

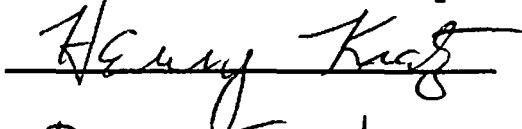
To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Jacqueline Fields Ratliff entitled "Images of War in the Works of Poet-Soldiers of the Thirty Years' and Prusso-Austrian Wars." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in German Language and Literature.



Dr. David Lee
Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:



Accepted for the Council:



Associate Vice Chancellor and
Dean of The Graduate School

IMAGES OF WAR IN THE WORKS OF POET-SOLDIERS
OF THE
THIRTY YEARS' AND PRUSSO-AUSTRIAN WARS

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Jacqueline Fields Ratliff

August 1994

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my children
Bo, Jason, and Leah Ratliff

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ABSTRACT

This research involves a study of the imagery of war of six poet-soldiers: Diederich von dem Werder, Georg Greflinger, and Christian Brehme, from the time of the Thirty Years' War and Ewald Christian von Kleist, Johann George Scheffner, and Heinrich Wilhelm von Stamford from the time of the Prusso-Austrian Wars. The aims of the study were twofold -- to ascertain how these writers depict war through imagery in their poetic works, and to note changes in such imagery in the intervening century between the two periods of conflict. Attention was focused on certain categories of imagery, including the origins of war, the soldier's cause, nature, death, destruction and deprivation, leaders and heroes, the enemy, the common soldier, and the poet-soldier's view of himself in war.

The poet-soldiers of the Thirty Years' War era attribute the origin of war to a combination of fate and God's punishment of a sinful people, whereas the eighteenth-century poets point to certain defects inherent in man, such as envy, greed, and lust for power. War compared to destructive aspects of nature is a motif in both centuries, but the later poets also employed in their works images of peaceful nature as a contrast to the chaotic environment of war. The earlier poets express mainly physical deprivation due to war, while Kleist, Scheffner, and Stamford add a

component of deprivation of the spirit. Portraits of death in war become more personal and sentimental in the poet-soldiers of the later period, as does the very concept of the soldier. While hero worship of military leaders is a component in the works from the Thirty Years' War, the later poet-soldiers paint a dismal picture of leaders in general, reserving their praise for Frederick the Great. Werder and Greflinger depict a demonic enemy. Kleist, Scheffner and Stamford see the enemy as barbaric and less civilized than they, but do not depict him as evil. The early poet-soldiers do not write about themselves, while the later poets tend to personalize their description of the soldier's life and cause.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

This study will investigate the images of war in the verse of poet-soldiers from two extensive periods of conflict in Germany: The Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) and the Prusso-Austrian wars -- which include the First Silesian War (1740-42), the Second Silesian War (1744-45), the Third Silesian War (1756-63), and the War of Bavarian Succession (1778-79). When the research was initially begun, it was with the prospect of writing about the imagery of poet-soldiers of the Second World War. I found that while there is an abundance of poetic works from that era on the theme of war, most were written by civilians. It appears that the only extant verses by poet-soldiers emanated from writers who were pro-regime and therefore not censored. Some of these writers are featured in a compilation of essays edited by Wulf Segebrecht, Der Bamberger Dichterkreis 1936-1945 (1985). This collection includes biographical portraits and commentary on the works of seventeen poets who were members of the poetic circle in Bamberg during the Nazi regime. The poet-soldiers included are Heinz Grothe, Friedrich Deml, Bruno Brehm, Herybert Menzel, and Gerhard Schumann. The First World War offers more material for such a study, but

appears to be especially well covered in the literature. There are poetic works by Georg Trakl, August Stramm, Alfred Lichtenstein, Hugo Ball, Wilhelm Klemm, Anton Schnack, Heinrich Lersch, and Karl Bröger. Patrick Bridgwater's The German Poets of the First World War (1985) is an anthology with commentary which includes these poets and others. The war periods that I eventually chose have been neglected insofar as a study dealing exclusively with the verse of poet-soldiers is concerned. While some of the writers treated in this study wrote prose as well, I will concentrate solely on the area where one would expect to find more concentrated imagery: their poetry.

The two major episodes of war are separated by almost a century, and the interim period saw substantial change in the religious, political, and social structures of the German states. The manner of conducting war also underwent change in this interval. The causes and consequences of the Thirty Years' War are issues which are debated to the present day, but the important religious component cannot be overlooked. The armies were comprised to a great degree of professional soldiers, and it was sometimes difficult to distinguish between friend and foe. The numerous German principalities, duchies, and even the foreign armies often changed sides to their advantage. Looting, burning, and pillaging by the soldiers, the scourge of the civilian population, was not only accepted, but was expected and

condoned by most of the war leaders. The eighteenth century saw a very different type of warfare. Historian Eric Robson writes:

In theory and practice, eighteenth-century wars were wars of limited liability -- about something concrete rather than the earlier wars of righteousness and moral purpose -- clashes between rulers, between dynastic States in limited wars fought with limited means for limited objectives, which ended with the drawing up of a balance sheet. They were a natural revulsion from the horrors of the Thirty Years' War, where fanaticism and moral indignation had multiplied the number of atrocities. Though there were great wars, devastation and unnecessary bloodshed were kept in check by strict adherence to the rules, customs, and laws of war, the accepted code of the eighteenth century war-game. ("The Armed Forces" 165)

In the simplest terms, the wars between Prussia and Austria fit Robson's description of eighteenth-century warfare. The discipline of the Prussian soldiers is illustrated in a letter from the Prussian poet-soldier Ewald Christian von Kleist to Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim dated November 9, 1756):

Wir halten hier in ganz Sachsen die
allergenaueste Disziplin. Es darf kein Soldat
eine Stecknadel Wert nehmen. Unsere Leute haben

in den Winterquartieren nicht einmal frei Essen,
sondern sie müssen alles bezahlen. Reich wird bei
unserm Kriege niemand werden . . . (C. F. Sauer
2: 352)

A Prussian officer, David Neumann, writes to Johann
George Scheffner of his experience as a prisoner-of-war in
Austria in April 1763:

In Wien bin ich auch gewesen; dies hält mich wegen
meiner ganzen Gefangenschaft schadloss. Die
Kayserin erlaubte allen prss. Officiers einige
Wochen vor unserer Abreise in ihren Ländern herum
zu reisen. Man that Uns in diesem Zeitpunkt so
viel Ehre an, als man Uns vorhero beschimpft
hatte. (Warda 3: 65)

One would expect changes in the poetic imagery of war,
attitudes towards war, and its prosecution in the works of
poet-soldiers emanating from these periods of military
conflict. Accordingly, the purpose of this study is to look
at how these writers depict war in general, as well as
various components of war. I will discuss categories of
imagery such as origins of war, the soldier's cause, nature,
death, destruction and devastation, leaders and heroes, the
enemy, the common soldier, and the poet-soldier.

Identifying poet-soldiers from the period of the Thirty
Years' War proved to be difficult. The armies were
comprised mainly of professional soldiers and conscripts;

the educated elite were not usually forced into service, and it was from these non-military writers that most of the "war poetry" emanated. Among the well-known poets of the time who fall into that category are: Martin Opitz, Paul Fleming, Hans Moscherosch, Johann Rist, and Friedrich von Logau. Grimmelshausen was a soldier, but he wrote prose works, and these are not pertinent to this study. In seeking to identify poet-soldiers, I first examined Goedeke's Grundriß and the Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (ADB) then secondary literature on war poetry of the time. I found three poet-soldiers to serve as the basis for my study of this period: Diederich von dem Werder (1584-1657), a noble who served in the Swedish army under King Gustavus Adolphus; Georg Greflinger (1620?-1677), an orphan and later self-made scholar who served in the army under Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar; and Christian Brehme (1613-1667), from the burgher class, who joined the Swedish forces when the occupation of Leipzig by Catholic troops interrupted his university studies.

The identification of poet-soldiers from the time of the Prusso-Austrian Wars proved to be almost as difficult, since with the exception of Ewald Christian von Kleist, there are no well-known writers in that category. In addition to Kleist, my search of the Goedeke's Grundriß and the ADB turned up two poet-soldiers who are appropriate for this paper: Heinrich Wilhelm von Stamford, a professional

soldier who served in French, Brunswickian, Prussian, and Dutch armies during his long military career, and Johann George Scheffner, a middle-class Königsberger who joined the Prussian army in a patriotic fervor in the waning years of the Seven Years' War. Expressly excluded from the study of this time period are "war poets" who were not soldiers, such as Gleim.

Most of the literature on poets and war treats the most notable writers of the particular period or concentrates on folk poetry. Although my research has not uncovered a study dealing exclusively with poet-soldiers, there is peripheral literature which impinges on it. Following the review of this literature, a chapter will be devoted to the Thirty Years' War and the Prusso-Austrian wars respectively. Each chapter will begin with identification of the poet-soldiers from that period, followed by a short history of the war(s) and a brief description of soldiering. This introductory material will be followed by an in-depth discussion of the writers, including biographical and bibliographical data, particulars of military service, and the imagery of war in their works. A short summary will close each chapter. The study will be concluded with a comparative/contrastive discussion of the overall findings.

My intention is not to prove the literary worth of these poets, nor to compare their works with similar works by poets who were not soldiers, but to examine the works of

writers who experienced personally the extremes of war and the hardships of military life and who chose to set down their experiences in poetry.

Review of the Literature

There is no study dealing specifically with the images of war in the works of poet-soldiers in the time frame covered. Neither was there found a study dealing exclusively with the works of poet-soldiers from either of the war periods independently. There are several investigations which explore the concepts of war and peace in the works of writers contemporary with the particular period of conflict. In Krieg und Frieden in der deutschen Literatur: Vom Barock bis heute (1985), Irmgard Hunt discusses the concept of war and peace in literature from the Thirty Years' War to the present. She discusses Grimmelhausen's Simpliciana and Gryphius' "Tränen des Vaterlands" in her chapter on the Baroque. She does not distinguish ordinary writers from poet-soldiers, but she does mention that Grimmelshausen was in the military and she comments: "Freilich besteht ein Unterschied zwischen der Kriegsliteratur der Kriegsteilnehmer und dem Produkt des distanzierten Poeten zum Thema Krieg" (18). She describes Grimmelshausen's work as more realistic than that of Gryphius and attributes this to the fact that he had been a soldier. From the eighteenth century she includes J.M.R.

Lenz, Matthias Claudius, and Immanuel Kant in her discussion. She does not make reference to any of the six poets of my study.

A dissertation by Erwin Schroeder, Das historische Volkslied des dreißigjährigen Krieges (1916), depends upon several collections of political folk poetry, including those of Julius Opel and Adolf Cohn, Emil Weller, F. W. Ditfurth, and August Hartmann. Schroeder investigates the imagery related to certain aspects of war, such as the picture of daily life during the war years, attitudes toward soldiers and their leaders, religious strife, and several other concepts. In addition to an examination of the poetic imagery, Schroeder also discusses certain peculiarities of the language involved, such as dialect, archaic phraseology, and biblical influences. Since the body of poetry examined by Schroeder is unattributable, one cannot make direct comparison to the poems by Werder, Greflinger, or Brehme. However, the term "volkstümlich" has been applied to one of Greflinger's works which is part of my study. Speaking of Greflinger's Der Deutschen Dreisszig-Jähriger Krieg, Newald writes that Greflinger offers "einen zusammenfassenden Bericht . . . und nicht etwa mit Lucan oder Grimmelshausen zu vergleichen ist" (197). Yet in certain places in the long epic, the poet's tone changes, as Newald notes in his discussion of Greflinger:

Wenn er aus der durch den Stoff ihm auferlegten Reserve heraustritt, so verspürt man, daß er sein mitfühlendes Herz nicht ganz zum Schweigen bringen kann, und daß es seinem Talent angemessener wäre über Einzelheiten im alten Ton der historischen Volkslieder zu berichten. (197)

While Schroeder's work does not deal with attributed poetry, it concerns some of the images of war which I have chosen to study. He works directly from the poems, which is my method as well.

Johannes R. Becher's Tränen des Vaterlandes: Deutsche Dichtung as dem 16. und 17. Jahrhundert (1954) is a collection of both attributed and folk poetry. His stated purpose is to reveal a common desire for peace, a sense of self, and the development of a new "inner religion" through representative works from the time of the Thirty Years' War. Although he does not distinguish poets from poet-soldiers, he comments:

Die bedeutendsten Dichter des Dreißigjährigen Krieges waren also durchaus politische Dichter, in dem Sinne, wie es die großen Griechen, wie es die Dichter der Renaissance, wie es ein Ronsard und ein Cervantes, wie es Ovid und Horaz -- wie es alle großen Dichter vor und während des Dreißigjährigen Krieges und wie es auch alle jene hervorragenden Dichter gewesen sind, die

ihnen nachfolgten. (7)

Georg Greflinger is the only one of the three Baroque poet-soldiers whose poetry is represented in Becher's study, but no commentary accompanies Greflinger's poem "Lasset uns scherzen."

Brehme and Greflinger are mentioned in Manfred Windfuhr's study Die barocke Bildlichkeit und ihre Kritiker: Stilhaltungen in der deutschen Literatur des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts (1966). He does not discuss these two as poet-soldiers; in his chapter on grotesque metaphor he quotes from their Scherzgedichte. Paul Truman McCarty, in his dissertation "Hora Martis: A Study of the Literary Reaction of Seventeenth-Century Writers to the Thirty Years' War in Germany" (1940) divides the "war poets" into three groups: those who saw actual service, those who were directly affected by the war through loss of property or the necessity of immigrating, and those poets who wrote about the war, but who neither saw active service nor were immediately affected by the struggle (4). Among the poets who saw actual service, he lists Grimmelshausen, Moscherosch, Opitz, and Gerhardt. By service he means any direct connection to the military, such as secretary and counsellor of war (Moscherosch), copyist and diplomatic advisor (Opitz), and possibly field chaplain (Gerhardt). He places Diederich von dem Werder in the second group (5) but does not give the biographical source from which he

ascertained his information, nor does he discuss any of Werder's works. The major biographical works pertaining to the Baroque period list Werder as being an officer in the Swedish forces (ADB, Goedeke's Grundriß, etc.). McCarty does not mention Brehme or Greflinger. He discusses issues such as war and religion, war and patriotism, depictions of soldiering, and death in his study of the imagery of many of the major poets of the Baroque era.

Another study which treats the theme of war in the literature in the seventeenth century is Gabriele Muncker's dissertation, "Der Krieg in der deutschen Dichtung des 17. Jahrhunderts: Dargestellt an M. Opitz, A. Gryphius, Ch. von Grimmelshausen und F. von Logau" (1943). As in most such investigations on this topic, Muncker chooses four well-known poets, only one of whom, Grimmelshausen, was actually a soldier. Muncker prefaces her discussion of the poets and their works dealing with war with a discussion of the war as a reality of the times and the culture under the influence of war.

The primary emphasis in Muncker's study is on comparison of style and imagery of the four poets mentioned above. Based on her perception of their attitudes toward war, Muncker labels Opitz "den metaphysischen Humanisten," Gryphius "den religiösen Stoiker," Grimmelshausen "den frommen Realisten," and Logau "den Realisten." According to Muncker, each poet's attitude toward war emanated from the

directness or indirectness of his war experience (219). She states that Opitz was affected only from a distance and dealt with the war in a theoretical manner, which can be seen in the religious/metaphysical nature of his earlier works dealing with war. Opitz viewed war as punishment sent by God. In the later years of the war, Opitz developed a more humanistic attitude toward war, considering it a hinderance to all pursuits of the higher development of human beings (216).

Gryphius, even though not a soldier, was more directly affected by the events and consequences of war, and from a young age developed a pessimism which pervades his war-related works. Gryphius, like Opitz, considered the war as punishment for the sins of mankind, against which man was helpless and which was to be endured with patience (217).

Grimmelshausen experienced the war directly and, according to Muncker, "deshalb finden wir auch die leuchtendsten Farben in den Kriegs- und Zeitschilderungen seiner Werke" (218). Grimmelshausen views the war in part as "Erziehungsmittel Gottes," and as a punishment not to destroy man, but to teach him, improve him, and develop in him a deeper trust in God (218).

Muncker's conception of Friedrich von Logau's stand on war comes down also to that of a religious nature. Logau was against every aspect of war, but for him as well the answer to the question of war could be found in a profound

trust in God (219). In all of the above-mentioned four poets, Muncker notes some similar characteristics in their attitudes toward war. A deep yearning for the end of war is evident in the works of all of them. Missing from those works is any real nationalistic feeling, a theme which develops to a great extent in the war literature of the following centuries (221).

"Die Motive Krieg und Frieden in der Dichtung des deutschen Barock" (1950) is directed in a similar fashion. This dissertation by Willi Erich Weber covers a wider range of works than that of Muncker, including both attributed and unattributed literature. His emphasis is on ascertaining the poets' position on the question of war -- for or against:

Diese Pro- oder Gegenkriegseinstellung ist u.E. das wichtigste Moment, das bei der Beurteilung der Kriegsdichtung zu beachten ist. Von ihm aus lassen sich alle anderen Motive beleuchten. (iv)

He assesses none of the poets as actually pro-war, although a partisan element can be found in works lauding or decrying specific victories or losses on the battlefield and praising or vilifying individual leaders. Soldiering and the poets' views thereof are major concerns to Weber's presentation of war and the poet during the Baroque era.

In addition to the broader studies listed above, there are also some works devoted to individual poets whom I am

studying. Wolfgang von Oettingen's monographic treatment of Georg Greflinger, "Über Georg Greflinger von Regensburg als Dichter, Historiker und Übersetzer" (1882), provides a biographical sketch of the poet and a discussion of his works, with attention to characteristics of the form, language, and style. Especially helpful to my research is his section on Greflinger's historical epic, Der Deutschen Dreyszig-Jähriger Krieg, since this work is the foundation of my investigation of Greflinger's imagery of war. C. Walther's "Besprechung von und Ergänzung zu Oettingen über Greflinger" (1884) is a critique of Oettingen's monograph and offers further insight into Greflinger's work. Walther bases his study to a great extent on information gleaned from an unbound collection of Greflinger's occasional poems preserved in a Hamburg library. The poems date from 1646 to 1677 and, from the dates and names of the honorees, Walther traces Greflinger's whereabouts and activities during those years. A more recent and specific study on Greflinger is Guenter H. S. Mueller's dissertation, "Georg Greflinger, Der Deutschen Dreyszig-Jähriger Krieg: Ausgabe und Kommentar" (1974). Mueller's study deals solely with this eponymous history of the Thirty Years' War (1657) and a shorter anonymous version, Der Teutsche Krieg (1647). Mueller compares the similarities of language, content, and style of the two works, with the intent of proving that Greflinger is the author of both. He concludes that there is little doubt

that Greflinger wrote both versions and states also that the 1657 version is livelier and more subjective (i). The major part of Mueller's dissertation is devoted to an analysis of the 1657 version of the epic. He covers the history of the genre in some detail and analyzes the work in terms of language, content, and imagery. He gives a brief biographical sketch of Greflinger, but does not indicate that he was ever a soldier. Mueller discusses Greflinger's depiction of individual military leaders, the role of fate in war, and the Catholic-Protestant aspect of the conflict, among other themes.

The works of Diederich von dem Werder have undergone a great deal of investigation, none of which approaches his works from the point view of the poet-soldier. A short article by Hans Butzmann, "Der Parnaß des Diederich von dem Werder" (in Der Goldene Reiter 5: 52-53), gives an overview of Werder's life and works and his contributions to the "Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft." A 1934 article by Richard Thiem (Serimunt no. 81) praises Werder's work towards the purification of the German language and his contribution to its evolution as a literary language. Thiem cites Werder's translations as the reason for his lasting worth and for his continued recognition by literary historians.

Gerhard Dünnhaupt's 1974 edition of Gottfried von Bulljon, oder Das Erlösete Jerusalem includes a comprehensive review of Werder's life and works. Other than

mentioning that Werder was indeed a colonel in the Swedish army, he does not dwell on Werder's military service. His attention is primarily given to various editions of Werder's works and their dates. Another interesting study by Dünnhaupt is his 1973 essay "Die 'Friedensrede' Diederichs von dem Werder und ihr Verhältnis zur 'Querela Pacis' des Erasmus von Rotterdam." Dünnhaupt's comparative investigation covers Werder's language and style in the piece and points out Werder's anti-war stance in 1639, ten years before the end of the Thirty Years' War.

As far as I am able to determine, Christian Brehme has not been the subject of any major research. As I mentioned previously, his name can be found in the comprehensive biographical indices, but the information is sparse. An article by Georg Beutel, "Bürgermeister Christian Brehme," in the Dresdner Geschichtsblätter (1900) offers biographical data on Brehme's war years which are not available from other sources. In addition to providing valuable biographical information on the poet, the author comments on many aspects of Brehme's works. Beutel does not deal with Brehme's imagery of war, but he does attempt through the poet's verses to show him as a peace-loving, God-fearing man who was forced into war by circumstance. Brehme served several terms as mayor of Dresden, and Beutel's praise of Brehme, the man and poet, is effusive.

The literature dealing with war poetry of the Prusso-

Austrian Wars (1740-1779) is relatively sparse. Studies concerned exclusively with poet-soldiers are, as far as I can ascertain, nonexistent. With the exception of collections with commentary, such as Anakreontiker und preußisch-patriotische Lyriker (1893) in the series Deutsche National-Litteratur, Vor dem Untergang des alten Reiches (1930), and Der Siebenjährige Krieg in the series Deutsche Literatur in Entwicklungsreihen, one finds primarily general studies on the individual poets. Of my three poet-soldiers from the this time period, both Kleist and Scheffner have been the subject of dissertations. I found no secondary literature dealing with Stamford's poetry, and all information on his life comes from three short biographical sources. There is the ADB entry by H. Pröhle, a very short entry in Goedeke's Grundriß, which cites Pröhle, and a tribute by Heinrich Marcard, which prefaces a collection of Stamford's poetry, Heinrich Wilhelm von Stamford: Nachgelassene Gedichte (1808).

Arthur Plehwe's dissertation, Johann George Scheffner (1934), is a monographic work. Plehwe's chapter on Scheffner's war years (1761-64) includes some helpful biographical material as well as a brief section on Scheffner's two collections of "war poetry" -- Campagnen-Gedichte zum Zeitvertreib im Lager (1761) and Freundschaftliche Poesien eines Soldaten (1764 and 1793). Plehwe has little to say about Scheffner's imagery and is

quite critical of Scheffner as a "war poet." He questions Scheffner's motives for joining the military and writes, "Er ist nicht der tapfere Soldat Friedrichs des Großen gewesen, als den man ihn später gesehen hat" (16).

There are several editions of Kleist's works which include biographical data and commentary on certain aspects of the works. The studies on Kleist's life and works do not concentrate on the images of war in his works to any great degree. The primary emphasis of such studies is his nature poetry ("Der Frühling"). This is true for Max Batt's The Treatment of Nature in German Literature from Günther to the Appearance of Goethe's Werther (1902) and Hans-Georg Kemper's Deutsche Lyrik der frühen Neuzeit (1991). A comprehensive and helpful work on Kleist is Heinrich Stümbke's dissertation, "Ewald Christian von Kleist: Krieger, Dichter, Denker" (1949). Of importance to my study is his discussion of Kleist as a soldier. He devotes a section as well to Kleist's patriotic poetry.

CHAPTER 2

POET-SOLDIERS OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

Diederich von dem Werder, Georg Greflinger, and Christian Brehme were writers during the time of the Thirty Years' War. They were also soldiers in that war. Werder joined the Swedish army at the personal request of King Gustavus Adolphus, whom he met while on a diplomatic mission in Halle in 1631 (Dünnhaupt 1974, 54). He served as a colonel in the army from 1632 to 1635. Georg Greflinger's status in the military is not known, but from the biographical data available, it appears that he was probably a common soldier. The exact dates of his service are debated, but one of his occasional poems reveals that he was in the army of Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar during the siege of Breisach in 1638 (Walther 104). Christian Brehme joined a Protestant regiment from Saxony in 1633, serving as ensign. Later he transferred to a regiment from Brandenburg, where he held the rank of lieutenant. Brehme left military service in 1636.

This trio was part of a unique minority of educated men who chose to join the fight. Due to the lack of detailed biographical data, we do not know for the most part whether they witnessed what they wrote about. Yet they were soldiers, and what they knew firsthand puts their war

imagery in a separate category.

The Thirty Years' War

The war had its beginning in the province of Bohemia in 1618. Several concurrent problems led to a Bohemian revolt against Emperor Matthias, who was also archduke of Austria and head of the Austrian branch of the Hapsburgs. Matthias attempted to eradicate Protestantism in the province as well as impose full political control from Vienna.¹ He also exerted pressure on the Bohemian estates to give the Bohemian crown to Ferdinand II of Styria, his nephew and an aggressive Catholic. Matthias had little hope that his nephew would be elected in this primarily Protestant land, so he forced the Hungarian Diet of 1617 into accepting Ferdinand by declaring that Bohemian succession was hereditary instead of elective. Ferdinand was then crowned as hereditary successor of Matthias (McCarty 11). A contingent of Bohemian nobles went to Prague to protest the Diet. Their efforts were to no avail.

The rebels established a provisional government and offered the crown of Bohemia to Elector Frederick of the Palatinate, a Calvinist and German sympathizer. The revolt was supported by the duke of Savoy, who sent a contingent of mercenaries under the leadership of Ernst von Mansfeld, and

¹For my brief history of the Thirty Years War, I have relied greatly upon Stephen J. Lee's The Thirty Years War (London and New York: Routledge, 1991).

by Bethlen Tabor, who was leading a revolt against the Hapsburgs in Transylvania. In 1618 Ferdinand of Styria succeeded Matthias as emperor. Spain came to his aid and under the leadership of Spinola invaded the Palatinate in 1620, capturing part of Frederick's German lands and weakening his war effort in Bohemia. Also at this time Duke Maximilian of Bavaria signed a treaty putting his Catholic League on the side of the emperor. In 1620 several of the empire's leading Lutheran states, including Saxony, promised in the Treaty of Ulm not to assist Bohemia or the Palatinate. In return their own security was guaranteed.

The Catholic coalition defeated Bohemia in 1620 at the Battle of White Mountain. The subjugation of Bohemia followed, with the mass confiscation of rebel lands, the execution of several rebel leaders, and the restoration of Catholicism. Frederick of the Palatinate was deposed and the crown reverted to Ferdinand of Styria, now the Emperor Ferdinand II.

During the years 1619-23 the Palatinate's defense crumbled and finally succumbed to the combined forces of the Catholic League, Austria, and Spain. Mansfeld's mercenaries had been defeated in Bohemia and were withdrawn from the conflict. Baden and Brunswick supported the Palatinate for a time, but were defeated by the Bavarian commander, Tilly. Spanish and Bavarian troops captured the Palatinate's capital city, Heidelberg, in 1622.

Tilly's victories in northern and central Germany threatened the Lutheran states in the Baltic, causing Christian IV of Denmark to form an alliance with the Lower Saxon Circle. The king secured the support of England and France by the Treaty of the Hague. The Dutch Republic, already in a struggle for independence from Spain, also offered to support Denmark. In the meantime, Albrecht von Wallenstein offered his services to the emperor, agreeing to raise an army of 50,000 men from his own resources. The war was now between Denmark, Brunswick, Mansfeld's mercenaries, and Bethlen Tabor on the one hand and on the other the Catholic League, led by Tilly, the imperial troops under Wallenstein, and Spain.

This phase of the war (1624-29) was primarily won by the Catholic coalition. Wallenstein defeated Mansfeld at Dessau Bridge, while Tilly defeated the Danes at Lutter. Tilly then proceeded to overrun Denmark, and Wallenstein reached the north German coastline, seizing Wismar and Rostock. At this point Christian IV withdrew Denmark from the war. By signing the Peace of Lübeck (1629), he relinquished any claim to the north German territory. For his part he was permitted to return to the status quo of pre-war possessions. During this short hiatus in hostilities Ferdinand imposed the Edict of Restitution (1629), which was intended to restore to Catholic authority all church lands which had been secularized since 1552.

This stirred up renewed fear and hostility, and further revolt was not far behind. Wallenstein fell into disfavor and was dismissed by the emperor, to be recalled at a later date in the war. Pressure had been brought to bear against Wallenstein by the Jesuits at Ferdinand's court, the Catholic League, which suspected his loyalty to its cause, and Maximilian of Bavaria.

Denmark's defeat and the fact that the Hapsburgs now possessed states on the Baltic coastline led to the intervention by King Gustavus Adolphus, who committed Sweden to the war in 1630 (Lee 6). Joining him in his invasion of northern Germany were the Protestant states of Pomerania, Hesse-Cassel, and Stralsund. In 1631 he drew up the Treaty of Bärwalde with France. Although Catholic, France was suspicious of Hapsburg activities in central Europe. In return for French subsidies, the Swedish king agreed to maintain an army in Germany, to concentrate his attention on the emperor, and to refrain from attacking Bavaria. Saxony and Brandenburg remained neutral until 1631, when, following the capture and sack of Magdeburg by Tilly, they joined Sweden. The first great Protestant victory took place in 1631, with the defeat of Tilly at Breitenfeld near Leipzig.

Sweden and her allies gained further victories. In 1632 Gustavus violated the Treaty of Bärwalde and marched into Bavaria. Tilly tried to stop this advance but was killed in the battle at Leck. Gustavus had to march north

to the aid of John George of Saxony. The Battle of Lützen in 1632 was a Protestant victory, but Gustavus Adolphus died in that battle. He was the driving force of the Swedish/Protestant armies, and his death weakened the Swedish war effort. The Swede Oxenstierna took over the Swedish command, organizing a number of Protestant states into the League of Heilbronn in 1633. This was smashed at Nördlingen in 1634, when a combination of Spanish, imperial, and Bavarian troops defeated the Swedes and their German allies. One after the other the German states quit the war. Saxony concluded a separate peace with the emperor at Prague in 1635, while the Swedish offensive had come to a halt for the time being (Lee 7).

Due to Sweden's lagging war effort, Cardinal Richelieu of France decided to intervene. He feared that the emperor would take advantage of the situation to undertake renewed aggression. He revived the Treaty of Bärwalde with Sweden and planned a major offensive against the empire. Allied with France and Sweden at this time were the Dutch Republic, Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, and the north Italian states of Mantua, Savoy, Parma, and Modena (Lee 7).

After some initial setbacks, including an invasion of France and the threat that Paris would be taken, France was able to push out the invaders and resume the offensive. Between 1637 and 1648 the Spanish and Austrian branches of the Hapsburgs suffered a series of major defeats in what was

to become the most destructive phase of the entire war. Spain was particularly badly affected. In 1639 a Spanish fleet was destroyed at the Downs by the English and Dutch, and the French defeated the Spanish in a decisive battle at Rocroi. The overall effect of the Franco-Spanish war was to detach Spain from the imperial and Catholic cause and to expose the emperor to the full onslaught of the Franco-Swedish alliance.

The following decade proved to be devastating for the empire, which was subjected to repeated and destructive invasions. The imperial troops were defeated in 1636 by the Swedes at Wittstock and again in 1638 at Rheinfelden; they were then confronted by another French invasion of the Rhineland. In 1642 the Swedes invaded Bohemia, and in the same year they defeated the emperor at the second Battle of Breitenfeld. For a while Bavaria managed to reverse the trend with victories against the French at Tuttlingen (1643), Freiburg (1644), and Mergentheim (1645). However, in 1645 Franco-Swedish forces defeated Bavaria and the emperor at the second battle of Nördlingen, and the Swedes won a further victory at Jankau. In desperation Maximilian withdrew Bavaria from the war by the Truce of Ulm (1647). He changed his mind the following year and re-entered the war, but was defeated along with the imperial troops at Zusmarshausen. Faced with the capture of Prague by the Swedes, the emperor was forced in 1648 to agree to the terms

of the Treaties of Münster and Osnabrück, known collectively as the Peace of Westphalia. The war between Spain and France continued until the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659.

Soldiering in the Thirty Years' War

A great number of the soldiers on both sides were mercenaries; they served in the armies who were thought to have the greatest prosperity (McCarty 18). These mercenaries lacked any kind of national or linguistic unity, and imposing standards of conduct upon such a group was almost impossible (Anderson 39). Roberts in his study of King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden quotes a seventeenth-century report from an army official stating that the troop was "arrears fifteen pays" and that the soldiers were "deserting 600 from this camp" (2: 275). Another eyewitness reported:

The cavalry do as they list; it is not safe to ride a mile outside of camp. They plunder the land to the bare bones, provoking complaints and curses fit to make you shudder. (2: 276)

The soldiers, like the civilian population, often suffered from hunger, especially in the winter months.

The Thirty Years' War saw an unusually high proportion of deaths in battle and during extended campaigns. At Breitenfeld, for example, 8,000 of the 31,000 imperial troops were killed; Swedish losses at Nördlingen amounted to

50 percent; and over 60 percent of the Saxon and imperial troops died at Wittstock. The proportion of casualties was so high largely because of the introduction of new battle tactics, especially by Gustavus Adolphus, who devised new and devastating cavalry charges and more intensive use of artillery. Due to the combination of these factors, soldiering was a far more dangerous occupation than it had been in the sixteenth century, when the chances of being killed in any particular battle had been quite small (Lee 53).

The Poet-Soldiers

Diederich von dem Werder

Life and works. Diederich von dem Werder was born in Werdershausen in 1584 into a family of nobility. He received his early education under the auspices of a close relative, Hans von Bodenhausen, who was headmaster at the famous Fürstenschule Mauritenum at the court of Moritz the Learned in Kassel. As was customary for the sons of nobles, Werder served as page, growing up under the aegis of Count Moritz. Later he studied theology and law at the University of Marburg and, following the customary "grand tour" of the privileged scholar, returned to the court of Moritz the Learned, where he was appointed equerry and chamberlain (Goedeke 3: 57).

In 1610 Werder marched with a Hessian contingent under the flag of Christian I of Anhalt to Jülich. The duke of Cleves-Jülich had died without heirs, and a war of succession was brewing. Werder took part in the siege of the fortress in the capacity of captain of horse. After his return to peaceful Hesse, he distinguished himself as a first-class horseman, a skillful courtier, and an able diplomat. He was appointed privy councillor and high seneschall. In addition to these offices, he assumed the duties of tutor to the princes and became headmaster of the court school.

In his capacity as Hessian Hofmarschall, Werder was sent on diplomatic missions in the name of Christian I to many courts, both foreign and German. At the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, he took such trips to Holland, Denmark, Thuringia, Saxony, Braunschweig, and Brandenburg (Dünnhaupt 1974, 5). In 1622, as Moritz' territory was threatened by the advance of the Catholic troops commanded by General Tilly, Werder was sent to Eisenach, Coburg, Brandenburg, Weimar, and Kursachsen to enlist military support for the count. He was unsuccessful in his task, and after Tilly invaded Hesse, Werder fell from favor at court. Consequently he was relieved of his duties and returned to his ancestral estate in the dukedom of Anhalt-Cöthen in Saxony. Werder was welcomed home by Prince Ludwig I of Anhalt, one of the founders of the Fruchtbringende

Gesellschaft. The prince had plans to collaborate with Werder on literary matters and methods for further purification of the German literary language (Dünnhaupt 1974, 7). These plans were delayed as the land was plagued by marauding bands of foreign soldiers. Werder's diplomatic skills were again tested by the prince, who sent him on several missions to other courts and war leaders, such as Wallenstein, Piccolomini, and Emperor Ferdinand II in Vienna (Dünnhaupt 1974, 8). In 1625, while he was on such a journey, Werder's wife died in childbirth. This event inspired a poem, "Selbst eigene Gottselige Thränen,"² Werder's first published work.

Werder was in the military from 1631 to 1635, serving as a colonel in the Swedish army. Following this he returned to his ancestral estate in Saxony. From this time until his death in 1657, Werder occupied himself with his literary pursuits. He interrupted his work only to undertake an occasional diplomatic mission for Prince Ludwig. Werder as a poet-soldier was lauded by such contemporaries as Opitz, Buchner, Fleming, Freiberg, Milagius, Rist and Stubenberg, all of whom wrote poems dedicated to him (Dünnhaupt 1974, 24). In Paul Fleming's poem, "Herrn Dietrich von dem Werder," he writes: "Ich lobe

²This poem of 214 alexandrine verses was published, but according to Dünnhaupt, it was unknown to Werder's contemporaries and was rediscovered by Hoffmann von Fallersleben in 1825 (1974, 8).

diese Faust, die Leib und Nahmen schützt, / Selbst schreit,
was sie selbst thut."

Diederich von dem Werder's literary career began in 1620 when he represented Count Moritz at a conference in Mühlhausen. He wrote a speech addressed to John George of Saxony. Both the speech and John George's reply were contained in one document, which is no longer extant. As a result of his efforts at Mühlhausen, Werder was invited in that same year to become a member of the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft under the sobriquet "der Vielgekörrnte." Werder was quite active in the society. His literary model was Tobias Hübner (ADB 41: 767-770). Hübner set forth guidelines for a new and strictly formulated style of German poetry before the appearance of Opitz's Buch von der Deutschen Poetry. Werder's translation of Torquato Tasso's La Gerusalemme liberata, published in 1626 as Gottfried von Bulljon oder Das Erlöste Jerusalem, is a significant example of his skill in implementing the new style espoused by Hübner. This work was a great success in the literary community, and with it Werder established himself as a respected literary figure. In 1631 he published an original collection of one hundred sonnets, Krieg und Sieg Christi gesungen in 100-Sonnetten. The following year Werder published a verse translation of Psalms 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143, and a translation of three Petrarchan sonnets. An original poem on the destruction of Magdeburg was appended

to this collection (Die Busz Psalmen / in Poesie gesetzt. Samt angehengtem Trawerlied vber die klägliche Zerstörung der Löblichen und Vralten Stadt Magdeburg).³ In 1632 Werder began work on a translation of Ludovico Ariost's Orlando furioso. Part 1 was published that year as Drey Gesänge Vom Rasenden Rolandt. During his time in the army, he continued working on the translation, and all thirty cantos were published in 1636 under the title, Historia Vom Rasenden Roland / Wie solche von dem hochberühmbten Poeten Ludovico Ariosto in Welscher Sprache / sampt vielen vnd schier unzehlich schönen Geschichten / stattlich beschrieben / In Teutsche Poesie übergesetzt. Diederich von dem Werder was in fact the first German translator of Tasso and Ariost, and it is for these translations that he is best known.

Like most of the poets during the Thirty Years' War, Werder wrote against the war. Yet unlike most he was in a unique position to have his voice heard, as Dünnhaupt notes:

Als Obrist in schwedisch-protestantischen Diensten
war Werder jedoch selbst Soldat und somit wie
wenige andere Dichter seiner Zeit in der Lage
sich ein unmittelbares Urteil über die
Unzulänglichkeiten der Militärkaste und die
Brutalität der Soldateska zu bilden. (1973, 373)

In the summer of 1639 Werder, with the help of his son

³This poem on Magdeburg's destruction will be discussed below in relation to Werder's imagery of war.

Paris, staged a presentation of his "Friedensrede" at a castle in Cöthen before an audience of princes, nobles, soldiers, and poets. The work is in part an imitation of Erasmus of Rotterdam's "Querela Pacis"; in it Werder charges the ruling class with waging war at the expense of the citizenry only to further its own desires for fame and fortune. He lambasts the clergy as well for its apathy and the military class for condoning looting and atrocities. The "Friedensrede" was very well received and was reprinted five times from 1639 to 1640 (Dünnhaupt 1974, 14).

Werder the soldier. In 1631 Werder met with King Gustavus Adolphus in Halle. The king urged him to join the Swedish forces. On January 3, 1632, Werder was appointed colonel in command of a Swedish regiment financed by Anhalt and made up primarily of recruits from that region (ADB 41: 770). In February 1634 Werder's regiment was in Erfurt. In June his regiment marched with Baner's army, which undertook a campaign in Bohemia. In October of that year his regiment was again in Erfurt (Dünnhaupt 1974, 54). It was reported by Martin Opitz on July 5, 1634, from an army camp in Leitmeritz, "man erwarte stündlich das Eintreffen des Obristen von Werder, 'den Elbestrom herauf,' mit 'nahe bei 3000 man / so schon in der Marche begrieffen sind'" (qtd. in

Dünnhaupt 1974, 11).⁴

Werder's literary output consists mainly of the translations listed above. Since this dissertation deals solely with poetry, I will discuss the one poem available which treats an event of the war. The poem under discussion here is "Trauer-Lied über die klägliche Zerstörung der löblichen und uralten Stadt Magdeburg." The poem was published in 1632, one year after the battle of Magdeburg. I am using a version of the work reprinted in 1862 by Julius Opel and Adolf Cohn (221-22).

Werder's imagery of war. The subject of the "Trauer-Lied" is the destruction of the city of Magdeburg by Catholic troops in 1631. The Protestant city up until that time had escaped any harm, even though it had been used by Wallenstein earlier in the war to feed and quarter his troops. Magdeburg lay in a strategic position on the Elbe and became the target of occupation by the Catholic general Tilly, who believed the city to be well stocked with provisions which his army desperately needed. Tilly's army laid siege to Magdeburg in April 1631. The defense of the city was organized by Dietrich von Falkenberg, a Hessian soldier under orders from Gustavus Adolphus. Tilly's second-in-command, Count Pappenheim, actually gave the order

⁴Dünnhaupt quotes from A. Reifferscheid, ed., Quellen zur Geschichte des geistigen Lebens in Deutschland während des 17. Jahrhunderts (Heilbronn: n.p., 1889) 674.

to attack the city on May 17, and after two days the city fell. Pappenheim's soldiers went out of control, slaughtering the citizens as well as the defending troops. Fires broke out and the entire city with the exception of the cathedral was burned. Of the approximately thirty thousand inhabitants, supposedly only five thousand survived. The scope of the destruction was so extensive that Tilly's name was henceforth connected with the horror of Magdeburg (Wedgewood 286-91).

Werder's poem consists of seventy-four lines of alexandrine couplets. The text cited is divided into two parts indicated by space between them. Part 1 comprises lines 1-50 and is undivided; part 2 includes lines 51-74 and is organized into two stanzas, namely lines 51-62 and lines 63-74.

The poem is further organized into a series of apostrophes. First the poet addresses his Muse, Clio, the Muse of History; he uses no adjectives and refers to her simply as "Clio" (1). In the second apostrophe he turns his attention to the city, which is personified as a maiden: "O glücklichs Jungfräulein!" (7). From line 17 through the end of part 1 the poet speaks to the enemy General Tilly,⁵ to whom he directs four apostrophes: "Gottloser Buhlen-Knecht"

⁵Tilly's name is not mentioned in the poem, but it is clear whom Werder addresses. The story of Magdeburg spread quickly and inspired many poems (Milch 23)

(line), "Du Alter Kahlkopf" (21),⁶ "O rasend alter Hund" (28), and finally "Du aufgeblasener Feind" (41). The seventh apostrophe introduces a twelve-line stanza devoted to the dead of Magdeburg, "Ihr Bürger aber alle" (51), and the survivors of the Battle of Magdeburg are addressed in the final apostrophe, "Und ihr, ihr Andern auch, ihr Jungen mit den Alten" (63).

The relation of the apostrophic divisions to the stanza divisions reveals that the undivided part 1 is directed at the first three addressees -- Clio, the city as virgin, and Tilly. These apostrophes concern individuals, whereas those in part 2 are directed at groups, the dead and living of Magdeburg.

The thematic development of the poem follows the apostrophic structure, and within the apostrophic structure Werder's imagery evolves. The city of Magdeburg is personified as a bride, with Tilly her evil groom. The bride/groom image unfolds throughout part 1 and is then abandoned when Werder speaks to the citizens of Magdeburg.

In his opening invocation to Clio, the poet elicits sympathy for the city and presents a clear statement of the subject, the destruction of the ill-fated city:

Die Thränen, Clio, heut in großem Überfluß
Aus deinen Augen schütt; den harten Himmelschuß

⁶Tilly was 59 years old at the onset of the Thirty Years' War (Lang 51).

Sein schwer Verhängniß auch gar heiß mit mir beweine,

Die unerhörte Noth: den Untergang ich meine
Der jungfräulichen Stadt, die um Untugend nicht
hat ein kohlschwarzer Tag so kläglich hingericht.

(1-6)

Werder next turns to the city. He begins his lament with an image of strength, light, and purity, which characterizes the past state of the "glücklichs Jungfräulein." She was the most beloved by all so long as she retained these virtues: "So lang als Jungfrau du und ungeschwächt geblieben" (8). The light/purity aspects of the maiden image evolve from both affective and physical descriptives: ". . . So lang als von sich noch gab einen hellen Glanz / Die gülden Ehren-Kron und jungfräulicher Kranz / Auf deinem gelben Haar!" (9-11).

The city of Magdeburg burned for several days following the onslaught of Tilly's army. The atrocities against defending troops and citizenry alike are legendary. There were thousands of dead, and according to accounts, bodies were thrown into the Elbe in such numbers that the river became clogged and overflowed its banks (Wedgewood 289). It is Magdeburg in this terrible state which Werder personifies as a murdered, desecrated maiden: ". . . Jetzt liegst du da gestreckt / Als ein ermordte Braut, bist überall bedeckt / Mit Eisen, Asch und Blut . . . " (11-13). A series of eight adjectives describes the corpse: "erschrecklich, blaß,

verbrennt, / Geschwollen, stinckicht, schwarz, unflätig und zerschändt" (13-14). The first in the series belongs to the affective sphere: "erschrecklich." The following six describe physical aspects, while the final adjective combines both physical and affective: "zerschändt." Within this description of death, all that was strength, brightness, and honor is destroyed. Light becomes darkness, an image which we perceive from the charred corpse of the maiden. The final adjective in the series is repeated in the following line as rape becomes the focus of the tragedy: "Zerschändt durch Nothzucht, auch durch Nothzucht so erschüttet, . . ." (15). The tradition of the virgin patroness of cities harks back to Athena. In her book, Sexual Personae, Camille Paglia discusses the pertinence of sexuality to the function of the gods and goddesses of mythology. She writes of Athena: "Athena as patron of Athens is the wall that shuts the enemy out, the enemy nature as well as the enemy man." Athena's strength is her virginity. Paglia quotes Jackson Knight on this concept: "'The maidenhood of city goddesses seems to have been in some magical sympathy with the unbroken defence of a city'" (87).

Tilly as the murderous bridegroom is developed as a threefold image, the first within a mythological context:

Gottloser Buhlen-Knecht,
Es waren ja für dich die drei Höll-Huren recht

Ihr Bräutigam zu sein. Mit solchem Brand und Morden
Ist auch des Pluton's Weib selbst nicht geraubet

worden. (17-20)

Werder's reference to "Höll-Huren" brings to mind the three Furies from Greek Mythology, Alecto, Tisiphone, and Megaera. A search of indices of mythological persona yielded nothing to connect the epithet to the Furies. Yet the Furies' task is to punish the crimes of murder and excessive arrogance, of which Tilly is guilty. The Furies are depicted in art as winged maidens with snakes for hair. They seek the guilty on earth as well as in the Underworld, which is their dwelling place. These avengers also serve as attendants to Pluto's bride, Persephone, who is alluded to in the above verses. The mythological Underworld is the dwelling place of the dead -- good and evil alike -- yet Tilly's crimes are so heinous that Werder would punish him even in the afterlife:

du verdienstest, daß das Schiff

Charontis mit dir stracks in seinen Abgrund lief!

Du bist nicht würdig einst den Schatten anzusehen,

Der von Weibs-Bildern kömmt! (21-24)

The second exposition of the Tilly image begins with the apostrophe "O rasend alter Hund!" (28), and reveals Tilly as an inhuman monster spawned by the sea and nurtured by animals:

Ich dürft in Wahrheit schwören,
Daß dich kein Menschen-Blut und keines Mannes Macht
Hab in die Welt gesetzt: herfür hat dich gebracht
Das ungeheure Meer; es haben dich gezeuget
Die Klippen im Gebirg, ein Tiger hat gesäuet
Mit seinen Tuten dich! (28-33)

The third stage of the image is developed through a series of rhetorical questions:

Tractierst im Bräutigamstand
Du deine Braut also? Ist das der Liebe Pfand?
Ist das der Mahlschatz nun, damit du zu versehen
Als deine Bräute pflegst? Pflegst du so zu begehen
Fein dein Verlöbnuß-Fest und hohen Ehren-Tag?
Wild, grausam, mürrisch, rauh, und ein Unmensch mag
Wol dieser Freier sein! (33-39)

Tilly, a bridegroom fit for the Furies, evolves into a suitor for the city, but one who ignores the demands of propriety.

The poet lastly addresses the warrior Tilly, warning him that he has become too proud of his victories in battle:

Nun, nun, ei trag und führe
Die Nase nicht zu hoch, nur nicht zu sehr stolziere,
Du aufgeblasner Feind . . . (39-41)

Excessive pride in humans is a trait which was intolerable to the gods of Olympus as well as the Christian God. First Tilly's punishment will be decided by the Fates: ". . . es

wälzen nunmehr auch / Die Parcae mitten drin im Feuer,
Flamme, Rauch / Und Zorn dein Glück herum" (42-43). God
himself will send an avenger for the crimes of Magdeburg:

Es schläft zur rechten Rache
Des HERREN AUGEN nie und hat zu dieser Sache
Schon Einen dir ersehn, der dich zerscheitern soll.
Vielleicht steht er schon da, und siehst sein
Rachschwert wol,
Vielleicht wird er dich noch mit allen deinen Siegen,
Triumphen, Ruhm und Gut zum Raub und Beute kriegen
Und treten unter sich. Er führt mit gleicher Ehr
Auf seinem Haupt die Kron und in der Hand die Wehr.
(43-50)

The avenger, the Eine[r] above, is undoubtedly Gustavus
Adolphus, who defeated Tilly at the Battle of Breitenfeld
less than four months after the Magdeburg disaster.

When Werder turns his attention from the enemy leader
and addresses the dead of Magdeburg, he speaks of death in a
tone which is in stark contrast to the depiction of death
embodied in the bride metaphor earlier in the poem:

Ihr Bürger aber all, ihr Männer und ihr Frauen,
Ihr Kinder, Knäbelein, ihr Jüngling und Jungfrauen,
Du kecke Kriegschaar,
.
Ruht, ruhet in der Asch hier eures Vaterlandes!
(51-56)

In contrast to the smoldering, stinking corpse of the city, the image of death now is one of peace and rest, then resurrection:

Ja ruhet süß und sanft, kein Tod ist euer Tod,
Ein Leben ist er euch, ein Leben auch in Gott,
Ein Leben voller Ehr, ein Leben voller Leben
Ihr überwunden habt; (57-60)

In the above passage, life is stressed through anaphoric constructions, with the complete image of death as a paradox leading to life.

The final apostrophe in the poem concerns the survivors of the devastation: "Und ihr, ihr Andern auch, ihr Jungen mit den Alten . . ." (63-64). These survivors must now face the everyday hardships and pain in a world torn by war. In an extended metaphor, Werder compares the suffering of the survivors to Christ's suffering:

Ihr werdet endlich sehen
Was es euch helfen muß, ja wie auch Christus noch
Durch diese Trübsal sich so herrlich und so hoch
An euch verklären wird! (68-71)

Werder's imagery of war is built primarily around the central bride/bridegroom image of part 1. The conflict is between good and evil, the good being the Protestant city with its pious citizenry, and the evil, the Catholic general Tilly. Within this broad metaphor, several specific images emerge. Light and dark enhance the concept of good and

evil. The fall of Magdeburg is referred to as having taken place on "ein kohlschwarzer Tag," while the city before that time is described in terms of light: "So lang als von sich noch gab einen hellen Glanz / Die gülden Ehren-Kron . . . Auf deinen gelben Haar! . . ." (9-11). The antithesis follows, as the city lies in darkness, "bedecket / Mit Eisen, Asch und Blut . . . verbrennt, schwarz . . ." (12-14). The Protestant leader in charge of the defense of the city, Dietrich von Falkenberg, was killed in the battle. Werder praises him in terms of light: "Glanz aller Tapferkeit und Sonne des Verstandes . . ." (55). Werder refers to the period of tribulation for the survivors of Magdeburg as the "Nacht" (64).

Following the course of the "good and evil" theme is Werder's use of the crown as an image. Only the "good" wear crowns. The city is adorned with an "Ehren-Kranz" (10), and the hero who will come to smash the prideful Tilly wears simply "Auf seinem Haupt die Kron . . ." (50). The survivors, if they endure as did Christ to the end, will wear "Die Krone der Geduld" (74). Tilly, as evil incarnate, wears no crown, and is further referred to as "Alter Kahlkopf" (21).

Even the sparse nature imagery follows a light and dark theme and is part of the bride/bridegroom metaphor. The benevolent heavenly bodies and the earth are personified as they observe the desecrated corpse of the city/bride. The

scene is so horrible "Daß sich die Sonn entsetzt, die Erde
drob erschüttet, / Der Himmel selbst erschrickt . . ."
(16-17). Tilly is an "Unmensch," whose existence is
attributable to the wild elements in nature: "herfur hat
dich gebracht // Das ungeheure Meer; es haben dich gezeuget //
Die Klippen im Gebirg . . ." (31-33).

The biographical data do not reveal Werder's specific
whereabouts or activities at the time this poem was
published (1632). We know that he met with Gustavus while
on a diplomatic mission in Halle in September of 1631,⁷
either shortly before or after the Battle of Breitenfeld,
and that he joined the army on January 3, 1632.

Werder sees war as fate under heavenly control. In the
introductory verses the destruction of Magdeburg is declared
to be a "Himmelschluß" and "Verhängniß." The pains of defeat
must be endured with Christ-like patience if one is to
attain heaven.

War is the destroyer of the normal, a concept which
emerges in part 1 when sun, heavens, and earth recoil from
the horrors which they witness. Tilly himself is outside
the norm, as in the image of the unnatural bridegroom. He
has gone beyond the boundaries of rational society, breaking
the established rules of behavior.

⁷Gustavus left Halle on September 17, 1631 (Jessen,
276).

The bulk of imagery in this poem has to do with the enemy leader. He is at once animal and a devil-like figure, who would be unwelcome in society, even in the Underworld.

An ambiguous attitude towards war is evidenced by the poet's two images of death: the graphic, dehumanizing death seen in the description of the corpse of the bride/ Magdeburg, and the euphemistic rhetoric of his address to the dead of Magdeburg in part 2. Werder's attitudes toward defeat and deprivation are again seen as conditions brought on by a fateful event, which for the devout can be overcome. Victory is synonymous with patience and piety.

Georg Greflinger

Life and works. Greflinger's date of birth is uncertain. Wolfgang von Oettingen states in his biography that none of his sources offered an exact date of birth (4). He derives a date of "c. 1620" from Greflinger's epic history of the Thirty Years' War. Greflinger writes: "Vom Anfang weisz ich nicht / weil ich in solchem Jahr' / Als sich der Krieg erhob / noch ungebohren war" (1: 7-8). The ADB records Greflinger's date of birth as being around 1600 (9: 625). Goedeke does not give a date of birth at all (5: 458), while according to Kosch's Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon Greflinger was born "nach 1618" (6: 741). This uncertainty causes some problems in determining the dates of publication of Greflinger's works. For instance, ADB notes that in 1631

Greflinger published a collection of epigrams. According to Oettingen's chronology, the poet would have been eleven years old at that time. These and other discrepancies in biographical data are discussed in the introduction to Oettingen's biography of Greflinger (2).

Biographers do agree that Greflinger was born in Protestant Regensburg. ADB has little to offer on the poet's early years. According to Oettingen, Greflinger's parents and siblings were killed and their home burned by advancing armies around 1625. Greflinger attended a school for the humanities with stress on classical languages (Poetenschule) for six years (Oettingen 5). This is probably the only formal education Greflinger received, since no indication has been found that he attended a university (Oettingen 6).

In 1632 Greflinger went to Nuremberg, where he had relatives. In March of that year Gustavus Adolphus marched into the city, where he assembled 40,000 men in preparation for a push south to Munich (Wedgewood 314). Wallenstein's army was also in the area, but they did not engage at this time. Greflinger refers to this situation in the work we will consider, Der Deutschen Dreyszig-Jähriger Krieg / Poetisch erzählt durch Celadon von der Donau:

So stundten nun allhier zwey Heer von groszer Macht /
Auf hundert tausend Mann und noch vielmehr geacht /
Die sämtlich wolgeschickt zum ernsten Fechten waren /

Die Proben wiesens aus. Als aber beyden Scharen /
So woll der guten Stadt / die Seuch und Hungers Noth
(Ich hatte selber da mehr Gold als liebes Brod)
Hart auf dem Halse lag / dasz manche tausend starben /
(5: 643-49)

Oettingen states: "Es scheint, dass er mit Gustav Adolf nach München kam . . ." (6), but he does not document this statement. Greflinger wrote that in the following years he often had to take "den Krieg zur Nahrung" (Oettingen 6). In Dresden he became acquainted with August Augsbürger, a student of August Buchner at Wittenberg. In this atmosphere he first aspired to write poetry. Greflinger was in Leipzig from 1635-1638, during which time he lived "ein wildes, lustiges Leben" (Oettingen 6). His early poetry reflects this phase of his life, with poems about drinking, dancing, love, etc. Greflinger left Leipzig and presumably became a soldier. Although definite dates are not available, he was probably in the army from 1638 to at least 1640.⁸ After the army, Greflinger spent some time in Danzig, and then Frankfurt am Main, where he lived from 1643 to 1644. In Frankfurt he became deeply involved in a "literary-artistic" circle which included publishers, engraving artists, and other poets. His first works were published during these years, namely, "David Virtuosus,"

⁸Greflinger's military experience is discussed later in this chapter.

"Zwey Sapphische Lieder," and a collection of love poems entitled Seladons Beständige Liebe. Greflinger became dissatisfied with his circumstances in Frankfurt and decided to re-enter the military. He refers to this decision in the preface to the poem "Ferrando / Dorinde" (Frankfurt, February 1644):

dasz ich aber die Freund-Feindtliche Venus nicht
gäntzlich erzürne, / bin ich entscholszen jhrem
Geliebten, dem Weltgebietenden Mars hinfüro zu dienen.
Vielleicht erlange ich durch den Degen, was ich durch
die Feder und Küssen niemals erwerben können.

(qtd. in Oettingen, 8-9)

There is no indication that he actually re-entered the army. Oettingen states that Greflinger moved back to Danzig at the behest of his friends there (7). It is known with certainty that Greflinger finally settled down in Hamburg in 1648, where he worked as "Notarius Publicus Caesareus." He achieved some measure of literary success at long last. Johannes Rist nominated him for membership in the "Elbschwanenorden," which he entered under the name "Celadon." It appears that he was not a very active member, although he remained on the roster until 1667 (Oettingen 12). Greflinger founded a political weekly in Hamburg -- Nordischer Mercurius. He spent the remainder of his years in Hamburg and died there in 1677.

Greflinger's works, which Oettingen lists in great detail (16-36), include a variety of genres typical of the era. Among these are publications of twelve collections of Greflinger's lyric poetry. Included in this group are Seladons Beständige Liebe (1644), a collection of poems one hundred ten pages in length, and Seladons Weltliche Lieder (1651), a collection of forty-eight poems with an appended group of one hundred ninety-one epigrams and short poems. In 1645, during his second stay in Danzig, Greflinger published a collection of ninety-eight epigrams (Georgen Grevlingers deutscher Epigrammatum). Oettingen cites seven publications of poetic translations (24-27). One of the most notable of these translations is the French Cid (1650). Greflinger translated from Latin as well (Wahre Abbildungen der Türckischen Kayser und Persischen Fürsten . . .), and from Spanish (Des hochberühmten Spannischen / Poeten Lope de Vega / Verwirrter Hof / oder / König Carl / . . ., 1652). Greflinger also wrote historical works, and seven of them are enumerated and described by Oettingen. Among Greflinger's prose translations are books on gardening from Dutch and French, as well as official documents from Latin.

Greflinger the soldier. Few particulars of Greflinger's military service are known with certainty. There is no evidence to support the dates 1644 to 1646 reported in Goedeke's Grundriß. Only passing reference is

made to Grefflinger's military service in the ADB account (9: 625). Walther derives certain dates from Grefflinger's life by analyzing the contents of some 384 occasional poems.⁹ He places Grefflinger in the army under Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar during the siege of Breisach in 1638 on the basis of Grefflinger's own words in an occasional poem written in 1657 (108). It appears that he was also present during the siege and capture of Pirna by the Swedish army under General Banér in the spring of 1639, as the poet reports in the DDK:

Gieng er [Banér] nach Pirna hin / das er auch bald
besiegte /
und alles nider hieb was in den Waffen war.
Ich selber stundte da in euszerster Gefahr.
Der Pirner Unglück gab den angelegnen Plätzen
solch Schrecken / dasz sie sich nicht dorfften
widersetzen. (10: 50-54)

Grefflinger's imagery of war. For my study of Grefflinger's imagery of war, I will analyze his poetic chronicle of the Thirty-Years' War, Der Deutschen Dreyszig-Jähriger Krieg / Poetisch erzählet durch Celadon von der Donau (1657); abbreviated here as DDK.¹⁰ Mueller (i) states

⁹These poems are held in an unbound collection in the city library in Hamburg (Walther 80).

¹⁰All quotations from the DDK will be cited by book number and line(s).

that Greflinger's sources were primarily Der Königlich Schwedischer in Teutschland geführter Krieg by Bogislav Philipp von Chemnitz (1605-1678), a Pomeranian lawyer and historian, and the Theatrum Europaeum. The epic is written in alexandrine couplets and consists of 5030 lines divided into twelve books. Each book closes with a major event. Each of the first three books ends with a Protestant-Swedish defeat, while books 4-12 (with the exception of book 6) end with either a Swedish-Protestant victory or the praise of one of its leaders (Mueller ii).

The following chart, derived from Mueller's study (xxxiv), further delineates the organizational divisions:

Book	End Line	Dates	Final Event
1	(252)	1620	Battle of White Mountain
2	(420)	1620-1629	Treaty of Lübeck
3	(340)	1629-1631	Battle of Magdeburg
4	(452)	1631	Battle of Breitenfeld
5	(760)	1631-1632	Battle of Lützen
6	(508)	1632-1634	Battle of Nördlingen
7	(304)	1634-1636	Battle of Wittstock
8	(336)	1636-1638	Battle of Rheinfelden
9	(336)	1638-1639	March on Breisach

10	(414)	1639-1642	Death of Bernhard Ceasefire between Sweden and Brandenburg
11	(468)	1642-1645	March on Allersheim; Torstensson leaves the war
12	(440)	1645-1650	End of war

Greflinger is writing as an historian, and his chronicle provides an impressive account of persons, battle statistics, etc., which has proved to be amazingly correct even by the standards of modern research. He evidently began his chronicle before the end of the war, but still some years after his soldiering days.

For the most part Greflinger is objective and reports events in a journalistic fashion. Yet in some instances Greflinger the poet appears, especially when the text turns to battles, leaders of the war, atrocities, and the hardships of war suffered by soldier and citizen alike. It is in these passages of the epic where one finds Greflinger's most vivid imagery of war. Due to the amount of material involved, I will categorize Greflinger's imagery of war.

Origins of war: When Greflinger refers to the origins of war, it is most often in terms of divine providence. War is represented as a manifestation of God's wrath or revenge visited upon a sinful people. Even though Greflinger, a Lutheran, places God on the side of the Protestants, they must also pay for their mistakes. In the prelude to his account of the Battle of White Mountain (November 8, 1620), Werder "forecasts" the Protestant defeat, which he explains on the basis of divine will: "Wann Gott nicht selber wil mit deinen Feinden kriegem // So ist dein Werck zu schwach. Dann Er ists / der den Krieg // In seinen Händen hat / von GOTT kommt Schlag und Sieg" (1: 206-08).¹¹ The Battle of Breitenfeld (September 1631) was a major victory for the combined Saxon-Swedish army under Gustavus. Greflinger explains the savagery perpetrated on the people as God's revenge for the destruction of Protestant Magdeburg by Tilly's army earlier that year.

es ist nicht auszusprechen /
Wie man gehauset hat mit Weib- und Kinderschwächen /
Mit Morden und mit Brand. Hier sieht man Gottes Rach /
Kommt sie gleich langsam an / so bleibt sie doch nicht
nach. (4: 4492)

The power of war is often cloaked in the persona of Mars. We find this to be the case in the following passage.

¹¹Since the single slash (/) is used in the original text of the DDK, I will indicate the end of a line of quoted text with a double slash (//).

The poet refers to the year 1622, when the war spread beyond Bohemia to involve other German lands: Mars rolls up his sleeves to bathe in the blood and sweat of the Germans:

Hier gieng es nun recht an gantz Teutschland aus der
Ruh

In unruh / aus dem Glantz in Asch und Blut zu
stürzten /

Hier fieng der Mars erst an die Aermel aufzuschürtzen
und seine grimme Faust in unsrem Teutschen Blut
und bitter-saurem Schweisz mit ungezäumten Muth
und grosser Grausamkeit viel Jahre lang zu baden.

(2: 156-61)

The summer of 1638 was a time of exceptional military activity. It seemed that all armies were on the move. The bloody battle of Rheinfelden (February 1638) was still fresh in memory. In July 1638 the Swede Banér's army clashed with Marozinni at Vitzthums, while the imperial army under Gallas marched toward Osterburg and Marozinni to Stendel. Klitzing of Brandenburg led his Protestant army to Berlin followed by Banér and his troops. Bernhard's army stormed the fortress at Stuttgart, then launched what was to be a six-month siege of Breisach. In reference to this savage time, Greflinger defines war as a bloody debt which all of Germany must pay for its blood-sins:

Beklagens-werte Zeit / die Deutschland neu bekam /
Eh Gott dem Marspiter sein blutig Zepter nahm!

Rhenish bishoprics, but failed in his attempt to take the Palatinate, being defeated by Tilly at the battle of Höchst (June 22, 1622): "Dann aller Sieg fiel nun aufs Käysers Seiten. // Ein Kluger traut dem Glück ein grosses Wancken zu" (2: 154-55). Following this defeat, Duke Christian managed to regroup and join with Mansfeld to occupy Alsace. In 1623 he turned his army northward and was severely defeated by Tilly near Stadtlohn (Steinberg 40). Grefflinger follows his roller-coaster military career and attributes it all to Fate, whose only constancy is to remain within the purview of inconstancy:

Wer aber hat das Glück ihm allzeit gut gesehen?

Das Glück / das nirgends nicht beständig weisz zu
stehen

Als in dem Unbestand. Als es am besten scheint

Und wer am besten ihm vertrauen / wird es Feind.

(2: 133-36)

In the account of the Swedes' victory at Wittstock (September 9, 1636), he attributes their success to Fortune: "Wann aber sich das Glück bey einem widrig stället // so hillft es nicht / wie sehr dasz man sich rund umwället // und voll von Weiszheit weis" (7: 293-95). But what seems like mere good fortune in battle is ultimately the hand of God, as we see in the passage below from the same battle account:

Hierauf so ställte man
Zu Wittstock vor den Sieg ein groszes Danckfest an /
und schosz dreymal Triumpff aus des besiegtten Stücken /
Die man nicht lang hierauf nach Schweden sahe schicken
Der Nordischen Göttin-Christinen ins Gesicht
Zu ställen / was ihr Heer nunmehr hatt' auszgericht /
Jedoch durch Gottes Hand. (7: 283-89)

The warrior's cause: The Thirty Years' War in Grefflinger's view is a holy war. In many passages in the epic, he refers to the Catholic/Protestant strife. In the opening lines of the poem, Grefflinger relates the events leading to war. He writes of the emperor's attempts at recatholization and suppression of religious freedom. In book 1 he writes: ". . . Die Evangelsche Stände // Beschwerten sich hierob und baten umb ein Ende // von solcher Überlast. Je mehr des bittens war // Je mehr ihr Gottesdienst bey der Romanschen Schaar // In Schimpf und Last verfiel . . ." (25-29). In book 3, when Gustavus and his army arrive in Pomerania, the king is portrayed as God's warrior in a holy war:

Es war ein solcher Stand
Der zu erbarmen war. Darumb er sich erbarmte /
Sein Siegs-gewohntes Schwerdt durch Gottes Krafft
bearmte /
und nach dem Joche hieb / das von der Päbstlerey

War auf den Halsz gelegt . . . (125-28)

As the Battle of Breitenfeld appears to be lost to him,
Gustavus calls on God:

Sol dan / O Herr / dein Volck vor deinen Feinden
fliehen /

Gib deinem Namen Ehr' und Sieg / Gott unser Hort /
Wir streiten für dein Volck und für dein heilig Wort /
Beweise deine Macht zu deines Nahmens Ehren.

(4: 370-73)

He then spurs his tired army on with the words: ". . . Gott
hat wol öffter viel durch wenig Volck geschlagen // Hier ist
kein ander Heyl als Gott und unser Schwerdt / // Der seinen
König liebt / voraus für Kirch und Herd // Zu fechten willens
ist / der folge meine Thaten" (4: 378-81)

Although the religious cause for fighting is the most
often cited reason for fighting, it is not the only cause.
Greflinger also portrays soldiers who enjoy fighting and
desire the fame that victory brings; for instance, the
Danish Duke Christian:

In dieser sharffen Schlacht wurd Hertzog Christian
In linker Hand verletzt / und weil der junge Mann
Aus Eiffer auf den Krieg nichts nach dem Schaden
fragte /

Weil ihm des Krieges Ruhm mehr als sein Blut
behagte / (2: 183-86)

Greflinger does not see a conflict between the Protestant

holy cause and a Protestant hero's warlike nature.

Similarly, the Catholic leaders are portrayed as more than willing warriors. The armies of Tilly and Wallenstein were quite successful early in the war. Greflinger writes of these two leaders:

Sie stritten umb den Ruhm. That jener eine Schlacht
So wolte dieser sich nichts weichers lassen finden /
und waren beyde wol beglückt zu überwinden.

Sie kriegten nun nach Lust / und hatten freyes Feld /
Gedachten auch bereits schon in ein andre Welt.

(2: 300-04)

Greflinger does not condemn these traits in his soldiers, but simply states what he perceives as the truth.

Nature: Greflinger frequently compares war and battle to certain mighty forces of nature, which can become destructive to man and his surroundings. War and battle are at times likened to fire, bodies of water with their inherent potential for destruction, and elements of the storm. Man is always portrayed as a helpless victim in the face of these forces of nature.

The war as fire, a naturally destructive force which eventually consumes saint and sinner alike, is a recurrent image in the DDK. The war/fire image appears in different guises. Most often, the fire is war itself, and at times the fire is that which burns in the soul of the true warrior

-- his reason for waging war.

In the early lines of the poem, Grefflinger reports the Defenestration in Prague (1618). The confrontation of the contingent from Bohemia with the emperor's men was a day of "Blut und Flammen" (1: 30-31). When the emperor's men were tossed from the window, "da flog zugleich mit ihnen // Disz Feuer in die Welt" (1: 42-43). Failing to effect a reversal of the decision of the Diet, the Bohemian princes returned home and began to prepare for war -- "Gantz Böhaimb waffnete" (1: 60) ". . . Das Feuer sollte wachsen // Halb Schlesien fiel zu / gantz Mähren folgte nach . . ." (1: 70-71). Grefflinger refers to the Defenestration in Prague as the tiny spark that grew into an all-consuming flame, as the Bohemian rebellion escalated to a death struggle against imperial power:

Hier sasz der Böhm im Lentzen
Und kriegte noch darzu aus vielen Fremden Grentzen
Viel tausend Mann zu Hilff. Ein jeder war daran /
Damit das Feuer wuchs. Ach welch ein Feuer kan
Das Land und Leuthe frisst / aus einem Füncklein
kommen: (1: 129-33)

Book 1 ends with the Battle of White Mountain, and the image of the fire which starts small and spreads abroad is repeated: "Aus diesem Siege gieng das Feuer vollends auf // Und nahm von Böhaimb ab nach Deutschland seinen Lauff" (1: 251-52). Whole provinces become nothing but the straw which

feeds the conflagration: "Dasz Böhaimb Käysrich wurd und
Mähren eben so // Deszgleichen Schlesien / und andre / die
das Stroh // Zu dieser Feuerbrunst nicht längst gegeben
hatten . . ." (2: 15-17).

Gabriel Bethlen of Transylvania is usually portrayed as
a Protestant hero by Greflinger. But at one point early in
the epic, the poet insinuates that Bethlen does not have his
heart in the fight: ". . . Umb dieser Zeiten Lauff // Warff
Bethlem Gabor sich von neuem wieder auf / // Nam grosse
Türken-Hülff den Käyser zu bekriegen / // Brennt auch ein
Feuer recht wo keine Brände liegen?" (2: 231-34).

Greflinger's rhetorical question refers to Bethlen's
vacillation earlier in the war. He entered the conflict on
the Protestant side, but was "bought off" by the emperor in
June 1620 (Steinberg 39). He re-entered the war in 1624
with his army strengthened by troops conceded by the sultan
of Turkey.

War and its components are at times compared to
restless seas and swift or swollen rivers with resultant
floods. For instance, Greflinger compares the efforts of
the armies of Banér and Bernhard to gain control of central
Germany in 1638 to the ebb and flow of the ocean tide:

Damit kriegten wir den Krieg mit allen Peitschen
Vom neuen von der See ins innerste der Deutschen.
Wie er mit starcker Flut sich an die See begab /
So gieng er ebbende sehr schleunig wieder ab.

(9: 173-76)

The ever-widening rift between Bohemia and the emperor in the opening phases of the war is likened to a stormy sea: "Es war als wie ein Meer / je stärker dasz es wäht // Je gröszer solches sich mit seinen Wellen bläht" (1: 95-96). We find the sea in a more violent state in the description of a battle between Gustavus and Tilly near Stendal in 1631, shortly before the battle of Breitenfeld:

Da gieng der Knall von Norden /
Da giengen alle Stück um ihn erschrecklich her /
Als wie der Hagel tobt / und wie das wilde Meer /
Wann es der Nord erregt. (4: 226-29)

Greflinger compares Karl Gustav Wrangel and his troops' advance toward Vienna in 1643 to a swift stream flowing into a river: "Der [Wrangel] wie ein schneller Strohm bisz an die Donau risz / // und mit drey tausend Mann die Wiener Brücken trutzte . . ." (9: 160-62). The poet intensifies the river metaphor when he describes a 1626 revolt of Austrian peasants as a flood of water breaching a dam and pouring into the countryside. Before being defeated by an imperial force of 12,000, the peasants overran several cities (Parker 92ff.):

Wie / wann ein Damm zerbricht /
Das Wasser ströhmig sich auf Wiesen / Gärten / Felder /
Gebäude / Menschen / Vieh und angelegne Wälder
Ergüsset / niederreist und alles nichtig macht;

Also geschah auch hier / sie hatten grosse Macht
und waren eufrig auf vor Kirch und Heerd zu stehen.

(2: 356-61)

In the above simile the poet expresses the totality of destruction by means of enumeration without elaboration. Man is no more able to escape the flood than animals or field and forest. A similar war/flood image is found in book 7, where the battle of Nördlingen (September 6, 1634) is recounted. Greflinger compares the onslaught of the superior imperial army to powerful waters breaking through a dam and flooding the countryside:

Gleich wie ein strenger Strohm / wann er den Damm
durchrissen
und keine Haltung hat / mit schädlichem ergüssen
Sich in die Weite macht / Vieh / Menschen / Hausz und
Gut

In das Verderben setzt / und macht das Land zur Flut /
Dasz man die Berge sucht / sein Leben zu erreten.

Also that diese Schlacht bey vielen Volck und Städten.

(7: 5-10)

The only real variation in the above image from the one immediately preceding it shows man attempting to save himself from the flood. Further in the same passage, the river is personified as Greflinger describes the victorious imperial troops' continuing military success: "Die siegende Parthey ergosz sich wie ein Flusz // Der Widerhalt war weg

und satzte seinen Fusz // Auf Bergen / bisz die Hilff von
fernen Ländern schützte" (7: 11-13).

Greflinger chooses the most spectacular aspects of the storm -- thunder and lightning -- to express the sights and sounds of weaponry in battle: "Die praszlenden Cartauen // von derer Donders Macht Lufft / Erd und Meer erstaunen . . ." (1: 230). Tilly prepares for the Battle of Breitenfeld: "Es stund auch sein Geschütze // Nach seiner Lust gepflantz / mit Donnder und mit Blitze // Den starcken Gegentheil zu grüßen" (4: 333-35). Further in the account of this battle, we find the same metaphor using verbs: "Wie blitzt und donndert er bey zweyen Stunden lang . . ." (4: 355). Sometimes the metaphor occurs in a compound form, as in the battle scenes from Lech: "Hilf Gott! Wie sah man hier die Donnder-Stücke blitzen" (5: 454). Greflinger says of the strong fortress at Ingolstadt: "Kam ihr ein Donnder zu / sie donnderte dagegen" (5: 497). One hundred guns blazed at Regensburg, "Mit Donnder-gleichen Macht" (6: 430). In book 7, describing the Battle of Wittstock, Greflinger extends the image, when he compares the crescendo of battle to thunder, which began in the distance but which is now upon the observer:

Gleich wie der Donnder sich vom Anfang sacht und klein
Bezeiget / endlich doch mit groszem Knall und Krachen
Heraus bricht / und die Welt vol Schrecken pflegt zu
machen:

Also geschah hier. (7: 252-55)

Death: Grefflinger's usual portrayal of death in war is collective and devoid of metaphor or simile. Aside from the death of individual leaders, Grefflinger rarely depicts the death of individuals. An exception is in his account of the sack of Magdeburg, which is discussed below.

Battle scenes of Protestant victories are the most reticent. Grefflinger deals with the 16,000 of Tilly's army dead and captured at the Battle of Breitenfeld in the following manner: ". . . er [Gustavus] siegt auch hier und schikte theils den Hölen // Theils nach den Banden zu" (4: 406-7). The only sign of the slaughter is Gustav kneeling "im Blut-gefärbten Feld" to thank God for his victory (4: 411-13). In another Protestant victory, "Viel hundert kamen hier um ihr verteufelt Leben . . ." (5: 681). Even at the Battle of Lützen, where Gustavus was killed and where Bernhard seeks revenge, the death imagery is very dry: "Es lag das weite Feld mit Feinden voll gehauft /. . ." (5: 740). When the battle was over and Wallenstein's army severely defeated, Grefflinger writes: "Hat also Bernhard dich / O König! wol gerochen // Dasz man bisz diesen Tag von deines Feindes Knochen // Das Feld bestreuet siht" (5: 745-47). Following Torstenson's victory at the second battle of Leipzig in 1643, "Die Erde glänzt von Knochen" (11: 145).

A more elaborate picture of death on the battlefield can be found in book 1 in the Battle of White Mountain where the Protestants suffered a major defeat which left eight thousand Bohemians dead (Parker 61):

Die praszlenden Cartaunen /

• • • • •

Zerschmetterten bald dem / bald jenem Pferd und Mann
Und kehrten sie zur Luft. Man sah es schmerzlich an
Wie dort und da ein Held halb-todt wurd abgezogen /
Wie dort ein Fusz und Arm / hier Köpf und Rümpfe
flogen. (1: 229-34)

According to Parker (61) the battle proper turned into a complete imperialist rout, which lasted about one hour. Grefflinger lists the Bohemian dead at eight thousand, and in the end ". . . Es lag das gantze Feld // Mit Todten voll gestreut / . . ." (1: 243-45). The poet speaks here of the aftermath of the battle and the signs of death.

Civilian death is usually presented as a collective phenomenon and in a similarly unadorned manner -- as in the destruction of "Vieh / Menschen / Hausz und Gut" (7: 7). Grefflinger writes of the repercussions of the Battle of Breitenfeld: ". . . es ist nicht auszzusprächen / Wie man gehauset hat mit Weib- und Kinderschwächen" (4: 451-52). In Grefflinger's account of the sack of Magdeburg (1631), we find a more detailed picture of the death of individuals in addition to his usual collective presentation. As was

stated earlier, this particular disaster seemed to bring out the poet in everyone, and Greflinger is no exception. His tone is more subjective than usual, as evidenced by his rare use of ich, in the introductory and closing lines of the account:

Wann ich die Augen nun auf deine Mauren werffe
So werff ich auch zugleich viel Thränen in den Sand
Umb deinen hohen Fall und unerhörten Brand /
Du vormahls schöne Stadt. (3: 266-69)

The historical details of the siege and attack on the city were discussed earlier (pp. 33-34 above). Greflinger lists the Magdeburg dead at 30,000 (3: 270), although modern historians differ: Wedgewood (209) speaks of 25,000 dead; Parker lists a population of 20,000 with only a few survivors (125).

Greflinger creates a chaotic, bloody scene in which the people of Magdeburg find death at every turn. He builds the scene through the repetition of single phrases and through the repetition and variation of the triad of forces which kill the citizens of the city:

Theils hat die Glut verzehrt / die schrecklich und
geschwind

Die gantze Stadt besasz. Theils fielen durch die Waffen
Theils schlung der Elbstrom ein. Was vor des Würgers
raffen

Entwich / fiel in die Glut. Was aus der Glut entkam

Fiel in den strengen Flusz / der alles Leben nam.

(3: 272-76)

He goes on then to a more explicit description of the slaughter in Magdeburg. Many of the women chose death over dishonor: "Viel schlossen sich mit Händen // und stürzten sich zugleich in tieffe Brunnen ein / die Räuber ihrer Ehr und Keuschheit frey zu seyn" (3: 282-84). Grefflinger's gruesome panorama of the death of the children of the city is especially vivid:

Dort lag ein Kind und sog der todten Mutter Brust /
Hier eines in der Glut / dort / welches wol bewust /
Nam ein verteuffelt Paar ein Kind bey seinen Füszen
und risz den Leib entzwey. Dort sah man eines

spieszen /

Hier schmisz ein anderer ein anders an den Stein

Dasz das Gehirne flog. (3: 307-12)

In further scenes, he leads the reader throughout the city to witness the death of different types of people in different places:

Ein Priester am Altar

Lag in viel Stücke da.

.

Was in die Keller floh verdorb durch Rauch und

Flammen /

Dann alles Magdeburg das schmelzete zusammen.

.

Der Raht floh auf sein Hausz / das Rahthausz kam in
Brand

Und kam also der Raht mit ihm in gleichen Stand.

.

Die Tempel eben so / man hat in einem Tempel
Bey funfftzig Weibliche geköpft / ist ein Exempel
Darüber man bestarrt / das niemals ist erhört.
Da hat das warme Blut so häufig her geröhrt /
Dasz endlich ein Bach im Tempel war zu sehen /
Man musste hin und her auf todten Körpern gehen.

(3: 279-306)

As one can see through comparison, Grefflinger's style here contrasts vividly to his usual presentation of death in war. This contrast could reflect the influence on Grefflinger of the immense amount of literature which the destruction of Magdeburg inspired. Accounts of the tragedy of Magdeburg were published in 20 newspapers, 205 pamphlets, and 41 broadsheets, which circulated all over Europe (Parker 125). The death scenes of war heroes, such as Gustavus, Bernhard, and Tilly are dealt with in a special manner, which will be discussed below in the section on individual leaders.

Destruction and deprivation: War is a killer with many faces in Grefflinger's epic. The catastrophic effects of war on the civilian population are often expressed by enumeration of the devastating companions of war: "Es war

nun überall / wohin man mochte sehen / // Belägern / Einnahm
 / Pest / Raub / Brand und Hungers Noth /. . ." (7: 242-43);
 "Schwerdt und Glut" (6: 391); "Geschütze / Schwerdt / Brand"
 (4: 97); "Rauben / Mord und Brand und tausend Ubeln mehr
 . . ." (6: 447-48).

Hunger was a constant serious problem for the armies of both sides. The civilians also suffered from lack of food, as they were constantly losing their provisions to the armies. This was especially the case in the later years of the war, when resources were depleted, or in the case of the extended siege of a city. Grefflinger in most instances simply reports the situation, although he does use repetition to enhance the passage. Very numerous are the instances of such phrases as "Hungers Noth," and "Noth an Lebens-Mittel." Banér's army had to abandon the siege of Torgau in 1638. Grefflinger writes of the Swedish army's predicament:

Da war noch Kraut noch Loth / noch des Entsatzes
 Zeichen /

Ich schweige was für Noth an Lebens-Mitteln war.
 Dann es war alles Land durch solche grosze Schar
 Verdorben. Er brach auf / nicht seines Feindes wegen /
 Vor dem er fäst genug an Torgau war gelegen /
 Vielmehr aus Noth von Brodt und anderm / wie gedacht /
 Und dieses that ihm mehr als eine grosze Schlacht.
 (9: 66-72)

Late in the war, in 1645, the Swedish generals Gallas and Torstenson laid siege to Bernburg. The defending troops of the emperor had to retreat "aus groszer Hungers-Qual," and seek provisions in Magdeburg. At times the lack of food became such a problem that entire armies had to move because of it. Such was the case for the imperialists fighting Gustavus in Pomerania:

Sein Heer wurd' immer ringer.

Hier halffen viel darzu der mächtige Bezwinger /
Den man den Hunger nennt / darzu die Winterzeit /
So / dasz das gantze Heer / durch Hunger / Kält und
Streit

Bezwungen / endlich sich aus Pommern must' erheben

(3: 229-32)

During the siege of Nürnberg, both armies as well as the citizenry suffered from extreme hunger and disease, and "manche tausent starben . . ." (5: 647-49). Mass desertion sometimes resulted from lack of provisions. This was the case in the winter of 1638 during the siege of Saarbrücken:

Was grosze Hungers Noth das Land hatt überzogen /
So dasz man Wurtzeln / Grasz / und noch viel ärgers
asz /

Worüber mancher Knecht der rechten Pflicht vergasz
und von der Fahnen blieb / vom Hunger nicht zu sterben.
(7: 94-97)

In two instances Greflinger refers to cannibalism and

other drastic measures to sustain life. For example, Augsburg in 1635 had been under siege for nearly six months before surrendering to imperialist forces. According to Wedgewood, the people "had been eating cats, rats and dogs for three months past, and eight weeks before the surrender the citizens were cutting up the hides of cattle, soaking and chewing them" (399). Of this state of affairs Grefflinger writes:

Der Hunger war so grosz / dasz man die Todten frasz /
Es war kein gifftig Ratz versichert / wo er sas /
Er muste nach dem Mund und Magen der Soldaten . . .
(7: 183-85).

The story of the siege of Breisach contains a similar, but more extensive comparison:

Dann sie die Hungers Noth zu solchem Jammer bracht' /
Als nie in aller Welt dergleichen wird gedacht.
Schweig nur Jerusalem / Samaria deszgleichen.
Des Brysach's Hungers Noth war keine zu vergleichen.
Der Mensch frasz Menschen auf / er öffnete das Grab /
und nagete das Fleisch von alten Todten ab. (9: 271-76)

The comparison to Samaria and Jerusalem more than likely refers to these two cities during the First Crusade. In July 1099 Jerusalem and Nablus, a major city in Samaria, were invaded by the Crusaders. The entire food supply of Nablus was confiscated to support the siege of Jerusalem.

When Jerusalem fell, there was widespread slaughter and destruction. Both cities were invaded several more times in the following centuries and suffered greatly (Schur 100).

Compared to Grefflinger's usual imagery, the above passage is crass and hyperbolic. As far as the extent of the hunger at Breisach is concerned, there could be some element of firsthand knowledge involved, or at least widespread rumor. C. Walther (104) places the soldier Grefflinger at the siege of Breisach with Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar's army in 1638. He quotes Grefflinger on the subject of hunger:

Ich denck' ein solch Verderben

Der Menschen, welches kaum zu glauben. An dem Reyhn

Sah ich die Hungrige in sich recht wüttend seyn.

Sie frassen selbst ihr Fleisch aus ihren magern

Armen.--

Sie starben hungrig weg, mit Menschen Fleisch im

Mund.¹³

Theatrum Europaeum contains an account of Valentin Engel, a "Bürger und Totengräber" from the town of Ruffach in Alsace. The account tells of a woman from Colmar who came to the gravedigger asking "ob nicht vielleicht noch ein junger toter unbegrabener Leichnam vorhanden wäre, den

¹³Walther catalogs 384 occasional poems from unbound collections in the archives in Hamburg. This particular poem was written on the death of Caecilia vom Holte in 1657.

wollte sie ohne einiges Ekel, den großen Hunger dadurch zu büßen, mit Lust essen" (Jessen 382). In the same account, the gravedigger relates a similar incident:

Weiters hat obgedachter Totengräber bei seinem Eid bezeugt, daß ein Jung und zwei Weiber aus der Nachbarschaft zu ihm in das Spital gekommen und gesagt, daß sie in der Stadt Almosen geheischen, nichts bekommen, dero wegen ihn gebeten, ob er kein jungen toten Menschen hätte . . . (382)

Leaders and heroes: Grefflinger is more effusive in his praise of Protestant leaders, but he gives credit for leadership and bravery to enemy leaders as well. Most of the major figures of both sides bear the epithet Held. Of all the major figures who led armies during the war, King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden enjoys more of Grefflinger's attention than any other (Mueller xiv). He is called "der tapfre Held" (3: 116), "ein beherzter Held" (3: 207), "der fromme Held" (3: 146), "der kluge Held" (4: 392), and "der grosze Held" (5: 258). Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar is "Der tapfre Weymar-Fürst und Held" (4: 234), and Banér is designated as "der grosze Held" (5: 663). Tilly bears the epithets "Ein wolerfahrner Held" (1: 198) and "der schlaue Held" (4: 103). Pappenheim is referred to as "der Held / Vom Hause Pappenheim" (1: 244-45) and "den schlaunen Held / den Mann von hundert Wunden" (1: 309-10). Prince Hans Ernst

of Weimar is "der Kriegs-gelehrte Held" (2: 237), and King Christian of Denmark, "Der Dehnen Held" (3: 40). Mansfeld is "der berühmte Held" (2: 101). Even Wallenstein is acknowledged as "Der Held von Wallenstein / ein hochgehertzter Mann . . ." (2: 272).

The lion, a symbol of strength and courage, is the image most frequently employed for Grefflinger's heroes. The image occurs in various forms -- epithet, simile, and metaphor. Grefflinger describes Gustavus during the battle of Breitenfeld: "Mit welchem Löuen-Muth und Königlicher Ehr' // In dieser Schlacht den Sieg der König hab' erfochten // Wird keiner Zeit genug von Weisen eingeflochten" (4: 424-26). Referring to Gustavus' actions during the same battle, Grefflinger attributes supernatural characteristics to the "lion," who wore no armor in the thick of battle:

Kein Mensch erzehlts genug / wie gleich und in dem
Bogen
Viel vieler Kugel Art um ihn herum geflogen /
Darüber er sich doch nicht einmal hatt' entsetzt /
und blieb auch / wie man weisz / hier gäntzlich
unverletzt /
Da er doch weder Helm noch einen Harnisch führte /
Wobey man seinen Muht als eines Löuen spürte.
(4: 437-42)

In book 5 Gustavus is "der Löu von Schweden" (257). He is later called "den Norden Löu" (360). During the battle of

Nürnberg, "Bernardus hat gleich ein Löu gethan // Der auf dem Berg hinauf / wo sich der Feind enthielte // und grausam in den Thal mit groben Stücken spielte / . . ." (5: 652-54).

In the battle of Lützen, as Bernhard takes over leadership when Gustavus fell: ". . . So bald des Helden Leben // Sein Ende hatt' erreicht / that der berühmte Fürst // Bernhardus wie ein Löu / den nach der Rache dürst / . . ." (5: 722-24).

In the same battle scene, even the common soldiers become lions, avenging their fallen leader. Here the image goes beyond the usual meaning of strength and courage, as the lions threaten and roar:

Damit so sahe man aus Menschen Löuen werden /
Die ihres Königs Blut mit schrecklichen Geberden
Zu rächen dröneten / und brüllten / dasz die Lufft
Voll Rauch und Nebel wurd' / es wurde Rach gerufft
So lang man Feinde sah / dasz also diese Löuen
Den Feind zerstreueten / und ihm das grosze Freuen
Ob ihres Königs Fall vergällten. (5: 729-35)

At Rheinfelden, Greflinger says of the Protestant troops:

"Wir sahen eine Schar // Von Löuen / derer Zorn ein flammend Feuer war" (5: 311-12). Mansfeld is referred to in book 2 as "ein hochbehertzter Löu" (33). Bernhard's army before the battle of Wittstock was "gleich wie ein Löu / der seinem Band entkommen . . ." (7: 213).

The enemy Tilly bears the lion epithet in book 5: "In dem diesz hier verlief // That der ergrimte Löu von Bäumen

einen Griff // Nach Regensburg / und brachts mit List in
deinen Klauen / . . . " (503-05).

Greflinger occasionally likened his heroes to figures from biblical and classical antiquity and mythology. He introduces the battle of Lützen in this manner: "Lützen ist der unbeglückte Platz // Wo alles Schweden-Reichs geliebster Trost und Schatz // und wo des Israels sein Josua geblieben" (5: 703-05). As the news of the king's death spread throughout the troops, the further motive of revenge was introduced into the battle, which ended in a resounding Swedish victory. Greflinger compares Gustavus with Samson: "Wie aber Samson dort die Säulen nieder riesz // Dasz sich sein Feind mit ihm dem Tode must' ergeben // Also geschah auch hier" (5: 720-22). Additional epithets for Gustavus include: Augustus (5: 437) and Aeneas (5: 547). Bernhard is labeled the "Sächschen Alexander" (8: 322); Greflinger reports a Tilly victory as "der Sieg dem Päbstchen Alexander" (2: 111). The Swede Torstenson he calls "der Schwedisch Alexander" (10: 146).

As I mentioned above, the hero's death occasions more intense metaphorical language than any other event in the poem. Greflinger writes of Gustavus' death:

Man lese / wo man dich von vielen Kugel-Wunden /
Gustavus / theurer Held / entseelet hat gefunden:
Hier hat der Schweden Haupt für Deutschland seinen
Geist

Geopfert / den Gott liebt / den alle Nach-Welt preist.

(5: 757-60)

In a further tribute in book 6, Gustavus' death is a catalyst for renewed war effort for his "disciples":

Das Blut aus ihm geflossen /
War Pelikanen-Blut / aus welchem viel entsprossen /

Die seines Hertzen sind. (6: 5-7)¹⁴

Of all the heroes, Gustavus is the only one who is Christ-like, and in book 6 Greflinger calls him "den Gesalbten" (299).

Bernhard, Greflinger's second most praised hero, died of smallpox in July 1639 at the age of thirty-five (Wedgewood 422). Greflinger's tribute to him could not have been greater had he died in battle:

Er starb auf seinem Bett' / als einer / der mit Macht
In Schlachten nimmermehr kunt werden unterbracht.
Er hat vor keinem Feind' / allein ihm selbst gewichen /
Sein Grab ist rund herum mit Siegen auszgestrichen.

¹⁴Greflinger's image of pelican blood has its roots in the bestiaries of the Middle Ages. Writers in the Baroque period had access to emblem books and later literature, which carry on the medieval tradition. In White's Book of Beasts the image is explained: The pelican is described as excessively devoted to its young. When the young grow up, they flap the mother with their wings, and she strikes back, killing her offspring. Three days later she rips open her own breast and side, lays herself across the young, and her blood brings them back to life. The allegory was used in reference to Christ's death and resurrection (White 132). Greflinger refers to Gustavus' successor as head of the Swedish army, Axel Oxenstierna, and the generals under him.

Setzt Lorbeer-Krantz hierauf / thut die Cypressen ab /
Hier ist des Siegers Ort / und kein bekläglich Grab.

(9: 328-28)

Johann Banér was a Swedish marshal and leader of one of the four armies in the field following Gustavus' death. He died of a febrile illness on May 20, 1641 (Wedgewood 365). In describing his death, Greflinger presents him as an artist who has painted the canvas of Europe with the blood of his enemies:

Enthebet euch der Müh zu mahlen Hernn Bannieren /
Er ist sein Mahler selbst / er kan sich selber zieren
Mit lebendig Farb. Sein Pinsel ist sein Schwert /
Die Farb der Feinde Blut / das Blat Europens Erd'.

(10: 355-58)

Tilly was wounded at the battle of the Lech. He died of his wounds shortly thereafter. Even though he was the enemy, Greflinger grants him the accolade of a great warrior:

Es traff den Tylli selbst / wie ihm den bald hernach
Aus Schmertzen eines Schusz's das grosze Hertz

zerbrach /

und starb in Ingolstadt. Die Wahrheit sol es melden /
Dasz dieser tapfre Graf ein Kern von vielen Helden
Alhier gewesen sey / der grosze Schlachten that /
und grosze Sieg' erhielt. (5: 467-72)

Wallenstein is referred to as a hero along with the other

leaders in the war. Yet Grefflinger holds this man responsible for the death of King Gustavus and he gives a rather unsympathetic account of his death (Mueller xlv):

kam eine Zeitung ein /

Es hätte Gordens Spiesz den groszen Wallenstein

In Eger durch-gespieszt / weil er nach Böhäims Krohne

und mehreren lüstern war. Disz kriegte der zu Lohne /

Der den Gesalbten schlug. (6: 295-99)

The enemy: Throughout the poem, Grefflinger in most cases refers to the enemy soldier simply as the Feind. There are exceptions, as in the account of the sack of Magdeburg, when Grefflinger refers to the marauding soldiers as "verteuffelt" (3: 309). Grefflinger especially singles out Croats when he speaks in a derogatory manner of the enemy. He writes of the Croats who fell to Bernhard's army: "Viel hundert kamen hier um ihr verteuffelt Leben" (5: 681). The imperial troops at the Battle of Nördlingen included a large contingent of Croats, of whom Grefflinger writes:

Das mätzeln war so grosz /

(Vorausz von dieser Schar / die aus der Höllen Schosz

Entsprossen ist / ein Volck / das sonder allen Zweifel

Nichts anders ist und bleibt als Mensch-gestallte

Teufel /

Disz Ungeziefer wird bey uns Croat genand). (6: 487-

91)

The imperial army won the battle. The following passage demonstrates Grefflinger's usual unadorned depiction of excessive slaughter by the enemy:

Das Mätzeln war so grosz / dasz König Ferdinand /
Der fromme Ferdinand und Sieger muste sagen:
Hort auf / es ist genug / ihr habt genug erschlagen.
(6:492-94).

The common soldier: For the most part, the common soldier is not dealt with as an individual, but as a unit of one army or another. In some scenes of major battles, Grefflinger praises soldier and leader alike; see, for instance, the discussion above of the "lion" image. Sometimes common soldiers are heroes as well. In the preface to the Battle of White Mountain, Grefflinger speaks of the opposing armies:

Man stund auf beyden Seiten
Wie Mauern / jeder war mit dieser Meynung da
Vor seines Königs Land zu siegen oder ja
Zu sterben / wie ein Held. (1: 226-29)

Plundering is presented as an acceptable activity of the victorious soldier:

Was in dem tieffsten war / das muste vor den Schein /
Vor Kriegern kan noch Brod / noch Gold verborgen seyn.
Ihr Stahl gräbt alles durch / was ist hiervon zu

sagen /

Der Landsknecht ist ein Mensch / und hat dergleichen

Magen

Als ich und du / und der / er frist kein Haberstroh.

Ein jeder sucht Geld / der Landsknecht eben so.

(6: 327-32)

Following their victory at Wittstock, Banér's army was allowed to plunder the city, taking whatever they could. Grefflinger actually catalogs the captured weaponry, some of which was sent back to Sweden. He obviously considers plundering acceptable behavior, as he states:

Ein jeder seines Volcks bekam so viel davon /

Dasz er sich freuen kunt. Es ist des schlagens Lohn /

Beuth oder Traurigkeit / versteh in solchem Kriegen.

(7: 275-77).

The poet-soldier's view of himself: Grefflinger does not specify why he fought in the Thirty Years' War, and it is difficult to perceive him as a soldier from his presentation of the material, since he functions as the omniscient third-person narrator throughout most of the epic. He occasionally uses the rhetorical "we" to involve the reader in the events at hand: "Wir wenden uns von Prag // und gehen in das Reich / zu sehen / was die Waffen // Des mächtigen Gustavus allda für Werke schafften /" (5: 396-98). In a few instances he uses the first-person singular to

indicate his actual presence on the scene; for instance, at the sieges of Nürnberg und Pirna. But he does not expound on his experience there. The use of ich to intensify subjectivism is seen in rare instances; for example, in the introduction to the narration of the sack of Magdeburg (book 3). For the most part, Greflinger reserves the use of the first-person singular for transitional passages at the beginning or end of a book. Book 8 begins with such a passage: "Eh ich nun wiederum den Kriegs-gelehrten Schweden // In ihrem Zuge folg' / erheischt die Zeit zu reden /" (1-2).

In the opening lines of the DDK, Greflinger calls on his muse: "Hilff mier Calliope, du Göttin der Geschichte // Dasz meine Rede sich nach dem Verlauffe richte" (1: 5-6). At the end of book 6 he indicates that his muse has left him as he writes: "Wo Mars das Zepter hat / kan nicht beschrieben seyn // und darum halt ich auch mit meiner Feder ein" (507-08).

That Greflinger does not consider himself a "patriot" can be assumed from the lyrics of a poem published in Leipzig after his soldiering years -- "Auff die zurück-Reise."

Gute Nacht, ihr Teutschen Städte,
Gute Nacht, mein Vatterland!
Daß ich meinen Körper rette
Vor den Waffen, vor dem Brand

Und vor andern deinen Plagen,
Kan ich dir kein andres sagen.¹⁵

Christian Brehme

Life and works. Brehme was born April 26, 1613 in Leipzig (Killy 2: 191-92). The son of a Leipzig architect, Brehme was orphaned at the age of twelve. He nevertheless had a private tutor before he entered the gymnasium in Roßleben. In 1630, when he was 17 years old, Brehme enrolled in the University of Wittenberg to study law and philosophy. He was a student there for two years, then went to Leipzig to continue his studies (Beutel 270). Brehme became friends with a fellow student, Paul Fleming, and apparently enjoyed the distinction of being a member of what is referred to as the "student poets' circle" in Leipzig. Included in this group are Gottfried Finckelthaus, Johann Hermann Schein, Georg Gloger, Georg Grefflinger, Zacharias Lund, David Schirmer, Johann Georg Schoch, and Kasper Stieler. Barner (694) refers to a "Tradition studentischer Trinklieder, Tanzlieder, Liebeslieder" during the first half of the seventeenth century in Leipzig.

Leipzig was seized by the imperialists twice during the years 1631 to 1633, and twice freed by Gustavus. The third capture of the city by the imperialist army brought a halt to Brehme's studies. His poet friends scattered and he

¹⁵In Seladons Beständige Liebe (1644) 41-42.

joined the army in 1633. He remained in the army in different regiments until 1636 or 1638.¹⁶ Following his military service he settled in Dresden, where he was appointed Geheimer Kammerdiener in 1639, and in 1640 he became court librarian and treasurer. Brehme married the mayor's daughter. This family connection, along with his position at court, helped him attain a position on the Dresden city council in 1642. Brehme remained in Dresden in this official capacity for several years. Beginning in 1657, he was elected mayor of Dresden four times, and he still held this position at his death in 1667 (ADB 2: 284).

Brehme's total literary output is relatively small and has received very little note over the years. Only the most comprehensive literary histories even mention him. His primary claim to recognition is his close relationship with Paul Fleming, who became a major literary figure.

His first poetry was written in Leipzig, in the style of the early Leipzig circle, with poems about drinking, dancing, love, etc. Brehme, like Fleming, adhered to the basics of Opitzian poetic reform, yet allowed himself a good deal of freedom in his lyrical style. His lyrical works had the flavor of the folk song, and his motifs often exceeded the bounds of convention for his time. This is quite evident in his first published collection of poems -- C.

¹⁶Further details of Brehme in the army are discussed below.

Brehmens allerhandt lustige, trawrige, und nach Gelegenheit der Zeit vorgekommene Gedichte zu Passierung der Weyle mit dero Melodeyen mehrentheils auffgefaßt (Leipzig, 1637) -- (Killy 2: 191). Several poems from this collection will be discussed in a later section on Brehme's imagery of war. In a totally different vein is his Art und Weise Kurtze Brieflein zu schreiben [. . .] dazu kommen Etliche Geist-und Weltl. Dichtereyen (Dresden/Leipzig, 1640).

For his initiation into the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft ("Der Beständige"), Brehme wrote a pastoral idyll entitled Die vier Tage Einer Newen und Lustigen Schäfferey, von der Schönen Coelinden und Deroselben ergebenen Schäfer Corimbo (Dresden, 1647). As was typical of pastorals of this period,¹⁷ the personae in this work were local nobles, thinly disguised as shepherds and shepherdesses (Killy 2: 191). Also published in 1647 in Dresden was Die neue Hirtenlust [Idylle] (Berger 1: 1006).

Later Brehme published the three-part Christliche Unterredungen (Dresden, 1659/60). This collection contained "Zwölff Geistlichen Gespräche," whose aim was religious edification. By this time nothing was to be found in Brehme's work which harked back to his Leipzig style.

Brehme was familiar with Italian literature and was evidently the first German to translate from Dante's Divine

¹⁷For example, Martin Opitz's Schäfferey von der Nimfen Hercinie (1630).

Comedy (ADB 2: 284).

Brehme the soldier. When Leipzig fell to the imperialists in August 1633, Brehme joined a Saxon regiment under General Schweinitz. His company commander was a Captain Mooßbach. Killy states states that he entered the army with the idea of a military career (2: 161). He spent two and one-half years in this regiment, attaining the rank of Fähnrich. Later he went as a lieutenant to a regiment led by Colonel von Rochow of Brandenburg. Brehme changed regiments once more, when the Swedish Lieutenant Colonel von der Grabbe offered him a position as lieutenant captain with higher wages. Before he could join his new regiment, it was annihilated in battle. At this point Brehme left the army (Beutel 271).

Brehme's imagery of war. The first poem under discussion here is "Ein Soldaten Liedt. In welchen die Kriegs gewöhnlichen außländischen // Wörter mit willen gelassen worden seyn / und wie // (Wer den Amor) zu singen ist. // An seinen sonst gelehrten aber nachmals Kriegerischen // Damon." The poem was published in the collection C. Brehmens allerhandt lustige, trawrige, und nach Gelegenheit der Zeit vorgekommene Gedichte zu Passierung der Weyle mit dero Melodeyen mehrentheils auffgefaßt (1637). It contains 120 lines and is divided into twenty stanzas, each six lines

in length. The rhyme scheme is ababcc; lines 1, 3, 5, and 6 have four iambic beats, 2 and 4 have two beats. The content is twofold: the ideological contrast between the scholar and the warrior, and professional soldiering.

In this poem, Brehme does not reveal his views on the origins of war. Conspicuously absent from his verses is bias, religious or otherwise. There is no mention of God or the Catholic/Protestant issue, nor of fate. He is concerned here with the soldier and his life in the military.

The depiction of death is that of a commonplace aspect of war, which the soldier accepts as a possible outcome of his chosen profession. Brehme's imagery presents death by way of circumlocution or euphemism. For example, in the second stanza the soldier is warned of the nearness of death in battle:

Wie hat dir doch belieben können
Die LebensArt?
Die fast auch leben' nicht zunennen /
Weil Widerpart
Dich in eim Nu' und viel darzu
Bald bringen kan zur letzten Ruh. (7-12)

Not only is death an acceptable aspect of soldiering, but the danger of the battlefield excites Brehme's soldier and draws him ever closer into the midst of the fray.

. . . So lieb Dirs zu wagen
Dich nicht verfielt

Obgleich schon hier / umb und bey Dir
Soldaten fallen für und für. (33-36)

This desire to be in the tumult of battle blocks out all other thoughts, and fear of death is lost in the sensation of battle:

Dir ist am besten in viel Nöthen /
Wann hier und dort
Du sihst die Cammaraden tödten /
Setzstu nur fort
Und reissest Dich mächtiglich
Biß er weicht wieder hinder sich. (25-30)

We find nothing of the graphic depiction of death in war which one finds in many "war poems" of Brehme's contemporaries. For instance, in the above passages, battlefield death is simply expressed -- "Soldaten fallen für und für . . .", and ". . . die Cammeraden tödten."

Military leaders are referred to as "Haupte," or "Obriste," with no descriptives whatsoever. The leader is the soldier who gives the orders.

The poet's attitude toward the enemy is completely objective. He refers to them as "der Feind" throughout, with descriptives no more elaborate than "stark." The commander orders his troops: "Geht wacker drauff mit vollen [sic] Lauff // Und trennt des Feindes Ordnung auff . . ." (23-24). The intention of completely destroying the enemy is expressed without elaboration: "Auch die Infantery

Brichaden // Gehn tapffer an // Mit Salvo schiessen thun sie
Schaden // Dem Rosz und Mann": (43-46).

Brehme portrays the soldier in both a collective and individual manner at different points in the poem. In stanzas 8-19 he describes a day in the life of a soldier, including pre-battle activities, battle, post-battle looting, etc., and marching off to the next campaign. Brehme's picture of war is created for the most part with unembellished language. Each stanza is built around a specific type of military unit or weaponry. First on the scene is the "Infantry Brichaden." "Auch die Infantry Brichaden // Gehn tapffer an . . ." (43-44). Next into the battle come the mounted soldiers: "Setzt an sie hie Cavallery // So secundiert der Flügel sie . . ." (47-48). With the entry of each additional group of warriors, the drama of the battlefield unfolds: "Und leiden Noth die Musquetirer // Wird commandiert // Ein Regiment mit Curassirer // Das secundiert . . ." (49-52). As the battle becomes more heated, the "Fußvolk" are mobilized and the fighting advances to hand-to-hand combat. This would be the logical point in the poem to expect elevated language, yet it is simply stated: ". . . Und wil das schießen nicht mehr reichen // Kömmt Mann an Mann" (57-58). When all the various military units have entered the battle, Brehme completes the scenario with a simple concluding observation: "Da schleget drauff der ganze Hauff. . ." (59-60).

Brehme's battle scene is dynamic, yet rather unemotional. The entry of various military units into the fray at given times is related in the detached manner of a military handbook.

With the enemy army on the defensive, the cavalry of the victorious army begins the final dismantling of the enemy's artillery:

Bald die Cavallery umbhauet

Des Feinds Geschüß /

Und ihme das Gestell verbauet

Machts ihm nichts nüß

Vernagelt sie auch bald allhie

Daß sie nicht können brauchen die. (73-78)

When the battle is won the victorious army ". . . Campiert die Nacht // Strack auff der Wahlstadt da denn droben // Geschah die Schlacht:" (99-101).

Plundering is the usual aftermath of victory: "Da plündert man was hinderlahn // Die Feinde die nun ganz geschlahn.//" (101-102). On the morning following the battle, the victors ride away with their captives, whom they will hold for ransom. The final lines of stanza 19 complete the progress of a typical campaign and "ein neuer March wird kund gethan" (113-14).

Brehme's individual soldier is a willing warrior who has traded his happy civilian life for the glory of the battlefield. In the first stanza, the omniscient narrator

addresses the soldier:

So bistu noch mein ander Herze

Zu jenen hin:

Da du nicht mehr zu Lust und Scherze /

(Wie sonst dein Sinn:)

Die Seitenwehr wirst brauchen mehr

Als zu des Mavors Lob und Ehr. (1-6)

Stanzas 2-7 deal specifically with the individual soldier's desire for and behavior in battle. Brehme portrays the soldier as a swashbuckler:

Deine von Lob entbrandte Sinnen /

Die setzen fest /

Ihr dicten / tracten und beginnen

Wo Feuer blitzt /

Wo Pulver / Bley / das Frühstück sey

Und wo von schlagen ein Geschrey. (13-18)

The activities of individual soldier during battle are related in slightly less objective tone and deal with the abstracts: honor and loyalty:

Ein jeglicher thut bald umbkehren

Die Oberwehr

Und thut sich tapffer damit wehren:

Er tracht nach Ehr:

Siht immer frey / wohs Fähnel sey.

Und tringt mit Macht sich nah hinbey

Kan er das Fähnel dann bekommen

So hilffts ihm daß:

Und wirts ihm wieder abgenommen

So schadts ihm was: (61-66)

The above verses point out the soldier's bravery in battle, and devotion to his colors. Even though Brehme's soldier is portrayed as a swashbuckler, he exhibits honor and loyalty in battle.

In the last stanza, however, the poet turns about and condemns the soldier-of-fortune:

Disz / Bruder / hat dir nun beliebt:

Ist deine Lust:

Wann sich ein solcher Schimpff begiebet:

Wie mir bewust.

Dein Herz und Muth hat lieber Gut

Das nur erworben wird mit Blut. (115-20)

Brehme the poet-soldier detaches himself from the soldier in "Ein Soldatenlied" with the disclaimer in the above verses.

Brehme's poem "Auff die Zeit in welcher dieses in Druck verfertiget worden" (1637) is a comic poem with an underlying serious theme -- the struggle to maintain intellectualism and "Poesie" in the face of the violence of the Thirty Years' War. The poem is an allegory with Leipzig as Mt. Helicon, where Apollo and the Muses engage in a "battle" with Mars. Leipzig was a mecca for writers and other artists, and at that time the publishing capital of

Germany. During February to April 1631, a meeting of Protestant princes was held in Leipzig (Schmidt 264). The occupation of this city by the imperialist Catholic troops led to a closing of the university, and Brehme was forced to give up his studies. Leipzig during this time is the subject of the poem.

"Auff die Zeit" is a fifty line poem divided into five stanzas. In the first stanza, Mt. Helicon is threatened by Mars:

Am Wasserfluß der Baar und Bleiß
Wo Leipzig ist erbauet:
Da wohnt der Pallas höchster Preiß /
Dem Mars viel böses trauet.
Apollo hung die Leyer auff /
Die Musen schürzten sich zum Lauff /
Der Helicon stund öde:
Die Weißheit wurde eingebackt
Und vor dem Feuer tieff verstackt:
Die Pallas selbst war blöde. (1-10)

Within the framework of the above stanza, we find all the personae present. At this point Mars has the advantage. In the following stanza, the Muses now reside on Mt. Parnassus. Mars, leading an army, follows them and attacks:

Er schosse seinen Pulver-Blitz
Aus Mörseln und aus viel Geschüß
Auf des Parnassus Spitze /

So daß sie halb kam in Gefahr
Und niemand fast nicht sicher war

In eigenem Musen-Sitze. (15-20)

Athena decided to make a stand. Mars made the mistake of
attacking the sacred "seat of learning":

Ein Eingang schoß er in das Haus

Wo sonst die Weisen lehren:

So bald das Eysen gieng durchaus

Den Götter-Sitz zu stören. (31-34)

This brings the wrath of the gods upon him, and Mars loses
his advantage -- "Drauff gieng ihn sein vermeyntes Glück //
Zurück / Weit über weit zurück / // Und muste halten innen"
(35-37). Apollo regains his throne, the Muses regain their
courage, and all returns to normal on Mt. Helicon:

Die Weisen lobten Gottes Schutz

Der stillen kan der Feinde Trutz:

Und ward alsbald gebotten

Das Messer solt benützet seyn

Das was geschehn zu schneiden ein

In Stein / aus Furcht der Motten.

(45-50)

The Muses prepare an account of the events and send it to
the publisher:

Die haben einen klügern Sinn

Mit ihren Bücher-trücken:

Auf einen Tag wol können sie

Diß alles was geschehen hie

Viel tausent-fach verschicken. (56-60)

It should be mentioned that this poem is next to last in the collection, and probably was written as a humorous finale for the publisher's benefit. Both poems discussed, though very different in style, to some degree address the issue of the pen versus the sword.

Summary

Diederich von dem Werder belongs to the older generation of the poets of the Thirty Years' War. He was a member of the nobility as well as of the upper echelon of literary personalities. Werder was handpicked by Gustavus Adolphus to lead a regiment in the Swedish army. Grefflinger was an orphaned commoner. His status in the military is not known, but he was more than likely a common soldier. Brehme was of the burgher class, and although he was orphaned at an early age as well, he received a university education and was an officer in the military.

Werder's "Magdeburg" deals with one battle of the war, Grefflinger's epic deals with the entire war, while Brehme deals with soldiering and battle in a generic fashion.

Werder sees the origin of war as a manifestation of God's will and fate, which is ultimately under God's control. God sends war to test the faithful and to punish the sinful. Grefflinger presents a similar explanation for war. These sentiments are shared by other Baroque poets as

an explanation for the horrors of the Thirty Years' War.¹⁸ Brehme does not dwell on reasons for war. His only mention of God is in one verse of a comic poem: "Die Weisen lobten Gottes Schutz // Der stillen kan der Feinde Trutz" ("Auff die Zeit," 45-46).

In the poems of Werder and Grefflinger, the soldier's purpose for fighting in the Thirty Year's war is based on religious partisanism. This is especially evident in Grefflinger's work. Grefflinger's portraits of the soldier also reveal individuals who seek the fame and fortune that victory can bring. The only purpose of Brehme's soldier for fighting is to enjoy battle and to obtain the spoils of war.

Nature imagery in Grefflinger's poem is a method of expressing certain destructive or physically daunting aspects of war, as we see from his images of fire, flood, lightning, and thunder. Werder personifies nature to reflect and intensify human feelings of horror -- "Dasz sich die Sonne entsetzt, die Erde drob erschüttet, // Der Himmel selbst erschrickt" (16-17). In Brehme we find no nature imagery at all.

The theme of death in war is common to all of the works studied. Werder deals with the theme of death with the use of allegory and euphemism. Magdeburg as the corpse of a

¹⁸See G. Muncker's comments on this theme in Opitz, Grimmelshausen, and Friedrich von Logau (89, 101, and 118).

woman is one portrayal of death in Werder's poem. As graphic as the descriptives are, they are nevertheless not applied to an individual. The second image of death is structured euphemistically, as the groups of the dead, citizen and soldier, are addressed. Death is depersonalized in both representations.

Greflinger's depiction of death is usually that of multitudes in battle, which is generally expressed in a collective and unadorned manner, with depersonalized descriptions of body parts flung this way and that or stacks of corpses blocking the way or hindering the flow of the river. An exception to this style is Greflinger's portrayal of the carnage at Magdeburg, which could be due to the enormous amount of publicity that this event received. In this case he depicts the deaths of individuals, such as the priest and the infant. The death of a military leader is accorded special attention in the epic. Greflinger's verses in these instances are more highly poetic; for example, the metaphor of the artist to describe the Swedish general Banér upon his death. Brehme's soldier likes fighting, and the possibility of dying in battle is an aspect of the soldier's life which is no more or less important than scouting, engaging the enemy, or looting. Death is depicted through expressions such as: "Soldaten fallen für und für" and "Die Cammaraden tödten." In Brehme's allegory "Auff die Zeit," battles occur, but no one dies, since the personae are all

gods or demigods.

Manfred Windfuhr in Die barocke Bildlichkeit und ihre Kritiker discusses Brehme and Grefflinger in his chapter on grotesque metaphor. These two poets are further grouped with the "mitteldeutsche Soldaten- und Studentendichter." Grefflinger is also included in the group representing southern Germany and Austria (289). The grotesque style is not at all evident in Brehme's poems on war, and the only image in Grefflinger's poem which seems to go beyond the generous boundaries of Baroque style and qualify as grotesque is that of the hungry Breisachers devouring decaying corpses.

What Brehme and Grefflinger bring is not some yet more hyperbolic expression of the horrors of war than can be found elsewhere -- but on the contrary, a degree of detachment and even matter-of-factness.

Destruction and deprivation in war is a major theme in Grefflinger's DDK. He speaks of the struggles of soldier and citizen alike against the companions of war -- hunger, disease, ravaged cities, and exposure to the elements. Deprivation of the very means to sustain life often appears in Grefflinger's verses. This is not a prevalent theme in either Werder or Brehme.

Even though all three poets write about war, there is no indication that they wrote about their own personal experiences in war. War is not glorified in any of the

works, and no real essence of patriotism emerges from their imagery.

CHAPTER 3

POET-SOLDIERS OF THE PRUSSO-AUSTRIAN WARS

Three poet-soldiers and their imagery of war will be discussed in this chapter -- Ewald Christian von Kleist, Johann George Scheffner, and Heinrich Wilhelm von Stamford. All three men were officers. After initial military experience in the Danish Army, Kleist was called home to Prussian service in 1740. He served as an officer in the Prussian Army until his death at the battle of Kunersdorf in 1759. Scheffner, a native of Königsberg, joined the Prussian army in 1761. He participated as a petty officer in campaigns in Silesia, Saxony, and Pomerania during the last three years of the Seven Years' War. Stamford was a professional soldier who began his military career in France. He later joined the Légion Britannique, which served as a defensive force in Hanover during the Seven Years' War. After the war ended, he served in the Brunswickian military. Stamford eventually served as an officer in the Prussian army and fought in the War of Bavarian Succession (1778-79). The military careers of these men will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

The Prusso-Austrian Wars

The Silesian Wars

Frederick II came to power in Prussia on the death of his father, Frederick William I, in May 1740. On October 26 that same year Charles VI of Austria died. He left no male heirs, and his daughter, Maria Theresa, acceded to the throne according to the "Pragmatic Sanction." Immediately upon taking office, Frederick concentrated on increasing his army and considering ways to expand his territory. He knew that Austria was busy fighting elsewhere and kept only a small armed force in her province of Silesia. He prepared his army and invaded Silesia in early December 1740 (Reddaway 91). As he had expected, Frederick's advance met little resistance. By the first week in January, half of the province was under Prussian control, including the Silesian capital of Breslau, which became Frederick's base of operations for further conquest (Reddaway 105). Hoping to maintain his gains, Frederick began negotiations for peace with Austria. He promised Maria Theresa that he would help defend her other possessions and that he would vote for her husband at the imperial elections, if she would acquiesce on the Silesian matter. Maria Theresa refused his offer (Thomson 417).

In the first major battle of the war, Prussia and Austria met at Mollwitz on April 10, 1741. Prussia took the

field with 18,800 foot infantry, 4,600 cavalry, and 53 cannons against an Austrian force of 9,800 infantry, 6,800 cavalry, and 19 cannons. The Prussian cavalry was overrun by the Austrians, and when it appeared that the battle was lost, Frederick fled the field. Prussian Field Marshal Schwerin redirected the infantry, which won the battle for the Prussians (Holborn 210). The losses on both sides were severe -- 4,551 Austrian dead, wounded, and missing and 4,849 Prussian dead and wounded (Groehler 32).

In the wake of the Prussian victory, Prussia and the traditionally anti-Hapsburg French formed an alliance at Breslau in June 1741. Saxony joined this alliance. In September 1741 a Franco-Bavarian army invaded and occupied Upper Austria (Holborn 211). Frederick urged them to continue on to Vienna, forcing Austria to deploy her main army for the city's defense and to leave Upper Silesia undefended. But the coalition chose to march against Prague instead. This state of affairs led to a secret treaty between Prussia and Austria that was concluded on October 9, 1741. In accordance with the pact, Frederick staged a false attack and took Neisse, the strongest fortress in Upper Silesia, and the Austrian army was allowed to march unimpeded to the defense of Prague. The Austrians arrived too late to save the city, which was taken by the coalition army in November 1741. Following the capture of Prague, the coalition army moved quickly, occupying much of Bohemia.

The Austrian army did manage to occupy southern Bohemia and Moravia and join an army waiting at the central Danube. This army was strengthened by new Hungarian troops under Field Marshal Count Khevenhüller. Among his forces were hussars and pandours from the Hungarian steppe, the Croatian mountains, and the Turkish frontier (Holborn 213).

Charles Albert declared himself king of Bohemia on January 24, 1742, and shortly thereafter was unanimously elected emperor. On the day of his coronation in Frankfurt, Austrian troops occupied all of Bavaria (Holborn 212). At this juncture, Frederick renounced his treaty with Austria and re-entered the war. He led an army augmented by Saxon and French troops from Upper Silesia through Moravia against Vienna. The campaign was too extensive for the limitations of eighteenth-century warfare, when supply lines had to be relatively short. Frederick not only failed in his attempt to capture Vienna, but he also lost many soldiers through desertion and sickness. He had lost his credibility with the allies as a result of the secret treaty with Austria, and the failed campaign against Vienna hurt his reputation as a military commander. He retreated with his army back to Bohemia in April (Reddaway 125).

Frederick ignored his allies once more and sought a separate peace with Maria Theresa, again to no avail. He was caught between Prague and the Austrian army when the second and final battle of the First Silesian War was fought

at Chotusitz on May 17, 1742. It ended in a decisive Prussian victory. In the three-hour battle, c. 2,000 Prussians and 1,000 Austrians died. Total casualties of the Austrian army amounted to 6,332, including dead, wounded, and missing. The Prussian army suffered a total loss of 4,778 men dead, wounded, and missing (Groehler 41). As a result of this battle, Maria Theresa agreed to peace negotiations through an English mediator (Reddaway 126). At the peace of Breslau (June 12, 1742) and the final peace of Berlin (July 28, 1742), Frederick received all of Silesia except Jägerndorf and Troppau. Thus ended the First Silesian War (Holborn 214).

Over the next two years, Austria's military successes threatened Frederick's continued possession of Silesia. In June 1744 he entered into an alliance with France. France was already fighting in Belgium, so the Prussians were to take Bohemia and then continue on to Vienna. France would then deploy an army along the Danube (Holborn 115). During the two years of peace Frederick had increased his army to a total force of 105,017 men and 238 cannons. By July 24 the army was fully mobilized and took to the field with 71,843 men and 238 cannons. Three separate columns marched by different routes toward Prague -- one led by Frederick, another by Crown Prince Leopold of Dessau, and the third by Field Marshall Schwerin. They were to regroup at Prague on September 1. Frederick's armies gained access through

Saxony by falsely declaring they were marching under the orders of the emperor (Groehler 45-46). The Prussian army needed Saxon cooperation for provisions on their march to Prague, but since Frederick was neither liked nor respected by the Saxon populace, he received little help.¹⁹ In spite of this, the Prussian columns met at Prague, and on September 10, 1744 began a siege. Six days later the Prussians stormed the city, whose defenders capitulated without resistance. They captured 130 cannons and 9,000 arms, as well as rich stores of ammunition and food supplies. The city was forced to contribute 1.5 million guildens to the Prussian war fund. Prussian losses were light -- 50 dead and 110 wounded. The 2,500 captured Saxon soldiers were forced into the Prussian army. On September 19 the main part of the Prussia army continued the march southward, leaving behind an occupying force of six battalions.²⁰ Frederick was extremely unpopular in Saxony, and without the cooperation of the Saxons he could not maintain his troops. The Saxons declared themselves against him, and 20,000 joined the Austrian army. This forced Frederick to retreat to Silesia with a tired and dispirited

¹⁹This is a good illustration of the differences in the behavior of the armies of the eighteenth century compared to those of the seventeenth century, when civilians would not have the option of refusing their support.

²⁰Ewald Christian von Kleist participated in the siege and capture of Prague and was part of the occupying force which remained behind. These events are discussed further in the section on Kleist.

army. He lost 17,000 men to desertion before he got back to Silesia in December 1744. The army's confidence in Frederick's leadership had been badly shaken, and even his officers began to doubt him.

Charles Albert of Bavaria died in January 1745. He was succeeded by the young Elector Max Joseph, who signed a peace treaty with Maria Theresa at Füssen in April 1745. French military efforts at that time were centered in the Netherlands, which enabled Austria to direct her main power against Frederick (Holborn 216).

Frederick concentrated on restoring the order and morale of his army. He defeated the Austro-Saxon army as soon as it crossed the mountains into Silesia. The Prussians annihilated one-fourth of the Austrian force under Prince Charles of Lorraine at the battle of Hohenfriedberg (June 5, 1745). Maria Theresa's husband, Francis Stephen, was elected emperor over the protests of Prussia and the Palatinate.

Frederick won another major victory in defeating the Austrians at Soor in September 1745. Austria and the Bavarians joined forces for a campaign against Berlin, and Russia was preparing for military intervention against Prussia. Before they could complete this union, the Prussian army defeated the Saxon army decisively, and Frederick occupied Dresden. The Saxon troops along with Prince Charles' army withdrew to Bohemia. The Russians

backed off at this point.

Maria Theresa's troops had suffered severe setbacks in the Netherlands and Italy. She wanted to make peace with France, but the French would not agree to cutting Frederick's gains in Silesia. Without consulting his French allies, Frederick offered to renew the Peace of Berlin, which had ended the First Silesian War. He did not demand any land from Saxony but did extract heavy payments from the Saxon government. Maria Theresa acquiesced and the peace was signed in December 1745, thus ending the Second Silesian War (Holborn 217).

An Anglo-Russian subsidy treaty was a major factor which led Prussia into war again in 1756 (the Seven Years' War). England and Russia signed an agreement that Russia would maintain 50,000 troops at the border of Livonia to protect Hanover against Prussian aggression. England in return agreed to continue importing Russia commodities, which was a vital aspect of the Russian economy. Frederick was alarmed by the proposed deployment of Russian troops and was also anxious to cut British subsidies to Russia. He offered himself to England as guarantor of the neutrality of Hanover. The Convention of Westminster was signed, providing that England and Prussia would act together in keeping foreign troops out of Hanover. Frederick believed the agreement would secure Prussia against aggression from all sides.

Frederick initiated hostilities by invading Saxony and capturing Dresden. He also captured the encircled Saxon army after beating off a supporting Austrian army at Lobositz in October 1756. Prussia maintained the occupation of Saxony throughout the war (Holborn 242). Frederick forced the entire Saxon army of 20,000 men, without their officers, into the Prussian army. This forced enrollment did not work well, and in subsequent campaigns whole units deserted. With Saxony as a base, Frederick planned to invade Bohemia. Austria responded to Frederick's actions by concluding the Second Treaty of Versailles with France on May 1, 1757, and forming an offensive alliance with Russia on May 19, 1757. The Prussian army marched in four columns into Bohemia between April 18-22.

On May 6, 1757, in one of the most deadly battles of the war, the Prussian and Austrian armies met outside the walls of Prague. After five hours of fighting the Prussians won the battle decisively, but their losses were great -- 14,500 dead and wounded, with Field Marshal Schwerin among the dead. In addition, within two days after the battle 3,000 Saxons had deserted the Prussian army and fled to the Austrian camp (Groehler 91-92). The moral effect of the Prussian victory was great, but the Prussians were ill-equipped for a long siege of the strongly fortified fortress. Moreover, another Austrian army, under Field Marshall Daun, was still in the field. With part of his

forces, Frederick marched against Daun, and on June 18 at Kolin suffered the first major defeat of his career. It was the end of the Bohemian campaign. The siege of Prague had to be lifted, the king took his army back to Saxony, and the Austrians moved into Silesia.

Even after Kolin, Frederick's army was still viable, but he had spread his supply lines too thin and could not effectively occupy a large province. Since the Prussian army was usually inferior in size to the individual armies that he fought, and always inferior to the allied armies, Frederick's tactics had to be strategically designed to make a union of the allied armies impossible. Even the king's greatest victories between 1756 and 1763 were strategically indecisive. His only hope was that a sequence of battles would have a cumulative effect on his enemies' resources or upon the ties of alliance.

In the summer of 1757 a Russian army under Apraxin invaded East Prussia and destroyed the Prussian corps. The loss of Prussia proper was a threat, but a false report of the death of the czarina resulted in the withdrawal of Russian troops. In the meantime, the British had failed to reinforce their army in Hanover, and the French with 100,000 troops moved against the English army of 45,000 Hanoverians, Brunswickians, and Hessians.²¹ The French won, Hanover was

²¹Scheffner at this time was an officer in the Légion Britannique in Hanover.

captured, and the English army retreated to Stade on the lower Elbe. England was then forced to conclude the Convention of Kloster Zeven with the French on September 8, 1757. This provided for the dispersal of the Hanoverian army and left the country to French control, thus establishing it as a possible base for action against Prussia (Holborn 244). Another French army was detached to cooperate with the forces mobilized by the emperor against Frederick.

Frederick marched against this allied group with 20,000 Prussians, defeating the 50,000 French and Germans at Rossbach on November 5, 1757. The popularity of Frederick increased after this battle, which would help him in his winter recruitment efforts in Germany. Upon his return to Silesia, he found his troops in a grim situation. The chief fortress protecting Lower Silesia, Schweidnitz, had fallen into Austrian hands, and after a victory over the Prussian army the Austrians were able to enter Breslau. Frederick managed to restore the morale of his defeated Silesian troops and, with 35,000 men, attacked an Austrian army twice as strong at the village of Leuthen, west of Breslau, on December 5, 1757. Frederick's brilliant strategy brought a Prussian victory, and Silesia was evacuated by the Austrians. Frederick made an impression on all of Europe by besting the powerful coalition in just a few hours. The entire city of London was illuminated on his birthday, and

even the French lauded him. A great admiration was awakened for him among Germans as well (Holborn 245).

Following winter quartering, Frederick attempted to launch a campaign from Moravia in early 1758, but failed. The Prussian advantage was thus lost, and from that point the army conducted only sorties against whichever foe presented the most danger at the moment. A Russian army led by Count Fermor had crossed into East Prussia in the first days of 1758, capturing Königsberg. East Prussia remained occupied until the end of the war. In a desperate attempt to stop Russian and Austrian armies from converging, Frederick with 36,800 men faced the Russians at Zorndorf on August 25, 1758. Prussia won the battle, but with staggering losses of 12,000 men dead or wounded; the Russians lost 19,000 (Groehler 120). The bloody battle forced the Russians to retreat behind the Vistula for the rest of the year (Holborn 246). Frederick then turned south to protect Saxony and Silesia against Field Marshal Daun. Daun took advantage of Frederick's mistakes and surprised him at Hochkirch on October 14, 1758. The Prussians lost almost one-fourth of their army.

The beginning of the campaign of 1759 found Frederick tired and worried. Replacements of the losses suffered by the army became difficult, and his best generals had been killed in battle. Even in discipline the Prussian army was not what it had been in earlier years of the war. The

Russians and Austrians managed to join forces near Frankfurt an der Oder. Frederick was forced to fight to avoid losing Berlin and Brandenburg. On August 12, 1759, with 53,000 men, he attacked the Russian-Austrian army of close to 70,000 at Kunersdorf.²² This time Frederick failed against the superior force, losing approximately one-half of his army. The king was seriously demoralized. Because of the low morale and the deprivation suffered by the men, Frederick was afraid of his own soldiers, though he continued to trust his officers (Holborn 246).

Frederick rallied and with new determination managed to elude his enemies. The Austrians disagreed on how to proceed, and their indecision gave Frederick another chance. He planned to recapture Dresden, but due to the surrender of 15,000 Prussians at Maxen, he was not able to carry out that plan (Holborn 247).

In 1760 Frederick's army stayed viable to a great extent because of the inability of the Austrians and Russians to agree on combined operations. Frederick won a victory over Laudon at Liegnitz on August 15, 1760. On November 3, 1760, at Torgau, Frederick beat the Austrians once more in a costly battle. The Prussians lost 16,751 men, while the defeated Austrians lost 15,200 (Groehler 153).

²²Kleist died from wounds sustained in this battle, the particulars of which will be discussed in the biographical sketch below.

During the following year Frederick's situation grew more constricted. His army was poor and manpower depleted. Two-thirds of even the regular regiments consisted of foreigners. Officers were scarce and fourteen- and fifteen-year-old cadets had to be appointed. Large numbers of less desirable people were organized in irregular "free battalions." Frederick conducted the campaign of 1761 by maneuvering tactics²³. The two chief fortresses of Silesia and Pomerania, Schweidnitz and Kolberg, were conquered by the enemy.

Empress Elizabeth of Russia died in January 1762 and was succeeded by her nephew, Peter III. He was a great admirer of Frederick and renounced all Russian conquests in Prussia. He agreed to lend troop support to Frederick in a peace treaty of May 5, 1762. France had problems elsewhere, as did England. England lost interest in Hanover and in Frederick's war with Austria and Russia. By the end of 1762 Peter III had been murdered and his wife Catherine succeeded him. She withdrew all Russian troops from the field.

Frederick recovered most of Silesia. Prussian light regiments began making sorties into Franconia and Thuringia and forcing war tributes from free cities and bishoprics. Frederick offered some of them neutrality agreements. Bavaria, Württemberg, the Palatinate, and Cologne accepted.

²³In the early spring of 1761, Scheffner joined the Prussian army.

France and England agreed to peace on November 3, 1762, and Austria and Prussia signed the Peace of Hubertusburg on February 15, 1763. Prussia was allowed to keep her acquisitions from the first two Silesian wars (Holborn 251).

The War of Bavarian Succession

The War of Bavarian Succession was basically Prussian resistance against Austria's attempt to annex parts of Bavaria. In mid-January 1778 Joseph II of Austria ordered troops into Bavaria. Negotiations failed to discourage the Austrian emperor, so Prussia made a retaliatory strike into Bohemia in July 1778.²⁴ Prussia was attacking with two armies, one under Frederick and the other under Prince Henry -- both with 40,000 men. The Prussian offensive in Bohemia failed when they encountered a strong Austrian resistance force of 250,000 men (Reddaway 335). The separated Prussian armies never really joined in a decisive move. Reddaway writes: "Soon the movements of the Prussians were dictated largely by hunger and the conflict earned its nickname of the Potato War" (336). By mid-October the Prussians had retreated from Bohemia back into Silesia. During the winter Frederick worked for peace, and as a result of Maria Theresa's intervention with her son, a treaty was signed at

²⁴Stamford was an engineer in the Prussian Army during this time.

Teschen on May 13, 1779 (Reddaway 336).

Soldiering under Frederick the Great

In 1740 Prussia had a population twelfth among the states in Europe and had a peace-time army of 80,000 men. The army was highly trained, mobile, and expert in maneuver. A rigid class structure was maintained in the armed forces. Officers were drawn mainly from rural nobility. The officer was expected to lead his men into battle. It was Frederick's opinion that the men must fear their officer more than any danger, and this was his principal means of maintaining the discipline that was the mark of the Prussian army. Each noble family gave one son who served in cadet companies between the ages of twelve and eighteen and then went to his regiment. Half the army or more might be filled with non-Prussian professionals, prisoners of war, or deserters from foreign armies. Recruiting on enemy territory was an integral part of Prussian policy. In 1742 one-third of the army was native Prussian, in 1750 one-half, and in 1763 two-thirds of the army was native Prussian. In 1761 the Prussian army comprised 4.8 percent of the population, with a fixed minimum of one-third of the army who were native, raised by compulsory military service. Prussia was divided into cantons large enough to yield three regiments, but required to provide one regiment at any given time (a regiment comprised 5,000 muskets and 1,800 cavalry).

Whole social groups were exempted from military service -- all burghers, educated people, and workers in specialized manufactures. The obligation fell almost exclusively on peasants and journeymen in the crafts (Holborn 199).

Reasons of economic policy determined the compromise in recruitment and exemptions (Holborn 199). The recruits were liable for twenty years of military service, but could return to their villages and estates after two years of training. Only during the spring months were the regiments at full strength. Exact discipline and continuous service were considered essential to shape an army into a unit of single mind and will. Frederick placed no reliance on courage, loyalty, or group spirit. The soldiers could be trusted neither as individuals, nor in detached parties, nor out of sight of their officers. There were elaborate rules to prevent desertion. Troops could not camp near large woods, their rear and flank were watched by hussars, and night operations were avoided whenever possible. When going to forage or to bathe, the troops were led in files by an officer. There was an average of one officer to thirty-seven men (Robson, "The Seven Years' War" 180). Despite these measures, there was more desertion from the Prussian army than from any other in Europe (Robson, "The Seven Years' War" 181). When the Prussian army won a battle, the soldiers were not allowed to plunder the dead and wounded. Such behavior was punishable by death. In 1745 Frederick

ordered, "If a soldier during an action looks about to flee, or so much as sets foot outside the line, the non-commissioned officer standing behind him will run him through with his bayonet and kill him on the spot" (qtd. in Robson, "The Seven Years' War" 181).

Major General Joseph Yorke wrote in a report on the Prussian army in July 1758:

Frederick never gets in a coach but constantly marches on horseback with his infantry, begins his march with them, and leads them into camp or quarters.

.

The King was very attentive to have his soldiers well-furnished . . . they are better in that service than any other, provided they can accustom themselves to the confinement of never stirring out of sight of their officers without an under-officer with them. (qtd. in Robson, "The Seven Years' War" 177-78)

The Poet-Soldiers

Ewald Christian von Kleist

Life and works. Kleist was born on March 7, 1715, at the family estate near Zeblin in Pomerania. The Kleists were a family of old nobility whose ancestors can be traced

back as far as the thirteenth century. Kleist's mother died when he was four years old, and he and his five siblings were raised by the father. From time to time he lived with his uncle, Christian von Manteuffel, in Polzin. Estate tutors provided Kleist's education until the age of nine, when he was sent to the Jesuit school in Polnisch-Krone near Bromberg. After that he attended the Gymnasium in Danzig (C. F. Sauer 11).

In 1731 Kleist entered the University of Königsberg, where he studied law, philosophy, and mathematics. He also studied classical literature and the Polish language and literature. Following his studies, Kleist returned home in 1736. As his family was relatively impoverished, and he could not secure a civilian position, Kleist went to Denmark, where he had two aunts who were married to military officers (C. F. Sauer 13). With this connection Kleist entered the Danish army in 1736. In 1737 he was appointed a lower-grade ensign, then advanced in 1738 to ensign, and in June of 1738 he was promoted to second lieutenant. Since the Danish army was not at war, he had time to study military science along with Horace and Virgil. In the summer months he was sent south on recruiting trips to Danzig and Poland (C. F. Sauer 14).

In 1738 Kleist was sent on such a recruiting mission. While in Poland he visited a distant relative, the Freifrau von der Goltz, the widow of a Prussian officer. Kleist fell

in love with the daughter, Wilhelmine, who later became the "Doris" in Kleist's poetry (C. F. Sauer 15). The pair wanted to marry, but Kleist's salary as a lieutenant was not adequate to support them. After trying unsuccessfully to obtain a post in the Polish civil service, Kleist was forced to return to Denmark. The lovers maintained a long-distance relationship for ten years, when Wilhelmine married someone else. Kleist never had a serious relationship with a woman after that and remained bitter about his loss for the rest of his life. It is probable that these events effected the melancholic tendencies that are evident in much of Kleist's work (Stenzel 270).

In 1740, when Frederick II came to power in Prussia, he recalled all native sons doing military service abroad. Kleist left the Danish military in February 1741, having risen to the rank of second lieutenant. He entered the Prussian army with the same rank and was assigned to a newly formed regiment garrisoned in Potsdam led by Prince Heinrich of Prussia. Shortly thereafter, Kleist was promoted to first lieutenant. Even though Prussia and Austria were at war at this time (the First Silesian War), Kleist's regiment was not activated. Garrison life in Potsdam did not suit Kleist, who was prone to melancholia. He was bored and he felt alienated from his fellow officers, who thought little of his poetic endeavors (Aust 99).

In 1743, while Kleist was recuperating from an injury he received in a duel, he was visited by Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim. Gleim was at that time secretary to Prince William of Brandenburg-Schwedt and lived in Potsdam. This meeting was a turning point in Kleist's poetic development, for Gleim quickly became inspiration and mentor to the young, as yet undirected poet. In the beginning he followed Gleim in the anacreontic style, although he was never totally in tune with the light-hearted character of such poetry. He soon moved in the direction of a more individual and serious poetic style (F. Muncker 111).

Even though Kleist was a dedicated soldier, he was not inclined to write patriotic lyrics. He did not feel the desire to turn the hearts of men toward the battlefield, and he was more at home writing on other themes.

During the Second Silesian War (1744-1745), Kleist saw firsthand the horrors of war. In the summer of 1744 his regiment took part in the siege of Prague ("Sehnsucht nach Ruhe" was written during this time). Gleim was present at the siege as well in the capacity of secretary to Prince William. The prince was killed while observing the siege, and the two friends were separated. When Prague fell, Kleist's regiment stayed behind as the occupying force (Stümbke 19). The Saxons refused to support the Prussians with food and money, so they were forced to evacuate the city and retreat to Silesia in December 1744 (Holborn 214).

Kleist became ill and had to remain behind in Hirschberg when his regiment was sent to Brieg. The regiment remained in Brieg and took part in the successful battles of Hohenfriedberg and Kesseldorf in the following months, but without Kleist. In early 1746 Kleist rejoined his regiment in Potsdam and suffered anew under the stifling garrison life. During this time he began work on "Der Frühling." Even though Kleist complained incessantly about his existence in Potsdam, the years 1746 through 1751 proved to be very productive ones for him. In 1749 he gained considerable literary acclaim with the first publication of "Der Frühling," and he was promoted to captain in May of that year. In June 1751 he was finally given a company of soldiers to lead (Stümbke 23).

Kleist's promotion to company commander made him eligible to engage in recruiting, for which he earned extra money. In July 1752 Kleist left Potsdam on a recruiting trip south, going first to Speyer and then on to Zürich. He had hopes of developing a relationship with Bodmer and the young Wieland. This did not come to pass. However, he did become close friends with Salomon Gessner, whom he had met previously in Berlin. Kleist had initially received permission to recruit in Zürich, but this situation changed abruptly, and he had to leave the city immediately to avoid arrest. He returned to Potsdam in April 1753, where he remained until the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in 1756.

Following the trip to Zürich, Kleist's poetic development took a new turn. He became less a Bodmer "disciple" and began developing a more individual style, which was further enriched by contact with the Berlin poetic circle. Kleist escaped from his Potsdam environs as often as possible to visit Berlin, where he liked to visit the theater and commune with his friends. He met Johann Joachim Ewald and Friedrich Nicolai and became close friends with Lessing during this time. He also gained professional status in the garrison and sat at the table of Prince Henry, the leader of Kleist's regiment (Stümbke 27). In spite of his new interests, Kleist's mental and physical condition worsened, and in July 1756 he was sent to Freienwald for cure. After only two weeks, he was recalled, and on August 28 his regiment marched toward Saxony. Kleist was finally in the field, and he had hopes that this new development would bring him out of the melancholia which garrison life exacerbated. Kleist's disappointment was great when his regiment, which was encamped for the winter at Zittau near the Saxon-Bohemian border, did not participate in the first major battle of the war. On October 10, 1756, the Prussians and Austrians clashed at Lobositz. Following a Prussian victory and the subsequent capitulation of Pirna, 17,000 Saxon prisoners of war were added to the Prussian army (Groehler 87). In February 1757 Kleist was promoted to major and was assigned the duty of training the new Saxon

regiment under the leadership of Colonel von Hauss (Stümbke 28). In March the regiment was ordered to Leipzig, and Kleist once again found himself in the doldrums of garrison life. He fell ill soon after arrival and was confined to bed. During this illness, he received visits from Lessing and Gleim and soon recovered. His friendship with Lessing grew, and before long Kleist became the center of literary life in Leipzig. During what was to be his last stay in Leipzig, Kleist's creative spirit was revived by his renewed contact with his friends. During the winters of 1757 and 1758, many evenings were spent in his quarters in the company of Lessing, Weiße, and other literati. He was also in close contact with Gellert (Stümbke 29). During this time in Leipzig, Kleist wrote poetry and revised some of his yet unpublished poetry, which appeared in Neue Gedichte, von dem Verfasser des Frühlings (C. F. Sauer 24). Kleist's friendship with Lessing guided him into new arenas of poetic endeavor. He began to experiment with new forms for him -- for example, blank verse and unrhymed iambic lyrics. The Leipzig years proved to be Kleist's most poetically productive time. He became more practiced in his art through his literary contacts there, especially with Lessing. It was during this time that Kleist wrote "Ode an die preußische Armee." Yet Kleist did not concentrate greatly on the theme of war in his poetry, preferring instead idyllic verse.

Kleist in the Seven Years' War. C. F. Sauer writes of Kleist's military activities in the fall of 1757: "Die Reichsarmee rückte gegen Leipzig, und er führte bey dieser Gelegenheit sein Bataillon in verschiedenen glücklichen kleinen Gefechten an" (24-25). In February 1758 Kleist participated in the march on Zerbst, "um den Marquis de Fraignes in Verhaft zu nehmen, welches er auch verrichtete; von da ward er nach Bernburg auf Execution geschickt" (C. F. Sauer 25). In May 1758 Kleist's regiment was mobilized to join Prince Henry's corps at Zwickau. Kleist was given command of a battalion, which was stationed in various field camps near Dresden. He missed the great battles of Zorndorf and Hochkirch. Toward the end of the 1758 campaign, the entire Austrian army marched against Dresden. Kleist's regiment was involved in rear-guard action against the enemy.

During the winter quartering for the year 1758 in Leipzig, Kleist worked on a collected edition of his poems, revised previous works, and wrote new ones (August Sauer xlii).

In the beginning of the next year's campaign, he went with Prince Henry's army to Franconia, "und wohnte den übrigen Verrichtungen dieser Armee bey, bis er im Anfange des Augusts mit dem Corps des Herrn Generals von Fink zu der Armee des Königs detachiert wurde" (Plehwe 29).

Before the fateful battle of Kunersdorf on August 12, 1759, Kleist had declared himself ready "zu siegen oder zu sterben unter Friedrich's Augen." It was Kleist's first major battle and his last. The following is a summary of C. F. Sauer's account of the battle and Kleist's death. Kleist was wounded several times, first in the hand, but continued to fight:

Sein Posten als Major verband ihn eigentlich hinter der Fronte zu bleiben; aber er bedachte sich nicht einen Augenblick, vorzureiten, als er den Commandeur des Bataillons nicht mehr erblickte; (der hernach gleichfalls an seinen Wunden gestorben ist.) Das Bataillon jagte eben nach einigen Salven ein Bataillon Oesterreichischer Grenadier mit dem Bajonet in die Flucht . . . Er rief die Fahne seines Regiments zu sich, und nahm selbst einen Fahnenjuncker bey dem Arm . . . (C. F. Sauer 32)

Kleist was wounded in the left arm but still continued to fight, until a shot to the leg finally stopped him. He fell from his horse unconscious and was carried to the front by two comrades. The doctor who was attending to his wounds was killed, so Kleist remained immobilized on the battlefield. Passing Cossacks stripped him of everything, including his clothes. He said later that they would have killed him, but he spoke Polish with them and they took him

to be a Pole by birth. The Cossacks threw him naked and wounded into a swamp. He was found by some Russian hussars, who dressed him in dry clothing and gave him food and water and rode away the next morning (C. F. Sauer 35). The Cossacks returned and again took everything from Kleist. He was found that morning around 10 o'clock by a Russian officer who recognized him. He was taken to Frankfurt an der Oder. The following day he was taken to the house of Prof. Nicholai. The doctors had hope for his recovery, but in the night of August 23, 1759 he hemorrhaged from his leg wound and died the following morning (C. F. Sauer 37).

Kleist's imagery of war. With the exception of "Ode an die preußische Armee" and "Cissides und Paches," Kleist did not write what could be termed "war poetry." It is primarily in his poems dealing with the peacefulness and safety of life in the seclusion of nature versus the dangers inherent in society that one finds a good deal of war imagery in Kleist's works. In the following paragraphs, I will categorize and discuss some of the most striking and recurrent images relating to war.²⁵

Origins of war: In "Sehnsucht nach Ruhe" Kleist attributes the perpetration of war to human greed:

²⁵All quotations are taken from vol. 1 of Ewald von Kleist's Werke, ed. August Sauer (Berlin, 1968) and are cited with page and line numbers.

So wüthet Mars. Und hört sein Wüthen auf,
So drehn wir selbst das Schwert in unsre Leiber.
Ja, Gott des Streits, hemm Deiner Waffen Lauf!
Was braucht es Krieg, wir sind uns selber Räuber.
Uns schließt der Stolz in güldne Ketten ein;
Der Geldgeiz schmelzt aus Schächten seine Pein.
(40, 85-90)

The god of war is superfluous, since man inflicts the same pain on himself even in peactime. In "Ode an die preußische Armee" war is attributed to another defect of the human spirit -- envy: "Der dürre schiele Neid treibt niederträcht'ge Schaaren. . ." (100, 9).

From the midst of battle, images of a senseless world arise in these verses from "Sehnsucht nach Ruhe":

Wie wenn ein Heer Kometen aus der Kluft,
Die bodenlos, ins Chaos niederfiele:
So zieht die Last der Bomben durch die Luft,
Mit Feu'r beschweist . . . (43, 67-70)

The warrior's cause: Although one does not find a great deal of patriotic expression in Kleist's poems, an occasional reference is noted; for example, in "Ode an die preußische Armee":

Auch ich, ich werde noch -- vergönn es mir, o
Himmel!--
Einher vor wenig Helden ziehn.

Ich seh' Dich, stolzer Feind, den kleinen Haufen fliehn
Und find' Ehr' oder Tod im rasenden Getümmel. (101,
33-36)

Also in the closing verses of "Cissides und Paches" we find the words: "Der Tod fürs Vaterland ist ewiger / Verehrung werth. -- Wie gern sterb ich ihn auch / Den edlen Tod, wenn mein Verhängniß ruft!" (266, 111-13)

Nature: Kleist compares war to certain violent phenomena which occur in nature. He frequently employs images of the storm, flood, and restless seas to describe certain aspects of war and battle:

Kleist employs the storm-flood/war metaphor in "Cissides und Paches," a three-part poem (448 lines) which Kleist labels "ein Heldengedicht" (Kleist 1759, 138). The subject matter concerns an Athenian-Macedonian struggle which takes place shortly after the death of Alexander the Great, and in keeping with the classical theme, the lines of iambic pentameter are unrhymed. The Athenians take advantage of the precarious political moment to seize Thessaly from the Macedonians. This event is compared to a springtime flood:

Wie ein Strom, im frühen Lentz
Von Regengüssen und geschmolznen Schnee
Geschwollen, rauscht, und aus den Ufern dringt,
Die Flur zum Meere macht und Wohnungen

Des Landmanns, Bäum und Stein fortrollt und tobt,
Daß Fels und Wald erschrickt und drüber klagt;
So rauscht die wilde Schaar Athens daher,

Verheert und überschwemmt Thessalien. (251, 14-21)

The all-inclusive destructiveness of war parallels the destruction of the storm in the above passage. Springtime in Kleist's poetry is usually a time for rebirth and rejoicing, but here he turns the springtime into a time of death and destruction for man and the stationary, passive aspects of nature, such as meadow and forest. Kleist creates a crescendo effect as the flood sweeps away everything in its path. Personification gives the rocks and forest voice in the absence of human complaint.

In the same poem there is variation of this type of image as the Athenian army prepares to attack the castle defended by Paches and a small contingent of Macedonians:

Wenn Sturm

Aus Aeolus' Höle fällt, wie Wasser aus
Der Schleus', und drückt den Wald, dann neigen sich
Die starken Wipfel zu der Erd herab;
Tumult herrscht überall, und jeder Zweig
Vermehret das Geräusch; der Klüfte Schlund
Brüllt dumpfigt; tauber Lerm erfüllet weit
Des Himmels Raum, drinn Wolke Wolke jagt:
So auch erwacht im ganzen Heer Athens
Schnell Aufruhr. Thurm, Ballist und Katapult

Und Hebel, Bohr und alles regte sich,
Und nahte sich dem Schloß in wildem Lerm.

(264, 47-58)

In the passage above there is a simple simile within the extended simile. The storm is compared to water rushing through a floodgate, and then to the furor of the Athenian army preparing for battle. Here sound and motion are the dominant elements of the image. The muffled howling of the winds in the gorges and the deafening noise fill the skies, where a battle of clouds is in progress, simulating the sounds of the Athenian army rousing to the oncoming battle below. The level of the noise is expressed by the oxymoron "tauber Lerm."

In "Cissides und Paches," Paches and two hundred warriors leave the besieged castle under the cover of night and fall upon the sleeping Athenian army. In this instance the individual warrior -- who stands metonymically for his force of two hundred -- cuts a storm-like swath through the enemy camp:

Wie ein gewaltger Sturm den Hayn ergreift
Auf Eichen Eichen stürztzt, und eine Bahn
Sich durch die Wohnung der Dryaden macht'
So machte Paches auch sich eine Bahn
Durchs Feindes Lager . . . (255, 113-16)

The mythological reference, characteristic of Kleistian imagery, is in this case to the wood nymphs and their home,

the forest.

War reverses the natural order in a passage from
"Sehnsucht nach Ruhe":

Wenn Phöbus weicht, weicht doch die Klarheit nicht;
Die Nacht wird Tag vom Leuchten wilder Flammen.
Den Himmel färbt ein wallend Purpurlicht;
Von Dächern schmilzt ein Kupferfluß zusammen.
Der Kugeln Saat pfeift, da die Flamme heult;
Mond und Gestirn erschrickt, erblaßt und eilt.

(43, 1-66)

The intensity of the fire turns night into day, chasing the
moon and stars from the heavens.

In "Sehnsucht nach Ruhe" the tumult of the battlefield
is depicted as a volcanic eruption:

Der Erden Bauch wirft oft, vom Pulver wild,
Nebst Mau'r und Heer sein felsicht Eingeweide
Den Wolken zu. Die ferne Klippe brüllt;
Des Himmels Raum erbebt und schallt vor Leide.
Er wird mit Schutt und Leichen überschneit,

Als wenn Vesuv und Hella Steine speit. (43, 73-78)

Personification is the key element in the above image, since
nothing living remains. The earth, shattered by the
explosion of shells, spews its "entrails" along with
fortifications and men into the air. The cliffs cry out and
the sky resounds with the suffering and is filled with
debris and corpses. The verbs express sound -- brüllen,

schallen -- and the image of a blanket of destruction -- wird überschneit. In "Der Frühling" we find a similar metaphor of war. Kleist writes about the wonders of the spring, then introduces a passage warning what can happen to upset the balance of nature. Kleist speaks of the all-consuming nature of war, and further he compares war to a volcanic eruption:

Wie wenn der Rachen des Aetna

Mit ängstlich-wildem Geschrei, daß Meer und Klippen

es hören,

Die Gegend um sich herum, vom untern Donner zerrüttet,

Mit Schrecken und Tod überspeit und einer flammen-

den Sündfluth. (181, 124-127)

The volcano is personified as a raging entity, dispensing death indiscriminately in an all-encompassing fashion. On reading these verses, sound is an an important part of the simile, as Geschrei and Donner, or high and low-pitched sounds, form a chord.

Death: In Kleist's descriptions of war, he depicts it as a killer of human beings as well as the cultural landscape. In "Der Frühling" war is personified as a hungry entity which devours everything in its path. In the beginning verses of this poem, Kleist portrays many benign and lovely aspects of springtime and its meaning to man as a source of hope and renewal. Then he speaks of the

horrors of war, the destroyer of everything in its path:

Allein der frässige Krieg, von Zähne-bleckendem Hunger
Und wilden Schaaren begleitet, verheeret oft Arbeit und

Hoffnung;

Gleich Hagelgüssen und Sturm zerbricht er nährende

Halmen,

Reißt Stab und Reben zu Boden, entzündet Dörfer

und Wälder

Für sich zum flammenden Lustspiel. Denn stieg ein

mörd'risch Getöne

Und Tod und Jammer herum. Die Thäler blitzen von

Waffen;

Es wälzen sich Wolken voll Feu'r aus tiefen Schlünden

der Stücke

Und füllen die Gegend mit Donner, mit Gluth und

Saaten von Leichen.

Das Feld voll blutiger Furchen gleicht einem wallenden

Blutmeer;

Ein Heer der furchtbarsten Thiere, durch laufende Flam-

men geängstigt,

Stürzt sich mit hohlem Gebrüll in Ufer-fliehende

Ströme;

Der Widerhall selber erschrickt und klagt; es zittern

für Grauen

Die wilden Felsen und heulen. . . (180, 109-120)

The storm simile in this passage, unlike the ones discussed

from "Cissides und Paches," begins with the war, then compares it to the storm. Simple similes are utilized to intensify the extended simile, war/storm. For example, Kleist turns to the "sowing" metaphor once again to describe the rows of bloody corpses in the field, which is like "einem wallenden Blutmeer." The image reflects the destruction of man, animal, and plant, and Kleist underscores how "hungry" war devours the food which society needs to sustain itself. Chaotic sound -- "ein mörd'risch Getöse," "Jammer," "hohlem Gebrüll," "Donner," and "heulen" -- intensifies the aura of fear, a fear which is imputed to the inanimate echo and rocks as well. The previously serene natural landscape evolves into a fearful setting for death and destruction. An element of sadism is added when he speaks of fire as a "flammendes Lustspiel."

Kleist portrays the death of individuals -- child, father, and bridegroom -- as well as whole populations of cities. In "Sehnsucht nach Ruhe" we have seen that war is expressed through metaphors of nature. Death is depicted as a process of destruction, which renders humans as helpless as vegetation. For example, he relates the death of a bridegroom, comparing it to flowers being cut: "Die schöne Braut sieht ihr ander Ich, / Den Blumen gleich, durch kalten Stahl erbleichen; . . ." (42, 33-34). Kleist next describes a father and child fleeing from the dangers of war: "Dort flieht ein Kind; sein Vater, der es führt, /

Fällt schnell dahin, durchlöchert vom Geschütze; . . ." (42, 37-38). Kleist compares the now helpless child to a budding shoot struck down by the wind: "Der Knabe wankt und stürzt ohne Stütze, / Wie Boreas, wenn er die Schwingen regt, / Gepfroptes Reis, das stablos, niederschlägt" (40-42). Verbs with which Kleist often describes the natural and beautiful acts of nature -- fliegen, wachsen, fließen -- can be found in another context of danger, pain, and death: "Hier fliegt der Tod aus tausend ehrnen Röhren" (41, 22); Hier wächst der Schmerz, hier fließet die Gefahr" (41, 24). The use of such verbs out of their usual Kleistian context strikes the reader as oxymoronic and serves to intensify these elements of war. The order in which he places these sequelae of war is reversed; the logical progression would be danger, pain, then death.

Kleist describes the death and destruction of civilians when war moves into the cities in another passage from "Sehnsucht nach Ruhe":

Was Kunst und Witz durch Müh und Schweiß erbaut,
Korinth und Rom mit Gold und Pracht gezieret,
Der Städte Schmuck wird schnell entflammt geschaut.
Wie mancher Thurm, aus Marmor aufgeführt,
Der stolz sein Haupt hoch in die Wolken hebt,
Stürzt von der Gluth! Des Bodens Feste bebt!

Das blasse Volk, das löschen will, erstickt;
Die Gassen deckt ein Pflaster schwarzer Leichen,

Und Dem es noch das Feu'r zu fliehen glückt,
Der kann dem Grimm der Stücke nicht entweichen.
Statt Wasser trinkt die nahe Weise Blut;
Es zischt und rollt auf Felsen voller Gluth.

(42, 49-60)

As the cities with their populace suffer the worst of war, no one escapes in Kleist's description. Again, nature is also affected and defaced by war.

Destruction and deprivation: The concept of deprivation caused by war is often expressed in terms of the disharmony between the individual and his surroundings -- solitude in natural surroundings versus the chaos of society and war. This concept is demonstrated in "Sehnsucht nach Ruhe," which was written after Kleist's first exposure to war at the Battle of Prague (1744). The first section revolves around a temporal structure in which the narrator first praises his past situation -- in which he enjoyed the solitude and safety of nature: "O Silberbach, der vormals mich vergnügt / Wenn wirst Du mir ein sanftes Schlaflied rauschen! / Glückselig, wer an Deinen Ufern liegt . . ."

(40, 1-3) -- and laments his present situation in the midst of war: "Von dir entfernt, mit Not und Harm erfüllt / Ergetzt mich noch Dein wollustreiches Bild" (40, 5-6). The last part of the poem expresses the narrator's longing to be once again in the sensory heaven of lush, protective, and

schweigt

Und lauscht und aufmerksam horcht. (50, 18-25)

The issue of shelter at night emerges in the above passage as well. The soldier Adler is vulnerable, sleeping in the open. The poet on the other hand rests peacefully in the protective environment of the bower.

Leaders and heroes: Kleist's portrayal of leaders in general and of Frederick of Prussia in particular are quite different. In general, leaders of countries are depicted as fame-seeking, uncaring, greedy individuals. For instance, in the ten line poem "Ein Gemälde":

Der Tugend unbekannt, war er ihr ärgster Hasser;
Wenn ihn sein Stolz befiel, floß Menschenblut wie
Wasser.

Er war voll Eigennutz und liebte Schmeichelei,
Raubt' ungestraft und blieb nie seinen Worten treu,
War vielfach und gelehrt, sich in die Zeit zu schicken,
Verband mit Zwanzig sich, um Einen zu erdrücken.
Religion und Eid war ihm ein Puppenspiel;
Durch Labyrinth ging er stets zum nahen Ziel,
Hurt' und verfolgte Wild: -- O Maler, halt ein Wenig!
Halt, ich versteh' Dich schon, das heißt: Er war ein
König. (106, 1-10)

In a footnote to this poem, Kleist qualifies his portrait of kings to exclude Frederick: "Es giebt Regenten, denen

dieses Gemälde gar nicht ähnlich sieht, und welchem von ihnen sieht es unähnlicher als dem größten Monarchen, den jetzt die Welt bewundert, so wie die Nachwelt bewundern wird?" (106). Along the same lines is a reference to royalty as "gekrönte Henker" (49, 12) and "Gekrönter Pöbel" (57, 13).

Kleist's portrayal of leaders in war is practically limited to Frederick of Prussia. In "Ode an die preußische Armee," Kleist's only truly patriotic poem, he refers to the king as "Cäsar Friederich" (101, 19). In "An den König" Kleist addresses Frederick with the epithets "O, Vater Deines Volks," and "O, Deiner Helden Herr" (48, 14).

In "Cissides und Paches" Cissides as the leader of the small group of defenders of the castle must dispel the "Unwille" of his men and embue them with the courage to withstand the superior Athenian attackers. The dissension among his soldiers is expressed as a storm: ". . . und ein laut Gemurmél, wie / Vor nahem Sturm im regen Meer entsteht, / Durchlief die Schaar. . . ." (252, 48-50). Cissides calms their fears and inspires them to prepare to fight. Cissides is compared to Neptune calming stormy seas:

Wenn, vom Orcan gepeitscht, des Meeres Fluth,
Die mit den sinckenden Gewölcken sich,
Hoch in der finstern Luft, zu mischen schien,
Gleich Berg und Felsen im Erdbeben, fällt,
Und wieder steigt und fällt, daß alles heult,

Und alles Donner wird, und schnell Neptun
Den mächtigen Trident mit starckem Arm
Aus Wasserbergen hebt, wie dann der Sturm
Verstummt, die Flügel nicht mehr regt, und Meer
Und Himmel ruhig wird, daß Phöbus lacht,
Und jeder Strahl von ihm im Meere blitzt:
So legte sich der Schaar Unwille schnell
Nachdem der Feldherr dieß zu ihr gesagt,
Und Hofnung flößte Lust den Tapfern ein.

(253, 82-95)²⁶

The upheaval among the soldiers is compared to a stormy sea whipped up by the hurricane. The rise and fall of the stormy sea is then likened to an earthquake on land in this complicated simile. Metaphors of sound and vision are employed to produce the image. In a simple analysis, the total image develops as an emergence from darkness to light and from thunderous sound to the laughter of the sun god. Not only does Cissides convince his warriors to stand and fight, but he instills in them the eagerness for battle ("flößte Lust den Tapfern ein"), which is relatively uncommon in Kleist's imagery.

In addition to Kleist's praise of Frederick, we find an occasional accolade to a fallen Prussian officer, as in the

²⁶Neptune (Greek Poseidon) could make or quell a storm with his trident. In earlier Greek mythology, Poseidon was a god of the depths of the earth who could cause earthquakes (Avery 462). Kleist alludes to all of these talents here.

following six-line poem, "Grabschrift auf den Major v. Blumenthal":

Witz, Einsicht, Wissenschaft, Geschmack, Bescheidenheit
Und Menschenlieb' und Taperkeit
Und alle Tugenden, vereint mit allen Gaben,
Besaß Der, den man hier begraben.
Er starb fürs Vaterland, er starb mit Heldenmuth.
Ihr Winde, wehet sanft! Die heil'ge Asche ruht.
(99, 1-6)

In a poem of twenty-eight lines, "An Herrn Rittmeister Adler," Kleist addresses his friend, a fellow officer who was in the field at the time the poem was written. He warns his friend against striving for hero status. Adler was later killed in battle near Landeshut in September 1745. In this poem, Kleist again expresses an aversion to war as the destroyer of men. He does not advocate death for the fatherland in this instance, but rather bemoans the meaningless death of heroes in general:

Was hilft's, mit freudigem Blick, vom Dunst der Ehre
betrunken,
Mit Ordensketten beschwert, gekrönte Henker zu scheun?
Was hilft's wenn künftig Dein Grab vergöldete Waffen
beschützen,
Wenn man aus Marmor Dein Bild im schreckenden
Panzer erhöht?
Achill und Hannibal muß die Nacht des Todes durch-

schlafen,
Die nach der Schickung Gesetz mich einst in Finsterniß
hüllt. (48, 11-16)

The enemy: In his portrayal of the enemy, Kleist never mentions an enemy general or enemy heads of state. Opposing armies are depicted as a collective, as uncivilized, wild hordes. In "Sehnsucht nach Ruhe" the enemy is compared to a violent, howling storm:

Wie wenn der Sturm aus Aeolus' Höhle fährt
Und Wolken Staub im Wirbel heulend drehet,
Dem Sonnenstrahl den freien Durchgang wehrt,
Das grüne Feld mit Stein und Kies besäet:
So tobt der Feind, so wütend füllet er
Die Luft mit Dampf, die Felder mit Gewehr.
(41, 25-30)

In this extended simile, the storm itself is like the enemy -- with mad rage as the major element linking them (toben, wütend). The storm itself is not an autonomous force, but is under the control of Aeolus, keeper of the winds. The destructive power of the enemy is compared to the destructive power of the storm. The green field is covered with stones and pebbles in a hyperbolic comparison to the fields filled with weapons of destruction. Clouded sight is a part of the scene in both cases -- in the storm the air is filled with dust; on the battlefield the sun is blocked by

clouds of smoke from the discharge of weapons. Sowing the fields with seed in springtime elicits images of hope and new life, but in this case the seeds are alien objects which produce destruction and death. Note is made of the sound of the storm in the passage expressed by the word heulend. Sound metaphors appear frequently as a part of Kleist's imagery of war.

The enemy motivated by envy is an image in "Ode an die preußische Armee":

Der dürre, schiele Neid treibt niederträcht'ge Schaaren
Aus West und Süd heraus,
Und Nordens Höhlen spein, so wie des Osts, Barbaren
Und Ungeheu'r, Dich zu verschlingen, aus. (100, 9-12)

The hordes are described as base as they descend from all directions to entangle Frederick's army. The barbarians from the east are presumably the Croats and Cossacks.

In a following verse Kleist does in fact name the Croats:

Nur schon wie bisher im Lauf von großen Thaten
Den Landmann, der Dein Feind nicht ist!
Hilf seiner Noth, wenn Du von Noth entfernt bist!
Das Rauben überlaß den Feigen und Croaten!
(101, 21-24)

The enemy's motivation to wage war reflects the ills of society in general, which Kleist abhors, and which we have seen expressed earlier in "Sehnsucht nach Ruhe." In the above passage from "Ode an die preußische Armee," the storm

is the vehicle to express the assault of the enemy. As the winds spew from the mythological caves of the North Wind, so the enemy descends. In the next stanza the enemy is compared to a raging flood:

Verdopple Deinen Muth! Der Feinde wilde Fluthen
Hemmt Friedrich und Dein starker Arm,
Und die Gerechtigkeit verjagt den tollen Schwarm.
Sie blitzt durch Dich auf ihn, und seine Rücken bluten.
(100, 13-16)

The enemy "swarm" above is now described as mad as well. Further in the poem, Kleist again depicts the enemy as uncivilized and refers to them in terms of the storm: "In Ungewittern ziehn die Wilden stolz heran;" (101, 27).

The poet-soldier's view of himself: In Kleist's works he reveals very little of himself as a soldier. He does interject himself into his verses as the poet writing on war. In "Sehnsucht nach Ruhe" Kleist expresses his inadequacy to describe accurately the horrors of war:

O, wer entwirft den Jammer, das Geschrei,
Des Pulvers Grimm, das Winseln und das Sterben
Naturgemäß! -- Mir sinkt der Kiel aus Scheu.
Wer kann mit Blut und Feu'r die Worte färben?
Du kannst es, Mond. Auf, wink es, wehe Du
Das, was Du hörst, o Luft, den Völkern zu! (43, 79-84)

Greflinger expresses a similar view of himself as a poet,

when his narration in the DDK turns to death and destruction.

Johann George Scheffner

Life and works. Scheffner was born in Königsberg on August 8, 1736. He states in his autobiography that his family originally came from The Netherlands. His grandfather, Johann Scheffner (also Schäfner), a distant relative of Gottsched, was a merchant in Königsberg. His father was university-educated and worked as an estate foreman. Scheffner grew up in the milieu of the Prussian educated middle class, and in 1750 entered the "Altstädtisches Gymnasium" in Königsberg (Plehwe 4).

In 1752 Scheffner began his university studies in Königsberg. Although law was his chosen discipline, he actually had very little interest in that field, preferring instead literature. He was not a particularly good student, but with the help of his advisor and law professor, L'Estocq, he managed to complete his studies in 1758 (Plehwe 7). Scheffner's first poems were written during his university years, and in 1761 these were published in a volume entitled Jugendliche Gedichte by Johann Jacob Kanter in Königsberg.

Scheffner joined the Prussian army as a volunteer in March 1761. He remained in military service until 1764. His regiment was sent to Berlin when the war ended in 1763.

He remained there for a time and became loosely associated with Carl Wilhelm Ramler, who influenced Scheffner's literary undertakings to a great degree. In 1764 he returned to East Prussia and took a position as secretary to the "Kriegs- und Domänenkammer" in Königsberg. In that same year he contributed to Kanter's Königsbergsche Gelehrte und Politische Zeitungen (Plehwe 31). Three years later he moved to Gumbinnen, where he took a civil-service position as war and tax advisor. He went back to Königsberg in 1770 in the same position, and in 1772 he was transferred to Marienwerder.

Scheffner left the civil service in 1775. As a private citizen he bought an estate near Danzig. Scheffner traveled extensively between 1775 and 1795 and spent a good deal of time in Berlin. He became associated with the publisher J. F. LaGarde, who published a second edition of Freundschaftliche Poesien eines Soldaten (1793) -- the first edition being published in 1764. In 1795 Scheffner moved back to Königsberg, where he lived until his death in 1820.

Scheffner continued to write and publish throughout his life. The following is not a complete list, but a representative selection of his works:²⁷ Gedichte im Geschmacke des Grecourt (1771-73); Der treue Schäfer, a translation from the Italian (1773); Gedanken und Meynungen

²⁷For a complete bibliography see Plehwe, pages vii-viii.

über Manches im Dienst (bes. im Preußischen) und über andere Gegenstände (1802-1821); Spätlinge (a collection of poems, 1803); "Ein Vierblatt-Klee, gewachsen unter Eis und Schnee" (1813), a poem written just before the beginning of the Wars of Liberation, in which Scheffner encourages the princes to take up arms against Napoleon; an autobiography, Mein Leben, wie ich Johann George Scheffner es selbst beschrieben (1823).

Scheffner the soldier. In March 1761 Scheffner and his friend David Neumann left for Berlin to join Frederick's army. At this time, Prussia had been at war with Austria since 1756 (the Seven Years' War). Scheffner became a cadet officer in a foot regiment which saw action in Saxony, Pomerania, and Silesia during the last years of the war (Plehwe 15). In his autobiography, Scheffner does not elaborate on individual battles or the details of military life. He does state that he took over the leadership of an officerless group of grenadiers "beim Sturm auf die Schanzen von Spie in Pommern" (Plehwe 16).

Scheffner found military life alien to his basic nature, and the early patriotic fire burned out quickly. Plehwe accuses him of joining the military to impress literary greats such as Lessing, Gottsched, Herder, etc.:

Immer wandte er sich mit der Bitte um Bücher
an sie, so an Schönaich, als das Regiment sich

in den ersten Novembertagen 1761 in Krossen aufhielt,
an Gottsched, als er im Februar 1762 nach Leipzig
kommt, und an Lessing, als die Truppe sich in der
Nähe von Breslau befindet. (16)

Scheffner's efforts to connect to the literary in-crowd were
fruitless. On the whole he was ignored, though polite
replies to his letters occasionally arrived several months
later. Scheffner considered Ewald Christian von Kleist as
one of the literary greats of the time, as well as the
ultimate Prussian hero. Kleist's name appears often in
Scheffner's war poetry.²⁸ Scheffner writes in one poem, "An
Herrn Lessing," of his desire to be to Lessing what Kleist
once was:

Ich, den Kriegstumult hier im Lager umschwirret,
Wo ein Staubgewölk mir Bresslau's Thürme verhüllt,
Ich, den Phöbus entzückt, ohne sein Priester zu seyn,
Kenn' drum, Lessing, Dich auch;

.....

Kleist war einstens dein Freund, der fürs Vaterland
hinsank,
Von der Freundschaft beweint und den Musen betraurt:
Nimm statt seiner mich an, mich, der, bey gleichem
Geschick

Sein Muse sich wünscht. (FP 148-49)

²⁸Freundschaftliche Poesien eines Soldaten, pp. 7, 37,
59, 70, 102, 147.

When the war ended in 1763, Scheffner's regiment was sent to Berlin. He remained in service for one year more, then returned to civilian life.

Scheffner's imagery of war. Two volumes of poetry emanated from Scheffner's war years: Campagnen-Gedichte zum Zeitvertreib im Lager (1761), and Freundschaftliche Poesien eines Soldaten (1764/1793).²⁹ As the titles of these collections suggest, the poems are not Kriegslieder in the manner of Gleim. Even though they invoke images of war, they are aimed to a great extent at demonstrating how sensitive the individual soldier can be in the milieu of war.

Origins of war: There is very little in Scheffner's verses to indicate his idea of origins of war. In the poem "Der May. Bei Eröffnung des Feldzugs 1762" (169 lines), Scheffner describes the onset of renewed hostilities in the springtime, following the winter hiatus:

Dein Bild [der May] soll wie ein Stern mir
funkeln,

Wenn Nebel des Geschicks einst meinen Stand umdunkeln,
Wenn Kriegesgrimm, der meist nur blut'ge Lorbeern

²⁹All quotes from these two collections will be from Campagnen-Gedichte zum Zeitvertreib im Lager (1761) designated in this text as "CG", and Freundschaftliche Poesien eines Soldaten (1793) designated here as "FP". The numbers are page references.

reicht,
Der stillen Freuden Chor durch lauten Lärm verscheucht.

Er kommt und droht, nicht Kunst, nicht die Natur zu
schonen,
Und auch noch dieses Jahr auf deutschem Grund zu
wohnen.

Schon hat Monarchenzorn zur blutbespritzten Bahn
Die erz'nen Thore ihm lautdonnernd aufgethan;
(FP 93-94)

The above passage reveals no glorification of war, but the opposite. The poet depicts war as a result of the arbitrary anger of monarchs. The beginning of another year of war is expressed with dread and negativity.³⁰ He is not an eager warrior, but one who will keep the vision of the beauty of May in his heart to get him through the horrible days ahead.

The warrior's cause: In Scheffner's verses the warrior's cause for fighting is primarily for Frederick and Prussia. In "Über Sittlichkeit und Empfindung" Scheffner writes to his friend David Neumann, who joined the army with him, of their mutual motivation for enlisting in Frederick's army.

³⁰During the winter of 1761, the Prussian army was quartered deep inside Silesia, and for the first time in the war the Austrians were able to quarter their troops in Prussian territory (Duffy 225)

Freund, den Ein Trieb mit mir dem Vaterland entzog,
Ein Trieb, der selbst das Glück der Liebe überwog;
Der Muth genug bewies, für Friedrichs Recht zu sterben,
Und Sittenfeinheit gnug sich Beyfall zu erwerben;
(FP 27)

Although he sometimes expresses regret that he is in the army, he inevitably restates his ideal of dying for the fatherland. Scheffner refers to his decision to join the Prussian army in "Der Soldat":

Jetzt sag, Emilie, was denkst du von
dem Stande,
Der oft unmenschlich macht, der mich dem
Vaterlande,
Ja, der mich dir entriß, indem Gefahr
und Tod,
Dem Geitz nach Ruhm und Lob bey jedem
Schritte droht?
Heißt Tugend, Witz und Herz wohl diesen
Stand ergreifen?
Wie, oder wird die Wahl der Jugend Fehler
häufen? --
Nein, nein, sie häuft sie nicht; mein Herz
hat ihn gewählt,
Ein Herz, das die Natur zu Friedrichs
Dienst gestählt. (CG 12)

The narrator recognizes the dangers to body and spirit which

are inherent in war, yet he does not regret his decision. The heart is the deciding factor, not an assessment of the pros and cons of being a soldier.

The soldier expresses a conflict between the idealism and youthful patriotic zeal that led him to join the army, and the realities of army life in "Über meine Unzufriedenheit: An die Frau Rittmeister von R." (90 lines):

Da, wo ein Lorbeerkrantz

Der Krieger Lohn bestimmt, da, wo der Waffen Glanz
Die Krieger schrecklich macht, da wollt' ich's Glücke
finden,
Mit seinem Vollgenuß Zufriedenheit verbinden. --
Der Wunsch, dem sich das Herz begeistert überließ,
Und den der Jugendtrieb Patriotismus hieß,
Der Wunsch ist jetzt erfüllt: -- ich hab' die Bahn
betreten,
Auf der schon Tausende umsonst nach Lorbeern flehten,
Ich bin jetzt ein Soldat, und seh' dem Kriegsstand nah,
Nicht mehr das reine Gold, das ich sonst schimmern sah.
Ich habe frey gewählt, ich muß die Last ertragen,
Und sollt', wenn sie mich drückt, aus klugem Stolz
nicht klagen.

(FP 115-16)

The verses above reveal the soldier's motives for joining the army and the disappointment of maturity when he sees the

realities of war. The dream is not necessarily defective, but he finds it harder to grasp. The difficulties of war which he describes as a burden are not enumerated, just the tarnishing of his ideal.

The ultimate patriot willing to die for his king is the theme of the following short paradoxical poem, "Mein Wahlspruch":

Da, wo ein König ficht und für uns

sterben will,

Da schweig im Unterthan der Trieb zu le-

ben still.

Wer glücklich leben will, such Freunde zu

erwerben.

Wer niemals sterben will, muß für den

König sterben. (CG 62)

There is truth in the portrait of the king who is willing to die for his troops. Frederick was always in the thick of battle without heed for his own safety. To die for the king brings honor, if not in this life, then in the next:

Der Tod fürs Vaterland, den mancher Jüngling starb,

Ohn' daß sein rascher Muth ein Denkmahl sich erwarb,

Erwartet dort den Kranz, der sich um Häupter schmieget,

Die, wie Leonidas und Adolph, hier gesieget. (FP 124)

A vague afterlife is alluded to in the above lines, where the unknown and unlauded soldier who gives his life for his country will be counted among past heroes.

The suppression of sensitivity and the weakness considered to be inherent in the sensitive side of the soldier -- the theme of two souls in one breast -- we see in many of Scheffner's poems, for instance in the love poem "An meine Schöne" (16 lines), which also speaks of the poet's enduring devotion to Frederick of Prussia:

Dort druckst du mir die Hand, -- ganz
ward ich Zärtlichkeit.
Die Hand, die sich dem Krieg, dem Feind
der Sanftmuth weiht --
Dein Aug wieß schöne Gluth -- hier seh
ich Augen blitzen
Voll wütender Begier Blut rächend zu
verspritzen --
Ein reuender Gedank -- -- nein, Seele,
tödtete ihn,
Für Friedrich und für Ruhm laß alle
Schwäche fliehn,
Glaub, die lieb ich, wie dich, für sie und
Elenoren,
Sind Muth und Zärtlichkeit in meiner
Brust gebohren. (CG 60)

In "Schreiben an Emilien," the poet speaks of dying the death of a patriot, but gaining immortality in the thoughts of others:

Mein Stand führt gleich geschwind

zum Sterben und zur Ehre.
Doch, wenn der heutge Tag des Lebens
letzter wäre,
So sterb ich doch nicht ganz, -- wenn du
mich nur noch denkst,
Und mir das größte Lob durch meine Thrä-
nen schenkst. (CG 37)

The "Tod für's Vaterland" motif, noted above in Kleist's
"Cissides und Paches," is a theme in the Kleistian manner in
Scheffner's "An die Frau von C.":

Weit unter'm Kleist, dem Held, dem Patriot, dem
Freunde,
Dem nasse Rosen jüngst auf's Grab ein Mädchen goß,
Bey dessen Nahmen sich die Enkel neigen werden,
Der Wunsch und Ruhm errang im Tod für's Vaterland;
(FP 205)

Scheffner at the time of this revised edition of
Freundschaftliche Poesien eines Soldaten (1793) was most
certainly familiar with Thomas Abbt's Vom Tode fürs
Vaterland (1761), although to what extent this work
influenced him is not known. A martial call to arms is
found in "Der May":

Ihr Brüder, eilt ins Feld mit neugestähltem Muth!
Gebt hin für's Vaterland und Friedrichs Recht eu'r
Blut! --
Der Himmel wog das Recht von Wiens und Preussens

Waffen,
Und unsre Schale sank. -- Das Friedenswiederschaffen
Sey eurer Kämpfe Preis! -- Ha, er wird unser seyn;
Uns wird der künft'ge May im Park Berlins erfreun. --
(FP 94)

The patriotic fervor of the poet's tone is very different from what we have seen so far. The tone is more aggressive, and the poet includes himself in a "brotherhood," rather than set apart from the rabble. A superior power decides the victor in the struggle.

Scheffner cites obedience as a warrior's reason for enduring the horrors of war in "Über die Quellen meines Vergnügens": "So bleibt Gehorsam doch die erste unsrer Pflichten" (FP 3).

Nature: In a rare simile, Scheffner compares the columns of soldiers on the march to a springtime flood in "Der May":

Kolonnen drängen sich, gleich aufgeschwollenen Flüssen,
Die nach zersprengtem Damm ins Blachfeld sich
ergießen,
Durch stiller Dörfer Schooß; (FP 94)

The reversal of the natural order is a theme in a description of battle in "Über Sittlichkeit und Empfindung":

. . . ein schwarzer Dampf, der aus den Flammen
raucht,

Der Gegend hellen Tag in graue Dämmerung taucht;
Bald um die Mitternacht die Wolken röthlich tagen,
Der Barbarn Feuerzug mit Schrecken anzusagen;

(FP 23)

The above image of battle is created by contrasting dark and light -- the light being in this case a dreadful thing, instead of a positive aspect of nature. Battle turns nature on its head -- day into night, night into day.

Death: Scheffner's images of death are usually related to the soldier who dies for the fatherland, but in the martial poem "Ueber das Torgausche Schlachtfeld" (6 lines), a collective image of death is evoked as the poet speaks of "Totenhügel," which he calls "schön[e] Tropheeen" (CG 57). "Im Vorbeymarsch bey Hochkirch," we find a melancholic Kleistian passage, with death alluded to in the appearance of the landscape:

Hier seh ich noch der Stücke Spur,
Die Tod und Wunden spien.
Doch, statt geronnen Blut, die Flur
Voll junger Kräuter blühn.

Der reifen Trauben Purpurgluth
Färbt sonst der Berge Höh.
Hier purpurte den Berg das Blut,
Das [sic] Bach gleich rieselte. (CG 55)

In the verses above, nature is in the process of healing the wounds of the battlefield. The bloody battlefield is now covered with plant life, although physical evidence of the fight remains. The vineyards giving the hill its color are reminiscent of the blood-covered mountains of the battle.

In the same poem, battlefield dead are described in a collective manner:

Hier ward dem Kriegsgott ein Altar
Von Leichen aufgedämmt.
Und von dem Blut der Opferschaar
Das Blachfeldt überschwemmt.

Hier starb ein Keit und Braunschweigs
Franz,
Dem schon sein Tod geahnt.
Hier ward der Weg zu Tod und Kranz,
Viel tausenden gebahnt.

Der Streit war aus und Mars sprach: gut,
So Welt, so lieb ich dich.
Hier sah er aufs bestande Blut
Und spiegelt drinnen sich.

Er sah so manches Tausend todt
Von Wunden matt und bloß.
Hier ward sein Aug, das sonst nur droht,

Von seltnem Mitleid naß. (CG 56)

The poet describes the bloodbath of former years through nature imagery. The bodies of the soldiers form a dam over which flows the blood of the dead. The god of war sees himself mirrored in the pools of blood and is moved to tears. The image of a teary-eyed Mars is unusual, but in keeping with Scheffner's sentimentality.

In "Mein Wahlspruch" the poet speaks of the warrior's death as a corridor to a new sphere of existence:

So führt des Todes Hand uns in die neuen Sphären,
Wo sich die Kenntnisse nach Zahl und Graden mehren.

(CG 62)

Destruction and deprivation: The soldier frequently complains of uncomfortable quarters and interrupted sleep. These are seemingly minor burdens to bear, but are very real drawbacks in Scheffner's viewpoint, as we find in "Der Soldat":

Wie sanft ward sonst der Kopf ans Kana-
pee gelehnt,
Wenn sich der müde Leib nach süßer Ruhe
sehnt,
Statt, daß sich ans Verhack hier müde
Schultern schlößen,
Die Augen schwer vom Schlaf vorsichtig
wachen müßen. (CG 8-9)

The past and present are elements in the above-cited image of the soldier's discomforts. Being awakened to stand watch having barely slept is again a complaint in the same poem:

Oft hat der müde Leib das Lager kaum er-
langt,
Um dessen harten Pfül kein seidner Vor-
hang prangt:
So wird den sanften Schlaf ein neuer
Ruf verscheuchen.

Bald soll man Runden thun . . . (CG 11)

In the following verses of the same poem, the poet-soldier complains again of certain negative aspects of soldiering. The nature landscape of peacetime past becomes a tool of war. A hill is now where the lookout post is located -- the watch which also prevents sleep:

Sonst wählt ich einen Berg die Gegend
aufzusehn:
Hier heist mich mein Beruf oft auf dem
Hügel stehn,
Der unter andern Höh'n, die Lenz und An-
muth krönen,
Rauh, wie ein Neger steht im Cirkel
muntrer Schönen. (CG 9)

In December 1761 the city of Colberg in Pomerania fell to the Russians after a six-month blockade and siege. The city was an important seaport, whose possession by the Russians

blocked shipments of grain to Frederick's army. In the poem "An meinen General" (60 lines), Scheffner first talks of the unfamiliar people and customs, then describes the plight of the Prussian soldiers:

Wo der umeiste Nord durch Kleid und Wolfspelz weht,
Wenn er den leichten Schnee in Wolken aufwärts dreht,
.
Wo ohne Zelt und Dach der preußische Soldat
Laut um den Schlachtenkampf aus bitttrer Sterblust bat,
Wo wir des Clima's Zorn, des Feindes Grimm ertrugen,
Ihn ohne Noth und Zweck aus mancher Schanze schlugen,
Wo durch den Feldherrngeist, den Seeluftgift verdarb,
Mehr Volk, als einst am Nil durch's Schwert des Engels,
starb,
Wo, Kolberg zu befreien, man Preußens Krieger plagte.
(FP 192)

Not only are the extreme physical hardships of the Pomeranian winter bemoaned, but also the folly of war in general. In a rare biblical image, the poet compares the dead of the Passover to the dead at Colberg. It is quite possible that Scheffner was involved in the battle at Colberg, since his biographers state that he participated in campaigns in Pomerania. Suffering fatigue and the extremes of heat and cold are real hardships that the soldier must endure. In "Der May" Scheffner speaks again of fatigue and the elements:

der schwärmende Soldat,
Der keuchend müde sich beflagten Bergen naht,
Baut seine Leinwandstadt, wo doppelte Beschwerden
Der nie zufried'nen Brust zwiefache Henker werden,
Wo unser Mark bey Tag' die Sonnnenglut verzehrt,
Des Nachts ein kalter Schau'r durch unsre Nerven fährt.
(FP 93-4)

The verses above reveal the hardships of an individual soldier rather than an army. When the march is over, the weary soldier must set up camp.

Leaders and heroes: The poet portrays leaders generally as ruthless, incompetent, and unconcerned for the common soldier, as we see in "über Sittlichkeit und Empfindung":

Hier, wo Menschenhaß oft Muth und Fassung nennt,
Wo mancher Feldherr kaum der Taktik Namen kennt,
Und zum Cartheuser wird, wenn man nach Dingen fraget.
Die nicht bloß Handgriff sind, die kein Rapport ihm
saget; (FP 28)

Occasionally Scheffner lauds war leaders, as in "Über die Seele. An den General von P.": "Held, den der Kriegsgott liebt, und Friedrichs Gegner scheut, / Dem seines Königs Wahl schon Nachruhm prophezeyht . . ." (FP 119)

Frederick is always portrayed as a hero, and at times

as an almost divine entity whose very name is enough to inspire the soldier to fight to the death for him. In "Der May" Scheffner envisions Frederick in a victory parade in Berlin:

Von Freude taumelt dort die Jugend von Berlin,
Wirft Palm' und Lorbeerlaub auf Friedrichs Wege hin,
Sie schreyt: Triumph, Triumph! jauchzt Dank und Lob-
gesänge,

Und Friedrich lächelt Dank auf dieses Siegsgepränge.
Der helle Tag ist aus, doch Fackeln ohne Zahl
Und farb'ger Lampenschein schafft ihn zum zweytenmal.
An tausend Wänden seh' ich Friedrichs Nahmen brennen,
Und hör ihn schlecht und schön den größten König

nennen. (FP 95)

Friedrich is depicted as a Christ-like figure in the lines above. In "Der Soldat" Frederick is held out as an example to inspire soldiers to greater effort:

Der Ehre dienen wir, und die wohnt nur in Seelen
Die nicht das Reglement zu ihrem Hauptbuch wählen.
Auch dieß wiss' ein Soldat; doch wer nicht weiter geht,
Ist wen'ger werth wie der, der bloß im Gliede steht.

Kriegsbrüder, kann euch denn nicht Friedrichs Vor-
bild reizen?

Wenn wird eur Geist mit ihm nach gleichen Preisen
geizen? (FP 7)

The soldier is admonished to expand his vision to rise to

Frederick's example.

The enemy: In the poem "Über Sittlichkeit und Empfindung," Scheffner describes the way a soldier should behave by contrasting him with the enemy:

So schwärme ein Kroat, dem Wuth und Tapferkeit
Aus Unvernunft Eins sind, der jeden Tag bereut,
Den nicht ein Bubenstück, der Hölle werth, bezeichnet,
Der, unwert Mensch zu seyn, Natur, dein Recht
verleugnet. (FP 22)

Although the image of the barbaric Croat recurs in several of the poets I have discussed (Greflinger, Brehme, Kleist) Scheffner otherwise spends little time vilifying the opposing side.

The common soldier. Much of Scheffner's focus in his poetry deals with the common soldier. In "Der Soldat über die Quellen seines Vergnügens an Emilien" (310 lines) Scheffner speaks first of his current situation as a soldier, then expresses justification for army life:

Fließt gleich die meiste Zeit nicht Ruhe auf
uns nieder,
Und thaut nicht sanfte Ruh stets auf den
Schweiß der Glieder;
So sind doch Tage gnug zu unsrer Ruh
bestimmt,

An denen Leib und Geist in ädler Freude

schwimmt. (CG 12)

He implies in the verses above that the call of the soldier to war is justified by the fact that most of life is spent in peace and enjoyment. In following verses from "Schreiben an Emilien" (285 lines), Scheffner describes life in camp:

Im Lager hat der Witz sich Throne aufge-
schlagen,

Und nun belacht zu seyn, muß man nichts
feines sagen.

Hier geht ein Fähndrichs-Scherz meist bis
zur Thätlichkeit,

Der heist ein muntrere Kopf, der keine

Thorheit scheut. (CG 50-51)

These lines provide a glimpse of the tendency toward roughness and physicality in the interaction among the soldiers in camp. Sensibility should be stifled in order to enjoy the camaraderie. Yet Scheffner resents the general public's view of the unfeeling soldier, which he considers to be superficial and misguided. In "Über Sittlichkeit und Empfindung" he builds a scenario in which a young woman singing captures the full attention of the appreciative audience. They cheer enthusiastically for her. Even nature becomes quieter in order to allow her to be better heard: "Die Laube rauscht nur schwach, der Zephyr scheint zu schweigen, / Den Beyfall der Natur der Sängerin zu zeigen;"

(FP 25). In contrast the seemingly churlish and loud singing of the soldier is unwelcome:

Doch, wem gefällt der Lärm des jauchzenden Soldaten?
Wenn er mit vollem Kopf von falschen Heldenthaten
Ein ekles Leibstück singt, und mit geballter Faust
Den Takt so hörbar schlägt, daß Tisch und Schenke
braust.

Das Aug der Welt dringt nicht bis in die
Herzentiefen,
Und kann beym Ersten Blick nicht unsern Werth gleich
prüfen;

Es sieht die Schale an, das Urtheil wird gefällt,
Und dem der Preis erteilt, der sichtbar wohlgefällt;
Doch oft darf sie von uns nur eine Handlung sehen,
Um unsrer Denkungsart Gewebe auszuspähen. (FP 25)

The poet admits that the behavior of the soldiers is sometimes crass and unrefined, but he complains that the citizen's view is superficial, that the latter makes no attempt to see the inner man. Scheffner further bemoans the misunderstood soldier in "Über meine Unzufriedenheit":

Der Bürger, dem mit Sturm der Heere Ankunft dräut,
Denkt, in der Leinwandstadt wohn' Schutz und
Sicherheit,
Und glaubt, daß Sorgen nie den Schlaf des Kriegers
hindern,
Weil öftre Schatzungen nicht seine Kasse mindern.

(FP 114)

The misconceptions of the citizenry not only involve the soldier's behavior in town, but his life in camp as well, as can be seen above. Their view is that the soldier in camp lives a secure existence without the worry of bearing the financial burden for the war, which the civilians must do. The daily reality of the soldier's existence is severe, especially when compared to that of the pampered townspeople:

Laut fluchet der Soldat, wenn er am frühen Morgen,
Eh' Kammermädchen noch den Chokolat besorgen,
Wenn Rath und Bürger sich in weichen Federn wiegt,
Und mancher Dame Herz ein Traumphantom vergnügt,
Bey Frost und Regenguß bald durch die Städte ziehet,
Bald bey'm Kamin und Tisch den ruh'gen Landmann siehet.

(FP 114)

The long and often rambling poem, "Über Sittlichkeit und Empfindung: An meinen Freund N.," is in the main a didactic piece on the soldier. The first eighteen lines offer an ironic assessment of the path the soldier must follow in order to do his job properly:

Erschrick nicht, gutes Herz, bey so viel Trauerspielen!
Hör auf des Nächsten Leid wehmütig mit zu fühlen;
Sey taub beym Mordgeschrey, sey stumm und kieselhart,
Wenn sich Gewalt und List zu neuen Freveln paart.

(FP 22)

Scheffner then gives specific examples of role models for the soldier:

Nimm mit die Denkart an von jenen Nationen,
Die um den Wolgastrand halb caraibisch wohnen,
Mit Lust an Mord und Brand durch Friedrichs Länder
 zieh'n,
Und alle von dem Wunsch nach seinem Umsturtz glühn
(FP 22)

In his next example, the narrator adds further examples of primitive and refined barbarism, including a reference to the macabre cannibalistic feast that Atreus served to his brother³¹:

Dämpf, nach Huronenbrauch, dein zärtliches Empfinden,
Such' dir durch Rauhigkeit den stolzen Kranz zu binden,
Der manchen Held umflieht, der Menschenwerth nicht
kennt,
Den, der ihn fühlt und schätzt, aus Irrthum blöde
nennt.
Nähr' künftig in der Brust ernerisches Vergnügen,
Wenn von verheerter Stadt die Flammen aufwärts
fliegen.
Hör' das vertriebne Volk, aus Furcht, lautjammernd
schreyn,
Sey, wie ein Atreus, hart, um recht Soldat zu seyn

³¹Atreus served his brother Thyestes' children to him at a banquet (Avery 114).

(FP 22).

The reasons for maintaining such a character in war are clear: "Wer fremde Wunden sieht, mit Thränen in den Augen, / Wie soll der zur Gefahr, zu Tod und Wunden taugen?" (FP 22).

Against the background of the rhetorical/sardonic portrait of the soldier above, the poet now gives his opinion of the proper behavior of the truly enlightened warrior: "Mitleiden schimpft kein Herz: Der Held gebraucht den Stahl / Nur wider'n streitbar'n Feind, nicht zu des Landes Qual" (FP 23). Scheffner cites the sack of Magdeburg (1631) as an instance where the victor's savagery against civilians made the name Tilly infamous instead of famous: "Es sind mit Bürgerblut, in Magdeburgs Geschichten, / Die Thaten aufgemerkt die Tillys Ruhm zernichten" (FP 23). He goes on further to state: "Ja, mancher Lorbeerkrantz, durch Schlachtgewinst ersiegt, / Welkt, wenn auf ihm der Fluch beraubter Länder liegt" (FP 23). The Lorbeerkrantz remains a desirable goal, but must be achieved in an honorable way in accordance with natural law:

Ich bin kein Schüsselnsklav, dien' nicht allein um
Brodts,

Und werde noch, wie sonst, bey einer Grobheit roth.
Kein reicher Commissair, der Heer und König plündert,
Kein MünzIsraelit, der unsern Sold vermindert,
Kein Marschall ohne Kopf, kein Krieger ohne Herz,

Kein unverdienter Rang, kein pöbelhafter Scherz,
Kein Kleinigkeitenheld, der Tag und Nächte grübelt,
Wie man die kleine Last im Kriegsdienst mehr verübelt,
Erwarte je mein Lob, das dem nur Weyhrauch streut
Der frey und edel denkt, den Schwachen viel verzeiht,
Dem bey des Nächsten Noth nicht Thränen schimpflich
scheinen,

Die Balsam auf den Schmerz, nach offenen Wunden, weinen.
Noch, Freund, riß nicht mein Herz der Lagerstrom mit
hin. (FP 29)

Again, it is the heart of the soldier which must remain pure. He must not lose the capacity for sympathy that elevates him above the greed, corruption and profiteering which are elements of war. He refuses to be swept up in the maelstrom of the these elements. He admonishes the soldier to hold on to the finer aspects of the sensitive and wise man. It is possible to be virtuous and still be a warrior, even though it is a struggle:

Sey weiser, wie Sokrat, sey Held, wie Peleus Sohn,
Besitze Indiens Gold auf einem Kaiserthron;
Doch, sey nicht tugendhaft, verbann' Gefühl und Sitten,
Laß dich, wenn Jammer weint, durch Thränen nicht
erbitten:

So haßt dich doch die Welt; der dich nicht fürchten
darf,

Macht gegen dich den Pfeil des kühnen Satyrs scharf,

Und Kluge zählen dich zum grobheitsreichen Pöbel.
So wie der Gegend Reiz in giftig dicken Nebel
Sich unsichtbar verhüllt, so wird das Vorzugsrecht,
Das manch Verdienst dir gab, durch Rauhigkeit
geschwächt. (FP 24-25)

Many further examples of this side of Scheffner emerge from his verses, usually without much adornment of the language except for his offhand use of figures from ancient history or classical mythology. The didacticism at times takes the form of an epigrammatic summation; for instance in "Über Sittlichkeit und Empfindung": "Die Feinheit des Gefühls verkleinert nicht den Muth, / Auf dem des Kriegers Ruhm, der Heere Wohl beruht" (FP 24). Further in the poem, he expresses the same sentiment:

Bläst tobend gleich der Sturm, legt doch der Wanderer
nicht
Den schweren Mantel ab; der Sonne warmes Licht
Bewegt ihn leicht dazu. -- Wo Wildheit nichts
erzwungen,

Da ist der Sanftmuth oft der schönste Sieg gelungen.
(FP 26)

The poet-soldier's view of himself: A good deal of Scheffner's verse deals with his life as a soldier. He writes of his day-to-day existence as a soldier in the field. Often he expresses reminiscences about his former life

as a civilian, when he lived in comfort among friends. In "Der Soldat über die Quellen seines Vergnügens an Emilien," Scheffner contrasts going into the mountains for pleasure with standing on the hill as a soldier on watch duty: "Dort hört ich Freundschafts Scherz / und oft auch Chloens Lied. / Hier singt und lacht der Bursch und Witz und Tugend flieth" (CG 9). The loss of the sanctity of nature is a deprivation of the spirit, which is the lot of this sensitive soldier. In the poem "An meinen Freund von L'" (48 lines), Scheffner writes of himself and his longing for his friends:

Zu weicher Sanftmuth mehr gebohren,
Mehr Musen Freund als Feind der Ruh,
Hab' ich dem Mars doch gern geschworen,
Denn L' -- Dir führt er mich zu.
Vollkommnes Glücke zu genießen,
War wohl nicht unsrer Welt gegönnt.
Krieg hat Freundinnen mich entrißen,
Krieg ists, was mich von Freunden trennt.
(FP 145)

In camp at night the soldier is self-absorbed. In "Der Soldat" he compares himself to a philosopher, isolated by his thoughts. He expresses his loneliness away from Emilie:

So, wie ein Philosoph bey blaßer Lampe sitzt,
Den Kopf, voll Gott und Welt, sanft in die
Hand gestützt,
Der Dinge lange Reih an ihrer Kette stehet,

Um Kleistens Tod fürs Vaterland. (CG 54)

This dreaming of future peace continues to extremes in the same poem, where he imagines all the pleasures of peacetime:

Wenn denn Revüe und Wachparaden
Im Dienst uns manchen Tag beschwehrt,
So werd der Geist durch Promenaden,
Redut und Opern aufgeklährt,
Denn wollen wir die Lust zuhäufen
Im Wein, mit dem sich Weisheit mischt,
Im Wein, der noch am Munde zischt,
Im Wein, den Lied und Kuß erfrischt,
Die Bilder vor'ger Müh ersäufen. (CG 54)

In the poem "Aus einem Schreiben an Ämilien," the poet speaks of the letter he has just written to Emily. In an imagined conversation between Emily and the letter, he writes:

Du bist bey ihr, ich -- fern von ihr, auch fern von
Glück.

Doch hör' ich, wie sie frägt: Wo hat er dich ge-
schrieben?

Wie hat mein Freund bisher die Tage sich vertrieben?
Antwort' ihr dann: Er lebt nicht wie, nicht wo er will,
In eines Heers Tumult, jetzt ohne Freund, ganz still.
(FP 15)

Scheffner's complaint above is not about being at war, nor of fear of injury or death, but the loneliness he feels in

the midst of the army, alienation from his desired companions, and silence, presumably meaning his voice is not heard in that situation. Spatial and temporal elements can be found in Scheffner's depiction of the deprivation of the spirit and loneliness -- war and discontentment is the here and now -- peace and contentment is the there and then.

Scheffner reveals himself in his verses -- the soldier at once malcontent and committed to endure and even make the best of his situation in the military. That he regrets his decision to become a soldier is clear -- although he denies this in some of his verses. He complains of his physical discomforts as well as his loneliness in "Schreiben an Emilien":

Schreib doch an deinen Freund, der jetzt
auf Bergen irrt,
In Zelt und Hütte wohnt, den Durst mit
Wasser stillet,
Und nie um Mitternacht mit Thee die Tas-
en füllet,
Der einsam promenirt, sich über Blumen
freut,
Mit denen die Natur die Felder bund be-
streut,
Ein Buch bisweilen liest, ans Vaterland
gedenket
Und sich um den Verlust der besten Freun-

din kränket.

Oft auf die Wache zieht, wo beym Solda-
ten-Lied

Französisch, Welsch und Teutsch die Zeit

schnell genug entflieht. (CG 49)

Scheffner is of two minds if we compare his perception of himself as a soldier with his portrait of the soldier in general. In the first stanza of "Der Soldat über die Quellen seines Vergnügens an Emilien," the poet writes to Emilie about himself as a soldier:

Die Zeit hat zwar den Stand, doch
nicht mein Herz geändert,
Und wird mein Stahl gleich nicht
von Mädchen mehr bebändert,
Ist gleich ein Portepée, das Schwarz und
Silber streift,
Nach Preußens Kriegs Gebrauch jetzt um
mein Schwerdt geschleift,
So bin ich doch dein Freund. Dort, wo
die Ruhe wohnte,
Sang ich dir manches Lied, wofür dein
Lob mich lohnte.
Doch, wenn dich mein Gesang jetzt, Freund-
din, wenger rührt;
So tadle nicht mein Herz, denk, mein Apoll
kampirt. (CG 7-8)

The narrator has established himself as a Prussian poet-soldier whose present circumstance in the field has changed his life abruptly. He speaks of his situation and assures his friend that soldiering has not changed his inner self. The passage begins and ends with the poet speaking of his heart (Herz). He does intimate in these opening lines that his "songs" will be different from those of prior times, but that the man is still the same.

The tumult of battle is described in "Über Sittlichkeit und Empfindung: An meinen Freund N." (224 lines). The poet speaks of the virtues of remaining a sensitive soul in the midst of war, and that even the soldier can view the carnage with sympathy:

Man tadle mein Gefühl, das sympathetisch weinet,
Wenn ihm der Unschuld Noth, sonst unbeklagt,
erscheinet; (FP 23)

The brave soldier versus the coward is a theme in a battle scenario in the same poem, as the enemy army approaches:

Mein Herz klopft nicht aus Furcht, wie manches Prah-
lers Herz,
Der laut im Dorf bravirt von nie empfundenem Schmerz,
Mit dem, der gar nicht sah, auf Kaffehäusern plaudert,
Und wenn's zum Angriff geht, bey der Bagage zaudert.
.
Der schwärmende Pandur mag längs den Büschen streifen:

Ich hör' im Bogenschuß die Kugel furchtlos pfeifen;
Es glänz' der Feinde Feu'r in naher Nachbarschaft:
Dieß raubt der innern Ruh nicht ihre Himmelskraft.
Ich schlaf' am Brustwehr sanft, so, daß kaum

Schreckideen

Der nahenden Gefahr, im leichten Traum entstehen.
Wenn jenes Berges Höh', der Striegau übersieht,
Ein zweyfach feindlich Heer mit Zelten überzieht,
So zagt der Geist doch nicht: auf den gespaltnen

Spitzen

Sieht meine Phantasie Apoll und Musen sitzen;

(FP 24)

Although no specific battle is named here, Scheffner does specify the place -- Striegau -- and that two armies are threatening his camp. The reference to the soldier above is not a generalized depiction, but individualized to Scheffner the poet-soldier, who sees Apollo as well as his muses in his imagination.

Scheffner and his muse is also a theme in "Schreiben an Emilien." He suffers from a sense of alienation as a a "poet" among the raw soldiers, who have little regard for his muse. He expresses his gratitude for his muse, who remains with him even in war:

Kurz, jedes Glücks beraubt, bin ich doch froh

genug,

Wenn mich mein junger Witz oft voll Be-

geisterung
Mit Musen umgehn läßt, sie haben mich
begleitet
Auch hier, wo Wildheit oft mit ihrer
Sanftmuth streitet,
Verlassen sie mich nicht, sie sind mir eine
Welt,
Beym Denken und beym Buch gilt mir
ein Schloß mein Zelt. (CG 37)

In the poem "An die Frau von C." Scheffner sees himself as a poet-soldier inferior to Kleist:

O wär ich ganz ein Kleist, sie [Scheffner's friends]
sollten ewig seyn!

Zwar wird die Welt mich nicht als Held und Dichter
kennen;

Der Enkel Lob und Schmerz sey Kleist und Klop-
stocks Theil;

Mein Lob, mein Stolz, mein Wunsch ist, daß einst
wen'ge sagen:

Es war sein Herz wie Kleist's und Klopstocks Lied.
(FP 205-06)

Heinrich Wilhelm von Stamford

Life and works. There is a paucity of verifiable biographical data on this poet-soldier. Goedeke (6: 968) devotes one short paragraph to him with ADB given as the

source. ADB (35: 424-26) provides more information about the life and works of the poet, yet some of it conflicts with the biographical sketch written by Stamford's acquaintance, Heinrich M. Marcard, in the introduction to Stamford's Nachgelassene Gedichte (1808).

H. Pröhle (ADB 35: 424) and Goedeke agree that Stamford was born in Bourges, France, in 1740, but Marcard refers to Stamford as a "geborner Engländer" (vi). Pröhle refutes Marcard's statement by giving a credible and detailed history of the Stamford family, tracing the lineage back four generations. According to Pröhle, the German connection began when two brothers, Barons Amhitel and Leonhard Grey, fled England in 1646 due to political pressure. One brother settled in Amsterdam and the other near Heidelberg. From this ancestry, Pröhle labels Heinrich Wilhelm as fourth generation. Stamford's father served in the French navy. He met and married a burgher girl from Breisgau by the name of Firnhammer. Although the evidence is not conclusive, it appears that the couple married only after Heinrich Wilhelm was born. This may explain why he spent his first years in France and Holland (ADB 35: 424). Stamford's patron was the Magdeburger Ludwig von Stamford, a Prussian war advisor and presumably a relative. This may account for his fighting for Prussia in the Hanoverian Légion Britannique during the Seven Years' War (ADB 35: 424). Stamford's long and varied military

career will be discussed below. Interspersed between his several stints in various armies, Stamford studied and then taught. He finished his education (presumably on the pre-university level) in either Brunswick or Wolfenbüttel and then studied mathematics at the University of Göttingen (ADB 35: 425). Stamford taught French at the monastery school in Ilfeld in the southern Harz from October 1772 through April 10, 1775. In nearby Ellrich, first Göckingk sought Stamford's collaboration for his Musenalmanach, and then Bürger did the same. Stamford became known in literary circles through his writings in these publications. Gleim heard of Stamford and persuaded Crown Prince Carl William Ferdinand of Brunswick to summon Stamford to Halberstadt to lecture the young officers on strategy. Following this, Frederick himself called Stamford to Potsdam, where he dealt closely with the general staff (ADB 35: 425). Stamford remained in the military in various capacities until he was pensioned by the British. He lived out his days in Brunswick. Stamford died in 1807 in Schleswig rather than on his estate in Brunswick. Pröhle attributes this to the probability that he fled Brunswick with Prince Carl William Ferdinand following the Prussian defeat by the French at the Battle of Jena in 1806 (ADB 35: 426).

Stamford's lyric poetry was written mostly in his younger years. Among the titles most often represented in anthologies are: "Ein Mädchen holder Mienen," "Ich möchte

nicht der König sein," "Nacht und Still' ist's um mich her," "Wenn die Nacht mit süßer Ruh'" and "Auf des Mondes sanftem Strahle," all of which Pröhle says were more or less "beliebte Lieder" (ADB 35: 425).

Some of Stamford's poems were published in the literary journals of the day, but his collected poems did not appear until 1808, one year after his death (ADB 35: 426). The collection was published in Hanover under the title Nachgelassene Gedichte with an introduction by H. M. Marcard. In 1785 and 1786 Stamford co-edited a military monthly in Berlin along with a Lieutenant von Waffenberg. One of Stamford's articles which appeared in this publication was expanded and published as a handbook for the military under the title Entwurf einer Anleitung den Cavalleristen in Friedenszeiten den ganzen Felddienst zu lehren (1794). As the author of this pamphlet on strategy, Stamford calls himself "Generalmajor und Generaladjutant der vereinigten Niederlande" (ADB 35: 426).

Stamford the soldier. Pröhle states that Stamford apparently began his military career in French service, but no further details of this time are offered (ADB 35: 424). Stamford was in Hanover during the Seven Years' War. He was a captain in command of a company in the Légion Britannique, which fought for Prussia. Marcard writes that Stamford shared many experiences of the military campaign in

Hanover with him. Unfortunately, Marcard does not elaborate on this in his biographical sketch. He does state that Stamford suffered a bayonet wound from an "affaire" with a French grenadier (vii). After the war, Stamford's corps was deactivated. As I mentioned above, he left Hanover to study mathematics at the University of Göttingen.

Stamford's next military adventure began when the crown prince of Brunswick summoned him to Halberstadt in 1775 (ADB 35: 425), where he served in the "Corps de Génie" (Marcard vii). In Halberstadt he was assigned to lecture the young officers on strategy and later was transferred to Potsdam on the order of Frederick. He was in close contact with Frederick's general staff, but he maintained the rank of Ingenieur-Hauptmann à la Suite (Marcard viii).³²

During Stamford's service in Potsdam, Frederick assigned him the duty of teaching Prince Frederick William the art of military strategy. In 1785 or 1786 Stamford was sent 'on loan' to The Haag, where he served as educator, diplomat, and ambassador between Holland and Prussia (ADB 35: 425). He was military instructor to the two princes of Orange. He was sent on many important diplomatic missions to Berlin by both the Dutch and English governments. From this point, Stamford, now a lieutenant general, joined a troop of Dutch soldiers in English service who were

³²Marcard is not sure about his status. He may have been on the general staff.

stationed on the Isle of Wight (ADB 35: 426).

Of the 72 poems in the collection Heinrich Wilhelm von Stamford, Nachgelassene Gedichte,³³ very few have any reference whatsoever to war. Most are love poems, animal fables, or occasional poems. Some of his views on society and war are expressed through animal fables or parables. In the allegorical poem "Bitte an einen Advokaten," Stamford casts a whimsical light upon his feelings about the talk of war and a reason why this professional soldier did not write war poetry, even though most of his life was spent in the military. A complainant seeks the return of his goats in court:

Nicht über Vergiftung, noch mörderisches Eisen,
Beim Richter zu klagen, erscheinen wir hier;
Drei Ziegen, verstehst du? Drei Ziegen hat mir
Mein Nachbar gestohlen; das sollst du beweisen,
Das, Postumus, fodert der Richter von dir!
Drum höre doch auf von blutigen Kriegen
Von Punischen Tücken und Falschheit und Lügen,
Von Marius, Sülle, von Flotten und Meer
Zu lärmern und pralen, ich bitte dich sehr,
Und rede von meinen drei Ziegen. (37)

³³Heinrich Wilhelm von Stamford, Nachgelassene Gedichte, ed. Heinrich Marcard (Hanover, 1808). All quotes from Stamford's poems are taken from this edition and will be cited by page number only.

From these verses it seems that the poet is telling us that it is the everyday events which are of importance to the civilian. Stamford gives a negative view of warfare and hero-worship. This could be a self-review of Stamford's own body of poetry, which has very little good to say about war.

Stamford's imagery of war. The titles that serve as the basis for my study of Stamford's imagery of war are "Stamford an Gökingk: Im Lager bei Welsdorf," "Parodie des Gleim'schen Liedes: Ich möchte wohl der Kaiser sein," "Das Schloß: Eine allegorische Erzählung," "Der Nebel," "Klagen eines Reuters," "Der sterbende Vogel," and "An den Geist Friedrichs II."

Origins of war: What does Stamford see as the causation of war? Who is responsible -- God or man? In the poem "Stamford an Gökingk" (156 lines), some of the poet's thoughts on that subject can be found:

Doch weil zu Zeiten
Auf dieser Welt
Den müß'gen Leuten
Der Krieg gefällt,
Und über alle
Der Kriegesheld
Seit Adams Falle
Sich wichtig hält,

Als ob die Ehre,
Ein Held zu sein,
Die Ehr' allein
Was größers wäre,
Als das zu sein,
Was wir hienieden
In Ruh' und Frieden
All' könnten sein: (116-31)

Unlike most of Stamford's poetry, this poem is assigned a date. A subtitle of the poem reveals that it was written "Im Lager bei Welsdorf, den 16ten Juli 1778" (90). Stamford at that time was an officer in the Prussian army that was involved in the Bavarian War of Succession. The poet's opinion is that war is a result of the whim of idle people, defective in their judgment, with higher esteem for the honor of the field than the honor of peacetime. His reference to Adam's Fall makes it clear that the poet puts the blame for war solely on mankind, in spite of God's wishes to the contrary. A similar sentiment is expressed in the animal fable "Der sterbende Vogel" (13 lines). A bird lies dying, having been shot by an arrow. It speaks to its murderers:

Du nimmst, was diesem Pfeil den g'raden Flug,
Uns zu verderben, gibt, aus unserem Gefieder;
Wir müssen selber Schuld an unserm Tode sein.
Doch magst du immerhin dich deiner Klugheit

freu'n;
Ein ähnliches Geschick trifft dich vielleicht bald
wieder:
Man weiß ja schon, daß Menschen sich nicht
scheu'n,
Oft einem Theile ihrer Brüder,
Zu andrer Brüder Tod, das Mordgewehr zu
leihn. (106)

Stamford sees mankind as a brotherhood, and fratricide as a legacy, which brings to mind Cain and Abel. It is with this type of didactic verse that Stamford's works elucidate, as well as warn against, the attributes in human beings that cause war.

In the long poem "Das Schloß. Eine allegorische Erzählung" (246 lines), we find Stamford speaking against the French Revolution and expressing similar sentiments about human nature:

"Und ach! wie manches eilt durch andrer
Menschen Schuld,
Versäumniß oder Neid, Tück' oder Unge-
duld,
Wie manches auch durch frevelhafte
Hände
Mit Fluges Schnelligkeit, nicht hin zu sei-
nem Ende? (168)

Death: The soldier is ready and glad to accept the danger of meeting the enemy as his duty. On the eve of battle the soldier contemplates his death:

Und soll's geschehen,

Daß ich mein Blut

Auf dieser Scene

Verspenden muß:

So weih' die Thräne

Der Freundschaft mir,

Und nimm itzt hier

Den Abschiedskuß. (96)

The ultimate sacrifice of the soldier in war is expressed in a very subdued style. One can sense as well the attitude of a man who has been in the business of war for a long time (at least 21 documented years, presumably longer). The terse language and the two-beat measures enhance the purposeful tone. This is as near as Stamford comes to depicting a soldier in battle. Other than musing over the possibility of his own death in the upcoming battle as cited above, Stamford does not write often of the soldier's death. The only battle death portrayed in Stamford's poetry is that of a cavalryman's horse in "Klagen eines Reuters auf dem Schlachtfelde über sein verwundetes Pferd." Even though this poem deals with war, the short line is not employed, as the tone of these forty-three lines of five-beat trochaic measures is more sentimental than warlike. He writes:

Aber wehe! hingestreckt im Sande,
Schon dem Ende deines Lebens nah,
Sonder Hoffnung, so wie sonder Schande,
Liegst du, guter, treuer Rappe, da!
Ach! ich misste gern des Sieges Ehre,
Wenn für dich nur irgend Hülfe wäre. (54)

In "Stamford an Gökingk" he speaks of the nearness of death
to a soldier in the field:

Den unverhofft
Trift man in dicken
Gehölzen oft
Tiroler an,
Die aus den Hecken,
Worin sie stecken,
Auf ihren Mann
Mit wilden Blicken
Ihr Rohr in Eil
An's Auge drücken,
Des Todes Pfeil
Zum Ziele schicken,
Und, stürzt der Held,
In jene Welt
Unangemeld't
Ihn überschicken . . . (92)

Stamford portrays the hero as being as vulnerable as any
other soldier.

Destruction and deprivation: Stamford's tale "Das Schloß" talks of a castle with a beautiful, but simple tower. Each successive prince who occupies the castle becomes dissatisfied with the tower and builds it higher, adding statuary to its walls. Eventually the tower's foundation is too weak and it starts to sway visibly. The current prince sends a distress call throughout the land and is subsequently inundated with hordes of poor artists and craftsmen seeking gain for helping save the tower. Since each individual works for his own selfish motives, the effort fails. The news of the tower's precarious condition travels throughout the kingdom and the people come into the city until a great crowd is formed. They decide that the tower must come down to save the castle below it:

Wie, wenn nach langem Kampf vom blutbe-

spritzten Wall

Ergrimmte Krieger sich an armen Städten rä-

chen! --

Hier rächte sich der Thurm. Er stürzt' im

schnellsten Fall,

Ach! über's arme Schloß, und schlug durch

alle Decken,

Zertrümmernd, was beim Fall der Last im Wege

stand!

Es war ein Sturz und Schlag, die Todten

aufzuwecken --

Nur Die nicht, welche hier zum Lohn für That

und Schand'

Erschlagen, unbeklagt, im Schutt ein Ende

nahmen . . . (183)

To describe the onslaught of the multitudes and the destruction of the castle, Stamford turns -- not too logically -- to a comparison of the collapsing tower and the vengeful wrath of the soldiers victorious after a bloody assault on a tower. The image melds a reminder of the emotions of war which lead to excess and the unexpectedly destructive effects which a course of action can have, but it is otherwise unremarkable.

Stamford's imagery of the soldier's discomforts and deprivations in war are often specific to his own situation, as can be seen in the following passage with its first person narration:

Statt Schattenwegen,
Wie Dichter pflegen,
Still nach zu gehn,
Und dann am Quelle
Die Rosenstelle,
Wo Zephirs wehn,
Und Veilchen stehn,
Zum Grillensitze
Mir auszusehn,

Muß ich vor Hitze
Nun schier vergehn;
In schwülen Tagen,
Von Höh'n auf Höh'n
Mich müde jagen
Und müde gehn,
Des Feindes Lage
Früh auszuspähn . . . (91-92)

There is some irony in the above passage in the contrast between the nature poet's vision of the landscape and the realities of the army scout's hardship with the rough terrain, heat, and fatigue. The poet-soldier does not remember wistfully what it was like for him in peacetime but does provide an interesting contrastive image. He does not complain of lost comforts or a missing lover, but merely states what he must do and what the attendant difficulties are.

Leaders and heroes: As we have seen, hero-worship is not a part of Stamford's poetic material. Leaders and heroes are portrayed for the most part as having less than desirable traits ("Das Schloß" and "Stamford an Gökingk"). In "Der Nebel, Eine Erzählung" (48 lines), Stamford tells the tale of a general who leads his troops to doom when he orders them to try to dispel the fog by firing their weapons into it. Shooting blind they fire upon each other and into

a village, burning it and its inhabitants. In the end the sun rises and burns away the fog. The exception to this attitude toward leadership is Frederick the Great, who receives laudatory treatment in Stamford's works. In "Parodie des Gleimschen Liedes: Ich mögte wohl der Kaiser sein" (40 iambic four-beat lines), the difference between Stamford's view of leaders in general and that of Frederick is obvious. Through the first seven stanzas of this poem, he introduces each stanza with "Ich mögte nicht der König sein" and follows with four lines explaining his reasons. He gives many reasons -- the king cannot believe anything he hears, the king must be responsible for the happiness of millions, and the king has no real friends. In the eighth and final stanza, the poet makes an about-face:

Ich mögte nicht der König sein;
Doch hätt' ich Friedrichs Geistes-Gaben,
Die wir so lang bewundert haben --
Ja! wären diese Gaben mein,
So möcht' ich wohl der König sein. (120)

The poem "An den Geist Friedrichs II" (24 lines of rhymed madrigal verse) all but canonizes the king:

Erhabner Geist, der dort in ungeheurer Ferne
Für neue Welten blüht;
Geist, dessen Kron' im Heer zahlloser Sterne,
Und dessen Bild in meiner Seele
glüht, --

Ach! senkte sich von Dir, lichtvoll aus jenen
Höhen,
Auf Deutschlands Fürsten nur ein einz'ger Strahl
herab,
Schnell würden wir der Bosheit Zauberstab,
Der sie mit Blindheit schlug, zertrümmert liegen
sehen! (191)

Although the poem is not dated, Frederick is obviously dead.
It is possible that it was written when Napoleon had control
of most of Germany.

The enemy: The description of the enemy as a
hidden or unexpected danger was seen above in "Stamford an
Gökingk" where he refers to the "Tiroler" as a snipers (p.
188 this text). Further in the same poem, he states that he
does not mind the troubles of soldiering if only his
friend's house and fields are protected from the danger and
thievery of the "Kroaten":

noch blinkt
Durch deine Saaten
Kein Heer Kroaten,
Das, statt der Thaten,
Die Gleim besingt,
Bei Nacht und Nebel
Mit blankem Säbel
In Dörfer dringt,

Wo Arm' es schreckt

Und elend macht . . . (93)

Once again, the Croats are depicted as dishonorable and devious, coming by night and breaking the rules against pillaging the civilians.

The common soldier: Stamford's view of the soldier's reason for being is specific to his particular duties. As an engineer in the Prussian army, he was presumably involved in encampment fortifications during the War of Bavarian Succession (1778-79), and in the poem "Stamford an Götingk. Im Lager bei Welsdorf, den 16ten July 1778," Stamford describes his duties:

All mein Beginnen
Ist nun: zu sinnen,
Wie noch so sehr
Verwachs'ne Wege,
Für Friedrichs Heer,
Und Felsenstege,
Gut und geschwind
Zu bahnen sind;
Und wie ich Flecken,
Nur eingefaßt
Von Zaun und Hecken,
In aller Hast
Durch Kunst soll decken;

Nach dem Clairac
Wall und Verhack
Darum erbau'n,
Den Feind zu schrecken,
Dem nie zu trau'n. (91-92)

Stamford speaks of real problems with real solutions. He, as a soldier, has a specific task to perform, to which he devotes himself completely. The language is simple, and yet the information presented in some detail. He describes his job, as well as in the manner in which he expects to perform it ("Nach dem Clairac" refers to a handbook on fortifications), giving other specific information as well. There were two Prussian armies in the field at that time, and Stamford indicates that he was in Frederick's army. The army is readying for the imminent onslaught of the enemy:

wir stehn
Mit zweien Heeren
Dem Feinde nah,
Das Schwert in Händen,
Den Zwist zu enden,
Zum Kampfe da. . . (91)

The image of the soldier matter-of-factly performing his wartime duties is presented using everyday language.

The poet-soldier's view of himself: In "Stamford an Gökingk" the poet speaks of his attitude toward fighting.

He is not afraid of what may happen:

Ich, aber ich,
Um den seit Jahren
Kein Auge sich
Mehr trübe weint,
Will jedem Feind,
Und den Gefahren
Mit frohem Muth
entgegen sehen . . . (95-96).

He does not speak further of the upcoming battle, except to inform his friend that he will not be able to write or see him for some time: "Nun werd' ich länger, / Als je geschehn, / Von dir nichts hören, / Und dir nichts sehn" (90)! He considers only his immediate task. There is no talk of past or future empires nor of patriotic deeds.

Summary

Three poet-soldiers and their imagery of war were discussed in this chapter -- Ewald Christian von Kleist, Johann George Scheffner, and Heinrich Wilhelm von Stamford. All three men were officers in the Prussian army and served under Frederick the Great. Kleist and Stamford were career military men; Scheffner served for two years as ensign during the Seven Years' War. These poet-soldiers wrote few actual "war" poems, but many of their verses deal with certain aspects of war and soldiering.

Each of the three writers addresses to some degree the issue of origins of war. Kleist depicts war as a autonomous force which arises from the unknown to wreak havoc on humanity and destroy the natural order. He also points to certain defects of the human spirit, such as envy, selfishness, and greed that lead society to war. A similar view of the origins of war is apparent in Stamford's verses. Scheffner cites the arbitrary anger of kings as a cause for war.

Kleist often employs nature imagery to express certain aspects of war. War is compared to storms, floods, restless seas, and other destructive natural events. His nature imagery is highly descriptive and metaphorical. He often depicts death through nature imagery. Other aspects of war such as death and deprivation are sometimes described by means of nature imagery. Scheffner contrasts the beauty of nature to the environment of war.

We find no images of the eager warrior in the verses of any of these poets, although each expresses a willingness to fight and die for Frederick. Faint strains of Prussian patriotism can be found in the poetry of Kleist and Scheffner, but this element is not a prominent motif.

Images of death vary from Kleist's melancholy nature/death imagery to the bloodbath of Scheffner's battleground at Hochkirch, to Stamford's contemplating his death on the eve of battle. Kleist speaks of spiritual

deprivation as an aspect of war. His soldier misses the peace and solitude away from society that he had as a civilian. Scheffner portrays a lonely soldier, missing his friends and yearning for the ease and comforts of his civilian life. Physical deprivation is a theme in both Scheffner and Stamford. They complain of heat, fatigue, lack of sleep, and bad food.

Kleist, Scheffner, and Stamford present a negative view of leaders. They are portrayed as incompetent, vain, and greedy. The exception is Frederick the Great who receives accolades from all three poets. For the most part heroes are depicted as honorable but misguided in their quest for fame and glory. Depictions of the enemy are presented in a fairly restrained manner in most cases. The Croatian is portrayed as the wildest and most devious enemy, but no accounts of atrocities are related by any of the three poets.

Portrayal of the common soldier is not a motif in Kleist's poetry. Scheffner is greatly concerned with the civilian's view of the soldier. He admits that the soldier is sometimes crass and rowdy, but he resents criticism stemming from the civilian's misconception of the soldier's lot. He also addresses the difficulties of maintaining sensitivity under the conditions of warfare. Stamford depicts a soldier accepting his role with cheerfulness and dedication.

Kleist does not portray himself in his works, except for his stated willingness to fight and die for Frederick and Prussia. Scheffner refers often to his situation as a poet-soldier and expresses concern for his "muse" in the midst of war. He often gives his reasons for joining the army, and just as often expresses regret over the decision. He concludes that even though the naive patriotic fires quickly burned out, he will honor his oath and persevere in his duties as a soldier.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

Six poet-soldiers and their imagery of war have been investigated in this study -- Diederich von dem Werder, Georg Greflinger, and Christian Brehme from the era of the Thirty Years' War, and Ewald Christian von Kleist, Johann George Scheffner, and Heinrich Wilhelm von Stamford from the Prusso-Austrian wars. The aims of the study were twofold -- to ascertain how these writers depicted war and its various components through imagery in their poetic works, and to note changes in such imagery in the intervening century between the two periods of conflict. Attention was focused on certain categories of imagery, including the origins of war, the soldier's cause, nature, death, destruction and deprivation, leaders and heroes, the enemy, the common soldier, and the poet-soldier's view of himself in war.

What the poets from the two periods express as the cause of war is basically quite different. We find in the imagery of the poet-soldiers of the Thirty Years' War a religious component which has only a weak and vague presence in the works of the later poets. Werder and Greflinger depict causation for war as a combination of fate and God's revenge on, or punishment of, an errant society. God and Mars are often interchangeable in the imagery of causation

in their works.

The poet-soldiers of the eighteenth century show war as a result of corrupt human nature -- from heads of state to the common man. Selfishness, arrogance, greed, and the quest for fame are characteristics of human beings which lead them to wage war.

The individual poet-soldiers of the Thirty Years' War do not reveal themselves in their poetry. However, they depict a soldier who fights for honor, fame, or simply for the thrill of it. Kleist, Scheffner, and Stamford express their willingness to fight and, if necessary, to die for Frederick and Prussia. In addition to revealing their purpose for going to war, Scheffner and Stamford speak of their duties as a soldier.

The comparison of war and battle to certain destructive events in nature was found to be favored by poet-soldiers from both war periods. In both Werder and Kleist nature is personified as a horrified witnesses who bewails the carnage of war. Greflinger and Kleist often employ similes of nature as a destructive force to depict war; for example, war is compared to a flood in the verses of both Greflinger and Kleist, but the construction of the image is different. In Greflinger we find enumeration to be the vehicle for the image:

Wie / wann ein Dam zerbricht /
Das Wasser stöhmig sich auf Wiesen / Gärten / Felder /

Gebäude / Menschen / Vieh und angelegne Wälder //
Ergüsset / niederreist und alles nichtig macht

. . . (2: 356-59). Kleist's war/flood simile is created with the use of more extensive description; for instance in the following passage from "Cissides und Paches":

Wie ein Strom, im frühen Lentz
Von Regengüssen und geschmolznen Schnee
Geschwollen, rauscht, und aus den Ufern dringt,
Die Flur zum Meere macht und Wohnungen
Des Landmanns, Bäum und Stein fortrollt und tobt,
Daß Fels und Wald erschrickt und drüber klagt:

(251, 14-21).

The extent of nature description and especially the degree of personification of certain aspects of nature are peculiarities of the poet-soldiers of the eighteenth century, compared to the earlier ones. In Kleist and Scheffner, the natural order is reversed by war --- day becomes night from the clouds of smoke or dust of the battlefield, and the night sky is brightened by the fires of war. But Scheffner rarely employs nature imagery in such a way, and Stamford not at all. Scheffner pictures an idyllic natural landscape as a comparison to the chaotic environment of war. His nature scenes are replete with fields of flowers and hedges for the nature-lover's enjoyment during his evening stroll.

Many different pictures of death are found in all six poet-soldiers, as one might expect. In general, the earlier poets tend to depict death in a collective and impersonal manner. This is seen in Werder's "Magdeburg," where the death of the city/inhabitants is allegorized by the death of the maiden and later categorized by groups, such as the soldiers and the citizenry. The only individual death mentioned is that of the city's military leader. Similar images of death appear in Grefflinger, especially relating to battlefield death, where we find piles of faceless bodies, or cities with thousands dead. Except for military leaders, the death of individuals is rarely depicted. One of those rare instances in Grefflinger is his narration of the individuals being slaughtered at Magdeburg. Brehme's battlefield death scenes are not elaborated upon whatsoever, and death is expressed in military terms as a natural consequence of war. In both Werder and Grefflinger, there is the idea that death is a welcome end to the trials and tribulations of life in the midst of the horrors of war.

A more personalized depiction of death is discernible in the works of the later poets. In Kleist's "Sehnsucht nach Ruhe" images of death are still generic and include the individual -- lover, father, child -- whose death causes grief and pain to another. He employs extensive metaphors of nature to express death; for instance, he compares the lover's death to a rose being cut, and the death of the

child as a tender shoot swept down by the wind. The poet-soldier contemplating his death in battle is a motif in the works of the three eighteenth-century poet-soldiers. Kleist reflects on the possibility of dying in "Ode an die preußische Armee." Stamford admits the possibility of dying in upcoming battle in the poem "Stamford an Gökingk" and Scheffner hopes to live on in the memory of his friend in "Schreiben an Emilien."

Deprivation in war is not a motif in Werder and Brehme, but Grefflinger's concept of deprivation is suffering from lack of food, shelter, weaponry, or ammunition. He describes the suffering of groups affected by war, such as armies or a city under siege. Deprivation of the spirit as well as the body is a recurring motif in the later poet-soldiers. Kleist expresses deprivation as the loss of solitude and peace among the beauties of nature. In Scheffner's poems we find traces of the Kleistian desire to be away from society with its wars and to enjoy the serenity of nature. In addition, Scheffner bemoans his separation from friends and sweetheart, a frequent complaint in his poems to Emilie. Scheffner's depiction of physical deprivation focuses on the poet-soldier himself. He reveals common concerns of the soldier, such as sleepless nights, uncomfortable quarters, fatigue, cold, and other seemingly petty problems of the soldier in camp and on the march. Stamford expresses the worry that no one would cry for him

if he were killed in the upcoming battle. He also portrays the realities of soldiering. He describes his duties in the field as an engineer clearing paths for Frederick's cumbersome war machine while suffering under the hot July sun. This tendency towards individualization of the war experience is certainly one of the most striking differences in the war imagery of the two periods.

Portraits of leaders and heroes can be found in all of the poet-soldiers studied. In the Thirty-Years' War era, Greflinger's historical epic is filled with praise of the Protestant military leaders, whom he compares to great heroes of the Bible and of classical mythology. Even Catholic leaders receive a measure of respectful treatment. Werder refers to the hero (Gustavus Adolphus) who will avenge the destruction of Magdeburg. Brehme's swashbuckler is brave on the battlefield and true to his colors, but no special epithets or imagery define him. Apart from an occasional accolade to a fallen general, hero worship in the works of the eighteenth-century poet-soldiers is practically limited to Frederick of Prussia. From this single-minded devotion of one man emanate the early strains of patriotic expression, as I discussed in the summary of chapter 3.

In Werder's "Magdeburg" all of the worst traits of an enemy are encompassed in the person of Tilly. He is referred to an inhuman monster, an unnatural being, and a murderous bridegroom. Greflinger speaks of a fiendish enemy

and singles out the Croats as devils in human form. He depicts them as dismembering live victims, and beheading women. Brehme employs no special epithets to refer to the enemy. In Kleist's poems we find the enemy depicted as mad swarms of barbarians driven by envy. He also singles out Croats as wild hordes who do not follow the rules of eighteenth-century warfare. A similar picture of the enemy is found in the works of Scheffner and Stamford. The major difference in these portraits of the enemy is that the eighteenth-century poets do not depict the enemy committing atrocities.

The common soldier is practically invisible in the imagery of Werder and Greflinger, except as a collective. Werder asserts that the military dead of Magdeburg will receive their reward in heaven. In a few instances Greflinger speaks of the common soldiers as brave and refers to them as lions in battle. Brehme presents the soldier as a professional, eager for battle and the booty to be had on winning. More emphasis is given to the common soldier by the poet-soldiers of the Prusso-Austrian wars. Scheffner is very much concerned with the common soldier, and comments on the misperceptions which civilians have of military men. Much of Scheffner's imagery of the soldier concerns the difficulties of maintaining sensibility and decorum in the maelstrom of war. Mars, the god of war, survives as a maker of war in the eighteenth century, but the persona is

aspects of their war experience. Scheffner fills many pages with verse dealing with his life as a soldier. He speaks of the difficulties of pursuing his art while living the life of a soldier and how he strives to maintain both sensitivity and strength in war. He depicts himself as a youthful idealistic patriot who gets a hard lesson in realism as a soldier. Stamford's views of himself reflect a professional soldier who knows the realities of war and performs his duties with competence and a minimum of complaint.

The poet-soldiers of the Thirty Years' War cannot conceive of peace in their lifetime. Peace is to be found in heaven at the end of their life of tribulations. On the other hand, the poet-soldiers of the Prusso-Austrian Wars know that peace will come eventually, and they express hope that they will be alive to enjoy it. The difference in attitudes toward peace is probably symptomatic of the difference in the type of warfare they experienced. The goals of the warring parties in the Thirty Years' War were total victory and subjugation of their adversaries. This was not the case in the Prusso-Austrian Wars, when the goals of warfare were limited. Neither Prussia nor Austria wished to annihilate the other.

Although it is very difficult to generalize about the imagery of six poets of different backgrounds, fighting different wars in different times, there is a distinct trend toward personalization of the war experience in the works of

the poet-soldiers of the Prusso-Austrian wars. Willingness to die for leader and country is a motif found in the works of Kleist, Scheffner, and Stamford, but it is not a central motif in any work. Patriotism was to become a major theme in the works of poet-soldiers of Wars of Liberation, when a national consciousness would awake in response to the threat of Napoleon.

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