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A R T Y K U Ł Y

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**A PICTURE OF THE DUCHY OF SZCZECIN¹
DURING THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR
IN LIGHT OF THE CHRONICLE BY PETER RUDOLPHY
BETWEEN 1627 AND 1637**

Keywords: Thirty Years' War, Pomerania, the Duchy of Szczecin, Gryfice, Kołobrzeg, Pyrzyce, Stargard, Szczecin, Peter Rudolphi

Słowa kluczowe: wojna trzydziestoletnia, Pomorze, Księstwo Szczecińskie, Gryfice, Kołobrzeg, Pyrzyce, Stargard, Szczecin, Peter Rudolphi

When the imperial governors were thrown out of the window of the Prague Castle on 23 May 1618, hardly anyone thought that this event would become a pretext for the outbreak of war, considered to be one of the bloodiest conflicts in history. At that time, Pomerania was divided into two Duchies – Szczecin and Wolgast. The first was ruled by Philipp Julius (1584–1625) and the second was by Francis I (1577–1620). In the initial period of the war (Bohemian Revolt) both rulers kept their neutrality. Above all, they wanted to maintain proper diplomatic relations with all their neighbours, which was due to the weak position of their duchies

¹ The division into the Duchy of Szczecin and the Duchy of Wolgast existed until 1625, when after the death of the Duke of Wolgast, Philippe Julius, the whole land of Pomerania was united by Bogislaw XIV. In this article, the use of the name of the Duchy of Szczecin is to indicate the area of Pomerania currently within the Polish borders.

in the international arena, the lack of serious military force and the estates strong influence on the current situation in the country. However, this did not mean that Bohemian Revolt was unnoticed in Pomerania, because both courts intensified their diplomatic activities and even attempted to increase the defence of the duchies borders, but it ends with not the best result. A real threat of conflict appeared in 1625, when Denmark, headed by King Christian IV (1577–1648), joined the war. In the same year, both Duchies of Pomerania were united in the hands of Bogislaw XIV (1580–1637), who was the last reigning ruler of the Griffin dynasty. During his reign, the territory of the duchy was occupied by the fighting imperial and Swedish troops, which contributed to the economic collapse.²

Information on the course of warfare in Pomerania has been very well preserved in the archival materials kept in the Archiwum Państwowe in Szczecin.³ Unfortunately, so far they have not been comprehensively developed to compare Peter Rudolphy's record with the actual state of affairs. The description of those events was also recorded in chronicles created at that time. Worth mentioning here is the work of Johannes Micrälius (1597–1658) *Sechs Bücher Vom Alten Pommerlande*, whose fifth book was devoted to the period from 1627, i.e. from the time of the signing of the Franzburg surrender by the Pomeranian Duke Bogislaw XIV until his death in 1637. The work was published in the Szczecin printing house in 1640, i.e. before the end of the warfare.⁴ Comparing the content of Micrälius' and Rudolphy's chronicles one can risk a statement that the former became an inspiration for the latter one devoted to the history of Pomerania and the native dynasty, which is the basis of these considerations.

Peter Rudolphi and his work

Currently, the chronicle by the Pomeranian pastor Peter Rudolphy is in the collection of the Archiwum Państwowe in Szczecin in the fonds of Samuel Gottlieb

² T. Rudel, *Die Lage Pommerns von Beginn des dreißigjährigen Krieges bis zum Eintreffen Gustav Adolph (1520–1630)*, "Baltische Studien Alte Folge" (later: „BS AF”), 1890, no. 40, pp. 68–71; B. Wachowiak, *Państwo zachodniopomorskie w okresie hegemonii szlachty (1570–1625)*, in: *Historia Pomorza*, vol. 2, part 1, ed. G. Labuda, Poznań 1977, pp. 986–989.

³ The fonds Archiwum Książąt Szczecińskich contain 85 separate units of files describing issues related to the Thirty Years' War.

⁴ W. Böhmer, *Übersicht der allgemeinen Chroniken und Geschichten Pommerns seit Kantzow*, "BS AF”, 1835/36, no. 3, pp. 101–102.

Loeper (1712–1778).⁵ This Pomeranian collector had a large library collection, which he inherited from his father and then gradually expanded it. His collection included manuscripts of the Pomeranian chronicler Thomas Kantzow, old prints and other valuable materials. After his death, his grandchildren donated the collection to the Gesellschaft für Pommersche Geschichte und Altertumskunde, which then gave it to the Szczecin archive. According to Wilhelm Böhmer (1791–1842), the donated collection contained a copy of the Chronicle in three parts, while the original was to be part of the so-called Liebeherr collection from the mayor of Szczecin Matthäus Heinrich von Liebeherr (1693–1749), who was a passionate bibliophile and a well-known collector. He in turn donated his collection to the castle library in Płoty established by Friedrich Wilhelm von der Osten (1721–1786), whose collection was scattered after World War II.⁶ Another location of the original Rudolphy's chronicle was given by Martin Wehrmann (1861–1937), who found it in the library collection of Joachimsthalsche Gymnasium in Templin under inventory number 52.⁷

Peter Rudolphi was born between 1671 and 1675 in Gryfice.⁸ His father, Matthias, was secretary of the city court in this city. Unfortunately, no more detailed information about his family could be found. According to Hans Moderow (1877–1945), the young chronicler was to study at the University of Wittenberg. However, it is difficult to find his name in the list of students of this university.⁹ It appears on the register of the University of Rostock, where it was enlisted as

⁵ The Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie (later: APS), Zbiór Samuela Gottlieba Lopera (later: Rudolphi), 45 a.

⁶ W. Böhmer, *Übersicht der allgemeinen...*, p. 104; F. v. Bismarck-Osten, *Die Sammlungen zu Schloß Plathe und ihr Begründer Friedrich Wilhelm von der Osten (1721–1786)*, "Baltische Studien Neue Folge" (later: "BS NF"), 1976, no. 62, pp. 63, 70.

⁷ APS, Spuścizna Martina Wehrmanna (later: Wehrmann), 15, n.p.; M. Wehrmann, *Ein altes Gedicht über Pommern im 30jährigen Kriege*, in: *Pyritz im 30 jährigen Kriege: Erinnerungsheft an das Brandjahr 1634 und sein Gedächtnis 1934*, ed. R. Holsten, Pyritz i. Pom. 1934, p. 31.

⁸ Martin Wehrmann stated 1671, whereas Hans Moderow claimed 1675; comp. H. Moderow, *Die Evangelischen Geistlichen Pommerns. Von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 1, *Der Regierungsbezirk Stettin*, Stettin 1903, p. 243; M. Wehrmann, *Ein altes Gedicht...*, p. 31.

⁹ H. Moderow, *Die Evangelischen Geistlichen...*, In the spring of 1698, a person with a similar name, Petrus Rudolphus Schröder of Selenopolitanus (*Lüneburg*), was admitted to the university. Comp. Universität Wittenberg, *Wittenberger Matrikel*, vol. 7, 1675, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt 2017, f. 227.

Petrus Rudolphi, Gryphisberga-Pomer in May 1697.¹⁰ Interestingly, even before he started his university studies, he took up a teaching job in the newly built palace in Stuchowo, belonging to the von Plötz family. After completing university education in 1701, Rudolphi took the post of pastor in Witno, which belonged to the von Edeling family from 1665. The parish was subordinate to the synod in Gryfice and had its branch in Stuchowo. They were under the patronage of Rudolphi's former employers, the von Plötz family.¹¹ That same year he married Catharina Sophia Hoppe. Her father, Samuels, was a previous pastor in Witno. Peter Rudolphi died childless on 25 May 1708.¹²

The handwritten history of Pomerania *Des durch Krieg u. Sieg umb. sich greiffende endlich durch Noth und Tod ergriffenenen Pommerischen Greiffens*, popularly known as *Der Pommersche Greif*, were created at the end of the 17th century and consist of three parts.

The first one entitled *Erster Theil: in welchen der Regierenden Vor- u. Hinterpommerschen Herzogen Leben und Thaten*¹³ was written down in Kołobrzeg in 1693 and begins with a list of sources used by the author, among which are *Annales Marchianenses*, *Annales Pomeraniae* by Valentin von Eickstedt, *Sechs Bücher vom alten Pommernland* by Johannes Micrälius, *Das Grosse Pomrische Kirchen Chronicon* by Daniel Cramer, *Chronica Sclavorum* by Helmond, *Historische Beschreibung der Stadt Alten* by Paul Friedeborn, *Gesta Danorum* by Saxo Grammar, *Chronicle of Poland* by Marcin Kromer. After this list, the author placed a preface, in which he included a dedication and motivations that guided

¹⁰ Together with him, other Pomeranian students from Goleniów, Kołobrzeg and Stargard were admitted to the group. *Immatrikulation von Petrus Rudolphi*, matrikel.uni-rostock.de/id/100047733 (3.01.2019).

¹¹ APS, Akta miasta Gryfice, 153 a, n.p.; APS, Wehrmann, 79, n.p.; L.W. Brüggemann, *Ausführliche Beschreibung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes des Königl. Preußischen Herzogthums Vor- und Hinter-Pommern*, vol. 2, part 1, *Beschreibung der zu dem Gerichtsbezirk der Königl. Landescollegien in Stettin gehörigen Hinterpommerschen Kreise*, Stettin 1784, p. 453; J.T. Bagmihl, *Pommersches Wappenbuch*, vol. 4, Stettin 1854, p. 152.

¹² Some researchers see the descendant of the pastor as Albrecht Friedrich Rudolphi, the town's treasurer and founder of the Girls' School founded in 1734 in Gryfice. However, there is no confirmation of this information, e.g. in Moderow. The widow of the chronicler married another pastor from Witno, Joachim Ulrich, whom she gave birth to two children. Comp. APS, Akta miasta Gryfice, 153 a, n.p.; H. Moderow, *Die Evangelischen Geistlichen...*, p. 243, P. Gut, *Gryfice w 2. połowie XVII wieku i w wieku XVIII*, in: *Gryfice. Dzieje miasta*, ed. T. Białocki, Szczecin 2012, p. 154.

¹³ A copy of this part can be found in Szczecin's archives in fonds Rękopisy i spuścizny. The title page misspelled the author's name indicating that it was Paul. APS, Rękopisy i spuścizny, 453, p. 2.

him through writing the history of Pomerania. The person to whom he offered his work was an unnamed *famous, learned and respected Lord*. In the further part of the foreword he described the situation in which Pomerania found itself after the extinction of the Griffin dynasty, i.e. about the division of the country between the *Marche eagle (märckischen Adler)* identified with the person of the elector of Brandenburg and the *Swedish lion (schwedischen Löwe)*, the king of Sweden. In his introduction, he mentioned some of the lands forming the Pomeranian Duchy, Rügen and the County of Gützkow and Kashubia, whose symbols are part of the Pomeranian coat of arms and the title of the native dukes.¹⁴ The author then followed in the traces of earlier chroniclers, who in line with the tendencies of German historiography, glorified the history of own nation in their works, derived from ancient times.¹⁵ Rudolphi himself also brought out the history of Pomerania from antiquity, woven into it references to Alexander the Great, the ancient Romans, the Longobards, the Baltic Wends and the Goths. The connection between the history of Pomerania and the history of ancient nations also referred to the used motif of Griffin, from which the native dynasty took its name and placed it on its coats of arms, stamps, coins and works of art.¹⁶ The legendary animal appeared in the illustrations in the chronicle. For example, you can see Griffin descending from the heavens separating two fighting armies. Such a performance is an allegory presenting events related to the Thirty Years' War and then to the division of the Pomeranian lands between Brandenburg and Sweden. At the end of the foreword the author wrote down the place and date of its creation *an der Hinterpomerischen Baltichen Vestung [Kołobrzeg – M.O.-S] im Jahr 1693, d. 11 Julii*. On the following pages of the manuscript there is already content covering the history of the state from the earliest times until the death of duke Francis I of Szczecin on the 27th of November 1620 and the assumption of the throne in the Duchy of Szczecin by Bogislaw XIV. The layout of the content was characteristic of the annals, where the most important events, according to the author, were described under the following year. On the margins, there are

¹⁴ APS, Rudolphi, 45, n.p.

¹⁵ A.F. Grabski, *Dzieje historiografii*, Poznań 2006, p. 219.

¹⁶ About the symbolism of the Griffin and its appearance in Pomeranian symbolism read: R.-G. Wehrlich, *Początki pomorskiego herbu Gryfitów w ówczesnym kontekście politycznym i heraldycznym z okazji 800-lecia najstarszego przedstawienia obrazowego*, in: *Pod skrzydłami Gryfa*, ed. A. Gut, Szczecin 2014, pp. 28–34; B. Ochędowska-Grzelak, *Motyw Gryfa w sztuce księżęcej Pomorza Zachodniego na tle sztuki europejskiej*, in: *Pod skrzydłami...*, pp. 39–42.



Figure 1. Title page of the second part of the manuscript history of Pomerania by Peter Rudolphi

Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie, Zbiór Samuela Gottlieba Loepera: 45 a, p. 5.

references to the above-mentioned chronicles which contain the author and place in the original text.¹⁷

The next part, *Zweiter Theil: Des umb. sich greiffenden Pomm. Kreises ander Alter* (Figure 1) was established in the manor house in Stuchowo in 1696, belonging to the aforementioned von Plötz family. Their family estate was divided into two parts. The palace was located in the first of them, which was the main

¹⁷ APS, Rudolphi, 45, n.p.

residency of the family. This part belonged to Landrat Joachim Christoph von Plötz at the time, and perhaps it is in his person that Rudolphy's principal and the mysterious master from the foreword to the work should be seen.¹⁸ The second volume of the chronicle began with a map of the Duchy of Pomerania containing marked borders and more important localities. On the next page Rudolphi placed an illustration, which is an allegory of a divided Pomerania after the death of Bogislaw XIV. There is the coat of arms cut in two and the dead Griffin, whose body was laid down on the altar of the fatherland. Then the author went on to the proper content, i.e. the description of the history of the duchy. This part was divided into five books, which could be inspired by the earlier Micrälius chronicle. Each book began with a three-part line, briefly describing the content of each of them. As Wehrmann noted, these poems were not outstanding works of poetry, but they are worth noting as they were written in Pomerania and are examples of local poetry from the end of the 17th century. The second part of the Pomeranian pastor's chronicle begins with the unification of the Duchy under Bogislaw XIV in 1625 and ends with a description of the funeral ceremony of this duke in May 1654. The first one includes graphics presenting profiles of people important for the course of the conflict, among them: rulers (Christian IV, Gustav II Adolph 1594–1632, Maria Eleonora 1599–1655), commanders (Hans Georg Arnim 1583–1641, Johann Gustav Banér 1594–1641, Matthias Gallas 1584–1647) and civil servants (Axel Gustaffson Oxenstierny 1583–1654). The second group includes graphics of significant Pomeranian cities, such as Stralsund, Wolgast, Szczecin, Stargard or Kołobrzeg. All illustrations were signed with the initials of the author – PR. In this part of the chronicle Rudolphi kept the chronological-river system, and in the margins, unlike in the first part, there is no reference to the sources from which the author drew his knowledge.¹⁹

Last, third part entitled *Dritter Theil: Des durch Krieg u. Sieg umb. sich greiffenden Pom. Kreises. Dritter Alter* seems to be the humblest. Unfortunately, the lack of first pages does not allow us to determine when and where it was written and what important event, after the division of Pomerania between Sweden and Brandenburg, inspired it. Based on an analysis of the content, the ending moment is known best – the signing of the treaties in Nijmegen in 1679. They crowned the

¹⁸ APS, Wehrmann, 80, n.p.; L.W. Brüggemann, *Ausführliche Beschreibung...*, pp. 453–454; L. v. Zedlitz-Neukirch, *Neues Preussisches Adels-Lexicon, oder genealogische und diplomatische Nachrichten*, part 4, Leipzig 1837, p. 40.

¹⁹ APS, Rudolphi, 45 a, p. 506.

so-called Dutch War, in which France (supported by the Bishopric of Münster and Sweden) faced the Empire, Spain, Brandenburg and the Netherlands. In the following part, information about the death of Ernst Bogislaw von Croÿ (1620–1684), the last living member of the Griffin family, was added and copies of documents concerning the history of Pomerania were included. This part was also enriched with graphics. Among them there was a manuscript map of Vorpommern, which was ruled by the Swedes, and images such as Carl Gustaf Wrangel (1613–1673)²⁰ and Joachim Ernst von Görzke (1611–1682).²¹

The analysis of the content of the chronicle indicates that the second part of the chronicle discusses the course of the Thirty Years' War and its consequences in the Pomeranian lands. The reader's attention is attracted by the author's great attention to detail, which at the same time forces him to reflect on how the 17th century author had such knowledge. Böhmer wrote in one of his articles on Pomeranian history since the time of Kantzov, that most of the news contained in the chronicle came from materials scattered around Pomeranian libraries. However, the author of the article drew attention to the pompous style used by Rudolphy's, which, in his opinion, suggested that the chronicle was addressed to ordinary readers.²² Wehrmann spoke in a similar tone, emphasizing the importance of this source in Pomeranian historiography, especially as regards the part devoted to the events of the Thirty Years' War. The historian also pointed out that Rudolphy's work was very popular in the second half of the 18th century and at that time it was often used to reconstruct events related to the stay of Swedish and Imperial troops in Pomeranian lands. However, he was far from taking the initiative to print this work in its entirety, because its author was strongly inspired by his predecessors.²³ In Polish literature, frequent references to Rudolphy's work are in vain. More popular are the chronicles of city graphics, which are presented on websites or museum exhibitions.

²⁰ Son of Hermann von Wrangel (1584–1643), Swedish Field Marshal, commander of the Swedish army during the Thirty Years' War.

²¹ APS, Rudolphi, 45 b, n.p.

²² W. Böhmer, *Übersicht der allgemeinen...*, pp. 104–106.

²³ M. Wehrmann, *Ein altes Gedicht...*, p. 31.

The situation of Pomerania in 1626 and early 1627

Rudolphi initiated the description of the Thirty Years' War from Duke Bogislaw XIV's concerns about the events on the eastern borders of the duchy in the mid-1620s. At that time, there were armed clashes between Sweden and Poland over Royal Prussia. The situation was difficult for Bogislaw because he was a Polish feudatory for the possession of the lands of Lębork and Bytów, while he was connected with the Scandinavian state by advantageous trade contracts.²⁴

On the pages of the chronicle, the dispute between Poland and Sweden began with the gathering of 10,000 soldiers in the area between Oliwa and Starogard occupied by the Swedes in 1626. In October of the same year, Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski (1590/1594–1646), who (according to Rudolphy) commanded about 7,000 soldiers, arrived in Czarlin at the head of the quarterback army.²⁵ The approaching winter allowed the Swedes to reorganize the branches stationed in Pomerania and to carry out new hauls. For this purpose Lieutenant Colonel Johann Streiff, Baron von Lauenstein (?–1632) and Maximilian Teuffel, Baron von Guntersdorf und Weyerburg (1565–1631) were sent to Mecklenburg to recruit 2,000 footmen and 1,000 horses. The third envoy Johann Friedrich von Kötteritz (1593–1633) was obliged to carry out the train in Brandenburg. Rudolphi made no mention of the Swedish King's demands on the Pomeranian Duke to authorise the march of the recruited troops through the territory of his duchy. Despite the fact that Bogislaw XIV, who was afraid of the Emperor's reaction, did not issue a permit for the passage of troops, the mercenary army crossed the border of Pomerania. The troops withdrew only after she paid 9,000 thalers of ransom. This did not mean, however, that the Swedes respected the neutrality of Pomerania, because their troops, which *nota bene* did not have the best reputation, again violated the border and on the 11th (12th) of March 1627 they entered Recz and marched further north towards the border with Poland. It was then that Hetman Koniecpolski found out about the troops marching from Mecklenburg, who entered the land of Lębork and was preparing to repel the attack there. According to Rudolphy, the Polish commander had about 7,000 men at his disposal at that time – that was his entire army. The decisive battle took place at Czarne (*Hammerstein*,

²⁴ B. Wachowiak, *Upadek państwa zachodniopomorskiego*, in: *Historia Pomorza...*, p. 990.

²⁵ The Koniecpolski Hetman had counting forces: 4,200 rides, 1,000 dragons and 1,000 infantry. After: P. Skworoda, *Wojny Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów ze Szwecją*, Warszawa 2007, p. 65.

then Hamersztyn), where Koniecpolski concentrated his main forces and ordered the construction of a gallows where cannons and musketeers were placed. In the morning on the 15th of April, the Polish army carried out a fake attack, and then, simulating a defeat, it retreated forcing the Swedes to chase. At that time, the unsuspecting Swedish soldiers were defeated by musketeers and artillery hidden in the gallows. Two days later, the Swedes signed the act of capitulation, while Bogislaw XIV and the estates decided to carry out a train to defend their own borders. Adam von Glasenapp and Claus von Brockhausen were appointed as commanders.²⁶

Albrecht Wallenstein and the surrender in Franzburg

After all, Rudolphie focused on joining the war of Danish king Christian IV in 1625, because then the units of fighting armies started to approach the borders of the Duchy of Pomerania. In the same year one of the commanders of the imperial army, Albrecht Wallenstein, thanks to his wartime successes and his constantly growing wealth, was appointed Duke of Friedland which further strengthened his position in the imperial army. A year later, this imperial commander, with his own money, put an army of 40,000 men at the disposal of the Emperor, provided that he purchased weapons and equipment from his own factories. Wallenstein also initiated the financing of the army by means of the so-called contribution. This system consisted in the fact that commanders signed contracts with local authorities, which regulated the amount of monthly payments to soldiers stationed in the area, in return for which they received protection (the so-called *salva guardia*). When such a large army marched north to meet the enemy Danish troops, it became clear that Pomerania was in danger. The situation was aggravated by information about the entry of the imperial army into the neighbouring duchy, Brandenburg and Mecklenburg. In addition, Emperor Ferdinand II (1578–1637) looked with increasing interest towards the Baltic Sea. This was due to information reaching the imperial camp about the planned agreement between Sweden and Denmark, which could mean that the theatre of war would move to Baltic

²⁶ APS, Rudolphie, 45 a, pp. 13–14. Comp. J. Micraelius, *Sechs Bücher von alten Pommernland, Buch V*, Stettin–Leipzig 1723, p. 129; T. Rudel, *Die Lage Pommerns...*, pp. 75–80; M. Wehrmann, *Geschichte von Pommern*, part 2, *Bis zur Gegenwart*, Gotha 1906, p. 114; B. Wachowiak, *Upadek państwa...*, pp. 991–992; B. Warlich, *Streff Baron von Lauenstein, Johann [Reinhold]*, <http://www.30jaehrigerkrieg.de/streff-freiherr-von-lauenstein-johann-2> (14.04.2019); idem, *Teuffel [Dyvell], Maximilian, Baron von Guntersdorf and Weyerburg*, <http://www.30jaehrigerkrieg.de/teuffel-maximilian-freiherr-von-guntersdorf> (14.04.2019). P. Skworoda, *Wojny Rzeczpospolitej...*, pp. 68–71.

waters. Even worse, the Duke of Friedland planned to overwinter ten regiments in the untouched by war Pomeranian area, as he could provide food supplies for his numerous army. According to Rudolphi, the Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Army notified the Duke Bogislaw XIV of his plans for Pomerania in October 1627, when Wallenstein gave him an ultimatum that he would either agree to the accommodation of the Imperial troops or that Pomerania would be occupied by force. A month later, Wallenstein's envoy, Lieutenant Colonel Hans Rudolf von Bindhoff (1593–1631), came to the duke's residence in Franzburg. He repeated the commander's proposal and a few days later another delegate – Johann von Götz (1599–1645) – came with demands. Although the prince tried to block the deployment of soldiers on Pomeranian soil, he was forced by imperial representatives to sign the act of surrender in front of the imperial commander Hans George von Arnim (Figure 2).²⁷



Figure 2. Hans Georg Arnim (1583–1641)

Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie, Zbiór Samuela Gottlieba Loepera: 45 a, p. 41.

²⁷ APS, Rudolphi, 45 a, p. 15. Comp. J. Micraelius, *Sechs Bücher...*, p. 133; M. Wehrmann, *Geschichte von Pommern...*, pp. 115–116; B. Wachowiak, *Upadek państwa...*, pp. 989–990, 994; L.E. Wolke, G. Larsson, N.E. Villstrand, *Wojna trzydziestoletnia. Europa i świat 1618–1648*, Warszawa 2010, p. 102; P.H. Wilson, *Wojna trzydziestoletnia 1618–1648. Tragedia Europy*, Oświęcim 2017, p. 394.

The chronicler described in detail the provisions which were included in the document referred to in the historiography as the Franzburg surrender. It confirms that Pomeranian dukes could preserve their dignity, immunities and regalia. Apart from that, soldiers were not to be accommodated in residential cities – Szczecin and Wolgast, as well as in Dąbie and Koszalin, and in all duke's domains, noble estates or church properties. The inhabitants of Pomeranian cities were guaranteed peace and ensured that weapons stored in municipal warehouses would not be confiscated. The retention of existing officials was confirmed and a commitment was made to respect the fact that the Duchy was a Protestant region. Mayors, town councillors, receivers, secretaries, aristocratic widows in all Pomeranian cities are guaranteed exemption from accommodation. Without the reigning duke's consent, the construction of the city walls could not be violated. At the very end, the imperial party undertook to make every effort to maintain discipline among its soldiers and not to judge the population on its own.²⁸ In fact, the contract signed in Franzburg guaranteed the imperial regiments a monthly payment of 40,000 thalers, which represented almost half of the annual expenditure of the Duchy. This money was to be used to support 22,000 soldiers. It would seem that the document guaranteed Pomerania at least a bit of safety, even though it was a pure substitute for the real one. Needless to say, it soon turned out to be a bare illusion, because the imperial commanders started to impose much greater contributions on the cities and allowed the soldiers to confiscate food from the people they were staying with. According to the agreement, the troops were to stay in the Duchy of Pomerania during the winter period for six weeks, but this time was extended to six months. During this period, cattle, poultry and fish were confiscated for the army's needs, which led to the total collapse and destruction of the economy. In addition, even after leaving the wintering grounds, local authorities still had to pay contributions and provide food for the army.²⁹

During the Imperial soldiers' stay in Pomerania it soon turned out that the provisions of the Franzburg surrender did not apply. As Rudolphi described, more regiments were accommodated in the Duchy than expected, and the objections of Duke Bogislaw writing numerous complaints to the emperor, were of no use. Soldiers with a low sense of morality and the gangs of marauders who followed them,

²⁸ APS, Rudolphi, 45 a, p. 17.

²⁹ T. Rudel, *Die Lage Pommerns...*, pp. 92–94; M. Wehrmann, *Geschichte von Pommern...*, p. 115; B. Wachowiak, *Upadek państwa...*, p. 995; P.H. Wilson, *Wojna trzydziestoletnia...*, pp. 394–396.

immediately after their appearance on Pomeranian soil, robbed everything that could be robbed. They chose cities as their accommodation, which allowed them to collect larger spoils. In addition, the city centres were generally surrounded by defensive walls, which made it very difficult for enemy units to capture them. After the occupation of Pomeranian cities by the imperial army, work began on the expansion of existing city fortifications. The costs associated with this work were to be covered by the city's cash registers, which had already been damaged by the contributions imposed.³⁰

The war in the Duchy of Szczecin

According to Rudolphy's description, the war affected the Duchy of Wolgast to a greater extent, especially Stralsund, whose authorities did not agree to accommodate the imperial troops and as a result the city was besieged by them. On his side was Denmark, fighting in the ranks of the Protestant Union, and Sweden, which increasingly wanted to join the war and pursue its own political goals.



Figure 3. The view of Stargard before 1635

Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie, Zbiór Samuela Gottlieba Loepera: 45 a, p. 375.

³⁰ APS, Rudolphi, 45 a, pp. 22–23.

When writing about the city centres besieged in the Duchy of Szczecin, Rudolphi was the first to mention Stargard (Figure 3). Already before the capitulation was signed by Duke Bogislaw XIV, the authorities of this city asked him to join the group of cities where the imperial soldiers were not to be accommodated. These requests were not successful because on the 30th of November 1627 Ottavio Piccolomini (1599–1656) entered the city through the Pyrzycka Gate leading the eight light-cavalry subunits of 120 soldiers each. After taking control of the city, weapons from the local arsenal were seized and keys to the city gates were confiscated. Civilians suffered greatly from the presence of soldiers, as grain, cattle, and all copper and tin objects were stolen from them. No one could feel safe in the city, because there were rapes, beatings or arrests on the agenda. Such behaviour was not tolerated by the residents, so there were riots, in which an imperial army ensign was killed. In retaliation, the city was punished with 10,000 German thalers. In addition, private weapons were seized and young boys were called up to dig trenches. It is worth mentioning that as soon as Piccolomini appeared at the city gates, he received 10,000 thalers of contribution from the city authorities.³¹ During the stay of the Imperial troops, work was undertaken to expand the fortifications around the city. Although Stargard had already been surrounded by walls before, unfortunately, the fortification system used was highly outdated and did not fit into the modern defence system based on the use of artillery. For this reason, Piccolomini proceeded to modernize the fortifications, especially the Roundels of St. John. At the same time, the walls were surrounded by galleries, and a warehouse was built in the city to store food in case of a siege.³²

In the further part of the chronicle, Rudolphi did not show what the soldiers' accommodation in other cities of the Duchy of Szczecin looked like. He paid more attention to the behaviour of the soldiers stationed in the Pomeranian lands, and above all to the issue of their nationality. He often emphasized that among the military there were a large number of foreign acorns, e.g. Italians, Spaniards or Scots, who were characterized by greater cruelty than native Germans.³³ He mentioned various examples, such as the contributions also imposed on residential towns and

³¹ APS, Rudolphi, 45 a, pp. 24, 71. Comp. T. Rudel, *Die Lage Pommerns...*, p. 97; P.H. Wilson, *Wojna trzydziestoletnia...*, p. 397.

³² APS, Rudolphi, 45 a, p. 24. Comp. J. Micraelius, *Sechs Bücher...*, pp. 137–138, 153; G.Ch. Teske, *Geschichte der Stadt Stargard*, vol. 1, Stargard 1843, p. 116; G. Podruczny, *Niezrealizowane projekty twierdzy w Stargardzie*, "Stargardia" 2015, no. 10, p. 282.

³³ APS, Rudolphi, 45 a, pp. 109–110.

other urban centres mentioned in the 1627 document. The situation was similar in terms of the local officials who were also meant to be protected, but there were situations when people from the local administration were threatened with arrests if they refused to pay the contribution to the army stationed there. Despite the prevailing terror, the city officials tried to save precious objects by collecting them in the premises of the city hall, as was the case for instance in Gryfino or Stargard.³⁴ What could not be saved was the subject of looting. In many cities, even sacred buildings were not spared, from which chasubles, chalices, patens, monstrances, chairs and other liturgical instruments were stolen, and what is worse, the crypts in the church interiors were opened and robbed.³⁵



Figure 4. Gustav II Adolph (1594–1632)

Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie, Zbiór Samuela Gottlieba Loepera: 45 a, p. 157.

³⁴ Ibidem, p. 110. In Stargard in 1673, a well-closed silver box was opened; it was originally hidden in the City Hall's auditorium. Comp. *Inwentarz sreber zgromadzonych w skrzyni przechowywanej w stargardzkim Ratuszu do 1673 roku*, in: *W czasach, gdy Stargard był stolicą...*, ed. M. Majewski, Stargard 2014, p. 31.

³⁵ APS, Rudolphi, 45 a, p. 151.

In his second book, Rudolphi provided more information about the warfare in the Duchy of Szczecin, which he started with a description of the journey of King Gustav II Adolph of Sweden leading his army to Pomerania (Figure 4). The Swedish king arrived in the land of Griffins on the 24th of June 1630. The chronicler pointed out the symbolism of this date, because on this day the memory of St. John was celebrated in the church, but more importantly it was the 100-year-anniversary of the announcement of the Augsburg Confession.³⁶ The island of Usedom was chosen to replace the Swedish landing, and from there it was intended to break through further south. This decision was linked to the plans of Gustav II Adolph, who wanted to control the Oder estuary in order to secure rapid supplies of weapons and rolling stock with supplies from Sweden and to be able to move more easily and in less time into Germany. After going ashore near Peenemünde, the construction of the camp began. By creating a frontline, Swedish troops also captured the nearby island of Wolin. It should be remembered that Wolin was a ducal residence of a widow (renovated in 1626), in which at that time the duchess-wed Zofia Saska (1587–1635) resided. As a result, and in accordance with the provisions of the Franzburg surrender, no imperial troops could be accommodated in this city. However, these regulations did not apply to Swedish troops, so they occupied the duke's castle, making it the king's temporary quarters. After it was taken over, the Swedes started to work on fortification of the city, consisting of building new bastions and pouring out embankments and digging moats. At that time the behaviour of Swedish soldiers was no better than that of those fighting on the Emperor's side. After Wolin was seized, the Dziwnów were ravaged, which opened the way for the Swedes to Kamień Pomorski. On the news of these events, the duke's diplomacy was activated. At the Wolin Castle, King Gustav II Adolph met with delegates of Duke Bogislaw XIV, headed by Heinrich Schwalenberg. The task of the Pomeranian envoys was to negotiate a promise to respect the neutrality of Pomerania, but as it turned out these and subsequent talks did not bring any results.³⁷

³⁶ The Augsburg Confession was announced at the Reich Parliament in Augsburg on 25 June 1530.

³⁷ APS, Rudolphi, 45 a, pp. 155–169; cf.: M. Wehrmann, *Geschichte von Pommern...*, p. 23; M. Wehrmann, *Geschichte der Stadt Stettin*, Stettin 1911, p. 270; B. Wachowiak, *Upadek państwa...*, s. 998; T. Balcerzak, M. Gibczyński, S. Słowiński, *Woliński zamek – odkrycie zapomniane siedziby książąt pomorskich*, in: *Wolińskie spotkania mediewistyczne. Ekskluzywne życie – dostojny pochówek. W kręgu kultury elitarnej wieków średnich*, ed. M. Rębkowski, Wolin 2011; L.E. Wolke et al., *Wojna trzydziestoletnia...*, pp. 99–100.



Figure 5. The view of Szczecin from Łasztownia

Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie, Zbiór Samuela Gottlieba Loepera: 45 a, p. 179.

Then Rudolphi returned to the description of the situation in the imperial camp. At the same time as Gustav II Adolph created his bridgehead on the island of Usedom, Catholic troops under the command of Torquato Conti (1591–1636) occupied Gryfino and Gartz, blocking the crossing of the Oder River for the Swedes and posing a real threat to Szczecin (Figure 5). The city where the main duke's residence was located was guaranteed by the act of Franzburg surrender that there would be no accommodation for imperial soldiers, and that it would not be on the route of the march of Catholic troops. The Catholic army still maintained its crews in Stargard and Kolobrzeg, preparing to repel a possible attack. At that time, new demands were also made to Bogislaw XIV to accept the imperial crew in Szczecin, which met with a very negative response from the Pomeranian ruler and city councillors. However, it was decided to increase the number of the crew defending the capital of the Duchy to 3,000 people and Zygfried von Damitz (1592–1631) was appointed as commander.³⁸

³⁸ APS, Rudolphi, 45 a, pp. 170–171. Comp. J.H. Zedler, Conti, in: *Grosse vollständige Universal-Lexicon Aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, <https://www.zedler-lexikon.de/index.html?c=blaetternandnummer=6&seitenzahl=580> (16.04.2019); B. Wachowiak, *Upadek państwa...*, p. 998; M. Wehrmann, *Geschichte der Stadt Stettin...*, p. 268; Z. Anusik, *Gustaw II Adolf...*, p. 201; G. Brzustowicz, *Pułkownik Zygfryd von Damitz (8.10.1592–7.09.1631 Breitefeld), dowódca*

Further on, Rudolphi described how, in July, Gustav II Adolph set off at the head of his troops to the capital of the Duchy of Szczecin – Szczecin. With 10,000 (some historians say 8,000) soldiers at his disposal, the king stood outside the city walls on the 10th of July, and made the duke's residence in Oderburg his temporary seat and set up camp. It is assumed that it was then that Damitz betrayed and opened the city gates to foreign troops. The historiography failed to answer the question of whether he acted in agreement with the Duke, who, due to his relations with the Emperor, could not officially take the Swedish side. Attempts at any kind of mediation between the Swedish and the Pomeranian rulers were of no use and Bogislaw XIV had to capitulate once again before a foreign monarch. This took place on the 20th of July, when the defence treaty between Sweden and the Duchy of Pomerania was signed. During the negotiations, Gustav II Adolph told Bogislaw XIV that from that moment on the country would be under Swedish rule (the area was to be returned after the warfare was over). In the signed agreement, the king also guaranteed the right to collect customs duty from the Oder trade, collected a single contribution of 200,000 riksdalers and introduced the Swedish coin. Furthermore, the king guaranteed the right to inherit these lands after the dynasty had died out, which was incompatible with the treaties under which the Griffins country was to pass under the rule of the Elektor of Brandenburg. A day later, Damitz decided to open the city gates to Scandinavian soldiers.³⁹

According to the chronicler, similarly to Wolin, after the occupation of Szczecin, the Swedes began to expand the city fortifications, existing since the Middle Ages. The works started with digging trenches defending the access to Szczecin, galleries and low earthworks near the Mill Gate and further in the direction of the castle in Oderburg up to the Oder River and in front of the Pasawa Gate up to the end of the present Kolumba Street (*Oberwiek*). These works were mainly carried out by Finns and Saami in the service of the Swedish king. According to Rudolphy, they were characterized by great bravery in combat, so the soldiers of this nationality constituted the majority of the crew stationed in

pomorskiego regimentu, tzw. Białej Brygady, w służbie króla szwedzkiego Gustawa II Adolfa, "Stargardia" 2013, no. 8, p. 123.

³⁹ APS, Rudolphi, 45 a, p. 173. Comp. J. Micraelius, *Sechs Bücher...*, p. 182; M. Wehrmann, *Geschichte von Pommern...*, p. 124; Z. Anusik, *Gustaw II Adolf*, Wrocław 2009, pp. 202, 206–207; G. Brzustowicz, *Pulkownik Zygfryd von Damitz...*, p. 125; P.H. Wilson, *Wojna trzydziestoletnia...*, pp. 453–454.

Szczecin. The residents of the city itself and of the areas outside the walls were also forced to help in these works, which gave a total of 2,259 people.⁴⁰

In his description, the Pomeranian chronicler showed the course of the Swedish occupation of Pomerania. Simultaneously with the occupation of the capital of the duchy, the soldiers of Gustaw II Adolph began to take back other Pomeranian cities from the imperial hands. Rudolphi began the description of these events again with Stargard. The city by the Ina River was prepared to repel a possible attack, as the city walls were strengthened and rye was gradually stored in the newly built warehouse. On the 13th July 1630, a Swedish company under the command of von Damitz stood under the walls of Stargard and despite the expected attack, it managed to surprise the enemy. The next day in the morning the Swedish cannons were in Dąbie, and their units were stationed in the village of Kunowo, where they divided into two groups. The first part was to remain unnoticed in the area surrounding Stargard, while the second part took the road straight from St. Jobst's chapel, standing on the side of the St. John's Roundel stationed by 400 men commanded by the city commander Johann Jacob di Fore (d. 1643). The second group was to distract the attention of the crew locked behind the city walls. At that time, the first group of soldiers entered the city unnoticed through the water gate and passed through a narrow street near St. Mary's Church towards the square, where the imperial guards were defeated. When the crew gathered on the walls noticed the Swedes attacking the walls, they started artillery fire. However, the Swedes managed to take up positions near St. John's Church, whose tower they tried to blow up, and with it bury the enemy under the rubble. At the same time, explosives were placed at the foot of the Red Sea Tower, which blew up holes in the wall through which the remaining Swedes entered the city. At that time, the tower of St. John's Church was not blown up. After a rapid success, the Imperial Commander was requested to surrender the city the following day by 11 o'clock. After the act of surrender, the Imperial troops were led out of Stargard, leaving all their ammunition and supplies behind.⁴¹

⁴⁰ APS, Rudolphi, 45 a, pp. 183–185. See: M. Wehrmann, *Geschichte der Stadt Stettin...*, p. 271.

⁴¹ APS, Rudolphi, 45 a, pp. 196–197. Comp. J. Micraelius, *Sechs Bücher...*, pp. 185–187; G.Ch. Teske, *Geschichte der Stadt Stargard...*, pp. 116–118; H.K.W. Berghaus, *Landbuch des Herzogtums Pommern – Beschreibung der Zustände dieser Länder in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2: *Landbuch des Herzogtums Stettin, von Kamin und Hinterpommern; or the Administrative District of the Royal Government of Szczecin*, part 4: *Saatziger Kreis, especially the town of Stargard*, Anklam 1867, pp. 127–128.

Rudolphy's description shows that at the same time the Swedes turned their attention to Kołobrzeg (Figure 6). It was an important port city for Wallenstein, whom the Emperor appointed as Admiral of the Baltic Sea. Besides, it was the best fortified of all Pomeranian cities. After the Franzburg surrender, Kołobrzeg was occupied by Imperial Lieutenant Colonel Johann Christoph von Fünfkirchen (1600–1630), who commanded five regiments. Just like other towns in the duchy, the municipal authorities had to put enormous contributions to the maintenance of the imperial troops, and at their expense the occupiers continued to work on strengthening the fortifications. Expansion of the fortress required burning down several villages: Budzistowo, Lęborskie Przedmieście, Panewnik and Zielenina. The religious buildings outside the city walls were also destroyed. On the 29th of September 1629, the church of St. James burned down, and in June the following year the same fate was shared by the churches of St. Gertrude, St. John and St. Nicholas. The equipment from these churches, i.e. chasubles, altar covers, etc., simply disappeared. On the 11th of September 1630, St. George's Church was destroyed, along with the hospital and nearby houses. Within the city walls, the fire consumed many houses and buildings of the city, one hundred carts of grain, as well as gardens and numerous fruit trees. The townspeople and farmers were chased by imperial soldiers to help clean up the damage. During the occupation of Kołobrzeg by the Imperial army, plagues often broke out, the first time during their accommodation in 1627, and then 3 years later.⁴² Later in the chronicle Rudolphi described how on the 20th of September 1630 the Swedish general Wolf Heinrich von Baudissin (1579–1646) stood at the gates of Kołobrzeg, who had earlier crushed the Imperial army at Świdwin. He had about 1,500 musketeers and 1,000 horsemen under his command but the approach to the city itself was difficult, so the commanding officer of the royal troops decided to wait for the reinforcements, which unfortunately came a month later. At that time, ships from Rostock and Wismar, carrying supplies for soldiers locked in the fortress, entered the port of Kołobrzeg. However, they were immediately taken over by the Swedes, who confiscated all goods for their own use. In October, the siege of the fortress began, supervised by Gustav Karlsson Horn (1592–1657). The defence of Kołobrzeg was then commanded by Heinrich Johann Guyard, Count St. Julian (1590–1642). The tactics that the Swedes chose was based on simulated attacks

⁴² APS, Rudolphi, 45 a, pp. 200–201; comp. H. Riemann, *Geschichte der Stadt Colberg*, Colberg 1873, pp. 397–399.

conducted under the cover of night, forcing the enemy to fire all the ammunition. The fortress surrendered in early March 1631.⁴³



Figure 6. The View of Kołobrzeg during the siege by the Swedish army
Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie, Zbiór Samuela Gottlieba Loepera: 45 a, p. 259.

Another city described by Rudolphy and occupied by the Swedes was Gryfice. The city was affected by warfare three years earlier, when the Imperial Cuirassier troops entered the town on the 4th of December. At that time, the city was captured by three companies under the command of Heinrich Count Schlick zu Bessano und Weißkirchena (1580–1650).⁴⁴ They were followed by marauders and

⁴³ APS, Rudolphi, 45 a, p. 262; comp. J. Micraelius, *Sechs Bücher...*, pp. 201–202; M. Wehrmann, *Ein altes Gedicht...*, p. 34.

⁴⁴ The historiography also states that Gryfice was occupied by units commanded by Herberstein and Fuchs. However, it seems impossible because, the first of them, Maximilian Count von Herberstein (1609–1688) was a Swedish commander who appeared in Pomerania with the army of Gustav II Adolph. The origin of the second commander is unclear. The only Fuchs in the Emperor's service were found on the battlefield at Breitenfeld in 1631. It is possible that these people were in command of the individual companies stationed in Griffins. Comp. H. Riemann, *Geschichte der Stadt Greifenberg in Pommern*, Greifenberg i. P. 1862, p. 166; R. Gaziński, *Dzieje Gryficy w XVI wieku i I. połowie XVII wieku*, in: *Gryfice. Dzieje miasta*, ed. T. Biątecki, Szczecin 2012, p. 117; B. Warlich, *Herberstein, Maximilian Freiherr von*, <http://www.30jaehrigerkrieg.de/herberstein-maximilian-freiherr-von> (27.04.2019); B. Warlich, *Fuchs, N.*, <http://www.30jaehrigerkrieg.de/fuchs-n> (27.04.2019).

women who followed the army. The Pomeranian pastor strongly emphasised the brutality of the Imperial soldiers, their crimes included locking councillors in the city hall and forcing them by torture and starvation to pay contributions to the imperial troops. At that time, the city officials decided to take out a loan of 623 thalers as collateral for the village of Skalin. The duty to maintain about 400 soldiers and a large number of horses was put on the residents' shoulders, so the city's warehouse and cash register resources were quickly depleted. In addition, as in other localities, residents had experienced fear, theft and rape. Two years later the imperial army commanders imposed 1,200 guilders on the town so in order to meet the demands, the city authorities sold the village of Białobudź, as they had already done with other villages. Interestingly, in the same year, as a result of reprehensible behaviour, the army was forced to leave the city and for the next six months it was not occupied by any of the fighting parties. It was not until January 1630 that the Imperial army of Colonel Augustin Morando (d. 1634) entered Gryfice again. Among them there was a large group of soldiers of Italian nationality whose stay was marked by even more cruelty than that of the previous occupants – Germans. In addition, the soldiers brought with them the plague, which decimated the number of local residents. At that time, among others, two mayors died together with their families. The occupiers also robbed all items that could be melted down into ammunition. The stay in the city of Morando's soldiers ended with news of the landing of the army of Gustav II Adolph on the island of Usedom. Sent by the King of Sweden to Kołobrzeg in autumn, the soldiers were partly stationed in Gryfice. Their number increased by three regiments, which was related to the stay in the city between 16–21 November by Gustav II Adolph. After the collapse of Kołobrzeg at the beginning of 1631, the main Swedish forces were retreated to the west, so that Gryfice and its environs had peace and quiet. Duchess-wed Sophie, who came to the city together with King Gustav II Adolph, was involved in helping the inhabitants of the area.⁴⁵

Rudolphi finished his second book with a description of the Swedes leaving the frontline in Pomerania and their march southwards. In his report, he particularly focused on the battles conducted against the imperial troops in the New March. The breakthrough moment for the chronicler was the death of King Gustav II Adolph at Lützen in 1632 and the changes it brought about in the existing

⁴⁵ APS, Rudolphi, 45 a, pp. 230, 249–250. Comp. H. Riemann, *Geschichte der Stadt Greifenberg...*, pp. 172–177; M. Wehrmann, *Geschichte von Land und Stadt Greifenberg*, Greifenberg in Pomm. 1927, pp. 118–120; R. Gaziński, *Dzieje Gryfic...*, pp. 117–120.

balance of power. Despite the death of the ruler, the Swedes were still successful in the war arena. After the monarch's funeral, the Imperial army invaded Pomerania, but had to withdraw. At that time, Pырzyce was the place most vulnerable to destruction. At the turn of 1633/1634, Swedish troops under the command of Jacob Burgsdorff and an unknown baron were wintering in the city, which were then to go in the direction of Gorzów. Unfortunately, the reckless behaviour of the soldiers, and especially the careless handling of the fire by rittmeister Knocken, led to the shooting in the stables on the evening on the 29th of March. The flames consumed 1/4 of the city, including 90 houses and many sheds and stables. After the troops left in the direction of Gorzów on the 1th of April, another fire broke out in the city. The fire in various parts of the city was probably set by the retreating Swedes. It was supposed to be a revenge on the inhabitants for accusations that they had suffered great harm from the Swedish soldiers who were accommodated there. This time the flames consumed 75% of the city including both gates, the rebuilt church and the town hall. Residents forged holes in the city walls in order to have better access to water bodies and thus save the burning city faster.⁴⁶

According to the chronicler's account, urban fires were characteristic of this period. Apart from Pырzyce, a huge fire broke out in nearby Stargard on the 7th of October 1635. The retreating Swedes destroyed the cities buildings so that they were not used by the imperial soldiers conquering the city. Then Colonel Johann Baum (or Bohm)⁴⁷ set fire to shed in the suburbs. As a result of strong wind, the flame quickly spread to the buildings within the walls, completely destroying urban buildings. At that time, only St. John's Church standing on a hill and 18 houses and 4 kennels survived. The effects of this fire also reached the famous astrologist David Herlitz (1557–1636) who worked in a market tenement house. Unfortunately, it burned down along with his entire rich library. In addition, the following burned down: the Marian parish, the parsonage, the city hall, the city

⁴⁶ APS, Rudolphie, 45 a, pp. 303–304. Comp. M. Zeiller, M. Merian, *Topographia Electoratus Brandenburgici et Ducatus Pomeraniae [...] das ist Beschreibung der Vornembsten und bekantisten Städte vnd Plätze in dem [...] Churfürstenthum vnd March Brandenburg: vnd dem Hertzogtum Pommeren, zu sampt einem doppelten Anhang. 1. Vom Lande Preussen vnnnd Pomerellen. 2. Von Lifflande vnnnd Selbige beruffenisten Orten*, Franckfurt am Mayn 1652, p. 86; J. Microelius, *Sechs Bücher...*, pp. 228–229.

⁴⁷ Comp. B. Warlich, *Bohm, Jacob*, <http://www.30jaehrigerkrieg.de/bohm-boom-baum-jacob> (30.04.2019).

scale building, the city council pharmacy and other market buildings. After the fire, the city was abandoned by many residents who lost all their possessions.⁴⁸

In the same year, the Swedes took over the castle in Wolin, which until then belonged to the above-mentioned Duchess-wed Sophie. She was the sister of the Elektor of Saxony John George I (1585–1656), who after the Battle of Nördlingen, won by the Catholic army, made peace in Prague with Emperor Ferdinand II (1578–1637), while at the same time standing up against his former allies, the Swedes. As a result, the army forced Sophie to leave her residence in Wolin and her property was repossessed.⁴⁹ The signing of the agreement in Prague led to numerous invasions of imperial troops under the command of Count Rudolf Giovanni Marazzino (1585–1645) and General Wrangl's soldiers fighting against them⁵⁰. In May 1636, the Swedes under the command of Colonel Johann Skytte (d. 1636) entered burnt Stargard again. The imperial troops commanded by Marazzini first conquered him and then occupied him, murdering all armed Swedish soldiers. The military were there between 5 July and 26 August, robbing everything that the inhabitants managed to save from the fire. The inhabitants of the destroyed city were obliged to provide the warriors with beer, bread and other victuals. After the complete destruction of the city, Marazzino retreated to Mecklenburg.⁵¹

The chronicler devotes one's attention to familiarizing the reader with the moment of death of the last ruler of the Griffin dynasty, Bogislaw XIV, who died on the 10th of March 1637, and with issues related to the inheritance of Pomeranian lands. On the basis of the survival treaties concluded between the Griffins and the Hohenzollerns, the Pomeranian region was to be incorporated into the Brandenburg state.⁵² The Swedish rulers did not agree to such a solution, as already in 1630. Gustav II Adolph stipulated that after the heirless death of Bogislaw XIV these lands would become a part of the Kingdom of Sweden. Rudolphi did not mention that this unregulated situation resulted in further robbery actions

⁴⁸ APS, Rudolphi, 45 a, p. 311. Comp. Landesarchiv Greifswald, Rep. 55, no. 115, p. 17; J. Micraelius, *Sechs Bücher...*, p. 237; G.Ch. Teske, *Geschichte der Stadt Stargard...*, pp. 121–122; H.K.W. Berghaus, *Landbuch des Herzogtums...*, p. 128.

⁴⁹ APS, Rudolphi, 45 a, p. 313.

⁵⁰ M. Wehrmann, *Ein altes Gedicht...*, p. 34.

⁵¹ APS, Wehrmann, 94, n.p. Comp. J. Micraelius, *Sechs Bücher...*, pp. 244–248; G.Ch. Teske, *Geschichte der Stadt Stargard...*, p. 122; H.K.W. Berghaus, *Landbuch des Herzogtums...*, p. 128.

⁵² More: E. Rymar, *Wojny i spory pomorsko-brandenburskie w XVI i XVII w.*, Zabrze–Tarnowskie Góry 2012, p. 197; M. Ogiewa-Sejnota, *Stosunki pomorsko-brandenburskie w świetle małżeństwa księżąt Pomorskich w XVI wieku*, "Rocznik Chojeński" 2016, no. 8, p. 207.

by soldiers of the fighting army. The provisions of the Franzburg surrender also lost their power, which is why many estates of the dukes in Podlesie and the bishop's estate in Kamień were plundered and destroyed. However, he mentions the plundering of the noble estates of the von Ebestein family in Maszewo and Nowogard and the von Wedel family in Krępczewo.⁵³

After describing the situation that occurred in Pomerania after the death of the ruler, Rudolphi began to describe the numerous military successes that the Swedish army had enjoyed in central Germany. Under their rule there were parts of Saxony and Brandenburg, but General Banér, who commanded the Swedish army at Torgau, was surrounded by Catholic troops. He managed to withdraw to Pomerania, where he was awaited by the units under the command of Wrangl. Gallas' imperial troops went to chase the escaping army. Then again, many Pomeranian cities were looted and destroyed, including Pyrzyce and Stargard. In the latter city, imperial soldiers and the poor stayed from 29 June to 28 July, aggravating its economic collapse.⁵⁴

The last two books of Rudolphi's chronicle focused on the war activities after the death of Bogislaw XIV and described the events of the last, so-called French war period. Pomerania continued to function as an area where foreign army quarters were held. Peter Rudolphi closed his description of the events of one of the bloodiest conflicts in history on the division of Pomerania sanctioned during peace talks with Swedish and Brandenburg representatives in Osnabrück, Westphalia. It was then agreed that Sweden would rule the area of Vorpommern with the islands of Rügen and Usedom and Szczecin. It also received the *the privilegium de non appellando*, which meant that the annexed territories were not subject to the imperial tax and administrative tribunal. Rear Pomerania and the bishopric of Cammin received Brandenburg. Unfortunately, both countries ratified the treaty only in 1654. By that time the Swedes were quartering their soldiers in Pomerania. During the talks, it was also decided that the funeral of the

⁵³ APS, Rudolphi, 45 a, pp. 315–316; comp. Z. Boras, *Bogusław XIV – ostatni Gryfita*, “Przełęcz Zachodniopomorski” 1967, no. 3, p. 40; M. Ogiewa, *O Sownie słów kilka...*, in: *Z dziejów Sowna w XX wieku*, ed. A. Gut, M. Ogiewa, Szczecin–Stargard 2014, p. 13; J.A. Kościelna, *Z dziejów rezydencji myśliwskiej księcia Jana Fryderyka w Podlesiu (Friedrichswalde)*, “Stargardia” 2015, no. 9, pp. 127–128, 133.

⁵⁴ APS, Rudolphi, 45 a, pp. 321–374; APS, Wehrmann, 94, n.p.; J. Micraelius, *Sechs Bücher...*, pp. 258–259; L.E. Wolke, G. Larsson, N.E. Villstrand, *Wojna trzydziestoletnia...*, pp. 150–151.

last Griffin would be held, which was the symbolic end of “Griffin’s rule” over Pomerania.⁵⁵

A handwritten chronicle by Peter Rudolphy provides the reader with a description of the course of the Thirty Years’ War, which is a testimony to the events leading to the economic disaster in the Duchy of Pomerania. This article does not exhaust the entire history of the conflict described by the pastor in the pages of his work, but is an encouragement to explore this little-known Pomeranian chronicle. Analysing its content, one should agree with Martin Wehrmann that there are strong references to earlier Pomeranian chroniclers, especially to Johann Micrälius, which, according to the historian, significantly reduced the value of the chronicle. Comparing the course of the Thirty Years’ War in the years 1627–1637 in Rudolphy’s case with the information published in the 19th century literature on the subject, one can see that the work of the pastor from Witno was known and often used by researchers working on the reconstruction of Pomeranian history. However, it is now necessary to undertake research on confronting the information contained in the chronicle with the archives produced by the then administration, which would help to significantly verify the authenticity of the events described in the chronicle.

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⁵⁵ APS, Rudolphi, 45 a, pp. 504–506; H. Backhaus, *Verfassung und Verwaltung Schwedisch-Pommerns*, in: *Under the Swedish Crown*, ed. I. Asmus, Greifswald 1998, p. 29 f; L.E. Wolke, G. Larsson, N.E. Villstrand, *Wojna trzydziestoletnia...*, pp. 314 f, 729.

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OBRAZ WOJNY TRZYDZIESTOLETNIJ W KSIĘSTWIE SZCZECIŃSKIM W KRONICE PETERA RUDOLPHIEGO W LATACH 1627–1637

ABSTRAKT

W artykule omówiono przebieg wojny trzydziestoletniej w Księstwie Szczecińskim od momentu podpisania kapitulacji we Franzburgu przez księcia Bogusława XIV w 1627 roku do śmierci tego władcy dziesięć lat później. Opis ten oparto na informacjach pochodzących z drugiej części rękopiśmiennej kroniki pastora Petera Rudolphiego z 1696 roku. Z jej tekstu wybrano te wydarzenia, które były przełomowymi w historii Pomorza, jak kwaterunek żołnierzy cesarskich czy przystąpienie do wojny króla szwedzkiego Gustawa II Adolfa. Zaprezentowano również mechanizmy, którymi posługiwali się żołnierze obu armii przy zajęciu ośrodków miejskich, np. Gryfic, Kołobrzegu, Pyrzyce, Stargardu i Szczecina. Artykuł nie wyczerpuje tematu w całości, lecz stanowi jedynie przyczynek do poznania nie tylko historii konfliktu na terenie Pomorza, ale także samej kroniki.

**A PICTURE OF THE DUCHY OF SZCZECIN DURING THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR
IN LIGHT OF THE CHRONICLE BY PETER RUDOLPHY BETWEEN 1627 AND 1637****ABSTRACT**

The article discusses the course of the Thirty Years' War in the Duchy of Szczecin from the moment of signing the capitulation in Franzburg by Duke Bogislaw XIV in 1627 until the death of this ruler ten years later. This description is based on information from the second part of the manuscript Chronicle of Pastor Peter Rudolphy from 1696. From its text, the events that were breakthrough in the history of Pomerania were selected, such as the accommodation of imperial soldiers or the entry into war of the Swedish King Gustav II Adolph. Mechanisms used by soldiers of both armies to occupy city centres, e.g. Gryfice, Kołobrzeg, Pyrzyce, Stargard and Szczecin, were also presented. The article does not exhaust the whole subject, but is only a contribution to the knowledge not only of the history of the conflict in Pomerania, but also the chronicle itself.