, on whose authority the Letter of Majesty rested, pointing instead to the structure of implementation as corrupted.

Infringements on the rights guaranteed by the Letter of Majesty became increasingly worrying to the Estates around the time of the defenestration. Reaffirmation of the document,

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[70] Tryntje Helfferich, ed., trans., *The Thirty Years War: A Documentary History* (Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 2009) 20-30.

[71] Peter H. Wilson, ed., *The Thirty Years War: A Sourcebook* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010) 40-41.

[72] On the political nature of the Czech reform movement and the specific context which led to the Letter of Majesty see: Zdeněk V. David, "Utraquists, Lutherans, and the Bohemian Confession of 1575," *Church History,* Vol. 68, No. 2, (1999) 294-336.

granted under duress by Rudolf II in 1609 and later confirmed by his brother Matthias in 1611, became a condition of the Estates' acceptance of the ardently Catholic Ferdinand of Styria as heir in 1617. If the moderate Matthias had failed to uphold religious tolerance, the ominous figure of Ferdinand would surely do less. Thus, their radicalization through defenestration was an attempt to publicly articulate certain breaches in application of law. Issues of confessional rights, framed as they were through the miscarriage of religious agreements, had currency in the post-Augsburg Empire and held particular resonance with Bohemia's history of religious negotiations.[73] Matthias's response on June 18 of 1618, directed to Bohemians, denied any action against or ill-will towards the Letter of Majesty. The response only referenced his royal office as such, not mentioning the functional apparatus denounced by the Estates, but rather portraying all action as emanating from his will. As the Letter of Majesty suffered no threat from Matthias, the Emperor condemned the Estates for their subsequent militarization. This open letter skirted the true concerns of the Estates, and chose to project the rebellion as a nonsensical act taken up through misunderstanding. Matthias offered reconciliation if the Estates were to disband their militia and submit to his authority, as he believed they were bound to do.

The Bohemian Estates had gone too far to bend the knee at this exhortation, so they set about ideologically solidifying their rebellion. Little more than a year since Matthias's public response to their transgression, the Estates promulgated and crafted the Bohemian Confederation. This document outlined a coalition of the Bohemian Estates with their

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[73] Wilson, *The Thirty Years War: A Sourcebook*, 6 and Wilson, *The Thirty Years War: Europe's Tragedy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009) 66-67.

neighboring territories in defense of religious liberties.[74] Structured first and foremost to uphold

the religious privileges guaranteed in the Letters of Majesty and other arrangements against the

'evil people' undermining them, the Confederation dictated a list of necessary terms. These

terms addressed issues of confessional privilege in concrete proclamations, expelling the Jesuit

order, assuring evangelical rights to royal property and property preservation in perpetuity,

disenfranchising Catholic officials, and most importantly declaring the succession of Ferdinand

to the Bohemian Throne illegitimate.[75]

The deposition of a king who had been approved by these same Estates less than two

years earlier was a shocking political move and was no doubt prompted by Matthias's recent

death and Ferdinand's almost certain ascent to the imperial throne. Ferdinand's deposition was

justified in several ways through the Confederation. A primary justification was the union's

denunciation of the influence of Jesuit advisors upon kings, a situation which would continue

and likely be strengthened with the ascension of the Jesuit educated Ferdinand and his influential

Jesuit confessors.[76] The Bohemian Confederation also doubted Ferdinand's intention to uphold

the Letter of Majesty, directly championing evangelical property rights – an issue with which

Ferdinand had been shown to have few sympathies.[77] The most direct challenge to Ferdinand's

right over the Crown of Bohemia was phrased through traditional rights of internal governance

of the Kingdom of Bohemia. The members of the Confederation argued their right to free

election as opposed to hereditary succession. Article 25 decries the corruption of the Emperor's

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[74] Those territories subsumed under the Crown of Bohemia – Moravia, Upper and Lower Lusatia, and the duchy of "Upper and Lower" Silesia.

[75] Articles of *The Bohemian Confederation,* reproduced in: Wilson, ed., *The Thirty Years War, A Sourcebook, 41*-46.

[76] Robert Bireley, *Ferdinand II, Counter-Reformation Emperor, 1578-1637* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2014).

[77] Wilson, *The Thirty Years War: Europe's Tragedy*, 72 and Robert Bireley, *Ferdinand II, Counter-Reformation Emperor 1578-1637* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

politics, referencing the Oñate Treaty whereby Ferdinand secured his election to the Bohemian Throne. This claim of external interference by anti-evangelical parties rendered Ferdinand's appointment null and void. Future kings were to be elected by the entire Corpus of the Confederation. [78]

In these official products of the Bohemian and Habsburg parties, certain pertinent themes were articulated that would long outlive their immediate Bohemian Phase context. From their origin in matters of state, these tropes were picked up and elaborated on by the producers of pamphlets, broadsheet, songs and other media. Within the field of media production, themes such as the just rule of kings and emperors, preservations of religious liberties, and a changing perception of kingship were imprinted deeply on the foundation of the Thirty Years' War. Media adopted contemporary ideas, represented them through an often partisan lens, and perpetuated and tailored the message with which they were associated.

Popular Propaganda

The Bohemian Phase of the Thirty Years' War, chronologically situated within the early seventeenth century boom in ephemeral print media, was replete with works of influential propaganda. I attempt to shed propaganda's divisive connotations by attributing to it a broad definition, and by acknowledging that it was uniform practice regardless of partisan alliance. Therefore, I adhere to Philip Taylor's most general definition of propaganda as "a process by which an idea or an opinion is communicated to someone else for a specific persuasive purpose."[79] This definition liberates the current project from the task of identifying individual productions as propaganda, and allows for a narrow focus on the latter aspects of the definition,

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[78] Wilson, ed., *The Thirty Years War, A Sourcebook,* 44.
[79] Philip M. Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda from the Ancient World to the Present Day*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003).

upon the specific persuasive purpose of propaganda and the audience for whom it was intended.

Through analysis of the congruent properties of propaganda, a political agenda emerges, which

was portrayed to populations to inculcate certain associations and connotations pertinent to

contemporary military and societal developments. In the propaganda campaigns of the

Bohemian Phase, both of direct partisan affiliation and those only subconsciously influenced,

polities sought to build a popular sense of contemporaneity, a certain comprehension of current

events framed through representation of events within a symbolic language. Through its

utilization of allegory, metaphor, and popular tropes, propaganda of the Bohemian Phase struck a

common chord that which drove the Thirty Years' War far past the Crown Lands of Bohemia.

Identifying the symbolic language utilized in the Bohemian Phase is, therefore, critical for

understanding the subsequent ways in which the Thirty Years' War was historicized, those

themes which were emphasized, and those themes that faded from historical conscience.

Prior existence of popular media guarantees acculturation to both primary and secondary

meanings conveyed throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth century.[80] The productions

of the Bohemian 'Revolt' utilized similar channels of basic natural imagery, yet in the

productions following the defenestration, a distinct secondary discourse was forged.[81] It is this

periodic development of the represented discourse of the Bohemian Revolt which occupies the

current section. Through repetition, certain themes were assimilated into popular jargon, and

shape reality independent of the truth value they represent.

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[80] Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes In the Art of the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939).

[81] Christine Hasenmueller, "Panofsky, Iconography, and Semiotics," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (1978) 289-301.

By utilizing analytical approaches to propagandistic media of this period we can pull from these productions the underlying motives of their perpetrators and frame them within the emerging discourse of the war. This process involves both iconographical identification of symbolic tropes as well as analysis of the rationale for when, where, and how they were employed.[82] Much of the time the symbolism employed is overt, yet the intentions of the primary actor are disguised. To identify these ideological underpinnings, we must next turn to the media themselves, and to an analysis of their content and form, in order to deduce their prescient purpose.

Falling Between a Dung Heap and Angels Wings

Depictions of the defenestration quickly proliferated following the event. In fact, it seems that even before the Estates issued their Apologia two days following the defenestration, newssheets were printed and circulating in Prague as well as abroad. One such product is titled "*Warhafftige Zeitung aus Praag etc.*" (Figure 2) purported to inform public and official alike regarding what occurred on May 23, 1618.[83] The front page (reproduced below) carries the most symbolic importance, although from the textual account provided in its subsequent pages certain details may be gleaned as to where and by whom it was produced. Accordingly, it emerges that, through correlations of details and mistakes in the presentation of events and names, that this newssheet was most likely printed in Prague by printers who were closely associated with the Estates, yet foreign to administrative customs. That is, the account of the defenestration was conveyed objectively and true to reality, but the full names and titles of pertinent participants

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[82] W. J. T. Mitchell, "What Do Pictures 'Really' Want?," *October* 77 (1996): 71–82.

[83] "*Warhafftige Zeitung aus Praag etc*. [Truthful Newssheet from Prague etc.]" In: Friedel Pick, *Pragensia: Der Prager Fenstersturz i. J. 1618. Flugblätter und Abbildungen* [Pragensia: The Prague Defenestration of the Year 1618. Flyers and Illustrations] (Prague: Der Gesellschaft deutscher Bücherfreunde in Böhmen, 1918).

were botched.[84] It is significant to mention that the majority of such pamphlets originated in the

Dutch Republic or France, and from there entered the Empire.[85]

Aware of the contextual identity of its anonymous author, we can make certain

assumptions about the function of such a pamphlet. It presents a depiction sympathetic to the

Bohemian Estates, and attempts to persuade its audience of the validity of their defenestration. It

hints at the imminent production of the not-yet-published Apologia and in doing so proliferates

its account based on assumed justification.   The account is underpinned by Anti-Catholic

sentiment, invoking the traditionally Lutheran Psalm 7. V. 15-18.[86]

The first page of the pamphlet, the image representation of the defenestration, served to

attribute symbolic capital to the Bohemian position. In the image, the Estates acquire popular

support represented by the multitude gathered to watch,[87] while the defenestrated ministers fall

only a short way, and are greeted by nefarious monks to be taken away to shelter. The depiction

of a short fall in a pile of refuse, explains their survival while belittling the severity of actions

taken against them.[88] Total accuracy was not a primary concern of the author;[89] the primary

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[84] Comparison is drawn between a contemporary news sheet in a Breslau kapitalbuch which provides roughly the same account, but with proper names corrected.

[85] Rudolf Wolkan, *Politische Karikaturen aus der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges [Political caricatures from the time of the Thirty Years War]* (Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde, II, 1898/99) 461.

[86] "Behold, he hath done evil in misfortune, he is pregnant. He has dug a pit and executed it and has fallen into the pits he has made. His misfortune will come upon his head and his face shall fall upon his crest. I thank the Lord for his righteousness and praise the name of the Lord most high." In: Pick, *Pragensia: Der Prager Fenstersturz* (Prague: Der Gesellschaft deutscher Bücherfreunde in Böhmen, 1918) Image 1.

[87] Size of the crowd being emphasized through the alternation of black and white hats.

[88] The newssheet claims that the defenestrated ministers fell on much refuse and soft earth ('viel Kericht und weich Erdreich'); Pick, *Pragensia: Der Prager Fenstersturz* (Prague: Der Gesellschaft deutscher Bücherfreunde in Böhmen, 1918) iii; for the popular counter argument that the ministers were protected by the Virgin Mary or lowered on angels' wings see pp. 24-26 cited in Karin MacHardy, *War, religion and court patronage in Habsburg Austria: the social and cultural dimensions of political interaction, 1521-1622* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) 47-76.

[89] Both the number of persons defenestrated and the location depicted are blatantly wrong, in addition to many other artistic liberties taken for the sake of ideology.

focus was rather the conveyance of certain symbolic portrayals that would frame the incident accordingly in the perception of the audience.

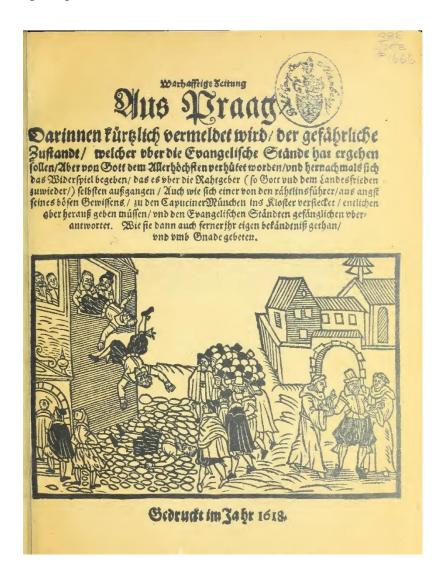Figure 2: Warhafftige Zeitung aus Praag etc.

Two such images contemporary to the defenestration exist, both articulated from the ideological vantage of the Bohemian Estates. The pictorial representation of the defenestration from the Neue Zeitung leaflet "*Warhafftige Zeitung und Geschichte / Welche sich begeben und zugetragen auff dem Kayserlichen Schloß etc.*" Is provided below (Figure 3); this image was

allegedly produced in Kutná Hora, a mining town 60 kilometers east of Prague.[90] The scene

portrayed in this leaflet is similar to its Prague counterpart: the royal officials in the middle of

what appears to be a very short fall. In this version, however, an armed group rides towards the

defenestration, having been apparently anticipating such a call to arms. While there is no

vilification of religious orders in this product, one particular allegorical addition – a goose just

inside the city walls – imbues the scene with specifically Bohemian rebellious continuity.

Although a subtle addition to the image, the inclusion of a goose within the Bohemian context,

especially juxtaposed with defenestration, is a clear symbolic reference to the memory of Jan

Hus. As František Šmahel elucidates, the goose, because of its Czech spelling (Husa) was a

common self-identification of Hus, and later came to be associated with the Czech reform

movement at large.[91] The inclusion of such a symbol on a leaflet printed in Kutná Hora served

to draw a line of continuity between the defenestration depicted and the one perpetrated in the

memory of Hus.

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[90] Johann Faber, *Warhafftige Zeitung und Geschicht Welche sich begeben und zugetragen auff dem Kayserlichen Schloß zu Prag* [Truthful newssheet and history of the events which occured at the imperial palace in Prague] (Kuttenberg, 1618) From: Halle, Universitäts und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt.
[91] The chalice with the host certainly served as the primary symbol of the Czech reform movement, but by many only cursorily acquainted observers, the goose was also depicted on 'Hussite' banners, shields, and coats of arms. See: František Šmahel, "The War of Symbols: The Goose and the Chalice Against the Cross." Trans. Zdeněk V. David. In *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice, Volume 4.* Ed. Zdeněk V. David and David R. Holeton (Prague: Main Library, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2002), 151-159. Available from: http://brrp.org. Accessed 3 November 2016.

Figure 3: Kutná Hora account of the Defenestration.

Productions sympathetic to the Estates' cause supported the legitimacy of this

defenestration by framing it as political action with historical and religious precedent. In the

imagery, the walls are shortened to belittle the physical barbarity which could otherwise be

perceived, and the populace, because of their Bohemian nature, fully understands and approves

of the act.

It was also important for these media to reiterate to the population who it was to blame

for their maltreatment. Blame fell directly on those corrupting officials who were defenestrated,

and from a wider scope on Catholic religious Orders, specifically the Jesuits. This is illustrated

in the lyrics of a song sung shortly following the defenestration, lambasting those whose

miscarriage of justice provoked the Estates' radical action. Villains included their deceitful

imperial regents, meddling Jesuits, and a certain poet from Rudolf II's rule who had since

slandered their faith. The song resonated very directly with the crimes voiced by the Estates,

primarily the violation of religious liberties granted by the Letter of Majesty. Reformed

churches had been shut down and the truth of Jan Hus denied.[92]

For the 'rebellious' Bohemian Estates and the public they sought to represent, the

emerging post-defenestration discourse was structured around the validity of their faith. The

Bohemian faith of 1618 was not a singular faith but, rather, an amalgam of various levels of

reform politically welded together first under the Bohemian Confession, then legally solidified

through the Letter of Majesty. Therefore, matters of faith and political matters in the kingdom

and the Empire were very closely intertwined. In this case, religious grievance was the avenue

through which political initiative was taken. This entrenchment of religion in the politics of

Bohemia was the bedrock for Bohemia's propaganda, invoking a shared historical faith

comprised of Bohemians and underpinned by the martyrdom of Jan Hus and the subsequent

precedent for revolution.

To contextualize the Bohemian propaganda tropes within the rebellion at large it is

important to depict an example of the alternative, Habsburg vantage. Below is a section taken

from the leaflet "*Denckwürdiges Geheimnuß: Einer allbereit erfülleten / und noch zukünfftigen

Prophecey etc.*" (Figure 4)[93] which depicts the defenestration of 1618. It is one scene of an

elaborate collection of allegorical renderings of the Bohemian Revolt. Produced in 1619, this

piece is at least partially responding to the extant Bohemian rhetoric. The royal regents who had

fallen so unceremoniously in Bohemian partisan pieces are, in this image, now lowered to the

ground under the purview of angels. Though they longed to suffer a martyr's death, the regents'

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[92] Antonín Dolenský, "Písně a letáky o defenestraci r. 1618 [Songs and Leaflets about the Defenestration of 1618]," Český lid, vol. 16, no. 1 (1907) 34-38.

[93] "*Einer allbereit erfulleten und noch zukünfftigen Prophecey etc*. [An ever-fulfilled and still future prophecy etc.]" In: Friedel Pick, *Pragensia: Der Prager Fenstersturz i. J. 1618. Flugblätter und Abbildungen* (Prague: Der Gesellschaft deutscher Bücherfreunde in Böhmen, 1918) Image 4.

survival, despite the immense height depicted, confirmed the righteousness of their cause. Habsburg partisan representations framed their legitimacy through concordance with divine will and the actions of the rebellious Bohemians overruled through it.

Figure 4: Royal ministers lowered to the ground by angels in Habsburg partisan depiction

The early stages of the Bohemian Revolt established the points of contestation between Kingdom and their Habsburg sovereign. Standards for justification were delineated per religious and constitutional ideals, each party implementing them when beneficial. It is significant that each of these physical media productions was formatted around German text. For Bohemian and Habsburg media, the audience was not made up of exclusively interior participants; rather, productions such as these functioned as dialogue with Europe at large. It was crucial for both belligerents that they court neutral parties to their cause; thus, the audience was Europe and the discourse formulated to be palatable to potential allies.

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King and Kingdom

Late Medieval and Early Modern Kings were the rulers of their Kingdom; however, the importance of their position far outstripped their delineated legal potency. Theirs was the role of the political symbol, representing the culminating ideological foci of identity which bind together the previously abstract state.[94] The existence of the state is premised on the personification of its ethos in a figurehead, whose qualities are outlined through ratified constitutions, public persona, and popular perception. While the King retains individual existence, his role as monarch cannot be viewed as such. Claudian's famous line "*Componitur orbis regis ad exemplum (The world shapes itself after the ruler's example)*" reflects its autocratic Roman context, and in the Early Modern period might as well be reversed.[95] Early Modern propaganda could mollify Nero's post-conflagration Rome if it saw in it a useful future. Indeed, in the context of the early seventeenth century truth-value is of little concern for the analysis of portrayals of Kings and would-be-kings; rather, from these can be gleaned certain commonalities of representation. Through the symbolic currency attached to particular renderings of contending Kings, evinced through their repetition and proliferation, the resulting discourse informed a general and persistent habitus which underwrote the larger conflict and perception of the Thirty Years' War.

The figures of Frederick and the recently deposed Ferdinand projected manifold permutations, striving to underpin their claims to legitimacy or, conversely, to undermine those of their adversary. The primary mediums for these productions were popular songs, printed broadsheets and pamphlets. Within the larger category of printed materials, these products were

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[94] Laurence Cole, Daniel L. Unowsky, *The Limits of Loyalty: Imperial Symbolism, Popular Allegiances, and State Patriotism in the Late Habsburg Monarchy* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007).
[95] Ed. Allan Ellenius, *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

often created according to paradigmatic styles with implied symbolic messages. They portrayed,

for instance, the long-established tradition of royal portraiture, depicting the subject with

symbolic magisterial trappings, a profusion of allegorical renderings or a ritualized multimedia

event such as ceremonial coronation. Images of the two Kings became fashioned around these

and other symbolic tropes during the contentious years of the Bohemian Phase. Similar to those

depicting the Defenestration, these productions served as partisan propaganda. In this case,

however, the audience was markedly larger. The increased scale of the propaganda battle

correlates to the geo-political significance of this specific point of contention. Among other

crucial implications, the occupation of an Imperial electorate was at stake, hence the conflict of

Bohemian kings assumed significantly wider importance. This section will primarily focus on

the internal cultivation of Frederick's persona as it pertains to the developing context of the

Bohemian Revolt and as a counterpoint to that of Ferdinand; the larger European involvement in

this epoch will enter at certain points, as it influenced the Bohemian discourse, yet its analysis

will be left minimal here. The involvement of these two figures in Europe's perception will be a

subject for the following chapter; here sources are used to investigate a discourse of

righteousness and usurpation liberally applied within the Bohemian context from 1618 to 1622.

Emblemata Regia

The images under analysis here are polished portraits and representative emblems

featuring layered symbolic meanings. I will refer to the present portraits as 'royal portraits,'

'court portraits' or similar terms, despite the realistic contradiction between these terms and the

images themselves. Specifically, these images, despite being modelled after court portraiture,

are popular images. As a result, they serve a more active role in society than true royal portraits.

Whereas the inspirations of these popular works were immobile and relegated primarily to the

royal residence, popular portraiture retained its educational value while enjoying far greater

mobility, reproduction, and, as a result, efficacy. Court portraits in royal residences served as a

function of the symbolic office of the king. They extoled the virtues of the monarch, enforced his

patriarchal function within his domain and, in their profusion, attested to the omnipotence

inherent in the title generally, and in his person specifically.[96]

Frederick had long embodied this sort of emblematic role, as a young Elector in the

Palatinate and as a champion of reformed faith. When he married Elizabeth Stuart in 1613 the

union was portrayed as divinely ordained, symbolizing the alliance of two dominant protestant

houses (Figure 5).[97] In this case – as in his later Bohemian involvement – the confessions

themselves, his Calvinism and her Anglicanism, were of secondary concern to those wishing to

promote the more general Protestant cause. The Calvinist Elector who allowed his wife to retain

her own Anglican court preacher and chapel was building his case as the *protestant* religious

champion.[98] In 1619, this role presented him and his dynasty with an incredible opportunity: the

Kingdom of Bohemia and head of the nascent Confoederatio Bohemica. In his acceptance of the

Bohemian Crown, Frederick positioned himself as the defender of Bohemia's constitutional and

religious liberties. He became guardian of the Bohemians against Habsburg oppression.[99]

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[96] Kurt Johannesson, "The Portrait of the Prince as a Rhetorical Genre," *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation* ed. Allan Ellenius, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998) 11-36.

[97] Jacques Granthomme "Felicitati Nuptiarum...Friderici...ac...Elizabethae" (1613) *The British Museum PPA56901.*

[98] Jaroslav Miller, "Between Nationalism and European Pan-Protestantism: Palatine Propaganda in Jacobean England and the Holy Roman Empire," *The Palatine Wedding of 1613: Protestant Alliance and Court Festival*, ed. Sara Smart, Mara R. Wade, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013) 61-82.

[99] See: *A Declaration of the Causes, for the which, Wee Frederick . . . King of Bohemia . . . have accepted of the Crown of Bohemia, and countryes thereunto annexed* (Middleburg: Abraham Schilders, 1620) cited in Howard Louthan, *Converting Bohemia: Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 16.

Figure 5: The marriage of Frederick and Elizabeth, 1613

As he entered into the polemic circumstances of Bohemia's revolt, Frederick doubled

down on his claims to divine ordination.[100] The dual role of religious sovereign and military

leader formed the representative qualities of Frederick's reign. This dual nature is seen in his

portraiture as a manifestation of both his self-representation and, more importantly, the active

fashioning of this image by actors internal to the Bohemian cause. It was important that

Frederick be seen by the world in the glow of divine sovereignty, firmly grounded in the polemic

circumstances between Bohemia and its would-be religious oppressors. Therefore, along with

more typical representations of divine regency such as the near uniform presence of a crown

suspended above his head, portraits of Frederick often invoked meaningful allegories. One

example highlights the biblical trope of a ruler with divine sanction leading a righteous people

against a far superior adversary by flanking Frederick with Gideon and an anthropomorphic

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[100] While the claim may be made that depictions of Frederick do not necessarily represent his own conception, it must be kept in mind that Frederick's religious status and the symbolic value it had was a primary factor in his election by the Estates of five Bohemian lands and, subsequently, Frederick's decision to accept.

Evangelium (Figure 6).[101] As king of Bohemia, Frederick was another Gideon, destined to champion the evangelical cause under the auspices of Justicia and Victoria, who invest upon him from above a sword and laurels, respectively. Directly above Frederick, cherubs support a crown which floats magisterially above the head of Yahweh's chosen king. At the bottom of the work, Frederick's role as military leader is expounded; a mounted Frederick leads forces into battle flanked by two lions, the aggressive one emulating Frederick himself[102] and the other a symbol of Bohemia, seated and draped with a cloth.

Figure 6: Allegorical representation of Frederick I, King of Bohemia.

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[101] "Fridericus I. Rex Bohemiae et Rheni: Von Gottes Gnaden/ . . . Böhmischer . . . König . . ." (1620) Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, VD17 3:608101T.

[102] Frederick's 'lionization' can be seen in Hanns Hubach, "Of Lion and Leopards: Palatine Self-Representation in the Triumphal Entry at Heidelberg," *The Palatine Wedding of 1613: Protestant Alliance and Court Festival*, ed. Sara Smart, Mara R. Wade, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013) 205-242.

The imagery of this allegorical portrait presents a collection of themes which were utilized consistently and affectively to argue the legitimacy of the Bohemian Estates' actions projected onto their figurehead, Frederick. Of these themes, those that were repeated and stressed with the greatest emphasis pertained to the religious provenance of the 'rebellion,' the righteousness of the kingdom, and the king, whose divine investiture elevated him to guardian of the faith and by extension, protector of the kingdom associated with it. It was a discourse of legitimacy, righteousness, and faith, each of which underpinned Bohemia's claims against the Habsburg emperor as well as their identification with Frederick. The new king's representation as a lion aided the concurrence being fostered between Bohemia and its new king. Actions of ingratiation also facilitated this process, and appeals to faith on a general evangelical level aided the identification process of the disparately reformed Bohemia and the staunchly Calvinist sovereign.

Painting a Public Portrait

Royal portraiture in the public setting had certain functions directly under royal prerogative, the most functional of which was the minting of emblematic coins and currency. This is worth particular mention due to its inherently dual existence: first, as a symbolic instrument of state, and second in its utilitarian presence in everyday life. Through the incorporation of symbolic imagery onto coins, the state was very literally creating a symbolic economy in which the public had no choice but to participate.[103] Newly minted coins and ceremonial medals alike served new rulers as a platform from which to project their own

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[103] On the propagandistic function of coins see: Barbara Levick, "Propaganda and the Imperial Coinage" *Antichthon* 16 (1982) 104-16; M. H. Crawford, "Roman Imperial Coin Types and the Formation of Public Opinion" ed. C. N. Brooke et al. *Studies in Numismatic Method Presented to Philip Grierson* (Cambridge 1983) 47-64 and Andrew Meadows, Jonathan Williams, "Moneta and the Monuments: Coinage and Politics in Republican Rome" *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 91 (2001) 27-49.

mimetic discourse. Tropes were represented in order to convey messages already known through contemporary discourse or which emulated aspects of continuity with their predecessor.[104] For Frederick, his predecessor – either the Catholic Habsburg Matthias or, more controversially, the dispossessed Ferdinand – could not possibly serve as a model through which the attributes of his reign could be articulated. Thus, Frederick predicated his sovereignty on the active and guiding force of divine will.

It was under these auspices of divine sanction that Frederick and his retinue arrived in the Bohemian capital in late October, 1619. Upon arrival, the King-elect led a splendid triumphal procession through the streets of Prague, the path of which was lined by excited throngs of the city's populace all the way to Prague Castle, newly displaying the Palatine coat of arms.[105] Frederick V, Elector of the Palatinate, was crowned on October 25, assuming on his accession the official epithet Frederick I, King of Bohemia. The ceremony accorded to the Bohemian ecclesiastic tradition, displaying an obvious reformed inflection.[106] The subsequent celebration was luxurious. Crowds eagerly imbibed abundant wine and scooped up ceremonial coins which rained from above.[107]

As his first public appearance in his new Kingdom, the coronation was an important platform from which Frederick had to project his image.[108] He buttressed the significant

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[104] Ellenius, *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation,* 22-35.

[105] Brennan Pursell, *The Winter King: Frederick V of the Palatinate and the Coming of the Thirty Years' War* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003) 76-86.

[106] With Frederick being a figurehead for an emphasis on Protestant autonomy it is obvious that Catholic rites were omitted from his coronation ceremony. The proceedings were handled by the reformed Bohemian consistory and included various entreatments to act in his capacity as King by God's divine Will protecting his Kingdom and their faith.

[107] Pursell, *The Winter King,* 84-86.

[108] Benita Berning, *"Nach alltem löblichen Gebrauch [After all praiseworthy use]," Die böhmischen Königskrönungen der Frühen Neuzeit (1526-1743) [The Bohemian King's Coronation of the Early Modern Period (1526-1743)*, (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2008).

symbolic value of the coronation itself with an emblem which simultaneously invoked the unity

necessary for imminent military success as well as the divine provenance of his reign. The

emblem Frederick chose to represent his reign was one crafted by Jacobus à Bruck-Angermundt

in his 1618 production, *Emblemata Politica* (Figure 7).[109] The book provided a series of

emblems which attempted to represent the contemporary situation in the Holy Roman Empire.

As it existed for Frederick, Bruck's *Junctis Viribus* was the perfect image with which to

associate his reign. It invoked the necessity of a coalescence of divine and temporal unity around

a monarch in the pursuit of military victory.

Figure 7: Five symbolic arms reach from the heavens to support the Bohemian Crown.

Bruck's symbol, diverted from its original pro-Habsburg function, was adopted by

Frederick and proliferated on Frederick's royal artifacts. Along with badges produced to

commemorate the coronation, Bruck's repurposed emblem was embossed on coins alongside

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[109] Iacobi Bruck, *Emblemata Politica* (Argentina, 1618) 209.

portraits, words and images reinforcing Frederick's divine claims to the Bohemian Crown, as

well as the legitimacy of his election as king (Figure 8). [110]

In cultivating his public persona, it served to place emphasis on Frederick's legitimacy

through God's will, and no less importantly, through the will of the people. His coinage

displayed both the lions and the hand of God playing an active role, depicting heavenly hands

(potentially representing the Bohemian Crown Lands) bestowing on the lionized Frederick a

crown and the Bohemia-lion as a spectator granting its approval (Figure 9).[111] When these coins

were minted in 1619 the Bohemian Confederation was enjoying military successes, yet remained

cognizant of the need to assure alliances both within the Crown Lands of Bohemia and abroad.

The turmoil inherent to their revolutionary confederacy necessitated symbolic appeals along a

discourse of unity. Unity as a cohesive union and unity under the auspices of God were both

featured prominently in Frederick's primary emblem borrowed from Bruck. These symbols, as

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[110] For information on the royal function of coinage in the Bohemian context see Viktor Katz, *A Thousand Years of Bohemian Official Coinage (929-1929)* (New York: Numismatic Publications, 1980). "*Bohe Rex Co Paxh Fridericvs 1619"* used with permission from the České muzeum stříbra [Czech Museum of Silver], Kutná Hora.
[111] Medals reproduced in: Jana, Hubkova, *Fridrich Falcky v zrcadle letákové publicistiky: Letáky jako pramen vyvoje a vnimáni ceské otázky v letech 1619-1632 [Fridrich Falcky in the Mirror of Flyer Journalism: Leaflets as a Source of Development and Perception of the Czech Question in the Years 1619-1632]* (Prague: Charles University, Togga, 2010) 532.

well as those symbolic capitals accrued by and assimilated to the image of Frederick, informed the 'revolt's' discourse during its successful years. These years featured a media base dominated, though not monopolized, by Bohemian partisans within the Bohemian lands. The retardation of Bohemia's revolution following the decisive Habsburg victory at the Battle of White Mountain late in 1620 served as a tipping point for the discursive narrative of the Bohemian Confederation. From that point onwards, Catholic partisan products dominated the way in which Bohemia's period of unrest was interpreted throughout the continent.

Figure 9: Coronation medals, 1619

A Spectacular Political Play with Religious Morals

The apocryphal tragedy of the Battle of White Mountain signified a shift to a dominant imperial discourse, wherein the emblematic figure of Frederick still played a major role, yet was cast in a different light. Media products from a post-White Mountain discourse were produced largely for an international audience and to inform a perspective in regions outside Bohemia. For this reason, treatment of the discourse these media articulated will be analyzed in light of the parties they attempted to affect, namely, the other polities of Europe, and will overlap with the later chapter on the Bohemian discourse taken up by European actors.[112]

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[112] For analysis on the persistence of "Pre-White Mountain" and "Post-White Mountain" discourses in Czech historiography see James R. Palmitessa, ed., *Between Lipany and White Mountain: Essays in Late Medieval and Early Modern Bohemian History in Modern Czech Scholarship* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

Bohemia's post-White Mountain era was inaugurated with an act meant to wrap up the Bohemian 'Revolt' and serve as a full-stop to its divisive discourse. The imperial and Catholic League´s forces routed a depleted and ill-positioned Bohemian army on a small hill outside of Prague. The battle of Bíla Hora (White Mountain) signified the end of military action in the Bohemian 'Revolt'. In the hours before Prague was taken by the imperial and Catholic League´s forces, Frederick and his entourage fled the city, conceding Prague, but preserving his life. With its elected king gone, the fate of Prague and its citizens was firmly in imperial hands. The final act of the Bohemian Revolt was the ritual execution of those of Prague's nobility who had acted in rebellion against Ferdinand II. Early modern executions are often scrutinized for their societal efficacy, the message underlying the execution, and its articulation in ritualized display.[113] The 1621 Old Town Square execution was a particularly crucial ritual of retribution for Ferdinand. It had to be ideologically coherent and crushingly forceful; those affected should harbor no more thoughts of rebellion.

The mastermind of the execution and its symbolic ideological content was Ferdinand's vice-regent in Prague, Karl von Liechtenstein. In their extensive dialogue prior to the execution, Liechtenstein and Ferdinand discussed the importance this event carried, and subsequently, how it should be handled in order to ensure its greatest efficacy. Liechtenstein successfully curbed the militant tendencies of his Emperor, subtly insisting on maintaining the execution as primarily the result of political crimes. Liechtenstein also compounded the event's political legitimacy by insisting on having the verdict pronounced by the political body of the Bohemian Estates, and by

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[113] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991) Second ed. Trans. Alan Sheridan; Pieter Spierenberg, *The Spectacle of Suffering* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Richard J. Evans, *Rituals of Retribution: Capital Punishment in Germany, 1600-1987* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

having himself sit in as proxy for the Emperor. The ritual was foremost a reminder to those Bohemians who had rebelled to whom they were beholden, and the price of breaching this compact.

Under Liechtenstein's guidance, the execution was orderly and political, yet not bloodless nor devoid of religious symbolism. The whole affair was presided over by 700 soldiers from Bohemia's northern neighbor Saxony, a Lutheran kingdom nonetheless party to imperial prerogative. This presence and implied consent reinforced the execution's trans-confessional legitimacy. The scene these Saxons oversaw included the beheading of twenty-four at the foot of a nearly three-meter-tall crucifix and the hanging of three; two were hung from a window behind the stage and the other from gallows erected at the side of the square. Lines of analogy were drawn between the religious and political nature of the crimes through the details of the event's proceedings, as explicated in Howard Louthan's investigation on Prague's ritual space.[114] He notes the special case of Jan Jessenius, a prominent leader of the uprising, who, for his role proliferating rebellion, had his tongue cut out before being beheaded, quartered and displayed for the city to see. Removal of Jessenius' tongue, a punishment often pronounced by Catholics to blasphemous Protestants, served to equate human and divine treason. Tongues were not the only body part whose symbolic removal and display invoked a combination of temporal and sacred punishment; indeed, the traditional punishment for iconoclasm was the nailing of the perpetrator's hand to the church's door.[115] Whether Ferdinand's decision to nail the perpetrator's hands among the heads fixed to the Old Town Bridge Tower was an intentional allusion to the

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[114] Howard Louthan, "New Perspectives on the Bohemian Crisis of the Seventeenth Century," In *Early Modern Europe: From Crisis to Stability*, eds., Philip Benedict and Myron Gutmann (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2006) 52-79.
[115] Louthan, *Converting Bohemia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 16-46.

punishment for iconoclasm or merely to remind the populace of their oath breaking is unknown, and perhaps irrelevant, as those in Prague certainly would have drawn the connection.[116] We also know that Liechtenstein attempted to control popular interpretation by posting the verdicts of the prisoners throughout Prague in both Czech and German, thus establishing specifically from what crime their punishments stemmed.

On the third and final day of the execution's proceedings, the event's previously symbolic message of purgation was made explicit. The public banishment of three of the rebellion's minor conspirators signaled the beginning of a process of purification in Prague. The ritualized beatings these three received as they were driven out of town represented the beginning of a campaign to scourge the populace of religious and political dissent. Indeed, days after the execution, an edict was pronounced which banned "preachers, professors, and schoolmasters of the Calvinist or Picard persuasion," initiating a period of exile for the majority reformed population of Bohemia.[117] Ferdinand used his opportunity to undercut the extant seams of dissent and once again assert himself as Bohemian King and the champion of a new movement of hegemonic Catholicism. He deployed an active media campaign which rode the ideological coattails of the execution. Ferdinand's post-White Mountain policies in Bohemia have been regarded as varying degrees and types of absolutism, but the importance of this absolutism for this study is that it was premised on the dramatic reversal of Bohemia's revolutionary discourse.[118] As it developed, through religious and political consolidation, Ferdinand's strain of Bohemian absolutism sent waves through Europe.

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[116] The body parts remained on the tower for 10 years.
[117] Cited in Louthan, *Converting Bohemia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 31.
[118] Bireley, *Ferdinand II, Counter-Reformation Emperor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2014).

Conclusion

"All eies are directed upon Bohemia"[119]

Just as the English diplomat Henry Wotton noted as early as 1618, the events occurring in Bohemia carried a resonance that travelled much further than even the bounds of the Holy Roman Empire. As the revolt developed and its discourse solidified, it became clear that the conflict was not a regional conflict at all. Instead, the Bohemian Revolt served as the first spark in the flash pan – a conflict geographically confined to a relatively small region, yet providing the genesis for articulation of symbolic values that would reach well beyond its limited physical boundaries.

It was through a vast array of diverse media that the Bohemian discourse took form over a period of approximately three years. The media emphasized several main themes for Bohemia's justification of its rebellion against its Habsburg claimants. What emerged was a discourse premised on the protection of religious liberties, defense of the constitutional foundation within which those liberties were based, and necessarily tied to the representative and administrative function of the king. The influence of specific religious belief or practice should not be emphasized as motivation in this context; however, the political structure of the kingdom and Empire positioned religion, especially in the Bohemian case, in an inextricable relationship with the Kingdom's political sovereignty. This leads to the conclusion that the complaints and ambitions of the Bohemian Estates were, for the most part, political, yet found fertile ground for political efficacy through religious articulation. For these reasons, the discourse of the Bohemian Revolt served as a flexible model, able to be adapted and molded to suit a variety of

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[119] Henry Wotton's account of the events unfolding in Bohemia, cited in Theodore Rabb, "English readers and the revolt in Bohemia, 1619-1622," *Aharon M. K. Rabinowicz Jubilee Volume* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1996) 153.

other contexts and geo-political goals. The Defenestration of 1618 radicalized the Bohemian context, while the ideological discourse propagated over the course of the 'revolt' radicalized the European context. During its three years of combat, and long after, the Bohemian Revolt and its ideology informed the more general discourse of what would come to be the Thirty Years' War. For a period of twenty-seven years following White Mountain, the flame of the Bohemian Revolt burned on, but often in a foreign hearth fed by foreign fuel.

Figure 11: News was spread amongst inflation, disease, and military devastation

Figure 10: Propaganda, and indeed, those who spread it, was perceived as nefarious, yet nonetheless influential.

The Lion, the Jesuits, and Popular Narrative in the War

The Bohemian Question Ascends to the European Stage

The phenomenon of thematic media created with a local focus reaching far beyond its original scope to create a common framework for dramatic change is well illustrated by the transition from the Bohemian Phase to subsequent warfare of the Thirty Years' War. This is especially visible through the perpetuation of a subtly altered but similar message that served to justify a seismic shift throughout Europe. International interest in Bohemia's 'rebellion' abounded during the years of the Bohemian Phase, and indeed, long outlasted the kingdom's radical experiment with self-governance. Foremost among interested parties were English and German readers who had been exposed to related pamphlets and newssheets, even before these

events, since the early years of the seventeenth century (Figures 10 & 11).[120]. English readership

clamored for news about Frederick of the Palatinate's 1613 marriage to Stuart princess,

Elizabeth, seeing the Elector as a champion of Protestantism.[121] German exposure is more

difficult to trace due to the region's amalgam of disparate territories varyingly aligned with

Protestant and Catholic causes. However, the sheer quantity of German broadsheet production

during the Bohemian Phase evinces widespread popular interest.[122]

By the war's end in 1648, thirty newspapers reported its progression through 15,000

copies weekly, as opposed to only a hundred per week before 1618.[123] The intense demand for

information of the Thirty Years' War was a driving force for the cultivation of sustainable news

publication in both England and Germany.[124] In this sense, the war facilitated the elaboration of

media production, while at the same time, production of affective media perpetuated and

intensified contentious discursive narratives of the war.

The emphasis of this chapter is the second of the above-mentioned reciprocal by-

products, namely, analysis of the ways in which continental representation of events of the Thirty

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[120] "Newspaper news salesman," reproduced in Jana, Hubkova, *Fridrich Falcky v zrcadle letákové publicistiky [Fridrich Falcky in the Mirror of Flyer Journalism]* (Prague: Charles University, Togga, 2010) 520; *Der hochschädlichen Wipper und Kipper, als Geld, Land, und Leutverderber, Lehrmeister [The most dangerous Wipper and Kipper, as money, land, and disease, master]* reproduced in Scheible, *Die Fliegenden Blätter des XVI. Und XVII. Jahrhunderts [The Flying Leaves of the sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries]* (Stuttgart, 1850) image 46., 175-177.

[121] Jayne E. E. Boys, *London's News Press and the Thirty Years War* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011).

[122] German coverage of Bohemian affairs of the Thirty Years' War is covered extensively in: E. A. Beller, *Propaganda in Germany during the Thirty Years' War* (Princeton, 1940); Frances Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London: Routledge, 2001); John Roger Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet, 1600-1700,* 12 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1985); Rudolf Wolkan, *Deutsche Lieder auf den Winterkönig* [German Songs on the 'Winter King'] (Prague, 1898); W. A. Coupe, *The German Illustrated Broadsheet in the Seventeenth Century: Historical and Iconographical Studies,* 2 vols. (Baden-Baden, 1966-7).

[123] Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009) 824-826 and Johannes Weber, 'Strasbourg, 1605: the origins of the newspaper in Europe', *German History,* Vol. 24., No. 3 (2006) 387-412.

[124] Sabrina A Baron, "The Guises of Dissemination in Early Seventeenth-Century England: News in Manuscript and Print," In: *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe,* ed. Brendan Dooley and Sabrina A. Baron (London: Routledge, 2001) 41-56; Thomas Schroder, "The Origins of the German Press," *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe,* ed. Brendan Dooley and Sabrina A. Baron (New York: Routledge, 2001) 123-150.

Years' War conformed with previously established tropes, or alternatively, transformed them to suit divergent needs. For the purposes of this thesis, primary sources hail predominantly from contemporary England and German-speaking territories of the Holy Roman Empire, rounded out with supplementary secondary accounts and analysis of various Habsburg, Swedish, Spanish, and French sources. The choice to limit materials to within these parameters stems partly from availability and linguistic accessibility, yet more so from the benefits inherent to a bifocal perspective centered on England and Germany.

Being inextricably connected to the war yet militarily removed from its direct enactment, England was fertile ground for propagandistic entreaties. The English reception and reproduction of media tropes hailing from continental belligerents demonstrates not only its pervasiveness, but the adaptability of narratives actively shaping the discourse of the Thirty Years' War. The population of England strained for news of the developing continental situation, and the island was quickly saturated with accounts from all reaches of affected parties. Accordingly, affective media in England, Scotland, and Ireland spanned the entire pantheon of symbolic partisan language.

The German perspective of the war was defined along often stark polemic terms, vilifying symbolic groups and individuals in accordance with respective regional alliance. Protestant partisan products make up the majority of extant German propaganda, in which Jesuit influence over imperial policy, foreign interference, as well as religion corrupted to provide military justification is denounced as rampant.[125] Catholic, imperial partisan, products from the German context zealously lampooned the exiled Bohemian King, Frederick, immediately

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[125] The 'antiauthoritarian and anticlerical' views of Jacob Boehme and Anna Ovena Hoyers underline the prevalence of such views throughout Protestant spheres of influence. See: Charles Andrew Weeks, "Jacob Boehme and the Thirty Years' War," *Central European History* Vol. 24, No. 3 (1991) 213-221.

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following the battle of White Mountain. Later media products espoused the imperial perspective

through reinforcement of the divine right of Habsburg king/emperors, emphasizing the

legitimacy of their subsequent military endeavors. The lack of significant Catholic attacks on

Protestant kings such as Gustavus Adolphus demonstrates the predominance of the divine right

of kings as an argumentative cornerstone of the imperial position.

The War After Bohemia

The astute categorization of early modern satirical broadsheets as indications of swells of

popular interest, as described by the noted scholar of literary ephemera, W. A. Coupe, orients

analysis of European Thirty Years' War media products towards several recurrent themes and

prolific periods.[126] During the Bohemian Phase, Protestant interest was centered around

pertinent concerns surrounding the representative role of Bohemia's Evangelical 'rebellion.'

While most heads of state, and indeed popular opinion, condemned Frederick's usurpation of the

elected Ferdinand, Bohemian points of contention around infringements of religious privileges

and constitutional negligence resonated throughout Protestant Europe. A surge of polemics

abounded in the late years of the Bohemian Phase, targeting the Society of Jesus and its

perceived meddling in imperial political and religious affairs.

When it became clear that the religious and political conflict that had been ignited in

Bohemia would not be confined to that kingdom, the threat of general Protestant suppression

within the Empire loomed large. Throughout the duration of the subsequent stages of the Thirty

Years' War, each side waged their polemic discourse around the framework of legal

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[126] W. A. Coupe, "Political and Religious Cartoons of the Thirty Years' War," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* vol. 25, no. ½. (1962) 65-86.

constitutional foundations and providential religious liberties derived from the argumentative discourse of the Bohemian Phase. Accordingly, the role of Frederick as a divinely sanctioned Protestant leader, the influence of nefarious Jesuit advisors, and the inalienable divine right of kings were confronted by both sides.

Protestant leaders cautiously supported Frederick against the Emperor in the years following White Mountain, while flurries of Catholic-partisan products ridiculed Frederick's misfortune and lambasted the Protestant cause he represented. Eventually Frederick's role as poster-child of the Protestant cause waned as prospects of his restoration diminished. However, in 1630, the role of Protestant savior was taken up by the Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus, formulated in much the same terms as Frederick's image had been. Gustavus became an emblematic Protestant figure through his own propagandistic campaign, eventually achieving resounding German enthusiasm for his cause. He fashioned himself as the defender of Protestant faith and his troops as acting in defense of the imperial constitution. He, thus, positioned himself as the successor to the righteous campaign Frederick had failed to carry out.

Religious and constitutional concerns argued polemically reflected the political polarization and representative religious diametrics induced by and against the Habsburg House of Austria; similarly, they reflect tenets of their origin in the Bohemian Phase. Though of varying adherence to the specific grievances that prompted the Bohemian Estates to 'rebel' in 1618, a symbolic concordance of unrest shines through the affective media of each of the war's subsequent phases. Through repetition of this lexicon of justification, the image of the Thirty Years' War as a confessional conflict persisted, despite an abundance of quite secular motivations.

The Winter Lion and the Jesuit Monarchy

Immediately following the Bohemian Confederation's defeat at White Mountain and Frederick's subsequent and unceremonious exit from Prague, the displaced Elector took center stage in both Catholic and Protestant media products. Over the course of his reign, Frederick – as the senior Protestant prince of the Empire – had depicted himself as a divine agent, called by God to carry out justice for the Evangelical faith. His detractors, to whom the young king was no more than a usurper, were quick to attack Frederick following his military defeat and subsequent disgraceful exile. Numerous broadsheets from Catholic as well as disaffected Protestant sources mocked the brevity of his reign by dubbing Frederick the 'Winter King' of Bohemia.[127] This solicitous sobriquet had, however, begun before the failure of his reign, and to his supporters, Frederick was a man for all seasons: the winter lion who would embody the summer lion in triumph. Indeed, Frederick embodied a great deal of potent themes to interested parties within and outside of Bohemia.

The young king was considered to be foremost a charge of God, the righteous defender of the Protestant faith against unholy and unlawful Catholic infringement on religious privileges. Additionally, Frederick's acceptance of the Bohemian Crown was a lightning rod for polemic constitutional debate. To most of his supporters, Frederick represented the lawful checking of Habsburg royal and imperial hegemony, a counterbalance to Jesuit meddling. To his enemies, Frederick's usurpation of the Bohemian Crown transgressed against divine and imperial law. The immediate discourse of the post-Bohemian Phase Thirty Years' War was initiated around

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[127] Wolkan, *Deutsche Lieder auf den Winterkönig* [German Songs on the 'Winter King'] (Prague, 1898).

these concerns: the constitutional legality of Frederick's ascension; and the underlying confessional conflict for which Frederick stood as a Protestant emblem.

Frederick's 'Common Cause'

The symbol of Frederick took on great significance in the years immediately following White Mountain. His subsequent circumstances embodied and exemplified what many viewed as Habsburg contempt for long-established constitutional arrangements, providing a legal justification for later foreign involvement in the Empire. Following the suppression of the Bohemian Confederation, far-reaching issues of constitutional security rose to the fore as Emperor Ferdinand II issued an Imperial Ban against Frederick.[128] In addition to losing his Electoral privilege as King of Bohemia, Frederick's position as Elector Palatinate was revoked and given as a fief to Maximillian of Bavaria who had aided Ferdinand combat the Bohemian 'rebels'. For those wary of Habsburg imperial dominance, Ferdinand's decision bore similarities to the dynastic consolidation that had granted him the Bohemian Crown in 1617.[129] Moreover, this dramatic reconfiguration of the Electoral college struck many as contrary to imperial and divine law as well as a distinct threat to the preservation of Protestantism in the Empire. Therefore, enforcement of constitutional stipulations and the maintenance of religious equilibrium were intertwined and centered around Frederick. His 'common cause' of personal restoration and confessional preservation provided disparate European polities with a unifying platform of justification for intervention.[130]

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[128] Issued on January 29th, 1621, the aforementioned Imperial Ban deprived Frederick of his Electoral title along with all other fiefs, rights, dignities, and jurisdictions within the Empire. See Karl Zeumer ed., *Quellensammlung zur Geschichte der Deutschen Reichsverfassung in Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Tübingen, 1913) 394-395.

[129] Luc Duerloo, "Clearing Dynastic Debts. Archduke Albert and the Logic behind the Oñate Treaty," In: José Martínez Millán and Rubén González Cuerva eds*., La dinastía de los Austria: las relaciones entre la monarquía católica y el imperio* (Madrid 2011) 533–550.

[130] Pursell, *The Winter King,* 123-163.

The English public took up the constitutional argument against Ferdinand with particular

vigor. One British pamphlet, *A Briefe Desription of the Reasons that make the Declaration of*

the Ban, made against the King of Bohemia, as being Elector Palatine, Dated the 22 of Ianuarie

last past, of no value nor worth, and therefore not to be respected (Figure 12), clearly delineates

the unconstitutionality of Ferdinand's actions. Its central argument is for the trans-confessional

importance of due process in accordance with imperial regulations. The pamphlet states in no

unclear terms that, if such actions as Ferdinand has made are allowed to continue, it would not be

long before any individual opposing Habsburg hegemony within the Empire would face the

threat of Imperial Ban.[131] From the distance of England it was clear that the resolution of the

Bohemian 'Rebellion' had ushered in a new period of Habsburg consolidation reminiscent of the

exact circumstances which led the Bohemian Estates to rise up. In Bohemia the opportunity had

been the representative ambiguity of religious toleration that underwrote encroachments; in post-

white Mountain Europe, the opportunity was retribution.

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[131] Anon., "A Briefe Desription of the Reasons that make the Declaration of the Ban, made against the King of Bohemia, as being Elector Palatine, Dated the 22 of Ianuarie last past, of no value nor worth, and therefore not to be respected," (1621) *Early English Books Online* STC (2nd ed.) 11353.
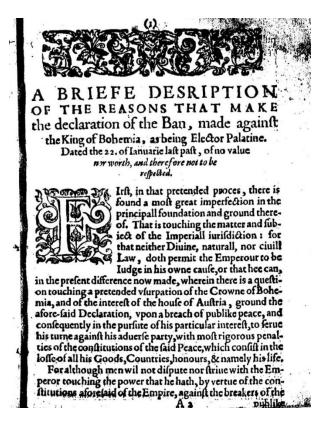
Figure 12. English pamphlet refuting the legitimacy of the Emperor's ban

England was not alone in its condemnation of Ferdinand's Imperial Ban of Frederick, and before long the constitutional debate embodied confessional division. Northern Europe's Protestant princes gathered to voice their collective dissent in 1621. Representatives of England, Denmark, the United Provinces, and Saxony as well as many other Protestant German princes and towns backed the restoration of the Elector Palatine and threatened Ferdinand with military action.[132] The coalition faltered almost immediately when its initial demands were refused, yet its formation demonstrated partisan Protestant support of Frederick's cause. Frederick himself took an active role pleading for the necessity of unified Protestant action, often promising more than could be feasibly delivered to take down what he called the 'Papist League'.[133] His efforts

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[132] Paul Douglas Lockhart, "Religion and Princely Liberties: Denmark's Intervention in the Thirty Years War, 1618-1625," *The International History Review,* vol. 17, no. 1 (1995) 1-22.
[133] Pursell, *The Winter King,* 126-128.

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were buttressed by Protestant animosity towards the counter-reformation actions of the Society of Jesus, which had increased through northern Europe's Protestant regions in recent years.

The Jesuits were a popular villain in Protestant rhetoric of the early seventeenth century. The papal Order represented precisely the political aspects of the 'counter-reformation' that Protestants detested.[134] Jesuits were specifically mentioned as responsible for the Bohemian situation in the 1618 *Apologia,* and were likewise seen as scapegoats throughout much of contemporary Europe.[135] In Bohemia, the Jesuits were exiled within days of the defenestration and were portrayed in broadsheets and pamphlets as detestable wanderers, turned away from every inroad they attempted (Figure 13).[136] Demonization of royal advisors, the worst of which being Jesuit confessors, had played a major role in justification of the Bohemian Estates' defenestration, and persisted throughout regions dominanted by Protestants long beyond the Thirty Years' War.

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[134] Robert Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War: Kings, Courts, and Confessors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[135] The *Apologia* of the Bohemian Estates and its mention of Prague's Jesuits can be found in Helfferich, ed., trans., *The Thirty Years War* (Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 2009) 20-30.

[136] "Böhmischer Jesuiten Kehraus und teutsche Weck-Uhr reproduced in: Scheible, *Die Fliegenden Blätter [The Flying Leaves]* (Stuttgart, 1850) image 51, 187-203.

Figure 13. Jesuits exiled from Bohemia.

Reflecting the ubiquitous animosity shown towards the Society of Jesus, suspicion of

Jesuit plots against the evangelical faiths abounded with particular passion in the early years of

the Thirty Years' War. Members were seen to be pulling the strings behind every imperial or

'Papist' ploy (Figure 14).[137] Pernicious associations of the Order with various plots, schemes,

and even attempted regicides, solidified popular vilification of the Society of Jesus in general

Protestant discourse.[138] In England, Denmark, and Germany, perception of Jesuits as militant

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[137] Anon., "Troubles in Bohemia, and diuers other Kingdomes" (1619) *Early English Books Online* STC / 875:06.
[138] For accounts of some incidents and schemes associated with Jesuits see Roland Mousnier, *The Assassination of Henry IV: The Tyrannicide Problem and the Consolidation of the French Absolute Monarchy in the Seventeenth Century,* trans. Joan Specer (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973); Antonia Fraser, *Faith and Treason: The Story*

agents of Catholicism perpetuated confessional polarization to the point of military conflict.

Thus, distrust in royal advisors took on confessional tinges through Protestant insistence on the

Jesuit plots to sow discord through propaganda, guide hardline Catholic royal policy against

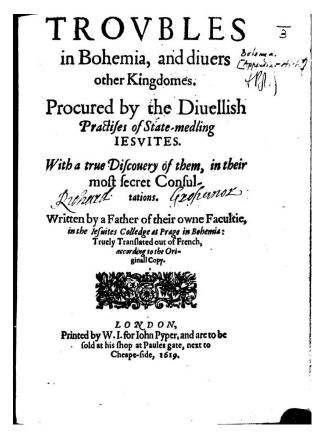Protestantism, and commit egregious acts of terrorism, even regicide (Figure 15).[139]

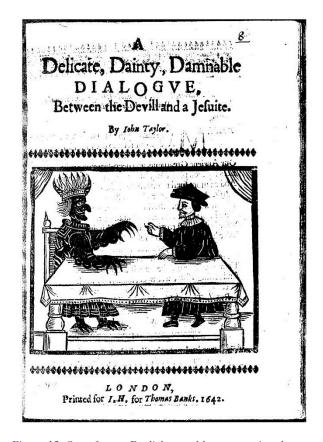*Figure 14. An English account of Jesuit influence on the troubles in Bohemia (1619).*

Figure 15. One of many English pamphlets connecting the actions and goals of Jesuits to the work of the devil (1642).

The formation of the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in 1622 confirmed the worst

Protestant fears of a concerted Roman effort to re-Catholicize evangelical peoples. The Papal

bull *Inscrutabili Divinae* ordered the Catholic reclamation of lands lost to Protestantism,

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of the Gunpowder Plot, (New York: Anchor Books, 1996) and Evonne Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

[139] John Taylor, "A Delicate, dainty, damnable dialogue." (1642) *Early English Books Online* Thomason / 25:E.142[8].

authorizing dispersion of the Gospels by means of spiritual arms, preaching, and catechizing.[140] The formation of this organization is doubly relevant to this work, as it stands as the first use of the word "propaganda," and thus, informed the subsequent understanding of the word to this day. For the European context contemporary to Gregory XV's foundational bull, the foundation of such a pernicious and overtly militant and anti-Protestant organization was a symbolic 'tipping point' for those Protestant lands under threat. Formation of the congregation necessitated a unified Protestant front, ideally centered on a prominent evangelical leader, which might counter the Roman wave of propaganda lapping up against Protestant shores.

Captive Lion

Unfortunately for the Protestant cause, Frederick's representative role as champion of the 'true faith' took a significant hit following his flight from Prague in 1620. Amidst a confessional climate wherein Protestants perceived themselves to be under dual threats from militant Jesuits and the heads of states they controlled, the figurehead of Protestant resistance was becoming a crucial role. During Bohemia's 'rebellion', Frederick had actively fashioned himself as a champion of Protestant preservation; however, the European popular discourse on Frederick quickly shifted following White Mountain. The focus of interregional media quickly centered on the exiled king and his emblematically deplorable circumstances, ridiculing his person, and by association, the Protestant cause he represented.

German broadsheets historically drew on tropes vilifying those who had no home and no place in society since the popularization of the printing press, it was a fixture in the polemic

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[140] Peter Guilday, "The Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide (1622-1922)," *The Catholic Historical Review,* vol. 6, no. 4 (1921) 478-494.

discourses of the Lutheran Reformation.[141] The same tactics had been employed as part of the

libel campaign used to project the destitution of the Jesuit Order following its expulsion from

Prague in 1618. The authors of broadsheets such as *Des geweßten Pfaltzgrafen offene Schuld,*

wie ihn Scultetus lehrt Geduld (Figure 17), *Wieder gefunden Königs-Lusthaus (Figure 18)*,[142]

and *P falsch Graffischer Wegweijser (Figure 16)*[143] set out to impugn several poignant aspects of

Frederick's current situation. To the public, Frederick was presented as a hapless wanderer, an

immoral and irresponsible ruler, and as exhibiting malicious religious guidance. Attacks such as

these underlined the apprehension of even Protestant allies to support the exiled king, whose

acceptance of the Bohemian Crown most had denounced, but whose Protestant role and Electoral

dignity they were obliged to defend.[144]

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[141] W. A. Coupe notes an established iconographical tradition of slander in Medieval German satiric productions in Coupe, "Political and Religious Cartoons of the Thirty Years' War," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* (1962) 65-86

[142] *Des geweßten Pfaltzgrafen offene Schuld, wie ihn Scultetus lehrt Geduld [The wretched Pfaltzgraf opens guilt, as Scultetus teaches patience]* and *Wieder gefunden Königs-Lusthaus [The re-found king's pleasure house]* are each reproduced in Scheible, *Die Fliegenden Blätter [The Flying Leaves]* (Stuttgart, 1850) images 70 and 75 respectively, pp 267-270 and 283 respectively.

[143] *P falsch Graffischer Wegweijser [False ducal signposts]* reproduced in: Jana, *Hubkova, Fridrich Falcky v zrcadle letákové publicistiky: Letáky jako pramen vyvoje a vnimáni ceské otázky v letech 1619-1632 [Fridrich Falcky in the Mirror of Flyer Journalism: Leaflets as a Source of Development and Perception of the Czech Question in the Years 1619-1632]* (Prague: Charles University, Togga, 2010) 666.

[144] Josef Polišensky, "Denmark-Norway and the Bohemian Cause in the Early Part of the Thirty Years' War," *Festgabe für L. L. Hammerich* (1962) 217-222.

Figure 16: Frederick led to Bohemia by a devilish advisor

Figure 17: Leaving destruction in his wake, Frederick bemoans his ill-conceived usurpation
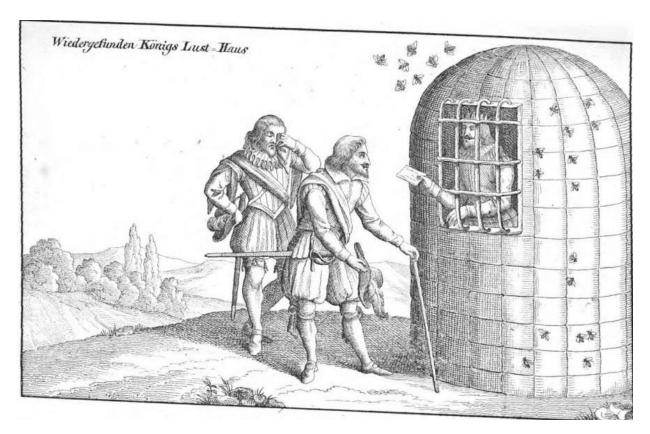
Figure 18: Exiled Frederick watches on from his pleasant and shameful captivity

Following the explosion of defamation directed at Frederick from 1620 to 1622, the

stateless king lost his popular support as the Protestant figurehead. Contestation over his claims

to the Palatinate Electorate provided the only ground upon which Frederick found significant

support. Eventually the intertwined religious and political concerns of Protestant leaders,

manifest in post-White Mountain Habsburg policy, prompted the reconceptualization of a unified

Protestant front. The Danish King, Christian IV, prompted by Jesuit activities in his own

Lutheran kingdom and the promise of financial support from his English ally, joined the war

against the Habsburgs.[145] Christian's refusal to engage in all-out war against Habsburg

imperialism limited the success of his Anglo-Danish coalition, and his forces were defeated the

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[145] Lockhart, "Religion and Princely Liberties," *The International History Review,* vol. 17, no. 1 (1995) 1-22.

following year. This crushing military defeat emboldened the Habsburg Emperor Ferdinand II to concretize his military gains through religious domination.

Imperial confessional conflicts since the 1555 acceptance of the Augsburg Confession had often revolved around the ambiguity of the religious peace pertaining to confessional land rights. No clear normative date was pronounced whereby land possessed by a certain confession adhered to that confession. In 1629 Ferdinand issued his controversial Edict of Restitution, which, in no uncertain terms, set the unilateral date for confessional delineation to 1552 and insisted on its protection of only the Augsburg Confession as it was promulgated in 1530. Thus, territories whose princes had embraced Protestantism at any time following 1552 must be brought back under the Catholic fold.[146] The edict was an extreme religious provocation, drawing praise from the papacy, and protest from affected Protestant courts.[147] This latest act buttressed popular perception of Jesuit-led confessional antagonism and functioned as evidence of a concerted imperial anti-Protestant policy (Figure 19).[148] Through the political impact it had on those in breach of its religious stipulations, the Edict of Restitution enhanced the war's partisan religious divide, alienated the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, and opened the door to a new Protestant savior from the north.[149]

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[146] Wilson, ed., *The Thirty Years' War: A Sourcebook,* 114-117.

[147] "The Papal response: Urban VIII to Ferdinand II, 5 May 1629" and "The Protestant response: complaint from the Swabian Kreis to the Reichshofrat, January 1630," In: Wilson, ed., *The Thirty Years' War: A Sourcebook,* 117-119.

[148] *Die betrangte Stadt Augspurg* (1632) Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek: VD17 12:672333L.

[149] Robert Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450-1700: A Reassessment of the Counter Reformation* (London: Macmillan Press, 1999) 90-91.

Figure 19. The Jesuit ram and the many-headed imperial beast spew their nefarious agents into the city of Augsburg. Evangelical cities throughout the Empire cry out for a savior.

Lionizing the Swede

"A lion has come out of his lair;
a destroyer of nations has set out.
He has left his place
to lay waste your land.
Your towns will lie in ruins
without inhabitant.
So put on sackcloth,
lament and wail,
for the fierce anger of the Lord
has not turned away from us."

Jeremiah 4: 7-8

Figure 20: Augsburg, liberated by God's grace and Gustavus' sword.[150]

As Frederick's representative role faded and the pernicious actions of Catholic agents

intensified in the late years of the 1620s, the Lutheran Swedish King, Gustavus Adolphus

ascended to emblematic and military dominance of the Protestant cause. The northern king

embodied a broadly evangelical Protestantism, and saw himself as an agent of God's will,

destined to unfold history. He inherited his father's utilitarian approach towards religious

identification and truly seemed to view his own interests as also those of the greater Protestant

cause.[151] In any case, Gustavus was familiar with the political necessity of portraying his

objectives in popular terms. Once his prolonged conflict with the Polish-Lithuanian King

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[150] *Die durch Gottes Gnad erledigte Stadt Augspurg* (1632) Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek: VD17 1:092268F.

[151] Gustavus's father, Charles IX, tied his own dynastic struggle to the Protestant cause through an effective propaganda campaign Wilson, *The Thirty Years' War: Europe's Tragedy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009) 201-203.

Sigismund III had been resolved, the Swedish King set about justifying intervention in Germany, first at home, then abroad.

In Boris Fedorovich Porshnev's revision of 'bourgeois and noble' histories of Gustavus' intervention in Germany, the Russian historian places emphasis on the reception and idealistic portrayal by the contemporary German population of the 'King of snow' as the primary reason for the prevailing historical reification of the Swedish King.[152] His approach accurately orients historical focus towards ephemeral media products as indications of perception, yet fails to acknowledge Gustavus' propagandistic campaign of self-representation, and the influence it had on forming this popular perception. Subsequent historical approaches to the affectivity of image and self-fashioning identities have since supplemented this binary analysis of popular portrayal. In order to reconcile the prevailing image of Gustavus Adolphus as the 'Lion of the North' a multivalent approach is necessary. First, Gustavus' conception of himself and the religious political context of the Empire, including the themes of his active campaign to justify intervention within this lexicon must be explicated. From there his reception by German Protestants becomes significant, particularly because it reflected the themes and concepts which carried ideological resonance in the times of the Thirty Years' War.

Politics of Persuasion

"This is a fight between God and the devil. If His Grace is with God, he must join me, if he is for the devil, he must fight me. There is no third way."

- Gustavus Adolphus to Elector
Georg Wilhelm of Brandenburg,
June 1631[153]

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[152] B. F. Porshnev, *Muscovy and Sweden in the Thirty Years' War, 1630-1635*, Paul Dukes, ed., Brian Pearce, trans., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 165-207.
[153] Wilson, ed., *The Thirty Years' War: A Sourcebook,* 136.

To his Estates and population, Gustavus justified Swedish intervention into German affairs as necessary for the security of their Baltic maritime possessions, recently put in jeopardy by imperial campaigns into the continent's northern coast. This carried economic resonance and assured the support of many otherwise reluctant voices among Sweden's political nation.[154] However, Gustavus also inflated the religious and political necessity of intervention, claiming in his farewell address to the Swedish Estates that "far-away kings have called us to this war, to free the oppressed religious relatives from the papal yoke."[155] From early on, the Swedish King's excursion into the Empire was articulated as divinely ordained, a mission for the preservation of Protestantism. With Frederick marginalized, the Catholic Church – aided by Catholic princes and their Jesuit advisors – had set about tearing down true faith; the lion from the north sailed south under the authority of God.

The providential perspective of Gustavus' imperial intervention is clearly articulated in newssheets portraying the Swedish King's arrival in Europe such as *Schwedische Rettung der Christlichen Kirchen. Anno 1631* (Figure 21).[156] In this sheet, the 'northern lion' disembarks his ship, whose sail simultaneously features the Swedish flag and the flag of Christ Triumphant, the only distinction between the two being assuaged by the print's lack of color. The words featured on the sail, "in hoc signo viinces,"[157] juxtaposes Gustavus and his battle against the many-headed

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[154] Political nation meaning those individuals who as a collective body possess the authority to affect change on behalf of a polity. See: J. H. Elliott, "Revolution and Continuity in Early Modern Europe," *Past & Present*, no. 42 (1969) 35-56.

[155] ". . . abgelegene Könige haben uns zu diesem Krieg aufgefordert, vor Allen die unterdrückten Religionsverwandten von dem päpstlichen Joch zu befreien." In Silvia Serena Tschopp, *Heilsgeschichtliche Deutungsmuster in der Publizistik des Dreißigjährigen Krieges: pro und antischwedische Propaganda in Deutschland 1628 bis 1635 [Salvational Historical Patterns of Interpretation in Journalism of the Thirty Years War: Pro and Anti-Swedish Propaganda in Germany 1628-1635]* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1991) 125.

[156] Schwedische Rettung der Christlichen Kirchen. Anno 1631. [Swedish Rescue of the Christian Churches], [S.l.], 1631 [VD17 12:672259P].

[157] "In this sign you will conquer"

Catholic dragon with those of former holy kings, guaranteeing his success by the grace of God. It is clear that Gustavus is battling for the preservation of *Ecclesia* against the Catholic Church, which has toppled the evangelical pillars of Magdeburg, Augsburg, Moravia, Austria, Bohemia, and the Palatinate. The themes represented in this work represent those projected onto the sovereign by a hopeful populace of German Protestants; Gustavus' own propaganda campaign underwrote these messianic conceptions of his invading army.

Figure 21: Schwedische Rettung der Christlichen Kirchen. Anno 1631
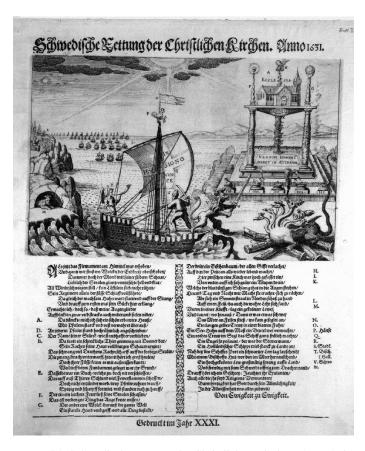
From an early age, Gustaus Adolphus was forced to ingratiate himself and his designs with influential benefactors. This meant projecting himself and his ambitions as in conformity with those who held sway over their practical implementation. In Sweden, Gustavus placated the aristocracy by assuring a combination of national security, internal peace, and international

prestige.[158]   While these reasons reigned supreme in Gustavus' justification for continental

interventions to his own people, rationalization of his presence to the German princes and

population emphasized slightly different features. Indeed, according to Gustavus, his military

presence in the Empire represented defensive action by Sweden against Catholic aggression

towards the True Church. Thus, it was not he who provoked the conflict but, rather, those

nefarious agents of the Catholic Church.

Defense of the True Church was a three-pronged image for Gustavus. First, the Swedish

military provided the force necessary for an effective Protestant effort. Second, the force was to

be guided by Gustavus himself, and protected by association with his divine providence. Third

and finally, the troops led by Sweden would hold themselves as soldiers of God, pious and

disciplined under the influence of their holy king. Pro-Swedish propaganda soon after Gustavus'

imperial intervention in 1630 emphasized the selflessness of the King's actions. Apparently

isolated from continental threats, Gustavus had nonetheless staked his reputation and well-being

on the protection of religious and political liberties in the Holy Roman Empire. This was

certainly not entirely the case, for as Gustavus himself wrote to his Chancellor, Axel

Oxenstierna, Swedish intervention was first and foremost for "the security of the fatherland

against the designs of the enemy."[159]   Nevertheless, the miraculous and immediate successes of

the Swedish army were perceived as divine approval by Protestant audiences, who proclaimed

Gustavus to be their contemporary equivalent of Old Testament heroes such as Moses, Joshua,

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[158] Erik Ringmar, *Identity, Interest and Action: A Cultural Explanation of Sweden's Intervention in the Thirty Years War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 180.
[159] Gustav Adolf to Axel Oxenstierna, 8 October 1630, in C. Hallendorff (ed.), Tal och skrifter av konung Gustav II Adolf (1915) 119–20 cited in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Thirty Years' War*, Ed. Peter Schroder and Olaf Asbach (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014) 77.

David, and Gideon.[160] Abundant pamphlets and broadsheets portrayed Gustavus as a holy leader in the vein of David and Gideon—a welcome image to Protestant Germans awaiting their own exodus.

Gustavus worked to solidify justification for his military actions and the acceptance of Protestant Germany through self-fashioning a utilitarian identity for himself and his army. I will analyze the function of three particularly paradigmatic popular representations of the Swedish fighting force in Germany: ; first, *Das Gebett So Ihr Kön etc.*,[161] which proclaimed the great spiritual role of Gustavus and, accordingly, his pious influence on Swedish troops; second, a pamphlet titled *Christliche Kriegsgebett etc,.*[162] produced by the chaplain of Gustavus Adolphus, Johannes Bothvidi; and third, the supposed official code of conduct for the Swedish army, published periodically as *Schwedisches Kriegs-Recht etc.*.[163] Together, these documents served as the foundation for popular perception and acceptance of the Swedish army in the Empire. Their emphasis on issues of confessional contention, underpinned by political infractions by the Habsburgs, speak to the persistence of these themes, first articulated as justification for warfare during the Bohemian Phase.

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[160] Darren Paul Foster *Foreign Heroes and Catholic Villains: Radical Protestant Propaganda of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648)* PhD diss., University of Exeter, (2012) 148.

[161] *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.

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

[163] *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 GeneralGewaltigers / 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.

Das Gebett So Ihr Kön etc. (Figure 22) was produced towards the beginning of the Swedish campaign in 1630 and alleged to depict the arrival of Gustavus on German soil. In the prominent image, the king is shown kneeling in prayer, displaying his great piety and humility under God. Through punctuating the beginning of his military campaign with supplication, this image of Gustavus conveys Swedish intervention as acquiescence to God's will, rather than an act of Gustavus' desire. This image also emphasizes the cavalcade of soldiers willing to follow the Swedish King as instruments of God's will. The text beneath the picture drives home the piety of Gustavus and his troops as manifest in three crucial aspects. The first thirty-one lines articulate a prayer attributed to Gustavus, allegedly corresponding to the supplication shown in the image above. The righteousness of the Swedish advisors is presented through the following five lines, wherein they react emotionally to their king's deference before God.[164] The remainder of the text is intended to stress the associative piety of those following a divine savior such as Gustavus by portraying his multicultural army as a flock of the righteous, and calling all of Germany to welcome the holy king and his pious army. Gustavus was presented as the opposite of the Habsburg Emperor, lacking selfish personal political motivation, the shepherd of a righteous flock of free soldiers[165] engaged in a defensive cause.

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[164] "Und als seine Räth solch sein inbrünstig Gebet von Hertzbrennende Wort gehöret / haben sie sich deβ wainens nit enthalten können" [And when his council heard such a fervent prayer of burning words from the heart / they could not contain their wailings].

[165] As Porshnev points out, Sweden functioned differently than its contemporary continental polities who were currently in the midst of a 'second serfdom'. Swedish soldiers were free, and Porshnev concludes that this must have been apparent to continental observers, although I suspect he inflects his own ideology by overemphasizing the significance of this conspicuous freedom. Porshnev, *Muscovy and Sweden in the Thirty Years' War, 1630-1635* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 165-207.

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Figure 22: Das Gebett So Ihr Kön etc.

Christliche Kriegsgebett etc. and Schwedisches Kriegs-Recht etc. both directly pertain to cultivating a friendly German perception of the Swedish army and, thus, represent tropes of affective Thirty Years' War military discourse. Foremost, it was crucial to present the Swedish troops as disciplined and orderly, a contrast to imperial troops led by Albrecht von Wallenstein which persisted on the plundering of towns and peasants. Wallenstein's troops had recently campaigned in northern Germany, temporarily securing the Baltic coast while leaving a trail of destitution in their wake.[166] The piety of the Swedish army was projected to the German public

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[166] Part of Wallenstein's 'Baltic Design' to cultivate a Baltic naval force with which to contend Sweden and the United Provinces for dominance of the North Sea. See: Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009) 425-432.

in the *Christliche Kriegsgebett etc.*, which purported to present prayers recited by the Swedish troops. The contents of these prayers perpetuated the idea that the Swedish army represented the providentialism of Old Testament heroes, maintaining that, although their enemies surround them, in the name of the Lord they will destroy them.[167] Certain prayers buttressed the role of Gustavus as their pious shepherd, referencing themselves as a flock of God's way.[168] This compilation of dubious wartime prayers was conscious propaganda of Gustavus' chaplain, Johannes Bothvidi, who clearly understood the benefits of casting his fighting force in such a light amidst the fraught confessional climate in the Empire.

In addition to piety, propaganda assured the Germans that these Swedish troops were orderly and abided by contemporary conceptions of military morality. This was articulated in *Schwedisches Kriegs-Recht etc.*, wherein the terms agreed to by Swedish troops were explicated for the public. From this code of conduct, the Swedish army, emulating its king, Gustavus, observed strict rules of religious and military conduct. Again, Gustavus' role as shepherd of his army is demonstrated, this time by his ability to regulate his flock's behavior under the threat of death. In this fifty-five page pamphlet, first printed in 1632 then reprinted in the 1640s, the law of God governs the actions of the Swedish army. This was intended to win the cooperation of moderate Protestants by fitting Swedish military involvement within the popularly perceived struggle of Protestantism against hegemonic imperial Catholicism.

In his analysis of the changing representation of Gustavus Adolphus in German broadsheets, John Paas identifies three stages of representation: the accepted military leader; the

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[167] "unsere Feinde umbgeben uns / aber im Nahmen des Herren wollen wir sie zerhawen / sie umbgeben uns als Jmmen / und dämpffen wie ein Fewer in Domen / aber im Nahmen des Herrn wollen wir sie zerhawen."
[168] "Wir dein Volck / unn Schafe deiner Weyde / wollen dir dancken Ewiglich / und deinen Ruhm verkündigen für und für"

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providential savior; and the selfless heroic victim.[169] These three stages correspond to the

progression of the Swedish campaign and the pragmatic necessity of emphasizing certain traits in

accordance with each other. Gustavus' ability to self-fashion an identity that resonated

discursively with German audiences underwrote these perceptions and, for the purpose of the

current study, serves as a distillation of contemporaneous representation. What follows from

Gustavus' campaign to ingratiate himself with German consciousness was the same multi-valent

presentation of kingship under the direction of God that stemmed from Frederick and the

Bohemian Phase. It was utilized more effectively by Sweden, which was able to embrace

positive associations with religion, kingship, and constitutionality, whereas Frederick built his

image on a foundation of perceived insurrection. Sweden was able to implement ready-made

tropes around Gustavus to affect reactions in accord with contemporary popular conception of

the war's confessional dynamics. When he died in 1632, memory of his role remained a crucial

totem for the continuation of a confessional war.

Conclusion

Over a period of a little over a decade following the conclusion of the Bohemian Phase,

media products representing actors of the Thirty Years' war maintained many resilient

'Bohemian' points of contention. Broadsheets and pamphlets embraced the first decade of

"propaganda," perpetuating partisan division and mediating popular perception. Through these

media, the discourse of warfare was articulated around defense of imperial constitutional

liberties; religious polemics which stressed the Jesuit influence over imperial affairs and the

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[169] John Roger Paas, "The Changing Image of Gustavus Adolphus on German Broadsheets, 1630-3," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* Vol. 59 (1996) 205-244.

degradation of the former Protestant savior, Frederick; and the cultivation of a new Protestant locomotive of history in the figure of Gustavus Adolphus.

These themes were taken up with tremendous zeal and prolific presses. Media production of this period dwarfed that of the preceding phase, and was not matched by any subsequent periods of the Thirty Years' War. While the underlying realities of the war were driven by intricate and often pragmatic concerns above less attainable abstract motivations, popular media emphasized popular over pragmatic. The media message served as a valuable asset for those who recognized the utility to be found in reiterations of popular concerns; however, this has also led historians – interpreting source narrative as reality – to overemphasize the sensationalistic discourse of diametric confessional conflict.

Conclusion

The Thirty Years' War was an immensely complex geo-political phenomenon, the events of which were influenced by a plethora of interwoven concerns. Maintenance of the imperial constitution and power balance, in addition to periodic opportunistic advancement, justified much of the continent's involvement. However, perceptions of the war as a predominantly confessional conflict persist throughout modern historiography. The resilient conception of religiously motivated warfare derives, in large part, from a resounding emphasis on confessional divisions and religious themes in the media products produced over the course of the war. These media projected a discourse replete with religious symbolism and consistently emphasized religion over politics. The benign propaganda of this popular media framed the conflict so as to be understood and supported by a populace encultured in a habitus of confessional conflict. Thus, although these media often obfuscated the true motivations of political actors the resonance of their themes to the contemporary public facilitated their propagation and eventual assimilation into histories of the Thirty Years' War.

Historiography's emphasis on the Thirty Years' War's first half and general ambivalence to its later years simultaneously corresponds to, and is shaped, by the role popular media played cultivating a persuasive discourse for justification of military action. The discourse was born out of Bohemia and fashioned around the kingdom's composite identity forged through periodic contestations over religious and political liberties. It was through this identity that the Thirty Years' War began, formulated around political grievances pertaining to religious liberties. Propagandistic media served as an outlet through which these grievances were disseminated. Pamphlets, broadsheets, and songs portrayed the conflict as fundamentally religious, yet still firmly intertwined in the specific Bohemian context and relationship the kingdom had to its king.

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While the Bohemian 'Rebellion' raged on, popular media was an intensely contested domain, drawing in partisan participants. When the dust settled and Bohemia's Confederacy was suppressed, the discursive arguments its benefactors invoked maintained their resonance throughout Europe. Bohemia's articulation of the defense of traditional religious liberties and constitutional arrangements, as well as a model of the kingship, not as hegemon, but as a figurehead for righteousness, fell on fertile European ground following the Bohemian Phase.

Religious and political tensions outlived Bohemia's uprising and subsequent developments in the Empire, articulated through a vast array of media products, demonstrated how deeply the 'Bohemian Question' affected the discourse of the Thirty Years' War going forward. Affective media attacked the reputation of Frederick, undermining his role as Protestant figurehead; representations of nefarious advisors and Jesuits cultivated widespread distrust of imperial motivation; religious undertones presented to be driving factors strengthened perception of a binary confessional divide. Each of these themes was articulated alongside concerns of the preservation of the constitutional liberties and power balance of the Empire. Military leaders such as Christian IV of Denmark and Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden joined the war proclaiming justification reflecting the discursive remnants of Bohemia's 'rebellion'. At the same time, the correspondence of Gustavus evinced the king's understanding that justification through these tropes ensured cooperation rather than reflected reality. The portrayal and representation of the Thirty Years' War cultivated a discursive foundation upon which actions were justified. Through the ability of affective media and propaganda to inform perception of reality and cultivate memory, the confessional discourse expounded through media of the first half of the Thirty Years' War shaped the way the war was remembered and, subsequently, historicized.

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