



Beggars, Peasants, and Soldiers in the Early Modern Age

Papers of the „Paupers and Beggars“ Section
European Social Science History Conference, Gent, Belgium, April 2010

Edited by Sabine Veits-Falk and Gerhard Fritz

and

Sources Concerning the Relations Between Soldiers and Civilians
During the Thirty Years' War

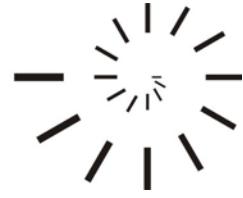
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Part I: Papers of the “Paupers and beggars” Section, European Social Science History Conference, Gent, Belgium, April 2010

Introduction

Beggars in the Early Modern Period – Quantitative and Qualitative Aspects

Sabine Veits-Falk

In April 2010 the eighth European Social Science History Conference (ESSHC) organized by the International Institute of Social History (IISH) took place in Ghent. The conference did not have a central theme: its main objective was “to introduce historians who use the insights and techniques from social sciences to social scientists that focus on the past in their research and vice versa”.¹ 28 thematic networks addressed various subjects. In the “Social Inequality” network the “Paupers and Beggars” session dealt with various aspects of begging and vagrancy in Europe from the seventeenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In historical poverty research of the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period begging has been a central topic since the late 1980s. Several studies on beggars, vagrants and marginal groups have been published² and findings on begging can even be found in overviews³ (which is not true of to the historiography of the 19th and 20th century⁴). Nevertheless over recent years a lot of new and revised findings based on new basic research and methods that were influenced by social and mental history, historical anthropology or historical demography, could be obtained.⁵

¹ Cf. www.iisg.nl/esshc/pastconferences.php (22. 12. 2010).

² For example Frantisek GRAUS: Randgruppen der städtischen Gesellschaft im Spätmittelalter. In: Zeitschrift für Historischer Forschung 8 (1981), p. 385 – 437; Carsten KÜTHER: Menschen auf der Straße. Vagierende Unterschichten in Bayern, Franken und Schwaben in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts (= Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft 56). Göttingen 1983; Ernst SCHUBERT: Arme Leute, Bettler und Gauner im Franken des 18. Jahrhunderts. Neustadt/Aisch 1983; Franz IRSIGLER, Arnold LASSOTTA: Bettler und Gaukler, Dirnen und Henker. Außenseiter in einer mittelalterlichen Stadt. Köln 1300 – 1600. München 1984; Bernd-Ulrich HERGEMÖLLER (Ed.): Randgruppen in der spätmittelalterlichen Gesellschaft. Ein Hand- und Studienbuch. Warendorf 1990.

³ Broislav GEREMEK: Geschichte der Armut. Elend und Barmherzigkeit in Europa. München / Zürich 1988; Wolfgang von HIPPEL: Armut, Unterschichten, Randgruppen in der Frühen Neuzeit. München 1995; Robert JÜTTE: Arme, Bettler, Beutelschneider. Eine Sozialgeschichte der Armut in der Rühen Neuzeit. Weimar 2000; Martin RHEINHEIMER: Arme, Bettler und Vaganten. Überleben in der Not 1450 – 1850. Frankfurt a. M. 2000.

⁴ Cf. Beate ALTHAMMER: Einleitung. In: Beate ALTHAMMER (Ed.): Bettler in der europäischen Stadt der Moderne. Zwischen Barmherzigkeit, Repression und Sozialreform. Frankfurt a. M. et al. 2007 (= Inklusion / Exklusion. Studien zu Fremdheit und Armut von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart 4), p. 3 – 22.

⁵ For example Helmut BRÄUER: „... und hat seithero gebetlet“. Bettler und Bettelwesen in Wien und Niederösterreich während der Zeit Kaiser Leopolds I. Wien / Köln / Weimar 1996; Helmut BRÄUER: Der Leipziger Rat und die Bettler. Quellen und Analysen zu Bettlern und Bettelwesen in der Messestadt bis ins 18. Jahrhundert. Leipzig 1997; Gerhard AMMERER: Heimat Straße. Vaganten im Österreich des Ancien Régime (= Sozial- und wirtschaftshistorische Studien 29). Wien / München 2003; Martin SCHEUTZ: Ausgesperrt und gejagt, geduldet und versteckt. Bettlervisitationen im Niederösterreich des 18. Jahrhunderts (= Studien und Forschungen aus dem Niederösterreichischen Institut für Landeskunde 34). St. Pölten 2003; Helmut BRÄUER: Kinderbettel und Bettelkinder Mitteleuropas zwischen 1500 und 1800. Beobachtungen – Thesen – Anregungen. Leipzig 2010.

Nevertheless many questions remain open which is primarily due to the scarcity or even lack of source material. One such problem is the question of defining begging or vagrancy. Now beggars are commonly defined as persons seeking public places where they address themselves to individual passers-bys in order to plea for donations. But one fundamental finding of poverty research, a truism so to speak, is, that poverty and begging as its extreme manifestation mean something different in each period of history. In the Early Modern Period important distinctive features were specified, which still influence our present perception and even legislation: the differentiation between “worthy” and “unworthy” and between “domestic” and “foreign”. In succinct terms: On one end of the spectrum was the idle and criminal vagrant that persistently worried urban and rural authorities and aggressively demanded alms and on the other end there was a begging woman or man who had formerly been a respectable person until she or he was overcome by adverse circumstances or sickness and who was ashamed of pleading for donations. Maybe this person was supported temporarily in the neighbourhood and thus occupied grey area between formal begging and resort to informal charity. If we want to reconstruct the problem of begging in the Early Modern Period, then we have to adopt these contemporary conceptualities, especially when we are looking for sources that give information on the quantity of beggars.

In the late 1970s German historian Karsten Küther calculated that more than 10 per cent of the population of the Holy Roman Empire was extremely poor and homeless in the late 17th and in the 18th century. These figures were used by most social historians.

Gerhard Fritz, however, doubts this extremely high percentage of beggars and vagrants and presents the results of a regional study he made of the Swabian Kreis at the ESSHC.⁶ He stresses that it is impossible to figure out the proportion of begging and unsettled people throughout the Holy Roman Empire and that only regional studies can give an impression of their rate. Moreover the number of beggars depended on various circumstances – for example, whether the survey was conducted during wartime or peacetime. In times of peace the percentage of vagrants in the 18th century seems to have been about 1 or maybe 2 per cent. In times of war, however, it could increase to 10, 20, 30 per cent or even more. His source material consists of lists of vagrant murderers, thieves, robbers, prostitutes and the like and a book containing extensive data of the delinquents in Swabia published by a prison priest. Here we are confronted with the problem that we can only count the group of begging and homeless people who came into conflict with the law, but statements concerning certain political and economic cycles can be made.

A completely different source serves *Alfred Stefan Weiß* as a basis for his paper on “masses of beggars” in Carinthia at about 1800.⁷ He introduces us to the travel book writer Franz Sartori to us, who compared beggars to a voracious plague of locust and estimated the number of beggars and handicapped people in the Duchy of Carinthia to be about 18,000 – 21,000 – that is 7 – 8,5 per cent of the total population. Sartori, who seems to have suffered from a kind of “beggar-phobia”, obviously supported the contemporary marginalisation and criminalisation of beggars and other outsiders with his travel account.

Although Sartori was accused by the local authorities of having written his report for the purpose of satire, he was not the only one who took up the begging problem in figures at this time. A source from Salzburg in 1819 stats, for example, that up to 700 beggars a week were begging for alms in the houses of the city. If it had been true, 100 persons a day or – in an assumed timeframe from 7 AM to 7 PM – eight persons an hour would have knocked at the

⁶ Cf. abstract www2.iisg.nl/esshc/programme.asp?selyear=10&pap=7353 (22.12.2010).

⁷ Cf. abstract www2.iisg.nl/esshc/programme.asp?selyear=10&pap=7599 (22.12.2010).

inhabitants' doors.⁸ So how are we to deal with these numbers? Even though we cannot take these figures too literally, they underscore the fact that beggars were perceived as a well-defined or permanent category which could even be counted (although the numbers were most likely false).

Gerhard Ammerer concentrates on the survival strategies of the wandering beggars, the "protagonists" of our session,⁹ which can be characterized as a combination of work and begging. Their income sources were both legal and illegal. He also discusses the concept of "adaptive family economy" developed by Richard Wall and comes to the conclusion that it can also be applied to the unsettled population. Finally he asks whether vagrants didn't need more experience and competence to meet the material demands of survival than did the settled population. They had to be highly flexible, mobile, adaptable, communicative and the like – today we would call these qualities core skills. This is also a new aspect worth discussing, but very difficult to answer due to the paucity of available sources.

One point made in *Otto Ulbricht's* paper¹⁰ is that the population of beggars included many ex-soldiers who had to take up the "fight for survival". Unfortunately he has not provided his paper "Begging Soldiers in the late eighteenth-century Germany" for this summary.

At the conference he presented various groups with a military background such as ex-soldiers and their company, soldier's widows, deserters and the like within the masses of beggars roaming the countryside in the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein in the late eighteenth-century. They could have constituted up to 20 per cent of all beggars (for example in 1802). Ulbricht gave a number of reasons why ex-soldiers turned to begging (they were unskilled labourers and mostly middle-aged, when they were discharged and thus had fewer chances to get work; because of their bad reputation re-integration into civil society was difficult and so on) and spoke of their problems getting a pension or when they were discharged because of disability. So sooner or later many of them became beggars and once having become one, an ex-soldier had to continue begging all his life. Furthermore Ulbricht stressed that the presumption that ex-soldiers were leading large groups of beggars and became a source of great insecurity was often a prejudice, similar to the preconception that they were violence-prone and formed the core of aggressive beggars. He countered these prejudices by referring to sources stating that one discharged soldier could turn criminal or another one could become a puppeteer. Poor relief, which still based on the old community principles, however shut them out in most cases. So begging, often combined with labour, was an essential means of survival for them.

All in all the papers of the "Paupers and Beggars" session present new results concerning begging and vagrancy, which hopefully will encourage further discussion and research.

⁸ Sabine VEITS-FALK: „Zeit der Not“: Armut in Salzburg 1800–1870 (= Salzburg Studien 2), Salzburg 2000, p. 9. Richard Dyson and Steven King quote diary of Dr. South in Oxford in 1816 which begins with the sentence "At a time when the streets are paved with idle beggars [...]", compare Richard Dyson and Steven King, "The streets as paved with idle beggars": Experiences and perceptions of beggars in the nineteenth century Oxford. In: ALTHAMMER (cf. note 4), p. 59 – 90, esp. p. 60. According to an often quoted-estimate dating from 1871 30,000 persons in Rome were said to have been beggars. This means that approximately every seventh inhabitant would have been a beggar. Compare Tania SYRJAMAA: Talking about beggars. Nineteenth-century perspectives on Roman poverty. in: ibid, p. 133 – 150, esp. 133.

⁹ Cf. abstract www2.iisg.nl/esshc/programme.asp?selyear=10&pap=7686 (22.12.2010).

¹⁰ Cf. abstract www2.iisg.nl/esshc/programme.asp?selyear=10&pap=8157 (22.12. 2010).

Survival Strategies of Beggars in Early Modern Europe

– an adaptive “family economy”?

Gerhard Ammerer

The lives and survival of wandering beggars depended on a variety of factors: climate, season, and topography were some of the deciding elements.¹ The proceedings, the choice of itinerary, the interaction with space and time were all determined by the concern over physical existence. But how could vagabonds secure the essentials of life on the road, especially food and clothing? Experience, special adaptive practices and a certain degree of worldly wisdom were all essential.² Lone individuals in Early Modern Europe hardly ever had the necessary resources in these regards and most vagabonds traveled in small groups – commonly with a family core.

Historical sources tend to disparage the range of vagabond strategies that scholarly literature refers to collectively as a “makeshift economy” in. This economy combined legitimate and illegitimate sources of income in an undifferentiated fashion, which raises the question of the extent to which the economies of wandering and settled populations really differed.³ That is, did the complex structures of accommodation and sources of income of the vagrants differ completely from those of settled agrarian populations?

Or, to put it another way, are the structural economic characteristics of traveling fellowships consistent with the concept of an “adaptive family economy” developed by Richard Wall? Wall used this term to describe an economic survival strategy that developed across the spaces between farming, proto-industry, and wage labor – a strategy that was characterized by a high degree of flexibility and which assembled family incomes in different ways from diverse sources.⁴ According to this notion, the members of an agrarian household chose their economic activities from a range of possibilities, and made their choices based on their evaluations of the changing conditions of the labor market.

¹ This performance is basing on Gerhard AMMERER: Heimat Straße. Vaganten im Österreich des Ancien Regime (= Sozial- und Wirtschaftshistorische Studien 29). Wien-München 2003. – There you also can find chapters concerning the groups of traveling „folks“ such as Gypsies, Jews and others with their own modes of living.

² Gerhard AMMERER: Die „Betteltour“ – Aspekte der Zeit- und Raumökonomie nichtsesshafter Armer im 18. Jahrhundert. In: Gerhard AMMERER / Elke SCHLENKRICH / Sabine VEITS-FALK, Alfred Stefan WEISS (Ed.): Armut auf dem Lande. Mitteleuropa vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts, Wien-Köln-Weimar 2010, p. 37 – 62; Gerhard AMMERER: Gräfin Henkel aus Kramschütz auf Reisen oder: Wie eine attraktive *Aventurière* 1790 die Männerwelt betörte. *Superbia* und die Sieben Todsünden der Quelle. In: Frühneuzeit-Info Jg. 21, H. 1 und 2, 2010, p. 90 – 106.

³ Gerhard AMMERER / Sabine VEITS-FALK: (Über-)Leben auf der Straße. Das 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. In: Sylvia HAHN, Nadja LOBNER, Clemens SEDMAK (Ed.): Armut in Europa 1500 – 2000 (= Querschnitte Bd. 25), Innsbruck-Wien-Bozen 2010, p. 140 – 161.

⁴ Richard WALL: Work, Welfare and the Family: An Illustration of the Adaptive Family Economy. In: BONFIELD / LLOYD u. a. (Ed.): The World We Have Gained. Histories of Population and Social Structure. Essays presented to Peter Laslett on his Seventieth Birthday. Oxford 1986, p. 261 – 294; Richard WALL: Arbeit, Fürsorge und Familie. Eine vergleichende Betrachtung von Handwerkern, Bauern und Arbeitern in Devon und Westflandern. In: Josef EHMER / Michael MITTERAUER (Ed.): Familienstruktur und Arbeitsorganisation in ländlichen Gesellschaften. Wien-Köln-Graz 1986, p. 495 – 554.



Anonymous, Old beggar, German around 1700.

And what did the survival strategies of a traveling family or group look like? As a rule it was impossible for them to survive from begging alone. The proceeds from begging⁵

⁵ Gerhard AMMERER: „... ein handwerksmässiges Gewerbe ...“ – Bettel und Bettelpraktiken von Vagierenden im Ancien Régime. In: Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur 47/2b – 3 (2003), p. 98 – 118; Gerhard AMMERER: Bettler. In: Friedrich JAEGER (Ed.): Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit 2. Stuttgart-Weimar 2005, p. 91 – 93.

generally weren't even sufficient to support even solitary individuals. The material requirements for survival demanded a combined economy, one that generally involved at least several individuals

The sources reveal several frequently observed patterns where special experiences and skills of some members of the group were used to enhance the sources of income of the group as a whole. Their collective economy was shaped by a division of labor and roles among its individual members.⁶ The role divisions in traveling societies involved gender specific and age specific components. Contemporary testimonies regarding the division of labor and the various facets of their collective mixed economy are mostly found in judicial protocols. This, for example, is what the eleven year old Cäcilia Maßtnerin who was traveling through the mountains with a group of five travelers told a court about their economic practices: *We women were mostly left alone and begged at houses and alpine pasture huts while Peter and Klampferer worked. We got back together every evening. The men brought some money from their work and sometimes also some bacon and meat.*⁷ Testimony like this is often found in the sources.

Work and begging were thus in no way the mutually exclusive patterns of behavior that the authorities thought they saw.⁸ More often it seems that the most common patterns depicted by vagabonds showed that they attempted to secure their survival with combinations of working in agricultural or trading pursuits on the one hand and begging on the other.⁹ Begging was above all an activity of women, children, and the aged.¹⁰ A common additional women's domain for supplementing their income consisted of peddling small accessories and notions.

These activities could greatly strengthen the economic position of groups of wandering beggars. The *patria potestas*, the dominant economic and legal status of men didn't exist in this form for vagrants. For that reason one can speak of a tendency towards equality in the family among this segment of the population.

Many men tried the "vagrant trades" and earned money as scissor sharpeners, tinkers, basket makers, broom makers, and etc.¹¹ These activities required neither skilled training nor expensive tools, though they didn't pay well either.

⁶ Thomas Dominik MEIER / Rolf WOLFENSBERGER: „Eine Heimat und doch keine“. Heimatlose und Nicht-Sesshafte in der Schweiz (16. – 18. Jahrhundert). Zürich 1998, p. 214.

⁷ AMMERER, Heimat Straße (cf. note 1), p. 382.

⁸ Martin SCHEUTZ: „...in daz brod bettlen ausgegangen“. Armut, Bettel und Armenversorgung in Niederösterreich während des 18. Jahrhundert. In: Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur 47/2b-3 (2003), p. 136 – 161; Gerhard AMMERER / Sabine VEITS-FALK: Die Visualisierung des Betteln. Geben und Nehmen zwischen Mildtätigkeit und Sozialkritik an bildlichen Beispielen Österreichs und Süddeutschlands vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert. In: Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 89/2 (2007), p. 301 – 328.

⁹ Helmut BRÄUER: Arbeitende Bettler? Bemerkungen zum frühneuzeitlichen Bettler-Begriff. In: Comparativ, 3. Jg., H 6, 1993 (Thema des Heftes: Krisen. Prozeß, Wahrnehmung und Vergleich), p. 79 – 91; Helmut BRÄUER: „....weilen Sie nit alzeit arbeiten haben khan.“ Über die „Bettelweiber“ von Wien während der frühen Neuzeit. In: L'Homme. Zeitschrift für Feministische Geschichtswissenschaft 7 (1996), p. 135 – 143.

¹⁰ Wolfgang SCHEFFKNECHT: „Arme Weiber“. Bemerkungen zur Rolle der Frau in den Unterschichten und vagierenden Randgruppen in der frühneuzeitlichen Gesellschaft. In: Alois NIEDERSTÄTTER / Wolfgang SCHEFFKNECHT (Ed.): Hexe oder Hausfrau. Das Bild der Frau in der Geschichte Vorarlbergs. Sigmaringendorf 1991, p. 77 – 109.

¹¹ Rolf WOLFENSBERGER: „Heimatlose und Vaganten“. Die Kultur der Fahrenden im 19. Jahrhundert in der Schweiz, Diss. phil., Bern 1996, p. 47; Heinz REIF: Vagierende Unterschichten, Vagabunden und Bandenkriminalität im Ancien Régime. In: Beiträge zur historischen Soziakunde 1/1 (1981), p. 29.

The sources indicate that for such people, main occupation and sideline – when one can even use these terms – were in no sense stable categories, but were rather situational. They could vary according to time, group affiliation, and economic region. The connection to a new partner or a new group of vagabonds could suddenly alter the subsistence basis and occupations of individuals. Such personal and economic reorientations sometimes occurred several times in a vagrant's life.

Most traveling groups went from village to village and from house to house and took advantage of every possibility for earnings. They offered their labor power for seasonal farm work or commercial activities and often got only food and housing for their efforts. Spinning, knitting, sewing and washing were jobs that even the most minimally skilled or handicapped could do.

This population engaged in peddling along with laboring and vagrants' trades. There were repressive anti-peddling ordinances designed to protect settled traders and to keep professional thieves and robbers from disguising themselves as peddlers in order to investigate houses that they could return to rob later. Nonetheless these ordinances were generally ineffective as local markets and legitimate traders only partially fulfilled the provisioning needs of rural households for commercial products. The demand for items of daily necessity was great. All sorts of cheap goods were sold – begged or stolen clothes or foodstuffs, collected berries, or self-made objects like simple ornaments.¹²

An outstanding example of the expertise involved in generating income by some mobile groups was displayed by those who wandered from place to place and sought the favor of the public as "entertainment artists." Actors, trained bear acts, comedians, tightrope walkers, puppeteers, fortune tellers, organ grinders, and other "artists" quenched a thirst for entertainment in a monotonous world that had only a few festive occasions each year.¹³

There are only a few memoirs that provide views into the lives of these mobile troops of actors, including those of the later Hamburg & Mannheim theater director Johann Christian Brandes and those of the traveling comedy actress Karoline Schulze-Kummerfeld (who began her traveling career when she joined her father's troop at the age of three).¹⁴ The memoirs of Emanuel Schikaneder, who began as a wandering musician and later led a well known acting group and had an unparalleled social rise from vagrant to celebrated theater director and librettist, provide a theater history from the bottom up that exposes a life of poverty and

¹² Gerhard AMMERER: „Diese arme exotische Menschenrace.“ Der Tyroler und die Tyrolerin – Zur Stereotypisierung von frühneuzeitlichen alpinen Hausierern und Hausiererinnen, in: Tiroler Heimat. Jahrbuch für Geschichte und Volkskunde 67 (2003), p. 203 – 220; Ulrich LANGE: Krämer, Höker und Hausierer. Die Anfänge des Massenkonsums in Schleswig-Holstein. In: Werner PARAVICINI (Ed.): Mare Balticum. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Ostseeraums in Mittelalter und Neuzeit. FS zum 65. Geburtstag von Erich Hoffmann (= Kieler Historische Studien 36). Sigmaringen 1992, p. 315 – 327; Georg STÖGER: Der Handel mit Nicht-Neuem – Wiener und Salzburger Gebrauchtwarenmarkte in der Vormoderne (ca. 1600 – 1810), Diss. phil. Salzburg 2009.

¹³ Katrin KRÖLL: „Kurier die Leut auf meine Art...“ Jahrmarktskünste und Medizin auf den Messen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. In: Udo BENZENHÖFER / Wilhelm KÜHLMANN (Ed.): Heilkunde und Krankheitserfahrung in der frühen Neuzeit. Studien am Grenzraum von Literaturgeschichte und Medizingeschichte. Tübingen 1992, p. 155–186; Elisabeth FENDL: Volksbelustigungen in Regensburg im 18. Jahrhundert. Das „Curiöse“ in der Chronik des Christian Gottlieb Eimpfel (= Regensburger Schriften zur Volkskunde 5). Vilseck 1988; Fahrendes Volk. Spielleute. Schausteller. Artisten. Katalog zur Ausstellung in der Städtischen Kunsthalle Recklinghausen v. 2. Mai-5. Juli 1981, o. O. 1981.

¹⁴ J. C. Brandes – Landstreicher, Komödiant und Schauspieldirektor. „J. C. Brandes, Meine Lebensgeschichte“, bearbeitet von Joachim E. HETTLER (Abenteuerliche Lebensläufe 6). Heidenheim an der Brenz 1971; Inge BUCK (Ed.): Ein fahrendes Frauenzimmer. Die Lebenserinnerungen der Komödiantin Karoline Schulze-Kummerfeld 1745 – 1815, Berlin 1988.

hunger, miserable accommodations, social disdain, and a survival strategy that included many kinds of other work in addition to theatricals.¹⁵



The two Musicians on the fair, David Teniers, oil-painting around 1690.

¹⁵ Max KAMMERMAYER: Emanuel Schikaneder und seine Zeit. Ein Spiegelbild zu Mozarts Zauberflöte. Grafenau 1992.

Making music also provided only occasional income that was insufficient for survival and it often had to be supplemented by other activities like day labor, begging, or petty crime. Suspect musicians who not only play music but also steal have continued to be a favorite theme in songs – as in Reinhard Mey’s recent humorous hit song that warns “take down your laundry and lock the garden door [because] musicians are in the town.”¹⁶ The minstrels who began to appear in the 18th century also depended on group activities as they combined text, picture and sound – as music making, selling small booklets with the words of the songs, and collecting money all at once required several participants.¹⁷

To summarize: in order to secure provisioning for all, the members of traveling associations had to be alert to and to combine various possible sources of income. Accommodating situational and seasonal conditions required flexible alternative arrangements that had to be skillfully organized if material needs were to be met. Distinctly differentiated male and female activities at least tended to develop. Income sources were both legal and illegal, including petty activities prohibited by legal authorities. The flexibility of economic makeshifts and the pattern of variable sources assembled for family or group incomes of vagrants would seem to me to fit well under the rubric of the “adaptive family economy.” One might even wonder if the unsettled population didn’t need even more experience and competence to meet the material demands of survival than did the settled population. But that’s another question, perhaps for another conference.

¹⁶ <http://www.i-songtexte.com/15148/titel/index.html>.

¹⁷ Gustav GUGITZ: *Lieder der Straße. Die Bänkelsänger im josephinischen Wien*, Wien 1954; Leander PETZOLDT: *Bänkelsang. Vom historischen Bänkelsang zum literarischen Chanson*. Stuttgart 1974; Enno PODEHL: *Wandernde Handpuppenspieler und Bänkelsänger*, in: *Fahrendes Volk. Spielleute. Schauspieler. Artisten*, Katalog zur Ausstellung in der Städtischen Kunsthalle Recklinghausen vom 2. Mai – 5. Juli 1981, 1981.

Robbers – Vagrants – Beggars in South Western Germany during the 17th and 18th Century

Quantitative Aspects of a Social Problem

Gerhard Fritz

More than 10 per cent of the population of the Holy Roman Empire of the Germanic Nation in the late 17th and the 18th century are told to have been extremely poor and homeless. What the historian Karsten Küther wrote in the 1970s and 1980s had a great influence among historians: The extraordinary high percentage of beggars and vagrants is widely accepted since Küther.¹⁸

What is the empirical base of this enormous percentage? At first it must be said that it is completely impossible to give any true percentage of poor and vagrants for the complete Holy Empire. The situation in Prussia may have been completely different to the situation in Austria or in the smaller territories in the West of the Empire. The Holy Roman Empire was so extensive that no historian will be able to describe the vagrant poverty of the Empire as a whole. Only regional studies will be able to give a clear impression of certain regions.

The territory: Baden-Württemberg and the Swabian Kreis

Since the end of the 15th century the Holy Roman Empire was divided into ten regions or Kreise (= literally “circles”). Larger units than one Kreis cannot be the object of serious historical research. During the last 15 years I have been studying the poor, the vagrants and the criminals in the South West of the Holy Roman Empire, i. e. the Swabian Kreis.¹⁹

I would like to present some of the results of my research as far as they concern the percentage of these groups of population. Fortunately there are several very useful sources

¹⁸ Karsten KÜTHER: Menschen auf der Straße. Vagierende Unterschichten in Bayern, Franken und Schwaben in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts. Göttingen 1983 (= Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft 56), p. 21 – 23; Karsten KÜTHER: Räuber und Gauner in Deutschland: das organisierte Bandenwesen im 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert. Göttingen, Zürich ²1987 ('1976), p. 21 – 23; KÜTHER's numbers are accepted in most studies concerning social history: Wolfgang WÜST: Bettler und Vaganten als Herausforderung für die Staatsraison im Hochstift und der Reichsstadt Augsburg. In: Jahrbuch des Vereins für Augsburger Bistumsgeschichte 21, 1987, p. 240 – 279, especially 240; Nobert FINZSCH: Obrigkeit und Unterschichten. Zur Geschichte der rheinischen Unterschichten gegen Ende des 18. und zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts. Stuttgart 1990 Habil. Köln 1988/89), p. 242, Jürgen KOCKA: Weder Stand noch Klasse. Unterschichten um 1800. Bonn 1990, p. 89, Robert JÜTTE: Bettelschübe in der frühen Neuzeit. In: Andreas GESTRICH / Gerhard HIRSCHFELD and Holger SONNABEND (Ed.): Ausweisung und Deportation. Formen der Zwangsmigration in der Geschichte. Stuttgart 1995 (= Stuttgarter Beiträge zur historischen Migrationsforschung 2), S. 61 – 72, especially p. 61; cf. also in a more general sense: Robert JÜTTE: Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe. Cambridge 1994 (= New approaches to European History 4), p. 54–58 and even Hans-Werner HAHN / Helmut BERDING: Reformen, Restauration und Revolution 1806-1848/49. Stuttgart 2010 (= Gebhardt. Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte, 10., völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage, Bd. 14), p. 340. Critical to all these studies: Gerhard FRITZ: Eine Rotte von allerhandt rauberischem Gesindt. Öffentliche Sicherheit in Südwestdeutschland vom Ende des Dreißigjährigen Krieges bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches. Ostfildern 2004 (= Stuttgarter historische Studien zur Landes- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte 6), p. 219 – 225; Gerhard FRITZ: Armut und Marginalisierung. In: Historicum. Zeitschrift für Geschichte 2001, p. 17 – 21.

¹⁹ James Allen VANN: The Swabian Kreis. Institutional Growth in the Holy Roman Empire 1648 – 1715. Bruxelles 1975 (= Studies presented to the International Committee for the History of representative and parliamentary Institutions 53); Wolfgang WÜST (Ed.): Reichskreis und Territorium: Die Herrschaft über der Herrschaft? Supraterritoriale Tendenzen in Politik, Kultur, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Ein Vergleich süddeutscher Reichskreise. Stuttgart 2000 (= Augsburger Beiträge zur Landesgeschichte Bayerisch-Schwabens 7).

from which we can extract valid numbers. The Swabian Kreis was led by a protestant and a Roman catholic leader, the so-called “Kreisausschreibende Stände”. The protestant leader of the Kreis was the duke of Wurtemberg, because he was the most important protestant prince in the Kreis area. The catholic leader was the bishop of Constance, far less mighty than the duke of Wurtemberg, but nevertheless he reigned the most important catholic territory among the great number of very small catholic territories of this region.

Some of the main tasks of the Kreis were to construct roads and to maintain public security. There was no central authority to maintain public security, i. e. no central Swabian police or maréchaussée. Every state had to keep its territory clean itself. Institutions of the Kreis were only several prisons, the so-called “Kreis-Zuchthäuser”, in Pforzheim (Baden), Stuttgart and Ludwigsburg (both: Wurtemberg, in German actually written Württemberg), Ravensburg (Empirical town), and Buchloe (for the south-east of the Swabian Kreis). In addition, smaller Zuchthäuser and regional authorities had to cooperate, and Zuchthäuser and regional authorities produced sources which sometimes contain very exact informations about number and names of the vagrants and the poor.

Sources

The first group of sources is a number of lists containing the names of vagrant murderers, thieves, robbers, prostitutes etc. Mostly these lists are rather short, but there are lists which indicate a greater number of persons. The oldest of these greater lists is a list dating from 1728 and coming from Ludwigsburg, besides Stuttgart the second residence town in Wurtemberg. There are five younger lists: Stuttgart 1746, Sulz 1784, Oberdischingen 1799, Karlsruhe 1800, Sulz 1801 and Sulz 1811. The reason why the small town of Sulz produced three lists is a very simple one. We already heard that the prosecution of criminals – and vagrants were at least estimated as potential criminals – was done by especially interested local prevots. In Sulz this was the famous Oberamtmann Schäffer, who had so-to-say as his private hobby, the prosecution of vagrant criminals. Schäffer was the man who replaced the non-existing criminal police in the duchy of Wurtemberg, and in the Swabian Kreis, too. Around 1800 he found two colleagues, the so-called Malefiz-Schenk von Castell in Oberdischingen and the Badian prevot Roth. Both produced lists too, the one in Oberdischingen and the other one in Karlsruhe 1800. Especially Roth's General-Jauner-Liste from 1800 wanted to conscript every vagrant criminal in the South West of the Empire.²⁰

The lists between 1728 and 1811 note at least 546 adult vagrant criminals (plus 94 children) (Ludwigsburg 1728) and 3640 adults (Roth's General-Gauner-Liste 1800; Roth didn't count the children).

In addition to these lists we have, as a rather different source, a book written and published by Johann Ulrich Schöll in 1793.²¹ Schöll was a priest in the Kreis prison in Ludwigsburg. In the Swabian Kreis Schöll counts 2726 vagrant thieves plus about 8000 vagrant beggars, whom he estimated to be non-criminal or semi-criminal. Schöll's book seems to be the broadest and the most exact source concerning the vagrant population of the German South West of the 18th century.

²⁰ Bibliographical data of all these lists can be found in: Andreas BLAUERT and Eva WIEBEL: Gauner- und Diebslisten. Registrieren, Identifizieren und Fahnden im 18. Jahrhundert. Frankfurt/M. 2001 and in: FRITZ 2004 (cf. note 1), p. 884, 886, 893, 896-897; cf. p 225 – 233, too.

²¹ Johann Ulrich SCHÖLL: Abriss des Jauner- und Bettelwesens in Schwaben nach Akten und andern sichern Quellen von dem Verfasser des Kostanzer Hanns. Stuttgart 1793.

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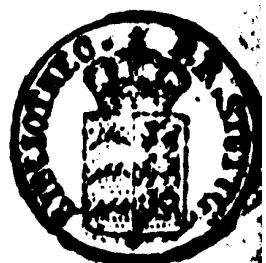
A b r iß
des
J a u n e r
und
B e t t e l w e s e n s
in Schwaben

nach Alten und andern sichern Quellen

von dem Verfasser

des

K o f f a n g e r H a n ß.



Am Freitag auf die Leitung

Stuttgart,

bei Erhard und Löflund.

1793.

1. Title page of Ulrich Schoell's *Abriß des Jauner und Bettelwesens*, 1793

Numeric relation between vagrant and settled population

If we want to put these 10.000 or 11.000 persons in relation to the complete population of the Swabian Kreis, there are some statistical problems: The territory of the Swabian Kreis is not identical with the territory of the actual Bundesland of Baden-Württemberg. The Swabian Kreis consisted of about the southern three quarters of Baden-Württemberg (the quarter in the north of actual Baden-Württemberg belonged to the Franconian Kreis) plus the south western part of the actual Bundesland of Bavaria, i. e. the actual Bavarian district Schwaben. Several enclaves belonging to Austria (Vorderösterreich) in the south of Baden-Württemberg and a great number of very small enclaves belonging to the Franconian and the Upper Rhenanian Kreis and the imperial knights (the so-called Reichsritterschaft in Schwaben) did not belong to the Kreis's territory but need not be mentioned here more exactly.

There are no studies concerning the population of the Swabian Kreis, so it is very difficult to get the relation of the complete Kreis's population to Schöll's 10.000 or 11.000 vagrant thieves and beggars. What we have at first is the estimated population of the regions that form actual Baden-Württemberg in the 17th, 18th and early 19th centuries. The territories of the former Swabian Kreis and the actual Bundesland Baden-Württemberg are only semi-identical as far as the regions are concerned, but the territories of the Kreis and the Bundesland are nearly identical as far as the surface is concerned. The Kreis had 30.408 km², the actual Bundesland has 35.750 km².²² In so far it is possible to use the following numbers as a base of calculation.

Norbert Ohler published the following numbers:²³

Territory of actual Baden-Württemberg

Time	Inhabitants, total	Inhabitants/km ²
1500 – 1620	1.483.371	41,39
1620 – 1650	814.091	22,71
1650 – 1715	1.202.307	33,55
1715 – 1800	2.250.000	62,93
1800 – 1820	2.514.700	70,19

About 1700, according to Boelcke, the Swabian Kreis is told to have had an estimated population of 1.322,759, which is remarkably close to Ohler's calculation of 1.202.307 for Baden-Württemberg. Boelcke quotes 2.401.921 inhabitants for 1810/12 for the territory of actual Baden-Württemberg.²⁴

²² Willi A. BOELCKE: Handbuch Baden-Württemberg. Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln, Mainz 1984, p. 138.

²³ Norbert OHLER: Zur Bevölkerungsgeschichte von Baden-Württemberg in vorstatistischer Zeit. In: Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins 152 (NF 113), 2004, S. 9 – 22; the table above is an abbreviated version of OHLER's table. The general tendencies of the demographic development are described by: Meinrad SCHaab: Siedlung, Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft von der Stauferzeit bis zur Französischen Revolution. In: Handbuch der baden-württembergischen Geschichte. 1. Bd.: Allgemeine Geschichte, 2. Tl.: Vom Spätmittelalter bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches. Ed. by Meinrad SCHaab and Hansmartin SCHWARZMAIER. Stuttgart 2000, p. 457 – 586, especially 488 – 500.

²⁴ BOELCKE (cf. note 4), p. 139, 188.

Alphabetische
Verzeichnuß
Vnd
Beschreibung
Der
Aus den neuern Jauner-ACTIS
und Listen gezogenen Jauner, Zigeuner,
Mörder, Räuber, Kirchen-Marcft-
Tag- und Nacht-Diebe, falschen Geld-
Münzer, Wechsler, Spieler, Brief-
Träger und andern herum vagi-
renden liederlichen
Gesinds.



STUTTGART,
Gedruckt im Jahr 1746.

2. Title page of *Alphabetische Verzeichnuß Vnd Beschreibung Der Aus den neuern Jauner=ACTIS und Listen gezogenen Jauner [...]*, 1746

In the time of Schöll – shortly before 1800 – the 10.000 or 11.000 persons indicated by Schöll are about 0,5 % (exactly 0,488 %) of the 2.250.000 persons indicated by Ohler. The percentage is nearly the same with Boelcke's number. All the numbers may not be absolutely exact, especially Ohler's and Boelcke's numbers may have been a bit smaller in the 1790s, but the numbers give an impression of the order of magnitude of the vagrant population in South Western Germany shortly before 1800. There must have been about 0,5 % of the population living on the streets, being homeless. Even if we accept that these 0,5 % may be not quite exact and even if we double, triple or quadruple the percentage because of the unreliability of the sources we don't have more than 1, 1,5 or 2 % vagrants compared to the total population.

For earlier periods there are no sources as broad and reliable as Schöll, but the older lists mentioned above indicate, that the percentage of vagrants in the earlier 18th century seems to have been similar to the 0,5 – 2,0 % of the total population. Küther's 10 % are far too high for normal times.

Studies based upon birth, marriage and death registers of the 17th, 18th, and early 19th century come to similar results for single towns or villages.²⁵ In normal times the percentage of vagrant population seems to have been rather low.

²⁵ I have to mention three different series of genealogical books: 1. the so-called “Ortsippenbücher“ or “Ortsfamilienbücher“ (local family books edited by different genealogical societies, especially the “Verein für Familien- und Wappenkunde in Württemberg und Baden e. V.”, containing genealogical data concerning different towns and villages). About 200 volumes have been published up to January 2010 in Baden-Württemberg (in Germany as a whole about 450 volumes). 2. the series „Ortsfremde in württembergischen Kirchenbüchern“ (Strangers in Wurtemberg parish registers – series is closed and continued in series 3), 20 volumes; 3. the series “Ortsfremde in Kirchenbüchern aus Baden-Württemberg” (Strangers in parish registers of Baden-Württemberg), ed. by Verein für Familien- und Wappenkunde in Württemberg und Baden e. V., 11 volumes have been published up to January 2010. Methods how to evaluate these genealogical books are described by FRITZ 2004 (cf. note 1), p. 220 – 222.

General-Jauner-Liste

oder

Alphabetischer Auszug

mehreren theils im Druck, theils geschrieben erschienenen Listen.

Die in Schwaben und angrenzenden Städte u. deren grossem Nachtheil nach heim' schwärmende Jauner,
Sau, Schäfer, Mörder, Archen-Markt-Lag und Nachtdiebe, Falschmünzer,
falsche Collectanten, Falschmünzer, andere Erzbetrüger, und sonstige, lieber
liches Gefindel.

nebst einem Anhang.

b e r

die hier und da schon justizierte, in Gefängnissen und Zuchthäusern gestorbene - unter der Bande selbst ermordete,
und natürlichen Todes gestorbene Jauner ic.

Zum eigenen und anderer Criminaljustiz, Beamten Gebrauch gefertiget.

d u r c h

Friedrich August Roth.

Schößl. Markgräfl. Badischer Hofrat und zweiter Oberbeamter der Markgrafschaft Hohberg zu
Ettlingen im Breisgau.

Carlsruhe.
gedruckt in Macklot's Buchdruckerey 1800.

3. Title page of Friedrich August Roth's *General-Jauner-Liste*, 1800

The situation in times of peace and war

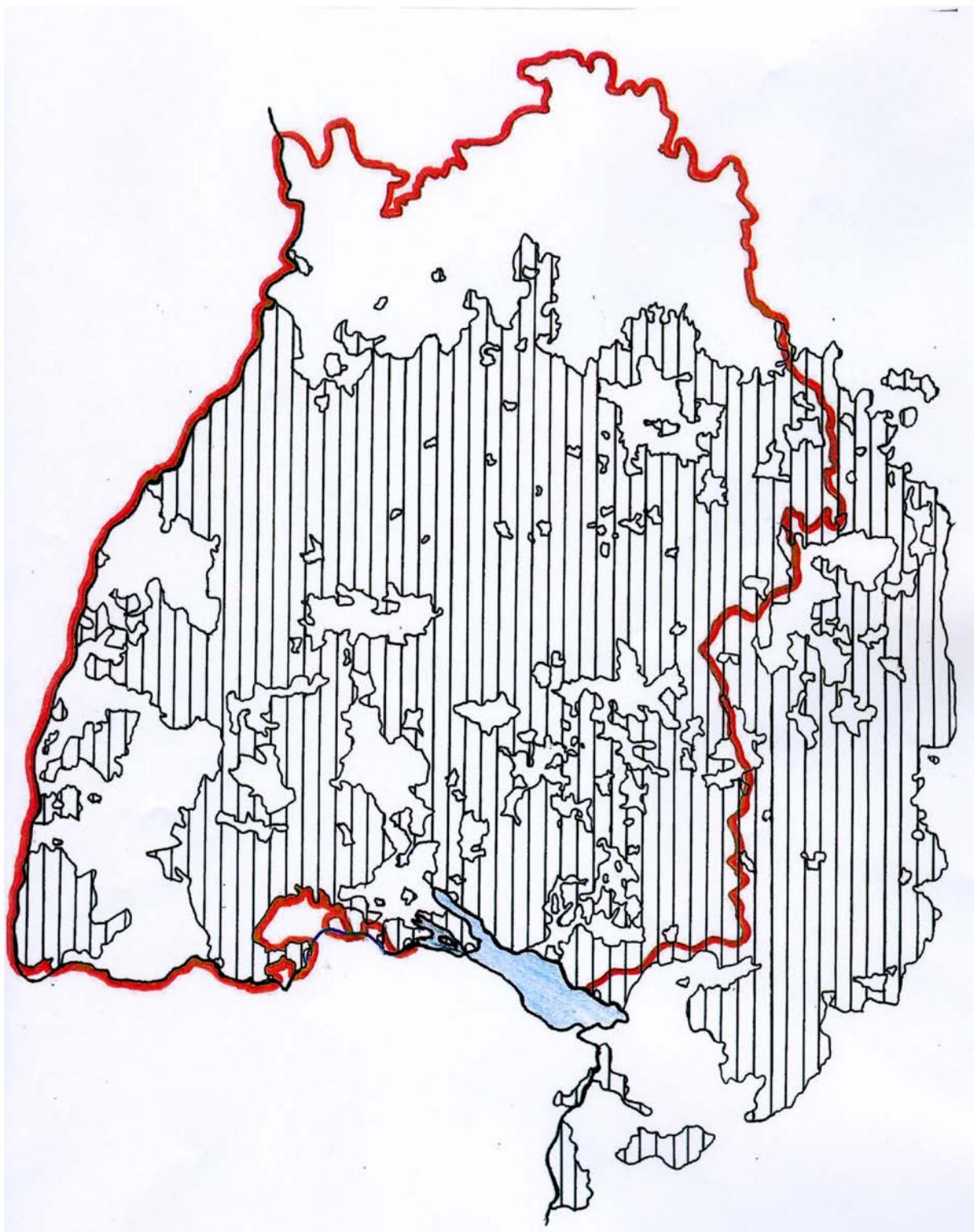
But in south western Germany there were several very unnormal periods during the 17th, 18th, and early 19th centuries. I don't think of the catastrophe indicated by the setback of Ohler's population numbers caused by the Thirty Years' War of 1618 – 1648. I don't think of this catastrophe because we don't have exact empirical data of vagrant population during the the Thirty Years' War.²⁶ Nevertheless the percentage of temporary vagrant people must have been much higher than in Schöll's time. I'll come back to this issue at the end of this chapter.

The second half of the 17th century didn't bring longer periods of peace for Germany's south west. A series of wars caused by the French king Louis XIV prolonged the Thirty Years' War to a war lasting nearly 100 years (mixed with a few years of peace) – the war time ended in 1714/15 with the end of the Spanish War of Succession.

For one of Louis' wars we have a study containing empirical data of settled and vagrant population: In the War of Palatine Succession, better known in England as the "Nine Years' War" and in France as "la guerre de la Ligue d'Augsbourg" from 1688 to 1697, we know the results of war as far as the numerical ratio of settled and vagrant population is concerned.²⁷

²⁶ Wolfgang VON HIPPEL (Ed.): Das Herzogtum Württemberg zur Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges im Spiegel von Steuer- und Kriegsschadensberichten 1629 – 1655. Materialien zur Historischen Statistik Südwestdeutschlands. Stuttgart 2009; VON HIPPEL's book contains a lot of data concerning the settled population, especially the population numbers of 1634 compared with the numbers of 1655 (cf. Tab. 8 and 9, p. 31 – 36).

²⁷ Gerhard FRITZ: Südwestdeutschland und das Franzosenjahr 1693. In: Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins für Württembergisch Franken 79, 1995, p. 117 – 148 with a summary of French, British, and German research concerning the Nine Years' War.



4. Red: Border of actual Baden-Würtemberg; black striped: territory of the Swabian Kreis (17th and 18th century); white enclaves in the southern half of the Swabian Kreis mostly belong to the Austrian Kreis, white enclaves in the western centre and in the north either belong to the Upper Rhenanian Kreis, the Franconian Kreis or to free empirical knights. The knights didn't belong to any Kreis at all.

During the War of Palatine Succession French troops invaded the Palatinat, Baden and Wurtemberg several times, especially in 1688/89 and 1692/93. The military aim of these invasions was to devastate a large area 50 – 100 km deep on the western and eastern side of the Rhine. Cities and villages were destroyed, even the huge cathedral of Speyer, where many German emperors were buried, was plundered and blown up by French soldiers. This and the destruction of the marvellous city and castle of Heidelberg shocked the whole empire.²⁸ The population either fled in panic or was driven out by the French troops. What was the military idea behind these devastations? It was to disturb the deployment of empirical troops in these areas on both sides of the Rhine – or even to make the deployment completely impossible. Louis XIV and his generals had not considered that a war of such brutality was the base of hatred among the German population and resulted in massive resistance and even a kind of guerilla war against the invader.²⁹

But what was the result of the French military strategy as far as the numerical relation between settled and vagrant population is concerned?

In the duchy of Wurtemberg several series of census were carried out in the years before and after the French invasion of 1693. Especially in the western regions of the duchy which were positioned close to the enemy the number of population dropped dramatically. 1695 and 1696 – two or three years after the invasion – the population had been reduced by 25 to 50 %. In the devastated towns as Calw and Marbach the losses were 50 – 60 %, and even 1700 to 1703 the population in many of these devastated towns had nearly not reached the numbers of 1692. The census of these years was a very exact one and statistically recorded everybody. One part of the fled or driven out people had moved to relatives or friends in nearer or farer villages. But a greater number of people didn't exist any more in statistical sense. They lived – as temporal vagrants – on the roads, in the forests or elsewhere, and their time of vagrancy could last very long: five years and longer. And Wurtemberg was a region which had not been hitten as badly as the Palatinat, situated farer in the west and closer to the French. There are several reports mentioning a great number of Palatine refugees moving around in Wurtemberg.³⁰

A new local study concerning the city of Neuenburg on the upper Rhine north of Basel shows that the situation one war earlier and one war later was a similar one: In the Franco-Dutch war (1672-1678), in which the Holy Roman Empire was involved, Neuenburg – as many other cities on the western side of the Rhine in Alsace and on the eastern side in the Swabian and Upper Rhenanian Kreis – was destroyed by the French in 1675, and the city was far from being completely reconstructed in 1702, when the French, during the War of Spanish Succession, occupied Neuenburg once more. Two years later, 1704, the French destroyed

²⁸ Roland VETTER: „Die ganze Stadt ist abgebrannt“. Heidelbergs zweite Zerstörung im Pfälzischen Erbfolgekrieg 1693. Karlsruhe³2009.

²⁹ Gerhard FRITZ: Kabinettskrieg, Marodeurskrieg oder Volkskrieg? Überlegungen zum militärgeschichtlichen Aspekt des Pfälzischen Erbfolgekriegs von 1688 bis zum Feldzug von 1693. In: Der Franzosenfall 1693 in Südwestdeutschland. Ursachen – Folgen – Probleme. Beiträge des Backnanger Symposions vom 10. und 11. September 1993. Ed. by Gerhard FRITZ and Roland SCHURIG. Remshalden 1995 (= historegio 1), p. 77 – 106. Christian GREINER: Der deutsch-französische „Kriegsgarten“ am Oberrhein, 1648 – 1697. In: Das Markgräflerland 2/2007: Kriege, Krisen und Katastrophen am Oberrhein vom Mittelalter bis zur Frühen Neuzeit. Tagung des Historischen Seminars Abteilung Landesgeschichte an der Universität Freiburg und der Stadt Neuenburg am Rhein 13. und 14. Oktober 2006, p. 205 – 226.

³⁰ Gerhard FRITZ: Einige Beobachtungen zu den demographischen Auswirkungen der Franzoseninvasion von 1692/93. In: Wolfgang SCHMIERER / Günter CORDES / Rudolf KIESS and Gerhard TADDEY (Ed.): Aus südwestdeutscher Geschichte. Festschrift für Hans-Martin Maurer zum 65. Geburtstag. Stuttgart 1994, p. 447 – 461; Konstantin HUBER: Die Auswirkungen der Kriegsereignisse 1688 – 1697 auf die Bevölkerungs-entwicklung im Maulbronner Raum. In: FRITZ and SCHURIG 1995 (cf. note 12), p. 137 – 151.

Neuenburg for a second time. The citizens were forced to leave Neuenburg. Unfortunately the Neuenburg study does not report, where the Neuenburgers spent the following years. Probably their situation was the same as in Wurtemberg in the Nine Years' War. It was not until 1714/15 that the reconstruction of Neuenburg could begin, and it took decades until it was completed.³¹

Certainly the wars of 1672 to 1678, of 1688 to 1697 and 1701 to 1714/15 were terrible for some regions along the Rhine and the Rhine's tributary river Neckar. But we know that the Thirty Years' war was even worse because the war lasted longer and the surface devastated was far more extensive than the surface devastated in the Nine Years' War. For certain regions in Wurtemberg population losses of at least 32,9 % up to 80,2 % between 1634 and 1655 are known – and 1655 the population numbers already had strongly grown compared with the data of 1652. In the worst years of the war the losses must even have been higher.³²

Although many people were killed in battles, by violence of marauders and especially by plagues, and subsequent breakdown of agricultural structures with catastrophic starvation in 1635 – 1638, a great part of population survived. The people survived by fleeing. This means that in the worst decade of the Thirty Years' war – between about 1634 to 1645 – a very high percentage and enormous masses of people must have lived as vagrants, although there is no exact empirical base. In most cases only uncommon sources as f. e. local legends or local plot names in inaccessible regions deep in the forests or in ravines indicate where parts of the population tried to survive.

Questions for the future

What do all the facts mentioned mean? They clearly indicate that in times of war the percentage of vagrant and homeless population could increase from the peacetime base of about 1, 1,5 or maybe 2 % to 10, 20, 30 % or even more. More research is necessary to find out further details: After how many years the situation in Wurtemberg and in Wurtemberg's neighbour states became normal again? When was the percentage of vagrants reduced to the normal peace time base?

Did the number of people belonging to the vagrant lower class grow during the 18th century – as can be read in many books, even in schoolbooks? According to the general population development in the 18th century it should be logical that there was a growth in vagrant population, too. However, the situation is – at least for south western Germany – more complicated. Between 1746 (list of Stuttgart) and 1793 (Schöll) the criminal nucleus of the vagrant population nearly doubled (100 : 193,9). We can suppose that the number of non-criminal vagrant beggars doubled, too. But between 1793 and 1811 the number of criminals decreased. The criminalist and author of several lists, Schäffer, clearly says that the number of criminals as robbers, thieves, swindlers etc. among vagrants had diminished in the years before. Unfortunately, 1811 there are no numbers of vagrant beggars.³³

In the years ahead it is necessary to have a close cooperation between historical demography and historical social research, especially historical criminal research.

³¹ Ursula HUGGLE: Neuenburgs Weg aus der Krise. Eine Stadt zwischen Zerstörung (1704) und Wiederaufbau. In: Das Markgräflerland (cf. note 12), p. 244 – 264.

³² VON HIPPEL 2009 (cf. note 9), Tab. 8 and 9, p. 33 – 36.

³³ FRITZ 2004 (cf. note 1), p. 225 – 227.

Masses of beggars in the south of Austria at about 1800

Literary fiction or reality?

Alfred Stefan Weiß

In 1811 Franz Sartori,¹ a young but already well-known Austrian author and physician, published a three-volume book under the title “Recent journey through upper- and lower Austria, Salzburg, Berchtesgaden, Carinthia and Styria”. In these books he evaluated and analysed the events that he had experienced from July to October 1807 during his trip with a horse-drawn carriage.²

Sartori’s description of Carinthia was highly criticised as he reproved the inhabitants of Carinthia with ruthless candour. He commented in detail on the problem with beggars and argued: *Crowds of lawless beggars wander about in Carinthia and nourish themselves from the efforts of others, similar to the swarms of voracious grasshoppers that nourish themselves from lush Asian meadows. The beggars describe the Christian duty of charity more touchingly and heart-warmingly than the most famous pulpit orator.*³ In order to emphasise his statement, Sartori enumerated several examples according to which the profession of a beggar seemed to be quite profitable. The author claimed that many beggars would be able to give a lot of marriage-portion at their daughters’ weddings or would leave behind quite a respectable fortune after their death. Furthermore, the child begging *would be the school for most of the burglars in Carinthia.*⁴

Sartori, who criticised the province from the viewpoint of a citizen, originated from the countryside. He was born in 1782 in a small town called Unzmarkt in the duchy of Styria, where his father worked as a court magistrate for the prince of Schwarzenberg. He moved to Graz in order to begin his studies at the university, joined the religious order of the Friars Minor Conventuals for a short period of time and took over the editorial work of various newspapers in order to earn some money. In 1806 he moved to Vienna and obtained his doctorate in medicine at the University of Erlangen in 1808. At the recommendation of the emperor’s brother, the archduke Johann (John) of Austria, Sartori received a job as an official in the so called “Bücher-Revisionsamt”. In addition to this occupational activity in the “Bücher-Revisionsamt”, Sartori worked as a censor till his death in 1832.

¹ Kurt FÖTTINGER: Franz Sartori und Franz Xaver Schweickhardt. Österreichische Topographen im Vormärz. Phil. Thesis, Wien 1951, 2 – 73; Constant von WURZBACH, Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich Vol. 28, Wien 1874, 252 – 255; Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815 – 1950 Vol. IX, Wien 1988, 427 – 428.

² Review of the book in: Vaterländische Blätter für den österreichischen Kaiserstaat 08-05-1811 Number 37, 221.

³ Franz SARTORI: Neueste Reise durch Oesterreich ob und unter der Enns, Salzburg, Berchtesgaden, Kärnthen und Steyermark in statistischer, geographischer, naturhistorischer, ökonomischer, geschichtlicher und pittoresker Hinsicht unternommen Vol. 2, Wien 1811, p. 241; Franz SARTORI: Reise durch Kärnten im Jahre 1807. Franz Graf von Enzenberg, Reaktion auf Sartoris Darstellung von Kärnten und seiner Bewohner. Mit einem Nachwort von Humbert FINK, Reprint Völkermarkt 1990.

⁴ SARTORI: Neueste Reise (cf. note 3), p. 242 – 244, quotation 244.

Already Sartori's contemporaries considered him an *author, who publishes a lot*. In a biographical lexicon from 1874 (Wurzbach) one can read the following: *He has published an enormous amount of books and articles, however, the major part of them are written in bad quality.*⁵ It has to be mentioned explicitly that Sartori had shamelessly copied from the already existing travel literature e. g. the examinations and descriptions of the cities and country sides of Salzburg and Styria. Moreover, he copied most of the information about Carinthia from a handwritten manuscript of a foreign secular priest.⁶ Carinthia was considered as a “terra incognita”⁷ by that time, Sartori, however, made just a *quick journey through Carinthia*⁸ as he spent approximately five to seven days in this area. In November 1784 an anonymous author published an article in the “Teutschen Merkur”, in which he criticised the mass production of the travel literature. The journalist stated that the generally tolerated level of disgust concerning travel literature had been transcended, because so many things have been told and retold a thousand times. However, even the critic had to admit that the new travel books were still bought and read.⁹

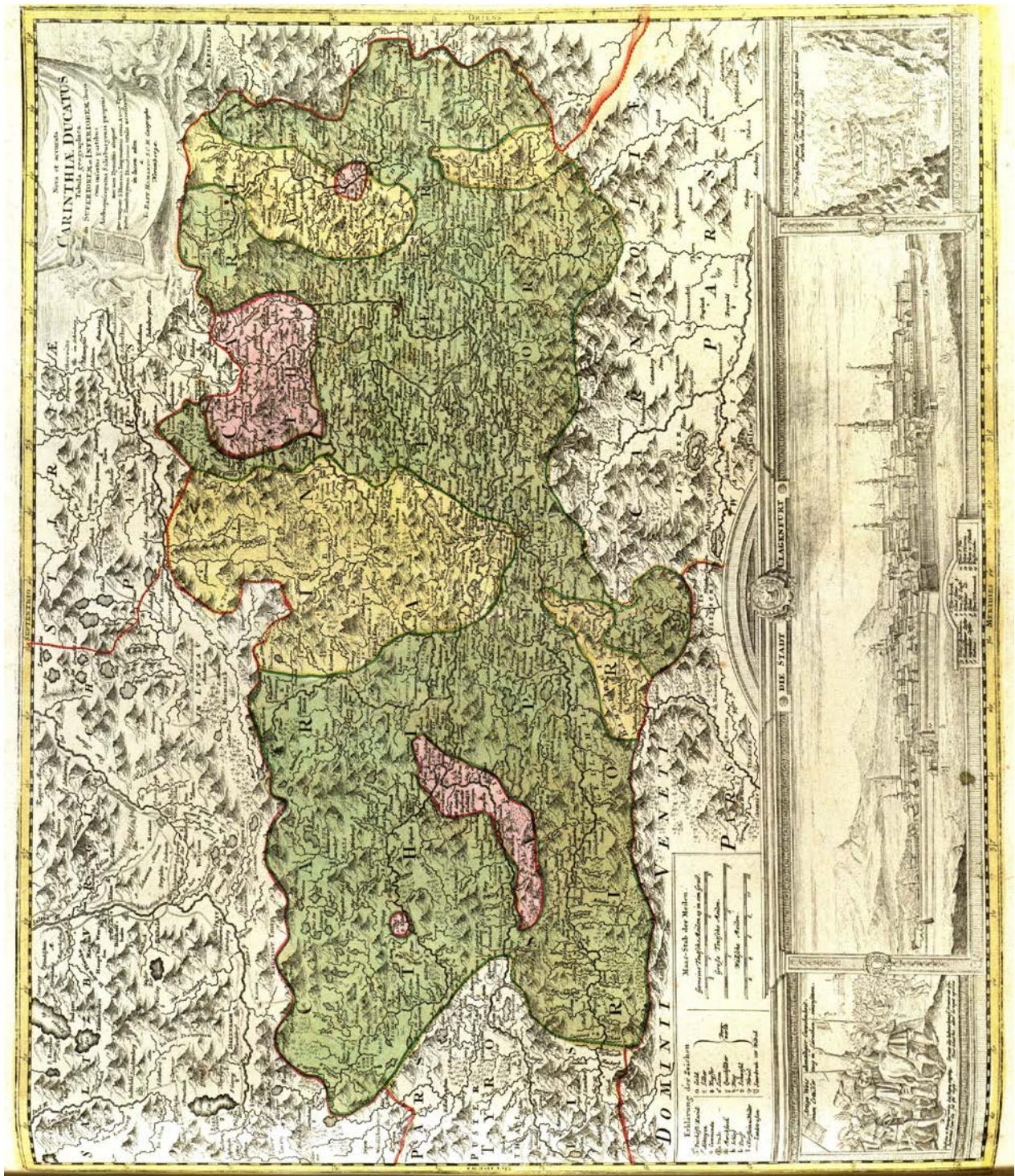
⁵ WURZBACH, (cf. Note 1), p. 254.

⁶ Ehrenrettung Kärnthens. In: Vaterländische Blätter für den österreichischen Kaiserstaat 21-03-1812 Number 23, p. 148 – 150, esp. 148.

⁷ Ign. TOMASCHEK: Einiges über ältere Topographie und Touristik Kärntens. In: Carinthia 49 (1859), p. 145 – 146, esp. 146.

⁸ Johann Gottfried KUMPF: Eine nothwendige Beilage zum zweiten Bande von Dr. Franz Sartori's neuester Reise durch Oesterreich ob und unter der Ens, Salzburg, Berchtesgaden, Kärnten und Steyermark. Klagenfurt 1812, p. 10.

⁹ Ueber das Reisen, und jemand der nach Anticyra reisen sollte. In: Der Deutsche Merkur Vol. November 1784, p. 151 – 160, esp. 152.



1. Map of the duchy of Carinthia, early 18th century

When using travel journals as an historic source, one has to keep in mind that in many cases their content had been taken over from already existing travel accounts. Furthermore, the accounts can definitely be considered as literature, as formed and modelled language. Generally speaking the travellers wrote down everything that seemed to be different from their hometowns and from their previous experiences. When dealing with travel accounts as an historic source, one has to keep in mind that there exist limits. E. g. a lot of information that we would like to know at present are not mentioned in the travel accounts as the specific information did not seem to be interesting or special to the travellers. However, since the late

18th century these accounts were clear-cut mediums for critique, in which the author could expose the political and social conditions of a country.¹⁰

Sartori was of course not the first one to write in detail about the duchy of Carinthia. In 1800 Carinthia had about 270,000 inhabitants. During the second half of the 18th century about 25 travel books were published, in which Carinthia was dealt with in more or less detail.¹¹ The most famous book was published by the physician and Enlightenment thinker Julius Heinrich Gottlieb Schlegel (“Journey through some parts of central Germany and the Veneto”, Erfurt 1798, second Edition published in 1807). Starting in June 1795, Schlegel spent several months in Carinthia in order to study the country and its inhabitants. His publication was not completely free from prejudices, his accounts were occasionally superficial, but his descriptions were extraordinarily diverse. Furthermore, it is very interesting to read Schlegel’s assessment of the problem with the beggars. He addressed the social circumstances of the population and intensively travelled through the duchy. However, he did not comment explicitly on the topic of beggars and vagabonds.¹² This could signify either that “the problem” was similar to those of other countries and did not attract specific attention, or that just relatively few beggars vegetated through Carinthia in 1795.

However, Sartori’s remarks about the plague with beggars in Carinthia were characterized by prejudices. Furthermore, he already knew all the anecdotes about a specific gang of thieves and robbers. According to these stories the gang roamed through parts of Carinthia in 1807. The gang’s leader, the so called “Krapfenbäck Simerl” (1785 – 1809), also known as the legendary “Robin Hood of Carinthia”, attained almost cult status as he, his companions and his girl-friend escaped from various prisons. The “game” ended the 17th September 1809 by command of the hostile French. Krapfenbäck Simerl was captured and shot dead during a razzia in a tavern. All in all he and his companions were responsible for 44 crimes (primarily burglaries, robberies and the murder of a female thief).¹³

Sartori, who had chosen to live in Vienna, was afraid of the beggars, who occasionally seemed to have begged him for eleemosynary. Therefore he was unable to find any peace of mind during his trip through Carinthia. He described the situation as follows: *This reaction is not surprising, when one spends time in a country, where there seem to be, according to my estimates, 12,000 to 15,000 beggars. Those, who think that this number of beggars is exaggerated, should travel on different country roads, should visit a tavern during wintertime, should go to the most famous places of pilgrimage, should observe the gathering in the house of a well off deceased and should go to the fairs of Klagenfurt, St. Veit, Völkermarkt and Wolfsberg.*¹⁴ Furthermore, Sartori estimated the number of the mentally handicapped men and women to be 6,000 – 8,000. When adding the estimated number of mentally handicapped men

¹⁰ Michael MAURER: Reiseberichte. In: Michael MAURER, Aufriß der Historischen Wissenschaften Vol. 4 (Quellen) (Universal-Bibliothek Vol. 17,030). Stuttgart 2002, p. 325 – 348.

¹¹ Gustav GUGITZ: Kärnten in Reisebeschreibungen und Lebenserinnerungen. Ein bibliographischer Versuch. In: Carinthia I 141 (1951), p. 16 – 49, esp. 25 – 30.

¹² Thomas ZELOTH: Kärntens Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft an der Schwelle zur Industrialisierung dargestellt am Reisebericht von Julius Heinrich Gottlieb Schlegel 1795 (1797). In: Carinthia I 199 (2009), p. 281 – 313, esp. 281 – 282, 303 – 310.

¹³ SARTORI, Neueste Reise (cf. Note 3), 253; Hans-Peter WEINGAND: Krapfenbäck Simerl. Die wahre Geschichte des „Kärntner Robin Hood“ Simon Kramer. Graz 2009.

¹⁴ SARTORI, Neueste Reise (cf. note 3), p. 244 – 245.

and women to the number of the estimated beggars, 18,000 – 23,000 people (6.6 – 8.5 percent of the total population) should have been supported by the state.¹⁵

Moreover, the author assumed that the vagabonds usually had no problems finding a shelter as nobody dared to reject them. There existed the widespread fear that the beggars would burn down the houses and the barns of those, who risked to be hostile towards them. Additionally, Sartori commented on the reputed profligate life of female servants and their frequent pregnancies and criticised that marriage licenses could be received too easily. Furthermore, he wrote about hucksters and called the begging a handcraft that can be inherited. According to Sartori *the abolishment of the begging would solve all the problems.*¹⁶ The physician did not only recommend the accommodation of sick poor in the respective parishes, but also suggested the construction of central workhouses, where the vagabonds should be employed with the traditional spinning of flax and wool. The construction of such institutes in the provinces was not realisable due to the enormous costs. Sartori had to admit that not even the people living in the workhouse of the capital city of Klagenfurt could be occupied with enough work. He assumed that *as soon as they would leave the workhouse, they would become nuisances and good-for-nothings once again.*¹⁷

Sartori, whose father had worked as a court magistrate, had internalised the governmental sanctions against the beggars and vagabonds. He was a journalistic advocate, who supported the marginalisation and criminalisation of *marginal groups*. However, the author completely ignored the existing reality, namely that many residents were in contact with the vagabonds by their own choice. It may be true that the encounters between the settled people and the recurrent “guests” were not always free from conflicts. However, it would be wrong to argue that the settled people lived in constant fear of the beggars and vagabonds. The peasant population profited from the visits of the vagabonds and utilised their manpower, bought their products and above all heard news about foreign countries.¹⁸

Sartori published his book in 1811 and dedicated it to the archduke Johann (John) of Austria. In May 1811 the first review of the book was published in the Viennese “Vaterländischen Blätter für den österreichischen Kaiserstaat”. According to this reviewer the book did not please the reader, because Sartori’s description of the duchy of Carinthia seemed to be exaggerated.¹⁹ In March 1812 a multi page article for the *Rehabilitation of Carinthia* was published in the “Vaterländischen Blätter”.²⁰

The Viennese description of the provincial everyday life in Carinthia caused indignation of the local establishment in Klagenfurt.²¹ Count Franz Joseph Enzenberg (1747 – 1821)²²

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 257 – 261.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 249.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 251 – 252.

¹⁸ Gerhard AMMERER: *Heimat Straße. Vaganten im Österreich des Ancien Régime* (Sozial- und wirtschaftshistorische Studien Vol. 29). Wien, München 2003, p. 307 – 311; Gerhard AMMERER: Die „Betteltour“ – Aspekte der Zeit- und Raumökonomie nichtsesshafter Armer im 18. Jahrhundert, in: Gerhard Ammerer, Elke Schlenkrich, Sabine VEITS-FALK, Alfred Stefan WEIS (Eds.), *Armut auf dem Lande. Mitteleuropa vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Wien; Köln; Weimar 2010; Gerhard AMMERER / Sabine VEITS-FALK: (*Über-)Leben auf der Straße. Das 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*. In: Sylvia HAHN / Nadja LOBNER / Clemens SEDMAK (Eds.): *Armut in Europa 1500 – 2000* (Querschnitte 25), Innsbruck; Wien; Bozen 2010, p. 140 – 161.

¹⁹ Cf. note 2.

²⁰ Cf. note 6.

²¹ Werner DROBESCH: *Der Quellenwert der Reiseberichte zu den ökonomischen und gesellschaftlichen*

and Dr. Johann Gottfried Kumpf (1781 – 1862)²³ opened up a journalistic feud against Sartori. Count Enzenberg was a jurist and president of the court. He originated from Bozen and was an Enlightenment thinker and author, who had good contacts to the imperial court. Dr. Johann Gottfried Kumpf was born in Klagenfurt, worked as a physician in Triest and returned to his hometown in 1811. Interestingly, Enzenberg was allowed to dedicate his publication to the archduke Johann and distributed his polemic pamphlet for free both at home and abroad. In his paper Enzenberg admitted that the observations of the Viennese author were not completely unfounded. The problem with the poverty had gotten worse due to the wars against the hostile French and the increase in price of the food. Since 1802 it had not been possible to keep the beggars away from the city of Klagenfurt and a specific commission controlled the supposedly *false reports about personal misfortune* recounted by foreign vagabonds.²⁴

Enzenberg added in his paper that he had never been confronted with lawless crowds of beggars, despite his occupational activities and his frequent journeys through the country. According to Enzenberg's opinion the situation that had been described by Sartori rather depicted the situation in the neighbouring duchy of Styria. Sartori's observations und the calculated numerical data were accused of being absurd and should be *enqueued in the innumerable poetic images*.²⁵ Dr. Johann Gottfried Kumpf published his article in the "Carinthia", a historical periodical, which is still published in Klagenfurt nowadays. In his article, Kumpf mocked Sartori's *calculation of the 15,000 beggars*²⁶ as a verification of these data was not possible. Furthermore, Kumpf added: *I can assure that I have carefully watched out for the beggars during the last fair in Klagenfurt, because according to Sartori's information the beggars' appearance should be most noticeable there; however, I was not so lucky to discover such individuals, who you can usually find in all other German towns when there is a similar event.*²⁷

Over the past few years the historical research has frequently verified the theory about the so called regional mobility of the vagabonds and their apparent interest in a temporary home (cf. Gerhard Ammerer). According to this theory crowds of beggars would have been discovered, even if the vagabonds would have avoided the main roads in order to escape inspection.

Verhältnissen in Innerösterreich vom späten 18. Jahrhundert bis in den Vormärz, in: Joachim REES, Winfried SIEBERS, Hilmar TILGNERS (Eds.): Europareisen politisch-sozialer Eliten im 18. Jahrhundert. Theoretische Neuorientierung – kommunikative Praxis – Kultur- und Wissenstransfer (Aufklärung und Europa Vol. 6). Berlin 2002, P: 67 – 80, esp. 79.

²² Astrid SCHULLER / Astrid SUETTE: Franz Joseph Graf von Enzenberg. In: Wilhelm BAUM (Ed.): Weimar – Jena – Klagenfurt. Der Herbert-Kreis und das Geistesleben Kärntens im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution. Klagenfurt 1989, p. 34 – 44, 202 – 205.

²³ Anton KREUZER: Kärntner biographische Skizzen 14. – 20. Jahrhundert, Klagenfurt 1999, p. 83 – 85; Ida WEIß, Kärntner Lebensbilder Vol. II (Kärntner Heimatleben Vol. 13), Klagenfurt 1972, p. 74 – 80, 91.

²⁴ Alfred Stefan WEISS: „Karbatsch=Streiche zur künftigen Besserung“. Das Klagenfurter Zucht-, Arbeits- und Strafhaus 1754 – 1822, in: Gerhard AMMERER, Alfred Stefan WEISS (Eds.): Strafe, Disziplin und Besserung. Österreichische Zucht- und Arbeitshäuser von 1750 bis 1850, Frankfurt, Berlin, Bern, Bruxelles, New York, Oxford, Wien 2006, p. 167 – 197, esp. 170.

²⁵ (Franz Graf von ENZENBERG): Beleuchtung der neuesten Reise durch Oesterreich ob und unter der Ens, Salzburg, Berchtesgaden, Kärnthen, und Steyermark ... von Dr. Franz Sartori. Ein wesentlicher Nachtrag zu dieser Reisebeschreibung mit einziger Hinsicht auf Kärnthen, Klagenfurt 1812, 44.

²⁶ KUMPF, (cf. note 8)! Beilage, 62.

²⁷ Ibid., Beilage 62 – 63.

Having analysed various documents in the Carinthian Landesarchiv I could gather additional information concerning the problem with the beggars. The governmental administration, the Gubernium in Graz, dealt with the topic “beggars” only cursorily in the “Materie Polizeigegenstände”. Some parts of the documents have been lost, hence just the detailed indexes can be analysed. However, even the indexes include few pieces of information about the controls and razzias. From 1804 to 1807 hardly any beggars were arrested.²⁸ In December 1807 the Kreisamt Klagenfurt dedicated much more attention to the previously mentioned gang of thieves than to the beggars as such. A financial reward was posted for the arrest of the gang. Despite the utmost discreteness of this mission, the special operation force, which consisted of 15 to 20 members, had no success during their first patrols.²⁹

Sartori’s descriptions about the crowds of beggars in Carinthia did not help to solve the problem. In 1811 Sartori was accused by the Carinthian administration of not having written his report *in order to help improving the situation*, but rather *for the purpose of satire*.³⁰ In one of his articles Schlegel claimed that many authors of travel journals would write down things that they had not seen in reality. Sartori seemed to have been one of them.³¹

Let’s return to travel literature in general. To conclude, try to imagine the following scene: During the summer of 1811 Count Enzenberg met up with 40 friends and acquaintances in an alpine lodge near the Carinthian city of Bleiburg in order to visit an aristocratic manor with 2,000 sheep and to go bear hunting. In the evening someone read out loud from Sartori’s travel journal. The present people amused themselves and they began to discuss the number of the mentioned beggars and mentally handicapped people. The participants concluded: *We are 40 people; therefore one can conclude that three of us, according to Sartori’s calculation, should be either a beggar or a fool. We wanted to decide our roles by drawing lots, when the huntsman entered and reminded us that he would have to wake us up very early in the morning in order to go bear hunting.*³² There is nothing left for me to add.

²⁸ Kärntner Landesarchiv, Gubernium Graz, Index Abteilung I, 1804 – 1807 (Materie 1 – 28).

²⁹ Kärntner Landesarchiv, Kreisamt Klagenfurt, Faszikel 4.

³⁰ FÖTTINGER, Sartori (cf. note 1), p. 39.

³¹ (Julius Heinrich Gottlieb SCHLEGEL): Reise durch einige Theile vom mittäglichen Deutschland und dem Venetianischen. Erfurt 1798, IV.

³² (Franz Graf) ENZENBERG: Die Schafschur und die Bären=Jagd auf dem Rischberge in Kärnten 1811, in: Hesperus 1811 Vol. IX, p. 333 – 360, esp. 351 – 354, quotation 354.



2. Beggars (*Bettelvolk*), painting by Christian Wilhelm Ernst Dietrich, 1774

Part II: Sources Concerning the Relations Between Soldiers and Civilians During the Thirty Years' War

in the Achalm Region, South Western Germany

Edited by Eberhard Fritz and Maria Würfel, with Translations into English by Gerhard Fritz

Vorwort

Die folgenden Quellen sind Teil eines Beitrags, den Eberhard Fritz und Maria Würfel in der Zeitschrift „Landesgeschichte in Forschung und Unterricht“.¹ veröffentlicht haben. In diesem Beitrag liefern Eberhard Fritz und Maria Würfel erstens eine Kombination von fachwissenschaftlicher historischer Forschung zum Dreißigjährigen Krieg und versuchen zweitens diese Forschung für den Unterricht von 17- oder 18-jährigen Schülern umzusetzen. All diese Forschungen, soweit sie den historischen Hintergrund betreffen, und alle methodologischen und didaktischen Ideen könnten in „Landesgeschichte in Forschung und Unterricht“ nachgelesen werden. Der dort von Eberhard Fritz und Maria Würfel veröffentlichte Beitrag enthält in einem Anhang sämtliche auch nachfolgend abgedruckten Quellen und ihre Übertragung in gegenwärtiges Deutsch. Nicht in „Landesgeschichte in Forschung und Unterricht“ enthalten sind die Übersetzungen ins Englische und die Faksimiles der Originalquellen aus dem Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart. Wir möchten damit allen Lesern das Quellenmaterial in einer Form zugänglich machen, die so nahe wie nur möglich an den Originalen liegt, und wir möchten dieses Quellenmaterial auch für die englischsprachigen Leser verfügbar machen.

Preface

The following sources are part of an article published by Eberhard Fritz and Maria Würfel in the periodical „Landesgeschichte in Forschung und Unterricht“. In this article Eberhard Fritz and Maria Würfel deliver firstly a combination of historical research concerning the 30 Years' War which they then try to adapt to classroom instruction of 17 or 18 years old pupils. All research concerning the historical background and all methodological and didactical ideas can be found in the publication of “Landesgeschichte in Forschung und Unterricht”. Eberhard Fritz's and Maria Würfel's article published there contains all following sources in an appendix plus the translation in present German. Not included in “Landesgeschichte in Forschung und Unterricht” are the translations into English and the facsimiles of the original sources which can be found in the Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart. We would like to present the most original material to all users and we would like to open these sources to English-speaking users as well.

Quellen / sources

Transkription des Originaltextes und Übertragung in Gegenwärtiges Deutsch jeweils Eberhard Fritz, Übersetzung ins Englische jeweils Gerhard Fritz

¹ Eberhard Fritz, Maria Würfel: Soldaten und Bauern im Dreißigjährigen Krieg am Beispiel der Pfandschaft Achalm. In: Landesgeschichte in Forschung und Unterricht 7, 2011, S. 17 – 34.

Verzeichniss

Alles bis Dagens und Danach; gantz auf. Und
anderen offizier, und des gewissen Valdebs, In
zog und grossen Generalen.

Erstens die Brüder und Männer, allein die Eitzen und
grossen Wohl, andere qualz, habs, Anschl, Rost, Ego
pläit, oder gedreit, öll, noch andres Vierhalter auf
Tatzen, ohne Baars Bezeichnung sozusagen, in offizial
seyn.

Mon, Andre, also alten des admiralz nach seinem,
das ist nachdem die Lipp, die man in den fahrt gebraucht
Ihm solz, gebräut Mon, Kurf, Reichslandt, alle
dieser ein feuer tüpfel, die auf den Brothuz
Eitzen, auf dem fucht Wohl, und Hoc gebraucht.
Herrt, das Meindt rausch fandt, als ic fand
fand Leylin, und wiederkomt 3 fandt fandt Mon
Leylin, Fünger ist des abtsfondes offizier fünger
und fandt fandt Mon, das aber dem Broth
und fünder des Broth des Succubus aufgang,
das also der Broth fünger und ander offizier
des Broth des Succubus, also simeon sic in question
gesetzt, alredor also einen oder mehr Zeit in des
Regimente also aijnt, gebräut, mit so langem
abtsfond fandt, und dichter fandt für fandt und
dann erß Tage ic hof: und aktor für die

Archiv.
Oesterreich. F. 21.
ad A. 73.

No. 73 b

Absentia des Prostes für die Serenien nichts zu
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gas nicht gesucht werdenz alle, ihay fiedung mit
gewünscht, Ihnen an dem Dienste, Laut der Capituln,
Ratios, ist doch zu praeinduzen.

3 Adon. Des Deutzen und kann ihz eigns Ufer auf dem
Lippe feld anag Co des Soldaten und Ufer Taytze, vorn
auf hundreß feldesfart.

4 Die Reiter und knosf Velff alle moeg mit auf die
einfinger feld Logiratz, Und ader die über die ordnung
Von den Deutzen, kannoz, Und alle rüstet mit ge
adet sturzschädelingz a fallen, meyzen die Deutzen
Und kannoz auf denkern, ihz, Und auch Marita von
gerheld fügt, auf des oblique fortlangt.

5 Die Deutzen und kannoz alle sind buntobene Fieker, ob
die die Her. des Soldaten gesuchter wofft und Hoffnung,
Wollersungen droghieft, Von ihz kannoz.

6 Die Reiter und andere, vberig oder Vierhälften feld
alle, fünt Conßilij gesuchter wofft, dass Diem Soldat
sich four gell Conßilij nichts freydet, Sich das ab,
das in des befohlung keine Augheyenfallt, Und oßnordung
wollig, Wenn die Leute d' Stede, ffalts außer Taytze,
alle, die die selbe Vorloßoz habt.

7 Et alle and des gewissigen kannoz kein Soldaten
oder Esseffes fünt füner mit den d' faltz, fünt,

ungenes Wides fühtz nach platz, und vor vater
für den das voraus obigem beßlaget.

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die ringmärtin day am zug und allen verden, vromund
etze form quastio comissariis aufgabt, und alle,
vom dreyalzt die quastio des ordens nach zu,
bestint und fürgest, gendall fühtz.

Dieb, der wafinghday für stift, vors die
hostie und der zässtift, der künft, öffent,
zum kinderstom, und alle droghärt, daß sie
offenbar angewandt werden, carlylus abgeschriften
fingen.

Dieb auf die reiter und fürgest völle vrebende,
für, ist an den ritter, in ein andre quastio oder
fangt ein logier, vrbent, auf der außnante.

Dieb öffent alle gründt alle dient, und obet
quastio mai der ordent, völle auf der quast
comissario sein aufgabt fühtz, und auf jeder
respondent, der ihm ein stellz und bringt geben, alle

Dieb quastio
völle.

Verzaichnus [des Erzherzoglichen Oberkommisars Leo Marquard Schüller von Herdern], weßen sich Burger und Bauren gegen hoch und nüdern Officiren und den gemeinen Soldaten zu Roß und Fueß zu verhalten

1. Erstlichen, die Burger und Bauern sollen den Reutern und Fuoß-Volckh weder Schmalz, Käß, Mehl, Brott, Ayer, Flaisch, Wein, Gewürz, Öhl, noch ander Victualien, auch Haber, ohne baare Bezahlung herzugeben nit schuldig sein.
2. Zum Andern sollen allein der Ordnanz nachkommen, daß ist nothwendig Liecht, wie mans im Hauß gebraucht, item Holz, Geschürr zum Kochen, Bethgewandt, alle Achtag ein sauber Tüschtuch, wie auch den berüttnen Reutern, auch dem Fuoßvolckh auff ihre gebührende Pferdt daß verordnet rauhe Fuotter, als 10 Pfund Hew täglich, und wochendtlich 3 Pfundt Strow hergeben. [...]
3. Wann der Burger und Baur sein aigen Essen auff dem Tüscht hat, mag er den Soldaten mitessen lassen, doch auß keiner Schuldigkeit.
4. Die Reuter und Fuoß-Volckh solle man nit auff die einzige Höff logieren, und wan sie yber die Ordinanz von den Burgern, Bauern, und allen Würthen mit Gewalt etwaß erzwingen wollen, mögen sich die Burger und Bauern auch zusamen thuon und mit Manier vor Gewalt schützen und der Obrigkeit zulauffen.
5. Die Burger und Bauern sollen sich sonderbahr hüeten, das sie sie von den Soldaten gestohlene Sachen nit verschweigen, vüllweniger dergleichen von ihnen kauffen.
6. Die Würth und andere, so Wein oder Victualien haben, sollen hiemit ernstlich gewarnet sein, daß sie den Soldaten ohne paar Gelt lediglich nichts hergeben, auff daß alsdan in der Bezahlung keine Unglegenheiten und Ohnordnung ervolgen. Wan die Würth werden Schulden machen lassen, sollen sie dieselbe verlohren haben.
7. Es soll auch der gemeine Baursman keinen Soldaten, wan er ihne schon zuvor mit Wortten schelten thuot, hingegen wüder schelten noch schlagen, sondern dabevor[?] sich dessen vor der Obrigkeit beklagten.
8. Die Landts-Obrikhait und fürgesetzte aller Orthen sollen die Einquartierung aintzig und allein von den verordneten Ertzfürstlichen Herrn Quartier-Commissario empfahlen und alsdan denselben die Quartier der Ordnung nach zu bestimmen und zugeben Gewalt haben.
9. Hiebey zuor Nachricht und zu wissen, daß die Vorthayl der Gaystlichkeit, der Richteren, Schmidtnen, Kindtbetterin, und alles dergleichen, waß für ehrhaftig angezaigt werden, lediglich abgestattet seyen.
10. Eß sollen auch die Reuter und Fuoß-Volckh verbunden sein, wan man einen in ein ander Quartier oder Hauß einlogieren würdt, dasselbe anzunemmen.
11. Jedes Gerücht oder Gemeindt solle seinen sonderbahren Quartiermaister ordnen, welche auff den Quartier-Commissarien sein Auffsehen haben und auff iedes Erfordern bey ihm einstellen und Bericht geben solle.

Übertragung in gegenwärtiges Deutsch

Verzeichnis [des Erzherzoglichen Oberkommissars Leo Marquard Schüller von Herdern], wie sich Bürger und Bauern gegen hohe und niedere Offiziere und gemeine Soldaten zu Pferd und Fuß zu verhalten sollen

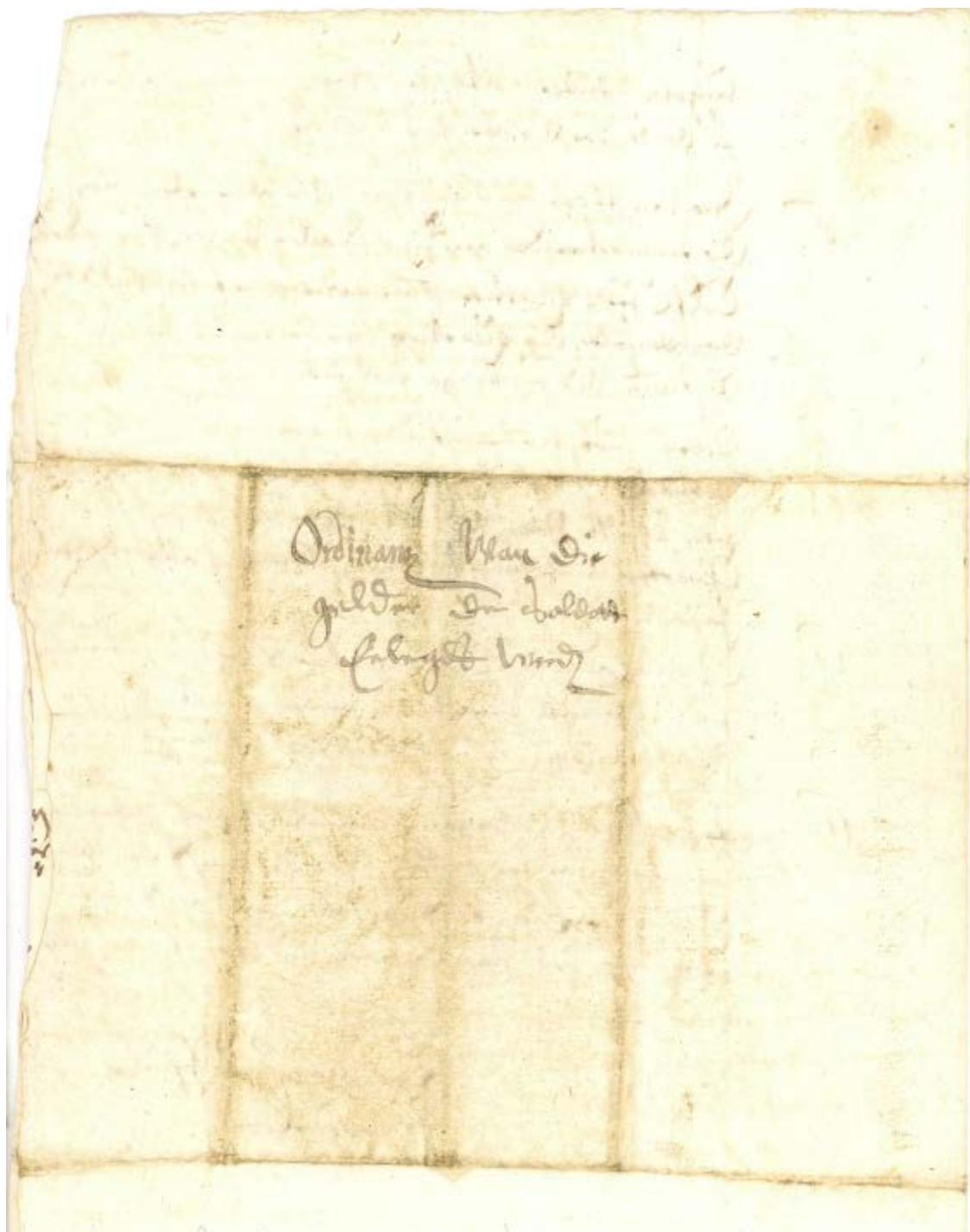
1. Erstens sollen die Bürger und Bauern nicht verpflichtet sein, den Reitern und dem Fußvolk Schmalz, Käse, Mehl, Brot, Eier, Fleisch, Wein, Gewürze, Öl oder andere Lebensmittel, auch Hafer, ohne bare Bezahlung zu geben.
2. Zum zweiten sollen sie nur die „Ordinanz“ befolgen und das notwendige Licht, wie man es im Haus gebraucht, sowie Holz, Geschirr zum Kochen, Bettzeug, jede Woche eine saubere Tischdecke geben. Den Reitern und auch dem Fußvolk soll man für die benötigten Pferde das vorgeschriebene rauhe Futter, das sind täglich 10 Pfund Heu und wöchentlich 3 Pfund Stroh geben.
3. Wann der Bürger und der Bauer sein eigenes Essen auf dem Tisch stehen hat, kann er den Soldaten mitessen lassen, aber er ist dazu nicht verpflichtet.
4. Die Reiter und das Fußvolk soll man nicht auf abgelegenen Höfen einquartieren, und wenn sie über die „Ordinanz“ hinaus etwas von den Bürgern, Bauern oder Wirten mit Gewalt erzwingen wollen, dürfen sich die Bürger und Bauern auch zusammentun, sich mit zulässigen Maßnahmen vor Gewalt schützen und diese der Obrigkeit melden.
5. Die Bürger und Bauern sollen sich besonders davor hüten, von den Soldaten gestohlene Sachen zu verschweigen oder gar solche von ihnen zu kaufen.
6. Die Wirte und andere, die Wein oder Lebensmittel haben, sollen hiermit ernst gewarnt werden, dass sie den Soldaten ohne nichts ohne Barzahlung geben, damit es mit der Bezahlung keine Unannehmlichkeiten und Unordnung gibt. Wenn die Wirte Gäste auf Kredit bedienen, sollen sie das Geld verlieren.
7. Es soll auch der gemeine Bauer keinen Soldaten, auch wenn er ihn vorher bereits beschimpft hat, selbst beschimpfen oder schlagen, sondern sich deswegen bei der Obrigkeit beklagen.
8. Die Obrigkeit [in der Pfandschaft Achalm] und die Vorgesetzten an allen Orten sollen die Einquartierungsbefehle einzig und allein von den von der Erzherzogin eingesetzten Quartier-Kommissaren annehmen und dann befugt sein, die Quartiere nach den Vorschriften festzulegen und zu verteilen.
9. Es wird ausdrücklich bestimmt, dass die Befreiung von der Einquartierung für Geistliche, Richter, Schmiede, Wöchnerinnen und alle Personen, denen es zusteht, gewährleistet bleibt.
10. Ebenso sollen auch die Reiter und das Fußvolk verpflichtet sein, ein anderes Quartier oder Haus zu akzeptieren, wenn er dorthin verlegt wird.
11. Jedes Gericht oder jede Gemeinde sollen ihren eigenen Quartiermeister einsetzen, der unter dem Befehl des Quartier-Kommissars steht und zu ihm kommen und Bericht erstatten soll, wenn dieser ihn ruft.

Translation into English

Leo Marquard Schüller von Herdern's list, on how citizens and peasants shall behave towards high and non commissioned officers and common cavalrymen as well as foot soldiers

1. At first citizens and peasants shall not be obliged to give lard, cheese, flour, bread, eggs, meat, wine, spice, oil, and other kinds of food as well as oat to cavalrymen and foot soldiers without receiving cash in return.
2. Secondly, they only shall obey the “Ordinanz”, and they shall only give the necessary light, as it is used in the house, plus wood, kitchen utensils, bedding and one clean tablecloth once a week. The cavalrymen and foot soldiers are to receive the rough fodder required for their horses they need, i. e. 10 pounds hay daily, and 3 pounds straw weekly.
3. Whenever the citizen and peasant have their meal on the table they are allowed to invite the soldiers to join them, but they are not obliged to do so.
4. Cavalry men and foot soldiers must not to be housed in remote courts, and if the cavalrymen and foot soldiers try to force the citizens, peasants and landlords to give them anything more than is allowed in the “Ordinanz”, citizens and peasants are allowed to unite themselves and to defend themselves by force, and they shall report the soldiers to the authorities.
5. Citizens and peasants shall not remain silent if they gain knowledge about things stolen by soldiers and shall not buy any of the stolen goods from the soldiers.
6. The landlords and others who own wine and food are severely warned hereby to give nothing to the soldiers but for cash payment only, so that there shall not – as far as the payment is concerned – be any trouble or disorder. If the landlords should serve their guests on credit, they shall loose their money.
7. The common peasant shall not insult any soldier, even if the soldier has insulted or beaten the peasant before, but the peasant shall complain to the authorities.
8. The authorities in the pawned territory of Achalm and the superiors of all places shall accept the orders of quartering only given by the archduess's quartering masters, and the authorities shall be allowed to determine the quarters according to the orders.
9. It is explicitly determined that priests, judges, smiths, and women who recently have given birth and all other persons who are entitled to be privileged are free of quartering.
10. In the same way all the cavalrymen and all the foot soldiers are obliged to accept another accommodation if they are transferred somewhere.
11. Every court of justice and every municipality shall appoint their own quartering master who will be under the orders of the quartering commissioner. The quartering master is obliged to come to the commissioner if requested and shall give a report.

2. Verpflegungssätze 1640



Anzahlung jeder der vier gewünschten 20 R. Oder
 2 Pfund Fleisch für 1½ R. auf 3 R.
 2 Pfund Butter für 4 R. auf 8 R.
 1 Pfund Fett für 5 R.
 ferner Waschding 2 Schüssel

je Stückweise	6 portion	servis 10
Bratenstück	9	—
Cornet	—	3
Wurst Wurst	—	2
fettig	—	—
Congrat	—	—
Muskratfleisch	—	—
Feldfleisch	—	—
Conynter	—	—
Fantafleisch	—	1½
Platten	—	1½

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Ein gemeiner Reiter erhielt pro Tag 20 Kreuzer oder in Naturalien 2 Pfund Brot, jedes zu 1 ½ Kreuzer (insgesamt 3 Kreuzer), 2 Maß Bier, jedes zu 4 Kreuzer (insgesamt 8 Kreuzer) sowie 1 Pfund Fleisch zu 5 Kreuzer. Die wöchentliche Ration für die Pferde betrug 2 Simri Getreide. Diese Tagesleistung wurde als „Portion“ bezeichnet. Die Soldaten höheren Ranges erhielten das entsprechende Vielfache: Rittmeister 6 Portionen und 10 Servis; Leutnant 4 Portionen und 6 Servis; Kornett 3 Portionen und 4 Servis; Wachtmeister 2 ½ Portionen und 3 Servis; Fourier 2 Portionen und 2 Servis; Korporal 2 Portionen und 2 Servis; Musterschreiber 2 Portionen und 2 Servis; Feldscherer 2 Portionen und 2 Servis; Trompeter 2 Portionen und 2 Servis; Fahneneschmied 1 ½ Portionen und 1 ½ Servis; Plattner 1 ½ Portionen und 1 ½ Servis.

(1 Pfund = etwa 460 Gramm; 1 Maß = etwa 1,8 Liter; 1 Simri = etwa 22 Liter)

Rates of food 1640

A common cavalryman received 20 kreutzer per day or in kind of natural produce 2 breads, every bread worth 1 ½ kreutzer (together 3 kreutzer), 2 “mass” (= 3,6 litres) of beer, every litre worth 4 kreutzer (together 8 kreutzer) plus one pound of meat, worth 5 kreutzer. The weekly rate of food for the horses was 2 simri of cereals. The daily rate was called “portion”. The higher ranking soldiers received multiple rates: A captain 6 portions and 10 “servis”; a lieutenant 4 portions and 6 “servis”; a cornett 3 portions and 4 “servis”; a sergeant 2 ½ portions and 3 “servis”, “Fourier” (man responsible for food supply) 2 portions and 2 “servis”; corporal 2 portions and 2 “servis”; writer 2 portions and 2 “servis”, army-surgeon 2 portions and 2 “servis”; trumpeter 2 portions and 2 “servis”, smith 1 ½ portions and 1 ½ “servis”; armourer 1 ½ portions and 1 ½ “servis”.

3. Bericht über die Einquartierungen in Mössingen

Dam h. war s. December bis 9. ist ab zu und lan. Ann.
Amers 6. tag. auf der Fere v. Brixen zu Villnöf
einem Bergmanns Erzbergzogje, unter altem
zu Mössingen mit vierhundert und 400 knappen und
500 gewönden Leuten 23. tag. Vom d. 2. vi. 1515
dort gebau demnach geweiht folgen zeit so wel
gezündet, das ist v. 1515. Und
der groben gewandt goldenen Würzen von Vins.
Est in das Llande zugesen, Dam fü Rieß allein
allen vermen vofr zog: an Prinzgau, Erden, Taur.
Vundi zmin obt verbrennt, bendor auf Rieß
Viel dorwo erzgewanzen zu gunden gewoht und
verbrent. Also eden v. 1515: Vom Men zahlt
drey Vins. 30 Sch. gezeigt wiede obzündet sich
in Liner Brunn - 1200. f. In d. f. d. 2. selbig
Rieß dor bei goldbergen, Viel am 2. v. V. und obz.
gebau se wider geplagen, obz mindest wiede V. vor
am gewissen Verbrennd: zog gelegnd und zu
gunden gewoht, 4. d. vi. 1515. 2. v. V. gehabt
gebet sie und geweht das Lande v. Rieß
zut mit 20 f. Edten gele. Et den den Würzen,
die Miller haben sie v. obz verbrent, Dam Miller
Brunt z. blosen gespuren gebau se v. gegezen:
Vund angebündet zog es 15. v. V. auß
afforen gut Würzen 15. f. gewisien für

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№ 44 б

Es flindet sich ganz gegenwärtig zu Dissen
ob es bader als vor wenigen Tagen vorgegangen
dass er zogt. Woß im Kastze Oppenb. lebend, das
Von Dame ob. Vom und Weiß und ob vorgangos ist,
Zeigt folgendes und schreibt, Arthur Dan ist.
Novemberis anno 640.

• 1264. R.

Oppenb. Dame und siegeln
zur Mössinger.

G. H. L. S.
Ulrich Schreyer
Johannes Fritsch Böhl

Demnach den 5. Decemberis dißes zu Endt lauffenden 1640. Jahrs Herr Obrister Gaulluß mit einem Regement Ertzherzogische Reutter alhero zue Mössingen ins Quarttier mit 800 Kepffen und 500 Pferden kommen, 3 Tag und 2 Nächt verharret, haben dannenhero in solcher Zeit so übel gehaußen, dass vihl unserer Mitinwohner deß großen Schadens halben müeßen von Hauß undt Hof in dass Ellendt ziehen, dan sie nicht allein allen unseren Vohrrath an Früchten, Wein, dür und grien Obs verbraucht, sonder auch noch viehl darvon mitgenomen, zuschanden gemacht undt verderbt. Allso wann uff Roß und Man jedes Tags nur 30 x. gerechnet würdt, befindet sich in einer Summe 1200 fl., da doch daßselbig nicht darbei geblieben, viehl Fünster und Öffen haben sie nidergeschlagen, Schreinwerckh ußer den Häußern verbrendt, zehrschlagen undt zuschanden gemacht, 4 Gaißen, 2 Schwein haben sie mitgenomen, dass ander wenig Vieh hat mit 20 fl. wider gelest werden müeßen. Die Mihle haben sie übel verderbt, den Miller sambt etlichen Persohnen haben sie ußgezogen und angebunden stehn lassen, unser Herr Pfarrer hat müeßen 15 fl. Ranzion für Ußplünderung seines Hauß gegeben, in Summa es ist laider also hergangen, dass nicht gnuogsam kann erzehlt, noch in Kürze beschriben werden.

Übertragung in gegenwärtiges Deutsch

Demnach am 5. Dezember dieses zu Ende gehenden 1640. Jahres ist der Herr Obrist Gaullus mit einem Regiment Erzherzoglicher Reiter hier in Mössingen ins Quartier mit 800 Personen und 500 Pferden gekommen und drei Tage und zwei Nächte geblieben. Sie haben hier während dieser Zeit so übel gehaust, dass viele unserer Einwohner wegen des großen Schadens von Haus und Hof in das Elend ziehen mussten, weil die Soldaten nicht nur allen unseren Vorrat an Getreide, Wein, gedörrtem und frischem Obst verbraucht haben, sondern auch noch viel davon mitnahmen, zerstörten und verdarben. Wenn also für ein Pferd und einen Mann für jeden Tag nur 30 Kreuzer gerechnet wird, ergibt das eine Summe von 1200 Gulden, aber dabei ist es nicht geblieben. Viele Fenster und Öfen haben sie zerschlagen, Möbel aus den Häusern verbrannt, zerschlagen und zerstört. Vier Ziegen und zwei Schweine haben sie mitgenommen, das andere wenige Vieh musste mit 20 Gulden wieder losgekauft werden. Die Mühle haben sie übel zugerichtet, den Müller und etliche weitere Personen ließen sie ausgezogen und angebunden stehen. Unser Herr Pfarrer musste 15 Gulden Lösegeld geben, um die Plünderung seines Hauses abzuwenden. Insgesamt ist leider so viel geschehen, dass man nicht alles erzählen oder in dieser Kürze beschreiben kann.

Report concerning the quarterings in Mössingen

On December 5th, this year ending now, 1640, master colonel Gaullus arrived here in Mössingen for quartering together with a regiment of archducal cavalrymen of 800 persons and 500 horses, and stayed here for three days and two nights. During this time they behaved so badly that many of our inhabitants were forced to leave their houses and courts because of the great damage caused by the soldiers. The soldiers did not only consume all our stocks of grains, wine, dried and fresh fruit, but also took a lot of it with them or destroyed and ruined it. If you calculate one horse and one man for 30 kreutzers only a day, the sum is 1200 florins, but that was not all. They smashed many windows and ovens and burnt, smashed and destroyed pieces of furniture in the houses. They have taken with them four goats and two pigs, the other few cattle left had to be bought back for 20 florins. Our priest had to pay 15 florins for ransom to avoid his house being plundered. Altogether unfortunately such a lot has happened, that we can't tell everything and can't describe it in this shortness.

4. Bericht über die Einquartierungen in Talheim

Stu. Vater Wall erhoffen vor geistige Insantheit
grossmässiger und gebührender Vorhalt;

Wittfeldt hieß und schreibt zur Todeszeit.
bericht Lüder Bruns, Wohlmeister des 3. Decemb.
anno 1640. daß "Spanische" Völcktlinge am 3.
Juli an der Reg. 3 Tag Quaten geworben so Wör 200. Röpp
wurde grosser, bericht L. C. was ist ein "Pun" gross
fader von Jungs es letztes haben p.

Habes aucti vnuſſen ſcij Hoc Panſon effor

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Oxyrhynchus F. 22.
act N^o. 44.

Nr 44 c

Franswaels vnde beh goudens, alleß vñ herten,
en pfleges, vnde vñ dachel vñ der, doß den
wijfje haet mit wort in herten hengt haer sien,
soien en dachel haer vñder. Geheue ge heude vñ siene
haer, en wijnheit soien vñ dachel vñder, doß
ouw andere haer wijnheit vnde aens vñfje
Wesvng landorf die jeneß vñder, vnde vñfje
doß zu König Heigas horen, doß vñfje andere wijnheit
geheue vnde vñfje haert vñfje felde hende,
jedorens andere vñder wijnheit, iß solegher
Querke zegghes vñder haer vñfje dachel
et dachel fijf - - - - - R

dagm Dalgam 3m ii December
1640, 640

37/R

fruhstuck
Brotz vñnd
Balle vñd
Wortz
jewig Gacken
Lampf Etzlin
Joues griffelin
Lappel looruzine
Graß beden

Erstlich berichten wir, wie daß Volckh bey unß, welcher unßer noch gar wenig sein, Quartier genomen habe, sie, wa ein armer Underthon noch ein wenig Frucht gehabt, dieselbige gantz verfiethert, und daßselbige nit haben verfietherten kenen, haben sie dieselbige so gar verderbt, dass wie das überig nit mehr haben zum Nutzen bringen kenen, auch habe sie die armen Underthonen, waß an dir und grien Opß, Kraut und andern Kuchenspeisen, verderbt und verschlaift, habe unß derwegen umb Wein und Flaisch und Schmaltz gebrest, dass wier solches bey unßern benachparten Fleckhen haben entlehnien miessen. Haben auch deswegen unß etlichs Gelts fürgesetzt, dan wan sy unß auf Nachparschafft solches nit hete fürgesetzt, hätten wier mit bey den burgundischen Völckhern verpleiben können, etc. Thut in dißem 189 fl.

Haben auch unßer Heysser, Fenster, Öffen, Schreinwerckh und Bethgewönth alleß verbrenneth, zerschlagen und verderbt worden, dass der mehste Thail nit mehr in seinem Hauß kann sein, sonder oft für oder 5 Haußgesünde in einem Hauß, wa noch nit so verderbt worden, bey einandern hausen miessen und auch vihl ihr Nahrung anderwo suochen werden.

Übertragung in gegenwärtiges Deutsch

Zunächst berichten wir, dass die Soldaten bei uns, die wir nur noch sehr wenige sind, Quartier genommen haben. Wenn ein armer Untertan noch ein wenig Getreide hatte, verfütterten sie dieses, und wenn sie es nicht [an ihre Pferde] verfüttern konnten, haben sie es so verdorben, dass wir es nicht mehr verwenden konnten. Auch haben sie den armen Untertanen das, was an gedörrtem und frischem Obst, Kraut und anderen Küchenspeisen vorhanden war, verdorben und weggenommen. Außerdem erpressten sie von uns Wein, Fleisch und Schmalz, dass wir diese Lebensmittel in den Nachbarorten entlehnen mussten. Wir haben auch deswegen einiges an Geld vorgeschnitten, denn wenn sie uns in der Nachbarschaft das Geld nicht geliehen hätten, hätten wir gleich bei den [feindlichen] burgundischen Soldaten bleiben können. Insgesamt waren es 189 Gulden.

Sie haben auch unsere Häuser, Fenster, Öfen, Möbel und Bettzeug verbrannt, zerschlagen und verdorben, dass die meisten nicht mehr in ihrem Haus bleiben können, sondern oft vier oder fünf Familien in einem Haus, das noch nicht so stark zerstört ist, beieinander wohnen müssen und auch viele ihren Lebensunterhalt woanders suchen werden.

Report concerning the quarterings in Talheim

At first we have to report that the soldiers took quarter here in our place, even though there were very few people left. If any poor subject had some cereals left, they fed it [to their horses], and when they were no more able to feed it [to their horses], they ruined them, so that we could not use it any more. They ruined and took away from the poor subjects, too, everything left of dried and fresh fruit, cabbage and other food. Besides, they blackmailed us to give them wine, meat and lard, so that we had to borrow food from our neighbour villages. Therefore we had to advance a certain amount of money. If our neighbours would not lend us the money, we could have been forced to stay with the [enemy] burgundian soldiers. All together the costs were 189 florins.

They also burnt, smashed and ruined our houses, windows, ovens, pieces of furniture and bedding, so most of us couldn't stay in their houses any longer, but often four or five families were forced to live together in one house which had not been completely ruined, and many are forced to look elsewhere for living.

47.

Dir schickstiger Soße bößner.

„Vorädigen Fürst und Herr, Wohl zu Ihnen hin:
Und Wild verleinenden Rüffen gebraucht sich hier
in wulf hringen Anspülung begriffen, So lins! Sie sind
gespäßt; wegen Ihnen: In dem Vorreinenden obwohl,
„Leißt der selben Lachenden Pfannigen Hölzen noch
unwiss trüppen, In Weilen schwig sie angewiefstig
In Brautverarbeitung gebrauchen, Vermassen Ihnen
mit Leib, mit Leidiger Acht sie selbst begeben,
Zu dem Fürst Thübingen Bürger, auch Ihren
Weibern von hin aus der Grausamkeit dies gewußt, seym
Sie Weiber, so Mord Wagen gegangen Den Dingen folgen
fürschuldender loben Raubvöglein angrenzt: Und so,
„Glaubt! Wos den, als nun die Männer Ihnen dies,
„Sill, und sie direkt her begeht, hat da eine Kieffstetige Es.,
„Al sind Ihnen, Ihnen einen Thübingen Bürger, Namens
Jacob Schmid, opre ameis erweid, aufzufüllen: Und so,
„Zoll geöffnet, darüber ein andern Thübingen Bürger,
In dieses fahrt auf vor da andern Soldaten einem
ein sich in arm bestohnen, Ebiger Tächer mit ihm
gebrachten Gilgarten sind: Und der Zoll geöffnet,
Als es Ende gemit ist der Wallstadt gehabten, Und nach,
„Der Einbör bede Soldaten dies gefalle die Wild,
„zumb de nous geladen, seym Sie Ihnen Bürger auf
Hagfaiß entrichten, die Heilige Ende abn, sie auf wulf
hringen und es finden, sondern Weng: Und da kund?
„Satt dring ist, Bis man mir die Anfechtung der
Endes nicht aufgelösse, sie gefast kommt auf, Ist Ihnen kein
um Dirneßten: noch Dirneßten gespäßt, Da sie
im Quarkir liegen müssen, Hierwohl Ich wulf kuden,
„Lassen will, wenns nachsprechung dienten, Und ist
Ihnen befürndheit fast wieb berafftini Dingen, mich
Durchholben, Beobachten Ich da allgemeinen Bürger,
„seit Willen, seynen mit wulfendigen Braiften vor,
„Gefundlich bissos wulfs Ababfahrt geben wirdt.
Ziembar seyn auf diese Lager, von augenfass
Pfannigen Hölzen, Ande dem Comando, desser min
ein grünem Ziel zu überzeugen legenden Krieger

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Grafen von Lüben, zu Weinen und zu Klatschen
Linspfeffer und Pickfingerspeisen, das war das
Leib, so im March ist Signaturingen begiffen, ausgelaufen,
es ist nicht allein da haben verloert, sondern auch einen
geblieben. Und als bis zum Dritten Tag seit gelegen, die
ist auf, sprangen sie, der Herr auf sie. Der Signatur
Grafenmaister des Kurfürst, und der allein lebend.
Grafenmaister, sie signierten sich sonst besiegelt, die
Befreiungen, das ist der beiden Sachen gegeben ...,
verblieben nichts, darüber der Rest nahe gar gegeben:
Und der Welser König dießlin fallen, von 200. v. jaden
gewalzt worden, und ist nach darüber dießlosen, dann
gedauftes Christ, mit einem Weinen schönen Vollmund
marchirt, wie manne kann desse Fürstling gesäittig,
et Wohl kann dies auf das: demnachdem nauf
nummern, und dieser Leuten Vollmund kann nur
ließen garantiert machen.

Seifz von Dissen gewandten Mannen steht ...,
„leidende Auslegungslinien und Inholentia s. p. d. c.
Die Einheit überzeugt Schriften nicht hinzugetragen werden,
gesetzmäßig nicht geschlossen, dieselben möglichst g. z. e.,
Medizingeistigen Drusaffen nicht überreichen
weden, das kannen nicht wi alldegen und frey
recomendirnd, datum den. 18. Februar, A. D. 1641.“

L: S: J:

Handlung:
gezeichnet.

Seifz des Thüringens und Sachsen
H. H. S. 1641.

Inmaßen dann erst heuten ein leidiger Casus sich allhie begeben, in dem fünf Grötzinger Burger samt ihren Weibern von hier aus [Amtsstadt Nürtingen] der Heimath zu geraist, seyen die Weiber, so etwas vorher gegangen, von dreyen solchen fueßgehenden losen Raubvögeln [damit sind spanische Soldaten gemeint] angeredt und geplindert worden. Als nun die Männer inen zugeeilt und die zu retten begert, hat der eine leichtfertige Gesell under inen dem einen Grötzinger Burger namens Jacob Schmidien ohne ainiche Anred zuhauffen und tod geschossen, wariber ein anderer Grötzinger Burger, der zuvor schon auch von den andern Soldaten einem ein Schutz in Arm bekommen, obigen Thäter mit einer getragnen Hellparten duch und zu Todt gestoßen, also sie beide gleich auf der Wahlstatt geblichen, und nachdem hieriber beede Soldaten ihre gehabte drei Rohr widerumb de novo geladen, seyen die zween Burger auf Zaghait entwichen, die übrige beede aber sich auch nicht gnugsamb befunden, sondern weeg und der Amt-Statt zugeeilt. Biß mann nur zur Verfolgung der beeden mit verhelfen sich gefaßt gemacht, ist deren keiner mehr zu ereilen noch zu erfahren geweßen.

Übertragung in gegenwärtiges Deutsch

Wie sich dann erst heute hier ein trauriger Fall ereignet hat, weil fünf Grötzinger Bürger mit ihren Frauen von hier aus [Amtsstadt Nürtingen] in ihren Heimatort gingen. Die Frauen, welche etwas früher als die Männer gegangen waren, wurden von drei spanischen Soldaten zu Fuß angesprochen und geplündert. Als nun die Männer auf sie zu rannten und sie retten wollten, schoss der eine leichtsinnige Soldat einen Grötzinger Bürger namens Jakob Schmid ohne vorherigen Zuruf tot. Deshalb stieß ein anderer Grötzinger Bürger, der vorher bereits von einem anderen Soldaten in den Arm geschossen worden war, den erwähnten Täter mit einer Hellebarde zu Tode, so dass sie beide gleich auf dem Platz liegen blieben. Und nachdem dann beide Soldaten ihre mitgeführten drei Gewehre wieder von neuem geladen haben, sind die zwei Bürger aus Angst entflohen, die beiden anderen Soldaten bekamen es aber auch mit der Angst zu tun, rannten weg und gingen nach Nürtingen. Bis man dann die Verfolgung der beiden aufnehmen konnte, gelang es nicht mehr, einen zu ergreifen oder etwas über sie zu erfahren.

Resistance of mugged people near Grötzingen

It has just been today that we hear of a sad news that five citizens of Grötzingen together with their wives left here [Nürtingen, the district principal town] to go back to their home town. The women who had gone a bit earlier than their husbands were spoken to by three Spanish foot soldiers and got plundered. When the husbands came to help them, one of the careless soldiers shot at one of the citizens of Grötzingen called Jakob Schmid without giving a warning, and killed him. Because of that another citizen of Grötzingen, who already had been shot in the arm, killed the offender already mentioned with his halberd, so their bodies kept lying on the place. And after both soldiers had loaded their guns once more, the two [remaining] citizens fled full of fear. The two other soldiers were frightened, too, ran away and went to Nürtingen. Before starting to pursue the two soldiers, it had become impossible to seize one of them or to find out anything about them.

Abstract

The publication “Beggars, peasants and Soldiers in the Early Modern Age“ consists of two parts: 1. The papers of the “Paupers and Beggars“ section of the European Social Science History Conference which took place at Gent, Belgium in April 2010, 2. South-west German sources dealing with the relations between soldiers and civilians during the Thirty Years’ War.

1. The papers of the “Paupers and Beggars“ section of the European Social Science History Conference, Gent, Belgium, in April 2010

In the first paper *Gerhard Fritz* shows the percentage of beggars and vagrants of the population in the Swabian Kreis (i. e. South Western Germany) of the late 17th century and the 18th century. According to historian Carsten Küther the percentage was about 10 % or more. Fritz reduces these estimations – at least for times of peace. During peaceful times the percentage of vagrants seems to have been rather low (1 or 2 %) but during the very long times of war it could have reached 10, 20, 30 % or even more.

Alfred Stefan Weiß uses a travel book dealing with the Duchy of Carinthia written by Franz Sartori around 1800 as his first main source. Sartori says that there have been “masses of beggars“ in Carinthia. Weiß shows that Sartori must have suffered from some kind of “beggar-phobia“ which led to an over-estimation of the number of Carinthian beggars during that time. Numbers of beggars too high can also be found in a source from Salzburg from 1819.

Gerhard Ammerer focuses on the survival strategies of the wandering beggars in Austria and states that they survived by a combination of work and begging, legal and illegal activities. Ammerer discusses the concept of “adaptive family economy“ developed by Richard Wall and comes to the conclusion that this concept can also be applied to the unsettled population.

2. South-west German sources concerning the relations between soldiers and civilians during the Thirty Years’ War.

Eberhard Fritz and *Maria Würfel* present facsimiles of sources, transcriptions into the German language of the 17th century, and translations to actual German and English. By means of the edition, the transcription, and the translations pupils and students have the possibility to see and learn how historians actually work. The first text is a list of the Empirical commander Schüller von Herdern “on how citizens and peasants shall behave towards high and non commissioned officers and common cavalrymen as well as foot soldiers“. The second text contains the military “Rates of food 1640“, the third and the fourth texts are “Reports concerning the quarterings“ in the villages of Mössingen and Talheim, and the last text is a report about “Resistance of mugged people“ against marauding soldiers near the village of Grötzingen.

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Abbildungsnachweise

Beitrag Ammerer:

Abb. 1: Bildarchiv der ÖNB, Inv.-Nr. 42001/A*RF

Abb. 2: David Teniers, Verbleib nicht zu ermitteln, Vorlage: Postkarte

Beitrag Fritz:

Abb. 1: [Ulrich Schoell], *Abriß des Jauner und Bettelwesens in Schwaben [...]*. Stuttgart 1793

Abb. 2: *Alphabetische Verzeichnuß Vnd Beschreibung Der Aus den neuern Jauner=ACTIS und Listen gezogenen Jauner [...]*. Stuttgart 1746

Abb. 3: Friedrich August Roth: *General=Jauner=Liste [...]*, Carlsruhe 1800

Abb. 4: Gerhard Fritz

Beitrag Weiß:

Abb. 1: Archiv der Erzdiözese Salzburg, Kartensammlung Nr. 122 (Karte des Herzogtums Kärnten, Anfang 18. Jahrhundert)

Abb. 2: Christian Wilhelm Ernst Dietrich, Bettelvolk, 1774 (Bildarchiv der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Inv. Nr. 34491, AB*RF)

Beitrag Fritz / Würfel:

Alle Abbildungen Vorlage und Aufnahme Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, alle Rechte vorbehalten:

Verzeichnis des herzoglichen Oberkommissars Schüller von Herdern: A 107, Bü. 21, Nr. 73b

Verpflegungssätze 1640: A 107, Bü. 21, Nr. 73d

Bericht über Einquartierungen in Mössingen I: A 107, Bü. 22a, Nr. 44b

Bericht über Einquartierungen in Mössingen II: A 107, Bü. 22a, Nr. 44c

Gegenwehr von Überfallenen bei Grötzingen: A 107, Bü. 22a, Nr. 47