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Frost Witches: The Spark of the Bamberg Witch Craze

Cover Page Footnote

The author wish to acknowledge Dr. Wm. Smith for his leadership, mentoring and insights. And, as always, this work is dedicated to Krista Palframan.

In unique cases, the classification of an event's complex nature is counterproductive. The natural reaction when reviewing the primary source documents of the Bamberg witch craze is to locate and explain the events in terms of a cohesive all-embracing narrative. However, this approach would beguile the reader into a false sense of understanding. The mental nuances of those involved would be lost and their personal agency would be stripped. This is not to say that modern approaches are of no use, far from it. But to use only modern analytical techniques without regard for the participant's point of view would be, on many levels, impertinent. Instead, an investigation into the Bamberg witch craze should be commenced from the inside out as will be the approach contained herein.

Sometime in 1629 (or possibly 1630), Lorentz Kempffen Seebauer's wife, known as Kempfin, was put on trial. Her experience must have been an episode of sheer terror. In the extant documents, a total of thirteen witnesses accuse Kempfin of engaging in witchcraft and weather making. Specifically, she was accused of "spitting hot and cold... made light... with her own eyes spitting hot and cold... she had spit hot... spit heat... she had blown out heat... blowing heat and sparks".¹ The witnesses were absolutely convinced of Kempfin's power. However, it was not weather making that was her greatest offence. Throughout the document, chronologically and circumstantially, 'the frost' was noted over and over. The twelfth witness, Anna Neüheimbin, makes the obvious and fundamental connection, "the accused, had made the suggestion to put a frost on the fruits, since [it would make goods for] the common wagger earner so expensive and costly".² Kempfin's crime was not the ability to make hot or cold, her crime (and what most likely cost her her life) was the threat that her abilities presented. Weather making directly endangered the common enterprise of her society: the wine and grain harvest. The wave of witch persecutions from 1623 to 1631 at Bamberg, Germany was centralized around a common event: the freezing and loss of the wine and grain crop. This weather phenomenon was the stimulus that set in motion a vicious nexus of interactions between common belief systems, early modern economics, and judicial systems. While it could be argued that these are not the only factors involved, these three subtleties directly interact with the loss of the crops and provide a unique starting point with which best explain the nature of the crisis.

To a twenty-first century mind, the loss of the crops due to frost holds no special meaning. Unseasonable weather has a verifiable, if unpredictable, scientific explanation. However, to a pre-modern population, without the advantage of

¹ Cornell University Library, Division of Rare Books and Manuscripts [hereafter CUL], Witchcraft Collection, 4650, Box 5, Item 1, fol. 1r-2v.

² CUL, Witchcraft 4650, Box 5, Item 1, fol. 2r.

weather technology, the event required further explanation. To Cuntz, a laborer working in the town of Forchheim, there is no question about who is responsible for the loss of the crops, “[he wondered] if the bishop of Bamberg before this spring will begin to burn the witches in Forchheim, [who] three years ago destroyed and froze the dear fruits, so that many burghers suffered great losses and were thereby ruined”.³ In response, his companion, Hanns, further illuminates who’s responsibility it was to deal with these offenses and how, “I know of an honorable burgher, who cut me to the heart when he boldly needed our lords and said that the lords didn’t protect the burghers well at all... if he couldn’t help him out, then he needed to get out now that was a fine display of support, aid, and protection from a lord... And Lederer should already have been executed, since he’s [reputed to be] a witch”.⁴ This conversation outlines the underlying structure of how these men (or at least the dialogue’s author, as this dialogue is suspect in its composition)⁵ expect their world to function. The offence, the intentional freezing of the crops by witches, is entirely plausible. The effect of the offence was the economic suffering of the community. An offence to the community falls in the jurisdiction of the governmental body and specifically to “the bishop of Bamberg [and] The Burgermeister Lederer”.⁶ The first step in understanding how these men came to this conclusion is to understand their beliefs on witchcraft.

What kind of witches were Hanns and Cuntz afraid of? What kind of witch was the witch that Kempfin was accused of being? The answer to these questions provides a basis for understanding the functional qualities of witchcraft beliefs that are expressed in Bamberg trial records. Éva Pócs provides a template upon which to define the Bamberg witches. For Pócs, the Bamberg witches who attacked the corn would be classified as type ‘B’ witches that colluded with type ‘C’ witches. Type ‘B’ witches are “experts in magic of sorcery... [and were] everyday people who practiced household magic and increased their fortunes through magic, to the detriment of a neighboring household”.⁷ Type ‘C’ witches “are characterized in the court narratives as the demons of night vision and dreams. These narratives are memorates... of the conflict between the human and

³ CUL, Witchcraft 4650, Box 5, Item 7a, fol. 1r.

⁴ CUL, Witchcraft 4650, Box 5, Item 7a, fol. 1r.

⁵ It is more likely that this ‘conversation’ was constructed in the mind of the burgher who authored it. The language used by the laborers is too highly organized for the burgher to record verbatim, as is claimed. Whoever the author of the arguments contained therein is, it is quite interesting that there exists the possibility that the burgher would hold up the opinions of two laborers as justification for the government to act. It is as if he felt that his opinion was insufficient, and the opinions of the people at large mattered more. It is a democratic approach to requesting civil action that is characteristic of a very developed economic and government relationship.

⁶ CUL, Witchcraft 4650, Box 5, Item 7a, fol. 1r.

⁷ Pócs, Éva. *Between the Living and the Dead: A Perspective on Witches and Seers in the Early Modern Age*. (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000), 10.

supernatural worlds, where witches as supernatural creatures attack their victims”.⁸ As will be further explored below, the criterion that Pócs provides allows the construction of a framework on which to organize these witchcraft beliefs. These beliefs were not limited to the accusers, as they served as understandings of the accused’s world as well. During their confessions the accused frequently stated their motivations for their supposed pacts and dances with the devil. Margaretha Eissmennin credits her turning to witchcraft “at the time that the bad clipped money was in circulation, and she had been paid some 500 R. of it, and once, during the night in a serious state of mind how she might regain it”.⁹ Her real-life act of prostitution becomes a supernatural pact when put under the tortures of witch examinations. Kunigundta Rindterin describes how she is drawn into a social gathering where she meets a person with “the appearance of someone prominent... [and] when she did come into conversation with this person he said that she could have enough of everything for the rest of her days... she did this out of greed and lust for gain... And then on his suggestion, [she] committed indecency... with the same in the cellar”.¹⁰ Likewise, guilt of her adultery, with a richer lover, becomes a pact with the devil under examination. Margaretha Güssbacherin describes “her seduction into witchcraft... [when] she along with her husband... were suffering from great poverty... as such time a man clad with bluish skin and a black feather hat... [said] that if she would be his, he would produce for them money enough... the supposed Kramer proposed to commit indecency... with her... and eventually [she] allowed him to convince her to do his bidding”.¹¹ In these accounts there is a coherent sequence, commencing with desperation, leading to prostitution, leading to a confession under torture, that then reveals the diabolical pact. These connections better reflect an episode of personal social crisis than demonic deals with the devil. However, the mental constructs of the period do not allow for these women to externalize their experiences onto the greater economic crisis. They therefore must place their actions in the spiritual realm of moral failure and admit their collusion with the devil. •Beyond providing an easy solution to these women’s suffering, the diabolical leader, who demanded the pact, could cross boundaries between worlds, “during said examination... black in form, [he] appeared to her twice, she maintained that she should say nothing... and nothing should happen to her”,¹² and possessed the ability to fly “on a stick [to the witches’ dance]”¹³ or transport others “there and back on a goat”.¹⁴ Whether the witches’ leader represents a

⁸ Pócs, *Between the Living and the Dead*, 11.

⁹ CUL, Witchcraft 4650, Box 5, Item 4, fol. 1r.

¹⁰ Staatsbibliothek Bamberg [hereafter StBB] RB. Msc. 148, Item 243, fol. 1r.

¹¹ CUL, Witchcraft 4650, Box 5, Item 2, fol. 1r.

¹² CUL, Witchcraft 4650, Box 5, Item 2, fol. 6r.

¹³ CUL, Witchcraft 4650, Box 5, Item 4, fol. 1r.

¹⁴ CUL, Witchcraft 4650, Box 5, Item 2, fol. 6r.

seducer, or the devil himself, this character serves as a vital connection between the type 'B' witch and the damage to the crops. Confessed witches frequently identify their seducer as the source of the idea and motivation to damage the crops: "with the help of her lover...whereby the people would be injured and the fruits frozen"¹⁵; and "that she must agree, on account of his threat to kill her... She had promised not far from the city corn and wine grapes to bury the Devil's twig from which there would be a fog and frost would follow"¹⁶. Without this type 'C' witch to motivate, train or aid others in inflicting the damage on the crops there is a missing link within the witch persecutions. The image of the Devil fills the causative void and supplies the type 'B' witches the means to carry out his frosty desires.

The transitory acts of visiting the witches' dance are also functional in the connection between type 'B' and 'C' witches. As Pócs indicates, "What was an indispensable part of the narratives was being together as a group"¹⁷. The Bamberg witches frequently identified each other as having been seen "at the witches' dance"¹⁸. In the document used against Kempfin at her trial, no less than ten other witnesses accuse her of attending 'the witches' dance'¹⁹. The other witch confessions reveal similar community events: "at this dance and gathering she saw"²⁰; "Her lover had brought her to several different witch dances and brought others to his meetings"²¹; and "Anno 1626 in the same week before the frost, she was also on the anger at a witches' dance"²². It was at these meetings that the conspiracy to commit 'the frost' was hatched. Gerhild Scholz Williams describes these gathering as "the Sabbath - which had become a code for the physical mingling with the Devil and for unimaginable but excitingly suggestive debauchery"²³. And indeed in the case of Bamberg, while the event was described by another name, the 'witches' dance' served the same purpose. These gatherings served as a point of transmission for conspiracy and magical teachings. This type of gathering directly linked to witches to the devil and formed them into a cohesive conspiratorial group.

Thus, the Bamberg witches were stereotyped around several functional pillars that culminated in a great threat to the agrarian nature of their society. Several of these

¹⁵ StBB RB. Msc. 148, Item 229, fol. 2v.

¹⁶ StBB RB. Msc. 148, Item 243, fol. 1v-2r.

¹⁷ Pócs, *Between the Living and the Dead*, 85.

¹⁸ CUL, Witchcraft 4650, Box 5, Item 2, fol. 1r.

¹⁹ CUL, Witchcraft 4650, Box 5, Item 1.

²⁰ StBB RB. Msc. 148, Item 229, fol. 1r.

²¹ CUL, Witchcraft 4650, Box 5, Item 4, fol. 1v.

²² CUL, Witchcraft 4650, Box 5, Item 2, fol. 7r.

²³ Gerhild Scholz Williams. *Defining Dominion: The Discourses of Magic and Witchcraft in Early Modern France and Germany*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 135.

witches were desperate due to low station or poverty. In the real world these witches engaged in prostitution, or other such acts, that did little but aid their temporary survival and harmed their reputations. In the world of the witch, revealed under torture, these acts of desperation became pacts with a demon. This demon, or the Devil himself, provided the type 'B' witch access to the type 'C' witch's power and supplied the motivation to attack the crops. Finally, these associations with the Devil were conducted in the world of the 'witches' dance'. The result was a society of malevolent witches that placed people, like Kempfin, at odds with those with a vested interest in the economy, laborers like Hanns and Cuntz. To the greater population of Bamberg, this system of relationships was completely plausible within the context of their belief systems. However, these common beliefs do not fully explain the severity of the Bamberg witch craze. To do so, another sinew connecting common witch beliefs to the dire economic situation faced in Bamberg is required.

Belief in witchcraft was not the singular ingredient required to light the fires in the Bamberg witch craze. While the acceptance of witches and the damage they can do was required to take the final steps towards making a deadly witchcraft complaint, other factors are a prerequisite in providing the dire circumstances in which these accusations are tolerable. Early pre-modern economic struggles provided this impetus, "practically every great witch hunt had its roots in a time of agrarian crisis, while only minor witch trials can be found in the cheap year between 1560 and 1630".²⁴ This supposition is supported in the available economic data. Tax records indicate that the populations in Bamberg were on a steady rise from 1522 until 1599, with a sharp decline coming from between 1599 and 1653.²⁵ Between the periods of 1599 to 1653, witchcraft trial data²⁶ shows that during that gap two waves of witch persecutions occurred in Bamberg.²⁷ While there is no direct way to correlate the depopulation of the Bamberg prince-bishopric with the rise in witch trials, it can be supposed that any period of depopulation was a potential period of social stress. To Behringer, the causes of Bamberg's suffering are part of the larger issues in Germany, "These were years of war, extreme hunger and plagues of unprecedented virulence. Between 1624 and 1636 probably every place in southern Germany suffered an outbreak of plague".²⁸ The population's well-being was directly connected to external factors

²⁴ Wolfgang Behringer. *Witchcraft Persecutions in Bavaria*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 97.

²⁵ Otto Morlinghaus. *Für Bevölkerung – Und Wirtschafts – Geschichte des Fürstbistums Bamberg im Zeitalter des Absolutismus*. (Erlangen: Verlag von Palm & Enfe), 37.

²⁶ Wm. Bradford Smith, "List of Persons Accused of Witchcraft in Bamberg, 1595-1631", <http://moodle.oglethorpe.edu/course/view.php?id=2093>, 3 May 12.

²⁷ See pg. A6, Number of Trials by Year.

²⁸ Behringer, *Witchcraft Persecutions in Bavaria*, 96.

that required little to no magical explanation or remedy. These sufferings were understood to be out of the community's locus of control and therefore had no remedy in arm's reach.

When crop failure, plague, and malnutrition began to compound Bamberg's suffering at the same moment in the period between 1625 and 1630, the intensity of social stress increased to new levels. "The sense of growing hardship was greatly magnified after 1621 by what is popularly regarded as the western world's first financial crisis. This period of hyperinflation... brought widespread misery and made it harder for people to cope with the resumption and intensification of the conflict from 1625".²⁹ Furthermore, hyperinflation directly affected the population's ability to bear their tax burden, an obligation that had no hardship exemption. Taxation also had the potential to magnify the harmful effects of hyperinflation, "Good coins disappeared for circulation, while taxes were paid with debased currency".³⁰ If the individual has the option they will hoard the good money. This is a common economic behavior in bi-metallic currency systems.³¹ Furthermore, the bad currency would continue to devalue in governmental coffers and would lead to an increase in taxation in an attempt to recover lost value. Without a reliable medium of exchange, trade and economic commerce became stagnant, further compounding the people's suffering.

As well, this complex economic relationship defied simple categorization and explanation. The crisis was international in scope and local Bamberg citizens could only wonder at the international connections.

By 1600-10 the supply of American silver had for the first time shown a downward trend, ... For European governments the resultant shortage of silver meant resorting to a debased or non-silver currency... it became common practice to issue copper coinage, which became the essential factor in a wave of monetary inflation that swept not only western Europe but also the countries of the Baltic, adversely affected by the release of Swedish copper on to the international market.³²

Thus, international events that occurred thousands of miles away affected the

²⁹ Peter H. Wilson. *The Thirty Years War: Europe's Tragedy*. (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), 795-796.

³⁰ Wilson, *The Thirty Years War*, 797.

³¹ In the 1850-60s, France's bi-metallic currency system experienced a similar crisis. A shortage of silver compelled Napoleon III to support the invasion of Mexico in 1861 by Maximilian I, in order to secure a new source. See Shirley J. Black, *Napoleon III and Mexican Silver*. (Silverton: Ferrell Publications, 2000).

³² Henry Kamen, "The Economic and Social Consequences of the Thirty Years' War" in *Past and Present*, 39 (1968): 46.

European national relationship in profound ways. The economics of the situation were well beyond the people of Bamberg. This is not to say that the Bamberg citizenry were not capable of the intellectual functioning required to comprehend the economic issues, but rather they simply lacked the necessary data and the training required to formulate an interpretation. The only other recourse was to place the crisis within a frame of knowledge that would facilitate the closest rational explanation. This meant that hyperinflation and currency instability belonged in the realm of magic and mysticism, at least until a better accepted explanation could be found. Sadly, this explanation would not come for at least another century.

Economic uncertainty also altered the relationship between actors in the economy. It is not surprising that in Thomas Robisheaux's *The Last Witch of Langenburg*, Hans Schmieg's economic occupation as a miller created conflict between him and his customers, "Even in the best of times, millers enjoyed ambiguous and conflicted relations with their neighbors".³³ Hans occupation touched his entire community and "[he] performed a vital economic service. Every village and lordship relied upon mills and millers to grind grain into flour".³⁴ However, "Villagers and the government authorities distrusted millers... [and] Mill ordinances forbade millers from forestalling, and exporting grain out of the land, and profiteering during times of dearth".³⁵ The last point that Robisheaux makes is revealing. This insight points to a system of relationships between the mill, the landowners, and the government. As a condition of the miller's participation in the local economy he must accept regulations enacted upon him, by the government. Thus, as the economy becomes more advanced and integrated, the participants (i.e. the government who taxes, the miller who profits by his secondary industry, and the primary crop producer) are tightly bound together. Therefore, when the overall economic stress increases, the stresses on the economic relationships increases as well. Due to the duality of the miller's function (i.e. employee of the state and service provider to the cropper) most of this social stress would fall on him. Alternatively, the higher the stress was on the population, the higher the pressure was on the government to solve the problem.

The data also reveals that the witch trials were varied in intensity by location and time. The overall data set contains 406 trials with identifiable locations between 1595 and 1630. As would be expected due to population distribution, trials were highly concentrated in Bamberg, Hallstadt and Zeil, and somewhat less concentrated in places like Kronach and Herzogenaurach and the surrounding

³³ Thomas Willard Robisheaux. *The Last Witch of Langenburg: Murder in a German Village*. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2009), 137.

³⁴ Robisheaux, *The Last Witch of Langenburg*, 137.

³⁵ Robisheaux, *The Last Witch of Langenburg*, 139.

areas.³⁶ By eliminating trials where the outcome is unknown or the accused survived, the data reveals that in the highly populated areas of Bamberg, Hallstadt and Zeil, and to a lesser extent Kronach, had the most deaths. This outcome is instinctively expected as these areas have the highest population concentrations.³⁷ However, if all trials with no location and unknown outcomes are eliminated and the number of trials where the accused survived is balanced against the number of trials where the accused died, a pattern emerges. From 1595 to 1630, trials were far more lethal along the waterway leading from Zeil to Herzogenaurach.³⁸ This lethality also extends to the populated centers of Kronach and Steinwiefen, who are listed in tax records as having a population approximately half as large as Bamberg in Kronach and a quarter large in Steinwiefen.³⁹ Alternatively, accused witches in rural areas with a lower population density were more likely to survive their ordeals. Out of the twenty-eight trials that took place in seventeen different rural locations there occurred no deaths. Deaths only occurred along trade routes or high centers of population. One possible explanation for the discrepancy could be that the accused had close personal relationships with the other members of their community. This explanation is similar to what Pócs describes as a type ‘A’ witch, someone who “is identified with social or neighborhood conflicts... anybody who was part of the financial and moral exchange network of a small community could feasibly become such a witch”.⁴⁰ Therefore, location of the accusation mattered to the outcome of the trial, with trials in the high population areas having higher rates of lethality.

The discrepancies in lethality by location can also be explained in terms of ‘social capital’ relationships, as posited by Sheilagh Ogilvie. She defines ‘social capital’ as “a store of value generated when a group of individuals invests resources in fostering a body of relationships with each other (a ‘social network’)... two historical institutions as exemplars of social capital at work [are]: the guild and the local community”.⁴¹ Guilds were social networks that enforced agreed upon economic behaviors in order to benefit the group as a whole. The local community social networks were based upon personal and geographic relationships that were formed in order to facilitate mutual protection and community harmony. Ogilvie concludes that social capital theory can categorize

³⁶ See Appendix 1, Page A1, Distribution of Trials by Location.

³⁷ See Appendix 2, Page A2, Distribution of Deaths by Location.

³⁸ See Appendix 3, Page A3, Lethality by Location.

³⁹ Morlinghaus, *Fur Bevölferungs*, 46.

⁴⁰ Pócs, *Between the Living and the Dead*, 10.

⁴¹ Sheilagh Ogilvie. "How Does Social Capital Affect Women? Guilds and Communities in Early Modern Germany" in *American Historical Review*, 109 (2004): 327.

these kinds of early modern German social structures relationships as having positive or negative social impacts. This classification depends upon how group closure (i.e. group cohesion, group exclusivity) is achieved, how the group plans to benefit from outsiders and other external relationships, and what norms the group adopts in order to maintain cohesion.⁴² Based on these criteria, the data suggests the possibility that the rural communities achieved group closure based upon geographic locations, and therefore those accused may have been more likely to garner protection from the community. High population centers such as Bamberg, Zeil, and Kronach could not offer these kinds of close-knit community protections or relationships. Thus, these commercial centers would have based group exclusion on other determinants such as gender, race or economic participation (i.e. trade guilds) and protection in these social groups was economically based. The competitive nature of these economic relationships could also aid in explaining why accusations in cities were so lethal.

The trial data also reveals that trials became increasingly deadly over time. The data shows that the trials held between 1595 and 1630 came in two waves, the first peaking in 1617 with 107 trials and the second peaking in 1629 with 192 trials.⁴³ These two waves have their own remarkable characteristics. The first wave was just as long as the second but saw fewer trials. The first wave of trials was widely dispersed into the rural areas while the second wave of trials was concentrated in the populated areas.⁴⁴ When factoring in trials where the outcome was death, a weighted average of lethality by year can be constructed.⁴⁵ It is clear that the second wave of trials was exceptionally deadly with more deaths occurring in the second wave and a higher percentage of trials ending in death. This is surprising since the second wave of trials is less widespread geographically than the first.

The explanation for the level of lethality in the second wave is due to a multitude of factors, however, the trigger that directly relates to the witch trial documents is the relationship of the witch burnings to the areas with the most reliance on the economic structure as regulated by the state. The data analysis shows that the second wave, caused by “a terrible freeze that destroyed the wine crop”⁴⁶, caused

⁴² Ogilvie. "How Does Social Capital Affect Women?", 357-59.

⁴³ See pg. A6, Number of Trials by Year.

⁴⁴ See pgs. A4-A5, Distribution of Trials by Location 1595-1623 and Distribution of Trials by Location 1624-1630.

⁴⁵ See pg. A6, Weighted Average of Lethality by Year.

⁴⁶ Wm. Bradford Smith. *Reformation and the German Territorial State: Upper Franconia, 1300- 1630*. (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2008), 174.

a social stress that threw the population into a deadly rage. However, this trigger, the loss of the wine, was unique. The culprits were local and therefore within reach, demanding action. The loss of the wine was a singular event that had an effect that was similar to offensive military action. Therefore, all that was needed was for the authorities to take action on the matter and end the suffering of the population of Bamberg.

The obligation to destroy the witch threat fell squarely on the shoulders of the state. While the citizenry understood their obligation to pay their taxes, to whom and why, they also understood who's responsibility it was to regulate and protect the economy. As Hanns and Cuntz discuss, "So 50 burghers are going to leave and travel to Prague and Austria to complain of [the lack of witch persecutions] to the emperor, since they he will not receive any tolls, taxes or excise from them any more".⁴⁷ In order to understand the motivations of the state it is important to place this crisis in the context of the Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648. The state required the taxes in order to finance the conflict. In 1654 the "bishopric of Bamberg's debt hovered at around 800,000 fl"⁴⁸ as a result of war costs. During the conflict the bishopric would have had little choice but to tax heavily. To accomplish this he must have done anything he could to protect and satisfy that tax base. This would have no doubt included witch hunting upon request and the Burghers are shown in doing in the trial documents. If the bishopric wanted to protect his tax base then he would have no choice but ensure that no more frosts occurred.

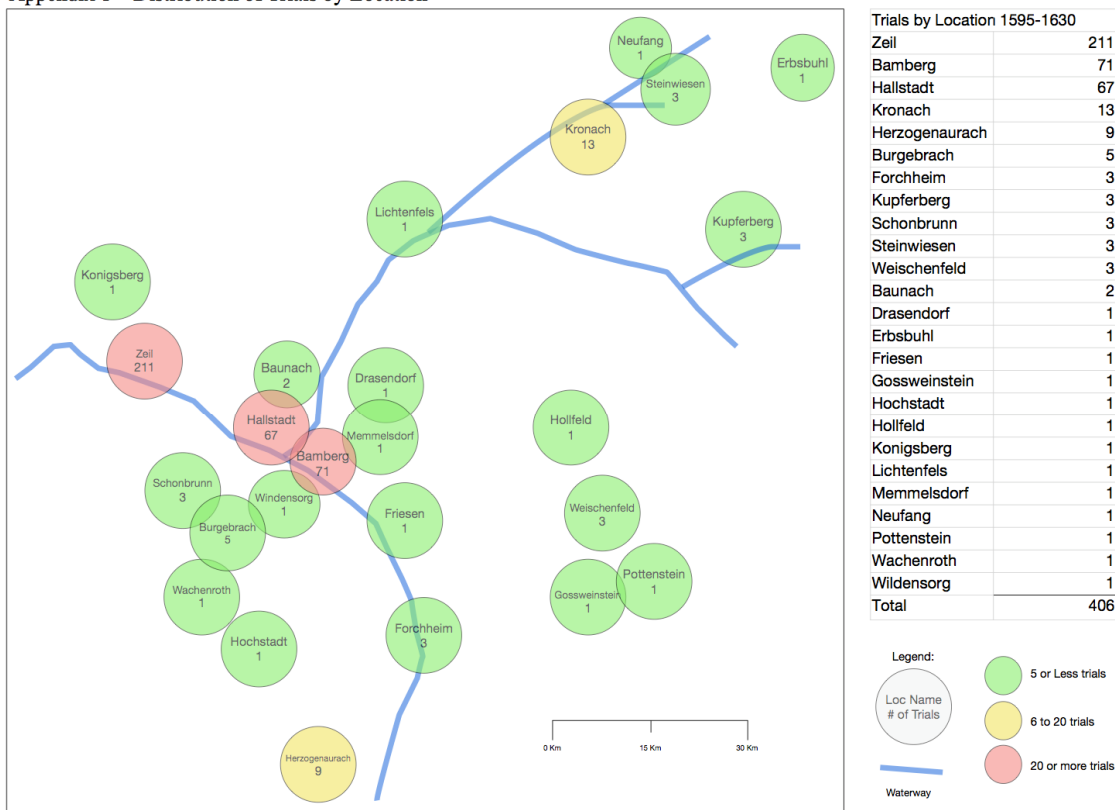
Thus, the economic relationship between the government and the burghers, the common belief system and the frost of 1623 coalesced to form a perfectly deadly nexus of relationships that sent hundreds to their doom. The danger of writing about such a complex and multi-faceted event, such as this witch persecution, is that there are too many factors to consider with any kind of comprehensive certainty. It is difficult to engage in a comprehensive inquiry, which would not otherwise obscure the actors' experiences. Within the context of the above investigation there exists the opportunity to discuss the interaction between prostitution and poverty, xenophobia, and many other subjects. The above investigation attempts to approach the persecutions at Bamberg from the perspective that occupied the minds of the participants, the frost and its consequences. By their reasoning, the fight against the witches was not only a fight between good and evil, but also a struggle for survival. Witches presented a direct threat to the well being of the common people, the merchants, and the government. Each of these parties interacted in a way that was new and unfamiliar. Legal safeguards and modern constitutional rights had not been

⁴⁷ CUL, Witchcraft 4650, Box 5, Item 7a, fol. 1r.

⁴⁸ Wilson, *The Thirty Years War*, 804.

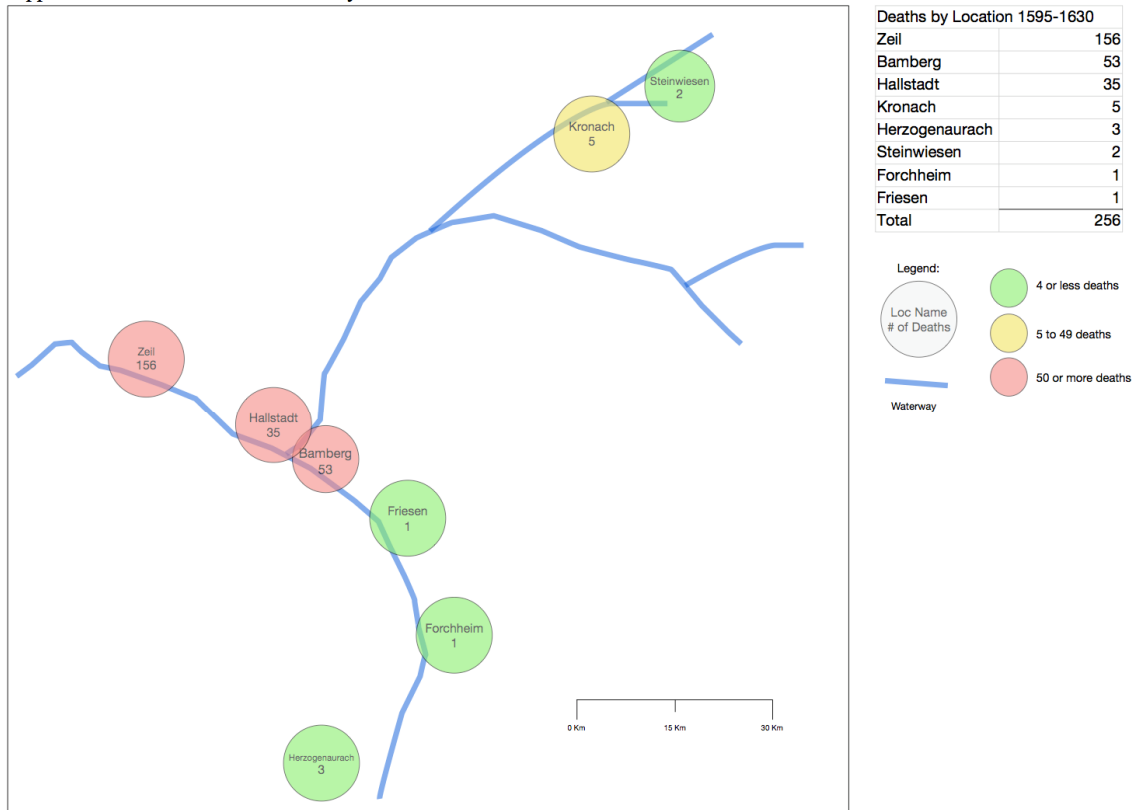
memorialized to prevent unjust persecutions. The persecutions were special events that required special rules that could not be corrupted by any undue influence. These trials were conducted by the state with the intention of maintaining the people’s economy and good order. The city of Bamberg existed at a time of transition, when the population had one foot planted in the agricultural medieval era and the other in early modern state practices. This era of transition brought together new economies, half-developed legal systems, and unworldly common beliefs, cultivating an environment that was primed to spark. While the source of ignition that set these dynamics into motion could have been a multitude of causes, in this region, at this time, it was ‘the frost’ that lit the fatal flames in Bamberg.

Appendix 1 – Distribution of Trials by Location*



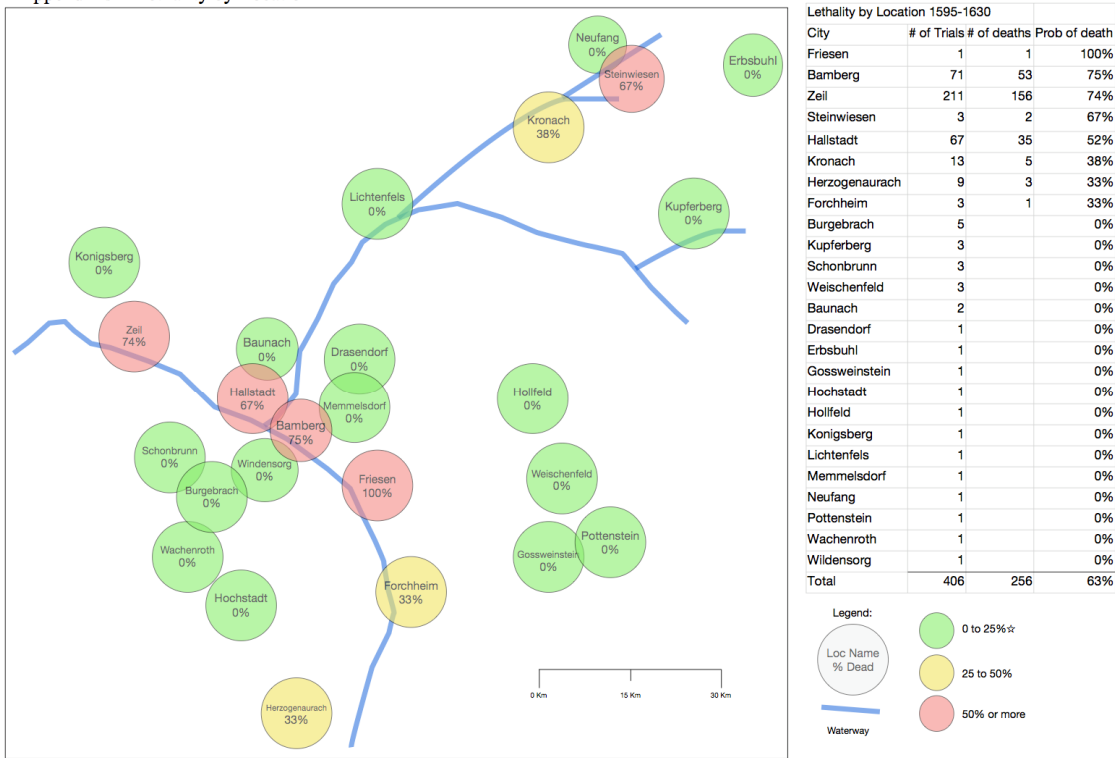
*Data Set Manipulations: Trials with no location were omitted; trials with locations that could not be found were omitted; and trials that were listed with two locations were changed to the less common location.

Appendix 2 – Distribution of Deaths by Location*



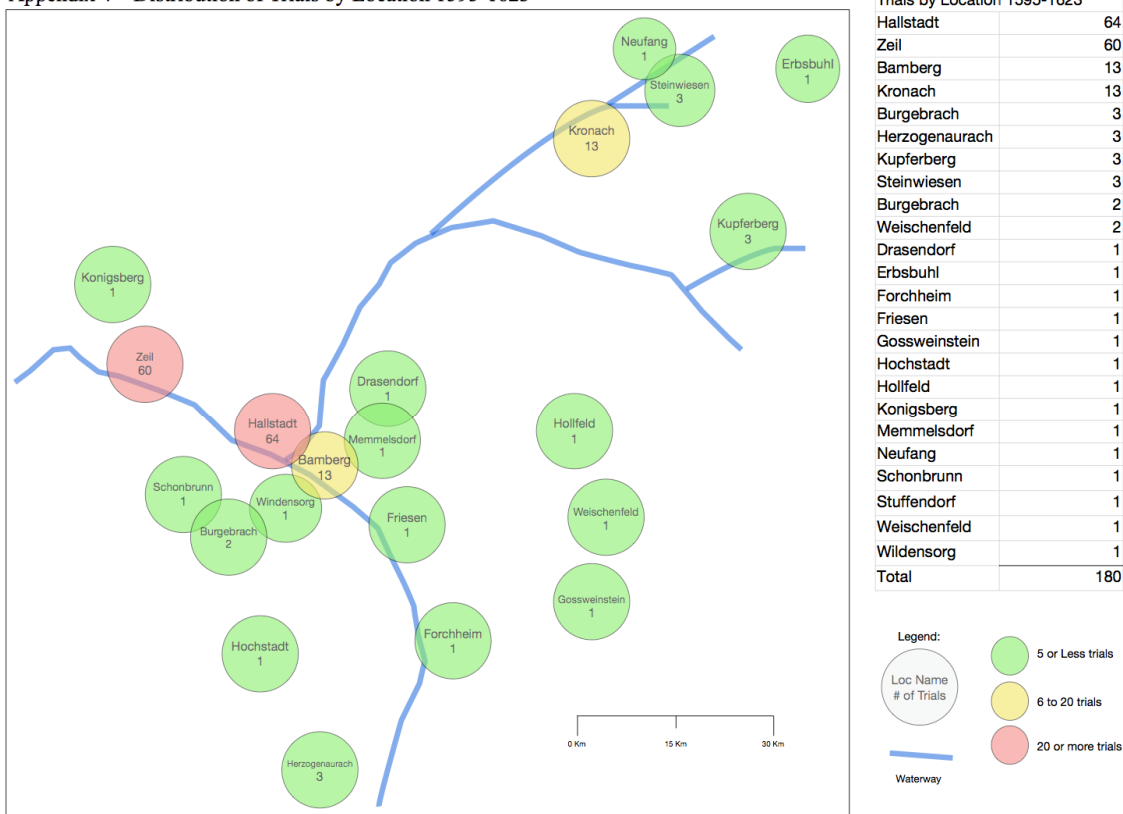
*Data Set Manipulations: Deaths with no location were omitted; deaths with locations that could not be found were omitted; deaths that were listed with two locations were changed to the less common location; and possible burnings were taken as confirmed burnings.

Appendix 3 – Lethality by Location*



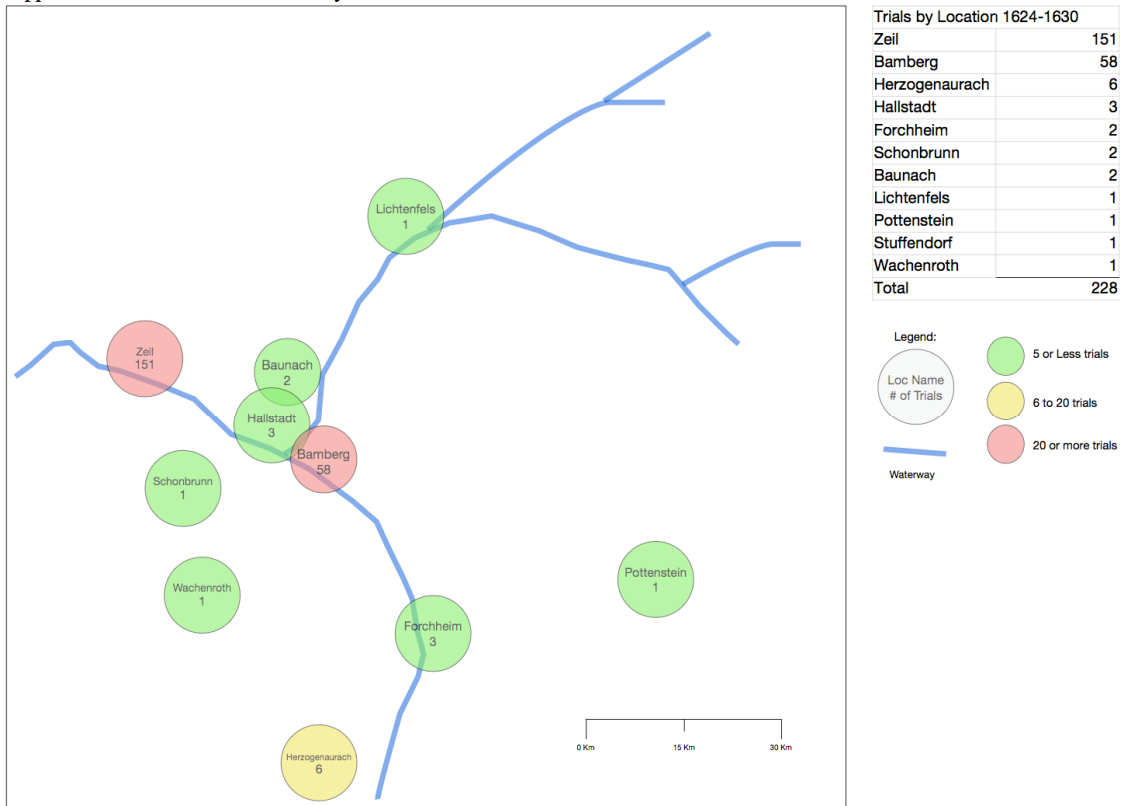
*Data Set Manipulations: Trials with no location were omitted; trials with locations that could not be found were omitted; and trials that were listed with two locations were changed to the less common location.
 ☆Green areas represent a total of 28 trials with no recorded deaths

Appendix 4 – Distribution of Trials by Location 1595-1623*

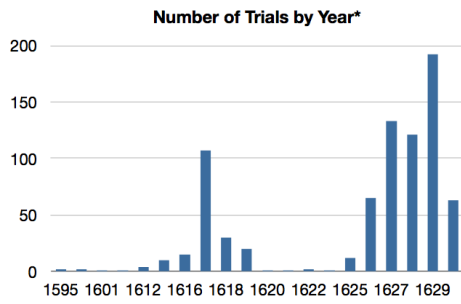


*Data Set Manipulations: Trials with no location were omitted; trials with locations that could not be found were omitted; and trials that were listed with two locations were changed to the less common location.

Appendix 5 – Distribution of Trials by Location 1624-1630*

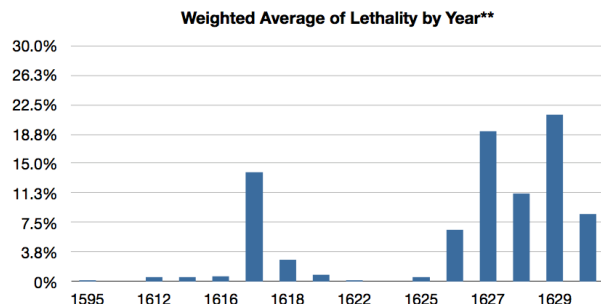


*Data Set Manipulations: Trials with no location were omitted; trials with locations that could not be found were omitted; and trials that were listed with two locations were changed to the less common location.



Trials by Year	
Year	# of Trials
1595	2
1598	2
1601	1
1604	1
1612	4
1613	10
1616	15
1617	107
1618	30
1619	20
1620	1
1621	1
1622	2
1623	1
1625	12
1626	65
1627	133
1628	121
1629	192
1630	63
Total	783

*Data Set Manipulations: All data was included, even when location was unknown.



Weighted Average of Lethal Trial Outcomes					
Year	Died	Lived	Total Cases	Leathal %	Weighted Average %
1595	1	0	1	100%	0.2%
1601	0	1	1	0%	0.0%
1612	3	0	3	100%	0.6%
1613	3	5	8	38%	0.6%
1616	4	1	5	80%	0.7%
1617	74	11	85	87%	13.9%
1618	15	14	29	52%	2.8%
1619	5	8	13	38%	0.9%
1622	1	0	1	100%	0.2%
1623	0	1	1	0%	0.0%
1625	3	9	12	25%	0.6%
1626	35	8	43	81%	6.6%
1627	102	5	107	95%	19.1%
1628	60	1	61	98%	11.2%
1629	113	4	117	97%	21.2%
1630	46	1	47	98%	8.6%
			534		

**Data Set Manipulations: Only data where the outcome was known was included; weighted average performed to eliminate anomalies and smooth trends