

Propaganda in Germany
during the
Thirty Years War

BY

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PRINCETON
Princeton University Press

LONDON: HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

1940

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Printed at Princeton University Press
Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.



TO
ERWIN PANOFSKY

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Preface

PROPAGANDA is so important in the modern world that any information about its workings in the past must be of interest in the present. The past, however, differs from the present, and it is sometimes difficult to see the same or similar factors at work during a period which, superficially at least, seems to have little in common with our own days. A closer study, however, reveals remarkable parallels.

The author gladly acknowledges the unfailing courtesy of European libraries and museums in opening their treasures. Professor George M. Priest and Dr. James Meisel have given generously of their time in correcting the translations from the German. To Professor Hadley Cantril I am indebted for illuminating suggestions on the psychological aspects of propaganda. Finally I wish to express my thanks to Princeton University whose grant of the Shreve Fellowship in the academic year 1933-1934 made my research possible.

E. A. B.

Princeton, New Jersey
September, 1939

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PROPAGANDA IN GERMANY
DURING THE THIRTY YEARS WAR

Propaganda in Germany during the Thirty Years War

PROPAGANDA is not a modern invention. Ever since men have lived in communities, the propagandist has attempted to convince his audience of the righteousness of his cause and of the weakness, falsity and wickedness of the opponent's position. A limited audience could be secured by word of mouth. Pictures and then writing extended that audience. But the printed word was necessary before propaganda could assume its modern importance. Martin Luther's pamphlets are early examples of the new weapon's power. Now the circle has been completed. The radio has restored the predominant influence of the spoken word, while at the same time it has immeasurably increased the size of the audience.

Propaganda is at its height during times of strain and stress. The Thirty Years War therefore, by its origins, course and very length might be expected to offer ample material for a study of this nature. In fact, the victims of the "defenestration" had scarcely crawled out of the castle moat when the presses poured forth a stream of pamphlets and broadsides.

Politically central Europe was ripe for war. During the centuries, while western and northern peoples had struggled toward statehood, Germans had failed to unite. Instead, a medieval shadow known as the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation hung over the land. Within its confines were some three hundred practically independent territories, and every prince and city sought either aggrandizement or a precarious neutrality in the face of more powerful neighbors. Moreover, since the Protestant Reformation, Germans were divided in religion. The peace of Augsburg of 1555 did, to be sure, recognize Lutheran as well as Catholic worship. But Calvinism, later in developing, had no legal standing. Still worse, the religious issue could be, and was, used as a cloak for the acquisition of lands by ambitious princes. The prince determined the faith of his subjects and there was always the temptation to fight for land and power in the name of religion. In the peace of Augsburg a clause known as the Ecclesiastical Reservation shows the close interrelation between politics and religion. By its provisions, a Catholic ecclesiastic who turned Protestant was supposed to resign his office. However, in many cases this was not done, and the lands to all intents and purposes became secularized. In 1608-1609 the lines were drawn by the formation of a Protestant Union and a Catholic League. The Union, composed of Protestant princes and a few cities, was headed by the Calvinist elector palatine of the Rhine. The League, including the three ecclesiastical electors, was under the leadership of the powerful duke of Bavaria, Maximilian. Economically, central Europe had declined during the sixteenth century, partly because of the lack of political power, partly because the trade routes had shifted from the Baltic and Mediterranean to the Atlantic. Perhaps there is here an added reason for the unrest which was to lead to disaster. Finally, during the century following the religious revolt

there occurred just such an intellectual decline as Erasmus had feared. Doctrinal wrangling led to bigotry which fanned the first sparks of conflict.

The war began in Bohemia, a part of the Empire ruled by the Hapsburgs. It had received a charter of religious liberty known as the Letter of Majesty, in 1609. In 1617, Ferdinand of Styria, a pious pupil of the Jesuits, and cousin of the Emperor Matthias, was elected king of Bohemia by the Bohemian nobility. He swore to uphold the Letter of Majesty; but the following year a group of Protestant noblemen headed by Count von Thurn, fearing with some justice the loss of political power and religious freedom, revolted against their Catholic sovereign. On May 23, 1618, in historic Bohemian fashion, the revolutionists threw two imperial commissioners and a secretary out of a window of the Hradschin in Prague. The revolt started in this abrupt fashion was joined by the estates of Moravia, Silesia and Lusatia. The aged emperor and his chief adviser Khlesl, bishop of Vienna, still hoped for conciliation; but the bishop was seized and imprisoned by Ferdinand and the emperor died in March 1619. Even now the war might have been localized had it not been for the ambitions of German princes. The die was cast when at the end of September Frederick V, the elector palatine, accepted the throne offered to him by the Bohemians. On the 28th of August Ferdinand had been elected emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. Frederick was now not only Ferdinand's rival for the kingship of Bohemia, but he could be accused of rebellion against his superior the emperor. Frederick and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of James I of England, were duly crowned king and queen of Bohemia; but their reign was of short duration. There was no national uprising in the country. The Bohemian leaders had emphasized the religious character of the revolt by expelling the Jesuits and this move was no doubt popular. On the other hand, the desecration of the royal chapel by Frederick's Calvinist court preacher appears to have aroused some resentment amongst the populace.

Both the Bohemians and Ferdinand sought allies and the latter was more successful. Hapsburg Spain in return for concessions in Alsace rallied to his aid. The pope sent money. John George, elector of Saxony, the most important of the Lutheran princes remained loyal. Most important, Maximilian of Bavaria, bribed by the promise of Frederick's electorate, brought the army of the Catholic League into the field commanded by the able Count Tilly. Frederick who had relied on James I, his English father-in-law, the Dutch and the Protestant Union for help, was grievously disappointed. Some troops under the command of the professional soldier Ernst von Mansfeld were sent to Bohemia by the intriguing duke of Savoy, and Bethlen Gabor, prince of Transylvania, half Calvinist and half barbarian, took advantage of the situation to rebel against his overlord the emperor. The issue was joined at the battle of the White Hill on the outskirts of Prague on the 8th of November, 1620. The victory of the emperor and Maximilian of Bavaria meant the loss of Bohemian independence for three hundred years. Frederick, whose name of "Winter King" had been bestowed by the Jesuits even before the battle, fled from Prague with his wife and children, and his patrimony on the Rhine was soon overrun by Spanish soldiers.

The unsuccessful intervention of Christian IV of Denmark and the rise of Wallenstein, the emperor's greatest general, gave the Catholic and Hapsburg party still greater power. Flushed with victory, the pious emperor in 1629 issued an Edict of Restitution which

ordered the return of all church lands seized by Protestants since 1555. While the year 1629 marks the height of Ferdinand's power, the balance was quickly redressed by the armed opposition of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. He was drawn into the conflict both for political and ideological reasons. He feared that his country would be hemmed in by Hapsburg encroachments on the Baltic, and he was sincere in posing as the champion of Protestantism. Landing on the Pomeranian coast in June 1630, he was not, however, successful in preventing the destruction of the flourishing Protestant city of Magdeburg, the most terrible single episode of the war. Joined now by the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, the king of Sweden swept all before him. His greatest victory was the defeat of Tilly's forces at Breitenfeld near Leipzig on the 17th of September 1631. The emperor was now forced to recall Wallenstein who had been dismissed owing to the jealousy of German princes and the enmity of Spain. Although Tilly lost his life at the River Lech in April 1632, Wallenstein succeeded in halting Gustavus Adolphus at Nuremberg in September and on the 16th of November he was killed at the battle of Lützen. Speculation on the future of Europe had the king lived until the end of the war, although interesting, is futile. It is enough to say that he saved Protestantism in northern Europe and prevented Hapsburg domination of the Baltic.

After Lützen the war became more than ever before a struggle for political power. Within the Empire the fear of overwhelming strength in the hands of the emperor was ended by the assassination of Wallenstein in 1634, and the elector of Saxony made his peace with the emperor by the peace of Prague (1635). But foreign intervention increased in 1635 when France under Richelieu's leadership changed from subsidizing Sweden to active military participation. The war dragged on until 1648, an ever-increasing horror and burden to the civilian population. The peace of Westphalia gave Sweden a strong foothold on German soil on the Baltic, intensified the struggle for the Rhine by giving France rights in Alsace, restored the son of Frederick to his Rhenish lands, and compensated Maximilian by the creation of an eighth electorate. Brandenburg also, under the leadership of its young and ambitious elector Frederick William, obtained lands which foreshadowed the future power of Prussia. The religious issue was settled by a recognition of Calvinism and by the compromise that church lands seized after 1624 must be restored to their original possessors. These decisions were reached after Germany had lost about one-third of its population, and after great suffering and economic ruin. Only once, in 1626, was there a serious uprising of the long-suffering peasantry. And this revolt in Upper Austria was suppressed with ruthless cruelty. From every point of view the war was useless, perhaps most useless because it did not solve the problem of political power in central Europe. This failure has harassed the world to the present day.¹

With this brief outline in mind, a study of the propaganda which sought to influence and deflect events may now be attempted.

The media employed by the propagandist three hundred years ago were similar to those of today. The pamphlet and the broadside were the two means of influencing the public. Pamphlets varied in size from four pages to three hundred; the average was between a dozen and thirty pages. The broadsides, some of which are reproduced in this book, were usually illustrated by copperplate cuts with an explanation in verse below. Both pamphlets and broadsides were sold in shops and hawked in the streets (Frontispiece and Plate XVII). It is quite possible, too, that the verses appearing in the broad-

sides were sung, for there is frequently an indication of a folk melody to which the words might be fitted.²

There are no statistics of literacy for the seventeenth century, but it may be assumed that the peasantry was largely illiterate, the townspeople less so, and that the ruling classes were literate. It is not even possible to determine the number of pamphlets or broadsides printed in an edition, or their price. That some pamphlets ran into two, or even five editions proves that they were widely read. Also the great number of broadsides, running into the thousands, is an indication that this popular form of propaganda reached its public. In the case of official propaganda it is clear that the prince or government paid for the printing. Semiofficial or private propaganda were ventures of the bookseller or publisher, with no doubt an occasional official subsidy.

The existing attitudes of various groups were the determining factors in the subject matter and method of propaganda. At the beginning of the war the Bohemian nobles and King Ferdinand issued pamphlets which were directed chiefly to the heads of states who might be won to give military assistance. These "blue books," as they may well be called, argued on the lines of constitutional theory and historical precedence, and reviewed recent events. The Bohemians stressed the legality of their actions, while the Hapsburg party called the revolt a rebellion against an anointed king.³ At least one monarch, James I of England, was influenced to refuse his aid to the Bohemians because of his preconceived notions of the sacredness of the royal office. James himself had written a book in support of the divine right of kings.⁴ Documents published after Frederick's defeat in 1620 were used to frighten German princes from coming to his aid. Similarly, Frederick's party published letters seized in 1621 to prove that the Hapsburgs had plotted to transfer Frederick's German territories to the Catholic duke of Bavaria.⁵ The Edict of Restitution (1629) gave rise to a barrage of official and semiofficial defense and attack. The elector of Saxony protested vigorously against the subjugation of the predominantly Protestant city of Augsburg to Catholic rule,⁶ while the Jesuits at Dillingen, the vanguard of the Catholic party, sprang to the support of the Edict.⁷ Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden when he entered the war issued a proclamation which stressed the danger of Hapsburg power in Germany, hoping thereby to win the support of Catholic as well as Protestant princes.⁸ The peace of Prague (1635) was defended officially by both the emperor and the elector of Saxony. It was condemned by Sweden in a semi-official pamphlet by the historian Bogislaus Chemnitz, and by France through the pen of Johann Stella, a German in the pay of the famous Father Joseph, and the chief of what may well be called the official French press bureau.⁹

Appeals to the middle class of the cities are rare but significant. The ransoms levied on towns by military commanders to buy freedom from attack and pillage counted heavily in financing the war. In 1631 anonymous pamphlets appeared warning the cities not to join the enemies of the emperor. To do so would mean the forfeiture of the privileges, liberties, properties and lives of burgers.¹⁰ Taxes would rise, there would be no end to military expenditure, and all would go to ruin. Wealth depends on commerce, and in war that would be destroyed. Support of the king of Sweden would jeopardize capital, income and (perhaps this was an afterthought) the Protestant faith.¹¹

Cities sometimes defended themselves against an armed enemy, and were subjected to sieges of starvation, or even to destruction. A case in point is Augsburg which was

besieged by the emperor's troops in 1634-1635. An imperialist broadside was published in 1641 which made its appeal to the housewives of Augsburg.¹² Its title, in translation, explains its purpose: "Impartial account of the high prices of common victuals so long as they were available during the time of the blockade of Augsburg' from 1634 until almost the end of March 1635 when the city again gave allegiance to our most gracious lord [i.e. the emperor]: And in comparison the superabundance and low prices of these same articles during the years 1640 and 1641 spent in God's blessing and His peace." Over one hundred items of food stuffs are listed, and the high price of horsemeat in 1634-1635 is contrasted with the low price of beef in 1640-1641.

For the masses, those who could read, or who could at least understand the pictures on the broadsides, the simplest and most evident fears and prejudices could be emphasized. Religion was the most obvious. The defenestration itself was given a religious meaning by the supporters of the Hapsburg cause. One illustration shows the victims supported by angels as they fall from the window of the Hradschin (Plate I). God saved their lives according to this interpretation, even though the Bohemian rebels maintained that they fell into a pile of dung, also possibly a manifestation of God's mysterious ways. In the same broadside the sleeping Ferdinand is seated on a throne from which flies a banner bearing the words: *In hoc signo vinces*. God protects the king and holds over his head a sheaf of iron rods. Gustavus Adolphus who spoke only of political motives when he landed in Germany, harangued the Swedish parliament in religious terms before his departure in order to win the support of his countrymen.¹³ An imperialist pamphleteer pointed out derisively that "Sued" (i.e. Swede) spelled "Deus" in reverse.¹⁴ This was seized upon by a Swedish propagandist as proof of the righteousness of his cause.¹⁵

Although nationality as we know it today was still in its infancy, propagandists in the seventeenth century already knew its value. Germany in the political sense did not exist, but the use of the symbol "German" was made to represent the good and the desirable. German was often coupled with such ideological concepts as liberty, and the Swedes contended that they fought for German liberty. Even the gender of the word "Friede" was used to prove that while in other nations peace was feminine, German peace alone was masculine!¹⁶

The association of current heroes with respected heroes of the past is a favorite device of the propagandist. In an illustrated broadside Frederick is depicted as receiving the support of Luther, Calvin and Zwingli.¹⁷ Gustavus Adolphus is compared to Joshua, Gideon, David, Cyrus, Mattathias, Alexander the Great, Judas Maccabaeus and the Emperor Theodosius.¹⁸ In a pseudo-epic by a Lutheran pastor the Thirty Years War is compared to the Trojan War.¹⁹ The Greeks are the Protestants, the Trojans the Catholics, Paris is the house of Austria, Helen is German liberty, Hector is Tilly the Catholic commander, and Gustavus Adolphus is Achilles, the savior of German liberty. By such pictures and writings not only the man in the street could be reached, but also the cultured bourgeois. The prestige of the current hero was raised by association with these well known figures of the past. In similar fashion, all the virtues were allegorized and attributed to no less a person than the ruthless professional soldier Mansfeld (Plate VII).

The identification of the enemy with unfavorable existing attitudes is at least as efficacious as a positive statement of the righteousness of a cause. In the larger political field of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries one of the commonest accusations was that

the enemy sought "world dominion," just as in 1914-1918 the Germans were accused of attempting to conquer the world. The charge that the Hapsburgs were attempting to found a world monarchy looms large in the popular literature of the first half of the war.²⁰ Then with Swedish and later French ascendancy the same charges were levied against Sweden²¹ and France.²²

Religious slogans provided a medium for whipping up popular negative attitudes. A jingle printed in Prague in 1620 reads in translation:

A Mameluke, Jesuit and Jew
Do no good their lifelong through.
They only thrive on Christian blood,
May God chastise them with His rod.²³

The pamphleteers and rhymesters writing for Protestant consumption were accustomed to speak of the Jesuits as murderers, liars, and in league with the Devil (Plate II). The papacy was identified with the Beast of the Apocalypse (Plates XIX, XX). The lengths to which anti-Jesuit propaganda could go is shown in Plate III. Catholic writers answered in kind. The outstanding Catholic to employ this method was Kaspar Schoppe,²⁴ a confidential agent of both the pope and the emperor. He wrote that it is permissible to live in peace with Mohammedans, Turks, pagans and Jews, but Protestants must be burned.²⁵ Lutherans were expected to hate Calvinists even more than Catholics, and Lutheran religious leaders played upon this theme. The Lutheran *enfant terrible* was Hoë von Hoënegg,²⁶ court preacher to the Lutheran elector of Saxony. The elector, until he allied himself with the king of Sweden in 1631, aided the emperor, or maintained a benevolent neutrality. He was therefore pleased to allow his official preacher to rail against the Calvinists. Hoë's favorite argument was that Calvinism was nothing more than Turkish theology. Calvinists, he insisted, had cut loose from the Occidental Antichrist (i.e. the pope), only to fall into the arms of the Oriental Antichrist.²⁷ The fanatical words of both Schoppe and Hoë were in turn used by their adversaries in counter-propaganda. Bethlen Gabor, prince of Transylvania, was charged with being an agent and ally of the Turk (Plate IV). The desecration of the royal chapel in the Hradschin was employed to castigate the Calvinists. After the battle of the White Hill an anonymous Catholic author wrote a supposititious conversation between a Lutheran, a Hussite and a Catholic wherein the three agree in their hatred of Calvinists and in their abhorrence of the destruction of the holy images.²⁸

In traditional fashion, derogatory epithets were hurled at important personalities. Cardinal Khlesl, confidential adviser of Emperor Matthias, is called a donkey, a pun on the name: Khlesl-Esel.²⁹ Schoppe's father, it is maintained, had been a grave-digger and a peddler. Schoppe himself is called a bastard and a thief,³⁰ while Hoë received the appellations of lying priest and three-headed Cerberus.³¹ In a rebus (Plate V), a monkey is made a part of Frederick's title of Pfaltzgraf: graf-aff. Tilly is called mouse, wolf, slanderer, coxcomb, lute-player and whimsical fellow.³² Punning on his name, he is a ferocious "Crocotill" who eats human flesh.³³

The degradation of the enemy's status is a favorite device of the propagandist, and ridicule, then as now, not only degraded the enemy, but bolstered the morale at home. Over two hundred caricatures of Frederick appeared after he lost his throne.³⁴ The

"Winter King" is portrayed as a homeless beggar wandering in the forests with his English wife and children. Hauled out of the sea by Dutch fishermen who give him refuge, he performs menial tasks for his hosts, and does penance on his knees for his crimes. The story of his Bohemian venture is told in mock-Biblical language (Plate VI) and in a rebus (Plate V). The collapse of the Protestant Union is ridiculed in a short pamphlet.³⁵ On the first page are printed the words, "Anno 1618 Nichts," on the second "Anno 1619 Gar nichts," on the third "Anno 1620 Uberal nichts," on the fourth "Anno 1621 Durchaus nichts," and on the fifth "Summa Summarum O." The peasants of Upper Austria who rose against their master in 1626 were not only cut down ruthlessly, but were mocked and derided as Lutheran rebels and devils (Plate VIII). The enemies of the king of Sweden and the elector of Saxony are compared to worms who are devouring the good German land (Plate X). Count Tilly, after his defeat by Gustavus Adolphus at Breitenfeld, is depicted on a pilgrimage to Rome, bearing on his back a heavy case entitled "a bad conscience."³⁶ The famous general had a sweet tooth, and numerous illustrations appeared of the banquet he had prepared in anticipation of a victory (Plate XI). In another satire Gustavus Adolphus is a dentist who examines Tilly's bad teeth. Tilly has been degraded to the rank of an old corporal (Plate XIV). Maximilian of Bavaria, supposedly blinded by the terrible defeat, calls in a foreign physician, the king of Sweden (Plate XV). After the death of Gustavus Adolphus and a setback to his cause, the cities which had supported Sweden were held up to ridicule (Plate XXI).

A motif still used in propaganda is the charge that the enemy does not respect the values most cherished in civilized countries. During a war the time-honored accusation of atrocities is the most common. Soldiers on both sides were accused of murder, infanticide, torture, rape and arson. It is interesting to note that these charges were usually brought against foreign mercenaries, Walloons, Croatians, Hungarians, Spaniards, Swedes and English, and less often against Germans.³⁷ The destruction of Magdeburg, the most terrible single disaster of the war, let loose a torrent of abuse against Tilly and his soldiers.³⁸ Tilly and his lieutenants on the other hand charged the citizens with starting fires in the city, and popular imperialist verses appeared celebrating the marriage of Tilly with the "maiden city" (i.e. Magdeburg). After the successful campaigns of Gustavus Adolphus, the same conception of the marriage of Tilly and Magdeburg was employed by the anti-imperialists; but now the tailor who had been ordered to make the wedding apparel mocks Tilly for his inability to go through with the marriage (Plate XIII). The lye of Magdeburg is now gathered by angels and used to cleanse the heads of the enemy soldiers (Plate XII).

Hitherto, the appeals made to existing attitudes have been discussed. It was sometimes necessary to build up an attitude where none existed before. A case in point is the entry of Sweden into the war, a country which could be only vaguely known to most Germans. A partisan of the Hapsburgs therefore printed a Swedish edict, originally published in 1617, that ordered expulsion or execution of all Swedish Catholics.³⁹ This was a clear bid for the support of Catholics against a Protestant invader. A popular print also appeared of three savage characters called a Laplander, a Livonian riding a weird animal supposed to be a reindeer, and a Scotsman (Plate IX). These were the auxiliaries being shipped into Germany by the king of Sweden to terrorize the poor inhabitants. Pro-

Swedish pamphleteers on the other hand made use of these same characters to prove the superior quality of Sweden's army.

Propaganda to be successful must simplify complicated situations. Just as today John Bull and Uncle Sam symbolize a multitude of conflicting interests, so during the Thirty Years War, princes and states were represented by heraldic devices and by animals, relics of the primitive totems. The eagle, representing the house of Austria, is attacked by the lion of the Palatinate and the double-tailed Bohemian lion. The eagle, assisted by the Bavarian bear and by a huge spider and a dragon, two imperial generals, is victorious. In Plate XVI, the lion represents Gustavus Adolphus chasing the bear, Maximilian of Bavaria. Again, Gustavus Adolphus, this time in person, is shown wielding a sword with which he decapitates a gruesome many-headed monster, the Protestant artist's conception of the Catholic Church (Plate XX).

The causes of the war were simplified. The dreaded figure of a cardinal or Jesuit, in collusion with the pope and with Spain, were usually blamed for the outbreak of the war by enemies of the Hapsburgs. Cardinal Khlesl, who in fact was anxious to compromise, was made one of the chief culprits.⁴⁰ The imperialists, on the other hand, found Luther and Calvin at the bottom of all discord.⁴¹ Later, France or Sweden, or both, were blamed for the continuance of hostilities.⁴² God, Christ, all good Christians and all good people were claimed by both parties to be active partisans on the right side. This method uses simplification to achieve a comforting sense of universality.

The use of a national appeal to princes by quotation of precedent and constitutional theory has already been mentioned. For the masses, the Bible could be quoted as an authority. Many broadsides are studded with biblical quotations (Plates I, IV, XIX, XX). Schoppe proved by the Book of Kings that even the suckling babes and children of heretics must be exterminated "so that they cannot grow older and follow the vices of their fathers and thereby be damned to eternity."⁴³ A pamphlet even appeared proving by the Bible that the use of firearms by Christians was permissible.⁴⁴ Pious ministers published sermons on biblical texts to demonstrate that war was God's punishment for the sins of mankind.⁴⁵

Just as today rumors and reports are spread about the enemy, so the seventeenth century political hack turned out pamphlets and broadsides to point out the weaknesses of the opponent. Shortly before the battle which decided the fate of the Bohemian revolt, a letter was published purporting to be from the imperialist general Bucquoi to his master.⁴⁶ Bucquoi writes in glowing terms of the Bohemians' military prowess and strongly urges that hostilities should be avoided. The attempt was here made to buoy up the spirits of the Bohemians and their allies by pretending that the enemy's commander was afraid of battle. On the death of Gustavus Adolphus, a circumstantial account was printed which told of the anger of the Spanish cardinals in Rome when the pope refused to order a Te Deum sung in celebration of the event.⁴⁷ This report was believed for over two centuries, although it is obvious that it was sheer propaganda to prove that the pope was fonder of the heretic king of the Swedes than of the house of Austria. Tilly's death is supposedly greeted with uproarious laughter by Wallenstein (Plate XVIII). The murder of Wallenstein in 1634 again afforded an opportunity to point out dissension in the ranks of the enemy. While the pretence of horror which appeared in Protestant pamphlets covered the real satisfaction felt in anti-imperialist circles, the chorus of dis-

approval throughout Europe had important repercussions in Vienna. The emperor had attempted to shirk the responsibility; but now he was forced to issue an official justification for the assassination.⁴⁸

Propaganda, although not called by that name, was, of course, recognized. A broadside in the form of a New Year's greeting (1632) satirizes both the writers and the readers of so-called newspapers (Plate XVII). The proprietor of the "newspaper-shop" offers his services, but the customers when they buy his wares carry home the fool's cap!

The most striking differences between today's propaganda and the seventeenth century's, is that in the earlier period war propaganda could be attacked by peace counter-propaganda. An illustrated broadside of 1636 brings Christ to earth to plead for peace.⁴⁹ He is shown addressing the pope, a Jesuit, a Protestant minister and the temporal rulers of Europe. In the same year a broadside appeared in which peasant, artisan, and merchant call on the war-lords to lay down their weapons.⁵⁰ Numerous pamphlets and broadsides bewail the sufferings of the civilian population (Plates XXII, XXIII). An illustration shows a soldier booted and spurred astride a peasant who crawls on hands and knees, and who is held in check by the soldier with a horse's bit and reins. "An Address by Peace," written by Dietrich von dem Werder, a well known soldier, statesman and patron of literature, appeared in 1639 and was twice reprinted.⁵¹ The author pours scorn on the symbols of "common interest," "welfare of the fatherland," "good of the subject," and "prestige," all used by princes for their own selfish purposes. A bold pamphlet by Christian Hoheburg, perhaps a Lutheran minister, was published in Frankfurt in 1644.⁵² The author gives a satirical account of a meeting between a Jew and a Christian before a church in Bamberg. They enter the church and the Jew berates the Christian for the flags of war, swords, spurs and armor which decorate the edifice. These memorials, says the Jew, honor men who have murdered fellow-Christians. When peace was finally made, it was greeted with joy (Plate XXIV) and surprise. A book of allegorical pictures on the peace of Westphalia appeared in Frankfurt under the editorship of Johann Vogel, a former Socinian and then rector of the Sebaldsschule in Nuremberg.⁵³ One of the pictures depicts a camel with his neck in the eye of a needle. Below, the verse in translation reads:

That which you do not believe happens.
What? Can a camel not go through the
eye of a needle?

Yes, when you see peace restored in Germany.

The increasing propaganda for peace during the later years of the war is significant. In this respect the public during the Thirty Years War was more fortunate than today. Since the rise of the all-powerful state it is of course impossible to preach peace while war rages. The hate engendered by modern war propaganda makes a "just peace" impossible and seems inevitably to lead to another war.

To recapitulate, it is clear that in spite of a low rate of literacy, all classes of the population were reached by propaganda during the Thirty Years War. Rulers and princes were influenced by appeals to reason and high-sounding phrases covering the desire for territorial gain and power. The middle class, interested in trade and income, and often pious, needed careful handling for financial reasons. The mass of the population, artisans

and peasants as well as merchants, undoubtedly desired peace rather than war; but those who could read or who saw the illustrated broadsides received satisfaction when the program of the side sympathetic to them was stated in simplified terms, or when the enemy's defeat was proclaimed. Seated in the tavern, the popular pamphlet or broadside furnished topic for entertainment or debate. There was, finally, the appeal to the adventurer eager for the booty of captured cities and villages. Armies in the Thirty Years War were not conscripted, nor was there ever a standing army. Soldiers were mercenaries paid, and frequently not paid, by captains in the employ of colonels who received lump sums from the prince or general. Recruiting was undoubtedly aided by the propaganda of picture and written word, and undoubtedly too by the sermons of the clergy. The first requisite of war is human material: then as in later days propaganda played its part in obtaining cannon fodder.

Bibliographical Note

The most important collections of pamphlets and broadsides of the Thirty Years War are in the state libraries at Berlin, Dresden, Munich, Prague and Vienna, the university libraries of Göttingen, Halle and Leipzig, the city libraries of Frankfurt and Ulm, and the print collections in the museums in Berlin, Munich, Nuremberg and Prague. The library of the city of Frankfurt has published two catalogues of pamphlets: *Stadtbibliothek Frankfurt am Main Flugschriftensammlung "Discursus politici" des Johann Maximilian zum Jungen*, bearbeitet von Paul Hohenemser, Frankfurt am Main, 1930, and *Stadtbibliothek Frankfurt am Main. Flugschriften-sammlung Gustav Freytag . . .* bearbeitet von Paul Hohenemser, Frankfurt am Main, 1925. These are referred to in the notes as *Frankfurt* and *Frankfurt, Freytag*, respectively.

Collections of political verses are in J. Opel and A. Cohen, *Der Dreissigjährige Krieg. Eine Sammlung von historischen Gedichten und Prosadarstellungen*, Halle, 1862; F. W. von Ditsfurth, *Die historisch-politischen Volkslieder des dreissigjährigen Krieges*, Heidelberg, 1882; E. Weller, *Die Lieder des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, Basel, 1855; R. Wolkan, *Deutsche Lieder auf den Winterkönig*, Prague, 1898. There are reproductions

of broadsides in E. A. Beller, *Caricatures of the "Winter King" of Bohemia*, London, 1928, and J. v. Scheible, *Die Fliegenden Blätter des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1850.

A number of monographs on publicity during the Thirty Years War have been published. The most important are: J. Gebauer, *Die Publicistik über den Böhmisches Aufstand von 1618*, Hallesche Abhandlungen zur neueren Geschichte, Heft XXIX, 1892; M. Grünbaum, *Ueber die Publicistik des dreissigjährigen Krieges von 1626-1629*, Hallesche Abhandlungen zur neueren Geschichte, Heft X, 1880; H. Hitzgrath, *Die Publicistik des Prager Friedens (1635)*, Hallesche Abhandlungen zur neueren Geschichte, Heft IX, 1880; R. Koser, *Der Kanzleienstreit. Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkunde der Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Krieges*, Halle, 1874; W. Lahne, *Magdeburgs Zerstörung in der zeitgenössischen Publicistik*, Magdeburg, 1931; H. v. Srbik, *Wallensteins Ende. Ursachen, Verlauf und Folgen der Katastrophe*, Vienna, 1920. Valuable information may also be obtained in W. Bauer, *Die Öffentliche Meinung in der Weltgeschichte*, Potsdam, 1930, and in E. Everth, *Die Öffentlichkeit in der Aussenpolitik von Karl V. bis Napoleon*, Jena, 1931.

Notes

¹ The best account in English of the Thirty Years War is *The Thirty Years War* by C. V. Wedgwood, London, 1938; New York, 1939.

² Some of these melodies have been identified and published in F. W. von Ditsfurth, *Die historisch-politischen Volkslieder des dreissigjährigen Krieges*.

³ See J. Gebauer, *Die Publicistik über den Böhmisches Aufstand von 1618*.

⁴ The *True Law of Free Monarchies* was published anonymously in 1598 and under the king's name in 1603.

⁵ For a discussion of this propaganda see R. Koser, *Der Kanzleienstreit*.

⁶ Copia Zweyer Schreiben Hertzog Johann Georgen, Chur Fürsten. An die Römische Käyserliche Majestät, die Stadt Augspurg Betreffend. Gedruckt im Jahr nach Christi Geburt, M.DC.XXIX. 4°. 22 un. pp.

Göttingen, Hist. Germ. un. VIII. 75, 25.

Copia Des Dritten Schreibens, so an die Röm. Keys . . . Maj. etc. von der Churfürst Durchl. zu Sachsen, wegen der hochbedrengten Evangelischen Bürgerschaft zu Augspurg abgegangen. 1630. 4°. 20 pp.

Frankfurt, Freytag, No. 5390.

Copia Des vierdten Schreibens, so an die Röm. Käys. . . Maj; etc. von der Churfürst: Durchl: zu Sachsen, wegen der hochbedrengten Evangelischen Bürgerschaft zu Augspurg abgangen. Gedruckt im Jahr 1631. 4°. 10 pp.

Frankfurt, p. 137.

⁷ The most important of the Jesuit books written by Father Paul Layman, assisted by Father Laurenz Forer and probably others, was published in Latin in 1629 and appeared in German in the same year with the title:

Pacis compositio, Das ist, Ausführlicher und vollkommener Tractat von dem Religions Frieden: Wie, und welcher Gestalt derselbe in Anno 1555. auff dem Reichstag zu Augspurg . . . auffgerichtet. Getruckt im Jahr 1629. unnd zu Franckfurt, bey Johan Godtfried S. W. zu finden. 4°. (20 + 48 + 448 pp.

Frankfurt, p. 109; Frankfurt, Freytag No. 5356.

For discussion of the "Pacis compositio" see J. Steinberger, *Die Jesuiten und die Friedensfrage in der Zeit von Prager Frieden bis zum Nürnberger Friedensexekutionshauptprozess 1635-1650*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1906, pp. 10-11, and C. C. Eckhardt, *The Papacy and World Affairs as reflected in the Secularization of Politics*, Chicago, 1937, pp. 170-1.

- ⁹ J. Paul, *Gustaf Adolf*, Leipzig, 1927-1932, Vol. II, pp. 161-3.
- ⁹ H. Hitzgrath, *Die Publicistik des Prager Friedens (1635)*, pp. 18, 35, 41, 91.
- ¹⁰ Consilium Und Sonderbares Rechliches Bedencken: Wessen man sich auff die Keyserl. Monitori, und Auocatori Mandata zuverhalten, . . . Durch Einen vornehmen Rechtsgelehrten aufgesetzt und an Tag gegeben. Im Jahr M.DC.XXXI. 4°. 16 un. pp.
- Göttingen, Jus Gentium 4002; Frankfurt, p. 130.
- ¹¹ Gugg Galle, was ist das? Auss Leipzig, vom 13. Februarü. Kurtzer Bericht, was sich angehendem von Churfl. Durchleucht. zu Sachsen . . . ausgeschriebenen, der Evangelischen und Protestirenden Churfürsten und Ständen hoherwünschten Convent vernemen lassen. Auss einem Schreiben Bros. Lobw. [Lobweiler] an seine gnädige Herrschaft, Sambt . . . uber die bey diser Occasion durch Matthiam Hoe von Hoenig . . . zu Leipzig gehaltenen. . . Predigt, wie dieselbe erstlich gedruckt zu Leipzig, Bey Gregorio Rutzschen, Anno. M.MC.XXXI. 4°.
- Munich, Eur. in 4°. 361/47; another ed., Frankfurt, p. 137.
- ¹² Unparteyische beschreibung, gemeinster Victualten, was dieselben in Zeit Augspurgischer Bloquierung, von ungefahr anfang dess Monats Novemb. Anno 1634. biss fast zu ende dess Martii, Anno 1635. . . Und entgegen wie dergleichen Sachen die zwey Jar, Anno 1640. und 1641. Ill. broadside.
- Munich, Einblatt, V, 8 m.
- ¹³ J. Paul, *op. cit.*, l.c.
- ¹⁴ Notwendige und ausführliche beantwortung etliche newgeschmitten Sachsichen Fragstück: Ob, und welcher gestalt ein beständiger Friden in Teutschland könde getroffen, geschlossen, und erhalten werden. Erstlich Durch Vincetium Tullium in Latein beschrieben, anjetzo . . . in die Teutsche Sprach versetzt. Im Jahr M.DC.XXXI. 4°. Berlin, Flugschr. 1631. 140.
- ¹⁵ Dess Mitternächhtigen Post-Reuters Adeliches und Untadeliches dreyfachen Passport, Darinnen seine bissher unterschiedliche abgelegte Frewdenposten Mit mehr als hundert und zwanzig. . . Weissagungen unnd Wunder-Zeichen ausführlich beglaubet und bestärcket werden. Gedruckt in der erlöseten Magdeburg, Anno, quo Leo Septentriofonalis, VeritatIs VInDeX Io trIVMpat [sic] [=1632]. 4°. 68 pp.
- Frankfurt, p. 157.
- ¹⁶ [Werder, Dietrich von dem]: Friedens-Rede, In Gegenwart vieler Fürsten, Fürstinnen und Fräwlein. . . fürgebracht und abgelegt durch Paris von dem Werder, Einen wolgestalten Fünffzehenjährigen Edlen Knaben. Hamburg, Bey Tobias Gundermann. Im Jahr 1639. 4°. 44 pp.
- Berlin, Flugschr. 1639. 3; Frankfurt, p. 204; Leipzig, Deutsche Gesch. 16943, b/14.
- Another ed., 1640; Goedeke, III. 58.
- Another ed., 1642-1643; Frankfurt, Freytag, No. 5673; Munich, Eur. in 4° 365/17.
- ¹⁷ E. A. Beller, *Caricatures of the "Winter King" of Bohemia*, Plate I.
- ¹⁸ Lungwitz, Matthaues: Ettlich Schöne Lesswürdige Vergleichungen, Dess Durchleuchtigsten . . . Herrn Gustav-Adolphi . . . Mit dem Allerfürtrefflichstem Helden Alexandro Magno . . . Conferirt, durch Matthaicum Lungwitium. Zwickau 1632. Melchior Göpner. 4°. 16 pp.
- Frankfurt, Freytag, No. 5518.
- : Imperator Theodosius redivivus Das ist: Dreyfachen Schwedischen LorBeer-Krantzes Und Triumphirender Siegs Krone Ander Buch des Dritten Theils: Worinnen Des . . . Herrn Gustavi Adolphi . . . Königlichen Majestät: Glorwürdigste hohe Expeditiones und Victorien. . . umbständiglich verfasst sind. . . Durch Matthaicum Lungwitium. Leipzig, In Verlegung Johan Grossen, Buchhändl. Anni (?) Symb. GVstaVVS AdoLphVs ReX nobls DesIDerabilIs [= 1634]. [At end:] Leipzig, Gedruckt bey Friedrich Lanckischen S. Erben, Im Jahr 1634. 4°. (24) + 324 pp.
- Frankfurt, p. 180.
- : Josua et Hiskias confoederati, Das ist: Dreyfachen Schwedischen Lor Beer-Krantzes Und Triumphirender Siegs Krone Dritter Theil. Worinne des . . . Herrn Gustav-Adolphi . . . Königlichen Majestät: Und Des . . . Herrn Johann Georgen. . . Churfürstlichen Durchlauchtigkeit Beschlossenes Verblindnis, und was nach demselben vorgegangen . . . beschrieben wird. Das Erste Buch des Dritten Theils . . . zusammen getragen, Durch Matthaicum Lungwitium. Leipzig, In Verlegung Johann Grossen, Buchhändl. Anno 1633. 4° (24) + 472 pp.
- Frankfurt, p. 169.
- : Judas Maccabaeus. Das ist: Dreyfachen Schwedischen Lorbeer-Krantzes Und Triumphirender Siegs-Crone Dritte Buch des III. Theils: Worinnen umbständiglich verfasst sind Des . . . Herrn Gustavi Adolphi . . . Königlichen Majestät Glorwürdigste hohe Heldenthaten und Victorien . . . zusammen getragen Durch Matthaicum Lungwitium. In Verlegung Johann Grossen Buchhändlers in Leipzig. Anno 1634. 4°. 240 pp.
- Frankfurt, p. 180.
- ¹⁹ "Achilles Germanorum, Retter der deutschen Freiheit." Printed in J. Opel and A. Cohn, *Der Dreissigjährige Krieg*, p. 302.
- ²⁰ There are dozens of pamphlets of this nature. Typical are: Spanisch Post und Wächterhörlein an die Teutsche Nation, Das ist, Ein gantz ausführliche . . . Warnung und Vermanungs Schrift An alle Chur unnd Fürsten, Stände und Stette, dess Heyligen Römischen Reichs Teutscher Nation: Auch alle andere Christliche Potentaten. Daraus eigentlich zu vernehmen, welcher gestalt, die Spanier nunmehr uber die hundert Jahr practicirt, wie sie sich . . . dess gantzen Römischen Reichs mächtigen, und also sich selber zu Monarchen der gantzen Christenheit machen möchten. . . Anno M.DC.XIX. 4°. 48 pp.
- Berlin, Flugschr. 1619, 64; Frankfurt, Freytag, No. 4874; Frankfurt, p. 51; Leipzig, Deutsche Gesch. 16931 b/14.
- Spannischer Türck Oder Wahrer Bericht, der grausamen unerhörten Spannsichen und mehr als Turkischen Mordthaten, welche in dem Konigreich Böhmeib, hin und wider, durch den Conde di Bucquoï und Graf Tampier an Mann und Weib, auch unschuldigen Kindern und Schwangern Frauen, auff vielerley Mörderische und unmenschliche art und weise getübt und gebraucht werden. . . Erstlich gedruckt zu Prag, bey Lorentz Emmerich, Im Jahre 1619. 4°. 8 un. pp.
- Berlin, Flugschr. 1619. 63; Vienna, Archives, 1619. No. 40.
- An Gantz Teutschlandt, von Dess Spanniers Tyranny, welche er ohn unterscheidt der Religion auch an den aller Unschuldigsten verübt. Menniglich, so wol zur Warnung, als Gütlicher erjnerung . . . fürgestellt: Durch Christian: Liebfriedt, von Gross Seufftzen. Gedruckt . . . Anno 1620. 4°. 24 un. pp.
- Berlin, Flugschr. 1620, 116.
- Another edition with the title: Gantz Klägliche Erbarmliche und Erschreckliche Historia Von den Spannieren. . . Gedruckt zu Straspurg im Jahr 1623. 4°. 14 pp. Halle, Jf. 3201, 34.
- Der Böhmische Frantzoss, Dem aller Christlichsten König und Herrn, Herrn Ludwigen dieses Namens dem dreyzehenden König in Frankreich unnd Navarren, u. auss dem Frantzösichen in Teutsche Sprach gebracht. Gedruckt im

Jahr, M.DC.XX. (At end dated: Prague 21 Nov. 1619.) 4°.
16 unnn. pp.

Berlin, Flugschr. 1620. 31.

See also M. Grünbaum, *Ueber die Publicistik des dreissig-jährigen Krieges von 1622-1629*, Chapter II; and K. Mayr-Deisinger, *Die Flugschriften der Jahren 1618-20 und ihre politischen Bedeutung*. Munich, 1893.

²¹ Hitzigrath, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-14. The following title should be added to Hitzigrath's list:

Copey Zweyer Deutschen Discurs, darunter der erste Der Teutsche Brvts Der Andere aber Bruti Bruta Vox et Oraculum genandt wird. Anno 1638. 4°. 44 unnn. pp.

Frankfurt, p. 199.

²² Trewhertzige und wolgemeynte Ermahnung, Eines Alten Teutschen Landsknechts, Deme die Noth und gegenwärtige Gefahr des allgemeinen geliebten Vaterlandes höchlichen bekümmerte. 1640. 4°. 24 pp.

Frankfurt, Freytag, No. 5645.

Der Teutschen Planet, Das ist: Nothwendige Betrachtung Der frembden Kriegeswaffen in Teutschlandt, darinnen, Von derselben Gerechtsame und Befügnitss, wie auch vermuthlichen Ausgang. In Form eines Gesprächs, zwischen Ernst Germann, von Teutschenheimb, und Wendelin Frantzmännlein, Aus dem bisherigen Erfolg . . . gehandelt wird. Gedruckt Im Jahr, 1639. 4°. 124 unnn. pp.

Frankfurt, p. 204; Freytag No. 5638; Göttingen, Jus. Gentium. 4002.

Jean Petage, Oder Frantzösischer Brillenreisser, Das ist, Die heut zu Tage verübte Frantzösische Kriegs-Actiones in Teutschland, wo solche hinaus sehen, und wie sie in künftigen ablaufen möchten, durch ein hell Brillenglass gezeuget und gewiesen. Im Jahr 1641. 4°. 24 unnn. pp.

Frankfurt, p. 209; Frankfurt, Freytag No. 5654; Berlin, Flugschr. 1641, 6.

Machiavellischer Weltbetrieger, Das ist Wunderlicher Abgesandt von Ihr höchsten Eminentz von Paris abgefertiget An alle hohe Potentaten der gantzen Welt, etc. Darinn Augenscheinlich die Ursachen und Ruin dess gantzen Teutschlands, und schon lang gewehrten Kriegeswesens, trewhertzig geoffenbahret werden. Seestätten 1644. 4°. 36 pp.

Frankfurt, Freytag No. 5733.

²³ Variorum Discursuum Bohemicorum Nervi Continuatio XIII. Der Hussitenglock dreyzehender Klang. . . Publicirt Durch Johann Hussen redivivum. . . Erstlich gedruckt zu Prag im Jesuiter Collegio, durch Theophilimi Hieronymi, Anno 1620. 4°.

Vienna, Archives, 1620. No. 62.

²⁴ H. Kowallek, *Ueber Gaspar Scioppus*. Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte. Erster Band. Göttingen, 1871.

²⁵ Quoted from Schoppe's best known work *Classicum belli sacri* in Raht und Anschläge: Welche Herr Caspar Scioppus, ein Oesterreichischer und Spanischer bestelter Raht (wie er sich selbstennennet) in disem 1619. Jahr zu Pavia in offenen Truck ausgehen lassen, und selbige zwar, in einem Lateinischen Büchlein, Dessen Titul: *Classicum Belli Sacri*. Das ist: Von eines Christlichen Keyzers Ampt gegen diejenigen Chur- und Fürsten, so sich von der Römisch-Catholischen Kirchen abgesondert. Erstlich Gedruckt zu Pavia, im Jahr Christi M.DC.XIX. 4°. 14 unnn. pp.

Berlin, Flugschr. 4°. 1619, 114; Frankfurt, Freytag, No. 4877.

²⁶ H. Knapp, *Matthias Hoe von Hoenege und sein Eingreifen in die Politik und Publicistik des dreissigjährigen Krieges*. Hallesche Abhandlungen zur neueren Geschichte. Heft 40. 1902.

²⁷ Fasciculus Ex Bohemia. I. D. Matthiae Hoens Schreiben an den Wolgeborenen Herrn Grafen Joachim Andres Schlick. II. Wolmeynend Missiv an D. Hoen, wegen seines

Schreibens, so er an den Wolgeborenen Herrn Grafen gethan. III. IV. Kurtze widerholung, wie und wie fern sich D. Martin Luther mit den Reformirten verglichen habe. V. Item, Wie viel Lutheraner mit den Reformirten gute Brüderliche Einigkeit hatten. Und wie fürneme Lutheraner allen Streit, den sie mit den Reformirten haben, nur auf etliche Punct in vier Artikel stellen. Daraus augenscheinlich zu sehen: wie unbilllich erweise D. Hoe die Reformirten ohne unterschied für Orientalische Antichristen oder Turcken helt und ausschreyet. Im Jahr, M.DC.XIX. 4°. 43 pp.

Göttingen 8°. Hist. Germ. un. VIII, 76. 14.

Other editions: 1619, 90 pp.; Frankfurt, Freytag, No. 4860. 1619, printed in Hanau, 56 pp.; Halle, Jf. 3201, 25. 1620, 38 pp.; Halle, Jf. 5207, 1. 1620, 48 pp.; Frankfurt, p. 59.

²⁸ Einfältiges Gespräch, über den kurtzen, aber unschriftmässigen Bericht Von den Ungötzen Bildern An die Christliche Gemein zu Prag, Als aus ungnädigsten befelch die Schloss-Kirch von allen Gottswereck ungesäubert worden gethan, Durch Abraham Scultetum vast in ein: und ausgang dess Christmonats Anno 1619. Gedruckt zu Prag, 1620. 4°. 34 pp.

Munich, J. publ. E. 103, No. 9.

There is also a reference to the destruction of the images in Plate V.

²⁹ Evangelium Luce am Andern. Gedruckt im Jahr 1619. Broadside. Frankfurt, p. 48.

³⁰ Schoppische Blumen, Auss einem zu Ticin oder Pauia in Welschland, Hispanischer jurisdiction, in diesem noch wehrenden 1619 Jahre in Druck ausgegangenen Buche nachfolgende Titul: Caspari Schoppij Consiliarii Regii Classicum sacri Belli, Oder Caspar Schoppen, Königlichen Raths Lermenschlag zum heiligen Kriege . . . auss Lateinischer in Hoch=Teutscher Sprach versetzt. Benebens einer Praefaction. . . . Gedruckt im Jahr 1619. 4°. 24 unnn. pp.

Berlin, Flugschr. 4°. 1619, 8; Frankfurt, Freytag, No. 4843.

³¹ Fasciculus Ex Bohemia. See note 27.

³² Eygentliche Confractur, Wie Konigl. Mayst. zu Schweden, u. den alten Corporal Tyllen nach dem April schicket, und was er ihm für eine Last zu tragen auffgesacket habe. [1631.] Ill. Broadside.

Munich, Kupferstichkabinett 138772.

³³ Dess Mitternächtigen Post-Reuters. . . . Passport. See note 15.

³⁴ See R. Wolkan, *Deutsche Lieder auf den Winterkönig*; and E. A. Beller, *op. cit.*

³⁵ Triumphus Unionalis. Das ist Ordentliche ausführung und gewisse Verzeichnuss, Was die sampliche unirten Von Anno 1618 den 13 Maij angerechnet, biss auff Instehendes Anno 1621 Jahr den 1 Aprilis löblich unndt eigentlich Verriktet. Teutschland . . . für augen Gestelt. Durch Patientem Nileffectivum Nobilem Francicum. Gedrückt MDCXXI. [In ink, not printed.] 4°. 8 unnn. pp.

Berlin, Flugschr. 1621. 93.

Another ed., 1622. Frankfurt, p. 83.

³⁶ Eygentliche Confractur.

See also W. Lahne, "Tillys Niederlage bei Breitenfeld in der zeitgenössischen Karikatur und Satire," in *Thüringisch-Sächsische Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, Vol. XXI, pp. 36-50.

³⁷ Among the many accounts of atrocities the following may be mentioned:

Spannischer Türk (1619). Atrocities committed by the Spanish, Walloon and Hungarian troops in Bohemia.

"Gründlicher und warhafftiger Bericht von dem schrecklichen Einfall der Engländer" (1621). Printed in Dittfurth, *op. cit.*, p. 54. The charges against the English volunteers in Münster are however baseless.

Pasewalckische Schlacht, Das ist, Missivi Von der in Pasewalck verübten unmenschlichen Tyranny und Verstörung, an einen guten Freund, . . . von einem so aus Pasewalck, der verübten Bosheit entrinnen, und allen Teufflichen Muthwillen der unchristlichen Kayserlichen Soldaten selbst schmerzlich ansehen mitüssen. Anno 1630. den 12. Septemb. abgesandt. 4°. 12 unn. pp. [By Christian Loper] Berlin, Flugschr. 1630. 42.

Another ed.: Pasewalckische Schlacht Das ist, Missive Von der in Pasewalck verübten unmenschlichen tyranney und verstörung . . . Anno 1631, den 4 Januarij abgesandt. [1631.] 4°. 16 unn. pp.

Frankfurt, Freytag, No. 5461. Also with the title: Laniena Paswalcensis Das ist Missive Von der zu Pasewalck in Pommern verübten unmenschlichen Tyranny und Verstörung . . . Anno 1630. den 12. Septemb. abgesandt. [At end] Stralsund, Gedruckt bey Augustin Febern [1630]. 4°. 16 unn. pp. [By Christian Loper]

Frankfurt, p. 122; Frankfurt, Freytag, No. 5396; Berlin, Flugschr. 1630. 42 C.

Other editions: 4°. 1630. 24 pp., Leipzig 16934, 11. 4°. 1630. 16 unn. pp., Berlin, Flugschr. 1630, 42 a.

Judging by the number of editions, the atrocities committed by Imperialist soldiers in the Pomeranian town made a great impression.

Abschewliche, doch warhafftige Erzehlung, wie die Käyserlichen den 24. Sept. 4 Oct. 1633. In der Stadt Goldberg in Schlesien, S. Durchl. Hertzog George Rudolphen zur Lignitz und Brieg zuständig, über Barbarisch, ja gantz Teuffelisch gehauset. Ans glaubwürdigen Schreiben, und grundlichem Bericht der jenigen, die selbst dabey gewesen, und die Tyranny erfahren müssen, Zusammen getragen Durch Einen Trewen Patrioten. Gedruckt zu Creutzenach 13/23 Novemb. Anno 1633. 4°. 16 unn. pp.

Berlin, Flugschr. 1633, 50. Charges against a regiment of Wallenstein's troops under the command of Colonel Sparre.

Trewhertzige . . . Ermahnung Eines Alter Teutschen Landsknechts . . . 1640. See note 22. In which it is maintained that the Swedes were responsible for the destruction of two thousand Protestant churches and the loss of 400,000 souls in four years.

³⁸ For an excellent account of the contemporary literature on the destruction of Magdeburg see W. Lahne, *Magdeburgs Zerstörung in der zeitgenössischen Publizistik*.

³⁹ Gustavi Adolphi Königs in Schweden Unchristliches und Tyranisch Decret: Wider die Catholischen Schweden, und deroelben Gönner. So jährlich drey-mahl zu Stockholm, und im gantzen Landt öffentlich verlesen wirdt. Auss dem Schwedischen in Latein, jetzt aber ins Teutsch übersetzt. Gedruckt im Jahr, 1631.

Vienna, 20. T. 524.

⁴⁰ Discurs von dem jetzigen Zustandt in Böhmen, In einem Gespräch ordentlich verfasst und beschrieben. Gedruckt im Jahr 1618. Broadside.

Frankfurt, p. 43.

Ein Gespräch von dem gottlosen Cardinal Clösel, wie er sich verflucht von wegen des Blutbadts, dass er im gantzen Königreich Böhmen hat angericht. Gedruckt im Jahr 1619. Ill. Broadside.

Frankfurt, p. 49.

Böhmischer Vnruh Schauspiegel (1619), printed in J. v. Scheible, *Die Fliegenden Blätter des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, p. 219.

⁴¹ Conversation Zwischen zweyen Studenten, einem Catholischen und Calvinisten. Ob die Jesuiter an allerley Empörungen, so an jetzt im Römischen Reich, und sonderlich auch an dem Aufstand in Böhemb schuldig seyen? Gar lustig und nützlich zulesen. Erstlich zu Prag gedruckt, im Jahr MDCXX. 4°. 22 pp.

Berlin, Flugschr. 4°. 1620. 1; Frankfurt, p. 56; Frankfurt, Freytag, No. 4936; another ed., *ibid.*, No. 4935.

Das Krancke Römische Reich Dessen Ursach und Glaubwürdige Artzney dargegen, Authore Paracelso, etc. . . . Sampt anhangendem Schluss, wie dess Reichs Schwachheit und Fall, sey zuverstehen. Gestellet durch M. Angelum Grauem, Palatinum Sincerioris Philosophiae Studiosum. Mit Erlaubniss und Consensu Superiorum. Gedruckt im Jahr 1620. 4°. 40 pp.

Leipzig, Deutsch. Gesch. 1631 b, 7.

⁴² Same as references in notes 21 and 22 above.

⁴³ Quoted in "Raht und Anschläge," see note 25 above.

⁴⁴ Schwach, Johann: Kriegs Discurs Darinnen Was einem Jungen Cavallier, so sich zu dem Kriegswesen zubegeben gesonnen . . . zubetrachten. . . . In Neun schönen Discursen an tag gegeben, Von Johanne Schvachio. Dresden, In Vorlegung Wolff Seifferts, Buchh. Im Jahr 1629. 4°. (12) + 140 pp.

Frankfurt, p. 114.

⁴⁵ Dietrich, Konrad: Land-Verderbens—und Kriegs—Trost, zum Seeligen guten Newen Jahr, über die Wort dess Propheten Jeremie 15, v. 2 . . . Gehalten, zu Ulm im Münster am Heiligen Newen Jahrs Tage dieses 1632. Jahrs. Tübingen 1633. Johann Konrad Geysler. 4°. 32 pp.

Frankfurt, Freytag, No. 5538.

Maul, Thomas: Bericht, Wer anjetzigem Krieg und elenden Zustand unsers geliebten Vatterlands Teutscher Nation Schuld habe und Ursach seye . . . verfertigt Durch Thomam Mavlivm. Gedruckt im Jahr, 1636. 4°. 24 pp.

Frankfurt, p. 192.

⁴⁶ Copy and Abschrift eines Schreibens an die Röm. Käys. May. vom Conde de Buquoi, de Dato den 15. Decembris, Anno 1618. Erstlich Gedruckt in der Alten Stadt Prag, bey Samuel Welesslawin, im Jahr 1619. 4°. 8 unn. pp.

Prague, 42 C 109.

⁴⁷ Particular Relation Auss. Rom. Was zwischen dem Papst unnd Cardinalen Spanischer Faction, wegen der Königlichen Majestät zu Schweden, u. Todt, vorgangen. Auss dem Italiänischen verdeutschet. Gedruckt im Jahr Christi M.DC.XXXIII. 4°. 8 pp.

Leipzig, Deutsche Gesch. 16936, 21.

⁴⁸ H. von Srbik has made an excellent and original study of the propaganda following Wallenstein's death in *Wallensteins Ende*.

⁴⁹ Seuffzer nach dem Guldinen Friden, Allen Christlichen Potentaten, ja allen Christlichen Hertzen zubedencken. 1636. Ill. Broadside.

Munich, Kupferstichkabinett.

⁵⁰ Dess armen Manns schnliche Klag, gegen dem grossen Kriegs Gott, über das verderbliche Kriegswesen, und umb Abwendung desselben. . . . W. W. Dichter. Ill. Broadside. Nürnberg, H. B. 19, 792.

⁵¹ Werder, Dietrich von dem: Friedens—Rede. See note 16.

⁵² Hoheburg, Christian: Heutiger, Langwieriger, verwirreter Teutscher Krieg, In einem . . . Gespräch vorgestellt, Darinnen begriffen, 1. Woher selbiger ursprünglich entstanden. 2. Warumb auch bisshero er nocht nicht habe auffhören können. 3. Weniger anjetzo auffhören könne, und werde. 4. Wie aber er endlich fruchtbarlich könne beygelegt werden. . . . Von Christiano Hoheburgk, Lüneb. Gedruckt in Jahr M.DC.XLIV. Frankfurt bey Matth. Merian. 1644. Duodecimo, 617 pp.

Göttingen, Hist. germ. un. VIII, 661.

⁵³ Vogel, Johann: Meditationes emblematicae de restaurata pace Germaniae. Sinnbilder Von dem widergebrachten Teutschen Frieden. Francofurti [1649]. 4°. Johann David Zunner. 60 pp.

Frankfurt, Freytag, No. 5803.

THE PLATES

PLATE I

Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen, Fol. Hist. Germ. un. VIII, 82, 43.

Size of original print, 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 12".

God holds the rods of punishment and is watching over Ferdinand who is seated on a throne bearing the Hapsburg double-eagle. The defenestration is shown in the upper right-hand corner. One of the victims, in mid-air, is upheld by angels. By means of the scale A A, 1/60, at the top of the text, the drop may be calculated to be about forty-six feet. "Pernsdorf" (3) shooting at the victims is probably Ernfrid von Berensford one of the rebel leaders who ordered a Hungarian soldier to shoot. In the center are the armed forces of Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, Lusatia and the Protestant Estates of Austria while around them fly Bohemian and Dutch grubs. The five rebellious groups are again represented by the five joined hands. Below, appears Bethlen Gabor bearing the standard of Transylvania (11). Date of print: c. 1619.

A Memorable Mystery about an already-fulfilled and a future Prophecy, which tells of the past and present State of the Disorder in Bohemia.

German Explanation of the Copperplate.

1. One or even three must die for the people.
2. He who already lies in the moat, need not worry that he will fall farther.
3. One does not always hit the mark at which one aims.
4. This man will try to bring about, so to speak, three kinds of deaths to an innocent man: The more unfortunate a man is, the more he is persecuted by his enemy: O you tyrant, the management of men is not in your hands but in God's.
5. There is either the hope of achieving liberty, or of extending still further the honor of Ferdinand's scepter.
6. We Silesians also, if we are attacked, wish to join the Bohemians.
7. I, Moravia, have been grievously deceived by the Bohemian and Dutch grubs.
8. Derided Lusatia played a bloody game.
9. O Austria, how can you achieve greater liberty than by remaining under the old and just yoke.
10. Hic etiam inventum Bajorum dicite Turnum. That is to say in German: But at this time a brave and fortunate warrior hero from Bavaria has appeared.

11. Either we must win and conquer or subject and obedient to another a higher government.
12. From nothing will come nothing.
13. Victory does not consist of great se glorification, self-praise and boasting, n of the number of weapons; but you mu rely on your own virtues, and not c foreign alliances. We place our hope beloved peace and we hope that we sh: still overcome our enemies.
14. In pagan days the gods conquered l thunder and lightning their adversaries w: opposed them as it were with a hundr: hands: So also God will know how to puni and break these five kinds of arms whic have joined against the Lord's anointed.
15. It is God in heaven, who with His almigh arm, that is with rods, sword and fire, w: punish the rebels for such inhuman decc and bloodshed. He has already robbe them of all their wits, so that they may b destroyed all the more quickly.
16. In this sign (namely the white cross) yc will conquer.
17. The eagle, legally elected, overcomes al
18. The house of Austria is bound to expect an to hope for a great victory in the world.
19. Lo, He that keepeth Israel shall neithe slumber nor sleep. Psalm 120.
20. Thou who giveth victories unto king: Psalm 143.¹
21. Thou shalt rule² them with a rod of iron Psalm 2.
22. God takes greatest care of exalted princes:
23. I sleep, but my heart waketh: in the Son of Solomon 5.
24. For he shall stand at the right hand of th poor, to save him from those that condem his soul. Psalm 108.³
25. Their embittered souls must bow to th command of the All Highest.
26. When a man's ways please the Lord, h maketh even his enemies to be at peac with him. Proverbs of Solomon 16.

¹ Book of Psalms 144, verse 10 in Authorized Version.

² The word is "break" in Book of Psalms 2, verse 9.

³ Book of Psalms 109, verse 31 in Authorized Version.

PLATE II

Germanische Museum, Kupferstichkabinett, Nürnberg, H.B. 399.

Size of original print, 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 11".

The expulsion of the Jesuits from Bohemia and Hungary in 1618 is celebrated in this satire. It is pretended that the fugitives, of whom a few are named, are on their way to Amsterdam which appears in the background. George Rumer was provincial of the Jesuit province of Austria which until 1622 included Bohemia. Martin Kaldi was master of the novitiates in Brünn. Lukas Fanini became the confessor of Eleanor of Mantua, wife of the Emperor Ferdinand II. George Forro became provincial of Austria in 1630. The only cheerful member of the party is the driver, Antoine Arnaud (1560-1619), a Paris lawyer and famous anti-Jesuit. His presence must be taken in the spiritual rather than in the corporal sense. The initials S.R.P. stand for two mock saints, Rasperius and Ponus who will receive the Jesuits in the city jail. Date of print: c. 1618-1619.

The proposed Pilgrimage of the Jesuits driven out of the Kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary to Saints Rasperius and Ponus in Amsterdam's Jail.

God lives and still sees all things,
 Be they big, high or small.
 He does not scorn the prayers of the poor,
 Because He sees deeply into all that is hidden.
 Prayer is not bare of fruit
 When help is only and always sought of God.
 If the pious man is oppressed,
 He still receives the crown of glory.
 Even though the godless man rises high
 And the punishment is somewhat delayed,
 Yet it will not fail to appear,
 But rather becomes ever more severe.
 Good experience teaches us this,
 As we have the evidence for it.
 For whoever employs deceit and cunning,
 Himself will go to rack and ruin.
 Now not long ago
 The jaws of hell spewed forth
 A mass of evil and utter infamy
 Composed of real assassins,
 Who with horrible intrigue and cunning
 Afflict only pious Christians.
 They also, after their fashion,
 Falsely bear the holy name of Jesu.
 They don sheeps' clothing,
 Though true wolves at heart,

For to satisfy their desire
 They cannot be filled enough with our blood.
 Therefore you gruesome horrible beast,
 The devil's false honor and ornament,
 The true God's highest dishonor,
 You grievously persecute His holy word.
 The hellish lying wicked spirit
 Has been your chief begetter,
 For you are the child of destruction,
 Swiftly inventing all cunning, and intrigue.
 Your smooth words are pure poison
 As may be daily seen in you.
 You falsely proclaim God's word,
 And insist upon it with force.
 You carry on in this way for years, and now,
 With water, iron, rope and fire
 You threaten the lives of kings,
 Wish to burn their palaces besides.
 You breed of snake and raven,
 Much evil on earth comes through you.
 You call yourself by the name of Jesu,
 But you misuse it outrageously.
 Deceit, betrayal and cunning
 Are your best practices.
 You pursue the lives of kings,
 Besides you are bloodthirsty,
 Ambitious, avaricious and proud,
 A malicious and bad lot,
 And even so you cannot on this earth
 Be satisfied with all this.
 Fie, fie upon you for the great shame
 Of so betraying people and land.
 You say: You mean very well with us,
 And thirst only for our blood.
 You use weapons, fire and your cunning,
 Truly you are a bad Christian.
 You call yourself God's people and com-
 munity,
 But you are more likely to be a thief of God.
 Never in the world have there been
 Greater rascals, I believe.
 And that which destroyed and razed
 Troy the mighty city,
 Will come home to you soon in a rush
 (May God help with joy).
 Quite decently you avert your face
 As though you did not know women.

You know very well
How to start something new everywhere.
You draw great lords and children of kings
Rapidly into war.
You tell them to fight insolently,
As all Bohemia
Hungary, Moravia and Austria bear witness.
Formerly they were mighty and rich,
But as soon as your cunning
Sneaked into them,
Then these same kingdoms
Were ruined by you almost simultaneously.
Therefore they have driven you out of the land,
Fie for the great shame.
It would be no surprise if now
You yourselves lost life and limb,
Or because of great and sore displeasure
You choked in your own blood.
But without joking, if you have
A spark of honor in your heart,
Take your way quickly to Amsterdam,
Call on other patrons.
The carriage is already before the door,
Which will bring you to that city.
The Venetians and the Bohemians,
The Hungarians also are not ashamed.
They give you horses for your help and benefit
So that you may get there all the sooner.
Now be on your way soon,
Father Colowrat travels with you,
Also Father Haynal and Rumer.
Ferro will provide you with an escort.
Father Caldi and Faninus

Travel along; but the horses must be driven
Arnaudus, who is an advocate
In the great council in Paris.
Now when you have undertaken the journey
And arrive in Amsterdam, as I relate,
Ask for the jail, do not forget,
For many wonders happen there.
Innumerable great miracles are now being
performed
At this place.
Although you know almost everything,
Be it of great or small importance,
Yet I believe that of this place
You have surely not heard much.
Two saints are revered there,
The one is called Rasmus,
The other is called St. Ponus,
As the story clearly tells.
These two holy men
Will take you under their wing.
They will set you a penance
Which each must perform, especially
Because you are such holy people.
Revere them with heart, mind and spirit,
As you revere other idols.
And complete the cure thoroughly,
For then something good will come of it,
And God with His grace
Will indeed again give you light.
Now begin your pilgrimage,
Then again love, peace and quiet
Will increase in the whole world.

PLATE III

Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen, Fol. Hist. Germ. un. VIII, 82, 82.
Size of original print, 15" x 11".

Bethlen Gabor, prince of Transylvania has set up an open loggia for the castrating of Jesuits, monks and priests. In the left hand upper corner Father Nicolaus is in intimate conversation with the tailor's wife. Below, she is weeping when her lover is emasculated. The tailor appears in the foreground with shears and measuring rod, followed by a soldier bearing a pike. Other Jesuits are chained to a pillar. Date of print: c. 1620.

Transylvanian Wares displayed in Hungary, which the Prince of Transylvania has displayed and cut up in great number in the Kingdom of Hungary among the Jesuits, Monks and rebellious Priests, to the amazement of all.

A Postillion

Hear, wonder, wonder and more wonder,
I now bring something new
From Hungary, not without danger,
I come here swiftly by post.
There is neither peace nor quiet,
For extraordinary happenings occur.
The well known Prince of Transylvania
Has arrived in Hungary,
Visited several monasteries,
Examined the Jesuits.
The monks as well,
Many could not escape,
Especially those he believes
To be the greatest plotters.
They (there is no begging off)
Must all be castrated.
Prelates, abbots, priors, bursars,
Jesuits, it cannot be helped.
The good fathers must now
Give up their *Fraterculos*.
Then without a shudder
Their baggage is cut out completely.
They may die or recover from it,
No great attention is paid to their great fuss.
The monks, priests and Jesuits
Run away and do not want to be castrated.
In the whole land therefore,
A great wailing is heard everywhere,
Especially amongst the priesthood
To whom it is a heartfelt affliction.

A Tailor

Yes dear postillion, I have heard
How in many places
The Jesuits are castrated,
The monks are sorely afflicted,
That is an unheard-of thing,
The matter should be taken easy.
Yes I must confess
That the Jesuits, who call themselves
Religious, as well as monks and priests,
Like to have frequent dealings
With our wives,
When they are alone with them.
I believe that in such cases
They often sing the hours to the women,
But in such a way
As to read the mass into the left ear.
At vespers and compline
They employ their speed.
For Father Nicolaus
Stood next to my wife in the summer house.
The next day the abbot in the cloister
Gave my wife a pater noster.
She told me that she should pray to it.
It strikes me as very strange
That monks and priests come so often
When they have not much business with me.
For when a priest comes to my house,
My wife sees him to the door.
She stands next to them and laughs with them,
There must be something going on there.
Is it true what at this time
Is told about the Jesuits,
Namely how in word and writing
They do much mischief everywhere,
Put the lives of great lords in jeopardy,
Besides start war and rebellion,
Give children to our wives,
And yet they pretend to be pious people:
For this purpose they sneak in so maliciously
Under the guise of holiness.
It serves them right to a hair
That they are completely castrated.
Should I learn (as has been rumored),
Be it recently or a long time ago,
That one of them was familiar with my wife,
I would pay him for his reading of the mass,

In anger would I set upon him,
Whet my sharp shears on him.
He would surely not laugh then,
Nor play many more tricks on my wife.

The Tailor's Wife speaks and complains
to herself.

O what a very unhappy woman
I am today,
Yesterday I heard
And received the very bad news
That the Transylvanian has now
Invaded Hungary.
All who submit to him
Are not endangered,
But he is said to have castrated
Many monks and Jesuits.
Father Niclaus is said to be among them,
Should I not be heart-broken?
According to his custom he is said also
To have castrated the abbot and sub-prior,
Besides many a priest
Who has done many good services to me.
Is not this great tyranny
Committed openly against priests
Who in such matters

Do so many and such good works?
I wish ardently that it had happened to my
husband

Who even so is of little use
For pleasantry and dame Venus's play.
In him there is neither lust nor joy,
Whereas I have received
Many a fillip from the priesthood,
And it agreed with me right well.
But my husband is lazy and idle,
Whereas in every way
Our lord abbot was so very lively.
And the prior my heart's desire.
Father Niclaus the Jesuit,
Never said me nay.
The other gentlemen were also lively,
Therefore I complain bitterly
That many a gentleman is maimed
And completely bedraggled.
Therefore I pass all my days
In great sorrow, fear, trouble and wailing.
O had it only happened to my husband,
And if only the monks and priests
Had been spared in these years!
That would have been a heartfelt joy,
But now I suffer pain and misery.

Stiebenbüraischer in Vnaern auß geleger Messram/welchen der Fürst in Siebenbürgen vnter den Jesuiten/Wüthen und außfröhlichen Pfaffen mit großer Verwunderung im Königreich Vngern aufgelegt vnd hauffenweiss verpöndt hat.



Ein Postbott.

Hört wu' er wunder/über Wünder/
 Ich bring mit etwas neu: ihunder/
 Aus Vnaerland n'her odn gesezt/
 Ken ich sehnell auß der Post dahert/
 Darin ist weder freud noch rüh/
 Dann es aetz Wunderlich am zu.
 Der Siebenbürgisch Fürst bekandt/
 Ist ankommen in Vnaerland/
 Hat alllich Eister villere,
 Die Jesuit Examine,
 Wie d'and die Wüth: auch beschickten/
 Ist viel haben nicht k'inn erweichn.
 Insende hat nicht Ervermeint/
 Das es die großen Weilmacher send.
 Die eben es hilft sein verblüht/
 Die müssen all sein außgeschüttelt.
 Prelaten/Abt/Prior/Wurster/
 Jesuit: es hilft nichts silt.
 Die guten Patres müssen ehrt/
 Ihre Fraterculos herab.
 Dann manschnelt ihnen ohne grauß/
 Den Plunder ganz vnd gar heraus.
 Steud in dranstehen oder geuch/
 Ist man nicht v'el Ihr großes wein.
 Die Wüth/Pfaffen vnd Jesuiten/
 Entan'v vnd wolnankheit verichniten
 Ist also indem ganzen Land/
 Ein groß We: klagen allerhand:
 Worob vnt der Weillst k'ent/
 Das ist ihnen ein herbeledt

Ein Schneider.

Ja lieber We: ich hab gehört/
 Was das an viel vnd manchem Ort.
 Man die Jesuit außschneid/
 Den Wüthen thut man an groß leyd.
 Das ist ein verhöte Sach/
 Man solt dem ding thun sein gemach.
 Doch man: k'gleichwol zwar bekennen/
 Die Jesuit: so si: h'ennen
 Weillliche Leut: auch Wüth vnd Pfaffen/
 Die haben also vnt zuschiffen
 Mit vntern Webern in gemein

Wann sie allein bey ihnen seon,
 Ich glaub: das si in solet endtzen/
 Den Webern o: si die Horas singn/
 Oder aber in so: chen wein/
 Ins Linck: Ohr die We: ich k'inn.
 Zur We: vnd Completen zeit/
 Drauffen Ste: Ihr se: ich indigelt.
 Dann nachst standt Pater Nicolaus,
 Der nit:es: Frau im Sommer k'ont.
 Den Andern sag der Abt im Chor/
 Hab meiner Frau ein Paier wehr.
 Fran soll si bitten sag si jhr/
 Das si kompt mit gar Spanisch silt.
 Das so o: si kommen Wüth vnd Pfaffen/
 Haben doch nicht viel bey mir zu schiffen.
 Dann: Wann ein Pfaff kompt in mein Haus/
 Mein Frau gibt: Ihn das gleich hinauß.
 Sucht: bey Ihnen vnd laßt sie auß.
 Das ding das muß ein Hädlein haun.
 Was war: was man zu dieser zeit/
 Von Jesuiten staret außget.
 Nemlich: wie si mit We: vnd Schisslet/
 Allen haben viel Anglück stiffen.
 Grossen Herren sehn nach dem lebn/
 K:leg/ Aufrubr anrichten darnebn.
 Vntern Webern Kinder anstellen/
 Fromme Leut daryn nach Ihn wollig:
 Darzu vnter ein Heiligen secht.
 So heimlich sich schleichen ein:
 Wie: ich: Ihn nicht vntrecht vnd ein Haay/
 Das man Ste aus schneit ganz vnd gar.
 Solt: Ich es fahren wie man stode/
 Co:en in lung oder sonder zeit:
 Das ein an meinem Weib solt hengen/
 Ich wolt: Ihn das Weillst endtzen.
 In: Sommer: Ich re: it an Ihren/
 Meine schone Scheer an Ihn wegn.
 Er vnt: auch daryn nicht tauchen/
 Mein Weib der Post nicht viel mehr machn.

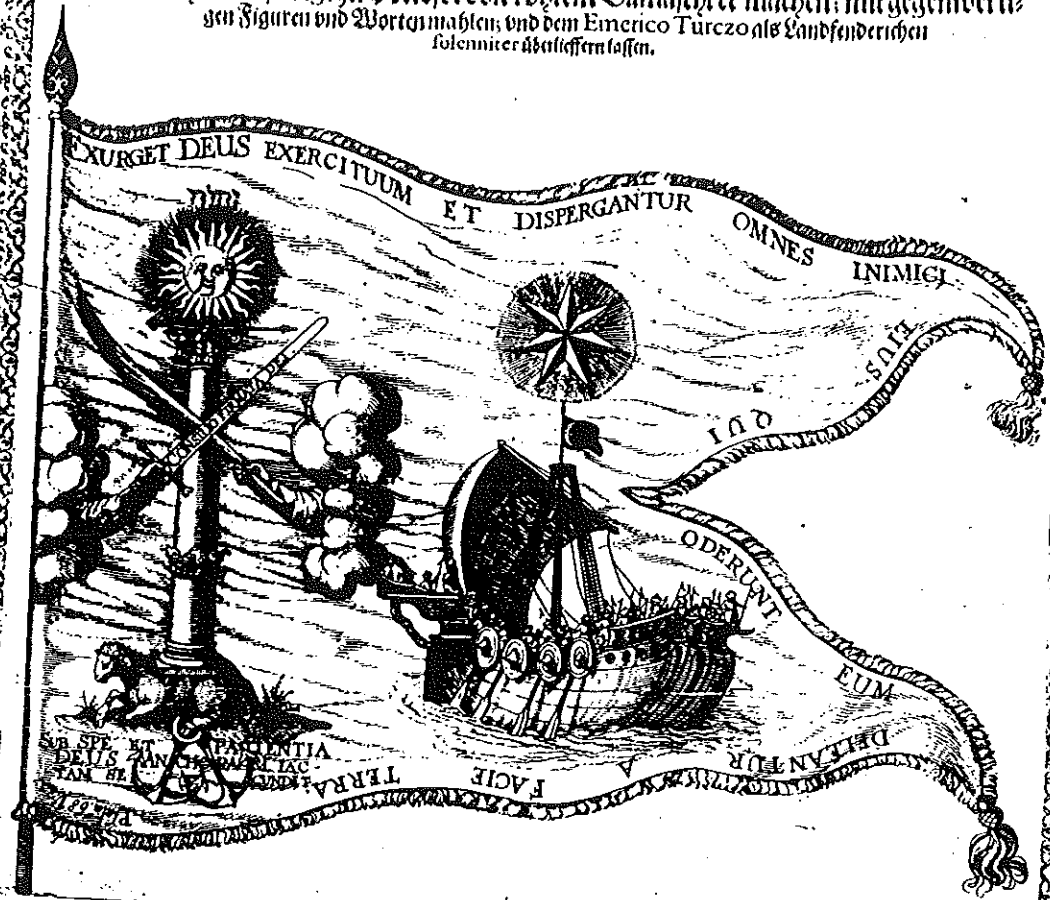
Des Schneiders Weib/ spricht vnd klagt bey Ihr selbst.

Ich wil bin: Ich zu tiger zu/
 So ar: ein Weillst: nicht Weib/

Geht: ge: Lago hab: Ich vernommen/
 Vnd hab gar böie Post bekommen.
 Wie das der Siebenbürg: zur Post/
 In Vnaern eingestallt ist.
 Alle die sich an Ihn ergaben/
 Dem ist Er nicht an ihren lebn.
 Aber Wüth: vnd Jesuit/
 Soll: Ich viel haben auß geschitten.
 Darvnt: soll: Pater Nicolaus k'ont/
 Soll: mich nicht sehn durchs: Herz h'innen
 Dem Abt: Eubriter soll: Er auch/
 Ainst: nicht: in lassen nach: ihm brauch.
 Darzu noch man: in Gefilt: in Mann/
 Die mit viel guet: Dienst: gekon.
 Ist das nicht: große: Franney/
 Die man an Püsteren übi: so frey.
 Welche: noch: das in solchen sachen/
 So guet: Post: Aiten: mach: n.
 Ich wolt: es: vntrecht: in mit: verlangn/
 Co:er an meinem Mann: hinaus: gangn.
 Dar: ich: lang: ohn: das: nicht: viel/
 Zum: sehn: end: Frau: Venus: Eitel/
 Der: Ihn: ist: weder: hat: noch: freud/
 Herab: von: der: Weillst: lett.
 Hat: ich: viel: Eck: napp: k'inn: eingekommen/
 Vnd: ist: mit: viel: end: recht: bekommen.
 Vnter: mein: Mann: ist: saul: vnt: frey/
 Herab: war: in: alle: weg.
 Vnter: Herr: Abt: somunter: sein/
 Vnd: der: Prior: das: Herlein: mein.
 Pater: Nicolaus: der: Jesuit/
 Der: schlug: bey: mir: auß: keinen: Nit.
 Die: andern: Herrn: waren: auch: munter/
 Der: süß: Ich: große: klag: imunder.
 Das: mancher: Herr: ist: worden: zerschüttelt/
 Vnd: also: adnlich: auß: holl: vnt: pilt.
 Die: süß: Ich: alle: meine: Lag/
 Groß: Vammer: Angst: N: vnd: We: klag.
 Ich: wolt: doch: nicht: Mann: wie: erfahru/
 Vnd: leit: man: vnt: in: diesen: Jöhrn.
 Der: Wüth: vnd: Pf: ist: verkehrt: sein/
 Das: wir: ein: silt: dem: Herrn: mein/
 Nun: aber: k'inn: nicht: sel: man: end: pilt.

Bethleem Sabors Bluffsahnen/

Welchen derselbige zu Beweis von rostem Damascus machen: mit gegenwertigen Figuren vnd Worten mahlen; vnd dem Emerico Turczo als Landsenderischen solenniter abtuffern lassen.



Diese Flur alhier zur feist
 Bethleem Sabors Bluffsahnen ist
 Welchen erinnslich (mit vnterlicht)
 Emerico Turczo abtuffern het
 Dem Land Züderich in Angerland
 Was nun der Zahn hat er verstant
 Dier was die Figur bedout
 Wecht viel leicht geben bald die Zeit
 Allein die Worte so trinmen stahn
 Will ich dir jetzt kurtz seiger an
 Er stahn in dem Palmensbuch
 Am acht vnd sechszestien außsüch
 Da David spricht: Wo steh Gote auff?
 Daß seine Feind all zu hauff
 Zersteret werden in sein Grimm
 Die ihn haßten stachen vor ihm.
 Darnoch ein Schiff so alhie steht
 Vnter dñ Säulen dahin acht
 Durch Gottes Raht befestigt ist/
 Zur Hoffnung vnd Gedult zur feist/
 Dem außgeworffnen Zucker wol/
 Gort Glück vñ leyhen. Damach sol
 Im anieder steln bilden ein
 Was dir andern Verland in die fern
 Als Sonn/ Scepter/ Säulen vnd Cron

Das Schwert/ Palmweiz/ auch zu vor an
 Das lauffene Schiff zu sampt dem Stern.
 Socht weißt ich die Aufsetzung gem
 Dann ein jeder schilt wie sie wist/
 Säng wort bester Dauter ist:
 Vor men Person wünschlich allzeit/
 Daß dieser Zahn alls gure bedout.
 Gort weil auch gnädig dastir seyt/
 Daß den nicht bey vns brechen sey/
 So alhie auß dem Schiffe stahn/
 Der fremden Wäldern vns barahm.
 Dazum wird dann auch beffra gen/
 Christus der rechte Jacobs Stern/
 Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit/
 Welchen geben wet vnd drei
 Als dem erigen Gottes Sohn/
 Der biß an der Welt End regiert
 Ihn anjurußten vns gebiet/
 Daz er vnser liebs Vaterland
 Vnna wider in Fried vnd Wollstand.
 Gort best/ daß dieser Palmensweiz
 Das Schwert ergeren schlaan in ein Strich/
 D lieber Gort/ von vns nicht weich.
 E N D

PLATE IV

Stadtbibliothek, Ulm, Einblattdrucke, III, 5.

Size of original print, 14¹/₄" x 10⁶/₈".

In contrast to the preceding plate, this print attacks Bethlen Gabor as an ally of the Turk and an enemy of God and man. The ship flying the crescent of Islam and bearing Turkish men-at-arms, will, it is hoped, be stopped by the Christian symbols of the star, the sun, the palm-branch and the lamb. Date of print: c. 1620.

Bethlen Gabor's Blood-flag which he had made at Neusohl of red Damask and had painted with the present Figures and Words, and presented solemnly to the Turkish Emir as the Country's Ensign.

This figure shown here
Is Bethlen Gabor's blood-flag
Which he recently (understand me right)
Delivered to the Turkish Emir
The country's ensign in Hungary.
The meaning of the flag
And what the picture signifies
Time soon might tell,
But I will indicate in German
The words that appear therein.
They are in the Book of Psalms,
Look them up in the sixty eighth chapter
(Psalm 68, v. 2¹).

Where David says: Let God arise,
Let his enemies be scattered:
Let them who that hate him
Flee before him, etc.
Besides an inscription
Under the column goes as follows:
By God's wisdom it is made steadfast
At this time for hope and patience
May God grant success
To the dropped anchor. Accordingly,

Each for himself should imagine
What the meaning of the others may be:
Such as sun, sceptre, column and crown,
The sword, the palm-branch, and above all
The sailing ship together with the star.
I myself would like to know the explanation,
For each for himself, as you know
Is the best interpreter of his words:
As for myself I always wish
That this flag signifies everything that is good.
May God also by His grace
Prevent all who travel on this ship
From breaking in on us,
May he protect us from foreign peoples.
In this also willingly, help Christ,
Christ, the true Star out of Jacob,
(Numbers 24, v. 17).
The Sun of Righteousness,
(Malachi 4, v. 2).
To whom belongs far and wide
All kingdoms, sceptre and crown.
(Psalms 2, v. 8).
As the eternal Son of God,
Who has dominion unto the ends of the earth.
(Psalms 72, v. 8).
It is our duty to call upon Him
(Psalms 50, v. 15).
That he may bring our dear fatherland
To peace and prosperity again.
God help that this palm-branch
Break the sword in two at one blow.
O God, do not desert us.
The End

¹ Verse 1 in Authorized Version.

PLATE V

Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.

Size of original print, 11 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ ".

The rebus was a favorite form of political satire. Here the butt is the unfortunate Frederick, "Winter King" of Bohemia. Some of the points are lost in translation, for example, the ape used to designate the "af" in "Pfalzgraf."

The immunizing Magic and Medical Spells, of a Strength to frighten a Rabbit, which Frederick of Heidelberg used in Storm and Battle.

Far away I surely halt,
It is very good for shooting.

In the past
In every fight
No shot
Whether big or small
Could hurt me at all.
In many a fight,
My magic is such.
Make use of it
With discretion:
As I have done, gallop away!

When the Palsgrave of electoral rank,
Departed from his fatherland,
He did not wish to hold his sceptre very long.
He made a blind beginning.
With his fleeing army,
He soon made himself invisible.
And performed many magic acts,
Followed the seven planets.
The first planet, Saturn
Signifies how brave he was.
Runs hither and yon
Also uses the figure [Jupiter].
This planet has the number two,
When the two and four are added
And correctly summed up,
Surely this will make six.

They signify the six electors
While he becomes a false friend.
Venus¹ makes his heart so heavy,
He suffered great pain from the fact
That he undertook in the Empire
Quickly to seize the [Bohemian] orb.
Meanwhile Mars² came speedily
And wounded the king with the arrow.
This affected his land and people.
Mercury³ poisoned him so badly,
And purged the palsgrave so strongly
In his bones and paralyzed his marrow.
He thought, if he could only bring
The crescent moon⁴ to shine brightly on the
orb.

While he called on Gabor and the Turks
For help, so he wished to operate
Against the Empire and its subjects.
He fled the sun and loved the crescent moon
With its shine and wicked cunning,
But yet wants to live like a Christian.
Blood-bath, robbery, shooting and burning
Were caused by him in many lands.
But he had to depart finally
From the pleasure house and the castle in
Prague,
In shame without sceptre and crown.
His men and horses were quickly
Struck down on the White Hill.
Hide, thought he of Heidelberg,
It is better to run away bravely
Than to fight badly and to be hit hard.
He was very much frightened.
He applied this medical spell to his feet,
And with his wife he hastily took to his heels.
Such is the spell he used for the guns.

¹ His wife Elizabeth.

² Probably Maximilian of Bavaria.

³ Perhaps Spinola.



















⁴ The Turk.


















en Geschichtliche Karte gfrir. Khünst vnd Wündt
Weliche Friderich von elberg in sirm vnd schl: 8: en
gebraucht hat.

In Der  Zeit.
 K  mir thein gschopf
 Schadn dirc 
 Mein khünst t  das.
 Wie Ich hab .



Bei Jedem st. 
 Wder thein noch g 
 In Manichen 
 B  nach der Mas.
 schnell daruon.

Als pfaltzgr  Türstien standt.
 Abwich, zoch auß sin  landt.
 Wolt den  sierenit gar lang.
 Macht er ein  anfang.
 Bei seiner slichtigen  schar.
 Macht er sich padt  vnsicht.
 Vnd het  e khünsten Triben.
 Hielt sich nach der planeten  en.
 Der erst planet.  der.
 Bedeit wie er be  hafft wer.
 Fein weeg hin, den ander herr.
 Braucht auch dis Zeichen.  4
 Difer planet d  ziffer zwo.
 man die  2 vnd  4 Also.
 So züsammeng  recht sumiert.
 Gwis  sechs geben Wierdt.
 Bedeit das  6 Cürsirsten seindt.
 Die er Würdt ein falscher freindt
 macht in so trieb sein.
 Dard ch lidt er vil der schmerz.
 Das er ein tom in dem Reich.
 Den vnder sich zu stürzen g
 tham ent zwischen in Eyl.
 Verwündt den mit den
 Welches sein land vnd antrifft.

In so hart Vergifft.
 Vnd pürgieret dem pfaltzgr  so
 In sein gepein.  it in das March.
 Dacht wan er nur b  en mecht.
 Den  schein auf den Apfel Recht.
 Weill er Gabor vnd den 
 Kuefer vmb hilff. so wolt er 
 Reich vnd dero vnderthon.
 Flohe die  vnd liebt den 
 Vndern schein vnd  er list.
 Wolt democh  en wie ein Christ.
 Bluet padt  rauben  vnd pradt
 Durch in ent  g Im Maniche landt
 Doch  lich müste er dar 
 Mit  ohne vnd
 Auß dem lufft vnd prager
 Man let im schnell man vnd Ros.
 Zu poden auf den Weisen
 Der dieh dacht der von heidelberg.
 Ist beser dapper daruon
 Als yhl vnd hart getroffen.
 Ein g se forcht in Ihn tham.
 Difen Wünd segen in seine namb.
 Vnd sambt sam gmah. gsch aufst.
 Solichn Segen braucht er für die

Nder zeit ward der Pfalzgraf geführt in die Cal-
 unische Wäste vnn dem hoffertigen Gess/ auff das er von selz
 nem Weib versuche würde. Vnd da er alles das sein versuche
 vnd verthan hette/ darnach hungert ihn. Vnd die Versucherin
 trat zu ihm / vnd sprach : Bistu ein Ehrsüßten Sohn / so
 sprich das die Böhemische Stein zu Deot werden / das vnsere Kinder zu lebem
 haben vnd zu essen haben. Vnd er antwort vnd sprach : Mit allein im Brot
 können sie lebem/ sonder sie müssen die Klosterkuppen/ Stiffe vnd Gotteshäuser
 daz zu haben. Da nam ihn der Sculterus sein Hofpredicant mit ihm in die
 grosse Stadt Prag/ vnd führte ihn in den Tempel hinauff in die Schloßkitz
 chen/ vnd sprach zu ihm : Bistu ein Böhemischer König / so stürz diese Bilder
 vnd Heilthumb hinah/ dann es ist geschrieben/ Der von Thurn hab seinen Dieb
 uren beschon/ sie werden die Silber vnd Goldene Bilder auff den Händen
 daruon eragen/ auff das sie nit eruann an die Stein veretzt werden. Da sprach
 der Pfalzgraf wider umb : Es steht bey Caluino geschrieben / Wir sollens vers
 uchen/ vnd er ließ sie hinab stürzen. Obermal nahm ihn der Graf von Thurn
 mit ihm auff den Wessenberg/ vnd sagte ihm alle Reich der Welt/ sampt ihrer
 Herrigkeit vnd sprach/ Das alles will ich dir geben / wo du niederstieß / vnd
 Caluimum anbetest/ Da fiel er nieder/ vnd ließ sein Hosenband dahinden. Da
 verliesen sich die Teuffel/ vnd sibe die Engelkinder wolten ihm nit mache die
 nen/ darumb trat er zu den Holländern/ vnd wohnet bey den wilden Thierca
 sonst hett er nicht zuessen.

Des Pfalzgrafen Versuchung.



PLATE VI

Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.
Size of original print. 14 1/4" x 6 3/4".

Frederick, no longer elector palatine or king of Bohemia, but a mere palsgrave, has been led into the Calvinist wilderness to be tempted by his wife. The text is a parody on Luke. IV. 1-9. Date of print: c. 1621.

The Palsgrave's Temptation.

At this time the Palsgrave was led into the Calvinist wilderness by the insolent spirit so that he might be tempted by his wife. And since he had consumed and wasted all his possessions, he thereafter hungered. And the temptress came to him and said: If thou be the son of an Elector, command the Bohemian stone that it be made bread, so that our children may live and may eat. And he answered, saying: They cannot live by bread alone, rather with it they must have cloister-soup, bishoprics and churches. Then Scultetus, his court preacher brought him to the great city of Prague, and led him up to the temple in the castle church, and said to him: If thou

be a Bohemian king, cast down these images and holy relics, for it is written, Thurn¹ has ordered his servants to carry off in their hands the images of silver and gold, so that they may not be damaged by the stones. Then in turn spake the Palsgrave: It is written in Calvin, we should attempt it, and he had them cast down. Again Count von Thurn took him up to the White Hill and shewed unto him all the kingdoms of the world in all their splendor, and said: All this will I give thee if you cast thyself down and worship Calvin. Then he cast himself down and left his garter behind him.² Then the devils ran away, and lo, the Englishmen no longer wished to serve him. Therefore he went to the Dutchmen and lived with the wild creatures, otherwise he would have had nothing to eat.

¹ Count Matthias von Thurn, one of the leaders of the Bohemian revolt.

² The Order of the Garter, which Frederick left behind him in his flight from Prague.

PLATE VII

Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen, Fol. Hist. Ger. un. VIII, 82, 25.

Size of original print, 14 1/4" x 14 1/8".

Count Ernst von Mansfeld (c. 1580-1626) was the best-known *condottiere* in the early part of the war, selling his services to Frederick and then to James I of England. He is here depicted as the hero plowing a field which will bring forth soldiers, and refusing to turn his head when bishops try to bribe him. The name of the field, "Mansfeld," is of course a pun on Count Ernst's name. The field may also be taken to mean Alsace, where Mansfeld's troops in 1622 ravaged and burned the towns mentioned in the picture. In the upper right-hand corner appears the comet of 1618 which is supposed to have presaged the war. The print is dated 1622 in the Roman lettering of the title.¹

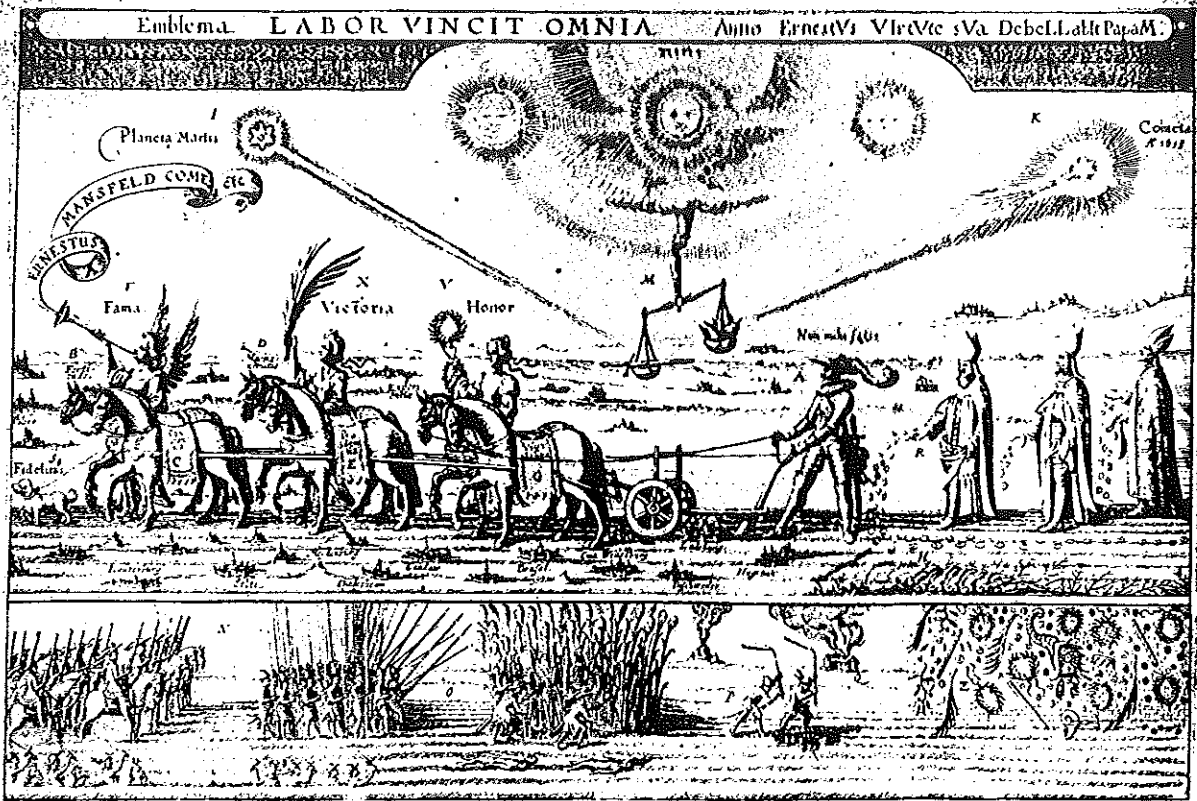
Emblem: Labor Conquers All. In the year that Ernst by his Courage vanquished the Pope.

A brief Explanation of this Picture.

- A. Labor conquers all,
As can be seen in this hero's courage.
He puts his hand Ernestly to the plow
And says, still it is not enough for me.
If a Mansfield is to be tilled;
Then he must always work hard,
- B. Turn over the land by his strength.
Then he can live on it,
And not only once a year
- C. But keep on going perpetually.
- D. And with a span of Generosity
- E. Together with wise Prudence,
- F. He always keeps a wakeful eye
So that the Mansfield should be correctly
sowed,
And so that no thistles should come up
Which might oppose him.
- G. For Experience taught him
That thorns and thistles only encumber
the earth,
Are also great hindrances to the plow
So that it cannot go straight ahead.
- H. Therefore they must be uprooted
- I. Which is the meaning of the planet Mars.
He appears at the right hour
And destroys them in this Mansfield,
- K. As the comet trusted in him
And recently gave augury.
- L. To this end three suns
Were also seen in the firmament,
But two of them disappear,²
- M. Because the sword overcomes them.
But the sun of Righteousness
Still shines high over this Mansfield.
It brings fruit of such a kind
As is painted before one's eyes.
- N. Horsemen and foot soldiers without number,
- O. Together cut down the harvest at one stroke
- P. And thresh it remorselessly
Until towers and walls fall down.
- Q. Also burn up the stumps completely
So that vermin should not nest in them
To make mouse-traps with deceit and
cunning
As has often happened.
Although on this Mansfield now
- R. Much gold and money is sown,
He does not however let himself be corrupted,
But plows ahead
And follows upright without hesitation
- S. The little dog called Fidelity,
Which he has also sworn
To his lord and king.
Therefore on this Mansfeld
- T. There also appears spreading Repute
- V. As well as Honor and high praise.
- X. When he conquers his foe by Victory,
He achieves immortality,
His fame is known far and wide.
- Z. He carries away many wreaths of honor,
That is the true reward for work,
Like a fruitful rain,
He gets great riches with rich benefit.

Heidelberg, at Jacob Granchom's.

¹ This print is fashioned after the pattern of the "Triumphant Chariot" such as Dürer's famous "Triumph of Maximilian" (B 139). Kindly suggested by Dr. Erwin Panofsky.
² Probably the emperor and the king of Spain.



Kürze Erklärung dieser Zygur.

Si quisquam Herulos possit esse pessare la-
 Stigon 3 amaris est possit esse vici (bites)
 Ducere Equos generos indyros ubi.
 Patis Mansfeldi magna Comeseque laus
 Hoc quales animo invictis virtus amec.
 Hoc emblema ubi, Lector amice, referat.
 Cui quos 3 Latium fas est subigere vestium.
 In partem potest Maximus ille pedes.
 In gradibus hinc Ernestus prae laude theatron.
 Germaniae inter se probante Ducem
 Cum Fidei vixit Cuius fortis, Camellio.
 Et quos 3 omnia nomina Roma dedit.
 Hoc amice est maior, quod se maioribus effert
 Nobis, & obiectat plures atque misis.
 Ne quisquam tantum tantis ignis Germania fatis,
 Cuius hinc in lectos cedere sua dies.
 fideus in postis oculus regnat iberos.

Qui quere patriam cum regione locum.
 Atque atam cultumq; sacrum violare Tonitis.
 Nunc patri infidias, nunc paratense emanat.
 Candidas Ernestus vastos illudidit libert.
 Ne valeat voti velatere, dolos.
 Vindicat a rigidis natalis femina domus.
 Pontificumque luculatus ire vetat.
 I felix Ernestus tua virtute, fidelis
 Quod te, quem sequeris, facta agit, Canis.
 Vixit fidem, hic sperne lete post tempora nimo.
 Quam potest vulpes reia nunciale (nos).
 Namus hinc (sicut nectis) Hispanica dicitur orsi.
 Quod quod ab Hispanis provenit, esse tati.
 Sincram esse poterit qui quam dicitur, tueri.
 Hic deans in columen non posside fidem.
 Sed tua ciliar habet virtus in nocte, nec possit
 Ad tua, quae falcas, praeda bobat eget.

A **B** **C** **D** **E** **F** **G** **H** **I** **K** **L** **M** **N** **O** **P** **Q** **R** **S** **T** **V** **X** **Y** **Z**

K Ernestus fidei fideus
L Ernestus fidei fideus
M Ernestus fidei fideus
N Ernestus fidei fideus
O Ernestus fidei fideus
P Ernestus fidei fideus
Q Ernestus fidei fideus
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Y Ernestus fidei fideus
Z Ernestus fidei fideus

Extract zweyer Particular Schreiben/
Eines an Signor Pladis/vonden Rebellen Bauern
 im Land ob der Ens. Das ander an Fertelli Frau Oist.



Auff, auff, auff. O lieber Jodel lauff, vnd nimb den Brodsack mit, dan dich dich gar schon bist.

Adio Signor Pladeis dein gute amori und Freund miteinander.

Veste Signor, dein Zedl No. 1. den 27. Octobr, in vnser Luderische Land zu Linz, bekommen, Gazo, vvisi i verainb, vwie doß in vnser Welsche Land, vwo da ist viel Catholisch Fass, und schone Pudaui, brover vil vrachsen Pomeranzen, Lemani, Sironi, i taitür aber, diß ist wir per Din ben, vwie diß ist in guter steranza, die vrunden dir bald maggen Kawpadova, per Dio, den bey vns in der Ober Oesterreich, vwo da ist viel Luderisch Bauer, ist er nimmer guet, gazo Der Bauer Luderisch Mauffschaff, ist se Rebelisch vrorden, vwie dauften Dießel, hat an die Heiligen Dag, vwie se du liebe Gut in die Himmel hat maggen sehr auff, prum, prum, Lauff, supra ganz Landaus, O Signor i kan dir nit maggen sreib, vwie se die Luderisch Farfant hat maggen hauffen, vwie se vnser fromme Fass maggen schlag nider, daß sie alle Viere verkauff, ist die Rebelisch Mauffschaff per serza, lauff, lauff, vwo der Gatz, Aber vnser Mon. Signor Conte de Herberichoff, hat sie mit der Heferle beissen Suppen maggen seibst anß, daß sie die Luderische Best in die Haor von der Koff hat maggen brennab, gazo, O Signor mio du ganz mir nit maggen glauben, vwie i hab zaitert, vwie nasse Hund, gazo, vrwann die Mauffschaff vrort kommen erin, vwie maufftu Signor Francesco, vwie se vrund gebauß hab. O Signor Spazi komin, venqua i vrill dir maggen presta vwo, daß sie muß serzan vwie die Egel, so ja Welsche Dieb, vwo hastu deine Hechle, Mauffsal, Nadel, Machel, Doppeldass, vwo ist se dein Kramerj, presta, drag her, O Signor, surfant hat sie mir alles nimb vwo. Lass mir derhalb vrider maggen ein 200. Hechel und Mauffsal, bißli, schick mir Pomeranß, Lemani, Sironi, Nadel, Machel, aber der Luderische Huer, in der Ober Oesterreich, vrill sie die Macher nimmer gern gauffen, dar schick mir ain Zuvai stuck Doppeldass, damit i der Luderische kan maggen zahl auß, O pecca fuitu, vrwann i denck an die Luderische Dieb, bey Gott ibin schellig, vrwann sie mir bett maggen schlag nider, per Dio, heit sie mit mein Siller erstochen, presta Signor, vwie se aber die Rauch nit maggen schwaggen, ist sie Luderisch Selm, presta nagg Welsi lassen, dort hat sie a Pappenheim mit seiner Cavalleria Luderische Best in die Lachen, vwo se viel stuck kommen hincin, vwo ist se jetzt Redofar, vomb Venqua, Deß für Majesta Privilegia, ha surfant is se nit vrerffen vrorden in die Lachen, vwo se viel stuck kommen hincin, vwo ist se jetzt Redofar, vomb Venqua, du muß se jetzt gingerli gangerli, heuck auff, Koff ab, sick auß, super ganz Land hinauß, vnd die Luderische Koffmauß, muß sie lauff vwie ander Selm, aber Catholisch Soldat mag Koff ab, daß sie die Leiff von die Koff lassen, ihut sie dir recht, vrarumb bist se rebelisch vrorden, bett sie die Catholisch Fass vnd Landknecht nit maggen schlag nider: Arß Signor Francesco, vwo du vwie se geht bey vns in der Ober Oesterreich zu, gazo i bin schellig per Dio, vrwann i denck an die Luderisch Best, i gan jetzt nit magen schreib besser, Vale Signor, griß mir meine liebe Pari, die sie hat Lassen maggen in der Veneta strapa corda, vnd mein liebe Frade di tuist nestri paisanti. Linza, vwo da ligt in der Statgrab viel Luderisch Bauer vergrab, vt sup.

Tutti Fratelli

Signor Francesco Spazagami.

Orsu ein gutem Morgen / und nit gar früe / mein lieber Frau Ursell.

Griße, sünde, neue fridliche Jar, du weiß die wol, Ich bin dein lieber Mann Antoni Fertelli, vnd Ich hab dir heb / wie mein selber Steiß und Bluy oder der Teuffel oimied in das Luft weck. Warum du mein lieber Weib weck laufft / mit die lose Selm di Francesco, vnd all mir nit sagi / gazo, Ich lose Selm ab auff ihn maggen schellwellt, Ich lose Selm will mit di Pfistol maggen schela, tode, daß sie alle vier maggen red auß / der Leut sagt viel Spott, Ich aber nit glaub, der Leut sagt, du bist der Ich ab sagt, der die heist der der ist Selm, Ich ab sagdu bist Elmraisen A Ny Cazio in der Welscher Land zu der Fater vnd bey das Ruder / die lose Selm die Francesco wird sie wol ein bleib, hat sie die mein lieber Weib nichts schaff, vnd mag komn bald mein liebe Schägil, schick die bey diese gute Mann 20 Soldin vnd 30 Zigglin, vil sie dir noch mehr bald schick. Mein lieber guldiner Blind, bin nit grang, ab nur ab zweymal pissel Franzos, aber schon wider sund vnd Legromen mit die Signor compagnia. ab nur abt vwo Am hat einer die heissen Juliana, Pofardio ein sener Wenz / der ander hat heissen Catharina, ist nit sen weß, ist alle Teuffel weck lauff, gomb nur bald mein liebe Ginde, Ich nit ande Brn ab, als die mein lieber Weib Welsi, mein Fater ist todt verreckt / mein Bruder Alejandro ist worden Erreckt / der eine Schwester ist worden sund vnd Legromen, spring sie in die Luft wie die Teuffel, der ander Schwester ist worden Br / gazo hat sie hab maggen gleiches Gind / Pofardio ist großer Sand. Der dritte Schwester wieb sie nun alt, wird schon wider from wie der Ruder ist weß, bring ihnt aus der Welsche Land alle gute Sal, Zuggen, Zilgen, Pomeranz, ein gute Stibel voll. Gott mit vnd dich, vnd die Windische Orß / Ich bin dein lieber Mann.

Gib diese gute Vott Geldtrink.

Antoni Fertelli.

PLATE VIII

Germanische Museum, Kupferstichkabinett, Nürnberg, H. B. 19856.
Size of original print, 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ "

The revolt in 1626 of the Lutheran peasants of Upper Austria, temporarily ruled by Maximilian of Bavaria, is brutally satirized in a letter from an Italian itinerant merchant to a friend in Italy. The second letter has little to do with the revolt. The writer complains that his wife Ursel has run away with a certain Signor Fransesco, the author of the first letter. In the illustration, Signor Fransesco, the itinerant merchant is carrying a tray of fruit, and mouse-traps and other wares are slung on his back. He calls his wares: "Spinning combs, mouse-traps, oranges, lemons, citrons." Mistress Ursel holds her letter in her hand. The city of Linz, which the peasants besieged in July and August 1626 is in the background. Troops are fighting the peasants. Above the city appears the following admonition to the peasants: "Run, Jodel, run. Take along the bread-sack." The letters are in a dialect which the German author imagines would be written by Italians. There are occasional Italian phrases whose meaning is sometimes obscure. Date of print: c. 1626.

Up, up, up, O dear Jodel run, and take along your bread-sack, I pray you truly.

Extracts from two special Letters, the one to Signor Pladis about the rebellious Peasants in the land above the Enns, the other to Mistress Orsu Fertelli.

Good day Signor Pladis, you and your friends and loved ones.

Dearest Signor, your note number 1 of 27 October has been received in our Lutheran¹ land at Linz. The devil! I hear that in our Italy where there are many Catholic priests and beautiful whores, this year's crop of oranges, lemons, citrons and everything else have been very good. I'm glad to hear it. They would soon make you run away, by God, for here in Upper Austria there are many Lutheran peasants who are never of good intent, the devil! The peasant, pig-head, has become as rebellious as a thousand devils. On the holy day when God ascended to heaven, they suddenly run all over the land: prum, prum, run, run! O Signor, I cannot write how the Lutheran rascals behaved, of how they slew our pious priests until they were stretched

out on all fours. They are rebellious pig-heads indeed. Run, run, like the devil! But our lord, Count Hebersdorf² poured a dish of hot soup over them until the hair of the Lutheran beasts was burned off their heads, the devil! O my signor, you can well believe how I shivered, like a wet dog, the devil! When the scoundrels came in you can imagine, Signor Fransesco, how they behaved themselves. [One shouted at me:] "O signor, chimney-sweep, come here. I will make you run until you make wind like an ass. You Italian thief, where are your spinning combs, mouse traps, needles, spindles, double-taffety, where are your dry-goods? Quickly bring them here, O signor!" The rascals have taken everything from me. Therefore let me have two hundred spinning-combs and mouse-traps. Please send me oranges, lemons, citrons, needles, spindles. But the Lutheran whore in Upper Austria does not want to buy any more spindles. So send me a couple of pieces of double-taffety, so that I can make the Lutherans pay. Hell and damnation! When I think of the Lutheran thieves I go mad. When they wanted to kill me, they would have stabbed me with my stiletto, good signor. But when they could not stand the smell [of gunpowder], the Lutheran rascals ran quickly to Wels. There Pappenheim³ with his cavalry met the Lutheran beasts and cut them down like dogs. Then they ran like a thousand devils. Now the land is too cramped for the rascals. They do not know where to go, and the Emperor now will ask: "Ay, stupid scoundrel, where is now your letter of royal privilege?" Ha rascal, was it not thrown in the puddle where all the refuse goes? To Venice where the ringleaders are, there they must go, higgledy-piggledy, hung, beheaded, all run out of the country. And the Lutheran stupid fellows must run like other rascals; but the Catholic soldiers cut their heads off so that the lice run off their heads. Serves you right. Why have you become rebellious? If only you had not killed the Catholic priests and soldiers. Now, Signor Fransesco, you know how things go here in Upper

¹ This word may be taken in a double sense: lutherisch = Lutheran and luderisch = dissolute.

² Count Herbersdorf was Maximilian of Bavaria's governor for Upper Austria.

³ Count Pappenheim, famous imperialist general and son-in-law of Herbersdorf, brought reinforcements to quell the rebellion.

Austria. The devil! I go mad, by God, when I think of the Lutheran beasts. I cannot now write better. Farewell, Signor. Greetings to my dear friends who went to the gallows in Venice [?], and my dear brothers, all my compatriots. Linz, where many Lutheran peasants lie buried in the city moats, as mentioned before.

Hail all ye brothers.

Signor Fransesco Spazagimini.

Orsu, a good morning, and not too early, my dear Mistress Ursell.

A fresh healthy happy New Year. You know well that I am your dear husband Antoni Fertelli, and I love you like my own flesh and blood, or may the devil carry me up in the air. Why, my dear wife, did you run away with that loose rascal Fransesco without telling me? The devil! I was angry at him, the loose rascal. I shall kill the loose rascal with a pistol and stretch him out on all fours. People make a mock of me, but I do not believe it. People say that you are a whore. I however say, he who calls you whore is a rascal. I have said that you have gone home to your father and mother in Assi

Cazino in Italy. The loose rascal Fransesco should stay home. He has no business with you my dear wife. Come back soon my dear sweetheart. I send by this good man 20 soldi and thirty ziggi. I shall send more to you. My dear golden child, I am not ill. I have only had the French disease twice slightly, but am well again and happy with the crowd. I have had only two whores, the one was named Juliana, by God a pretty thing, the other was named Catharina. She was not pretty. She ran away by all the devils. Come soon my dear child, I have no other whore but you my dear wife Ursell. My father kicked the bucket, my brother Alcsandro was hanged, one sister is recovered, is in good spirits and jumps in the air like the dickens. The second sister has become a whore. The devil! She had a little child, by God a great disgrace. The third sister now that she is getting old, is getting pious again like her mother was. Bring them from Italy all good things, sugar, figs, and oranges, a good basket full. God be with you and me and the people of Windisch-Gratz. I am your dear husband.

Antoni Fertilli.

Give this good messenger a tip.

PLATE IX

Stadtbibliothek, Ulm, Einblattdrucke, III, 61.

Size of original print, 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 8".

The Laplander, the Livonian and the Scotsman who are soldiers in the Swedish army, obviously were never seen by the artist. The strange animal is supposed to be a reindeer. Date of print: c. 1630.

A Picture of the extraordinary Peoples who are to be found in the Swedish Armada.

From Lapland, Livland and Scotland,
As is known well-known,
The king of Sweden leads
Soldiers who do credit to his army.
For it can be proved that they are strong as
steel and iron,
And immune to shot and thrust.
Also not enough can be said
Of how they withstand frost and hunger.
The Laplanders swift as horses
Run swiftly on level ground.
Similarly also they from Livland,
With the reindeer unknown to us,
Go very far in one day,

Thirty miles, I have heard.
The Scots also have a way,
And are very hardy by nature.
Children hide three days long
Under the shrubs and sheaves.
Through the strength derived from herbs,
they can last,
Yes indeed stay without hesitation,
Nay they allow themselves to be snowed under,
These are their quarters and their lodging,
As one reads in the chronicle.
There would be much more to write about
them,
Must let it be for lack of space.
O God protect the fatherland
By Thine hands from danger of war,
Drive hence all enemies of this time,
And give us peace and unity,
So that from our hearts
We may praise Thee Highest God, early and
late.



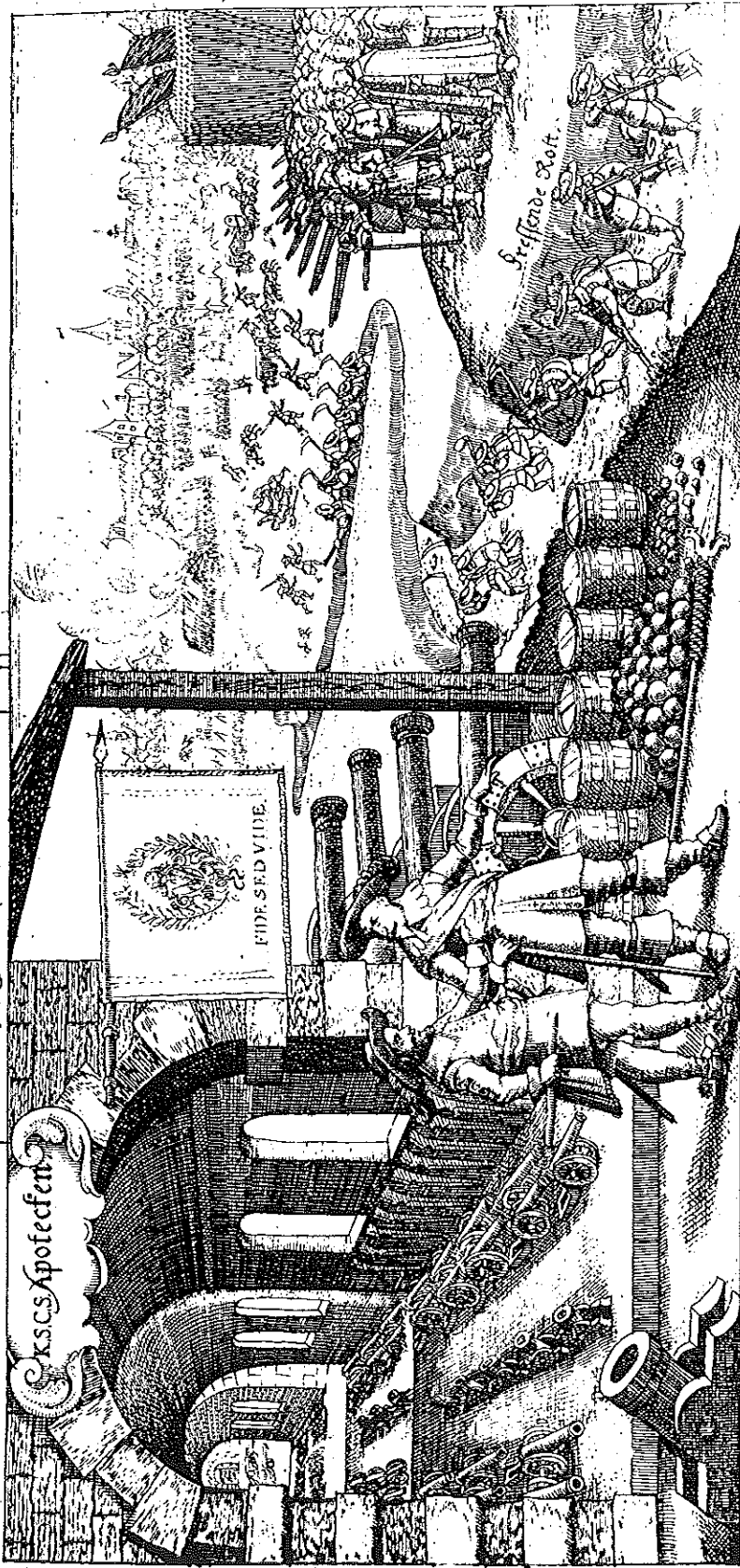
Abbildung der wünderfamen Weichhe so sich vnder der Schwödischen Rimada befinden.

Aus Laplandt Lifflandt vnd Schottlandt
 wie menigich ist das bekant
 Thut der König aus Schweden herten
 die sein hant gar wol thut zeigen
 das ist so voff mit den vnderen
 Schick vnd thut sie ist die vnderen
 auch lenens feck vnd hunger waren
 dar nicht gnuetz dauon die sachen
 die Laplandt thut gleich im theil
 lauffen hin wech als vnderen

Der gleichen auch die auß Lifflandt
 vnt den dem souit vns vnbekant
 dar weil in einem tag sy tomen
 vnt mit vns vns vns vntomen
 die wöllen rachen auch die gult
 vnt seudi vnt statutt alle hat
 vnder den händen vnt den händen
 der taclant sich künden verstellen
 dinst die keltz keltz keltz keltz
 da luffen sy gar vnt schreiben

ist u Qualität vnd losament
 wie man in den Cronica findt
 es wet noch vil von in die keltz vnt
 muß kurtz halben lassen bleiben
 O Gott behüt das vatter landt
 vnt keltz keltz mit demer handt
 der keltz keltz alle keltz der keltz
 vnt gib vns seid vnt emig keltz
 dar mit vnt die keltz Gott
 von keltz keltz keltz keltz

Der Königl. Maiestät zu Schweden / vnd Churfürstl. Durchl. zu Sachsen / etc.
 wolbestellte Apotheck / wider den fressenden Wurm.



Wie der fressende wurm, weit vnd breit vmb sich frist
 Wan da ein glied durch magt, er gleich am nechsten ist
 Also auch hat bissher, ein fressend Wurm durchgraben,
 Das ganz teuffelge Land, wie die wurmer vnd schaben
 Dis liels, also geschah, der vatter in dem Lande,
 Ob ihn die kinder schon, mit biß lieffen zu hande,
 Dis sah ein teuffelcher Held, dem gienge es zu heutz en,
 Vnd mercket, das es ihm, auch darufftig möchte spawerz en,
 So mach man wehren muß den wurmen wie das feur,
 Es es mehr vmb sich frist, wer die Cur noch so thut,
 Er thut dort einen Held, ihm freyen feld er sehen,

Su dem gieng er frey hien, bath ihn doch bey Zusehen
 Damit er trettet würd mit glück seliger Hand,
 Vom vorstehenden Todt, das starke Vatterland,
 Der Artzt genutz willig war, zu ihm sich bald gefellet,
 Den er war längst zuvor, von Gott darzu besellet,
 Hatte auch hin vnd her, solch Proben schon gethan,
 Er sprach, Ich weiß vnamit, man sie muß greiffen an,
 Weiß auff die falschen, dar vnd Buchsen groß vnd Klein,
 Wieru ist meine Cur, die Pillen gib ich ein,
 Darufft man, er zu hand, die schärfften Instrument,
 Griff die fräts wurme an, mit macht er sie durch rent,

Sie finden beyde wol, die Cur gericht so fern,
 Das sie bald lag ein Kopff dort bald ein arm vnd bein,
 Dem vngesieffer ist der draß nicht wol bekommen
 Das macht sie hatters gar, zu fett zu sich genommen,
 Auch gar zu viel in sich, der Jesuiter Wirt
 Der sie so druncken macht vnd zümlen in der Wirt,
 Wol dir du vatterland, dir wünsch ich muß in Stücke
 Das du erlöset bist, vnd der feind muß zu rücke,
 Setz ist das blat genent, der Artzt laufft zu dem brunnen,
 Daser das Biff entspringt, ist den zu kopff gesonnen.

PLATE X

Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin
Size of original print, 10^{3/8}" x 14^{1/4}"

In September 1631, John George of Saxony and Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden signed an alliance against the imperialists. They are here shown as owners of an arsenal, called an apothecary, containing military medicaments to check the enemy. The enemy soldiers, compared to devouring worms are digging up and destroying the land. In the background the enemy is being defeated. Date of print: c. 1631.

The well-appointed Apothecary of his Royal Majesty of Sweden and his Electoral Highness of Saxony for the devouring Worm.

Like the devouring worm, devours far and wide,
When he gnaws through a limb, at once goes for the next,
So also hitherto, a devouring pack has dug through
The good German land, like the worms and beetles.
The father of the land permitted this to occur,
Even though the children ran to him with pleas.
A German hero saw this, it went to his heart,
And he realized that in the future too it might hurt him.
Thought that the worms like fire must be checked
Before they ate more, be the cure ever so dear.
There in the open field he espies a hero.
He went freely to him, bade him for assistance,
So that the ill fatherland might be saved

From imminent death by a fortunate hand.
The physician was quite willing, speedily stood by him,
For he had been ordered by God for this purpose long before,
Had also here and you already given such proofs.
He spoke: I know wherewith they must be attacked,
Points to the little casks, and guns big and small,
Herein is my cure, these are the pills I give.
Thereupon he seized the sharp instruments,
Attacked the voracious worms, ran them through by force.
They both stood fast, the cure was so successful,
That soon a head lay here, soon there an arm and leg.
The fodder did not agree with the vermin,
That is, they had gorged too much fat,
Besides they had in them too much jesuitical wit
Which makes them so drunk, and causes them to tumble in the heat.
Hail to thee fatherland, I wish you happiness
Now that you are rescued and the enemy must retreat.
Now the tables are turned, the physician runs to the spring
From which the poison wells, and is planning to stop it up.

PLATE XI

Germanische Museum, Kupferstichkabinett, Nürnberg. H. B. 498.
Size of original print, 14 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ ".

General Tilly had a sweet tooth and, it is supposed, prepared a banquet to celebrate a victory over the king of Sweden and the elector of Saxony. At the bottom of the sheet is the list of delicacies ordered. Instead, Tilly was defeated at Leipzig (or Breitenfeld) on September 17, 1631. Now his men, armless, legless or on crutches, fight for the food, while three of the victorious officers on the left enjoy the sight. Date of print: c. 1632.

The Freshly-spread Sweets-Table, which His Royal Majesty of Sweden and His Electoral Highness of Saxony set up before Leipzig on the 17th of September, 1631, for General Tilly and his Sweet-Toothed Companions.

Come, come, brothers, come! Don't you want any guests?
Each man snatches for himself, and serves himself with the best.
Do stop, stop now, you are getting enough to eat.
For you are all before the city, where there is plenty.
Why do you crowd so? Do chew the morsels Before you choke on them. I would be glad to know
How long you have not dined, and why, when all goes so well,
You are so hungry, and so very desirous of sweets
Which you have long hoped for, but not craved so violently.
Keep on emptying lustily. You will be taken care of
And were it twelve times more. Empty the plates,
There are enough sweets here. Hold your banquet here.
I beg you again, do not hurry so,
Do not crowd, do not grab so much, you bruise each other.
Do lay down the plates. Now the rumpus starts.
Now one sees what greediness and grim hunger can do.
They come to blows. One rushes through the crowd
Thinks he can be the first to get the full plate,

But loses half his head. Another is afraid,
Lays about him here and there, and leaves a hand behind.

Here many sit, and complain about their backs.

There some wander with supporting crutches. Each shows his injury, complains that too much happened to him,

And wishes that he had never seen Breitenfeld. Good friend, where did you lose half a leg? And you, what are you looking for so longingly behind the ears?

I hold the pistol that killed you,
And that in compassion repulsed you so valiantly.

You cannot say that you have not received enough,

For each man was approached in person
And waited upon. Therefore it is not our fault
That some leave here much of themselves and even themselves,

You yourselves are to blame. The thirty loads of wine,

I see, leave you, you sweat like swine.
You tasted too much ham, herring, salmon,
cheese, fish, bacon,

And you vomit them out raw.

There could also be no lack
Of the desired sugar, cloves, mace and nutmegs,

Which are used on the battle field. And the Swedes, as is their custom,

Spice the meal for their friends, which you are.
You have requisitioned many hundred pounds of the best coriander

Together with fresh powder and shot,
You have finished the most valuable sugar-bread, the strongest anis

Which allowed many a greedy man scarcely time to die. The almonds in the shells,

Though many paid with their lives in the struggle,

Agreed with you so well, that already in the flight

Many sought them here and yon without rising.

You could test the well-dried plums

H. B. 100

Nemgedeckte Confect-Tafel/ So Ihre Königl. Majest. in Schweden/ vnd Churf. Durchl. zu Sachsen/ General Tzllen/ vnd seinen Confect-Mäschern den 17. Septemb. 1631. vor Leipzig angericht.



Warum ihr Brüder, wie? begeret ihr keine Käse?
Ein jeder reißt für sich vnd legt ihm vor das Bege.
Ihr haltet halber doch nicht frage doch alle sat.
Denn ihr doch alle bey der Statt / da man vollauff gang
Warum ihr euch so drängt. Ist es nicht doch die Dinst?
Eh ihr daran emergt. Ich möchte gerne wissen/
Witlang ihr nicht geschick daß wils euch wird so gut/
Ihr sehet bursgerlich so arg noch süßten thut/
Das ihr vorlängst geschick nicht aber so begeret.
Ihr immer wurdich auß. Ihr seht wol seyn gemädet.
Vnd wie es so ist hat mich. Iht nur die Schalen auß.
Ihr ist Confect genug. Nur halber eben schmauß.
Ich bin euch noch einmal ihr wolt doch nicht so weit/
Ditngt ich nicht recht nicht so. Ihr schlagt einander Dullen.
Ist mir die Zehel bin. Iht gebt der Dittel an.
Daß man was der Dittl vnd getime Hunger fan.
Die Käse ficht in sich. Der reißt sich durch den hauffen/
Denn er wil voranß die reißt Schat entauffen/
Kompt er vmb halben Kopff. Ein ander ängstet sich/
Schlag er vmb sich hin vnd her vnd lost die Hand im stich/
Nur sticht er viel vnd klagen über Ditteln.
Denn wandert nicht mit vntersüßem Knickeln.
Ein jeder ist ein Lob daß ihm wird geschickel/
Vnd wurdich er. Iht mir das Ditteln ist geschick.
Wo hast du guet Freund vnter halbes Ditteln verloren?
Vnd tu was suchst du so staltlich bindern Ditteln?
Ich habe das Ditteln das dich bei auffgeschickel/
Vnd was Ditteln ist es so wurdich als geschickel.
Ihr seht nicht sagen nicht daß ihr nicht genug empfangen/
In dem den doch man ficht in irem gangen

Vnd hat ihm auffgeden. Da können wir nicht für
Daß mancher viel von sich vnd wolt sich ficht in hier/
Da seht ihr ficht in schuld. Die beifig Jader Ditteln/
Sich ficht in wolt von euch/ ihr seht nicht wie die Schateln/
Die Schateln/ Ditteln/ Lay/ Käse/ Süßer/ Speck/
Habt ihr in seht veracht vnd gebt sie roß hinweg.
In Zucker/ Negeln/ Muscarenbl. vnd Nüssen/
Hat auch bey dieser lust kein mangel vorgehen müßten/
Wie man zu Gede pflegt. Vnd wie der Schwede ist/
Der Freundt wie ihr seht das Maß ist vordren gut.
Ihr habt vnter hundert stund vom besten Corlander/
Wit ficht in Kraut vnd doch erhaben vntereinander.
Das wurdich Zuckerbrod/ den stärksten Anß/
Der manchen geistigen saum sie zu werden ließ/
Habt ihr wol auffgemacht. Die Mandeln in den Schateln/
Sich auch in dem Ditteln vnter leben müßen haben/
Ditteln euch so wolt daß auch schon in der Frucht/
Ein mancher bin vnd her ohn auffgeschickel gelucht.
Die Pfauent/ truden genug die vordren den Ditteln/
Habt ihr wolt stark sie seht euch wolt leben vnter Ditteln.
Dorauff verungt ihr euch mit vnter Ditteln/
Dere verdrert so manchen ficht in Ditteln/
Ja manchen ficht in Ditteln. Man hat euch jugentessen/
Was ihr in ewer Schickel vnd Ditteln doch vnter Ditteln/
Dere wurdich nicht das Ditteln wolt euch/
Auf Kopff vnd Leib erpreß so mancher beifig Ditteln.
Nun laufft ihr Ditteln. Denn vnter nemet so vnter Ditteln:
Habt ihr noch andre mehr/ so seht in Ditteln stillen/
Nur wollen hier wolt ihr hier ist vollauff Confect/
Doch saget ihm auch. Wie gut es euch geschickel.

Käßen vnd Tafelzettel/ so General Tzlln Abends vor der Schlacht von Leipzig begeret.

30. Jader Wein.	24. Käßen Ditteln.	Confect.	200. Ditteln Mandeln.
20. Truden Schateln.	24. Käßen Ditteln.	20. pf. überogen Anß.	200. pf. große Ditteln.
24. Käßen Ditteln.	60. pf. Ditteln.	20. pf. überogen Corlander.	60. pf. Mandeln in Schateln.
20. Käßen Ditteln.	24. pf. Ditteln.	20. pf. überogen Ditteln.	70. pf. eingemachte Lagnaten.
60. Käßen Ditteln.	17. pf. Ditteln.	20. pf. überogen Ditteln.	20. pf. Ditteln.
12. Truden Schateln.	40. pf. Ditteln.	20. pf. überogen Negeln.	20. pf. große Muscaren.
12. Truden Schateln.	20. pf. Ditteln.	20. pf. Ditteln Zuckerbrod.	200. pf. Ditteln.
200. pf. ficht in Ditteln.	24. pf. Ditteln.	20. pf. Ditteln Confect.	20. pf. Ditteln Pfauent.
100. Ditteln Ditteln.		20. pf. Ditteln.	20. Ditteln Ditteln.

Magdenburger Laug

64.
280.



A Als Magdenburg verbrandt, ertödt man jung vnd alt.
 B Drumb Gott sein Enyel sandte, welche die trechnen balt.
 Der armen fasten auff, die heuffig von ihn slossen.
 C führten die asch zuhauff, D die trechnen da durch gossen.
 E In des herrē zorn-schalen, man diese laug verwahrt.
 Das man den feind nachmahle damit zwung kopff vnd bart.
 F Dis hat Gott der gerecht, einem arzt auff getragen.
 Daz er durch seine knecht, den feind solt dapper zwagen.
 Auß den befehl des herron, kam dieser arzt ins landt.
 Der feind wolt sich zwar sperre, vnd ihm thun widerstandt.
 G Er müßt sich aber gschwindt, über die zwagbanck bücken;
 Vil hatten den zrbgrindt, den lieh er die haub zücken.
 Welchs sie sehr schmerzen thät, sie warens nit gewohnt.
 Doch war kein anderer Racht, drum wart ihr nit geschont.
 Vnd weil das blut nach traug, haut vnd har auch mit gangen.
 H Ward velen angst vnd bang, die zu stichen aufgangen.

Doch hatt sie diese flucht, so vil als nichts genügt.
 Weil sie der arzt gelücht, vnd entlich all gebüzt.
 That sie nach seinem ampt, mit laug der trübal zwagen.
 Wie sie verdient allamyl, drumb war bey ihn groß klagen.
 Vnd ob sie sich schon sehr, gegen dem arzt gewehrt
 Wolt doch nichts helfen mehr, er war ihm zu gelehrt.
 Gott gab ihm stärck vnd macht, das er die feind solt straffen.
 Weil sie sein kirch veracht, verfolgt mit ihren waffen.
 Der Raub diebstal mort brand, den sie bilf her verübt.
 Damit sie alle land, auff das eufferst betrübet.
 Komof ihn auff ihre köpff, der arz kan in recht zwagen.
 Das vil Gokolser Tröpff, darob müssen verzagen.
 I Darumb die christenheit, mit lust vnd freüt ansieht.
 Ihres feinds hergenleit, weil ihn Gott selber rieht.
 Gibt ihn den lohn den sie, verdient mit ihrem toben.
 K Dafür die fromen hie, vnd dort Gott Ewig loben.

And find how strong the retching olives are.
Foremost you were immersed in our marzipan
Even though it ruined many a good tooth,
Yes, many a good stomach. There has been
doled out to you

Something which you forgot in your note,
Whether gladly, I know not, namely, olive oil
Which is pressed out of your head and body
by many a lusty stroke.

Now run home, brothers, and be satisfied:
If there are others who also wish to still their
hunger here

Like you, here are plenty of sweets,
But tell them too how good they tasted to you.

Kitchen and Table list which General Tilly desired before
the Battle of Leipzig.

- 30 Loads Wine
- 80 Dried hams
- 24 Tons good butter
- 80 Sides of bacon
- 60 Measures of wine-vinegar
- 22 Tons lampreys
- 12 Tons fresh herrings
- 22 Tons fresh salmon
- 600 lbs. fresh fish for tomorrow

- 200 Dutch cheese
- 24 Barrels river lampreys
- 24 Barrels sardines
- 60 lbs. sugar
- 24 lbs. cloves
- 15 lbs. cinnamon
- 40 lbs. mace
- 30 lbs. nutmeg
- 22 lbs. saffron
- Confectionary
- 80 lbs. candied anis
- 80 lbs. candied coriander
- 80 lbs. candied almonds
- 80 lbs. candied cloves
- 80 lbs. musked sugar-bread
- 80 lbs. candied sweets
- 80 lbs. dates
- 80 lbs. gingerbread nuts
- 200 Ambrosine almonds
- 200 lbs. large raisins
- 60 lbs. almonds in the shell
- 70 lbs. preserved fruit¹
- 80 lbs. prunellos
- 80 lbs. large marzipans
- 200 lbs. capers
- 200 lbs. olives
- 24 lbs. dried plums
- 30 medlars

¹ I have been unable to ascertain the exact meaning of the
word *Lugnaten*.

PLATE XII

Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen, Fol. Hist. Germ. un. VIII, 82, 24.

Size of original print, 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ ".

To the left is the city of Magdeburg destroyed by
the assault of Tilly's and Pappenheim's troops and
the subsequent fire on May 20, 1631. By God's
orders, the ashes of the city are being removed and
piled high by angels (C). Angels gather the tears of
the stricken women (B) and pour them through
the ashes (D). The lye is preserved in the cups of
wrath (E) and then, when Gustavus Adolphus (F)
arrives, he orders the enemy to submit to a wash-
ing with the mixture (G). Date of print: c. 1632.

The Lye of Magdeburg.

- A. When Magdeburg burned, young and old
were killed,
- B. Therefore God sent his angels who quickly
Caught up the tears shed copiously by the
unfortunates,
- C. Piled up the ashes, D. poured the tears
through them.
- E. This lye is preserved in the Lord's cups of
wrath

In order later to wash the enemy's heads
and beards.

- F. God the righteous has appointed a phy-
sician
To have his servants wash the enemy
thoroughly.
By the Lord's command, this physician
entered the land.
To be sure the enemy wanted to oppose
him and to offer resistance to him,
- G. But he was quickly forced to bend over the
washing stools.
Many had scald-head, he had their scalps
treated
Which gave them great pain, they were
not accustomed to it.
But there was no way out, therefore they
were not spared,
And while the blood flowed, skin and hair
went with it.
- H. Many were afraid, and started to flee,
But this flight was of little use,

Because the physician looked for them, and
 finally cleansed them all,
 Treated them in accordance with his
 commission with the lye of sorrow,
 As they all deserved, therefore they com-
 plained bitterly.
 And although they stoutly resisted the
 physician,
 There was no more help for it, he was too
 learned for them.
 God gave him strength and power to
 punish the enemy,
 Because they despised His church and
 persecuted it with their weapons.

The robbery, stealing, murder, arson,
 which they hitherto employed,
 Bringing the greatest sorrow to all lands,
 Now falls on their heads; the physician can
 justly wash them
 So that many godless simpletons are there-
 by in despair.
 I. Therefore Christendom observes with
 delight and joy
 Their foes' affliction, because God Him-
 self judges them,
 Gives them the reward they deserve for
 their raving madness,
 K. Therefore the pious here and yon praise
 God forever.

PLATE XIII

Stadtbibliothek, Ulm, Einblattdrucke, III, 49.
 Size of original print, 14 ¼" x 10 ⅝".

Tilly, on the left, is in conversation with his French tailor who had received orders from the general to prepare wedding garments for the approaching wedding with his bride, the city of Magdeburg. However, since the order was given, Tilly's defeat at Breitenfeld has ruined the plans for the ceremony. Tilly begs off, and the tailor pours scorn upon his customer. To the right, the tailor's apprentice is sewing. The city of Magdeburg appears in the background. Date of print: c. 1632.

The Angry French Tailor.

THE TAILOR.

Bon jour bon jour mon Seigneur,
 In German, good day sir.
 As his servant I have just
 Come here from far France,
 And now wish with all speed
 To fill the orders,
 Which my master gave me to carry out
 For his bride a short time ago
 When he wooed at Magdeburg,
 And at that time summoned me to Leipzig
 To dress his bride here.
 Therefore *Mon brav Cavalier,*
 Quickly give the order
 That the seized goods be given me here
 In Leipzig, for one must not spare
 When one wishes to dress a bride,
 Nothing is too much for a rich bridegroom.

The dresses must be of gold at least,
 Velvet, satin and the like are common,
 A cloth of gold adorns the rich.
 The dresses, as is proper,
 Must in some cases be *chamarirt*,
 For this we need many pounds
 Of *fin passement*; what is now needed
 To be in *modo*, I know well,
 I have a completely new *facon*.

TILLY.

Helas monsieur, pardonnez moi.

TAILOR.

Speak German, speak German, what do you
 mean?
 Talk that all may understand
 What we are talking about.

TILLY.

Sir, please pardon me,
 I am not in good spirits today.
 To be sure I have not forgotten
 What I formerly said to you,
 For in the first place there is some truth
 In the story that I made some arrangements
 With a lady,
 But not altogether
 As I had intended.
 So now many obstacles

Have intervened, as is apt to happen
 In all marriages.
 There are plenty of wicked people
 Who, causing great sorrow,
 With lies and deception,
 Often are accustomed to separate two loving
 hearts.
 Therefore do not take it ill
 That because my wedding does not take place,
 I do not need a tailor.

TAILOR.

What, sir, what do you say?
 You seem queer to me.
 It would be a fine trick
 If you have held out hopes to me needlessly.
 That cannot be, surely
 You have the bride without any obstacles.
 Why do you now publicly
 Tell me such absurd stories?
 The bride is yours, that is true,
 I know about the whole affair.
 Now don't thumb your nose at me,
 I am not such a complete coward.
 Confess what other trick
 There may be in this affair.
 I believe that I heard
 Another bird sing of these events.

TILLY.

Is it true, I must admit
 That I justly am called a bridegroom.
 I am one too, but as for the wedding
 There is now no opportunity.
 I would now almost prefer
 To postpone the wedding for a time,
 Besides I find the wares here
 Far too dear. I shall save
 Great expense and much money as well
 If I buy them elsewhere.

TAILOR.

Yes indeed, dear, my dear Till,
 Listen to me and be silent.
 I know full well about your purchase,
 And about the whole course of your affairs.
 You are a fine old man
 Who is able to understand affairs.
 Have you found anywhere in the world
 That one buys without money?
 I say this openly,
 Buying without money is almost stealing.

Do not you know the saying:
 What is not yours, do not take?
 If you want to pretend magnificence
 Before the bride and so prevail,
 Then begin with honesty
 And leave the goods of others alone.
 A proud spendthrift without money,
 Is like a mill without water.
 A reputation must stand on money,
 Otherwise it will soon perish.
 A man of such a patched reputation
 That he must always worry
 How he can steal or borrow,
 Is in my eyes a laughing-stock and a disgrace.
 What did the pious elector¹ do
 That causes you to thirst so for his lands?
 Is this the thanks, is this his reward
 For so faithfully and often defending
 The reputation of the emperor and acting in
 the emperor's place?
 Are you vexed that he will not leap
 As you wish when you sing for him for the
 dance,
 That he does not like what you are doing,
 And that he holds to German liberty,
 Protects his land against popish heresy
 And new Spanish tyranny?
 You have acted too roughly,
 Until you brought him to arms.
 These he will continue to employ by God's
 grace,
 Making you a laughing-stock and causing you
 great harm,
 And bringing good affairs to a good end.
 As soon as you came into his land
 Your luck changed.
 That happened because out of hate and envy
 You visited him without cause.
 I am only a plain tailor,
 If you took my clothes from me
 I would knock you down right here
 With my yard-stick.
 Had you remained in your nest
 Where you were recently,
 You would not have to see the highway so
 soon,
 Nor in one day lose all your fame
 Which now has lost its bloom.
 See how the little war
 Drove you off the field.
 Well, God, whom no one can deceive

¹ The elector of Saxony.

Will give victory to the just.
But listen Monsieur to one last thing,
You must compensate me for my losses,
For I have had many expenses
For the materials alone.
And you must pay me besides
Ten thousand thalers for the shame
Which I suffer,
For I boasted publicly
That I was engaged by you
To dress you and your bride,
And nothing at all comes of it,
I must go home empty-handed.
Do not come to me again with such tales,
I would surely not believe a word you said.
No use talking any more, I don't care,
I do not ask for your custom.

TILLY.

Most gracious sir, I beg of you by more than
the high heavens,
Do forgive me that I dragged you here so
needlessly
Such a long way.
I shall most gladly
Repay the costs to the gentleman.

TAILOR.

Most gracious here, most gracious there.
I think longways and crossways,
I refuse to get vexed any more,
Or to hear empty words.
Lie no more, I want to make
A shroud for you meanwhile.

Amen.

Der zornige Französische Schneider.



Der Schneider.
Bonjour, bonjour, mon Seigneur,
 Auf Deutsch ein guten tag mein Herr!
 Ich als sein Diener so n jezt gleich
 Weit her gewandert auß Frankreich/
 Und will nun die bestellte Sachen/
 In aller Eile fertig machen/
 Die mit mein Herr vor kurzer Zeit/
 Als er zu Metzburg geyet/
 Hat zu richten angegebn/
 Wo seine Braut vnd hat mich esen/
 Nach 4 eipzig her darnals beschiden/
 Das ich hier die Braut soll kleiden.
Mon brave Cavalier
 Befehle als bald das man hier
 Zu Leipzig die gemommene Waarer
 Mir gebe, denn man darf nicht sparen/
 Wenn man eine Braut bekliden will/
 Ein reichr Brautgam ist nicht zu vil.
 Nun wenigsten müssen die Nade seyn.
 Von gülden Stücke es ist gemein
 Die Sammat/Atlaß vnd dergleichen/
 Ein gülden Stück das zerd die Nadel.
 Die Nade eilich wie sich gebühret/
 Müssen werden *chamaris*,
 Darzu beddffen wir viel Pfund
Fin Passiment, was man jegund
 Vor *modo* brauchet/die weiß ich schon/
 Ich habe gar ein neue *Fajon*.
Helas Monsieur peronnez moy.
 Schauder.
 Red deutsch/red deutsch was ist den das?
 Auff das es alle Leut verstehet/
 Was wollichen ons vgr Reden gehn/
 Toll.
 Mein Herr/halt mirs doch ja zu gut/
 Es ist mir heut nicht wol zu muh/
 Ich hab es zwar nicht gar verzessen/
 Was ich mit euch geredt vor diesen.
 Denn erstlich ist es zwar nicht ohne/
 Das ich mit einer Weibspersonen/
 In etwas habe eingelassen/
 Vnd doch nicht gänglich aller massen

Wie ich mir hatte vorgenommen/
 So ist auch jezt darwosicht kommen/
 Viel Hindernuß/wie fast bey allen
 Heyrathen pflegen für zufallen/
 Der losen Leute sind genug/
 Welche mit Eiden vnd Betrug/
 Bar oft vnd vil mit grossen Schmeich
 Zerrennen pflegen zwoy Liebés Herz.
 Drum hmein Herr/beg der Weisheit
 Vilt ich/ nit doch zu gute halt/
 Weil meine Hochzeit nicht geschicht/
 Bedarff ich keines Schneiders nicht.
Schneider.
 Was mein Herr/was sagt ihr?
 Ihr kommet mir gar anders file/
 Das wäre recht/Ihr hettet mich
 So lang vertribt vergeblich/
 Das kan nicht seyn/Es ist gewiß/
 Ihr habe die Braut ohn hinderniß.
 Was wolt ihr mir vor falsche Frazen/
 Ich ist also offentlich vorschwasen
 Die Braut ist euer/das ist waar/
 Ich weiß die Sache gang vnd gar/
 Mache mir doch nicht noch eine Nase/
 Ich bin ja nicht so gar ein Hase.
 Wennet nur was für ein Knack/
 Die Sache sonst haben mag/
 Mich ducht/ich habe von den Dinger
 Ein andern Dozel hören singen.
 Toll.
 Es ist waar/ich muß bekennen/
 Ich laß mich billich Braut zammneffen/
 Ich bins auch/aber zur Hochzeit/
 Hais jegund keine Helegensitt.
 Mir will nun jegund fast belieben/
 Die Hochzeit etwas auffwicheben/
 Darzu sind auch alhier die Waaren
 Gar zu theuer/ich will ersparen
 Die Kosten vnd viel Geld also/
 Wenn ich sie kuffe anderwo.
Schneider.
 Ja wol theuer/mein lieber Toll/
 Höret mir zu vnd schneiget still/
 Ich weiß gar wol vnd euren Kauff/
 Vnd eurer Sachn gangen Verlauff.

Ihr seyd ein selner alter Mann/
 Der wol den Sachen nachdencken kan/
 Habt ihr jergund in der Welt
 Gesehen/das man kufft ohne Geld?
 Ich saget dieses enverhohlen/
 Ohn Geld gekauft/ist fast gelolen.
 Wissen ihr nicht das man spricht:
 Was nitich edeln ist/das nitich auch nitich?
 Wollet ihr ja Pracht verführen/
 Mit der Frau/vnd so pravitren/
 So fanget doch sein Ehelich an/
 Vnd laßt den Keuen das Ihre slahet/
 Ohn Geld ein stolzer Praffer
 Ist wie ein Wühle ohne Wasser.
 Reputation soll auff Gelde sehn/
 Sonst muß sie bald zu Boden gehn/
 So ein gestucker Reputation/
 Ist mitnen Augen spott vnd schand/
 Welcher nur das ihr muß sorgen/
 Wie er kan stien oder borgen.
 Was hat gehan der fromm Eurfürst/
 Das auch so nach sein Väteren dürft?
 Ist das der Dank/ist das sein Lohn/
 Das er die Reputation
 Des Käyfers/vnd an Käyfers stalt/
 So relich off vertheidigt hat?
 Der dreußt euch/das er nit will springen/
 We ihr ihm wolt zu Lauge singen/
 Das euer Ehm ihm nicht gefellet/
 Vnd er übr deutsche Freyhelt hylt.
 Sein Land vore Papstes Keyrey
 Vnd neue Spanische Tyranny
 Verchüßt. Ihr habts zu grob gemacht/
 Bis ihr ihn in die Waffen bracht/
 Die wird er auch durch Gottes Gnaden
 In eurem Spott vnd grossen schaden
 Noch länger führen/vnd guter Sachen/
 Ein mal ein gutes Ende machen.
 So bald ihr kommen in sein Land/
 Hat sich auch euer Bildet gewandert
 Das macht wal ihr auß Hoff vnd Reid
 Ohn Drafch zu ihm kommen seyd/
 Ich bin alhier ein schlechter Schneider/
 Wenn ihr mir nehmet meine Kleider/
 Ich wolt euch auff dieser Stelle/
 Was absetzmassen mit der Elle/
 Wert ihr bleiben in eurem Nest/
 Wo ihr vor diesen seyd gewest/
 Hei ihr nicht dürffen eure Strassen
 So bald suchen vnd verlassen
 Auff einen Tag/all euren Ruhm/
 Der nun verloren seine Blum.
 Eht/wie das kleine Krieglein
 Euch auß dem Felde saget seyn.
 Nun Hoy/der niemand kan beirtegen
 Werden Verrecken lassen seyn.
 Aber höret Monst. ur noch eins zum leyten
 Ihr müßt mir meinen Schaden ersuchen
 Denn ich habe viel Unkosten
 Nur gewendet auff die Posten/
 Vnd ihr solt mir auch darneben
 Vom Schimpff 10000 thaler geben/
 Welchen ich habe/well ich mich
 Sines berühmet offentlich/
 Das ich sey zu euch beschuden/
 Euch end eure Braut zu kleiden/
 Vnd wid nun gang vnd gar nitich drauß
 Ich muß ledig wider nach Hauß.
 Kompt mir nit mehr mit solchen Lauben.
 Ich werd euch wol sein Wort mehr
 ganden/
 Was red ich viel/Ich habe Zeit/
 Ich fragentichs nach euer Artelt.
 Toll.
 Großgünstiger Herr verzicht mir doch/
 Ich bit euch mehr als Dummelohoch/
 Das ich euch auff solche massen/
 So vergeblich die weite Strassen
 Hergesenget/ich will dem Herrn
 Die Kosten erstatten herglicht gern.
Schneider.
 Großgünstig bin/großgünstig her/
 Ich denck die Länge vnd die Quere/
 Ich laße mich nicht mehr verzeren/
 Vnd dy Braut mit woren schmützen/
 Sagt mir nicht mehr/ich will in Mittel
 Euch machen einen Erbblitel/
 A M E N.

Ich wolt euch auff dieser Stelle/
 Was absetzmassen mit der Elle/
 Wert ihr bleiben in eurem Nest/
 Wo ihr vor diesen seyd gewest/
 Hei ihr nicht dürffen eure Strassen
 So bald suchen vnd verlassen
 Auff einen Tag/all euren Ruhm/
 Der nun verloren seine Blum.
 Eht/wie das kleine Krieglein
 Euch auß dem Felde saget seyn.
 Nun Hoy/der niemand kan beirtegen
 Werden Verrecken lassen seyn.
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 Vnd ihr solt mir auch darneben
 Vom Schimpff 10000 thaler geben/
 Welchen ich habe/well ich mich
 Sines berühmet offentlich/
 Das ich sey zu euch beschuden/
 Euch end eure Braut zu kleiden/
 Vnd wid nun gang vnd gar nitich drauß
 Ich muß ledig wider nach Hauß.
 Kompt mir nit mehr mit solchen Lauben.
 Ich werd euch wol sein Wort mehr
 ganden/
 Was red ich viel/Ich habe Zeit/
 Ich fragentichs nach euer Artelt.
 Toll.
 Großgünstiger Herr verzicht mir doch/
 Ich bit euch mehr als Dummelohoch/
 Das ich euch auff solche massen/
 So vergeblich die weite Strassen
 Hergesenget/ich will dem Herrn
 Die Kosten erstatten herglicht gern.
Schneider.
 Großgünstig bin/großgünstig her/
 Ich denck die Länge vnd die Quere/
 Ich laße mich nicht mehr verzeren/
 Vnd dy Braut mit woren schmützen/
 Sagt mir nicht mehr/ich will in Mittel
 Euch machen einen Erbblitel/
 A M E N.

Der alte Deutsche Zahnbrecher.



Wie nun ihr Herren, wie, Wie steh mit eweren Zähnen.
 Wolt ihr dan werden doll, Wornach thut ihr euch sehnen
 Verweist ein wenig doch Ich wil euch helfen baldt.
 Ich bin der rechte Mann, Halt sieben Söhne halt
 Ich kont vor Zeiten ja die Zähne stracks aufseissen.
 Wann ich sie angerührt mit ein Stück meiner Seiffen.
 Die ich nicht alsobald ein jeden machte weiff.
 Leht will sie helfen nichts, was mach Ich armer Greiff.
 a Ihr müst zuviel, Confect ja ygent habn gefressen.
 Die Zähne sind so schwarz, die Stiff hientein gefessen.
 Ich kan sie fassen nicht mit keinem Zangelein.
 b Ihr werdet, sehen Euch hier zwischen meine Bein.
 Ob ich dan besser sollt ihn können gehn zu Leibe.
 Damit ich Euch darauß das Wüten recht vertreibe.
 Ey halt ich hab, ihn nun gegeben einen Stok.
 Was gilt, sie sind erschreckt, und ihr des Weifens lob.
 Die Stiffter stecken Euch doch Marter, tieff im Fleische.
 9 Das auß geschwollen ist, Streicht doch, ehe ich es heiffe.
 b Ihr Münch und Pfaffen hier, seht wie ihr euch nüt stelt.
 Da ewerthalben still ich gar in Omacht stelt.
 c Ey tröstet Ihr doch, was kont ihr Ihm nichts zureden.
 Ich Glaub ihr seid nun gar erstauhet von den Schweden.
 Hör alter Corporal, hilf diser kroyß, Stok nicht
 So soll noch ein Recept dir werden zugericht

Das Zahn Fleisch ist gar roh, ihr habt zuviel gekawet.
 Auch ist noch yrgent nicht im Magen recht verdawet.
 Es gibt der dünsse uiel und Flusse, Mancherley.
 Davon Zahn wehlag kompt und andre Hudeley.
 Auch entspringt dannenher das Sausen und das Brauffen.
 In Ohren la die Haut sanft einem an zu graußen.
 Dafür brauchet Schmäuch, Taback die Pfeiffen lige hier.
 Der Schwede bracht sie mit, der leget sie euch fur.
 Die alte Sachsen Maad dort unten an der Elbe.
 Weil disen Handel erst ewr Vöck gelehet dieselbe.
 Da euch der böse Feind das Feuer stracks auffschlug.
 Die schnitt euch den Taback, und Puluerweiß umbring.
 Da über ihrer Glüh das ole Kraut getreuet.
 Das auch die Asche sich an manchem Ort erauget.
 Gebraucht euch diser Asch, gebrauchet doch gleichen Raing.
 Wenn schwarz vom Zucker seynd die Zahn und wüten auch
 Seid ihr dan gar zu fest, brauchet ungebraudte Asche.
 Das man mit solcher Laug die Köpff euch sauber wäsche.
 Zahnstöcher schawet hier, Ohrlöffel auch dabey.
 Doch hoff ich der Thüweg sol euch noch helfen frey, Tabac.
 Wann euch der Dampff auß geht zur Nasen, Augen, Ohren.
 So sol der Schmergen bald seyn ganz und gar verlohren.
 Kein Zahn thut euch mehr weh, Ihr kämpf dann an den Ort.
 Das seht Zahnklayvern ist und Heulen fort fur fort.

PLATE XIV

Stadtbibliothek, Ulm, Einblattdrucke, III, 46.

Size of original print, 11" x 11".

Tilly, seated in a chair (c), is suffering from a toothache, the result of the feast he supposedly ate at the battle of Breitenfeld. The dentist, dressed in an officer's uniform (a), says to him: "Stop my son, it is the confectionary of which you have eaten too much." Monks and priests (b) assist the dentist. The patient's ears are also affected and there are German tobacco and pipes (d) which the Swedes have brought as a cure. In the upper right-hand corner are huge tooth-picks and ear spoons (h). In the left-hand corner, the old maid, Magdeburg (e) is helping Tilly (b) cut tobacco, an art which she learned from the smoke and ashes of the burning city. In the center, officers and soldiers are waiting their turn at the dentist's, and others are approaching on the road. Date of print: c. 1632.

The old German Tooth-Extractor.

How then, you gentlemen, how, how are
your teeth?

Do you want to go mad, what do you desire?
Just bite a little, I shall soon help you.

I am the right man, stop dear sons, stop.

Formerly I could laugh at those teeth
Which I could not whiten for everyone

By a simple touch of my soap:

Now the soap is of no avail, what should I,
poor old man, do?

a. You must have eaten too many sweets
somewhere,

The teeth are so black, the stumps so deeply
sunk,

I cannot grasp them with my forceps.

Sit down here between my legs

So that I may better attack them

And truly drive out your madness.

Come now, I have given them a blow:

I bet they are shocked and you are free of
your trouble.

The bishoprics stick excruciatingly deep in
the flesh

Which is swollen. Run before I strike

b. You monks and priests. See how you act

c. Since on your account Tilly now falls in a
faint.

Aye then, console him, you can persuade
him of anything.

I believe that you are truly amazed by the
Swedes.

Listen old Corporal,¹ if this direct hit is not
sufficient,

Then a recipe can still be prepared for you.
The flesh of the tooth is very raw, you have
chewed too much,

Besides it is not by any means well-digested
in the stomach.

It produces many vapors and humors

Which cause toothache and other vexations.

And it also causes that buzzing in the ears

Which makes the flesh creep.

d. For this use smoking tobacco. Tobacco and
pipes lie here,

The Swede brought them along, he offers
them to you.

e. The old Saxon maid there down by the
Elbe,

Because your people first taught her this
trade,

f. When the wicked enemy quickly struck the
fire for you,

She dried tobacco for you and carried it
about like powder.

Since the noble herb was dried on her
embers

So that there were ashes in many places,
use the ashes also;

For he whose teeth have been blackened
by sugar and hurt,

Uses the same device.

g. If that does not help, use unburned ashes,

So that one may wash your heads clean
with such lye.

h. See the tooth-picks, and ear-spoons besides,
But I hope that the tobacco will help you

When the smoke comes out of your noses,
eyes and ears,

Then the pain should soon completely
disappear,

No tooth would hurt you any more, unless
you came to the place

Where there is always gnashing of teeth and
howling forever.

¹ Tilly.

PLATE XV

Stadtbibliothek, Ulm, Einblattdrucke, III, 69.

Size of original print, 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ ".

After the defeats of the elector of Bavaria and his general Tilly in 1631 and 1632, it is pretended that they are suffering from cataracts and are blind. The physician, Gustavus Adolphus, is operating on the elector's eye while Jesuits commiserate. Tilly is seated with head in hand. Date of print: c. 1632.

A foreign Physician has arrived who is able to cure the Blind completely.

The Bavarian Prince.

Alas, I have looked around everywhere,
In consequence I have become completely
blind,
Therefore I suffer great pain,
My heart hurts me.
I meditate, I cast about here and there
To discover why my land becomes so empty.
See, now the foreign physician
Comes here by chance,
He will serve me well in this affair,
He can make me see again.

Jesuits.

What is the matter with your excellency
That you have such pain?

The Bavarian Prince.

Alas, my little Jesuits,
My eyes have a cataract.

The Physician.

And since there is no other way,
I dare in God's fair name
To remove the cataract.
I will avenge on you all the distress
Which you have caused at all times.
And you have opposed Jesus Christ,
You aimed to destroy
God's Word and the Confession,
The all-righteous God prevented this.
He helps us freely out of every difficulty.

The Bavarian Prince.

And because I have well deserved it,
O Holy Mary, help me out.

Tilly.

I have been badly operated on for a cataract,
I need no more operations.

Ein Fremder Arzet ist Komen an Der die plinten Recht Heillen Kan.



Der Beyr F.

Ach ich hab mich umb gesehen an allen orden.
 Ich bin schier blind dran worden
 Drom leid ich sehr grossen schmerzen.
 Es thut mir weh in meinem hertzen
 Ich sinn ich dencke hin vnd her.
 Das mein land wird so leer
 Sich da jezund gleich ohn gefehr.
 Kompt eben der frembt arzet her
 Der dient mir recht zu den sachen.
 Er kan mich witter sehent machen
 Jesuntten.
 Was müs doch Ihr. Genaden Seinn.
 Das sie haben so Schwere bein
 Der Beyr F.
 Ach meine lieben Jeswitterlein
 Der stahr ist in den augen mein

Der Arzet.

Vnd weils dann nicht kan anders seyn.
 Wag ichs in Gottes Namen seyn
 Vnd wil dir jezund den Staren stechen
 Alles vnglück wil ich an dir Rechen
 Das du getan hast zu aller frist.
 Vnd dich auß gelbnit wider Jesumchriest
 Gottes wort vnd die Conuersion
 Hat bey dir Sollen zu boden gon
 Das hat verhittet der gerechte Gott.
 Der hilft vns frei aus aller noht
 Der Beyr F.
 Vnd weil ichs woluerdinet hann.
 O Sancta maria hilf mir daruon.
 Der kille.
 Ich bin an dem staren gestochen sehr.
 Ich betraf hinsfort kein stechens mer.

Der Mitternächtsche Löwe/
welcher in vollen Lauff durch die
Pfaffen Gassen rennet.



Lumpff! Victoria! Der Löw aus Mitternacht
Hat endlich Ruch geübt/ vnd euch in Lauff gebracht/
Ihr fettes Kloster volck! Ihr in der Pfaffen Gasse
Laufft nun/ vnd trollet euch aus euren festen Pässe/
Von eurem Zeigenbatom/ vom euren Nebenstock/
Gehe bald/ vnd hüllet euch in euren Pfaffen Rock/
Vnd rennet/ was ihr könnt: das Blat ist umbgewendet/
Vnd hat sich euer Trost/ vnd schnarchen nun geendet/
Wie staret vnd schaffes war: Das jagen vnd das Blut/
Darnach/ euch so gedürst/ wird vber euch geschütet/
Ihr Hell-Verbantes Volck. Kompt nun ihr Baalspfaffen/
Vns vnser Geistlich Gut/ vnd Stifter zu entraffen!

Die Thür ist auffgehan/ kompt/ kompt/ vnd schleicht euch ein/
Ihr solt vns allerseits Willkomme Herren sein!
Doch schawet fleissig zu/ das ihr euch nicht veriret/
Noch in dem schwinden Lauff gefehrlichen vertwirket/
Der Löwe möchte euch sonst ertappen/ eh ihr euch
Zurück finden könnt in euer Erbgestreich.
Der Adler traum fleucht/ vnd trawet sich nicht zu wehren/
Wilt auch der stolze Beer schon seinen Rücken kehren:
Wolan/ ergreifet bald die noch erlaubte Flucht/
Sonst werdet ihr gewiß in eurem Nest besucht/
Gehet/ weils noch gehens gille/ Weis Beer vnd Adler lauffen/
So fürchtet man sich nicht vor aller Schwelme schnauffen.

PLATE XVI

Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett.
Original size of print, 11¹/₂" x 10³/₄".

The lion of midnight, Gustavus Adolphus, is chasing the bear, Maximilian of Bavaria, through the "priests' lane," the long line of bishoprics and abbasies stretching along the Main and the Rhine. The frightened Hapsburg eagle is fleeing. Date of print: c. 1632.

The Midnight Lion who in full Chase runs
through the Priests' Lane.

Triumph! Victory! The lion from midnight
Has finally taken revenge and put you to flight,
You fat cloister folk! You in the priests' lane
Now run, and decamp from your strong
entrenchments,

From your fig trees, from your vineyards.
Go now, and wrap yourselves in your priestly
robes,

And run as hard as you can: the tables are
turned,

And your insolence and blustering are now
ended,

How strong and sharp they were: The hunting
and the blood,

For which you thirsted so, will be your fate,
You folk thrown out of hell. Come now you
priests of Bad.

To seize our spiritual possessions and founda-
tions,

The door is opened, come, come and slink in,
You will everywhere be welcome gentlemen!
But be careful, lest you lose your way,

Or become dangerously distracted in your
rapid flight,

Otherwise the lion may catch you, before you
Can find your way back to your hereditary
thickets.

The eagle flees forsooth, and has not the con-
fidence to resist,

The proud bear also wants to turn his back;
Now then, take soon the flight still allowed you,
Otherwise you will be visited in your nests.

Go, while going is still good! When bear and
eagle run,

Then there is no fear of all the swines' grunting.

PLATE XVII

Stadtbibliothek, Uhm, Einblattdrucke, III, 54.

Original size of print, 13 1/8" x 10 5/8".

Although Protestant and anti-imperialist in tenor, this broadside is also a satire on newspapers. The illustration shows the interior of a newspaper shop whose proprietor holds a foolscap (B). To the left an apprentice stands by a chest of newspapers entitled "With grace and privilege," and to the right is a newspaper vendor (C). In the background, left, sit astrologers (D) with the inscription, "The stars rule men." Below appear the inscriptions, "The world's decision," and "The hope of the [Catholic] League will be abortive." To the right men are setting type, printing and drawing illustrations. Date of print: 1632.

New Year Newspapers to be obtained in John Petage's Shop. Dedicated in this New Year 1632 to all Merchants and Newspaper Fanciers who daily carry and drag them around.

- A. Whoever desires all kinds of newspapers,
Let him come to me.
In John Petage's shop
There are newspapers from Sweden,
Saxony, Hesse and the States,
And about Count Tilly, *in medio virtus*.
Buy dear sirs, whoever wishes to buy.
- B. To you merchants I offer my services,
Wish you a new year and peace.
I am the excellent man
Who can make a fool of many.
But the reason I laugh at you is
Because you carry home
My fool's cap. One fool makes ten:
He who believes easily, is easily laughed
at.
- C. Imperial alliance
Hitherto was news,
The three-fold rope¹ gladly wished
That Germany should be ruined.
But now the weather has changed,
For luck and bad luck have interchanged.
- D. The star-gazer makes a calendar,
God the Highest makes the weather:
This is a very old proverb,
Therefore read this story.
Homer writes that when Jupiter
Calls together his company and his
whole army

In the heavenly hall,
And with all the gods
Holds a wise diet
To determine how things should go in the
world,
He asks for a vote and opinion
From great and small around and around.
The decision is carefully registered,
The stars are given the information.
Then no protestation is of avail,
Even though the most beautiful matron
protested:

Juno the rich woman must be silent,
Venus herself often suffers from chagrin.
To sum up, what is decided stands,
It is valid, it succeeds.

So also the Roman Empire should be,
So that things may happen then in
the same way.

The Emperor, as highest potentate,
Turns to the vicariate,
And should not do what is ordered
By Miss Pope² and Mister Spaniard.
The Leipzig Convention³ was helped
By the Regensburg Execution,⁴
When the priests wanted monasteries
Whether by hook or by crook.⁵
Therefore if at that time the golden bull
Had not become null and void,
Then the prostitute and also the maid⁶
Would not have refused a dance to
the Emperor.

- E. Everything goes against the current!
What help then was the warning
Which Ferdinand issued
When he obtained the Empire?
Now neither law nor justice is valid,
War wastes the whole country.

¹ The emperor, Spain and the Catholic League.

² Pope Joan, see note 7 below.

³ The convention of Protestant princes in Leipzig called in 1631 by the elector of Saxony to resist the Edict of Restitution.

⁴ The dismissal of Wallenstein by the emperor in 1630. The emperor was attending an electoral meeting at Regensburg.

⁵ The Edict of Restitution.

⁶ This is a pun. "Metz" and "Mayd" refer also to the cities of Metz and Magdeburg.

The exploitation of the peasants
 Makes the Emperor's reputation.
 Is this defense of Christianity?
 Is this protection of honest folk?
 Seven planets should count more
 Than the light of monks and Jesuits:
 The Electors and high-born princes
 Understood better than did Khlesl's ears.
 But punishment must follow after great sin,
 Therefore Germany also suffers such
 penance.

If you now wish to learn of the Pope's
 hate,

Then note these few words.

Despite the opinion of many in Mainz,⁷
 Our correspondent may be right:

Long ago there lived in Magdeburg
 A damsel who had

A strange love and passion for learning,
 And who could hide her breast.
 From England came her suitor,
 So that she still keeps the name
 Angelica virgo after her lover.

She finally came to the papal throne
 Under the name John VIII,
 Which causes the papacy shock and shame,
 For during a most solemn procession
 The triple crown gave birth to a child.

F. Magdeburg must suffer sorely for this,
 She is robbed of goods and honor,
 And when the inhuman tyrant
 Has not loved enough, he wants more
 loving.

The naked bride has no more gold,
 Dresden should give the dowry.
 But the sweets give such a juice
 That the whole army lies powerless.

If Charles the fifth had left in peace
 That pious man John Frederick,
 His luck would have been better.

He was a monk and all went to pieces.⁸
 If the beautiful bridal wreath

Had not been so completely destroyed
 by betrayal and fire

Then the League's General⁹

Would not have been plucked so bare at
 Leipzig,

And the Merseburger turnips

Would not have so affected the chalice
 thieves.

G. It is your own safety that's at stake, when
 your neighbor's wall is in flames.¹⁰

1. From newspapers there comes a report,¹¹
 Which is said to be true and no fiction,
 That twice one hundred thousand men
 Have been drowned in the sea by the wind:

The Leaguers in their anger and
 terror had plans,

But God wills it otherwise.

2. A city which resisted the Hessians

Was burned down to the ground,
 Wherein were many magic witches,
 Guarded gates spoiled their sport.

From Erfurt. The Carthusians

Have cruelly flogged Holy Mary,

Because their false god fought two armies
 And suffered a great defeat.

3. From Vienna. Count Tilly marches very
 fast,

Because Saxony confounds all plans.

His two-bladed sword is supposed to
 capture Prague,

Whether or not it hurts or helps him,

But the electors of Brandenburg and
 Saxony

Will surely have matched such might.

I hope that in the midst of the Easter mass
 Bavaria might well forget the Palatinate.

4. The States shuffle the cards,

And are at Spain's service.

Their whole military strength swims in the
 sea,

Which the pope hears with sorrow.

The clergy wish to break in,

Wish to seek Tilly's chancellery.

5. Quickly, news arrives secretly

Which everyone should not know,

Today a living and a dead bird

⁷ The story is here told of the mythical Pope Joan. According to the legend a woman, masquerading as a man, was elected as Pope John VIII in 855. During a procession from St. Peter's to the Lateran she died in childbirth. According to the usual story she used the name Joannes Anglicus because her parents were English. Her birthplace is usually given as Mainz which accounts for the reference to that city.

⁸ During the Religious War of the sixteenth century, the Elector John Frederick of Saxony was attacked and captured by his cousin Duke Maurice, although both were Lutherans. The Emperor Charles V, here called a monk, then transferred the electorate from John Frederick to Maurice. In 1548, the Diet of Augsburg accepted the so-called Interim which restored Catholicism in the Empire. The Interim was refused by Magdeburg, whereupon the city was besieged and captured by Maurice in 1551.

⁹ Tilly.

¹⁰ Horace, *Epistles*, I, xviii, 84. "Nam" instead of "nunc" in the original.

¹¹ Sections 1 to 6 are newspaper rumors interspersed with Protestant propaganda.

Have become the booty of Gustavus.
The bishop of Halle did not
appreciate flight.
Tilly seeks his purgatory in Rome.
The liberty of Germans is in great danger.
Magdeburg quits the *Interim*.
The severe capitulation
May now serve to thwart the emperor.
6. The printers now make a commotion
Among the common people:
Luther was caught in a sack
Which Regensburg was to tie up tightly.
A water mouse bites through the string

So that the heretic can escape at once.
O holy League, God give you grace,
The lion of the midnight is here:
He plucks the feathers from the rump,
And blunts the eagle's claws.
What then should we finally do,
Since the mouse knows more than one
hole?
Woe to us! We have started the fire,
Faithlessness strikes its own master.
For God's Word and Luther's
teaching
Have not and will never perish.



Neuer Jagt-Liſten

In Jehan petagi Ar.miladen zu erſehen / Allen Kauffleuten und Zeitungs Liebhabern die ſich täglich darnit eragen und ſchleppen zu dieſem Newen 1632. Jahre behören.

A. **W**er allerley Brütungs Manner
 Ihm ſchaffen wil, die Kommt zu mir.
 In medio Virtus, Graff Till.
 Zuſſt lebtes Herrn wie kuffen wil.
B. **Z**uch Kauffherren mein Diener ich bin/
 Wählich auch ein neues Jahr und Zeit.
 Ich bin die Excellente Mann/
 Somandem ein Witz an dreien Kan.
 Daß abtich auch laßt aus/
 In Viſach: Weil ſie tragt zu Haus
 Min: Taren: App. Was klar ſich machet/
 Wie lachlich gleich: wird laßt belacht.
C. **Z**uſſtlich Sympatation,
 Was hievorin Relation,
 Die dreyfach Schmeicheln getreue wolt/
 Deuſchland zu Wodem gehen ſolt.
 Doch nun das Weite andert wolt/
 Will Glid: und Unglid ſich verdracht.
D. **D**er Sternwacker Calende ſchafft/
 Das Weite Wort der höchſte macht/
 Ein ſehr gar altes Sprichwort iſt/
 Dißhalb dieſe Geſchichte iſt.
 Homerus ſchreibt: wenn Jupiter
 Sein Compagnen und gantz Götter
 Zuſſt mahnt im himliſchen Saal/
 Das mit den Möttern alzumal
 Ein tuſſen Collegium hielt/
 Wie es doch gehn ſoll in der Welt/
 So begehrt Er Wahl und Stimmt/
 Von groß und kleinen und von emd.
 Die Schlus wird ſüßig Kugeln/
 Dem Glitz zur nächſten inent.
 Da hilft kein Proteſtation/
 Ob gleich entem der schönſt Mätron/
 Juno die rich: ſchw: ſchw: muß/
 Venus oft ſelb: laßt verdruß.
 In Summa: was beſchloſſen ſie/
 Daß: ſie alle: daſſelbe gith.
 Also ſie ſan das Röm: Reich/
 Damit es nicht: wach: gleich.
 Die Reſer: als höchſt Potentat/
 Nicht ſich nach dem Decretat/
 Was ihu: ja nicht: was ſe beſehlt/
 Jungfer: Wap: und Herr: Spaniol.
 Sum: Keiſer: Convent: halt: ſchon/
 Die Regenspurg: Freccom:
 Als pfaß: die Elb: wöllen haar/
 Als möcht: drunter: ode: dritter: gahn.
 Drum: wenn: ſol: ma: h: die: gülden: Woll:
 Nicht: worden: wie: ein: Herr: und: Woll:
 So: hilt: die: Men: und: auch: die: Magd:
 Dem: Reſer: nicht: den: Tang: kriegt.

E. **E**s geht alles wider den Strohm/
 Was hilft das von die Caution,
 So Ferdinandus hat gethan/
 Als Er das Reſer: humb: nahm an/
 Inund: gilt: weder: Lex: noch: Jor,
 Der: Reſer: wieder: das: gange: Rov.
 Der: Reſer: Reputation,
 Als: Reſer: Reputacion,
 Soll: das: ſchönen: die: Chriſtenheit:
 Soll: das: ſchönen: die: Chriſtenheit:
 Sieben: Planeten: ſoll: mehr: ſeyn:
 Als: Monds: und: Jupiters: ſeyn:
 Die: Ehr: und: Hüß: Hochgebort:
 Verſtundens: biß: als: Elſie: Ohn:
 Doch: auf: groß: Schand: Graß: folgen: muß:
 Drum: ſind: Deuſchland: auch: ſolche: Buß:
 Willu: nun: wiß: das: Papſtes: Gaß:
 So: merck: mit: wenig: Worten: das:
 Ob: ſchon: von: Man: viel: Inent:
 Kan: doch: war: ſeyn: enſer: Senent:
 Zu: Magdeburg: vorſiten: war:
 Ein: Jungſchwa: die: zug: zur: Loh:
 Ein: ſonderbare: Lieb: und: Luß:
 Die: Fun: verbrigen: ſie: Bruß:
 Luß: Engelland: ſie: Procus: Pam:
 Daher: behält: ſie: nach: dem: Nam:
 Anglica: Virgo: wie: ſie: Duht:
 Er: ſie: ſie: ſie: ſie: ſie: ſie: ſie:
 Johannes: Octavius: genant:
 Ehr: dem: Papſt: humb: ſie: Stoß: und: Scha:
 Denn: in: hylter: Preclion:
 Ob: ſie: ein: Kind: die: dreyfach: Reon.
F. **M**agdeburg: muß: diß: erigien: ſie:
 Wie: geſchendet: an: Gut: und: Ehr:
 Und: hat: der: vortent: ſie: Rezan:
 Nicht: uſſchafft: gang: uſ: mehr: Lieb: han:
 Die: nach: Braut: hat: nicht: mehr: Geld:
 Die: Chſter: dreyſen: geben: ſie:
 Doch: gibt: der: Conſel: ſolchen: Buß:
 Daß: die: gann: Arnd: ſie: ohn: Reaß:
 Seit: Carl: der: Junſt: den: ſelamen: Maas:
 Johan: Juch: in: Kuh: ſelahn:
 Wo: hunds: beſter: mit: ſinem: Glid:
 Ward: ein: Münd: / ſung: alle: zu: ſie:
 Wer: durch: Weg: der: ſchöne: Maer:
 Und: durch: ſie: nicht: verdraba: ſo: gang:
 So: wie: der: LIG: II: General:
 So: Keiſer: nicht: beſtand: ſo: ſie:
 Und: wenn: die: Miß: ſte: die: Käb:
 Nicht: ſo: beſonnen: den: Reich: Zieba.

G. **D**ie: we: mahl: hundert: tauſ: Mann:
 Die: Woll: im: Woll: erſte: han:
 Die: ſol: die: LIG: II: Zorn: und: Brauß:
 Das: ob: ſie: ſie: ar: ſie: hin: an:
H. **E**in: Stadt: von: ſie: m: ſie: ſie:
 Ward: aufgeband: bis: auf: ſen: Grund:
 Darn: die: Sauber: wolt:
 Darn: die: Ehr: verdraba: die: Spiel:
 Zuſ: ſie: ſie: mit: Sanct: Martin:
 Die: Car: die: gülden: han:
 Weil: ſie: Abgot: was: ſie: be: ſie:
 Und: ein: groß: M: ſie: ſie:
I. **V**on: Wien: Graff: Till: ſie: ſie: machet:
 Weil: all: Inſchlag: der: ſie: ſie:
 Sein: wiff: Schwed: Prag: ſie: ſie:
 So: ihu: ſie: wolt: oder: wolt:
 Jedoch: Chur: ſie: ſie: und: Sach:
 Wird: ſolche: Macht: wolt: ſie: gewach:
 Ich: hoß: wiß: die: ſie: ſie:
 Als: W: wolt: die: Pfälz: vergeß:
J. **D**ie: Staaten: megen: ſie: die: Reim:
 Spanien: auf: den: Reim: ſie: wolt:
 Die: ganze: ſie: ſie: im: ſie: ſie:
 Welches: mit: dem: der: Wap: ſie: ſie:
 Ein: ſie: ſie: die: ſie:
 Wil: ſie: die: ſie: ſie:
K. **I**n: geheim: ſie: ſie: an:
 Die: nicht: ſie: ſie: ſie:
 Ein: lebend: und: rebt: Vogel: ſie:
 Gullavo: ſie: ſie: ſie:
 Die: ſie: ſie: ſie: ſie:
 Tilly: zu: Rom: ſie: ſie: ſie:
 Der: Deuſch: ſie: ſie: ſie:
 Magdeburg: das: ſie: ſie:
 Die: ſie: ſie:
L. **D**ie: Buch: die: die: ſie: ſie:
 Ich: unter: dem: ſie: ſie:
 Im: ſie: ſie: ſie: ſie:
 Den: ſie: ſie: ſie: ſie:
 Ein: Wap: ſie: ſie: ſie:
 Daß: ſie: die: Reim: ſie: ſie:
 O: ſie: ſie: ſie: ſie:
 Die: ſie: ſie: ſie: ſie:
M. **E**r: muß: die: ſie: von: dem: ſie:
 Was: wolt: wir: endlich: machen: ſie:
 Weil: die: Maas: wie: mehr: denn: ein: Loch:
 Weh: was: Das: ſie: haben: wir: ſie:
 Vnter: ſie: ſie: ſie: ſie:
 Denn: ſie: ſie: ſie: ſie:
 Vergehen: und: ſie: ſie:

1. Von Brütungsſchreiben Kompt: Meidit:
 2. Soll: gar: war: ſeyn: und: kein: Verdruß:
 3. Nunc: in: res: agitur: pariter: cum: proximo: uide:
 4. Von: Brütungsſchreiben: Kompt: Meidit:
 5. Soll: gar: war: ſeyn: und: kein: Verdruß:
 6. Die: Buch: die: die: ſie: ſie:

Des Wallsteinischen Belächters.



Ebleibt doch wol darben: Der Spot folgt vff den Schaden/
 Man schenck es keinem nicht/ hieß er gleich Ihr Gnaden/
 Dör gar Ihr Excellenz: Es steckt beyhm Teutschen Einn
 Noch mancher Kabelaß vnd Peter Arctin:

Zu bekräftigung aber der jetzt gethanen Red/
 Schaut/ was in diesem Bild/ daß/ was im Verleffe steht/

In Teutschen Keig Ihr zweem/ gleich wie zur Römer Zeiten
 Poetus vnd Corbulo) berühmt waren bey Leuten
 Für gute General/ drauß *amalation*
 Erwuch/ Jeder allein wolt haben Tugend Lohn.
 Bis lete der Erst die Schuh dem andern außgetreten/
 Daß Er *se totum* ward/ selbst Langhoh mit seinen Rätchen.
 Da dankt man Jenein ab/ mit großem Spott vnd Hohm/
 Der ander/ bekam allein die *Execution*.

Wallstein vergeltet ward/ fieng an zu Propheceen/
 Wie wans/ dem Alten nicht/ wie mir mühte gedeyen:
 Er verbiß zwar den Zorn/ vnd hieß es für ein Posten/
 Verehrt die Boitschafft auch mit sechs von schönsten Rossen.
 Doch mit diesem Abschied: *Die Reformation*
 Dem Kayser nimmt die Crow: *Nur Reputation*.

Arauff gab er sich zur Ruh/ vmb/ allein zu zusehen/
 Wo es doch wolt hinauß/ vnd wie es ward abgehen
 Mit der Teagddi noch/ so zu Teutsch ward gespleit/
 Vnd zur Keinen/ Kirch vnd Lands/ Verwüstung elmsig zelt.
 Er sprach: Laufft es wol ab/ so will ichs helfen Loben/
 Doch ist's schler noch zu sech/ das man so sehr will toben:
 Ich fürchte gar zu sehr/ den Alten werd der Jung
 Nach desin Nailwilet/ noch welfen einen Sprung.

Als Er diß außgeredt/ befahl er bald zu machen
 Ein grossen werten Stul/ kein Mensch wußt zu was sachen
 Er sollte sein bequem: Er war verfertigt schon
 Von Sammat weich/ bekleid/ vnd gleicht sich einem Thron
 Daß man mir diesen Stul/ (sagt er) bey sente seke
 Bis Ich zu selner zeit mit/ wol darauff ergöhe:

Es wußte niemand nicht/ was es bedeuten solt/
 Vnd zu was Herrlichkeit/ Er diesen Sessel wolt.
 So lang/ bis der Zyll vor Luyphig war ge/ Zyll get
 Welchs vom Freund vnd Feind selbst ward gelobt gebillget:

Daruff Fürst Wallstein: Daß man mir den Stul hol:
 Setzt sich drauff/ schreie vnd lacht als ob er were doll/
 Er lachte vter gehen Tag/ das wackelt Bauch vnd Sessel/
 Vnd hätte sich Noth gethan/ daß man Ihm Keiff vnd Sessel
 Beyder/ sechs angelegt: Als Er aber vernommen/
 Wie das der Alte bey Kann/ tödlichen schuß bekommen:
 Rieß Er gar bald bey sich/ zuwen der starcken Gefellin
 Sprach: Haltet mich doch stark/ Ich müchte sonst gar zerprällin/
 Er lacht/ Er lacht daß Er erschwarck/ sprach seht ist's auß
 O Zyll/ Zyll/ Zyll werckst du auch gangen zu Haus
 Wie Ich/ Hab leyder sorg/ man hab dir seht gemacht/
 Ein Storch/ Keppel/ Contrepuff/ diß sey dein letzte Jagt.

Als er diß kaum außredt: Kommt ein Postillon/
 Klopft vngestümm mit den Stiffeln/ der Stuben an/
 Man ließ ihn ein/ Er schnaufft gleich wie ein grimmig Schweltn.
 Wallstein sprach: Du magst mir wol ein schlimme Best sein.
 Die Post legt ab/ sprach: Ihr Gnaden böß Zeltung ich bring
 Konfir Zyll ist gestorben/ leyder er ist hin.

Wallstein sprach: Daß man mir bald den Hander thue
 bringen
 Den schlimmen Schelmen/ vor mein Augen außzubringen:
 Was darffst du sagen: Zyllt tod sey böße Post/
 Hat er dann nicht diesem Unglück lang nachgehofft?
 Warum ist er nicht in sein Kloster gegangen?
 Warum hat er weiter loß Händl angefangen?
 Daucht Ich doch nitgens mehr/ man hießt mich für ein Narr/
 Ein andrer hat in seinem Ghirn allein die Sparien/
 Dann wann man will so Klug seyn/ doch der Narr geht voran/
 So lacht Ja Freund vnd Feind/ vnd lacht wer lachen kan.

PLATE XVIII

Stadtbibliothek, Ulm, Einblattdrucke, III, 55.

Size of original print, 14 1/4" x 10 3/8".

Wallenstein, supported by two companions, is seated in a chair built to order after his dismissal by the emperor in August 1630. When Wallenstein heard of Tilly's defeat at Leipzig he sat in the chair and laughed until the news of his rival's death was brought to him. Date of print: 1632.

Concerning Wallenstein's Burst of Laughter.

It always happens thus: Scorn follows upon injury;

No one is spared this, whether he be called his grace

Or even his excellency: In the German spirit there is hidden

Many a Rabelais and Peter Aretin:

But to confirm the above statement

Look at this picture, read this text.

In the German war, you two (as in Roman days

Pactus and Corbulo)¹ were famous amongst people

As good generals. Therefrom rivalry

Grew, each alone wanted virtue's reward.

Until finally the first outstripped the other

So that he became factotum, even chancellor with his councillors.

Then one was dismissed with great scorn and derision,

The other alone became the executive.

Wallenstein became inspired, began to prophecy:

I am afraid the same thing will happen to the old man² that happens to me.

He suppressed his wrath, and took it as a joke, Also honored the embassy³ with six of the finest horses;

But with this farewell: The reformation

Deprives the Emperor of his crown, me of reputation.

Then he retired in order to observe

What would happen, and to see the result of the tragedy

Acted in German and planned for the destruction of the pure church and land.

He spoke: If it is a success, then I shall join in its praise,

But it is entirely too early for so much blustering:

I very much fear that the young fellow, According to his horoscope, will show a good jump to the old fellow.

When he had spoken, he ordered That a large wide chair should be made quickly, no one knew for what purpose, He wished it to be comfortable: It was soon made,

Covered with soft velvet, and looked like a throne.

Put the chair away, he said, Until the time comes when I may amuse myself with it.

Nobody knew what this could mean, And for what grand occasion he wanted this chair;

Until Tilly was wiped out at Leipzig, An event praised and approved by both friend and foe.

Then Prince Wallenstein cried: Bring me the chair,

Sits on it, shouts and laughs as though he were mad.

He laughed fourteen days shaking belly and chair,

And it was necessary to shackle him on both sides with fetter and chain

But when he heard

That the old fellow had received a death blow at Rain,⁴

He quickly called to him two of his strongest companions,

And said: Hold me tightly, or I shall split.

He laughs, he laughs himself black in the face, and said: Now it is all over,

O Tyll, Tyll, had you only gone home As I did. I am worried that they have played

on you

¹ Pactus and Corbulo were rival generals in the reign of the Emperor Nero.

² Tilly.

³ The imperial embassy sent to Wallenstein in August 1630 to demand his resignation.

⁴ Tilly was mortally wounded at Rain on the Lech on April 5, 1632 and died at Ingolstadt on April 30.

A stork, repique and contrepuff,⁵
 And that this is your last hunt.
 Scarcely had he spoken when a postillion
 arrives,
 Knocks violently for admittance with his boots.
 He is admitted, he snorts like a ferocious swine.
 Wallenstein spoke: You appear to be an evil
 beast.
 The postillion uncovers and said: Your grace,
 I bring bad news,
 Monsieur Tyll is dead, alas he is gone.
 Wallenstein said: Bring me the hangman
 To hang this wicked rogue before my eyes.
 What do you dare to say? Tilly dead is bad
 news.

Did he not long run after this misfortune?
 Why did he not enter his cloister?⁶
 Why did he begin additional shameless doings?
 I was nowhere appreciated any more, I was
 thought a fool.
 But another is not quite right in the upper
 story,
 For when a man tries to be so clever, and yet
 the fool wins,
 Then friend and foe laugh, and he laughs who
 can.

1632.

⁵ These words probably refer to a card game, perhaps a form of piquet.

⁶ A reference to Tilly's piety.

PLATE XIX

Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen, Fol. Hist. Germ. uni. VIII, 82, 12.
 Size of original print: 15 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 12".

In 1629 the emperor forced the Protestant city of Augsburg to accept complete Catholic domination. This event is commemorated by the seven-headed beast of the Apocalypse,¹ representing the papacy, spewing out priests, and the second beast, wearing a beretta, disgorging Jesuits. The tail of the first beast encircles the city. The church of St. Ulrich, the city hall and the cathedral are indicated. Date of print: 1632.

The Oppressed City of Augsburg.

If the gracious reader wishes to know the meaning of these two monstrous beasts, he may diligently peruse the thirteenth chapter of the Revelation of John: therein the seven-headed beast portrays the properties of the pope at Rome and his monks; the other beast in particular indicates the sect and society which, first arising in this era, took the name of the Lamb (Jesu), and acts for the first beast with all its might, that is, acts in the fashion of the Antichrist and heals its wounds, that means it strengthens the papacy as much as possible by all kinds of tricks, and pretends to perform great signs and wonders. How they would bring fire from heaven and move mountains may be read at length in the lying legends of the miracles of Loyola, Francis Xavier and of others.

Now these two beasts after they had seized so many particular churches in Germany, attacked the Evangelical congregation in Augsburg, and finally, in the month of August of the year 1629, were ordained to remove the servants of the Evangelical churches and schools and to spew in their own brood in their place.

Consequently these, as soon as they had taken a foothold in the city, usurped the churches and schools of the Evangelicals, occupied the library and gradually harassed the greater part of the burgers of the pure faith into exile and misery. It might well have been said of the dear city of Augsburg: Her adversaries are the chief, her enemies prosper. Lamentations 1, verse 5. Thy enemies roar in the houses of God, and set their idols therein. Psalm 74, verse 4.² If the foundations be destroyed, what can the righteous do? Psalm 11, verse 3. Who have said, With our tongue will we prevail, it is our duty to speak. Psalm 12, verse 5.³

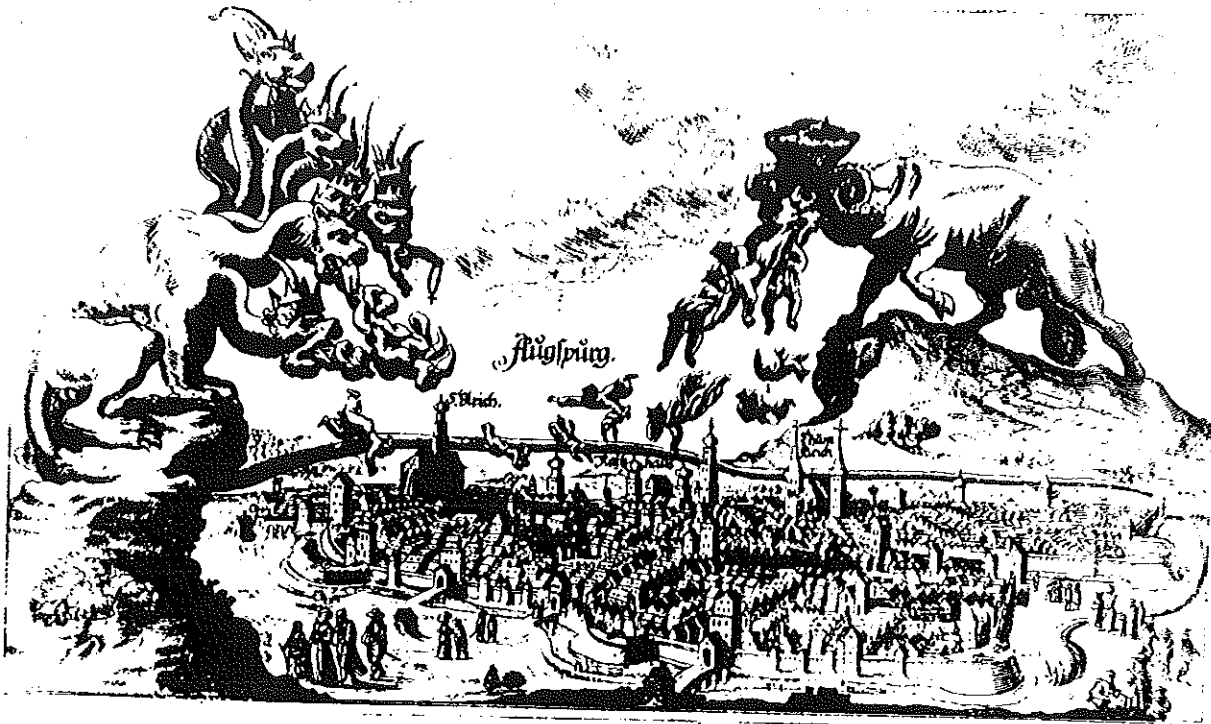
Printed in the year 1632.

¹ Compare Dürer's illustrations for the Apocalypse. Suggested by Dr. Erwin Panofsky.

² Variant from the Authorized Version.

³ Variant, and numbered verse 4 in the Authorized Version.

Die betrangte Stadt Augspurg.



Nun der gütliche Leser wissen wil / was diese zwey
 ungeheurre Thier bedeuten / so kan er das 13. Cap.
 der Offenbarung Johannis fleißig ansehen: darinn durch
 das siebenköpffliche Thier die beschaffenheit des Pappsts zu
 Rom vnd seiner Mönchen vnd Pfaffen abgebildet durch
 das ander Thier aber insonderheit / die in diesem seculo erst
 ersprungene Sect von gesellschaft bezeichnet worden / wel-
 che sich von dem Namen des Lambs (Jesu) benennet /
 vnd alle Macht thut des ersten Thiers / das ist / sich richtet
 nach der weise des Antichrists / vnd demselben die Wun-
 den heilet / verstehe durch allerley Griff das Pappstthumb /
 so viel möglich bestärket / wie auch grosse streich von Zei-
 chen vnd Wundern für gibt / als ob sie das Feuer vom
 Himmel bringen / vnd Berg versetzen köndten / gestalte
 man in den Tugenden von den Wunderzeichen Lojola,
 Francisci Xaverij vnd anderer der lenge nach liest.
 Nun haben sich diese zwey Thier / nach dem sie vieler
 anderer Particular Kirchen im Teutschland sich bemächti-
 get / auch gemacht an die Evangelische Gemeine zu Aug-

spurg / end endlichen im Monat Augusto des 1629.
 Jahrs / das verhängnuß b. kommen / die Evangelische
 Kirchen vnd Schuldienere abzuslegen / end an derselben
 Stelle ihre Brut hinein zuspeyen.
 Darnhero diese / so bald sie in der Stadt auff
 die Füße kommen / sich der Kirchen vnd Schulen der
 Evangelischen angemasset / die Bibliothecam occupirt.
 vnd allgemach die daselbst der reinen Religion zuge-
 thane Burger grossen theils bis zum Exilio vnd Elend
 tribuliret vnd gepresset. vnd hätte man von der lieben
 Stadt Augspurg billich sagen könen: ihre Widersacher
 schwächen empör / vnd ihren Feinden gehets wol. Thren.
 1. vers. 5. die Widerwertigen brüllen in den Häusern
 Gottes vnd setzen ihre Götzen dar ein. Psal. 74. vers. 4.
 Sie raffen den Grund vmb / was soll der Gerechte auf-
 richten Ps. 11. vers. 3. Sie sagen / unsere Zuna soll über-
 hand haben / vns gebüret zureden. Psal. 12. vers. 5.

gedruckt im Jahr 1632.

Die durch Gottes Gnad erledigte Stadt Augspurg.



Nach dem die zwey Antichristliche Thier (wie gegenüber zu sehen) ihren Muth von Anno 1529. bis auff das 1632. Jahr wider die Stadt Augspurg geköhlet/ vnd die Kirchen vnd Schulen mit ihrem Geschmeis allenthalben daselbst erfüllet: So hat es Gott fast wider aller Menschen Gedancken/ dahin allergnädigst gemittelt/ daß sein getreuer Werkzeuge von Mitternacht die königliche Mayestat in Schweden/ etc. den ermelten Thieren so weit Abbruch geschan/ bis jr toben vnd schnauben abda nidergelegt/ vnd den bedrangten Evangelischen Christen das öffentliche exercitium Religionis wider eingeräumt worden. Was grosse Freude vnter ihnen sich erhaben/ wenn höchst gedachte königliche Mayestat eingeritten/ dem heiligen Gottestienst selbst mit inbrünstiger Andacht beygewohnt/ vnd andere lobwürdige Sachen gnädigst angeordnet/ das kan nicht gnugsam außgesprochen vnd erzehlet werden.

Gibt demnach dieser ganz wunderfame Ausgang des vorbergehenden ungebührlichen Bedrangnis zu Augspurg (wie auch an andern vielen orten) nunmehr den rechten Verstand der herrlichen Weissagung Johannis von der Beschaffenheit der ehgemelten zweyen Thier deutlich an die Hand.

Demnach dem das ander Thier (der Jesuitische Orden/ so erst zu unserer Vorfahren Zeiten auffkommen vnd das Pabstum allenthalben einzuführen sich vnterstanden) das gerechte Verhängnis Gottes über die Sünden der Evangelischen zu seinem Vorthel vnd eussersten Muthwillen eine geraume zeit gewendet: So hat Gott endlich deren/ die durch waare Reu vnd Buß mit glaubigem eifrigem Gebet zu ihm sich bekehret/ vntertlich widerumb angenommen/ die Verfolger mit gleicher Mühs bezahlet/ ihnen ihr trosten vnd pochen darinder gelegt vnd kräftiglich erwiesen/ daß die Gedult vnd Glaub der haligen nicht vergeblich gewesen.

Die Wort aber soln in der Offenbarung Johannis/ Cap. 17. v. 5. 6. vnd folgendes zu finden lauten also: Sie sprachen wer ist dem Thier gleich? vnd wer kan mit ihm kriegen? vnd es ward ihm gegeben (oder verhängt) dem Munde zu reden grosse ding vnd ward ihm gegeben/ daß es mit ihm wehrete 42. Monden lang. Vnd es that seinen Mund auff zur Lästerung gegen Gott/ zulästern seinen Namen (sein Wort/ die heilige Schrift) vnd seine Hütten (die waare Evangelische Kirch) vnd die im Himmel wohnen (das ist/ die heiligen Engel vnd Außertwelthen/ theils mit Andächtung frembder Ehr/ als ob sie bezerten vnd die himmlische Hülf angeruffen zu seyn/ theils mit Verlecherung vnd Verdammung der in waarem Glauben abgeschiedenen Evangelischen Confessoren). Vnd es ward ihm gegeben zu treten mit den Heiligen vnd sie zu überwinden. Vnd ihm ward gegeben die Macht über alle (oder allerley) Geschlecht vñ Sprachen vñ Lidern vnd alle die auff Erden wohnen/ beten es an (nemlich alle di. jenige) deren Namen nicht geschrieben sind in dem lebendigen Buch des Lambs/ das erdreyet ist von Anfang der Welt. Hat jemand Ohren/ der höre/ verstehe wie Gott endlich die Verfolger bezahlen werde/ So jemand in das Gefängnis führet/ der wird ins Gefängnis gehen. So jemand mit dem Schwerdt tödtet/ der muß mit dem Schwerdt getödtet werden: Hie ist Gedult vnd Glaub der haligen. Bis hieher S. Johannes.

Gott helfe/ daß wir seine Gnad vnd augenscheinlich erzeigte Hülf danckbarlich erkennen/ die vorige Mängel verbessern vnd jaßselig vns hüten/ damit nicht ein wideriges verursacht vnd die erwiesene Hülf verhindert werde.

Dn. Dn. S. S. R. A. d. d.

Gedruckt / Im Jahr 1632.

PLATE XX

Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen, Fol. Hist. Germ. m. VIII, 82, 13.

Size of original print, 15⁵/₈" x 11⁵/₈".

The beasts of the Apocalypse have now been killed by the king of Sweden who entered Augsburg on April 24, 1632. The tail of the papal beast still winds to Freising and Munich, but these Catholic cities were captured the following month. Würzburg and Mainz had already been occupied by the Swedes. Date of print: 1632.

The City of Augsburg delivered by the Grace of God.

After the two Antichrist beasts (as seen above) had vented their rage against the city of Augsburg from the year 1629 until 1632, and had filled the churches and schools with their filth: Then almost against the opinion of all men, God most graciously interceded so that his faithful tool from the north, his royal majesty of Sweden, etc., so grievously injured these mentioned beasts until their blustering and snorting were completely stopped, and open worship was again restored to the oppressed evangelical Christians. The great joy which they felt when his highly esteemed royal majesty rode in, attended the holy service of God with fervent devotion, and most graciously arranged other most praiseworthy affairs, cannot be sufficiently expressed and told.

Now this most wonderful termination of the late unjust oppression at Augsburg (as well as at many other places) clearly gives the true meaning of the glorious Revelation of John regarding the nature of the aforementioned two beasts.

For after the other beast (the order of Jesuits, who first appeared in the days of our forefathers and made bold to introduce the Papacy everywhere) had for a long time turned the righteous decree of God against the sins of the Evangelicals to its own advantage and worst mischief: So God finally again paternally received them who turned to him in true remorse and repentance with believing eager prayer, and paid the persecutors with like coin, disarmed them of their insolence and

bragging, and proved forcibly that the patience and faith of the saints has not been in vain.

But the words to be found in the Revelation of St. John, chapter 13, verses 5, 6, and following¹ read: [and they worshipped the beast] saying, Who is like unto the beast? Who is able to make war with him? And there was given unto him a mouth (or inflicted upon him) speaking great things; and power was given unto him to continue forty and two months. And he opened his mouth in blasphemy against God, to blaspheme his name (his word, the holy writ), and his tabernacle (the true Evangelical Church), and them that dwell in heaven (that is, the holy angels and the elect, partly with the imputation of alien honor, as though they wished to be appealed to for heavenly help, partly with charges of heresy and anathema against the confessors of the Evangelical faith who had left the true faith). And it was given unto him to make war with the saints, and to overcome them: and power was given him over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations. And all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him, whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb, slain from the foundation of the world. If any man have an ear, let him hear (meaning how God will finally pay the persecutors). He that leadeth into captivity shall go into captivity: he that killeth with the sword must be killed with the sword. Here is the patience and the faith of the saints. Up to this point Saint John.

God help that we may thankfully acknowledge His grace and manifestly shown assistance, correct former deficiencies and industriously beware, so that nothing untoward may be caused and that the manifested help may not be hindered.

Dn. Dn. S. S. R. A. d. d.

Printed in the year 1632.

¹ Verses 4-10 in the Authorized Version.

PLATE XXI

Germanische Museum, Kupferstichkabinett, Nürnberg, H. B. 25058.

Size of original print, 15" x 10".

The Swedish and German Protestant armies under the command of General Horn and Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar were defeated at the battle of Nördlingen on September 6, 1634 by the combined Spanish and Imperialist forces. To the right are the attacking soldiers bearing the Spanish and Imperial standards, and an officer stands at the left. In the center, the Protestant cities which had supported the Swedes and Duke Bernard are receiving a steam-bath which the soldiers have prepared by the fires of battle. Two Protestant ministers sit in a tub while one reads aloud. To the right a soldier "rubs out" one of the cities. Date of print: 1634.

The Imperial Cities' very much needed
Sweat-Bath.

A. Augsburg.

We invited the Swedes here,
Now we bathe in great distress
With wife and child and relatives.
The preachers are helped.

D. Preacher.

Give thanks my dear gentlemen,
Who would have thought that things would
turn out wrong,
I taught you to follow my example,
Therefore you have me to thank.

B. Preachers.

My superintendent, how I prayed
That you should not talk so much,
For you knew well that nothing was true,
Now we are in danger with you.

E. Regensburg.

We Regensburgers have lost,
Built on your teaching like fools.
Gave our support to Weimar,¹
We shall long feel this bath.

I. Ulm.

As soon as the Swede arrived
He took the money away,
Many tons of gold and many other things,
O God how we do bathe.

O. Nürnberg.

The cause is more than half lost,
God help me, how we prick up our ears.
I truly thought it would not last.
Now we bathe, together with people and land.

V. Strasburg.

Years ago the cities prospered,
As long as we left the Union alone.²
We brought the bath on ourselves,
Cannot blame others.

E. G. E.

Memmingen, Kempten and Kaufbeuren,
Many other cities were not idle.
I am afraid they will have to suffer,
If sometime the bath be poured out.

Captain.

My dear soldiers stir up the fire manfully,
For it is our duty
That we heat the stoves,
So that the gentlemen may sweat.

Soldiers.

We will spare no pains—
That the bathers will discover.
So that we may come to the rubbing,
We have undertaken this work.

Printed in the year 1634.

¹ Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar.

² The Protestant Union of 1608.

Der Reichstatt wolbedürffrigs / Schweisbadt.



A. Augspurg.
D En Schweden wir thetten her laden/
 Jetzt thun wir in groß Herkalt baden/
 Mit Weib vnd Kinde sambe den Verwanten.
 Darzu halffen die Prædicanten.
D. Prædicant.
S Abt dankt Ihr meine lieben Herrn/
 Wer maine daß es sich solt verkehren/
 Ich hab euch gkelt auff mein manir /
 Darfür habt Ihr zu danken mir.
B. Prædicanten.
M Ein Supperincen denc wie hab ich betten /
 Ihr soltet doch nicht so viel reden/
 Dann Ihr wußt wol/ das nicht war wahr/
 Jetzt sehen wir mit euch in Gefahr.
E. Regenspurg.
W Ir Regenspurger habus verlohren/
 Bauten auff ewr Lehr wie die Dorn/
 Thetten vns zu dem Weimarwenden/
 Dis Wade werden wir lang empfinden.
I. Blin.
A lsbald der Schwed herauf ist kommen/
 Hat Er die Spanen außgenohmen/
 Viel Thonnen Goldts/ vnd anders mehr/
 D WIL wie Baden wir so sehr.

O. Nürnberg.
D Je Sach ist mehr als halb verlohren/
 Hüß GOTT wie spiken wir die Ohren/
 Dacht wol bey mir / es hab kein bstandt/
 Jetzt baden wir/ sambe Leuth vnd Landt.
V. Strasburg.
B Dr Jahren thetten die Stätt wol bslahn/
 Thet man der Vanion müßig gahn/
 Das Badt wir vns haben antragen/
 Dörffen nicht ober andere klagen.
E. G. E.
M Emmingen/ Kempfen/ vnd Kauffbapen/
 Viel andere Städt thetten nicht seyn/
 Trag Sorg stehrens büssen müßten/
 Wann man einmal wärdts Wade außgießen.
Capitan.
I hr liebe Soldaten/ thut Männlich schirn/
 Dann es will sich auff vns gebühren.
 Damit wir den Vffen erhiben/
 Auff daß die Herrn mögen schwißen.
Soldaten.
W Ir wöllen gar kein mühe nit sparen/
 Das sollen die Wadteuth erfahren/
 Damit wir zum aufreiben kommen/
 Wir haben vns dis fürgenohmen.

Neue Bauren-Klag/

Über die Unbarmherzige Bauren Reitter dieser zeit

Lieber Leser tritt herbey
Beschaw die seltsam Reitterey

Die dieser zeit in der Welt
Von den soldaten angefielt.



Est auch jetzt wol ein Mensch in dieser welt zu finden/
 Den jedermann begehrt an haut vnd haar zu schinden?
 So frinds wir Baurenlein: wie seyn die ärmsten kelt;
 Damit vnser vich vnd pferd/seynd der soldaten beut.
 Was nur der Bauer hat/das wird gleich preys gegeben/
 Der Brudervnt ist Herr gar ober vnser leben/
 Die Häuser seynd verbrant/die Kirchen seynd zerstor/
 Die döffer seynd verlehrt/der Dorch hat ist verlohrt/
 Mann sihe der Länder trost die grossen Städt verbrannt/
 Die Herrligkeit des lands mag keiner mehr erkennen/
 Durch Ritten/raub/mord vnd brand wird es zur Wüsteney/
 Das freye Römisch Reich wird jetzt zur Barbarey/
 Lecht schon der acker frucht/vnd meynen wir zu schneiden/
 So dürfen wir nicht hin/vnd müssen solches tragen/
 Das sie der Reutter mumbt/vnd uns noch drüber schmieret/
 Das wir nit mehr gesit/wel ihm noch mehr gebübet;
 Wir werden auff das blut vnd marck ganz aufgesogen/
 In gar biß auff die haut/ganz nackt vnd aufgesogen/
 Es geht zur blut vnd muck/mit sambt dem leben auff/
 Es verschvber vns der mehr als Hölle kauft/
 Das Schwerdt ist frey vnd sind; nach dem die; serd gesellen/
 Vnd nichs mehr übrig ist/das die soldaten beken/
 So muß der arme Bauer ö vteraroff sein!
 Mit einem maul gebiß/das roß vnd eßl sein/
 Der Reutter dummelt ihn/abt ihm die schärfste speren/
 Mein vman er nicht so renn/er hat die sach verlorren/
 Er treib ihn hin vnd her/vnd hin er nur becher/
 Vn ist vnt hütet als ein vntersländig pferd/

Dann wan die pferde müß/so laßet mann sie rasten/
 Sie haben habern genug/wir aber müssen fasten/
 Wiß vns die Seel außgeht/wir haben keine ruh/
 Vnd können wir nit fort/so gehn die stöß daru.
 Wir sagen aber das/vnd wollen es befehlen/
 Die Mars vnd delner macht/das die so leund rennen/
 Darzu ganz grausamlich/mithe als ein ägel thut/
 Auffangen vnser blut/vnd rauben vnser gut/
 Das wan die lange klling/muß elen Wraspiß geben/
 Vnd in dem sincken sein/die spinnen künstlich weben/
 Wann auch der sebel selbst/zur senfen wird verwend/
 Vnd mann die Wüchsenischäfte/zum tochen all verbrent/
 So wird ja mancher Anecht/avorab solch gstellen/
 Die kein Handwerck gelernt/auch nit nichts lernen wollen/
 Sich zu vns müssen thun/vnd vmb ein stücklein brod/
 E chr greffe arbeyt thun/vnd wann sie dan in noch/
 So werden wir auch gewiß der schmach vnd schlag geduncken/
 Vnd selter vnder vns/das lang geborgte schencken/
 Die Instrument seynd vns allen roost befannt/
 Obu was der jäh zorn gibe selber an die hand/
 Wir haben Recht genug / auch solben hacten/schlägel/
 Die gabeln seynd gar gut/die harte Tröfcher pflegel/
 Dardurch wird manche haut/gar müß vnd sein geschlach/
 Vnd thut viel besser gut/als eurer hüt gedacht/
 Ihr Reitter denckt daran/vnd laßet ewer schinden!
 So laßn wir den zorn/anch desto eher schwinden/
 Wer sich nicht warantläßt/vnd treyze darüber stöß/
 Der speyber sich/vnd keinen andern böß.

PLATE XXII

Germanische Museum, Kupferstichkabinett, Nürnberg, H. B. 16439.

Size of original print, 13 7/8" x 8".

To illustrate the miseries of the peasantry, the artist has drawn a soldier, booted and spurred, riding a peasant as a horse. Other soldiers do the same on the right. One peasant is prone on the ground about to be run through by a soldier. To the left, soldiers throw household belongings out of a peasant's window, while others, sword in hand, attack the family. A peasant family prays on the hillside while the farmhouse goes up in flames. In the upper right-hand corner Mars, god of war, is seated on a drum pierced by weapons. However, the text ends in a threat by the peasants against the soldiery. Date of print: 1642.

A new Peasant Lament on the unmerciful Peasant Riders of this age.

Dear reader come,
See the strange riding
Indulged in by the soldiers
In the world today.

If there is anybody in the whole world
Whom everyone wishes to flay and scalp
It is we the little peasants! We are the poorest
folk,
For our cattle and horses are the soldiers'
booty.
Whatever the peasant possesses, is at once
made a prize,
Brother bailiff is the master of our lives.
Houses are burned, churches are destroyed,
Villages are turned upside down, provisions
are consumed,
As consolation for the countryside one sees
great cities burn.
The splendour of the land can no longer be
recognized,
By war, robbery, murder and arson, it is be-
coming a desert.
The free Roman Empire is turning to bar-
barism.
When the fields bear fruit, and we think to
harvest it,
Then we are not permitted to go, and must
suffer
The horsemen to take it, and they thrash us
besides
Because we did not sow more, and because
more is owed them.

We are drained of blood and marrow,
Yes, stripped naked to the skin.
Property, blood and courage, with life itself
are lost,
A more than hellish brood rules over us,
The sword devours wife and child. After the
horses are stolen,
And nothing is left for the soldiers to take,
Then the poor peasant, O overwhelming tor-
ture,
Must wear a bit and serve as horse and donkey.
The rider exercises him, gives him the sharp
spurs,
Thinks that if he did not run so fast, he would
lose the race.
He drives him here and yon, wherever he likes,
Treats him harder than a dumb horse,
For when horses get tired, they are given a
rest.
They have enough oats, but we must fast
Until our souls depart, we have no rest,
And we cannot leave, blows are added besides.
But we say this, and want it known
To you Mars and your might, that they who
now run thus,
And in addition, worse than a leech, quite
horribly
Suck our blood and rob us of our property:
That when the long blade must become a spit,
And the spiders cunningly spin in the gloomy
helmet,
When the sword itself is used as a scythe,
And when the gunshafts are all used as fire-
wood for cooking,
Then many a soldier, especially those
Who never learned a trade and never want to
learn anything,
Will be forced to turn to us, and work very
hard
For a piece of bread, and when they are in
need,
Then we shall surely recall the pains and blows
And none of us will give what has been
borrowed from us so long.
We are all very familiar with the weapons,
Not to mention the strength given by hasty
anger,

We have enough cudgels, as well as clubs, hoes
and sledge hammers,
Pitchforks are very good and also flails.
With these many a skin will be softened and be
beaten,
And they will serve better than anyone be-
lieved.

You horsemen, reflect thereon, and cease your
flaying!
In that case, we will let our wrath vanish all
the sooner.
Whoever does not take the warning, and is
injured,
Must be angry at himself and not at another.

PLATE XXIII

Stadtbibliothek, Ulm, Einblattdrucke, III, 65.
Size of original print, 10¼" x 8".

The beast of war is devouring jewels and money
and his tail destroys the fruits of the earth. An
armed soldier attempts to defend himself. The re-
sults of war are seen to the left. To the right, the
beast has been killed by prayer and repentance,
and the happy people hail peace.

A Picture of the merciless, horrible, ruthless
monstrous Beast who in a few years pitilessly
and wretchedly harried, exhausted and de-
stroyed the greater part of Germany. Besides,
a Report of its Origin, who trained and fed
it, etc. Finally by what Means he can be got
rid of. Published for each and every one.

Little trust is placed in a wolf who in the green
woods and on the broad meadows
Furiously tears to pieces men and cattle and
scatters sheep,
Nor are a lion or wild horse trusted.
Likewise one fears a man, angry, wicked and
out of his senses,
Also snakes, adders, rats and toads,
Which often cause men misery, and take life
and property;
Similarly, the harmful beasts under the firma-
ment
Which skulk after men to hurt them early and
late.
Justly, men are at angry enmity with all these
beasts,
None should be permitted to live, they should
be killed whenever possible.
But whoever loves these things, fosters and
feeds them
Meets misfortune in life and property.
To whom can a man complain of the damage
which he suffers,
When he deliberately brings upon himself his
cross and his misfortune

Which he carries on his back,
Although he could get rid of them, but does not
so desire?
Are such people now to be found in Germany?
O God, it is a shame to admit that the country
is full of them,
For how quickly there has come into our dear
Germany
An animal having all the qualities of the
aforementioned Beast.
This animal runs in an upright position, and
has an angry face
Like a lion, wolf or bear, and spares no man.
Now in fear and fright, the poor people in
great number
Make ready for flight to flee from the animal.
What this animal now seizes! Cities, villages,
land and people,
Nay, men's bodies and property it makes its
booty,
For it has a wolf's jaws, which cannot be filled,
Its greed must be stilled early and late with
gold and money.
At its side it has a man's hand with fire, gun,
spear and sword;
It harries and destroys land and people en-
countered in its way.
The lion's claw on the left side grasps violently,
Makes many poor in a short time by marches
and by raids.
Whoever opposes him must suffer severely,
Loses both life and property, is trampled under
foot.
It destroys the fruit which has scarcely risen in
full bloom,
Like a wild horse which cannot be checked.
It has a poisonous rat's tail covered with many
unclean vermin

Einsilbige/doch Hertzbewegliche Gedanck:n/über den Langgewünschten/Hochwichtigen/ und nunmehr Gote Lob/publicarem Reichthredem/ in Teutsche Reimen Comödicher Wuff gestellet.



Der Fried spricht.
A O Eder Preyß der allernacht/
 der Welt/ der Welt/ der Welt/
B Ich Eder Preyß der allernacht/
 der Welt/ der Welt/ der Welt/
C Die Reiche der allernacht/
 der Welt/ der Welt/ der Welt/
D Der Fried spricht/ der allernacht/
 der Welt/ der Welt/ der Welt/
E Ich Eder Preyß der allernacht/
 der Welt/ der Welt/ der Welt/
F Die Reiche der allernacht/
 der Welt/ der Welt/ der Welt/
G Der Fried spricht/ der allernacht/
 der Welt/ der Welt/ der Welt/
H Ich Eder Preyß der allernacht/
 der Welt/ der Welt/ der Welt/
I Die Reiche der allernacht/
 der Welt/ der Welt/ der Welt/
K Der Fried spricht/ der allernacht/
 der Welt/ der Welt/ der Welt/
L Ich Eder Preyß der allernacht/
 der Welt/ der Welt/ der Welt/
M Die Reiche der allernacht/
 der Welt/ der Welt/ der Welt/

Müssen also nach dem lieben Vrede.
 Ein Guad das die Menschen sich
 Zu die bethen Herzlich/
 Und die mit Schwestern her/
 Zusammen mit herliche Freunde/
 Das sie ihre Herzen erwecken/
 Einde/ Hand und Kiste zu duntzen/
 Darum ist die Schwere zu tun/
 Ist auch die Sach an alle sein/
 Eht das die Menschen sich bethen/
 Nach dem Willen Gottes des Herrn/
 Du Herrscher der mit dem Dacht/
 Die Menschen frue und spaz besch/
 Hatt schon für dich sie nunmehr/
 G Du sollen lassen Herch und Ehr/
 Du Wuff/ auch daran deiner Dacht/
 Die Menschen an jede Demuth/
 Das sie dich aufmerken allzeit/
 In der wahren Duffertait/
 So wird die Sach sich gut duntzen/
 G Du sollst dich mit edel duntzen/
 In der Menschen Dacht herliche
 Duff.
 G Du der Herr/ auch dich helfen nit/
 A ist die Menschen bring zu Duff/
 Und mir selam die erdruß/
 Larm das Gnu/ hab ein Jergang/
 Fried.
 Nun Herr/ sollst du in dem Anfang/

Nach dem die Sach zum quinn End/
 Dacht der Krieg/ nach dem Beschand/
 Ewig nicht mehr in Teuschland lernen.
 Engel.
I Friede du ein Ede Zugund fremm/
 Du Fremden alle Freundlich sein/
 Du Duffertait allen/
 Du Ede Vren der fremmen Schaar/
 Du heyligender Spruch hat/
 Du hat dich und deine getraut/
 Nach viel Reibsel redten erweisen/
 Weil sie in Anacht des Erbtes/
 Wey ihn thut anhalten stet/
 So hat sie mit Triumph gelit/
 A ist der Krieg dem Feind raun leit/
 Darum und von mir den Siegeskrang.
 Fried.
D Du du höchste Gnadenkranz/
 Du Aller Wichte höchster Duff/
 Du sey Ewig leb. Preyß und Ehr.
 Krieg.
Wie mag doch nur der Handel sein/
 Dacht ihu also schlecht herach/
 Ich hier nicht mehr in dem Teuschland/
 Den Wuffen werden Her und Brand/
 Es ist an allen Dacht still/
 Engel.
D Du Krieg/ es ist die Dacht der Wuff/
 Dacht die Dacht die Dacht/
 Dacht Teuschland/ soll davon Hoff/

Und sollst fort das Wuffen sein.
 Krieg.
Ach ihr teute Dacht mein/
 Soll ich dann also schick marcken/
 Und das Reiche dich quinnen/
 Das bringe mir die und die Kinncken/
 Und hab darab gressen Dacht/
L Ach ihr Dacht/ die ihr
 So viel Jahr habe gedunt mit/
 Die Dacht der Dacht/
 In Dacht der Dacht/
M Ach ihr Dacht/
 Hoch und Dacht Dacht/
 Ach ihr Dacht/
 Was ist auch Dacht zu Dacht/
 Nach dem sie mir gedunt viel Jahr/
 In so mancher Dacht Dacht/
 Ihr hat Dacht Dacht Dacht/
 Ach wo Dacht Dacht Dacht/
 Mein gress Dacht der Dacht und Dacht/
 Wo Dacht Dacht Dacht Dacht/
 Und der Dacht Dacht Dacht/
 Wo Dacht Dacht Dacht Dacht/
 In Dacht Dacht Dacht Dacht/
 Wo Dacht Dacht Dacht Dacht/
 Ach ihr Dacht Dacht/
 Ach Dacht Dacht Dacht/
E S I S T A J E D.

Allen Chyrlichen und Friedliebenden/ Dacht und oberdacht/ durch Maximilian Rumbolden/
 Kayserlichen und Knyphandern Dunt.

Which in retreat destroys everything which
 could still be useful.
 On its heels there follow quickly famine and
 the pest,
 They clear to the ground everything that can
 still be found.
 What is this animal called? It is called war.
 Whence then does it come? The universal sins
 of men
 In our fatherland bore this wicked animal,
 Which mercilessly devours even its parents.
 Who until now nurtured this terrible animal?
 It has, I say truly, suckled all our breasts.
 Who has helped this horrible animal to its feet,
 And opened wide door and gate to it? We all,
 great and small;
 But few understand this correctly, that what
 the world sometimes thinks happens by
 accident,
 Is the punishment of God. Is it surprising,
 That when men remain in sin that they find
 That God's arm stays stretched out to continue
 punishments?
 Were sin not accepted, were God prayed to for
 mercy,
 Did every estate reform as is most necessary,

Would God then let the animal have his way
 as he has done so long,
 To destroy us completely, which no one can
 hinder?
 Only true repentance and atonement would
 be good means
 To turn away God's anger, protect us from His
 rod.
 So by becoming pious we can obtain a merciful
 God,
 We would soon see this animal dead, ruined
 and destroyed.
 It would strangle and kill itself with its own
 sword,
 Thereby Germany would be released from this
 grief and misery.
 Besides it would spew out in heaps all that it
 had swallowed,
 Which would give great joy to many poor
 people who were driven away.
 Through these means we would soon obtain
 God's help,
 If not, we must like others be destroyed com-
 pletely.
 He who heeds the injuries of others,
 Is wise and learned, and is considered blessed,
 said the good ancients.

PLATE XXIV

Stadtbibliothek, Ulm, Einblattdrucke, III, 91.
 Size of original print, 15 3/8" x 11 3/4".

This print celebrates the signing of the peace of Westphalia on October 24, 1648 which closed the Thirty Years War. Above, the Holy Trinity blesses the peace. The central figures are the boy king Louis XIV, the Emperor Ferdinand III, and Queen Christina of Sweden. All three succeeded their fathers who had reigned at the beginning of the long conflict. Kneeling are the clergy and laity (d), a Catholic bishop to the left, and a Protestant minister to the right. Peace (A) is seated on her throne and before her stand figures representing Fear of God (F) and Penance (G). On the right stands War (I) faced by a general (L) and a cavalier (M). An angel (II) praises Peace, and another angel (K) bearing a tattered flag and broken sword warns War to leave Germany. Date of print: c. 1648.

Simple but stirring Thoughts about the long-wished-for, noble, and now, God be praised,

published Imperial Peace, set forth as a
 Comedy in German Verses.

Peace speaks.

- A. Praise, honor and praise to the highest,
 To God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost,
 The Holy Trinity
- B. As the one true Godhead,
 Because he united the three:
- C. To wit, his Imperial Majesty
 Our most gracious lord
 His most Imperial Highness,
 With the two praiseworthy crowns, both
 France and Sweden,
 Who most graciously consented
 To the conclusion of the peace pact in the
 Empire.
 For this unanimous action,
 The three estates in honored Germany,

- D. The spiritual, lay and home estates¹
 Have God to thank devoutly.
 Not only with mere words,
 But from the bottom of their hearts.
 O Prince of Peace, Lord Jesus Christ,
 Thou who art a God of Peace,
 Oppose war, my foe,
 So that henceforth in Germany
 A good policy may be maintained,
 And once again may be renewed
 The old Christian faith
 And also the old German liberty.
- E. By thy Godly grace and clemency
 Look down upon the dear innocents,
 Of whom many in great hunger
 Were forced to beg their daily bread.
 Give grace that men
 Turn to Thee heartily,
 And accept with heartfelt joy
 These my two sisters,
 That they may govern their hearts
 To quit sin, shame and vice.
 Therefore, dear sisters mine,
 Take good care of this affair,
 See to it that men convert themselves
 According to the will of God the Lord.
 You, Fear of God, with your Book,
 Visit men early and late,
 Exhort them forever
 To fear and honor God.
 You Penance, with your rod,
 Drive men on to humility
 That they may accept you always
 In true penitence,
 So everything will turn out right.

Fear of God.

- F. God help that I may prevail
 In the hearts of men henceforth.

Penance.

- G. May God the Lord help me also,
 That I may bring men to penance,
 And to follow me without ill-will,
 So that the good may progress.

Peace.

Now God help at the beginning,
 And bring the matter to a good end.
 So that war and his servants
 May never again enter Germany.

Angel.

- H. Peace, you pious noble virtue,
 You friend of all friendliness,
 You benefactress for all time,
 You noble crown of the pious multitude,
 You clear mirror shining bright,
 God has chosen to gladden you
 And your faithful ones
 After so many calamities,
 Because in prayerful devotion
 You cling to Him persistently.
 So you won with triumph,
 War the enemy is defeated,
 Therefore accept the crown of victory from
 me.

Peace.

O God, supreme glory of grace,
 Supreme Lord of all peoples,
 May eternal praise and honor be thine.

War.

- I. What is happening
 To make matters turn out so badly?
 I no longer hear in Germany
 Of strangling, murder, fire and arson.
 It is quiet everywhere.

Angel.

- K. You war, it is the will of the Highest,
 That you now leave Germany
 Without delay,
 And cease your destruction.

War.

O my faithful companions,
 Must I then so quickly march
 And quit the Roman Empire?
 That causes me sorrow and worry
 And I am very angry about it.

- L. Farewell you generals,
 You have served me so many years,
 With unremitting bravery,
 In conquering cities, land and folk.
- M. Adieu, adieu, you cavaliers,
 High and low officers,
 Adieu you honorable soldiers,
 What advice can I give you now
 After serving me many years

¹This is an unusual substitution for the three estates, spiritual, noble and third estate, or electors, princes and towns, as it would be in the diet of the Holy Roman Empire.

In many a perilous adventure?
You receive great praise and honor,
But O what now remains of
My great power and glory,
The great fear of land and folk?
What is left now of my cannon roar,
And the manly drum-beat,
What is left of my shooting, stabbing,
clubbing
In woods and in green fields,

What remains of my earth sprinkled with
blood,
What remains of my grass mixed with
blood?
Adieu you soldiers full of honor,
Adieu, adieu, I part from you.

THERE IS PEACE.

Dedicated and inscribed to all Christian and
peace-loving hearts by Matthias Rembold,
copper plate engraver and art dealer in Ulm.