THE CHRONICLE OF LUCKA

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by

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CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CHRONICLE

The town of Lucka is situated in that district of Saxony known as Thuringia, not far from Leipzig (see map). At the end of the Middle Ages, when the empire began to be known as the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, it was divided into ten districts or Circles of the Empire. Saxony with Brandenburg and some smaller territories, made up the Upper Saxon Circle. Saxony was also one of the seven electoral states of the empire. In 1485, Saxony divided its territory between two branches of its ruling House of Wettin, the Ernestine, or electoral line, and the Albertine, or ducal line. The latter had its capital at Dresden from which it governed the plains of the Elbe and the Mulde. During the Schmalkald War (1546-1547), 1 the emperor formally transferred the electorate from the Ernestine House, long his enemy, to the Albertine or Dresden branch. The disinherited elder line of the family then held the group of minor Saxonies - Gotha, Weimar, Jena, Altenburg, etc. - lying westward from Electoral Saxony. It is in the duchy of Altenburg that Lucka is located.

The period before the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War was an age of decline, fraught with religious discord and moral unrest. Landowners, burghers, churchmen and peasants were divided from each other by a highly developed class-consciousness, and the good of all was sacrificed to sectional interests. 2 In his study of the Reformation period,
Whitney has described something of this state of affairs: "Lack of control at the centre; selfishness at the separate courts; disregard of the law, and everywhere disorder, all flourished in an atmosphere of foreign interference, always threatening if not active."³

There was also a constant decrease in material prosperity throughout the empire, and prices were wont to rise enormously and often quite suddenly. This was due not only to the fact that the country and its inhabitants were becoming less productive, but also to the violent derangement of the monetary system throughout the land.⁴ A decrease in native production of silver was partly responsible for the constant deterioration of the silver currency, but its chief cause was the steady debasement of smaller silver coins issued by every state and ruler, regardless of rank or size. This resulted in active speculation in coins by the great banks as well as by ordinary enterprise. "Kippers and Wippers," or those who clipped and debased the coinage, became a universal plague within the empire. During the war and its accompanying financial crises, the government of Saxony lost half of the normal yield of its taxes because of bad money. The terrible distress caused by the deterioration of the monetary system enraged the impoverished lower classes in both town and country to the point of near insurrection.⁵

The religious settlement effected by the Diet of Augsburg in 1555 established the principle of "Cuius regio eius religio"; i.e. it entitled every ruler to enforce the observance of his own faith, either Catholic or Protestant, in his lands, forcing those who could not conform
to emigrate. On this basis, the North German states became almost solidly Protestant. But throughout the Protestant states, the division between the Lutherans and the Calvinists, or Reformed Church, grew.

The Ernestine branch (formerly the electoral, now the ducal branch) of the Saxon House was strongly Lutheran, and the electoral branch, always afraid of a restoration of the elder line to its former rights, at first took the opposite view, sympathizing with Calvinism. But Elector Augustus himself later became strongly Lutheran and developed a fear of the Crypto-Calvinists, those followers of Melanchthon who favored Calvinist views. Propelled by his loyalty to the emperor and his jealousy and ill-feeling toward the Calvinist Elector Palatine, Augustus refused to enter a Protestant Union which included Calvinists. It was due to Augustus that the distinction between Reformed and Lutheran became permanent. His dislike of the former caused him to have Luther's doctrines revised to exclude any Calvinist leanings and to have his ministers draw up the "Formula of Concord" which was to reduce all Germany to a single norm of faith. This was a wordy document, condemning and damning all Calvinists, Zwinglians, and Melanchthonites. It concerned itself with such matters as the distinction between Human Nature and Original Sin, and reflected disputes and differences rather than stating doctrines. It was drawn up by six theologians and signed by fifty-one princes and lords, among them the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, and Ducal Saxony. Thirty-five cities and over 8000 theologians and pastors also signed the Concordia, which was imposed on all Saxon subjects in 1576. By 1580 it had been accepted by the greater part of Germany, eighty-six
states having introduced it into their lands. It divided Protestants into two great camps and made the schism with Calvinism irrevocable. It was also the cause of dogmatic quarrels within the Lutheran camp among the signers of the document, and it separated German Lutherans from most other Protestants outside of Germany.

The Diet of Augsburg had also seen the promulgation by the emperor of the so-called Ecclesiastical Reservation, which was to be a bone of contention between Catholics and Protestants throughout this period. It had granted to the Protestants the right to possess all lands taken prior to the Peace of Passau (1552) three years earlier but had instituted a compromise on the subject of ecclesiastical principalities: prelates who changed their faith after 1552 had to abandon their lands and dignities. The Protestant groups declared at the time that they would not be bound by the reservation and insisted that Protestants should be allowed to exercise their religion freely in the reserved holdings. Neither faction accepted the demands of the other.

The provisions of the Peace were not completely enforced in the years that followed. As Protestantism increased, more and more ecclesiastical lands came into the possession of Protestant rulers and were added to their hereditary lands. For this reason alone, Elector Augustus stood to benefit by friendship with the emperor, since he had annexed almost all the bishoprics within his reach and desired no more changes.

Saxony, therefore, remained aloof from the Protestant Union, organized in 1607 after the ill-fated Diet of Ratisbon failed to solve any of the existing problems. It was founded by a number of Protestant
states under the leadership of the Elector Palatine, and was to last for ten years; it was to defend the lands, person, and rights of each individual member and to redress the wrongs of the party. At about the same time, a Catholic League was set up under the headship of Maximilian of Bavaria.

In 1629, the emperor instituted the Edict of Restitution, an announcement that all ecclesiastical property which had become Protestant since the treaty of Passau in 1552 might be reclaimed by the Catholic powers, and that Catholic priests should replace all Protestant holders of bishoprics. There was to be no toleration for Protestant subjects in these lands. It was also stated that the Peace of Augsburg had referred only to Lutherans and that "Other sects" were excluded from its advantages.7

This decree caused immediate protest from those Protestants still loyal to the emperor, which in the main consisted of those Lutheran powers dominated by Saxony. The Elector of Saxony at the time of the outbreak of hostilities was Johan Georg I, whose stubbornness, inconsistency and self-interest did much to affect the final outcome of the war. Johan Georg of Saxony was enigmatic in policy, turning first one way and then another. He was exclusively German, detesting foreign interference in Germany and working sincerely for peace, although rather inclined to put the interests of his own Saxony before those of the empire as a whole. When the Habsburg King of Bohemia, Ferdinand, was dethroned and a new king was to be elected, Johan Georg had been mentioned as a possible candidate, but because of his almost constant drunkenness,
as well as his attitude of indifference toward the whole controversy, he had been rejected and Frederick of the Palatinate chosen in his stead. Johan Georg probably would not have accepted the honor had it been offered him; but he would have reveled in the chance offered him by the nomination to exercise influence as to the outcome of the crisis. He had good reason to disapprove of the election of Frederick, since it not only united two of the seven electoral votes in one person, but put the Calvinist Frederick in the position of the most powerful Protestant prince of the empire. The choice drove Johan Georg to the side of the dethroned Bohemian King, whom he helped to be elected emperor over the opposition of the other Protestant electors. After the Battle of White Hill, a year later, when Ferdinand regained possession of Bohemia, the Lutherans were at first spared out of regard for the friendship of Saxony, but were later banished for their refusal to turn Catholic.

Johan Georg's position during the following years was to be a constant irritant to his Protestant fellow princes who were inclined to distrust him. In the early years of the war, he undertook to subdue the Lusatias for the emperor; succeeding, he granted them fair terms, including confirmation of their religious liberties. The emperor's debt to him became so large that Ferdinand, despairing of redeeming these lands, pledged them to him in 1623. Johan Georg's religious views were as strongly Lutheran as those of his father, Augustus, had been, but his intense loyalty to the emperor also reflected the policy of Augustus who had owed his electorate to the favor of the emperor. Brought up in an atmosphere that combined the two maxims, "Anything but an alliance with
the Calvinists" and "Never against the emperor," he never thought of opposing the emperor until the increasing strength of the Counter-Reformation threatened his religious liberty.

When the Edict of Restitution was promulgated, Johan Georg became anxious to be assured that it did not apply to him. Saxony had gradually taken possession of the bishoprics of Meissen, Merseburg and Naumburg and all the rich lands and cloisters belonging to them, and their restoration would mean a great financial loss. While still opposing common Protestant action, he sent a protest to Vienna. Maximilian of Bavaria would have assented to Saxony's exemption from the workings of the Edict, but the emperor, counting on the proven loyalty of Saxony in times past decided nothing was to be feared from that direction. He not only refused to except Saxony from the terms of the Edict, but he also accompanied his refusal with demands for troops and money to oppose the Swedish forces which had just landed on German soil.

Johan Georg at this point became more amenable to Protestant influence. He desired more than anything else to see the struggle terminated through his activities as peacemaker and leader of all Protestant Germany. While an alliance with Sweden was contrary to all his principles, it was more than just a whim on his part. Wallenstein and the Catholic League had broken up the Protestant Union and were planning to dominate the Baltic. Poland under its Catholic King was loyal to the emperor. Johan Georg saw the policies of the Counter-Revolution successful all around him and threatening the religious integrity of his realm.
The problem was a sore one with the elector. Six months after the landing of the Swedish forces under Gustavus Adolphus, Saxony was still aloof from the Protestant cause. He had summoned a convention of the Protestant states, both Lutheran and Calvinist, to meet in Leipzig in January 1631, and until the time of its meeting he intended to remain unmoved. He even signed a letter of remonstrance which was sent by the Electoral College to the Swedish King.

Johan Georg wanted to maintain relations with both the empire and Sweden and would have preferred to hold to a state of armed neutrality. He did not want to expose the empire to the dangers inherent in an alliance with foreigners. The assembly which met in Leipzig in February of 1631 reflected the weakness and timidity of the Protestant states. They avowedly met for "furtherence of peaceful negotiations" and expressed "friendly confidence" in the Catholic powers.

Gustavus was not welcomed at first, for reasons of national pride, loyalty to the emperor, or fear of the imperial armies. The latter, under Tilly, were menacing Saxony even at the time of the meeting in Leipzig. But it was only when Tilly invaded Saxony on September 4 and began to devastate the land at the command of the emperor, that Johan Georg was finally driven to the side of the Swedish forces. On September 12 he concluded a defensive alliance with Sweden which added 18000 Saxon soldiers to the 28000 under Gustavus. In this treaty the elector promised to join Gustavus as soon as he should cross the Elbe, and to give him quarters and food in his lands, as well as perform all other actions necessary for the defense of certain positions on the river in conjunction
with Gustavus. Both parties promised to contract no separate peace. The treaty provided for the chief, though not the entire command of the two armies under the Swedish king so long as the emergency continued, in return for which the king promised to maintain good discipline in his army and keep the war in Saxony on as small a scale as possible, clearing the electorate of its enemies before going further.

On receiving news of this treaty, Tilly furiously attacked Leipzig and forced it to submit to a heavy indemnity and sustain an imperial garrison. This condition was temporary, however. The treaty had the effect of bringing the combined Swedish and Saxon forces to confront Tilly almost immediately, and the first Battle of Breitenfeld occurred in the village of that name not far from Leipzig.

The Battle of Breitenfeld gave the imperial forces their first experience with the new Swedish battle formation, which provided for a greater degree of mobility and a more constant fire than any heretofore used. The untried Saxon forces, seized with panic in the initial stages of the battle, fled with their elector in the lead, but the Swedish forces nevertheless carried the day and almost annihilated the forces of the emperor. Unable to hold Leipzig, Tilly fled to Halle, his military reputation shattered. Protestant fortunes turned here after more than 13 years of war. The fear of the Habsburgs and Catholic domination was effectively quieted. Gustavus became a European hero overnight, and the anniversary of the battle was kept as a day of thanksgiving for more than one hundred years afterward.

In spite of the terms of the treaty with Sweden, Johan Georg
schemed for a separate peace with the emperor soon after the Battle of Breitenfeld. At Torgau in 1632 he made an unsuccessful attempt to detach the Elector of Brandenburg from the alliance and bring him over to the side of the emperor. His failure did not stop his constant efforts in this direction. Gustavus wanted to establish a Corpus Evangelicorum, a union of all the Protestant states of the empire under the direction of Sweden. How far beyond this his ambition went, it is impossible to determine. It is certain that if he seriously planned to secure the empire for himself he would have met positive opposition from the Protestant as well as the Catholic powers. His subsequent successes all over Germany made him the idol of Protestant Europe, but he was in constant danger of losing allies among the German princes who feared his increasing power and ambition.

Gustavus was compelled to defend Saxony in spite of the indifference of the Saxon elector to his cause. If Saxony fell to the imperialist forces, it would close his land connection with Sweden and isolate him in Germany. Wallenstein's successes in that region where he was ravaging the elector's lands imperilled Gustavus' position and forced him to fight. The battle finally occurred near Leipzig in the neighborhood of the earlier battle of Breitenfeld, the village of Lützen. Johan Georg sent only a handful of troops which did not arrive in time for the battle. In the fierce encounter at Lützen, the Swedish forces were victorious, but their victory was won at the tremendous price of the death of Gustavus.

Gustavus' death, which dealt a heavy blow to the Protestant cause, was mourned all over Europe. The leadership of the armies fell to his
prime minister, Axel Oxenstierna, but the bond between Sweden and the main Protestant princes was no longer as strong as before. The Saxon elector, holding to his earlier views, felt that he should head the Protestant forces, and although he had subordinated himself to the King of Sweden, he would not submit to the leadership of one of his noblemen. He again thought of a separate peace. At this point, Saxony was isolated by Oxenstierna's Heilbronn Alliance, into which even Brandenburg entered, and the bitter struggle caused Johan Georg to take part in the subsequent events as an independent third party and not under the headship of Sweden.

On March 1634, Johan Georg entered into peace negotiations with the emperor at Leitmeritz. To the problem of the religious question heightened by the Edict of Restitution, there was added Saxon territorial interests in Lusatia and the See of Magdeburg. On November 24, although these questions were not finally settled, an armistice was formally agreed on between the imperialist and Saxon forces, and this truce lasted until the actual conclusion of peace in 1648.

The war had by this time lost its original religious fervor almost entirely, and had become a war of mercenaries, backed by foreign powers in search of gain or jealous of a united Germany. With the king of Sweden died some of the ideals and single-minded devotion to a cause which characterized its earlier period. France, jealous of Habsburg power, had openly entered the war on the side of the Protestants and the efforts of both France and Sweden had degenerated to a drive for territorial conquest in Germany.

In all this time the Saxon elector maintained his constant efforts
to secure peace and to rid the land of the invaders. In the last stages of the war, he even entered into a strange agreement with the Swedish forces, by which he gave up Leipzig and Torgau but was allowed to send troops to aid the emperor.

In 1635 Saxony and Brandenburg withdrew from the war and concluded the Peace of Prague with the emperor. By it they abandoned their alliance with Sweden, receiving in return certain concessions with regard to the Edict of Restitution. Saxony's demand to keep Lusatia was granted conditionally, and it was settled that the See of Magdeburg should be held by its Saxon archbishop, Prince Augustus, with certain districts separated as hereditary possessions of the Saxon elector. Saxony also began peace negotiations with Sweden, which were almost completed when, on the advice of the emperor, they were broken off. In 1635 the elector ordered his troops to begin hostilities against the Swedish forces under Baner, who was taking terrible vengeance on Saxony for having concluded the Peace of Prague.

Baner, after failing in a surprise attack on Ratisbon, withdrew through Bohemia to Saxony where he died. He was succeeded by Linnard Torstensson, the last good military leader trained in the school of Gustavus. Torstensson in 1642 conducted a brutal campaign in the hereditary lands of the emperor, then settled before Leipzig. In the Second Battle of Breitenfeld in November of the same year, he put the imperial forces to flight and descended on Leipzig, which lay at his mercy. Imperial reinforcements arrived, however, and Torstensson withdrew into Bohemia. This was the last important battle of the war to be
fought on Saxon soil.

Several years later, the war was formally ended with the Peace of Westphalia, concluded in 1648 and ratified in 1650. The end of the war marked the triumph of the petty states over the idea of German unity, and the empire became nothing more than a loose confederation of states. Each state was allowed to send its own ambassador to the peace conference and by the terms of the peace, each was allowed to conclude alliances with foreign powers. Brandenburg was to receive the See of Magdeburg after the life tenure of Augustus of Saxony should end, and Saxony was allowed to keep Lusatia. The Elector of Brandenburg introduced a plan for placing Calvinists on the same plane with orthodox Lutherans, and although Saxony opposed it to the end, the measure was successful. The chief importance of the treaty was that it crystalized the gains made by the Protestants since the beginning of the Reformation and established Protestantism as the predominant creed of a large part of Germany.

Aside from the political and religious gains and losses, there were other far-reaching results of the war. The ruin of agriculture was complete, devastated as it had been by both friend and enemy in a succession of invasions, occupations, sieges and calculated destruction. Many of the peasants were driven from their land to seek safety from the armies in flight, leaving their cattle and homes at the mercy of the soldiers. During nearly two-thirds of the war, Brandenburg and Saxony had been at no time free from occupations or raids, especially on the part of the Swedish troops.
Although the tales of the depopulation of Germany have been exaggerated, it is a conservative estimate that in the empire the population sank from over sixteen million to six million during the course of the war. Most of this loss was due to the sword, the rest to famine, disease, or emigration. Many once fertile districts were reduced to the level of forests again. To meet economic losses the peasants were heavily taxed, in some cases almost to the position of serfdom, thus making their rehabilitation impossible. With the fall of the peasant or food-producing class, the economic condition of the country as a whole suffered. Because of the widespread agricultural depression, prices fell so low in Saxony that the average price of wheat during the first twelve years after the peace fell to less than half of what it was before the war, and rye was proportionately lower.

The effects of the war on trade and industry were hardly less disastrous, since the ruin of the middle or burgher class was widespread. Erfurt suffered more than Leipzig where the annual fairs helped in the recovery of the prosperity of the town. Most of the mining industry of the Habsburg lands was transferred to Saxony. Here and in several other states, a wise administrative policy which fostered native industries aided early recovery.

Few active impulses of national patriotism survived the conflict and the break-up of the empire. The whole moral tone and temper of the people changed with the loss of that order, prosperity, and decency which had been characteristic of German town and country life before the war. All forms of art suffered a like decadence, which was to last
throughout the rest of the century. The first-hand reports of the war which have been preserved indicate a state of complete degeneration both during and after the war, which in many cases reduced people to the level of animals and retarded the political development of Germany for centuries afterward. Such a day-by-day account of misery and terror as is found in the *Chronicle of Lucka* offers a vivid insight into the unbelievable distress of that generation of constant warfare.
CHAPTER II

THE MILITARY SYSTEM DURING THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

The organization of the armed forces in seventeenth century Europe was based on a recruiting system in which loyalty to one flag or another was dependent not on nationality or religious belief, but on the amount of money a man was offered for his services. When a ruler was threatened with a situation which might develop into war, he first attempted to secure the services of a military leader of such repute that his name would attract mercenaries. The Feldmarschall, as he was called, then contracted with the ruler's feudal noblemen who obligated themselves to supply within a specified time a set number of Knechte, or men on horse or foot. These the noblemen formed into regiments, each giving his regiment his own name and becoming its colonel. The colonel received a sum of money, usually so measured that after he had paid it out for recruits and arms, he still retained a fair sum for himself. The colonel did not personally dispense the money, but divided it between his captains, or Hauptleute, whose duty it was to bring together the "ensigns" or "cornets." Each captain had a certain territory in which to recruit. He would appoint a certain man, usually an old soldier, as the recruiting officer, whose duty it was to persuade young men to enter the army, using every persuasive means at his command, including dice, wine, women and brute force. The recruiting officer received a small sum of money for each Knecht which he secured. Each recruit also received a small sum, so divided that the captain retained a portion for himself when the process was concluded.
Life in these armies was raw and rough. Nothing was considered a crime except flight while the ensign was still flying; the Knecht could murder, torture, rob, plunder or burn, so long as he otherwise performed his duty.

The dragoons were in a middle position between the cavalry and the infantry. They were lightly armed, wearing no armor, and fought as well on horse as on foot. For the rest there were the artillery units, of which the most important man was the constable or direction-finder.

These armies were characterized by large bands of camp-followers, often amounting to as much as two-thirds of the entire number of the army, and consisting of servants, women and children, old men and other adventurous elements from the lower classes who found the army the best means of subsistence in these trying times. Sanitary measures were unheard of, and each regiment had only one doctor who only occasionally had an assistant. Surgery was the only form of medicine practiced on the battlefield, and antiseptic surgery was, of course, unknown. After the ball was cut out, the wound was bound up and neglected. No quarter was given to individual soldiers unless the entire unit happened to surrender and go over to the enemy, and few of the wounded men survived the battle. For the most part the attempt to save the lives of the wounded was restricted to the officers. Others who appeared capable of ransoming themselves might be saved by the enemy.

Electoral Saxony preserved the oldest type of German army, the Ritterpferde, in which each noble had to supply one or more men on
horse, depending on the size of his land holding. The towns had their own paid soldiers and companies of burghers which they used mainly for defense, and then only as a last resort. Most wealthy burghers felt that any army service was unworthy and paid to be exempted.

Johan Georg I in 1615 instituted the so-called Defense Units, which were to be used only for defensive purposes against enemy raids and were not required to leave their own land. Every adult man was liable for service in these units but only a tenth were called up at one time. Only adherents of the Augsburg Confession had to serve; Catholics and Jews were not held to be full citizens. Criminals were also exempted. The series of rules governing these bodies was highly advanced for that day and age. The men were to remain aloof from the common recruits. They were forbidden to steal, murder, desert their flag, swear, avoid service, converse when the troop was on the march or quarrel. They were to behave circumspectly toward the citizens, protect women, children, priests, old people and beggars, and when they were quartered on a town they were cautioned to be polite to their innkeeper or host.

The Defender (i.e., the member of the Defense Unit) remained within the jurisdiction of his superior authority, which was either the city council, the community, or the liege lord. The rules, however, were unable to accomplish much with this group of almost-soldiers. No matter how well they protected the women and children behind city walls, they were useless in the open field, the battle of Podelwitz being the most striking example of their ineffectiveness. But the innovation was
met with jubilation when it was instituted because it gave the burgher a chance to play soldier. One of the songs of the period, written by a book printer, Justus Janson in 1620, gives evidence of this feeling:

Nu will es gehen an die Streich
du Christenheid werd ja nicht feig
Frisch auff, frisch auff.
Es geht auf allen Seiten an
das luthrische Defension
Mag sich bereiten nun.
CHAPTER III

THE LITERARY BACKGROUND OF THE CHRONICLE

From the time when civilized man first began to set down in writing the events of his own time, chronicles and annals have had an accepted place in the genre of historical writing. Man's desire to leave a record of his age for the edification or guidance of a later time has been the basis of a great mass of historical writing, the simplest and most primitive form of which is the annal. Chronological histories date from the earliest civilizations of which there is written record. This form was known to Assyria, to Babylonia, to the Greeks and the Hebrews, and has continued to be used in one form or another to the present day. The high point of such effort in our civilization was reached in the Middle Ages when hardly a monastery failed to keep a composite chronicle at some time during its history; at some centers continuous chronicles were kept for hundreds of years.  

Chronicles and annals were the only form of historical writing produced in this era and made up the bulk of all medieval secular writing. In his study of the history of historical writing, Barnes has made the following comment:

"An excellent illustration of the rudimentary nature of early medieval culture is the fact that during the first centuries following the decline of classical culture, the main form of historical writing was the 'annals' which had been common in early Egypt and Babylonia."  

Toward the end of the Middle Ages this form began to give way before the more literary histories and biographies, and chronicles were kept only incidentally from that time to the present.
It is difficult to distinguish between chronicles, annals, and histories, especially since the distinction was not clearly understood by the authors themselves. Especially in the Middle Ages, any record of events in chronological order might enjoy either or all three titles. The simplest and oldest form of chronological recording of events is the annal. Annals were often merely marginal or interlinear notations inserted in the temptingly broad margins of the calendars. They are not as full as chronicles, and not as connected in thought, consisting, as they do, of lists of events under the date of the year in which they occurred. Following this calendar style, they are necessarily brief and limited in both scope and literary character. Wherever calendars were used, there was apt to be annalistic writing.

The origin and development of the chronicle is directly related to the growth of the annals. The chronicle was more comprehensive and normally consisted of an epitome of the history of a considerable period, taking for its basis one or more sets of annals and preserving the chronological and strictly annalistic arrangement of the material, though introducing a narrative style. Neither the annal nor the chronicle is objective history. Each writer had to select those things which seemed to him most important for each year, and his choice reflects his personal outlook. Some of the events described may have occurred before the chronicler's own period and he usually made an attempt to go as far back to the beginning of history as his material would allow. For this purpose he combined the records of several annals in order to obtain a more complete and comprehensive history. The chronicles are usually of an
impersonal nature, often anonymous. They consist partly of passages taken from other sources, and partly of personal recollection. In each there comes a time when the author forsakes his borrowed background material and recounts information concerning his own times in the year in which it occurred, thus beginning the actual annalistic arrangement. Such a chronicle might be continued for generations or centuries by the successors of the original author. All usually included some personal narratives of experience or local history. Monastic chronicles might lean heavily to local miracles, disputes and strange happenings. Chronicles kept by laymen in the cities extend their reports to royal weddings, executions, pilgrimages, fairs and merchant transactions. Some register the events in some particular medieval town, such as the famous annals of London, Florence, Genoa and Cologne, the early Stadt-
chroniken which assumed such importance in the later Middle Ages.17 The most notable ones contain regional or national records and some even attempt to be international. Broad political and ecclesiastical interests are sometimes noted, though always from a highly partisan viewpoint. One and all were preoccupied with war, with the planting and harvest and, above all, with the weather. Inaccuracy was a common failing and a propensity to credulity led to the frequent inclusion of the veriest rumor as fact, but with all there was a coherence that often made them eminently readable.

The chief object of the authors was not often literary distinction. Rather they were intended to fulfill the requirements of history books or newspapers, supplying news of the past or of the immediate present. Some
were undertaken to prove a case, and most of them, since the chroniclers were largely monks, have a characteristic monkish bias.

Christian chronicles were first written in the two learned languages, Latin and Greek. Greek, however, early became the language of only a small educated minority and by the early Middle Ages was known to very few Western Christians, so that Latin predominated. Although England supplies the first instance of the use of the vernacular in chronicles,\textsuperscript{18} the practice of using national languages came into effect very early and the Continent soon outdistanced England in this respect.

Actual histories began to be written only in the later Middle Ages. Nearly all important medieval historians were either annalists or chroniclers, but the difference between this style and history as such was apparent even then. Reginald Poole, in his work, \textit{Chronicles and Annals}, quotes a distinction between the two made by the 12th century monk, Gervase of Canterbury:

\begin{quote}
The Historian and the Chronicler have the same intention and use the same materials, but their manner of treatment is different and their form unlike. For the Historian proceeds in an ample and elegant style, whereas the Chronicler writes simply and with brevity. The Historian aims at relating facts as they really happened, but he does this in a literary form; he pleases his readers by the gracefulness with which he describes men and manners. The Chronicler, on the other hand, sets down the Years of Grace, calculates the months and days, notes shortly the doings of kings and princes, and records events, portents, or miracles.\textsuperscript{19}
\end{quote}

This distinction is still the best that can be made. It may be added that the historian presumably strives for an objectivity that would be foreign to the chronicler. Real history in the Middle Ages came only when the author broke away from the annalistic method and presented his
material by topics or reigns, in an order more connected than the annalistic style allows. Topical treatment was rare, however, in the Middle Ages. The majority of medieval historians wrote chronicles according to the annalistic method of chronology and arrangement, constructed on a yearly basis. Medieval histories based on reigns were usually given over entirely to genealogies.

Many later chronicles passed over into the realm of history without leaving their convenient form of listing events under yearly headings. One of the best examples is the chronicle of Matthew Paris, in which only the annalistic framework remains, the work being too long and detailed to be correctly called a chronicle. It must be kept in mind, however, that the distinction, while important, was not absolutely adhered to by the medieval authors, and often the words chronicle and annal were used interchangeably.

Many types of chronicles were written in Europe during the early and late Middle Ages. The simplest of these were official annals, based on Roman consular lists. Kept in the Italian cities, especially in Ravenna, they contained the name of the consul followed by some brief record of historical events. Mr. Poole gives an example of this type of annal: "Thus under the Consulship of Timasius and Promotus: Under these Consuls Theodosius entered Rome with Honorius on the Ides of June and departed thence on the 3rd of the kalends of September."21

The Middle Ages gave works of world scope the designation Weltchroniken (chronicon mundi). They were general chronicles based on that of Eusebius of Caesarea, and indeed his chronicle in Jerome's
translation was usually added to these works as a preface. Often other chronicles in addition to that of Jerome were incorporated into the work to illuminate periods previous to the knowledge and experience of the author, and the chronicle was continued with yearly additions. These general chronicles were much larger in scope than the local annals and were inclined to treat of events of more universal interest, yet like annals they were credulous, partisan and full of errata. Most of them were very comprehensive and many included not so much history as the wealth of stories, tales and legends which were exceptionally popular in the Middle Ages and therefore were widely spread. They attempted to present the entire history of the world from the Creation to the Last Judgment and were pervaded by that philosophy of history which was Augustine's gift to the Middle Ages and which, after the manner of the *City of God*, looked at this world from the standpoint of the world to come. The history of this world was traced in six epochs corresponding to the six days of the Creation.

The first work of this sort in German prose, the *Sächische Weltchronik*, was written in the thirteenth century by a Saxon monk. The best known is the *Weltchronik* of Jansen Enikel, written before 1250, and the most bulky of them all was written by Rudolf von Ems around 1250.

The medieval habit of turning any material into verse caused the development of the rhymed chronicle, or the history in verse, in the thirteenth century. Rhymed chronicles were among the most popular forms of literature in the decline of the Middle High German period, the oldest dating to the thirteenth century. They usually had little literary value or
poetic worth, and their history is often accompanied by much that was merely heresay or fantasy. Originally in Latin, they were later written in the various vernaculars, in tetrameter and Alexandrines. They had to do either with the entire history of the world beginning with the Creation, as in Enikel's Weltchronik, or they considered only a part of this history, as did the Kaiserchronik, or the history of one country, such as Etoire des Bretons, or the English chronicle of Robert of Gloucester, or the Österreichische Reimchronik of Ottokar. They might concern themselves with the history of a city or a cloister (Gottfried Hagen's Chronicle of Cologne, the Roman du Mont Saint Michel of Guillaume de Saint-Pair), or an episode such as the history of the third crusade in the Estoire de la guerre sainte by the cleric Ambrose. The most valuable in content is the Deutschordenschronik by Nikolaus von Jeroschin, written ca. 1340. It is a record of the struggles of the Teutonic knights to obtain the territory of Prussia, now the north-east part of Prussia. These works, often very extensive, began to disappear by the sixteenth century. 22

In the later Middle Ages, as education increased, a great desire arose among men to write of their own experiences and of orally preserved tales of past history. Documents kept in cities were early turned into city chronicles, or Stadtchroniken. Till the middle of the thirteenth century most chronicles were written by monks, but after that time, the greater part of them were written by trained laymen: burghers in cities, councilmen, burgomasters, magistrates, town clerks, and others. Their primary reason for writing was the glorification of their cities, 23 and
was the result of the rise of cities toward the end of the thirteenth century. This type of writing is a most important source of information for the late Middle Ages and the early years of the Reformation. Especially in Germany, contemporary chronicles reflect the spirit of the burghers, the citizens of the walled towns, and contain manifold and varied pictures of the sometimes narrow, often complex life of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As one might expect, these chroniclers notice first the surrounding country in which they lived and worked. The might of the emperor was important to the towns, especially the imperial towns, but his position had weakened with that of the nobility and in these local chronicles he often bowed to an influential local ruler. Unlike the Benedictine or Cistercian chroniclers of the Carolingian and later times, these men do not emphasize universal or imperial history, or that of the great families, i.e. the Staufen or Salic dynasties. They are rather occupied with the history of their own region or country, city or province. The people of that time were exceptionally intent on protecting their municipal rights and dignity. Tradition played an enormous part in their daily lives and they were impressed with the necessity of passing on that tradition to their descendents.

The content of the work changed with the change in attitude and position of the writer. He was pained by wars against his lord or bishop, or by tension between classes or guilds; he derived pleasure from the splendid celebrations in honor of the emperor and all noteworthy occurrences in daily life. The insignificant quarrels in the council, the bitter hates and struggles over often unimportant religious questions,
the pageantry of a guild, an election of a burgomaster, all of these things took on an especial importance.  War, sickness, distress, pilgrimages, and fanaticisms vied for interest with news of reformation councils, the death of a lord, or the ubiquitous economic reports on the status of wine and grain and price-lists for individual years. The burghers were completely associated with their cities and were fiercely jealous of other groups. These chronicles lacked the historical perspective of the earlier Latin annals, but they were also free from much of the fantasy which made many medieval chronicles almost grotesque. There were in these city chronicles, however, quite enough legends concerning the origins of a settlement or of a family. Everything was seen from a close viewpoint, from a position no longer objectively world historical, but local. Written at first in Latin, they began gradually in the fourteenth century to be written in the language of the people. This was especially true of Germany where the vernacular early came into use, but with this independence there did not come at once a corresponding independence of subject-matter. The chronicles were still prefaced by the work of some previous writer, and in many cases the prose rendering of some older rhyme chronicle was the main activity.

The growth of chronicle writing looms large in the history of historical writing from the earliest times. Wherever there were calendars, lists of dates, or fixed points of reference, there chronicles and annals were kept. The Assyrian Chronicle, from 1600 to 800 B.C. is a dry compilation of officials, terms of office, and the most significant events of each year. There was also a Babylonian Chronicle in the years
745-668 B.C. The Hebrew Chronicles preserved in the Old Testament consist of genealogies and narrative and serve as an interesting example of one type of chronicle. Here there was no Christian era to be used in dating the notations, and they were therefore dependent on genealogies for their chronological order.

Roman annals formed the pattern for most of the European annalistic writing that followed. The Annales Maximi were kept from the earliest times down to the time of Publius Mucius Scaevola as pontifex maximus in the year 131 B.C. They were kept by the pontifex maximus, who recorded on a white tablet the names of the consuls and other magistrates, and the significant events of each year. After this time, the annals continued to be compiled by various unofficial writers. Dateless at first, they were later dated with the years of the City of Rome. The lack of an era, or point from which to date them kept them from developing into chronicles. At one time the practice of dating documents with the name of the consul or the year of the emperor was used. The Year of the Olympiad was sometimes used, also, but not often in the West. One method was dating by the year of the Indiction, or the place a year occupied in an unspecified cycle of 15 years, the first of the cycles beginning in 297 A.D. All of these methods, however, proved unsatisfactory for the construction of chronicles.

The Spanish Era began January 1, 38 B.C., but was never accepted beyond the range of Visigothic dominion in Spain and Southwest Gaul. The era which we use today, beginning with the Incarnation of Christ as the year one, did not become officially used till 839 and was only established
in the Papal Chancery in 963, although it was first introduced in the sixth century. This era was an accompaniment of the Easter Tables, which were drawn up with the year of the Incarnation supplied and which served as a framework for historic events.

The Easter Tables (or Paschal Tables) evolved into annals, so called to distinguish them from the more elaborate works into which they later developed, and they represent the earliest form of medieval chronicles. Their basis was the calendar or table which was prepared and circulated to all religious houses and which, beginning with the date of the Incarnation, set the date for Easter for several centuries together. In the Middle Ages the dates for the movable feasts during the year were partly determined from the date of Easter for that year, and therefore it was necessary that the date of Easter be correctly determined. Throughout the early Middle Ages the process of fixing this date provoked constant controversy until the problem was settled at the synod of Whitby in 664. In order that each monastery might not be forced to depend on its own often limited knowledge of astronomy and calendar making, when a mistake in dating Easter could upset the whole series of moveable feasts, tables were drawn up and circulated in the Western Church which indicated the date of Easter for years and even centuries in advance, most often in cycles of 532 years. These tables, which soon became the repository for local records, were thin books in which each date was separated from the next by a blank space in which the monks noted briefly historical events such as births and deaths, coronations, appointments, battles, fires, dedications, etc. The tables were accompanied by an
annual or solar cycle which gave the days of the year, and on this
were noted the anniversaries and holidays, saints days and seasonal regi-
men that each particular monastery needed to remember. These tables
were first compiled among the Anglo-Saxons at the end of the seventh
century and English churches began to keep annals as a regular practice.
English monks, sent as missionaries and teachers to the continent, took
with them Easter Tables and Bede's treatise on chronology, De Temporum
Ratione. This latter work supplied information on finding dates and
ended with the brief chronicle Of the Six Ages of the World - Creation
to the Year of Grace 729. This work was copied and recopied (as were
the Easter Table Annals) and is still preserved in many copies as the
preface to the Frankish Annals compiled in the eighth century. The
earliest collection of annals in the vernacular is the Anglo-Saxon or
Old English Chronicle, which based its early entries on the chronologi-
cal matter appended to Bede's Ecclesiastical History, the latter largely
derived from Easter Annals and other material taken from the same sources.

Certain characteristics of these early annals result from their
distinctive method of composition. Because of the limitations of space
in which to make the marginal or interlinear notes, the language was
terse and the earlier annals rarely extended beyond one line for each
yearly entry. Dates were emphasized because of the attachment to the
calendar. The annalist was usually the keeper of the calendar and
therefore an astronomer of sorts. For this reason, among others,
astronomical phenomena were given disproportionate emphasis and such mat-
ters continued to receive a good deal of attention long after the age
of the Easter Tables had passed. As late as the sixteenth century the
chronicler is rare who will not digress from a political or ecclesiasti-
cal discussion to note the appearance of strange signs in the heavens.
Because they were kept briefly and at isolated times, usually once a year,
annals recorded single and isolated events and took no long range view
of contemporary history. The events of each year occupied the same amount
of space in spite of their relative importance. Annals were usually
designed for local consumption, often under patronage, and have a distinct-
ly local bias and little historical perspective, judicial discrimination
or breadth of interest.

The following extract from an early chronicle is a fair example
of the style of the Easter Table annals:

710. Hard year and deficient in crops.
712. Great flood.
714. Pippin, Mayor of Palace, died.
718. Charles Martel devastated Saxony with great destruction.
720. Charles fought against the Saxons.
721. Theudo drove the Saxons out of Aquitaine.
722. Great crops.
725. The Saracens came for the first time.
731. The blessed Bede, the presbiter, died.
732. Charles fought against the Saracens at Poictiers on
Saturday.36

In the ninth century such annals were the usual form of contemporary
history, although by this time there is evidence that Britain at least had
passed beyond the stage of Easter Tables and was producing actual annals.
On the Continent annals were compiled at various intervals, if not year
by year, in monasteries in Franconia, Lorraine, the Netherlands and Lower
Germany. As early as 788, under the impetus given to historical writing
by Charlemagne, various copies of these annals were compared and a com-
plete body of Annals of the Frankish Kingdom was produced. It includes
the Annals of Lorsch, or Annales Laureshamenses, and the Annales Einhardi by the biographer of Charlemagne, both of which are the object of much dispute as to authorship and date. Once they had arrived at this stage, the annals lost their primitive character and became indistinguishable from chronicles. The Annals of Lorsch were continued to 829 in Royal Annals. Leading tenth century annals were the Annals of Fulda of St. Bertin (830-832), and its sequel, the Annales of St. Vaast, from Creation to 889, and the Annals of Metz, from 883 to 903.

The latest of the major annals were the Greater Annals of Cologne (to 1237) and the famous Annals of Genoa (1100-1293).37

The impulse which Charlemagne gave this sort of writing did not last long after his death, and most of these works end in the ninth and early tenth centuries. Not until the restoration of law and order under the Saxon Otto the Great did historical writing receive renewed emphasis.

The Chronicon of Eusebius of Caesarea as translated and continued by Jerome, became the primary source of historical knowledge for the Middle Ages. Its spread was concurrent with the development of annalistic writing, and with the latter it formed the basis for all medieval chronicle writing.

Eusebius Pamphilus was bishop of Caesarea in the early fourth century and one of the foremost of the early historians of the church. In writing his chronicle just prior to 303 A.D. he made use of earlier Chronographia of Africanus, a history in five books of the Jewish and pagan past from Creation to 221 A.D. Eusebius' chronicle was divided into two parts. The Chronographia was a summary of the chronological
systems of the Jews and pagans and a universal history based on excerpts taken from the conventional, if not the most valid, historians of each country. The more important *Chronological Canons* or *Tables* was a listing in parallel columns of the events in the history of the Greeks, Hebrews, Persians, Romans, Christians, etc. Dates run down through the center of each page with emphasis on the Jewish events. Events of Pagan-Jewish-Christian history were placed in synoptic and synchronous columns. As each nation died out, another might take its place and the number of columns varied according to the number of countries under consideration. The chronicle was written in Greek with marginal comments by the author. It went back to Creation and Eusebius, as well as Jerome who followed him, reckoned the present era from the birth of Abraham.  

In 379 Jerome translated the chronicle into Latin for the benefit of western Christians who could not read Greek. He kept the method of chronology and revised and edited the entire work, making few changes in the first part, but adding to the *Canons*. He continued the chronological historical summary down to 378 A.D. His translation was the accepted and authoritative chronology for the Christian West until it was revised by Joseph Justus Scaliger in 1583 and by Bishop James Usher in 1650. Other medieval chroniclers made it the basis for their own universal or local chronicles, usually adding it entire as an introduction. It entered systematic church history in the *Chronica* of Sulpicius Severus (ca. 360–410) and in the *Historia Tripartita* compiled by associates of Cassiodorus.  

It was continued to 455 by Prosper of Aquitaine and to 468 by a Spanish bishop, Idatius. Its history or development is an excellent example of the
methods of medieval chroniclers.

Certain chronicles of the early Middle Ages deserve especial mention. Victor Tonnennensis, an African monk, drew up a general chronicle from Creation to 566 A.D. More popular than this was the Chronicle of Isidore of Seville, written early in the seventh century and based on Eusebius and Jerome, as well as influenced by Augustine. It summarized the history of mankind in chronological order from Creation to 615 but added nothing of importance. In the eighth century the Venerable Bede composed his work on chronology, De Temporum Ratione, a history from Creation to his own day, divided into six epochs, thus showing the influence of Augustine's City of God. Bede was the first to make current the use of the birth of Christ as a dividing point in historical dating. This procedure had been introduced, however, by Dionysius Exiguus, a monk who died in 550.

There was little chronological writing outside of Western Europe which bears on this study. It is interesting to note, however, that during the early Middle Ages, many chronicles were written in Eastern Europe, and these works shed an important light on the history of that area. Among Byzantine chroniclers, John of Antioch wrote a Universal Chronicle from Adam to 610; John Malalas (491-578) wrote a Chronicle which dated from early Egyptian history to the age of Justinian; and Hesychius of Melitus, during the reign of Justinian wrote his Universal History from the Assyrian period to 518 A.D. In the early ninth century George Syncellus compiled his Chronicle from Creation to Diocletian, and about the same time George Hamartolus wrote an extensive Chronicle from
Adam to 842. Many others were written, including the anonymous Nestor Chronicle and Galician Chronicle of the thirteenth century, which with later chronicles became the basis of official compilations in the East, much as the Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle served the West. 41

As this type of writing developed, the entries became more and more frequent and the interests of the annalists grew broader. No longer confined to cramped spaces in the Easter Tables, they grew more comprehensive, and medieval authors, as noted previously, were not aware of any well-marked distinction between annals and chronicles, apparently employing both terms indiscriminately.

The events of the twelfth century stimulated the chroniclers to new productivity. Long Anglo-Norman works, titled chronicles or histories, were often legendary or fictional in content, such as the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth, but they adhered to the established chronological or annalistic pattern.

The chronicles of the Middle Ages may be considered according to the nations which produced them. In taking up the English chronicles, we can find no better commentary on them than that passage in the Cambridge History of English Literature:

No other country produced, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, anything to be compared with the English chronicles in variety of interest, wealth of information and amplitude of range. So wide is their outlook, and so authoritative is their record of events, that as Stubbs observes, "it is from the English chronicles of this period that much of the German history of the time has to be written."42

The Old English or Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was one of the few vernacular chronicles of the early period. It was inspired but not written by Al-
Fred the Great, and was the first systematic revision of the earlier records as well as the first large survey of West Saxon history. It is also the first continuous history of a western nation in its own tongue and ranks as the first great book of English prose. It is highly composite: the nucleus belonged to Winchester but the entire chronicle was made up of a number of separate works. It was continued for two and one-half centuries, breaking off finally in 1154.

During the revival of learning which followed the coming of the Normans, with a high point in the reign of Henry II, the Latin chronicles of the eleventh to the thirteenth century were composed. Although they were written in Latin, and often by chroniclers who were not native Britons, they reflect united patriotic sentiment, and are written from an English standpoint, embodying English traditions. The chronicle of Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, is a compilation which was continued by later authors and ranges from the Conquest to Edward I. Other chronicles were written by Eadmer (d. 1124), William of Malmesbury (d. 1143), Henry of Huntingdon (1084-1155), and Geoffrey of Monmouth (1100-1154). Among the most valuable and reliable are the anonymous *Acts of Stephen* and the *Chronicle of St. Albans*.

The French chronicle of Raoul Glaber, which covers the years from 900 to 1046 is typical of its time in that it is full of legends and inaccuracies. The *Chronographia* of Sigerbert of Gembloux is a general or world chronicle which was much used later as a source of information about its time. One of the most important of French chronicles is the *Chronicon* of Robert of Auxerre, the latter part of which is valuable as
an original and contemporary account. Works by Guillaume de Nangis (d. ca. 1330) and Bernard Guy should be mentioned, and most especially Froissart's *Chronicles of France, England, Scotland, and Spain*, which latter largely forsook chronicle form and contained much episodical history.

Most of the German chronicles were written in Latin until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, historical writings in Latin prose attaining their prime under the inspiration of the brilliant achievements of Frederick Barbarossa. By the fifteenth century, however, historical prose had freed itself almost entirely from the use of Latin, and the rhymed chronicles which had been so popular gave way to chronicles in prose.

The first strictly medieval German historical writer was Flodoard (d. 966), a priest of Rheims who compiled a set of annals from 919 to 966, written as the events took place. Hroswitha (b. ca. 935), a poet-nun, wrote a number of chronicles in verse. Hermann of Reichenau's *Chronicle* written in the eleventh century was a general European chronicle from the beginning of the Christian era to 1054, and is important for his period and the previous century. The *Annals* of Lambert of Hersfeld (d. ca. 1080) has been called "the most polished and elegantly written historical work of the time in any European country."[^1] It begins with a chronology from Creation to 1040, followed by the more important and original portion of the work. The *Chronicle of the World* by Ekkehard of Aurach, written in the last decade of the eleventh century was the most comprehensive of all the general medieval chronicles, filling, as it did, five books. The chronicle of Albert of Aachen is a valuable source of historical material
for Germany and the early Crusades and was used a great deal by William of Tyre. One of the most important of German chronicles is that of Otto, Bishop of Freising (ca. 1114-58), called the Book of the Two Cities. This book is more a philosophy of history than an actual chronicle. The most attractive in style is the Thuringian Chronicle by Johannes Roth, completed in 1421.

The Kaiserchronik is the first German history to be written in the vernacular. It is an epic poem by a Bavarian monk, probably the priest Conrad who wrote the Rolandslied in Regensburg, and contains about 19000 verses. It is a register of the list of Roman and German emperors to Konrad III (it was later continued to Rudolf of Habsburg) and is full of legends and tales, often added with no apparent connection to the text. The poet used for his background history of Germany the Chronicon Wirzburgense, the Weltchronik of Ekkehard, and the Annolied, a universal history concluded by a glorification of the city of Cologne and its great Bishop Anno (d. 1075). He probably used an older rhymed chronicle, also, editing and continuing it. The Kaiserchronik was very popular and was frequently copied and appropriated by other writers.

Often the Crusaders wrote chronicles recording their experiences and these, with the chronicles made to commemorate other religious wars, contributed to the late medieval and Renaissance feeling that the chronicle was the source of the romantic gestes. In Spain the Cronica of the thirteenth to the fifteenth century contain the story of the Cid, as well as other legends, traditions and antiquities of the people. The Annals of the Kingdom of Aragon by Geronimo de Zurita relates history
from the origin of the kingdom to 1516.

Of the Italian chronological works, the Latin Chronicle of Fra Salimbene is most deservedly famous. Most of the Italian chronicles belong to that type which we know as City Chronicles or Stadtchroniken. Later in the Middle Ages these became popular along with the earlier types of regional and national works. The Chronicle of Florence by Dino Campagni gives a brief review of the origins of the city followed by a rather full account of Florentine history from 1280 to 1312. It is distinguished by civic pride and some highly individual interpretation of historical events. Another Florentine chronicle by Giovanni Villani, the foremost Italian historical writer of the Middle Ages, deals with general as well as local history from Biblical times to 1346. It accepts some quite legendary accounts of the origins of Florence, a practice typical of city chronicles. The French Chronicle of London and the English Chronicle of London which is modeled on it should be mentioned in this latter connection. The German Strassburger Chronik, later continued to 1362, is notable for its detailed descriptions, and the chronicles of Cologne and Nuremberg rank among the best of the city chronicles of the Middle Ages. The Limburger Chronik is important for detailed descriptions and notes on manners and customs, but it records few political events.

Magdeburg's Schöppenchronik is the creation of a succession of men. It was begun in 1386 by Heinrich von Lammer, priest and town clerk. His chronicle was divided into three parts, the first containing Saxon history to the Ottos, the second, imperial and city history to 1350, and
the third, his own experiences. His stated purpose in writing was that
men should learn from the past and thereby determine the future; that
they might not believe present distresses are unique, since history
proves otherwise. This work was continued and later enlarged by ad-
ditions from serveral other chronicles now lost. It ranks with the
best German historical writing of its time. 50

One of the best sources of social history is a chronicle kept by
a brewer, Heinrich Deichsler (1430-1506?), in Nuremberg. It reports on
life in a medieval imperial city, describes accidents, thefts, crimes,
imperial visits, feast days, relates stories of brothels, and much else. 51
Agidius Tschudi's Schweizerchronik, written as late as the sixteenth
century, was the chief source for Schiller's Wilhelm Tell.

As the later chronicles increased in scope and relevance they came
to be the most thorough and reliable sources of historical information
for their age. From the fifteenth century on, the traditional form of
chronicles and annals tends to disappear. It is replaced by more scientif-
ic and literary forms based on the models of antiquity, which gained re-
newed popularity during the rise of Humanism. The transition was gradual,
however, and not until the seventeenth century did the traditional form
begin to become extinct. Quite late, the pattern of historical thinking
was largely determined by the form and approach of the medieval chronicle.
Milton's History of Britain is little more than a chronological chain of
deaths, coronations and battles, and the type did not wholly die out
even after his time.
CHAPTER IV

A CONSIDERATION OF THE LUCKA CHRONICLE

In the light of the foregoing discussion, it will be obvious that the Lucka Chronicle belongs to that group which we call chronicles, in distinction from annals or histories. While it preserves the strict annalistic arrangement of yearly entries, the individual entries are too full and complete to conform to the annalistic pattern. To be sure, some of them are quite brief but others may extend to several pages for one entry. The entries, unlike single yearly annalistic notations, appear to have been made at various and undetermined times throughout the year, i.e. whenever anything occurred which the author deemed worthy of mention — the events were not recorded all at one time. A few other points classify this work as a true chronicle. One is the general historical introduction which precedes it. In composing this introduction the author used material taken from other sources and writes of several centuries of history with which he had no personal experience. Another factor is the lists and registers of the pastors, schoolmasters, and deacons who had served in the town since the time when such information began to be recorded. When this preliminary part is over (it compares to the medieval use of earlier chronicles as general historical introductions) the author begins to chronicle events by years and continues this record until his death. The chronicle is then continued by others, an occurrence fully in line with the traditions of chronicle writing throughout the Middle Ages. The Lucka Chronicle falls under the classification discussed at length above,
that of the City Chronicle,\textsuperscript{52} of which it is a characteristic example. It contains a record of the previous history and contemporary events of a small German town in the seventeenth century. It was written in a time that had ceased to be called the late Middle Ages and had begun to be known as the Reformation, and yet much of the influences that worked upon the author were those of the late Middle Ages. By this time the habit of chronicle writing had almost disappeared, but this chronicle and several others bear witness to the fact that in many cities it was still preserved. The chronicle was written by three successive authors, the first two of whom were important public personages in the city and thus well qualified by training and precedent to undertake such a work. It is full of minor bits of information which shed an interesting light on local customs; above all it contains news of the Thirty Years' War, which was raging in and around the city of Lucka during almost the entire time of the original writing and the after-effects of which were fully as terrible as the actual combats in the area had been. The chronicle is full, too, of the personal views of the author. One may experience with him all these affairs and share in his wrath, sympathy, or grief. Only rarely, however, does he allow these personal feelings to overpower him and alter the usual dignity and interest with which he writes. He makes an earnest attempt to achieve objectivity, a quality rare in most chronicles even as late as the seventeenth century, and to a certain extent he is successful. But his work undoubtedly had the purpose common to its kind of glorifying the city which it chronicles. The author does not disdain to be partisan, as for instance in his descriptions of "un-
justified" demands made on the town by the city of Altenburg, the county seat of the district, or a quarrel between Lucka and the village of Berndorf over the use of a meadow. The work preserves some of the early legends of the origin of the town and other local tales, but it has little of the miraculous, other than a few credulous notations concerning strange signs in the heavens, or the waters of a pond which turned to blood one day. To him these occurrences were as factual as were the frequent fires and electrical storms which he records so faithfully.

In common with others of its kind, the Lucka Chronicle acts as a sort of news-letter or gossip sheet. The author will follow a discussion of a bad harvest or a complaint about the ravages of the soldiers in the land, with a report of a suicide, a hanging, a case of adultery discovered or of infanticide punished. Any record of personal or public disaster is recorded with details similar in style to some of the tabloid sheets of our own time. Affairs of local importance are given far more consideration than those events of national or general interest; the great war which was being fought at this time is never considered in its over-all scope or with reference to cause or implications, but only as it touched the life of this small town. We are told of the bands of marauding troops that infested the country, of the regiments that passed through or were billeted on the town, of the great battles fought in the vicinity, and of the important personages who were connected with them. One is tempted to wonder if the death of the King of Sweden would have deserved mention had it not happened at Lützen, not too far distant from Lucka to qualify as local news.
In every way, then, the Lucka Chronicle is characteristic of the whole group of city chronicles. It is neither so long nor so detailed as some of the more famous chronicles, and the town which was its subject was not as important as such great cities as Cologne and Nuremberg which produced justly famous works. Yet the Lucka Chronicle is complete in itself and is an excellent record of the history of one small German town in a trying and exciting time.

Aside from its characteristics as a Stadtchronik, the work itself deserves a certain amount of comment. It begins with a highly interesting description of a rite which dates from the earliest times of the town, that of marking out the boundaries of the town and all the land pertaining to it. The boundaries were marked only at intervals, often enough so that the younger generation might have the knowledge and example of their elders who knew the details of the rite from long practice. The chronicle describes the manner in which a party of small boys accompanied the officials, witnessed the marking of the boundaries, and received both a reward and a punishment at each marker so that they would be the more apt to remember it in later years. The information was transmitted by word of mouth and the dangers inherent in the system were demonstrated during the first such ceremony after the war, when the lapse of time had made memories poor and boundaries had changed. At least one incident is recorded of open battle between the town and its neighbors over the position of a marker.
Together with the records of the origin of the town and some legends concerning its early history, the historical introduction contains mention of several incidents which were of more than local importance. One was the great battle at Lucka in 1307; another was the occasion during the Schmalkald War, when the Elector of Saxony, Johan Friedrich, was captured at Mühlberg by the emperor. It is significant that even on these occasions the author interests himself only in what directly concerned the town, its environs, its liege lord or its neighboring properties.

The yearly entries need little explanation; they speak eloquently for themselves, giving a personal and local view of some of the most important aspects of the great crisis, as well as many details of interest only to students of social or economic history.

The first part of the Chronicle is that which breaks off a short time after the tragic death of the first author in 1642 is recorded. An unknown hand continued the work through the year 1650, at which point the original chronicle breaks off. The portion from 1651 to 1658 consists of some extracts from the calendar of Otto Freund, son of the pastor and burgomaster at Lucka. As far as content is concerned, this portion does not differ too radically from the preceding part, except for the fact that the burgomaster concerns himself with some things that would not have come to the notice of the pastor, and by the same token treats only briefly information which the pastor would most certainly have discussed at length, i.e. frequent mention of things having to do with the office of pastor or church affairs.

The last portion from 1669 is a continuation of the chronicle by
a fourth person and dates to the year 1698 when it breaks off abruptly after the entry for February 3. The whole chronicle has been copied in one hand, and except for differences of style and outlook already mentioned, it reads almost as an entity.

The question of the authorship of the various parts of the chronicle has been exhaustively treated by Dr. Freund in his introduction to the original edition, but deserves comment in connection with this essay. The first portion was the work of the pastor Otto Freund of Lucka and covered most of the period of the war. His style is lively and readable at all times and unlike the other portions does not often sink to dull recording of commonplaces. He writes in the first person and the full light of his personality illuminates every page. He himself tells us nearly all that we know about his life. He was born in 1583 in Schkeuditz in the bishopric of Merseburg, the son of a burgher and cooper. On August 22, 1611, he was called from Schkeuditz to Altenburg as a deacon, and was ordained there on October 18 of that same year. On January 16, 1620 he was called from Altenburg to be pastor at Lucka, where he remained until his death in 1642. Having survived most of the horrors of that war and continuing to perform his official duties to the last under the most extreme conditions, he was seized by a band of Croats who robbed and tortured him and left him dying in a small village near Pegau.

He was married three times. His first wife, Ursula Fischer, whom he married in 1612, was the daughter of a goldsmith in Altenburg. She died in 1613. In 1615 he married Maria Falckner, the daughter of the Altenburg burgher, Jacob Falckner. He tells us briefly of her death of
the plague in September of 1630. Four years later he married Anna Sattler, the widow of the late Burgomaster Lorentz Sattler. From these marriages he had nine children, three girls and six boys. Of the latter, two entered the ministry, one studied law, and one, also named Otto, became later the burgomaster of Lucka.

The authorship of the portion following the death of the pastor and continued to 1650 is not definitely known. Dr. Freund assumes it to be the work of one of the successors in office to Pastor Otto Freund, and supports his view by the fact that its dates concur with those during which Pastor Magnus Schmaltz was pastor of Lucka.

The next portion from 1650 to 1669 is the work of Otto Freund, the son of the pastor, who became burgomaster of Lucka. Otto Freund was born in Lucka in 1623 and died there in 1668. In 1652 he married Catherine Klotz, by whom he had four children. His portion of the chronicle covers the history of Lucka during those trying times after the war when the town was being rebuilt. It had suffered greatly during the war from pillaging, raiding and plundering. At one time it was set on fire by some troops as they left and the greater part of its buildings were destroyed, including the council house and the church. The burgomaster painstakingly describes the slow rebuilding of the town, filling out his record with the usual remarks about fire, plague, catastrophe and the weather. His style is not as attractive as that of his father, and although he also writes in the first person, the force of his personality is far from being evident as was the case with his more gifted father. This part of the chronicle reads exactly as what it is: a collection of
notations from the calendar of a small town official.

The authorship of the last portion of the chronicle has been disputed, but the issue is now no longer in doubt. It was this last author who copied the entire chronicle in his own hand, and that hand compares exactly with that of a certain Christian Freund of Leipzig, a son of the burgomaster of Lucka, Otto Freund. He was born in Lucka in 1653 and became the official recorder of deaths and steward (or jailer) in Leipzig. It is a matter of record that he visited Lucka at least once and we are perhaps justified in assuming that his visits to the city of his birth were quite frequent, especially since it was he who continued the Lucka Chronicle from his father's death in 1668 to the time of his own death in 1699. He was married to Christina Müller who bore him one child.

This portion of the chronicle is the least interesting of all, both as to style and subject matter. Where his father and grandfather had both used the first person in writing their parts of the chronicle, Christian never once uses an "I". His style is dry and lifeless and he limits himself to recording briefly deaths, catastrophes and official decrees, with hardly a paragraph to remind us that this is that same Lucka Chronicle that rose to such eloquent heights under other authors. He is, too, not as objective as his predecessors were and on the whole his part of the chronicle is of the least value.

Turning to a discussion of the text itself, it should be noted that the only extant manuscript of the chronicle is in the hand of the last chronicler, Christian Freund. For this reason one should not ex-
pect to find the original spelling or script of the pastor, and on careful comparison with the notes in the pastor's own hand, it becomes obvious that Christian Freund not only added a note here and there to the original, but also changed and modernized the spelling of the original to conform with his own. Since, however, his own work is entirely characteristic of that century in which the entire chronicle was written, the changes are not extensive. As Dr. Freund has noted in his introduction, the manuscript hand was characterized by a certain amount of archaic flourishes which he has indicated either by abbreviation signs or by putting in the missing letters.

It is not within the scope of this study to investigate the philological aspects of the chronicle, but a few remarks concerning some of the more characteristic points of spelling, diction and style are necessary in order to indicate wherein this chronicle adheres to or deviates from other works of like date and genre.

The older German of the Middle Ages, which preceded New High German, continued more or less in effect until 1350 and was not wholly superseded in some areas for centuries after New High German was the common language. Vestiges of it remain and are evident here and there in the Lucka Chronicle. One should remember that in the seventeenth century the German literary language was not the highly regulated medium it is today, having been defined, circumscribed and made to conform to a more or less definite standard. Each region and province had its own dialect and that dialect influenced the spelling of the author who spoke it. This was partly the result of the highly decentralized nature of
the country and the fact that the area in which German was spoken was only a loosely joined federation of states. New High German evolved out of those dialects spoken in central Germany, which were understandable to both the northern and southern regions. Known as "Mitteldeutsch," it was only slightly colored by elements borrowed from both northern and southern dialects.

One of the greatest influences on the development of modern German was the German translation of the Bible by Martin Luther in the early part of the sixteenth century. This work, more than any other one factor, had a determining effect on the form that German was to take during the following years. Luther used the dialect of central Germany, carefully avoiding the extreme dialectal tendencies of other regions, but taking full advantage of the rich idiom of the common tongue. The language which he used was based in part on the language of the governmental chanceries of his native Saxony, the "Sächsische Kanzleisprache," which was also used in the imperial court at Prague and in most of the courts of the petty nobles and cities. Luther, however, infused the stiff official language with new life and transformed it into a suitable medium for literature. It gradually took the place of the various dialects, being accepted as the written language of the entire land. The translation had an enormous distribution and was known to almost all of Germany soon after it was printed. Its peculiarities of style as well as its ideas became the common property of all Germans and is reflected in the literature that follows it.

The Saxon dialect of the author of the Lucka Chronicle is evident
throughout the work and his pronunciation often greatly influences his spelling. The translator has not undertaken a careful comparison of the chronicle with the Luther Bible, but it is evident after only a cursory inspection that Luther's language and style are reflected to a marked degree in the chronicle of the pastor of Lucka.

Finally it should be mentioned that in common with other authors of his time, the chronicler relies heavily on Latin words and phrases, which are indicated in the translation wherever possible. Titles such as pastor, ludimoderator and magister occur frequently, as do Latin names of the months. Often the Latin word will have the correct case ending for a Latin sentence. This is not unusual for a work of this time when an educated person was one who knew Latin. The text might be compared to such contemporary works as Grimmelhausen's Simplicissimus.

The present location of the manuscript is the Municipal Library of Leipzig. The original does not exist and must be presumed to be lost, or perhaps thrown away by the first copyist. In editing the present text of the manuscript, Dr. Freund compared the copies made by the Lucka Deacon Lamprecht and that of Mr. Liebig of Lucka.

The chronicle as it stands is of small literary value and sheds little light on the major historical aspects of the Thirty Years' War. Its main historical value is sociological and economic, since it contains a wealth of figures and descriptions of habits and customs of the time, especially the effect of the Thirty Years' War on a small central German town.
CHAPTER V

THE TOWN OF LUCKA

A modern travel folder has the following to say about the present city of Lucka:

Lucka, a small country town of about 3000 inhabitants, is the loveliest town close to Leipzig on the south. The beautiful valley of the Schnauder, with the little town of Lucka and its well-known Lucka Forest, is to the region south of Leipzig what the valley of the Mulde is in the East, the Düben Heath in the North, and the valley of the Saale in the West. Not too near the metropolis - as are the wooded hills of Zwenkau - yet not so far away as to be reached only after a long train ride, Lucka and its surrounding region is just the place for relaxation and recreation for the city dweller, either for weekends or holidays.

Lucka is most famous today as the site of the great battle on May 31, 1307, when the forces of the emperor, Albrecht I, under the Burgrave Friedrich von Nuremberg were vanquished by the Thuringian Landgrave Friedrich the Bold and his brother Diezmann. One of the most memorable battles of the Middle Ages, it secured the lands of Meissen, Thuringia and Pleissen to the Wettin dynasty. At this time Lucka was a large and wealthy city, but at some time in its following history, it was sacked and ruined by an enemy force and never again regained its earlier size or prominence. Pastor Otto Freund suggests that the most probable occasion for the destruction of Lucka was after the battle of Auszig in 1430, when the plundering Hussites entered the region and visited everything with fire and sword, especially the churches and cloisters. Altenburg, Borna, and Pegau as well as Lucka were burned and laid waste. A fountain built in 1907, the Wettinbrunnen, commemorates this battle. The church which
was rebuilt in 1647, and to which the tower was added in 1890, still dominates the town.
CHAPTER VI

NOTES TO THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION

This translation was undertaken as a possible aid in historical or sociological research on the period of the Thirty Years' War and the decades immediately following. It is therefore prepared in such a way that the student in these fields, whether or not he is familiar with German, will have no difficulty in using it as source material. The translator has attempted to use the utmost accuracy in handling the text, in order to present a translation which will be true to the letter of the original as well as maintain fidelity to its thought.

No attempt has been made to preserve in the translation the archaic spelling or diction of the original. It is believed that the most satisfactory solution of the problem lies in presenting a literary and readable translation in modern English, limiting the references to the original style to the explanatory paragraphs above.

Place names have been given in their modern German form except where accepted usage has established a standard form, e.g. Saxony, Nuremberg, Cologne, etc. The German form of all proper names has been preserved and the German titles are given in their nearest English equivalents with very few exceptions. Footnotes translate the occasional German or Latin word which has been given in the original form to facilitate a smooth reading or indicate frequency of occurrence. They have also been included to clarify certain words or meanings or to illuminate the background of a number of otherwise obscure passages. Dr. Freund's footnotes to the
German text are bracketed and clearly designated. His "Contents" have been incorporated in the "Contents" of this translation for convenience's sake.
THE CHRONICLE OF LUCKA
EDITOR'S PREFACE

The Chronicle of Lucka by Otto Freund is the most important historical document for this Thuringian city and its environs. It is not only of local significance; great world-important historical occurrences of a stirring period are mirrored in the chronicle. It sets forth vividly the history of a typical German town in the era of the Thirty Years' War. The three-hundredth anniversary of the siege and of the heroic death of the King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, brings abundant reminiscences of that war and its obvious parallels with the World War of our own twentieth century. It is surely timely, then, to make this source material finally accessible to a wider public through this printing.

The late director of the Leipzig Municipal Library, Dr. Ernst Krocker, in 1904 was the first to call attention to the importance of this chronicle. In Vol. 7 of the Papers of the Leipzig Historical Society, pp. 290-291, there is a short essay by Dr. Krocker entitled, "How the Town Limits Were Drawn in Lucka in 1627." In it he says that the ceremony of determining town limits is nowhere described by the Leipzig chroniclers, although the description of such a ceremony does occur in the Lucka Chronicle. He inserts that portion of the chronicle in his essay.

The Freund Chronicle of Lucka now belongs to the Leipzig Municipal Library. It is contained in Manuscripts Handbook II, 139c, on pages 291-349.

The chronicle begins with a general introduction describing the locale
and historical beginnings of Lucka. This is followed by a list of the pastors, deacons and schoolmasters who functioned in Lucka up to the time of the writing, and a note on the secular authority. Finally there is a sketch of the older history of the town, in which, of course, the most important occurrence is the great battle at Lucka in the year 1307. The chronicler takes due notice of this battle, in which Margrave Friedrich the Bold was victorious over the imperial army in the siege which preserved the lands of Thuringia and Meissen for the Wettin dynasty.

From page 305 on, the record of the sixteenth century gradually becomes an actual chronicle with yearly entries. The first mention of Magister Otto Freund occurs on January 16, 1620, when he was called to the pastorate of Lucka. And now follow entries of varying length noting events during the war and their effect on Lucka until 1642, when the tragic death of the pastor is recorded. The chronicle is continued in a similar fashion, however, until the beginning of the year 1650. The peace treaty which had finally been concluded at Osnabrück in 1648 was ratified at Nuremberg in 1650, and on August 18 of that year, by order of the reigning prince, a general thanksgiving and peace celebration was held in Lucka.

The remaining portion of the chronicle spans the period of reconstruction after the long war. On pages 332-341 is an extract from the calendar accounts of the Lucka notary and burgomaster, Otto Freund until his death in 1668. The chronicle ends with a few notations of occurrences in Lucka from 1669 to 1698.

Some price lists in the handwriting of Pastor Otto Freund are attached to, or rather pasted into, the chronicle; they are included in a supplement
in this edition so that the continuous narration of the chronicle may not
be interrupted.

The most valuable portion of the chronicle is unquestionably the
first, written by Pastor Otto Freund and dealing with the greater part of
the Thirty Years' War. From the entry of 1627 it may be assumed that he
began the chronicle in this year. For the introductory passages he may
have used older material which he had at hand. His style is lively; one
may read how impulsively he reports on the inflationary year of 1621.
There for a moment his pen gains control and he loses his pastoral digni-
ty as he writes of the "accursed" condition of the currency. We who have
lived through an even worse inflation at the end of the World War can
sympathize with his agitation and understand this stylistic digression,
the only one in the entire work. The worst year of misfortune for Lucka
was 1637. Indignation thrills through his references to the imperial
relief forces, which, having entered the country ostensibly as friends,
behaved worse than the alien Swedish armies, of which a comparatively good
testimony is given. A so-called defense force set the town on fire at
its departure and the church, parsonage and Town Hall were sacrificed to
the flames. Both of the pastor's own houses burned down along with his
supplies. He estimated at not less than 4000 talers the losses which he
and his wife sustained in the three years 1634-37 through assessments,
quartering of troops, plundering and fire. After the fire he had to live
in his barn for four weeks until he was given refuge by Frau von Hagenest
and allowed to live in the schoolhouse on her estate, Teuritz. Soon, how-
ever, pestilence visited the estate and carried away his benefactress.
The pastor had to leave; he was finally given shelter by a widow whose old house had been spared by the flames. From that time on he performed his official duties under the open sky until his death, since the continuing unrest of the war prevented the rebuilding of the church. In his later years he quarreled often with the burgomaster, Salbert, because of the latter's misgovernment of the town. In 1642 he was forced to flee before the imperial forces to Pegau. On the way he was seized by Croats, bound to the tail of a horse, dragged into a village near Pegau, and in other ways so brutally treated that his death was the result.

Through the lines of Pastor Otto Freund gleams a great, strong and responsible personality, who did battle with the extreme difficulties of the time, a hero in vestments as few others were. It is no wonder that two centuries after his death he was not forgotten. In the editor's possession is a letter written by Dr. Christian Friedrich Böhme, eminent pastor of Lucka and member of the consistorial council. This letter of September 3, 1839 says in part, "Herr Magister O. Freund, onetime pastor and adjunctus here, was honored both during his lifetime and after his death with the title 'Herr', as our church and other records attest. He was unquestionably a great man, outstanding in his office, and his excellent reputation continues here until the present day."

The next part of the chronicle continues to 1650 and is also written in the first person, but probably not by a member of the Freund family. Such a one would surely have written in a manner different from the report on page 328a about the Freund heirs and especially about Pastor Christian Freund of Hahngen (or Hayn). Perhaps this section was written by the suc-
cessor or successors in office of Pastor Otto Freund. The assumption is supported by the fact that the year 1650 was the last full year that Pastor Magnus Schmaltz spent in Lucka.

The extract from the calendar of Burgomaster Otto Freund, son of Pastor Otto Freund, covers, as was mentioned earlier, the years 1651-68. He can tell, for instance, of the rebuilding of the Town Hall in 1653. The gruelling aftermath of the war made the rebuilding of the town difficult. In 1664 the so-called "Hungarian sickness" was brought into Lucka by soldiers quartered on the town, and the burgomaster was severely criticized for having allowed them entrance.

The last section of the chronicle is the only part in which the pronoun of the first person is not used. It leaves much to be desired where carefulness and objectivity are concerned and breaks off abruptly with the year 1698.

The entire chronicle as it is preserved, is in the same handwriting. This hand is similar in all respects to that of a certain Christian Freund of Lucka, whose Leipzig Chronicle is found in extract in the same manuscript volume on pages 254-266. This chronicle which he supplied for a Leipzig Historical Calendar for the year 1679 includes sketchy accounts of the locale, names, the first inhabitants and oldest history of Leipzig, as well as the municipal government, the university, the local tribunal, the supreme court of judicature and the district ecclesiastical court (the consistorium). It also deals with matters pertaining to merchants and the fair. The arrangement of this extract is very similar to the introduction to the Freund Chronicle of Lucka. On page 260b, Christian Freund offers the prospect

* See footnote 58 to the chronicle.
that in future years the annals and yearly history will follow; this, however, did not occur.

Who was this calendar-writer Christian Freund of Lucka? Kroker assumes that he is a son of Pastor Christian Freund of Michelwitz, arguing from an entry in the Lucka church register which records that on December 11, 1645, a child of this pastor was baptized with the name Christian. As the register of deaths proves, however, this same Christian was buried on December 21 of that year while still a "week-old child." The author of the Leipzig calendar and transcriber of the entire Chronicle of Lucka is more probably the son of Burgomaster Otto Freund. Thus by this time, grandfather (Pastor Otto Freund), father and son appear to have shared in the formation of the Lucka Chronicle. In the Lucka church register there is a baptismal entry for the year 1653: "Christianus, the 3rd January...Herr Otto Freundt, alderman in Lucka, the father; Frau Catharina Klotz, mother, etc." As Herr M. Liebig has established in Hagenest, this Christian Freund was the official in charge of recording deaths in Leipzig and died there in 1699. His death explains without more ado the sudden cessation of the Lucka Chronicle in the preceding year.

This recorder of deaths certainly appears to be a rather dry and inferior literary hack, especially in comparison with his grandfather. In this connection it is worth noting that there is not a single "I" in the entire chronicle that may be credited to him. He seems to have transcribed almost unaltered the papers of Pastor Otto Freund. At any rate, the roster of pastors and teachers is carried on or continued by him until the year 1690. Included in the extract from his father's calendar is an ad-
dendum to the entry for the year 1662. This appendage in the handwriting of the son refers to an event occurring years after this date. To be explicit, after the notation that a woman has brought three living sons into the world, there follows the further entry that a woman bore three living daughters on June 12, 1676 [i.e., fourteen years later. ed.] This last argues for the assumption that the recorder of deaths began to transcribe and continue the chronicle in 1676. The latter may well have occurred during frequent visits which he presumably made to his native city of Lucka. In the Lucka church register one may read that "Herr Christian Freundt, Chief Recorder of Deaths in Leipzig," stood as godfather on July 13, 1685 at the baptism of the daughter of his cousin, Hannsz Christoph Freund, who was the same age as himself.

Christian Freund may have undertaken the copying of the Lucka Chronicle with the object of publishing it. Presumably the chronicle of his forefathers had inspired him to project a chronicle of Leipzig. The publication, however, of the first dry section of this Leipzig Chronicle in the Fiebig Calendar of 1678 did obviously and understandably not arouse in its public any desire for further publications from the same pen. Great care has been taken to present a philologically accurate text of the chronicle, so that it might serve as an authoritative basis for future study, both scholarly and popular. The temptation to make explanatory notes has been avoided in the hope that authorities in the fields of regional studies, general, church and economic history may see fit to express themselves on this subject.

The editor deciphered and copied the manuscript in the Leipzig Municipal Library. He then checked his copy against the original. At his
disposal were also the renditions of the former deacon of Lucka, Herr Lamprecht, and also that of Herr Liebig, each of whom made a copy of the chronicle. The editor has attempted to preserve in print also some idea of this seventeenth century manuscript. The abbreviatory flourishes no longer in use had perforce to be either written out or replaced by apostrophes. It should be noted, too, that it is scarcely ever possible to distinguish between final n and m in the manuscript.

As a direct descendent of the chief author of this chronicle, the editor through its publication takes great satisfaction in having reverently fulfilled a debt of honor, and he hopes that this will prove gratifying to his relatives in the Freund family. Included in the appendix is a genealogical table of the Freund family, which, of course, in no way aspires to completeness. Next to the short line of the chroniclers (pastor - burgomaster - recorder of deaths) is the long line of the pastor of Michelwitz, Christian Freund. This is continued down to the Hainich-Leipzig branch to which the editor belongs, and to the pastor of Pappendorf, Christian Friedrich Freund, to whom the editor owes his interest in the family history. These two branches are given in their entirety.

In closing, the undersigned sincerely thanks all persons in authority and private individuals who have assisted him in his work through friendly spirit or information, advice or deed.

Leipzig, Autumn 1932. Max Freund
THE CHRONICLE OF LUCKA

The town of Lucka (which in an old letter is written Lukgau) is situated in Meissen, in that portion formerly called Osterland. The Schnauder River, on which it lies, forms here a lovely and well watered meadowland but the marshy water prevents it from being very healthy. Scurvy is quite common, and the air is kept impure by the nearby thickets and dark forest, otherwise called the Lucka Forest. Of all the streams in the entire town, none furnishes more healthful and refreshing water than the Teuritz Brook which flows forth almost unnoticed between two miry lakes situated about fifty steps from the edge of town. The water of the Schnauder is not healthful, since it flows through low valleys and rather swampy meadowland. Not far from the town a large part of the overflowed land becomes a swamp between the old bed of the Schnauder and the mill race, opposite Nehmitz. The town has the right to fish and crab in this river all the way from the Ramsdorf water preserve to Koberhahn, especially when the water is churned up by the mill at Berndorf. The neighboring nobles often dispute this right, as happened in the recent litigation conducted in the Electoral Saxon Court of Appeals (1623).

Through the courts of Altenburg the provincial government has hereditary jurisdiction over the town and its environs as well as over the forest, although outside the forest the town council has full jurisdiction. According to this arrangement, the fields and lands that belonged to the town were laid out in 1627 in the following manner, a fact that was pointed out to me by the council: beginning in front of the
Breitenhain Gate at the property of Günther von Bünnau, one proceeds to the Prößsdorf ditch above the Rainbach and below Monk's Pool, thence around the stream-works to the Heimendorf Wood. An oaken staff with notches cut in it stands in the ditch there, and these marks are regularly renewed. One goes from this point along the wood to Stange's field, out the highroad from Zeitz to the Pastor's Pond, which also takes in the meadow, to a point in front of the Heimsche Gate, thence to the Pegau highroad past the hedged garden before the Pegau Gate. From this road the line is drawn to the Church Road from Rieth over the Schnauder down to the Old Schnauder. From here it extends above the Rieth pastureland to the old weir. From the old weir one goes over the Schnauder to the Löschütz Bridge including herein the highroad, otherwise called the millroad, and proceeds along the spillway of the Löschütz Weir to the sluggish stream. Then through von Hagenest's grove, through the middle of his Ziegelteich and the other pools above it, then up the ditch to the common, next past the pasturelands and up to the road. From the road to the path that goes from Breitenhain to Wildenhain, along this path to the Nasseicheich, then along the road to the spillway or ditch between the fields of Breitenhain and Lucka down to the ditch below Monk's Pool.

The marking of these fields or the determining of the town limits was done in this manner: after the honorable council with consent of the magistracy had set aside a certain day and had notified the neighboring villagers, a group of burgbers left the town under the leadership of the incumbent burgomaster. All were fitted out with muskets and swords. They were followed by others with shovels, hoes and spades; also carpenters
went along with their axes. A goodly number of boys of five and six years of age and older boys took up the rear. When they came to the first boundary division the neighbors were already waiting there and each assured the other of neighborly friendship. A cross was carved out on the nearest tree and outlined with red chalk and at the same time the form of a cross was dug in the ground by removing the sod. This latter cross was filled with stones which the boys gathered in their hats. Meanwhile the burgomaster came up and cautioned the boys to take good notice of these boundary markings. While they were together he threw a handful of coins on the cross among the stones, which caused the boys to scramble on top of them and fight each other manfully in the attempt to recover the coins. As they were struggling in their search for the coins, a person with two vessels of water was ordered to pour it on the boys, thereby impressing them with the business at hand. This agrees almost entirely with that episode mentioned by Christoph Lehman in the Speyer Chronicle (Bk. II, Chapt. 29, p. 114) in connection with the old German custom of making and effecting a contract. Because all such transactions were orally consummated, the youths and boys who witnessed it were led to the place where the transaction occurred and there were given a blow on the face and their hair was pulled.

It is beyond doubt that the Wends inhabited this region in earlier times and gave this town its name. This is sufficient explanation why its very name comes from the Wendish, being a composite word, for in Wendish Lack means a forest and Gaw a wide place or meadow. It is known from the histories that the ancients who located or built their cities and
towns generally named them after the character of the place or the water which flowed past them, or after their gods which they worshipped in the same neighborhood.

H[err]D[lector] Abraham Svarinus in 1612 delivered a marriage sermon at the wedding of H[err]Johan Ursinus, Pastor of Lucka, in the preface to which he stated that Lucka unquestionably derived its name from the dark woods or forest wherein in former times the pagan inhabitants worshipped their gods. [294 b] This is made more plausible by the fact that as late as a few years ago, old people pointed out a very great oak trunk in the forest not far from the Nasseetieich which their forefathers had called the Devil's Staff.

The _jus patronatus_ in the investiture of the church and school officials belongs to the council and has been observed up to the present, although the parishioners of the churches of Teuritz, Hagenest, Berndorf and Nehmitz are now trying to make difficulties in connection with the installation of the pastor.

I have not been able to procure any certain information as to the state of affairs of the chapel at Nehmitz. It is still to this day a stone building with a tile roof and is occupied by the custodian. From the ancient records it seems to have been built before our church and a [295 a] path thither through the forest may have existed at one time. In the absence of the old church records, I cannot with certainty state when the Evangelical Religion penetrated into this region. I have listed immediately below the pastors who had charge of this church for a long time before my coming.

**PASTORS AT LUCKA**

1549. Sebastian Riehman officiated during this year, as is to be
seen from the nuptial sermon of D[octo]r Svartius at the marriage of H[err]n Johan Ursinus.

1572. M[agister] Johann Pistor was called here from Grosz-Stein near Ronneburg. He signed the formula concordiae, and his soul departed from us in 1583. [295 b]


1611. Johannes Ursinus was here. He was called to Altsted in 1618 as superintendent and died there about 1640.

1618. M[agister] Christian Lange from Pforta was pastor at Meuselwitz. He was called here and the following year, 1619, was called to Leipzig as subdeacon. He finally rose to be pastor there and superintendent, and in 1630 received his doctorate.

1619. M[agister] Otto Freund from Schkeuditz, formerly deacon at Altenburg, was here. He was buried here following a brutal attack upon his person on March [sic], 1642. He was cruelly treated by the Croats on the flight to Pegau and died as a consequence. [296 a]

1642. M[agister] Christoph Hempel. He was called to Meuselwitz in 1645 and died there on August 15, 1647.

164. M[agister] Jacobus Clauder. He was called to Delitsch where he was promoted to superintendent, and in 1658 at Leipzig he received his doctorate.

164. M[agister] Magnus Schmaltz was called from Altkirche, where he had formerly been pastor. He was called from Lucka to Altenburg as deacon in 1651.

1651. M[agister] Gotfried Schammelt, pastor at Nobitz, was called
here and died here in 1679.

1680. Johann Winckler, Pastor at Breitenhain, was called here and died here in 1680.

169. [296 b]

DEACONS AT LUCKA

...... Joseph Pistor, whose father, Magister Joh. Pistor, was pastor here. He was called from here to the pastorate at Nobitz and died there on December 27, 1632.

1614. Zacharias Halecius from Zittau was here. He was married this same year on March 2 at Meuselwitz and died on October 15, 1637. In his stead is

1639. Matthes Winkler, who was called to be schoolmaster at Coszma and ordained on May 21. Meanwhile Pastor Otto Freundt had to discharge the duties of this office for over one and one-half years because of the distress and suffering, the plundering and burning caused by the war. He died in 16 , after a substitute replaced him.

1669. Michael Schade from Altenburg, a student of theology, re¬placed the old Herr Winkler. He was ordained on March 2, and he died on [sic] 169.

169. [297 b]

LUDIMODERATORS\textsuperscript{12} (formerly called schoolmasters, then cantors\textsuperscript{13} and shortly thereafter (1697) rectors.

1549. It was Johann Svarinus from Nebra (since he was married here that year). He was called to the pastorate of Schkeuditz in 1552 and died
there in 1585.

1587. At this time it was Wolff Winckler who presided over the school for thirty-four years, and when he could no longer perform his duties because of his advanced age, he was made a member of the council. The office of chamberlain was also given to him and he held this office for five years.

1617. It was Samuel Winckler, Wolff's son, who after eleven years as school master was called to the pastorate of Rasefasz, whence he went to Zschernitz in 1634 and there died on April 13, 1651.

1637. It was Adam Ursinus, as may be seen from the church records of that year. Reference is made to him in the Tax Register in 1628, but without title.

15 Christoph Förster, Luccaviensis. 

15 Daniel Stolle, who was called here from Cönnern. He resigned and went to Halle.

1660. Niclas Petzoldt, from Saalfeld, a student of theology, was ludimoderator and cantor in 1662, but was called by the people of Uchteritz to Medewitsch as pastor.

1662. Joseph Winckler, cantor at Cönnern, was called here and on April 20 was presented to the consistorium at Altenburg where his father and grandfather had also been ludimoderators. Because of continued illness, a substitute was appointed for him in 1681 and he died on March 3, 1682.

1681. David Zeisius from Altenburg, a student of theology, replaced Joseph Winckler.

As to the secular authority, the council of Altenburg has the superior jurisdiction over the town and certain fields within the confines of the
town, as well as over the fiefs and taxes relating thereto. These are paid yearly, along with eighteen reichstalers, fifteen groschens in coin, forty-six capons, four old chickens and four fat hens. The council has hereditary jurisdiction. It consists of a burgomaster, a town magistrate, a chamberlain and two district men, and is alternated yearly according to confirmation received from the ducal government at Altenburg. The town clerk, nominated and elected by them, meets with them at all times.

When the membership of the council is to be changed the burghers are always required to assemble and the persons elected to the government for the coming year are made known to them. After having been confirmed, these names are then made public.

Concerning the ancient history of the city of Lucka, nothing remains which may be related with certainty. Still less is known of the people who took part in formulating the municipal law, or in the judiciary, the houses of government, or the two annual fairs which were held yearly on Assumption Day and the Monday after the feast of St. Gall, as well as the cattle market on the Sunday before the St. Gall market. One may assume from their names that they must be over eight hundred years old and that they were established by the Wends. This people were all driven out of the country by Charlemagne, and although they made several attempts at various times to re-establish themselves, they could never recover any firm footing here.

One of the oldest stories recounted of this town is the following which I now relate. Landgrave Albrecht the Rude once engineered a war in
Thuringia between his sons, Margraves Friedrich the Bold and Dietzmann of Meissen, and Emperor Adolph. During this war, in 1296, the emperor moved in great force against Meissen and besieged Borna. After Borna had been starved into surrender, he wished to proceed toward Pegau, but feared the danger that might threaten his army if he left Lucka in the rear. The margrave had established an excellent army of occupation there. Therefore he advanced his forces to Lucka and began to storm it fiercely but in vain, for he was bravely repulsed by the burghers and soldiers. He had to withdraw because of approaching winter and transfer his army into the fortresses. He himself retired into Swabia and, the winter over, prepared in the coming year to attack Osterland more strongly.

In the following year, 1297, because he could not take the field himself (for war had broken out in Flanders), the emperor sent his cousin, Count Philip of Nassau into Osterland with twenty thousand men. This army was immediately drawn up before Lucka in order to besiege the town so strongly that it might no longer hold out before him. He undertook the siege with great thoroughness. The margrave, learning of this siege, feared that the enemy, if he should overcome Lucka in the first assault, would then besiege Pegau and drive him into a corner. In order to prevent this from happening, he deemed it expedient to assemble all the armies in Meissen and Osterland and to claim Leipzig for himself. Having made this decision, he deployed his whole army before Pegau and made camp in the fields that night. The next morning, however, being the day of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, he made a surprise attack on the enemy's camp and after the battle challenge had been made, a very bloody engagement took place.
After stiff resistance, the Swabians took flight and a great number of slain and enemy prisoners were left behind. Among the prisoners was Count Philip himself.

When Emperor Adolph was slain in the following year, 1298, by the rival emperor, Albrecht, the margraves hoped to establish peace. But the father immediately incited the new emperor against his sons and the war continued even more violently in the following year. Through this conflict Thuringia, Meissen and Osterland were almost completely devastated. To mention only what happened at Lucka, the emperor's fieldmarshal, the above-cited Count Philip of Nassau, had established himself in Osterland in the year 1307 with an army. He besieged Borna again and captured it, then turned his eyes toward Lucka. There he pitched his camp and waited for Margrave Friedrich (whose brother had been murdered a short while before in St. Thomas' Church in Leipzig). The latter was hastening to Pegau to defend the town after the fall of Lucka. When he learned that the enemy was still encamped there, he hastened joyfully toward him and prepared for battle. In order to give actual occasion for the attack, he had his armormaster bind up his helmet, saying at that time, "Bind on today three lands or none." In some chronicles is found, "I bind on today Meissen, Thuringia and Pleissen and all that ever belonged to my fathers. God help me in this enterprise as we are right before God." Then he rode against the Swabians.

He came to grips with the enemy at the very same place where he had previously defeated them in 1297. In the beginning the battle was doubtful, but after Count Philip was slain by the hand of Margrave Friedrich,
the enemy was put to flight and more than 3600 men were killed on the ramparts of the town. The extent of this encounter may be realized to some degree from the fact that the noise of the clashing of weapons was heard as far away as Pegau. The fear felt by the enemy was so great that many of the fugitives from the battle hid themselves in hollow trees or in bake-ovens in the villages and even in the insides of dead horses, where they remained until night came. They were, however, one by one discovered. Some of those who hid in the ovens were discovered by the village women who transfixed them with pitch-forks. According to the old people, there still existed an old painting on the west wall of the church about fifty years ago (1570), which depicted scenes from the battle. It showed the terror-stricken soldiers in the dead horses and ovens and in particular five Swabians being transfixed with a pitchfork by an old woman in front of the ovens, all this being an incident which is actually supposed to have happened at Zschagast. This painting was damaged by fire and being no longer easily recognizable, it was painted over with white paint when the church was renovated. From this and the former battle a proverb has come into use: "They are like the Swabians at Lucka," when one wishes to describe some misfortune. The following verses were also composed in commemoration of this battle which occurred on the day of Petronella:

In Sancto Festo Petronellae memor esto,
Occidit saevos Fridericus Marchio Svevos.

These wars and battles are described by Spangenberg in the Saxon Chronicle, Peuceri Chronica, Rivander in the Thuringian Chronicle and Albinus in the Chronicle of Meissen. It is evident enough from these works that Lucka was at this time a town well able to defend itself, equipped
with moats, fences and guarded palisades. However, it is not clear from these histories on which occasion it was that Lucka was ruined. The most plausible explanation is that it was ravaged after the Battle of Aussig in 1430 by the Hussites, who made raids into Meissen and Osterland. They leveled everything to the ground with fire and sword and especially laid waste the churches and monasteries. Altenburg, Borna, Pegau and other places were burned and laid waste. From this time forward, [305 a] a shouted "Huss! Huss!" was used to frighten or chase a person, especially with children. Subsequently the Hussites came into the country several times and ravaged it with fire and plundering. They did not abandon these practices even when Duke Wilhelm carried the war against his brother, Prince Friedrich, into Saxony and ordered them into the country to assist him. Again in this civil war, this little town was looted, as were other places, especially Borna in 1450, and all the grain on the land far and wide was destroyed.

When peace returned to the land after the civil war, this town again recovered and was partially rebuilt, but it is said that it did not return to even half of its former state. Among the most eminent buildings here, the House of God was almost completely rebuilt and completed in 1476, as may be learned from the inscription on the dedication tablet of 1476.

1525. On Wednesday after [sic], the council concluded a sale with Matthes Munck for three acres of land lying near the Pegau Gate and the pratal yield. Its members paid thirty score good current coins for it and made it into a common pastureland. Thereafter, on Monday following Apolonia23 of the same year, they rented a piece of land from Herr Günther
von Bünau, Knight, at Breitenhain, to whom it was in fief, with the understanding that they would deliver correctly each time the yearly rents of fifteen new groschen and two capons, and whenever the fiefholder should die, the council had to appoint another, who should always be a burgomaster. Then instead of being a fief as formerly, the latter was to receive it as an hereditary estate. The first fiefholder was Hannz Hildebrandt.

1547. In this year our gracious lord, Elector Johan Friedrich, was captured by the emperor at Mühlberg on the Elbe. He was deprived of his electorate and the Meissen lands, and we received a new lord, to whom we did homage in '49. However, when Elector Augustus came to terms with the imprisoned electors concerning the land, the following cities and nobles were allotted to their former master: the cities of Altenburg with the castle, Schmöle and Lucka, the court of records at Altenburg, Herr von Wildenfels with the estate of Ronneburg, D[octo]r Ossa with the estate of Frauenfels, Hanboldt Pflug with the estate of Posterstein, the family von Ende with the estate of Lübichau, the family von Ende with the estate of Starkenburg, the family von Bünau with the estates of Breitenhain and Meuselwitz, Wolff Weiszbaech with the estate of Ramsdorf, Bastian von der Gablentz with the estates of Poschwitz and Leube, the family von Ende with the estate Fuchshain, the family von Ende with the estate Ponitz, Ernst von Breitenbach with the estate of Lernitz, Servatius and Levin von Ende with the estates Lohma and Selcke, Christoph von Weiszbaech with the estate of Weiszbaech, the family von Creutz at Heckewald and Behlitz, Dr[octo]r Creutz with the estate of Reichsted, Minckwitz with the estate of Trautzchen, Wolff von Hagenest with the estates of Lucka and Teuritz, Valten von
Reinberg with the estate of Ehrenberg and Urban von Rieth with the estate of Nimritz.

This settlement was completed on February 14, 1554 at Naumburg, and the elector signed it from his deathbed. On the strength of this agreement Elector Augustus held the electoral lands and those lands and cities belonging to it, among them Wittenberg, Torgau, Schweinitz, Liebwerde, Schlieben, Bitterfeld, Beltzig and others, together with the city of Zwickau, Schneberg and the entire Erzgebirge region including all its mines.

1561. On August 9 there was a severe storm at Altenburg which did extensive damage in the town. On this day a child was born into the world which had cried previously in its mother’s womb. *Chronicae* *Historiae* *Rosicruciana* *P. II.* p. 843.

1594. On August 24 a violent fire broke out in Altenburg in Brühl. Twenty houses burned down and the Patzer Gate was reduced to such rubble that for several days no one could go either out or in.

1598. Dysentery raged in the autumn, and after that the pestilence, which habitually swept away a great many people.

1601. Johann Förster, *Lucanus Misnensis*, ex *Libanotria oriundum*, ludimoderator at Schmolle, died on February 17. He left 100 talers and the interest therefrom is said to have enriched his father, Peter Förster, a local burgher. After the death of the latter, it reverted to the successive ludimoderators of our school in Lucka.

1604. As Burgomaster Isaac Schmaltz noted here, the official duties on poultry were raised, and a capon was set at 3½ g., an old hen at 2 g., and a fat hen at 1 g. These rates were posted. Formerly a capon was reckoned at 2 g., an old hen at 1 g., and a fat hen at 8 d.
1611. On August 22, I, Magister O. Freund of Schkeuditz in the Bishopric of Merseburg, was called to Altenburg as deacon and was ordained on October 18.

In this year the chapel was rebuilt here. The parishioners of the four villages and the town contributed 185 R. 11 q. and over 400 R. of the church property was used.

1613. In February and March many people died of phrenitis and spotted fever.

1615. This year the winter was very severe, the like of which could not be remembered, and here and there a great many people froze to death.

1616. This year there was a very dry summer, especially in June and even more so in July. In many places the wells dried up, the water was exhausted, and there was great distress because there was no water to turn the mill. Even the grass withered in those areas usually covered by water. It is said that many reapers in the harvest perished of thirst, especially around Erfurt. Beside this distress, many of our neighbors were more unfortunate in that God visited them with fires, said to have been caused by evil people. Oschatz burned down completely and in Geithen twenty houses were reduced to ashes.

In July God afflicted the land, too, with death. Dysentery went from house to house in epidemic form, and while some very old people were affected, it was mostly the young folk who died of it. In Altenburg in eight weeks alone, from the sixth week after Trinity into the thirteenth week after the same, one hundred ninety people died: in the sixth week
after Trinity, there were thirteen deaths, in the seventh week, twenty-three deaths, in the eighth, thirty-two deaths, in the ninth, thirty-three, in the tenth, twenty-seven, in the eleventh, twenty-three, in the twelfth, twenty-four, and in the thirteenth, about fifteen.

1617. This year we had a very mild winter, the like of which no man could remember. In the beginning of February there were violets and in March the amaryllis bloomed. The spotted fever soon began, however, and continued into July. After Easter a great famine came over the land so that before the harvest one bushel of corn was worth 8 to 9 R., rabbits 4 R. 12 g.

On December 30 at Wintersdorf beyond the Lucka Forest (otherwise called Wüntzschdorf), one peasant stabbed another who had dunned him for the payment of a debt of a few groschens. He wounded him with a knife in two places and then took flight.

1618. On January 10 at Altenburg a most tragic incident occurred. Andres Chrysilipp, a schoolboy of fourteen or fifteen years, a soapmaker's abandoned son, hanged himself in his mother's room. He was found lying on a couch with the maid's apron and blouse around him and the rope not around his neck but rather bound around crosswise under his arms.

On June 7 in Altenburg by the Mountain, a baker named Heinrich Fischer, worth about 8000 R., hanged himself in his kitchen. It was on a Sunday.

In the previous week at Tszchaschelwitz, a woman who was accused of having set fire to her neighbor's house, hanged herself. 30

In this year Urben Esche at Bernorf near Lucka had to pay the church
four talers in punishment for his son, who, at his marriage, came before
the altar of the church at Lucka armed with a sword. The money was used
to buy a good book. Joh. Ursinus was then pastor.

1620. On January 16, I, Magister O. Freund, was called from
Altenburg to Lucka to the pastorate. I gave my inaugural sermon on
Shrove Tuesday, February 27.

1621. This was indeed a never to be forgotten year:
1. because of a very severe winter that began considerably before
Christmas but really started in earnest on January 12 and continued till
February 11. There was little snow except on February 8, when it suddenly
began to snow. This lasted till February 11, when it thawed, leaving
great amounts of water. At this point there was a hard freeze and the mill
froze up because of the ice, causing intense distress among the poor who
had no reserve supplies of meal. There was a great bread famine.
2. Because of an unheard of crop failure. Since there had been little
snow during the hard winter, the frost gripped the winter seed, which was
also ruined by the night freezes. All the winter barley was frozen, the
wheat almost entirely and the rye likewise, so that everywhere men har¬
vested scarcely the eighth or ninth part of the latter, and many indeed
scarcely the next year's seed. He who had half a harvest was in
this time a rich man. And although the gracious God bestowed on us such
a great amount of summer barley (as probably never happened before in this
world), there was still a great famine. This was due not only to the crop
failure but also to the fluctuating currency. At Michaelmas, when they
sowed, prices were as follows:
1 bushel of wheat at Pegau was 16 R.

1 bushel of rye at Pegau was 10, even 11 R.

1 bushel of barley at Pegau was 7 R.

It did not stop at that, however, for in October and November one bushel of rye at Pegau was bought for 16 R., one bushel of summer barley at 10 and 11 R. Wheat remained the same because it was rare and dear. At Merseburg one bushel of rye was bought for 18 R. In December prices declined somewhat on account of the Bohemian imports; may God have pity on his own and send us better times!

3. Because of the accursed condition of the currency, which neither I nor any other can rightly describe. Since the beginning of the world the state of trade, manufacture, and other affairs has never been so serious as it is now under the currency agreements. All sorts of people, merchants, councilmen, skilled laborers and even the nobility have let themselves be used as collectors, exchangers and depreciators of money. They traipse around like scoundrels and exchange old money (and also bought up copper). Other evil people and devil's children have persuaded the princes and lords to set up a great many rent charges in the land: from each 800 R. weekly rents are taken and all inflated with base and unsteady coin, so that by December of this year the reichstaler rose to 8½ R. All commodities have risen in cost and [311 a] are priced out of reach. If the world remains still and no worse times follow (as may be feared), those who come after us will be horrified to hear of these times. Let us consider that one tankard of beer costs 1 g., one pair of shoes 2,3 and even 4 T., a pound of candles 12, 13 and 1½ g., and even 3/4 R., a pound of butter 10, 11, and
12 g., and so forth.

4. Because of the great and severe wars which in this year either have continued or begun anew or are about to develop. For war has continued in Poland with the Turks, in Hungary and the Palatinate with the insurgents, in the Grisons with the Spaniards and with these places themselves. It has broken out again in the Netherlands between Spain and the States, in France between the king and the Huguenots, in Norway between the Poles and the Swedes, and in Lusatia between the Elector of Saxony as Imperial Commissioner and the Six Cities. Denmark, Braunschweig, Lüneburg, etc. are spoiling for a fight and have assembled a great Exercitium. 31

1622. In this year the famine increased still more and on March 7 prices were as follows:

1 bushel of wheat, Altenburg measure, 24 R.
1 bushel of rye, " " 20 R.
1 " of barley, " " 24 R.
1 " of peas, " " 16 & 16 R.
1 " of oats, " " 6 & 7 R.
1 lb. veal, 4 g. and up
1 qt. wine, 28 g.

In May the prices were:

1 bushel of wheat, Altenburg measure, 30 R.
1 bushel of rye, " " 28 & 30 R.
1 " of barley, " " 20 R.
1 " of oats, " " 8 R.
1 lb. beef, $ R.$
1 lb. bacon was bid at 2 R.
1 full tub of butter, 38 R.

In July prices were even higher: one pair \[312 a\] of men's shoes were 10 R. and also 10 T., one quart of wine, very inferior, 2 R. 6 g., one quarter veal (about 8 lbs. in weight) with the head on I purchased at 6 R., one lb. soap, 2 R. 6 g., a small loaf of bread at 16 to 18 g.

1623. On June 12 in the forenoon a fire began at Meuselwitz. In a quarter of an hour forty houses, a like number of barns and sheds went up in smoke, as did the pastor's house with his books and furniture. The pastor, Herr M[agister] Philip Wernick, who had been in Altenburg that day and had preached at the synodus pastorum\[32\] there, found nothing left when he came home at 12 o'clock. He mentioned this misfortune in the dedication of the printed sermon to His Serene Highness, Duke Johan Philip of Saxony.

On March 7, I, M[agister] O. Freund, at that time adjunctus of this church, represented in a report to the honorable consistorium \[312 b\] at Altenburg the condition of this church with its profits or losses. I stated the great degree to which the church property was decreased in that it was burdened to maintain in habitable condition the houses of the school-master, or ludimoderator, the organist, the sexton and the midwife, as well as the churchyard above the pastor's chapel, the school, hospital and church buildings, especially since at the time of Herr M[agister] Werbeck, the midwife's house was forced upon the church. In addition to this, the church was sustaining more loss than advantage from the common brewing tax. This tax had belonged to the church since ancient times and from it the church
property was to be repaired and maintained. Each burgher formerly owed to this fund 4 g. tax from each brewing, but this was increased to 5 g. 3 d. in 1615. The losses were due to the fact that in 1615 a new vat of eight hundred-weight (each hundred-weight figured at 120 lbs.), made and kept in condition, [313 a] cost the church 380 R. in this year and the following year, 1619. Against that sum, only 124 3/4 R. in brewing taxes has come in to date. And now again it has fallen in so that a new floor must be laid. The question is whether or not to turn the vat over to the council which has offered to pay the church 25 R. for it, and whether that money would not be better and more useful, since it entailed no loss. This suggestion was accepted and in the following year the above-mentioned brewery was turned over to the council with its rights, profits and burdens.

At this time it might be mentioned in passing that no one would consider the restoration and widening of the churchyard. This was necessary because it was quite open and swine and dogs ran in and rooted on the graves. Great disorder prevailed, also, in the burying of the dead, since no one person was in charge. Anyone, especially the parishioners, might make a [313 b] grave where he himself willed, thus causing the place to be greatly torn up. If God should visit the town with another death there is no place where a body could be put into the ground without digging out another undecayed one.

1624. On April 30 in the morning, my brother-in-law, Matthes Falckner, a goldsmith at Altenburg, got on his horse intending to ride to Leipzig. The horse, however, got out of hand and ran off with him so that he fell off and died immediately.
1625. The pestilence made an appearance in October and several people died of it, but it left us again soon afterwards.

1626. In this year the pestilence raged violently in Lucka. From the beginning to the end of this year we had four hundred fifty deaths in all from the town [314 a] and villages, and from Lucka and Teuritz alone three hundred ninety of the stricken died. In June there were eighty-nine deaths, in July one hundred nine, in August one hundred five and in September fifty-seven. None of the servants of the church or school died during this pestilence.

1627. In this year the town limits were retraced according to the old manner and marked anew. The description of this rite is given above.

1628. We had such a mild winter that in November, December and January of 1629 it neither snowed nor froze. Such a winter had occurred once before in 1596.

1630. In May the imperial cavalry under Count von Hoffkirche was encamped at Meuselwitz, Griebitsch and Mehne. From the town of Lucka they demanded on their departure a war contribution or assessment of 150 T. in cash and a horse worth 53 T. for the captain of cavalry, Lungwaldt. A tax had to be imposed in order to bring in this sum. In this year the pestilence raged here, and my wife, Maria, nee Falckner, died thereof on September 26.

1631. Misery and distress now began in earnest in our land, and in this and the next three years I suffered at all times from enemy raids. The looting cost me more than 700 R.

On September 6, the day before the Battle of Leipzig, a hostile party
of about one hundred imperial horse raided us without warning. We were engaged in bringing back all those things which we had hidden in the woods earlier, and they plundered everything. They broke in doors and windows and did not even spare the church. In this raid my money, silverware, linens and household articles suffered damage reckoned at 97 R. 15 g. at the least. Among other things, my cassock, ruff and lined hat were stolen.

In the beginning of November of this year the pond at Meuselwitz turned to blood. This occurrence was witnessed by several hundred people. In September defense works were ordered and to support this decree a 2/4 [sic] tax for powder and a 1/16 tax for lead was granted and written out.

On October 17 the imperial enemy forces again invaded the town, plundering, battering and breaking everything in the houses and stabling their horses in the parsonage. This was the first such raid this year. On November 5, the day before the Battle of Lützen, there occurred the second foray in which the people suffered greatly. They were beaten and tortured, the town was plundered and all the cattle were driven off. This pillage affected me very adversely and I estimate my losses in cattle, household furniture, beer, bread and oats at 147 R. 3 g. at the minimum. The Battle of Lützen took place on the following day and it was in this battle that the King of Sweden held the field but was himself killed.

On November 18 a Swedish lieutenant colonel with some cavalrmen spent the night in Lucka and the burghers were required to give them bread, meat, oats and hay.

On November 27 two regiments of Lüneburg infantry were billeted
on us and stayed quietly 16 days. I had to house the major of the Merrett\textsuperscript{35} Regiment, Heinrich Wechgrew, with his retainers and fourteen horses and also the chaplain. Their expense along with that which was stolen from me amounted to 163 R.

After the celebration of Christmas the Swedish artiglerei came from Zwickau through Lucka and remained over night. At this time I had to maintain two constables\textsuperscript{36} with three horses and six attendants.

On December 28 a Swedish cavalry company was billeted here and I had to take the cornet\textsuperscript{37} with two corporals and nine horses into the parsonage.

In June of this year, 1632, I built my funeral chapel in the churchyard and furnished it with a pulpit in order to hold funeral services and memorials there. Not including the pulpit, which the church had made, it cost me 46 R. 18 g. 6 d. in all. There was formerly on this spot a pulpit on a great stump in the open air, but it was taken away.\textsuperscript{38}

1633. On August 16 the imperial enemy forces invaded the town and stole everything that remained from the former raid, including those cattle that had been retrieved from the enemy. They dealt quite unmercifully with the people, who were beaten, broken on the wheel and tortured with the so-called Swedish drink. This I myself experienced when I fell, probably unrecognized, into their hands. I was forced to search out my little bit of hidden money and jewels and give them to the barbarians as ransom for my life. This raid cost me 131 R. in money and two horses.

This winter Lieutenant Colonel Jaroszlaws Hoffman von Münchshofen of the Electoral Saxon Army with his cavalry company was quartered on the
town twelve weeks long, the occupation lasting into the following year, 1634. During this time the town was almost completely ruined and we were threatened with burning and pillage if the remainder of the prescribed assessment were not raised immediately. Notwithstanding that in April of the following year the burghers tendered a submissive petition to the government at Altenburg, pleading for deferment in payment as people thoroughly oppressed and plundered to the farthest degree, they were not able to save themselves, but received stern command to see that the stipulated advance payment be made.

In this year the pestilence raged in almost every region in the entire land and in Altenburg many people died of it. Here and in the countryside it did not cause so much distress because the people fled, and because the roaming of enemy troops and pillaging caused them to go to the cities, Altenburg, Leipzig and Pegau, where many were also afflicted.

This year and the following one, 1634, were the least expensive years (at least as far as grain was concerned). Because of the great distress and unceasing extortion of money the husbandman had to spend what he had and let it find its own worth on the market. Prices were:

1 bushel of wheat, Altenburg measure, 38, 39, 40 g.
1 " of rye, " , 21, 22 g.
1 " of barley, " , 21, 22 g.
1 " of oats, " , 7, 8, 9 g.
1 " of peas, " , 38, 39, 40 g.

In February of the following year a bushel of wheat hardly sold for
1634. On March 25 each hereditary brewer had to pay 6 g. to Captain Walwitzen, who was here to turn away some infantrymen that were marching through.

On October 22, the town was taken by the invading imperial forces just as Altenburg had formerly been taken on [sic.] We were pressed for war contributions, seized and plundered, and I lost completely my few cattle and provisions. I myself fled for safety to Pegau with my wife and children, as did many others. The city of Altenburg was taken over by the enemy and, on the strength of an existing agreement, it applied to Lucka to supply the promised ransom of 100 T. Our burghers complained of their inability to pay this ransom since they themselves had been pillaged by the enemy until they had nothing left. They declared that they had nothing to do with Altenburg in this case and begged to be freed of the obligation. They were rudely rebuffed, however, and were threatened with military execution and even with murder and fire in case of further refusal.

In November the town was forced to give a war contribution to the enemy (the imperial forces) at Chemnitz. Every hereditary brewer was assessed 12 g. and there was added an additional 6 g. for every additional house and 1 g. per acre of land. We were also forced to assess and pay a war contribution of 182 R. 9 g. 8 d. to Colonel Heszler on November 30 (NB. according to the circumstances, i.e. it is thus described in the tax book and another place, it appears to have been a war contribution). At this time there were one hundred and thirty completed and
inhabited houses in the town, not including the houses of the servants of the church and school.

In this year the town suffered under a very heavy winter quartering of troops of Electoral Saxony, including the major general, the general in charge of ordnance and Colonel Schwalbach. Because of my two houses I alone had to maintain the major general, the general in charge of ordnance and also Colonel Schwalbach with his servants and thirty-two horses. I took them into the parsonage because there was no very comfortable lodgement in my houses and for the entire time it cost me 50 R.

On December 29 a levy was made for the maintenance of sick soldiers and 6 g. tax was required from each hereditary brewer, 3 g. from each additional house and 1 g. per acre of land, as had already occurred before when 2½ g. had been required from each house.

At this time Herr Valentin Helriegel was pastor at Hohndorf.

1635. One hoped that this year we would have peace, and so we did, but it was a very uncertain and highly dangerous peace, which occasioned the nurturing of serpents in our bosoms. In spite of this interval of peace, the land was burdened with taxation and the lowly of the town were greatly oppressed by the high. The levies were also very unequally divided out so that dissension arose for the first time between the burgheers and some of the councillors. In January alone, the assessments were: on January 9, 2 g. for an arrangement for the sick soldiers similar to the one made before on December 29; 3 g. was lodged with the treasurer on January 7 for the ransoming of a captain; 1 g. when the sick soldiers were collected from each house; and when the commisary was taken away,
2 g. was demanded from each house.

1636. There was still no end to the assessments. On July 17 an assessment was made for the ransoming of a party [322 a] of cavalry, in October and November 4 g. was paid from each hereditary brewer as a gift to the commissary officer, Sternbocks, and on November 15, 25, 31 and December 7 certain assessments were made and collected for the maintenance of a defense guard. Added to this, the heavy quartering of troops on the town cost a great deal. On October 9 the cavalry regiment of Duke Franz Carl von Saxe-Lauenburg was billeted at Lucka and in the neighborhood and were encamped three weeks and two days until they broke camp again on November 1. This time the major in charge of supervision of the guard billeted ten horses and three servants with me and this quartering cost me 28½ bushels of oats, not counting hay and other straw, as well as a barrel of beer and their food and candles. This completely impoverished me.

On November 11 the assembled burghers presented a complaint against the council, decrying especially Burgomaster Michael Salbert. He does everything according to his own ideas, [322 b] and is also daily a drunkard, squabbling, and bully. This complaint, which was presented to His Serene Highness, also deplored the unequal and enormous demands for money, for which there had been no reckoning for many years. They asked the council to draw up and edit a bill.

1637. This was a year of great misfortunes. The assessments had no end and the town was thereby greatly exhausted. On January 4, 6 g. from every house and 6 d. from each acre of land was required for the
ransoming of ten Swedish cavalrymen. Again on January 18 there was a
half tax to provide for the maintenance of a corporal, and on February
5 and 7, a 3/4 tax. On April 11 one g. was required from each house for
the ransoming of 11 cavalrymen who spent the night here, and on April
26 there was a levy for two parties of musketeers.

We had hoped that we should be protected by the imperial relief
army, which had come into the country as an ally to drive out
the Swedish enemy. But behold, alas! we underwent the greatest oppres-
sion from these imperial troops under General Götz, and such complete
destruction was brought down on our heads as is not to be thought of with-
out lamentation. For they made it worse for us when they came to us as
friends than formerly when they were openly our enemies. We and others,
as well as many poor who must otherwise have perished of hunger and
nakedness, were given aid and charity by the Swedish forces - who, although
enemies, behaved far more gently and mercifully. It was my own fortune
to be fed by the Swedish officers passing through, when I had not a morsel
of bread left after the raiding and burning, and scarcely retained enough
old rags to cover myself. They also gave me clothes, some pieces of meat,
and some money. The unheard of pillaging and robbing of churches,
along with many other cruel outrages, continued on February 15 and 16
from early morning until far into the night. Everything was gone, and
not a bit of bread remained to us, much less any butter, cheese, or other
victuals, large or small cattle, clothing or goods. The latter had been
placed in the church for safety, but everything that had even a little
value was taken, even ripped from our necks.
On February 17 General Götz of the imperial army made his headquarters here, and from then on for fourteen days and more, day for day, there was no security. By that time, matters were in such a state that we could no longer give the soldiers anything to eat or drink, but rather we enjoyed a good part of their bread. For their part, they could take from us nothing more than old patched rags and tatters.

In eight or ten weeks this first distress was past and we had recovered to a certain extent. Then, on May 6, the Saturday before Pentecost, the second pillaging began, and everything that we had collected again was once more taken from us entirely. The same evening, a foreign cavalry officer, Michael de Lær, with three lieutenants, one corporal and approximately seventy other men, presented themselves as a defense guard. At the command of General Field-marshall Götz, they produced orders from Major General Baron Johan Horsten, who had at first restrained the plundering for so long. For over eight days they more or less protected us from the raiding parties, but thereafter in return we had to comply with their demands and make contributions to them. On May 10, one T. was required from each house; on May 13, again one T.; May 19, 12g., May 27, again 2 g.; and finally on May 30, just as before, 4 g. from each house. The result demonstrated, therefore, that this defense guard sought something more than our protection. Because their hope failed, they set fire at several places before their departure on June 3, the Saturday after Pentecost (so that they were here exactly four weeks). When they had gone no further than the limits of Berndorf, this fire suddenly grew and quite destroyed the poor town of Lucka, causing us a third distress. In this
fire the greatest part of the church with its tower and steeple fell in ashes, as did the Town Hall, the pastor's chapel, the dwellings of the school-master, organist and sexton, the councillors' taproom and vault and the gate-houses. The clock on the Town Hall and the little bells which used to be rung when the burghers assembled and the bells in the church tower were ruined.

The records which were burned up in the Town Hall and the church are greatly to be deplored, for the acta of the council, their books, old documents, and letters of exemption were destroyed. In the church, also, many chapter letters and other ancient records were ruined. Aside from the parsonage, both my houses were destroyed, including all the remaining provisions that they contained. I lost forty-two bushels of summer corn and other grain, especially a store of wheat in the rooms, and over twenty-four bushels of winter barley stored above my new gateway. In the church, my best beds also burned up. The damage which I and my wife suffered in three years alone from 1634 on, far exceeded 4000 R. in assessments, quartering, plundering and fire.

After the fire, no one gave me refuge, and I managed to live for four weeks until the harvest on the sheaves in the bay of my remaining barn. Then the widowed Frau von Hagenest let me live in her school-house on the estate Teuritz, along with the chaplain to whom she had also given shelter.

After this terrible fire there came the fourth distress with which God afflicted city and country, i.e. the pestilence. It slipped into the manor at Teuritz and carried away our noble benefactress and two of the
chaplain's children. I left the schoolhouse and went to Georg Hesse at Teuritz. Finally on October 18, the widow of Tobias Stümpff gave me refuge in her old house which had been spared by the flames.

On October 15, the deacon here, Herr Zacharias Halecius from Zittau, died, and Herr Matthes Winckler, the schoolmaster at Coszma, was called to take his place. Because of the miserable and pitiful times, he entered on his duties only after 7/4 sic years, that is, on June 3, 1639, so that in the meantime I had to officiate as adjunctus as well as perform the duties of my own office, including baptism, Communion and visiting the sick.

At this time Magister Martin Barth was pastor at Falckenhain. In this year, 1637, when the church accounts were completed on Palm Sunday, the church property amounted to 2424 R. 10 g. 10 d. In the following year, 1638, it increased to 2608 R. 6 g. 5 d. This included 50 R. which Michael Beer of Berndorf bequeathed before his death in '37 for the building of a new pulpit in this church.

1638. On March 11 the burghers complained heatedly about the council in a submissive petition charging poor administration of the common property. They declared that absolutely no precaution was used in conducting common affairs, but rather, sheer private advantage was sought, and especially by the burgomaster, Salbert. Opportunity for such misdeeds was supplied when in the previous year all of the council's books, acta, and documenta were burned up in the fire, but he had been warned before about embezzling what was intended for the common advantage of the town.

At this time the ducat was valued at 2 R. 4 g.
1639. On October 11, Frau Anna, nee von Berbisdorff of the House of Starkenberg, the widow of the late Hans Christoph von Hagenest of Breitenhahn and Teuritz, died, bequeathing 50 R. to this church. On the 18th of October her body was placed in the church in a sealed tomb, but the funeral celebration was not held until the following year, on October 4. The tenant of the estate Teuritz, Herr Friedrich Wilhelm von Döben, could not arrange it sooner because of the war.

In this year the burghers and especially the adjunctus, Magister 0[tto] F[reund] complained to the ducal government against the burgomaster, Michael Salbert. Because of his great opposition to the pastor, he made difficulties about providing a parsonage, and as if this were not sufficient, he disparaged the pastor greatly. In the above-mentioned statement, the aforesaid Salbert was called an almost daily drunkard and one who disdained the Sacrament.

1640. Several Swedish regiments raided Pegau, plundered the city, and took away all the cattle which had fled there from the countryside. Among them were a great many from this town. On the following day, the Swedish Major General Königsmarck himself arrived with two regiments.

1642. In the village of Schlenhain there are ten estates which for countless years have been required to give the pastor at Lucka 18 d. from each acre yearly on St. Bartholemew's day. This is an inherited tax and takes the place of the grain tithe. Hansz von Helldorf, who purchased the principle estate in 1629 and yearly owed 18 g. in tithe money, had up to now refused to pay the tax, so that I had to bring suit against him
this year before the high court at Leipzig. [327 b]

1642. On March 12, Herr Magister Otto Freund, pastor and adjunctus at Lucka, fled with other persons before the invading imperial army. These forces were ostensibly friendly and were to protect the land against the Swedish enemy, but they were nevertheless worse than the Turks and Tartars, and to the Swedes, their enemies, they were a horror. The pastor was seized along the way by Croats, bound to the tail of a horse, and dragged to a village near Pegau. There he was cruelly beaten and tortured on a wheel in order to extort money from him until he was finally left for dead, when he was brought by some charitable persons into the city of Pegau and there died. Several days later after the imperial troops were gone, his wife and children brought his body to Lucka and had it buried in the tomb which he had himself built in the churchyard in 1632.

Before this, in '34, '37, '41, and '42, he was brutally treated by the imperial soldiers, being imprisoned, beaten, put to the wheel, lashed and robbed of all his possessions. He endured much in this way, and accordingly, from 1637 after the great fire until his death, he conducted the offices of the church under the open sky in rain and snow, because the continuous troubles of war prevented the rebuilding of the church. He also went through great danger and anxiety when he visited the sick in both great years of death, 1626, when the deacon fell sick and 1637 when he died, leaving the pastor all alone.

I have seen evidence of the uncertainty of the times in the accounts of the Freund heirs. On April 16, they had to give 12 g. to a convoy to cover the passage of the servant and horses when the two-acre field by
the forest was sown to barley. Similarly, each time they sold any grain, straw, or cattle at Pegau and Altenburg, the convoy must be permitted to help itself. This happened usually in April and May. When, on one occasion, the pastor of Hahngen, Herr Christian Freund, did not pay attention to this, he was set on by the imperials between Lucka and Pegau and both wagons of grain which he had with him were pillaged.

On April 17 the cavalry troops stationed at Nehmitz were paid convoy money to bring grain out of Pegau, and again on May 9 the cannoneers here were paid to bring the cattle and other goods out of Pegau with their horses.

On June 1 another raiding party appeared and forced us to take refuge until June 7 in the house of Falckenhain, because a defense guard was there. As if this were not enough, this town of fields and burned-out places soon had to contribute 6 g. from each acre of land to Teuritz, where a lieutenant colonel had been since May, and again in July when a defense guard was stationed at the court, and in October to the Swedish forces in Zeitz.

In this year, everything increased in price, so that from March to May a bushel of corn in Altenburg increased from 3 T. 18 g. to 4 T. 22 g., but the winter barley cost one T. 22 g. In October, a quarter-measure of corn in Altenburg had increased to 2 T. 4 g. and in Lucka to 2 T. and barley was worth from 36 to 37 g. In November prices fell somewhat, and barley was worth 24 to 30 g.

From October 30 to November 6, a defense guard was maintained by the town with the help of Herr von Döben, tenant of the estate Teuritz.
1643. On March 30 the Klemmish Cavalry arrived here and stayed quietly from Maundy Thursday to Easter. The Freund heirs had to care for six persons and six horses, including food and forage.

1644. This was a year often beset with fear and many assessments. Among others, this town had to contribute a 2/2 [sic] tax to the Swedes in the fortress at Erfurt.

As Latomi Relat. Aut: 48 p. 44 records, Lucka in May went up in smoke because of a fire. 49

In the beginning of December, when the Swedish forces came back into [329 b] this country from Bohemia, most of the countrymen fled to Altenburg and Pegau with their goods and cattle. Among them at the latter place were also some from this town, but to their great misfortune. For on December 5 the Swedish General Fieldmarshall Leonhard Torstensson arrived before Pegau with 7000 horses and 5000 foot soldiers and demanded the capitulation of the city from Lieutenant Colonel Gerszdorf of the Electoral Saxon forces, who was stationed there with five companies of dragoons and 100 horses. The demand was made through the Swedish Lieutenant Colonel Raben, who was formerly well acquainted with von Gerszdorf. Gerszdorf refused, however, to surrender the city, and announced his intention to defend it to the last man. That same evening fortifications were thrown up and about 11 o'clock [330 a] that night the city was bombarded by cannon. Shells and glowing shot from four fire-mortars rained on the city, so that in a quarter of an hour fires sprang up in six places, and this lovely and wealthy city burned down and lay in ashes. The church, the Town Hall and 350 burghers' houses burned, as did many other buildings
and sheds and a great store of fruit and cattle, which for the most part had been brought there from the countryside. On the following day, the lieutenant colonel with his cavalrymen and dragoons surrendered unconditionally and had to allow themselves to be taken as prisoners to Leipzig. The people in the city, both natives and strangers, had to ransom themselves.

This misfortune was brought on Pegau at the instigation of the Swedish garrison in Leipzig in retaliation for the continuous raids made on Leipzig by the electoral army stationed in Pegau. These raids did a great deal of damage and inflicted heavy losses on the Swedish forces, causing [330 b] the Saxons to call Pegau "Little Leipzig" and "Defiant-as-Leipzig." They were, however, soon subdued. On their departure, the Swedish troops ruined a part of the city wall as Gerszdorf had destroyed the lovely stone bridge over the Elster in order that the enemy should not slip up on him too near on the same side of the river.

Throughout the whole war, this city had been a refuge for the country folk, since it protected itself against the strong invaders and raiding parties.

1645. In this year the town of Lucka had to give the Swedish garrison at Erfurt nine quarter-taxes as a contribution. The raids still continued and the people fled to Altenburg several times with their grain and cattle.

1647. Because an armistice had been concluded the previous year at Kötschenbroda between the crown of Sweden and the elector of Saxony, the land was through God's grace left somewhat in peace. The inhabitants
and parishioners again repaired their church, which since 1637 had lain almost completely in ruins. For probably five years after the fire, the sermons and services were held between fear and hope in the open air. Now the builders covered the roof with shingles and procured two bells for the tower, but for lack of means to do it, the tower itself was not yet erected. They also provided the church with a raised choir gallery and the women's chairs. The clock which had formerly been on the Town Hall was furnished with a bell and hands, and was placed on the church.

1648. Up to now the deacon's house had lain devastated and he had had to find a new house for himself. Now his house was rebuilt. The place where the house of the adjunctus had formerly been situated, next to the chapel past Heimschegasse, was sold to a burgher and a house was bought in Pegaschegasse for the adjunctus.

1650. His Serene Highness Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Saxony, P.P. our gracious sovereign, ordered a general thanksgiving and peace celebration to be held on August 18 of this year, to commemorate the peace treaty which was concluded at Osnabrück in 1648 and ratified this year at Nuremberg. The celebration was held with especial reverence here, as it was in all the churches of the land.
Extract from the Calendar of Otto Freund, Notarius Caesareae and Late Burgomaster of Lucka

1651. In March an altarcloth was fashioned for the church, since the ruined and oft plundered building contained almost nothing.

On March 15, a chest containing my best goods and 300 T. in coin was stolen from me by Philip Richter, but was found again the following day, hidden under the pig-sty.

On May 3, a quarter-tax was levied to pay for the newly purchased parsonage.


1652. On January 8, Maria Gläser lost her way on the path above Teuritz as she was returning from Altenburg, and froze to death. She was found dead, sitting on a stone on the path toward the forest.

On May 8, the organ which we had ordered from Altenburg was brought into the church here and was installed the following day. It has a regal of eight feet, covered pipes of eight feet, quintana of four feet, supoctava of two feet, a spitzflute stop of one foot, sharp-repeating cymbals, tremulos, bird-song, and a revolving shutter. It cost 100 R. toward which various amounts were voluntarily given and general assessment made for the remainder.

1652. This year the limits of the town were drawn, a thing that had not been done in countless years and which for that reason aroused a great deal of contention.
On October 21, His Serene Highness, Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Saxony, our gracious sovereign, arrived in Altenburg with his illustrious bride-elect, Frau Magdalene Sybille, born of the Electoral Saxon line and widowed royal princess of Denmark. A delegation of local burghers had to be present at their entrance into the city.

1653. A great storm with heavy thunder occurred at nine o'clock on the evening of January 19.

On January 20 I was in Altenburg on account of the rebellious burghers.

On August 5 there was a great storm with a fearful stormwind, which nearly blew off the church roof.

1653. The Town Hall was rebuilt in this year, the wood for it being the present of His Illustrious Majesty. The building costs amounted to 267 R. 16 g. 10 d. 53

1654. On April 4 a quarter-tax was levied to complete payment on the pastor's house, bought in 1651.

On November 5, during the sermon, fifteen year-old Christoph [333 a] Klaus unintentionally shot the five year-old daughter of Hansz Schukmecht, the schoolmaster at Gatzen, in the pastor's office. He was taken as a prisoner to the court at Altenburg and was punished by being fined. He is the son of Christoph Klaus, a burgher and potter here by the Pegau Gate.

1655. On May 29 the council sold its piece of land lying by the forest, called the Nassetech, to Christian Behrmann for 65 R. 54

In July some of the planks were brought in for the chamber in the Town Hall, which they began to rebuild in 1653.
On September 10 the town limits were paced off.

On October 12 a praise and thanksgiving celebration was held here and in the whole duchy in commemoration of the religious peace which was arranged one hundred years ago this year.

In this year also, the new boys' school was built and an assessment was made toward the payment of it.

1656. Steffan Zeumer, burgher and textiles weaver, sexton for nine years and ten months, resigned, and on September 26 Christoph Ohme was called to take his place.

1657. A mourning procession and funeral sermon were held here as well as throughout the land on February 4, because of the death of Elector Johan Georg I of Saxony. On this day the body was placed in the family vault in Freiburg.

1657. On the afternoon of April 20, in the forest not far from the Nasseteich, a man was found who had hanged himself in a beech tree.

On June 5 a Provincial Diet was held in Altenburg, and for the first time I attended it in the name of the town and of the council. August 20. This morning at two o'clock a dangerous fire sprang up in Schulgasse across from the school, through the negligence of Matthes Funck, burgher and glazier. With God's help, it was soon put out before it spread, otherwise great damage would have resulted, because there was at the same time a great wind.

In the forenoon of August 23, during the early sermon, a dangerous fire broke out in the house of Hans Witben in Schulgässlein, caused by negligence. Some ashes had been thrown out on the floor the previous
evening and hidden sparks in them were revived by the air, burning down
that house along with the neighboring chaplain's dwelling and its sheds
and barn. The church had also caught on fire because it still
had a shingle roof, but the blaze was extinguished there by the eager
defense of the country-folk and parishioners who were present. The chapel,
which had been rebuilt in 1648 after the war, was rebuilt again this year,
and an assessment was made toward the defrayal of the great cost.

On September 17 the Honorable von Toste, head of the local pro-
vincial government, was here, and selected the defenders.55

1658. On February 18 toward noon it thundered several times,
and toward night there was lightening.

There was a great lot of water at this time on account of the
thaw, and especially the Rainbach was so flooded that it came high up
into Heynishegasse, something that had not happened before within the
memory of man.

On March 18 the widow of the late Squire Fr. Wilhelm von Döben was
brought here from Wettin and was buried in the church.

On September 23 a visitation was held here in the church and
school.56

1659. On September 5, the limits of the town were paced off. On
this occasion a quarrel over a marker arose between the burghers and the
villagers of Prösedorf on the path that they took from Lucka to Prösedorf.
Both sides struck each other and shot at each other with muskets, and a
burgher named Philip Richter was shot through the right hand as he snatched
at his hat which had fallen off.

1660. In February in Altenburg the council deputies, the district treasurer, and the commissioners appointed to study this problem, deliberated the defense of the town against enemy raids. It was arranged that men should be put to work on the town moat and the gate defended with palisades. The gate-houses on the Altenburg, Pegau, and Breitenhain Gates were subsequently rebuilt in 1664.

On December 9, a terrible storm wind took the roofs off many houses around the town and knocked them down. Still more trees in the forest were torn out of the ground and broken up.

1660. In this year the church roof, which had been covered with shingles, was removed and a new roof of slate was laid. The west gable was also rebuilt of stone, in order to protect the church better against danger of fire. An assessment was taken from the parishioners to cover these expenses.

1661. The fountain on the market place, which had completely fallen in, was raised up again, and supported with new oaken posts. The water was channeled to it through pipes from a covered spring before the Altenburg Gate, and a spillway was made to carry the water from the fountain through pipes into a great wooden tub or cask on the corner of Pegaschegasse and Schulgasse.

1661. Christoph Ohme, the sexton, was called to Auleck as schoolmaster, and on April 7, Christoph Schneider was installed in his place.

1662. On the second Sunday after Epiphany, the sexton Christoph Schneider, as he was summoning people to the noon sermon from the church
tower, fell through the decayed boards of the floor eighteen ells down onto the lowest arch below. He fell on a heap of building refuse, however, and received no further injury than a hole in his head and his back somewhat scraped, which kept him in bed for fourteen days.

1662. On December 15 in a fire that could be seen from here, several houses burned down at Lützen.

In this year Elizabeth, wife of Caspar Andreasz, the cattle herder, brought three living sons into the world. Similarly, a woman subsequently bore three living daughters here on June 12, 1676.

In this year the bell on the clock was enlarged, and we were presented with various other things pertaining to it.

1663. On January 9, the little son of Johan Wilhelm Weiszen, burgher and butcher, Johan Wilhelm, four years, twenty-one weeks and five days old, drowned in the Schnauder at the bathing place. His body was recovered on the following day by the officials of the county court.

On July 24 a funeral procession and sermon was held here and throughout the land for Duke Christian, Prince of Saxe-Altenburg, who died on June 5 at 7 o'clock in the morning.

September 14, two regiments of soldiers from Braunschweig arrived here, one cavalry and one infantry. This morning the cavalry regiment left their night camp in villages between here and Pegau, and mustered out on the Hagenest fields before the Pegau Gate. After they had held prayer service, they went through the open fields, through Nehmitz to Borna. The infantry regiment under Colonel Rauchhaupt came here toward
evening and the men were mostly quartered in the town. A great deal of bread and meat for their provision was brought in from the countryside and delivered over at the Town Hall. The following forenoon this regiment marched toward Altenburg and went into Hungary to aid the emperor.

In this year the miller, Herr Samuel Blöttner, made the church a present of a portrait of the late Herr Doctor Luther.

1664. On May 9 the ducal government at Altenburg paid 100 R. in coin to me, Otto Freund, as recompense to the city for the suffering endured during the Braunschweig quartering of the previous year. Thereafter, in the year 1664, on the advice of the magistracy, the three gatehouses of the Altenburg, Pegau, and Breitenhain gates were rebuilt as they had been before the war.

On June 6 several cavalry troops from the army of the elector of Saxony rode in at the Pegau Gate and out at the Breitenhain gate, going toward Erfurt to take part in the siege of that city.

Toward evening on June 7, a dangerous fire broke out in the house of Christoph Claus, burgher and potter, a house on the market place which was rented by Michael Weber, a soap-boiler. Through God's grace the fire was soon extinguished before any noticeable damage had been done. The soap-boiler, a dissolute man whom they called "Velvet Jacket," was cited in the court at Altenburg, punished severely and made to leave town.

At this time, by order of the ducal commissioners, the head of the provincial government, von Tosten, and the treasurer in Altenburg, Wilhelm Klauber, eighteen persons were appointed defenders and all of the burghers and inhabitants were mustered on the cow pasture before the Heyndorf Gate with their arms. This same thing was done throughout the
land in cities and villages.

On November 27, the personal infantry regiment of His Highness of Saxe-Altenburg under Colonel Wolff Albrecht von Weidenbach returned from Hungary. The previous day, the colonel's company, which now consisted of fifty-one healthy persons, and, under the lieutenant, the ensign, the sergeant-major, chaplain, quarter-master sergeant, adjutant, one corporal and twenty sick men, arrived here and were billeted in some houses before the Pegau and Heyndorf Gates which had been especially allotted to them, and in twelve vacated houses. At this time there were one hundred twenty-two inhabitable houses in the whole town, fifty-three of which were quartered with healthy soldiers and the above-mentioned twelve with sick soldiers. The loss which the owners of these twelve houses suffered because of the sick soldiers in their houses was [337 b] made up to them after the sick were well again and had been moved to other houses.

The Hungarian Sickness was brought into the town by these soldiers and from December 11 to April of the following year, as the sickness began to spread among the burghers, one hundred fifty persons in all were sick. Of this number, nine men, four women, and three children died, not counting the others who died during this interval from other incidental causes. It is impossible to describe the anguish of the citizens or to tell how they attributed all of their misfortunes to me, because I had not prevented the sick from being lodged in the town. Actually, the difficulty arose from the fact that the sick soldiers, before they had fully recovered and contrary to all orders, left their houses and went to others. Through this terror the disease was spread
among the people, who were fearful enough apart from all this. God
[338 a] graciously protected me in these dangerous times so that neither
I nor my wife, children, or kin were sick, in spite of the fact that I
had daily contact with the soldiers and burghers in my house. They
came to take the medicine sent me daily from the court apothecary in
Altenburg for the preservation of the sick and healthy, burghers as well
as soldiers. Almost daily I had to go around with the officers to make the
necessary arrangements and supply the prevailing wants, as well as ease
consequent disagreeableness. It ought to be mentioned here that when the
dead soldiers were buried, they were not taken through the town to the
churchyard, but rather over a bridge made over the Rainbach, before the
Heyndorf Gate, and into the churchyard. They were buried on the same side
by the fence and the healthy soldiers and their chaplain accompanied them
to the graveyard.

In the submissive report which I had to make daily on behalf of the
town, and which the lieutenant made on behalf of the soldiers, it was
reported on December 13 that [338 b] the sickness was becoming prominent
among the burghers because of the thaw which we were now having. By this
date, fifteen were sick, and this number increased to thirty-six by
December 22, not including the soldiers.

In December also, the great comet was observed here.

1665. Here on February 8, in the evening as in many other places,
a fiery sign like a ball was seen in the heavens. On March 10, a woman
who had murdered her child was drowned in a sack at Borna.

On April 11, between 10 and 11 o'clock in the evening, a fire broke
out in the inn of the late cavalry captain Ambrosio Fritsche at Schladerbach and destroyed it completely. Maria Sophia and Johan Philip Lochman, the two children of Herr Christoph Lochman, Notarius Caesareae and innkeeper here at the Red Stag, both burned to death in this fire. They had been sent there to their grandfather before the Easter Holidays. 59

On May 16 the treasurer at Altenburg sent orders to the council that the burghers should supply four horses in relays to bring out the baggage of the lieutenant on the 18th. This seemed strange to the council, since it was an innovation and had not happened before, therefore the wardmaster and a committee of burghers protested against it. Still, in order that the march might be expedited, they gave this relay freely and without constraint.

On May 18th the company of footsoldiers under Colonel von Weidenbach, which had been quartered here since November 27, 1661, marched out in good order toward Altenburg. There they stayed until the following year when they were discharged.

On April 12 the village of Kleintausch in the Altenburg district was almost completely destroyed by fire, and since then incendiaries have laid and neglected many fires.

On June 23, the steward of Herr Johan Christoph Braun at Ramsdorf, as he was crabbing in the Schnauder, was shot with a musket by Herr Heinrich von Bühnau at Wildenhain. The body was recovered and the following day was opened by a doctor and a chirurgeon. These two neighbors were always at odds with each other and the water between them was the occasion
for strife over fishing privileges. Von Buhnau stepped out and conducted his own defense.

1666. On August 14, the farmers of Berndorf seized a cow from the Lucka town herd in the Berndorf meadow, where up to now this town has had possession vel quasi to drive and pasture their cattle. Action was brought in the Borna court over the affair, and thereafter in the court at Leipzig, and an extended law suit was begun. All this caused me annoyance, and they have taken one of my cows out of the herd.

In accordance with the suggestion made September 1 by the ducal government, watchers were placed in the gates to prevent suspected persons from entering, so greatly has the sickness increased in the surrounding countryside.

In this year the tailor at Prüssendorf through jealousy fatally stabbed a Cordovian leather maker who dwelt with him, and fled on swift feet. After a few days, however, he was seized here with a butcher, and was bound and delivered up. After a short trial at Prüssendorf he was beheaded near the churchyard before the village.

1667. There was a very severe winter and here and there divers people froze to death. In this year the men's chairs in the church were rebuilt behind the altar under the boys' choirstalls.

1668. On March 12 a funeral service and sermon were held here to commemorate the death of our gracious sovereign, Princess Magdalene Sybille, Duchess of Saxony.

pastor and adjunctus here for twenty-three years, and his mother was descended from the noble imperial Falckner family.

Toward evening on August 8, a fire broke out at Borna, destroying ninety-two houses and eighteen barns. One could see this fire clearly here and many persons ran to it.62

One day in harvest time a great storm burst into Prößdorf and burned down two houses and a barn.63

Some Annotations Which Concern Lucka:

1669. Herr Heinrich Friedrich von Hagenest of Teuritz and Hagenest had a raised gallery built in the church at the upper part of the tower toward the altar. One may enter this from outside on the south side.

1670. The girls' school was built on Heymischegasse with church funds; up until this time it had been held in a house on Schulgäßlein.

An apothecary came to Lucka and built a shop or store below the Town Hall toward the market next to the butchers' stalls.

1672. On April 14 Duke Friedrich Wilhelm the Younger died at Altenburg. With him the line ended and the dominions of Altenburg and Coburg, as well as a part of Henneberg, fell to Duke Ernst of Saxe-Gotha as the next heir. The funeral and sermon were held here on July 17.

1673. On June 26 there was a fearful storm which destroyed all the fields and garden produce here and in the surrounding region. It also shattered all the windows on the south side of the church so that
scarcely a pane remained whole.

1670. On May 21, the day before Holy Pentecost, a terrible fire broke out at Pegau at 7 o'clock in the morning. In a short while, one hundred and sixteen dwelling houses, ten barns, and fifty sheds were destroyed, as well as the Town Hall, the loss of which was especially deplored.

1671. During the night of November 15 toward morning, a fire broke out in Breitstrasse in the house of Herr Damian Gläser, school superintendent at Schulpforta. The fire was caused through the negligence of servants and was unnoticed; in a short time it was seized by a rising stormwind and inside of two hours twenty-five houses below in the afore-mentioned street, twenty-four barns and six outbuildings filled with grain were burned down before they could be saved.

1674. This winter, Maria Gläser, daughter of Martin Gläser, burgher and brandy-distiller here, as she was returning from Altenburg froze to death in the ditch on a forest path not far from the Altenburg road.

1674. A part of the choir gallery in the church was built, raised above the old one on the north wall.

1675. In July there was a fearful plague of mice of all colors, which did great damage in the fields.

1676. On February 8, more soldiers from Brandenburg arrived to supplement the imperial soldiers already quartered on us. The town, which up to then had had to contribute .... [sic] T. monthly to the imperial army, was now greatly exhausted. The burghers were constrained to keep
watch in the gates, wearing muskets and swords. The following day, February 9, the imperial army which had been encamped here several weeks departed.

On June ... [sic] the wife of Hansz Ludwig, burgher and woollen weaver here, brought three strong and healthy infant girls into the world.

On June 26 in the evening there was in this region a great storm, which beat down and destroyed all the fruits in the fields.

In this year a large section of the churchyard wall fell in and was mended again the following year.

Also, the town moats, which up to now were rather fallen in, were renovated and completed.

1677. On Maundy Thursday there arrived a cavalry company of our good sovereign's army, which remained here until Holy Easter day. At their departure, it happened that as a soldier rode down the Altenburg road he shot off his pistol at the archway of Hansz Kühn, the cooper, below him and hit a girl of fifteen years who unwittingly stood there. The ball entered her right side above the hip and went out the left side below the hip, completely through the body, so that she died on Wednesday thereafter. The soldier was arrested and taken away with the troops.

On April 2, a fire broke out at Ramsdorf and burned down three farm houses and the sheep-fold of Johan Christoph Braun von Böszenau.

On August 9, four regiments of the army of Electoral Saxony converged on this town and the following day assembled on the battle ground. Disciplinary action was taken against two persons who had assaulted a boy.
on the street [344 a] After a drum flourish on the place of execution, one of them, a lace-maker's apprentice, was shot with a harquebus. The other was brought back into town to headquarters, and was to be sent to the prison in Dresden, but he died on the way. The execution took place near the Bühnau pond between Zachagast and Lucka and the body was buried by the dam.

1678. At 11 o'clock in the evening on February 9, a fire broke out at Schlehnhain, and two houses were reduced to ashes.

1678. On December 25 around two o'clock in the morning, a dangerous fire broke out on Schulgässlein at the bakehouse of a widow who supported herself by baking at home. The bakehouse had been heated during the previous day and night, and burned down completely. Since it stood off to the side and not far from the other buildings in the garden, a great calamity was feared, especially since the Schnauder and the Rainbach were almost completely frozen over because of the extreme cold, and water had to be taken from under the millwheel. [344 b] As the fire continued to burn, a strong wind arose and carried the burning bits of thatch up to the church and to the Altenburg road. If the Lord God had not been watching over us, there would have been great misfortune, and instead of the holy night of rejoicing there would have been a sorrowful night of weeping. But He had caused a wet snow to fall during the previous day, and during the night a hard frost had come, so that the roofs were as if glazed and the sparks fell on them again and again without damage.

On December 31, Maria Blöttn, daughter of Emanuel Blöttn, a former miller now residing in Lucka, was arrested here. She was a wanton
who had been seduced by a soldier and had helped to steal more than 300 R. from Johan Heinrich Rothaupt, tenant of Breitenhain, three years ago. She was just now found out, and the county court turned her over to the Breitenhain court, of which Curth Ludwig Waldek von Arnburg, a major in the army of Electoral Brandenburg in the garrison at Magdeburg, is the present feudal lord and judge. She was led from Lucka to the Breitenhain place of execution and delivered across the ditch to the tribunal.

1679. On May 31, the Saturday after Assension, a very great storm occurred. Lightening struck Schleynhain, one-half hours' distance from Lucka and set on fire and burned down three farmhouses, killing a horse and a calf. Almost all of the people of Lucka ran toward this fire, so that the annual fair, which was being held at this time, was very poor. Lightening struck in three places in Altenburg, but praise be to God nothing caught on fire. Around Lobstädt all the grain was ruined.

On September 26 the shepherd's cottage at Hohndorf burned down from an untended fire, where the man was combing wool in the loft under the straw roof. There was great anxiety lest the wind blow the flames and burning pieces of wood on to the other village buildings, which, however, God averted.

On December 17, H[err] M[agister] Gotfried Schammelt, pastor and adjunctus who died a few days ago, was buried in the church. He had presided over the church here for twenty-eight years.

At Christmas the apprentice of the forester of the Lucka Forest shot a farmer from [sic], who was cutting birch twigs for brooms in the forest. The ball struck him in the fleshy part of the thigh, so
that it seemed quite serious at first, but Andreas Koch, the barber-surgeon from Lucka, cut the ball out of the flesh and tended him so diligently that he was cured and recovered. The apprentice was taken to court in Altenburg and punished by imprisonment.

1680. On March 7 Magister Johan Winckler, pastor at Breitenhain, delivered a trial sermon here and shortly thereafter the council called him to the pastorate in place of Magister Schammelt.

On May 4 a fire caused through negligence broke out in the home of a farmer at Aulick, as cold vinegar was poured into hot butter. Three houses burned down.

On May 10 there occurred in this region a terrible thunderstorm, the like of which no man of sixty years of age could remember. It seemed as if the heavens and a horrible black cloud lay upon the houses, and this with constant lightening and claps of thunder aroused great fear. The fear increased as lightening struck in two places, the boys' school and the house of a shopkeeper, setting them on fire. In spite of the great torrential rain which fell at the same time, the flames spread out from Schulgäßlein to Pegauschegasse and in a short time thirteen houses, three barns, twenty outbuildings and twenty-two sheds burned down, among them, the boys' school and the home of the pastor or adjunctus. The following is a list of those made homeless by the fire and the buildings lost:

1. Magister David Sadler, shopkeeper and ensign with the defense unit:
   one house, one barn, two sheds.

3. The school in which the choir director and organist live: one house, two sheds.

4. Christian Geszke, in charge of the winery: one house, one shed.

5. David Sperber, cobbler: one house.

6. Hans Fleischer, cloth maker: one house, one shed.

7. Hans Riedels E: one house, one shed.

8. Michael Zeitz, wool carder: one house, two sheds.

9. Georg Walther, cloth maker: one house, one outbuilding, one shed.

10. Hans Klepe, baker, on the corner of Pegauschegasse: one house, two sheds.


12. H[err] Philip Richter, cavalry sergeant major: one house, one barn, four sheds.

13. The parsonage along with the excellent outbuildings and in it the library of the late adjunctus Schammelt, valued at over 300 R.: one house, one barn, four sheds.

Total: thirteen houses, three barns, twenty-two sheds.

Lightening also struck at Nöthenitz in the granary of the Princess von Zeitz and knocked down three rafters but did not cause a fire. On June 3 there was again a very severe electrical storm with a terrifying wind, which occasioned uncommon dismay among the people, already frightened from the previous storm. Many ran out into the open streets out of fear that everything would tumble down upon them. But, praise God, this region was not damaged, although the storm killed a shepherd with fifty sheep at
Meuselwitz, struck in three places in the Crown Forest and at Berndorf collapsed two barns.

1681. The boys' school was rebuilt away from the place where it formerly stood in Schulgasselein, and was located below the garden by the town moat, so that it would be separated from other buildings.

On May 13 a woman named Anna Maria Knöchel, who not only had disposed of her own mother by giving her poison in some food, but had also committed adultery with the court gardener, Tobias Günther, was executed by the sword at Altenburg. On this occasion, the executioner, stumbling, slipped so that he chopped off the upper part of the poor sinner's head, leaving the mouth and nose, and cut and injured the little finger of the assistant who was holding the head. While she was in prison, a ghost in white habit and female figure had appeared to this poor sinner, according to the report of the clergymen who claimed to have seen it, and exhorted her not to deny her sins any longer, assuring her that she could not otherwise come to grace. When it appeared a second time, it declared threateningly that on further concealment on her part it would, at the next reappearance, wring her neck. At this point she is said to have confessed everything.

In July the first traces of the plague were found in Kleinhermszdorf. It spread from there, so that many persons died of it in Langenhain in September, and in October at Hemmen - or Heymendorf, and in November at Falckenhain. This fatal disease was also first detected at Altenburg in October in the house of Hans Thurmen in Patsergasse. It continued to spread until the end of December in which month forty-nine persons died of
it on this street, two hundred and eighty-nine in all. At Kleinhermszorf from the beginning to the middle of September ten persons died in the house where it first started, and only one in the other houses. In September the disease spread from Langenhain to Heimendorf through a servant girl. She claimed that she had ruptured herself by heavy lifting, following which she claimed she had contracted the ague, experiencing sharp pains in the abdomen and back. The girl believed that she could go to her married sister in the latter town and take care of herself until she was better. She died, however, after three days. It was observed that all people who were afflicted with this contagion bled profusely and had great swellings under their arms and in the groin area.

Because the pestilence raged in villages so near, careful arrangements were made by order of the ducal government and watchers were placed at all the gates. This latter duty was performed by the soldiers who were quartered here. No farmer or other person, even those living only a quarter of a mile from here, were let in without the necessary passport. Similarly, all persons who went from here into the country to till the soil had to carry passes from here and on their return from trustworthy places, show them countersigned. In order that the towns in the vicinity of the afflicted villages might not be exposed to the danger, they were guarded by mounted troops in the service of the elector, especially at Kleinhermszdorf, so that no one could either enter or leave until sufficient proof was offered that for six weeks no one had died or become sick, whereupon the guards were removed.

1683. On April 22 there was a severe storm. The lightening,
while doing little damage in this region, struck the village of Tilsen between Altenburg and Chorn, and burned down two farmhouses, killing many cattle and doing great damage in the fields.

On November 28 at Altenburg a farmhand, Samuel Beirfein of Romst, who had set fires at Miglitz, was beheaded and the body burned.

At this time yet another journeyman locksmith was still languishing in prison. He had killed his father, a farmer at Hersdorf between Glauche and Waldtenburg.

1684. On June 25 a fire broke out at Kiertsch at the judge's house and seven farmhouses burned down.

1686. On June 9 a fire broke out unexpectedly at Meuselwitz beyond the forest and in a few hours seventeen houses burned down. The fire, which had not been carefully extinguished, however, broke out again when a barn was being cleaned and, being fanned by strong winds, quickly spread. This time, among many other buildings, the school and the church with its bells and organ were ruined. In both fires sixty-seven houses in all, two breweries and twenty-three barns, as well as many sheds were ruined.

1698. On February 3 a fire broke out in Lucka through the negligence of a locksmith in Heimschegasse. He had been ordered several times to mend his dilapidated forge. Now strong rising winds seized the flames and they spread from Heimschegasse to Pegauschegasse and Schulgsasselein. In a short time forty-one houses, fifteen barns and many sheds burned down, among them the pastor's house on Pegauschegasse, the chapel below the church and the girls' school in Heimschegasse. This fire again affected those stricken in 1680. The estimable council bought another house on the market
place with barn and sheds for the pastor because his former dwelling was somewhat remote and it would be too hard on the parishioners to supply another in addition to the chapel.
APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE

Insertion 1. On the double page 315/316, quite yellowed with age, there is written in a beautiful, ornate, old-style handwriting but crossed out: To the Honorable and Wise Council of Lucca, our good friends.

The pastor, Magister Otto Freund, in his own older hand, which differs from that of the chronicle, has listed his losses, much having been crossed out, corrected and added to.

I, Magister Otto Freund, pastor and burgher of Lucca, have undergone the following losses and expenses in the four years here listed.

1631. On September 6 before the Battle of Leipzig, an enemy party of approximately 100 horse raided here without warning as I was bringing home my possessions which I had put for safekeeping in the woods. I was thus deprived of all my uncut linens and the advantage of my white vestments, which I estimate to be at the least 50 R.

From my study, three gold guldens and ten talers 15 R. 15g.

Also one silver girdle 4 R.

My lined hat and three ruffs 3 R.

My cassock taken out of the church 15 R.

The damage to my doors, chests and cupboards, which were all broken open, as well as the loss of bread, butter, cheese, smoked meat and other victuals, and all sorts of household furnishings carried off by others, which for the most part I have forgotten and am unable to itemize, I estimate at the very least to be 10 R.

Total of these 97 R. 15 g.
1632. On October 17 in the first raid the enemy again broke open and seized all my possessions in the parsonage and both houses, stabled their horses in my office, drank up almost a barrel of beer, took off all glasses, jugs, drinking utensils and all chickens. Also eight swords belonging to the house defenses were taken. Specific charges now being impossible, I reckon them all together at not less than 15 R.

On November 5, before the battle of Lützen in the raid the enemy took off all of my beef cattle and goats. They were, however, taken no further than Altenburg, and I received them back again, all except four of the best cows, but I had to pay the costs and expenses 12 R.

I estimate the four cows at 48 R.

One four-year-old pig, which had fattened for twelve weeks in the mill 12 R.

One four-year-old pig, shot on the street, carved up and taken off 6 R.

Twenty-eight loaves of bread, both stale and freshly baked 3 R.

My London mantle 10 R.

From my son was taken one hat, one old coat, a London dress coat, a pair of new trousers, all estimated at 8 R.

One woman's cap in good condition 2 R.

A coach suspended in the rear on metal springs 12 R.

Two hives of bees robbed and spoiled, which cost me ten talers 11 R. 9 g.

Two barrels of beer consumed 3 R.
One windlass on the horse stall 1 R. 15 g.
Fodder, i.e. oats and barley, at the least 3 R.
Total of these 147 R. 3 g.

On November 18, when a Swedish lieutenant colonel with several cavalrmen stayed over night in Luccaw, I had to send to Burgomaster Michael Salbert and Christoph Helmrich two sacks of oats, [sic] loads of hay, four homemade loaves of bread and twelve pounds of beef as a forced contribution, and this I estimate at 4 R.

Total per se.

On November 27 two regiments of Lüneburg infantry were quartered here, staying here inactive for sixteen days. During this time, without any additional supplies, I had to house the major of the Merret Regiment, Heinrich Wechgrew, with fourteen horses and all his servants, as well as the chaplain. It cost me:

Thirty-seven bushels of oats 24 R.
Hay reckoned at 15 R.
Two oxen, of which the cook took one with him and salted it down 24 R.
Other meat not more than 10 R.
Four sheep stolen out of my barn during the night 6 R.
For chickens, bread, candles, butter, eggs, milk, fruit, vegetables, wood and condiments, since itemizing is now impossible, I estimate at 27 R.
The gatekeeper during this time took firewood from me over the fence by night, valued at 8 R.
Nine barrels of beer. Because it was good, the officers were daily guests

The cook, in leaving, took from me one pewter vessel, three pewter bowls, one spit and the irons belonging to it, one lantern, one white coverlet and a hamper which I estimate in all at

Total of these 163 R.

On December 28 I had to receive into the parsonage the cornet and two corporals from a Swedish cavalry troop, with nine horses and all their servants and had to supply two tables with food, which cost:

Beer at 5 R.

Other expenses reckoned at least at 5 R.

In leaving, they took from me one pair of new shoes, one pair of good slippers, one towel, one blue coverlet, oats and hay 2 R.

Likewise I reckon the leather straps which they cut off my harness in the stall at 4 R.

Total of these 16 R.

After the holidays, when the Swedish artillery from Zwickau came through here, the maintenance for one night of two constables with three horses and six attendants cost me 2 R. 6 g.

Total per se.

1663. On August 16 the enemy drove off thirteen of my cattle and one billy goat, of which I received back the goat and one cow at Zwenkau but for feed and expenses paid out over 5 R.
The twelve head of cattle lost, mostly cows, I estimate at 100 R.
I later found three of these cows by chance with Friedrich von Peres at Audigasz and received a judgement in court at Pegau that he should surrender them to me. This was upheld in the Supreme Court of Judicature at Leipzig, but to this date nothing has come of it and I have had to spend therefore 25 R.
At the same time, for the chickens lost a second time 2 R.
Other losses and damage I do not mention.

Total of these 132 R.

On August 22 the Croats took two horses from me, which, because of their intrinsic value, I estimate at 80 R.
A quite new saddle and bridles 3 R.
When I myself fell into their hands, though unrecognized, they beat me over the head with sabers and pistols and forced me to relinquish my savings which I had hidden with two rings and some money, amounting to over 48 R.

Total of these 131 R.

1634. When Lieutenant Colonel Hoffmann was stationed here, I was spared quartering, but contributed to him nine talers 10 R. 6 g.
To the quartermaster sergeant, one taler 1 R. 3 g.
Six Lüneburg bushels of rye 6 R. 18 g.
One-half bushel of peas 1 R.

Total of these 19 R. 6 g.

Insertion 2. Page 318 is also an old yellowed page in the handwriting of Pastor Otto Freund, rather hastily written:
Statement of what the funeral chapel in the churchyard cost me.

Signed June 19, 1632.

3 R.  
Reckoned for wooden pegs. They cost more, however.

1 R. 3 g.  
Deal boards, twenty ells.

1 R. 15 g.  
The four oaken sills.

4 R. 7 g.  
Twelve oaken uprights.

4 R. 16 g.  
Two oaken beams in the gable.

18 g.  
Carpenters for twelve and one-half days at 8 g.

1 R. 9 g. 6 d.  
For food and beer for half an evening and an evening while the building was being erected.

1 R. 9 g.  
For sixty-one turned beams.

1 R. 9 g. 2 g.  
For the two knobs.

2 R. 9 g.  
Messenger's fees.

2 R. 6 R. 18 g.  
Forty-three sawed timbers for flooring.

7 R. 9 g.  
Seven boards.

6 R. 18 g.  
Twelve hundred roof tiles.

3 R. 9 g.  
Drayage charges.

1 R. 15 g.  
To the mason.

2 R.  
To the clay mason. Approximately one bushel of rye.

1 R. 7 g.  
Seven measures of glue.

4 g.  
Two loads of sand.

1 R.  
Logs.
1 R. 10 g. 6 d.  
8 g.  
5 g. 14 d.  
3 R. 12 g. 6 d.  
2 R. 17 g.  
_12 g._  
46 R. 18 g. 6 d.  

Chalk.  
Handy man.  
Iron nails, tables, locks.  
Stone mason.  
Tombstones and drayage charges.  
Roof shingles.  

a) On the reverse side of this page, 318, there are several sentences of no consequence from another hasty hand in Latin under the titles "De Aëre" and "De Frictione," as well as several numbers and illegible characters. They have no connection with the chronicle.
FOOTNOTES

1 Post, page 46.


5 Ibid.

6 Whitney, op. cit., p. 348.


10 Ibid, p. 488.

11 Cambridge Modern History, op. cit., p. 418.

12 Ibid, p. 419.

13 I am indebted to Mr. Rudert's essay, "Die Kämpfe um Leipzig im groszen Kriege 1631-1642" for the material on which this chapter is based.

14 Rudert, op. cit., p. 16. Mr. Rudert adds, however, that it was just as well for the government of Saxony and Christenheid in general, that they had other weapons beside the "Luthrische Defension."


18 Post, p. 36.

20 Barnes, op. cit., p. 68.

21 Poole, op. cit., p. 9.


23 Lloyd, op. cit., p. 146.


26 Beyer-Fröhlich, Marianne, "Die Entwicklung der deutschen Selbstzeugnisse," (Philipp Reclam, Jr., Leipzig, 1936), p. 63 ff. This work and that by Mr. Maschek contain excellent discussions of the Stadtchronik. Maschek has a comprehensive introduction and selections from twenty-three of the most representative German chronicles of the Middle Ages.

27 Barnes, op. cit., p. 18.

28 Poole, op. cit., p. 16.

29 Poole, op. cit., p. 9

30 Post, p. 35.

31 Barnes, op. cit., p. 64.


33 Ibid.

34 Post p. 35.

35 Poole, op. cit. p. 28.


37 Barnes, op. cit. p. 67.
An excellent discussion of Eusebius' chronicle is to be found in Poole, Chronicles and Annals.

Barnes, op. cit., p. 47.

Ante, p. 30.

Barnes, op. cit., p. 93.


Barnes, op. cit., p. 67.

Barnes, op. cit., p. 82.


Kosch, op. cit., p. 1135.

The best concise discussion of Salimbene is found in Taylor, H.O., The Medieval Mind, Volume I, Chapter XXII.

Barnes, op. cit., p. 80.

Maschek, op. cit., p. 18.

Maschek, op. cit., p. 28.

Ibid, p. 194.


Post, pp. 90-113.

Post, p. 114.

Post, p. 88.

The page numbers of the original manuscript are indicated in the English translation as they are in Dr. Freund's text.

This seems to be an ancient German custom. Similar rites have been recorded by the earliest chroniclers.

Post, p. 75.

Post, p. 57.
This translation is based on the only printed edition of the Lucke Chronicle, the text prepared by Dr. Max Freund.

The following passage is taken from Luther's Epistle on Translating (1530) as it is contained in Calvin Thomas, Anthology of German Literature, (Boston, D.C. Heath, 1909), p. 203:


...Man mus nicht die buchstaben in der Lateinischen sprachen fragen, wie man sol Deudsch reden, Sondern man mus die Mutter im hause, die Kinder auff der gassen, den gemeinen Man auff dem markt drumb fragen, und denselbigen auff das Maul sehen, wie sie reden, und dannach dolmetschen. So verstehen sie is denn und mercken, das man Deudsch mit jnen redet."

The following passage is taken from Prokosch, Outline of German Historical Grammar, (Oxford University Press 1933) p. 19, and is another statement by Luther concerning his method of translating:


Führer von Lucka, (Lucka S.-A., Reinhold Berger,______).
FOOTNOTES TO PREFACE

(Notes in brackets are Dr. Freund's notes to the German Text)

1 Assistant, often assigned to pastors, or other officials, who were incapable through advanced age or illness of performing their entire duty. The adjunctus was usually appointed with the understanding that he would ultimately accede to the office of which he was appointed assistant.

2 Post, p. 70.

3 [Johannes Friedrich Dürr and Ernst Kroker: 250 Years of Leipzig Printing and Bookselling, (Leipzig, 1906) p. 30]

4 [This research scholar, who attained distinction through numerous and valuable publications on the history of Lucka, gave an address on April 26, 1927 before the Society for Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Altenburg in which he discussed the author and writer of the Freund Manuscript in the Leipzig Municipal Library. The editor wishes to express here heartfelt thanks for various information and for his assistance on the occasion of the editing of this chronicle.]

FOOTNOTES TO THE CHRONICLE

1 [On page 290b above is found the following: Lucka in Meissen in 1551 declared that feudal service should go to Leipzig, and in 1566 that inheritance should do likewise.]

2 Streamworks. (M.H.D. der sife).

3 Alternately written as Heyndorf and Hemmendorf.

4 This is an obscure place in the text. The original reads "an den khunen Flusz." Kuhn appears in none of the available reference works. In M. Liebig, Flurumgänge (Leipzig, Cl. Liebig, 1926), this place is referred to as "den kühlen Flusz," which would be rendered "to the cool stream." In this same work, as well as in the chronicle itself, there are references to a family name, Kühn, from which the stream may have had its name. However, in this translation the word is assumed to be related to Kühn, which also appears as Kuhn, Kahn, Kahl and Kumm, and which, in reference to a stream, means scum. Thence the term sluggish or scummy, which seems to be the best rendition of the phrase.

5 Again, the text is obscure. The original has "durch des von
Hagenests Ellrich." Research fails to discover whether Ell- is derived from Elch, which would indicate a reading of "elk park," or from Eller, or Erle, connoting "alder grove." In either case, the term grove renders the general meaning, while the particular meaning remains in doubt.

6 Literally, brick-clay pool, or a pool from which clay was taken to make brick or tile.

7 The coins were scattered at points that were especially important and therefore to be exactly remembered - Liebig, Flurumgänge, p. 53.

8 [Near this sentence on the margin of the page is written: Before the coming of the Wends the Hermanduri, an old German folk, lived in this region. The Wends, who came into the land about the year 600 after the birth of Christ, drove them out.]

9 The right to nominate clerics to an ecclesiastical fief or tenet, or an ecclesiastical investiture.

10 Ante, p. 3.

11 One of the three "Fürstenschulen," founded in Saxony at the time of the Reformation from the wealth of demolished monasteries in Meissen, Pforta and Grimma. Originally for the education of princes and young nobles, they later became excellent private schools.

12 This is the usual term for schoolmaster in the chronicle.

13 Choirmaster. The cantor led the choir and often sang solo during the services.

14 [Marginal note: and organicus] or organist.

15 Of Lucka, a title denoting place of origin.

16 Consistorial council

17 [On page 299, a small yellowed octavo sheet, the reverse side of which is blank, there is written in a small and hurried hand: 1634. On December 9 Joseph Winckler, later cantor at Lucka was born. His father was Herr Samuel Winckler, who had been ludimoderator and organicus there for eleven years and was afterwards pastor at Rasefass for six years and at Zschernitz for eighteen years. His mother, Maria, was the daughter of Joseph Pistor, onetime deacon at Lucka and later pastor at Nobitz. His grandfather on his father's side was Wolfgang Winckler, who was ludimoderator at Lucka for thirty-four years and chamberlain of the council for five years. His great-grandfather on his mother's side was Magister Johan Pistor, adjunctus at Lucka,
where he had been promoted from Grosz-Steine near Ronneburg in 1572, and was one of the signers of the formula concordiae.

1658. On Shrove Tuesday, he was called to Cönnern as cantor where he remained for four years. (NB. At this time Daniel Stolle was schoolmaster at Cönnern.) When the cantor of Lucka, Bezold, was called to Medewitsch in 1662 as pastor, he was called from Cönnern to Lucka to be cantor, and there he entered upon his office on the eighth Sunday after Trinity. He remained in his office of ludimoderator and cantor until his own death which followed on March 3, 1682 early at ten o'clock. This was after he had allowed David Zeisius from Altenburg to replace him because of his illness.

18 The value of these coins in relation to each other is as follows: twelve pfennigs = one groschen; twenty-four groschens = one taler. The reichstaler was slightly less than the taler, being valued at twenty-one groschens. For the sake of convenience, these coins will henceforth be given in their usual abbreviations: taler as T., reichstaler as R., groschen as g., and pfenning as d.

19 See Footnote 18.

20 The original has Philhuhn, which is usually read as Zinshuhn, or a hen given as rent. Since all the fowl here are duty-fowl, the word is here given its literal meaning to avoid obscurity.

21 October 16.

22 The feast of St. Petronilla on May 31.

23 February 9.

24 This episode occurred during the Schmalkald War of 1546-47. Ante, p. 46.

25 [Both of the last sentences are in the margin above.]

26 The original has Priel. The term, signifying a marshy or swampy area, was often used to designate a street or district of a town, situated near water and therefore marshy. The descriptive term persisted after the character of the area changed or the marshy district was filled in, and was found in areas of Erfurt and Dresden as late as the nineteenth century.

27 Of Lucka in Meissen.

28 Originally from Libanotria. Possibly this refers to the town of Liebenwerda, but the derivation is doubtful.
29 See Footnote 18.

30 [This sentence was added on the margin.]

31 Army.

32 Synod of pastors in the Evangelical Church, ecclesiastical assembly or council.

33 [This sentence is in the margin above, to the left of the first sentence on page 314b.]

34 [The following double page 315/316 is inserted as an original receipt or voucher in the handwriting of Pastor Otto Freund and contains a list of his losses in the years 1631-34. It is printed in the appendix to the chronicle as insertion 1 on pages 126 ff.]

35 Merrett, while not appearing in any lists of regiments at this time, is presumably another instance of a regiment being named for its commander or liege lord, here probably the former.

36 Direction-finder, the artillery officer in charge of aiming the cannon.

37 A cornet was the junior officer in a squadron or company of cavalry, and was the standard-bearer of his company. The corresponding officer for the infantry was called ensign or Fähnrich. Both were often officer candidates rather than commissioned officers.

38 [The following page is again an original voucher in the hand of Pastor Otto Freund and contains a bill of costs for the funeral chapel. This is included in the appendix to the chronicle as insertion 2 on page 130.]

39 The original has Brauerbe. The term as it is used here is synonymous with Biereige, and appears to mean one who has hereditary brewing rights. At this time almost all brewing was done at home and nearly every citizen had brewing rights which were hereditary. A tax on hereditary brewers, then, would affect the majority of the citizens of the town.

40 [This sentence is in the side margin.]

41 [On the margin is added: who often prostitutes himself by frequenting the village taverns.]

42 The fourth Sunday after Easter.

43 The original has Bahrkeller. The meaning of Bahr- is obscure, and the word may be taken to refer to either of three types of vault: 1)
a morgue, from Bahr, meaning bier; 2) a place where money was kept, from some such expression as bares Geld, meaning ready money; or 3) a vault with a beamed ceiling.

44 [Continuation in the margin: and when the tax was brought in.]

45 Cern, as used throughout the chronicle, refers to rye, and has been thus transliterated where the sense will permit.

46 The original reads: "...habe mich 4 Wochen bis zur Ernde in meiner erhaltenen Scheune einer auf der Ernde in der Pansze beholffen,..."
The phrase as it stands is obscure and appears to have been entered in the manuscript without regard to meaning, perhaps an error of the original copyist. The einer may, however, be an instance of the postpositive einer, a construction familiar in Middle High German. In that event, the passage should be rendered: "in one of my remaining barns." Cf. Nibelungenlied, B Manuscript: "man hiesz der boten einen fur Kriemhilde gan".

47 [This sentence is in the margin.]

48 Theodori Meurer, Relationis Historicæ, collected and continued by Sigismundus Maurer, called Latomus.

49 [This sentence is in the margin.]

50 The suffix -gasse in such words as Heimschegasse, Pegauschegasse, etc., means a lane or narrow street. As it is used in the chronicle it is the usual word for street, with the diminutive, -gasslein being used to denote a smaller street or lane.

51 Praemissis praemittendis: premising what is to be premised, omitting all titles.

52 [This sentence is in the margin.]

53 [This sentence is in the margin.]

54 [This sentence is in the margin.]

55 Ante, p. 18.

56 Ecclesiastical commissions made regular tours of inspection to insure the uniformity and conformity of the individual churches and congregations.

57 [This sentence is in the margin.]

58 Fleckfieber, or spotted fever.
Page 339 is an inserted document which contains the following extract from the Schladebach church register. It is in the fine handwriting of the undersigned pastor, and covers two-thirds of the length of the first side:

On April 11, between 10 and 11 o'clock in the evening, Maria Sophia and Johan Philip Lochman, both children of the late Herr Christoph Lochman, onetime burgomaster and innkeeper at Lucka, died pitifully in the fire which occurred unexpectedly in the inn of the late cavalry captain, Ambrosio Fritsche of Schladebach. They had been sent to their grandfather on account of the Easter season. On April 12 the remains of their little bodies were buried along with the body of their governess. Schladebach, from the church register, May 21, 1683. Jacob Zschernitz, pastor himself.

Possession or quasi-possession.

The original text is obscure here. It is not clear whether the cow first stolen belonged to Burgomaster Freund or to another townsman, or whether the cow taken from the herd afterward was the same one which the Berndorfers confiscated or merely one taken to recompense the injured party in case the burgomaster was held responsible. The subjects of the verbs have in some cases been unfortunately omitted.

The greater part of this page at the top is blank. Compare this entry to that on page 104 for the year 1652, January 8. The similarity of these passages, and the fact that the language and style of the later one is obviously older than the entries which precede and follow it, leads one to suspect that the notation may have been inserted by mistake among the later entries. Since the entire chronicle has been recopied in one hand, however, it is impossible to know definitely what occurred.

Streitstadt, the site of the battle of Lucka in 1307, presumably used later as a parade ground.

Perhaps this ditch is one of those used as markers to differentiate the limits of jurisdiction and land of one town from another.

The reference is not clear. Since the proper name is in the genitive and analogous to E in the same list, it seems reasonable that E here means Ehefrau. There is nothing to indicate, however, the definite meaning of the abbreviation.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Original text upon which this translation is based:
Freund, Max, Die Freund'sche Chronik von Lucka. Lucka (Thür.): Buchdruckerei und Verlag Reinhold Berger, 1933.