

Notes

BOOK I

CHAPTER 1: *Describes the rustic origins of Simplicius and how he was brought up in keeping therewith*

1. Amongst the common folk...born and bred in Guinea: this satire on the parvenu and pretender to noble birth, as Scholte pointed out, is taken, in some parts verbatim, from Garzoni, Discourse 19 (p. 119 f.), not from Martin Freudenhold's "Guzman", as Rudolf von Payer had thought (Freudenhold also borrowed from Garzoni); Scholte (p. 119 f.) presents in parallel texts the pertinent passages from all three works.
2. in summa: in sum, to sum up, in a word.
3. the Sugar Boy gang in Prague: a notorious band of thieves, headed by a man named Zuckerbastl, which I have rendered as "Sugar Boy"; Grimmelshausen here departs from his model, which compares the "new noblemen" to Brontes and Sterops, the soot-blackened cyclopes who toiled in Vulcan's blacksmithy. Bobertag (DNL 33, xxviii) pointed out that reference is made to the same gang in Nikolaus Ulenhart's translation of Cervantes' Rinconete y Cortadillo, which appeared, together with the same translator's version of Lazarillo des Tormes, in 1617 under the title *Zwo kurtzweilige, lustige und lächerliche Historien*.... Ulenhart moved the scene of the action in Cervantes' novella, which he entitled "History von Isaac Winckelfelder und Jobst von der Schneid," to Prague. The passage in question occurs when the two protagonists are observed in the act of stealing and are then informed by the observer, himself a professional thief: "If a man wishes to be safe, he should sign on with a man here whom the criminal element commonly call Sugar Boy; he is the leader, the master, the ather, and the father-confessor of all those who desire to pass their lives and support themselves by stealing and other such-like things" (p. 245 f.). Grimmelshausen may have been

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prompted to use “Sugar Boy” in the simile by the fact that he is described in the Ulenhart version as dressed completely in black, with a black face (p. 56 f.). Carl Alt (p. 32 f.) pointed out yet other borrowings from Ulenhart’s version (see below).

4. nobilistes: noblemen.

5. My Pa...: the following satire on “the noble life of the peasantry” is taken, in many instances verbatim from Garzoni’s Discourse 19; Scholte (p. 120 f.) presents parallel texts.

6. the Spessart Forest: a highland forest situated between the Main River and the Kinzig River.

7. which useful and noble tree...fat hams are hung: in German the phrase is unclear; it reads “welcher nutzliche edle Baum / als worauff Bratwärste und fette Schunken wachsen” (literally “which useful noble tree on which sausages and fat hams grow”).

8. the very weaver...with Minerva herself: a spider. The allusion is to Arachne, a Lydian maiden who took such great pride in her spinning that she challenged Minerva (Athena) to compete with her; when Minerva could find no flaw in a piece of cloth woven by Arachne, she tore it to shreds; Arachne, in despair, then hanged herself, but Minerva saved her life and then turned her into a spider. Grimmelshausen could have read the tale in Garzoni, Discourse 52 (p. 381).

9. St. Papyrus: the original German is “St. Nitglas” (St. Not-glass), a play on words on St. Nicholas and reference to the fact that the windows were made of oiled paper.

10. it takes more time and effort to make paper...: in the so-called “Schermesser Episode”—in Chapter 11 of the *Continuatio* (Book VI of later *Simplicissimus* editions)—the making and fate of paper, from the planting of

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the flax seed to the use of waste paper in a privy, is treated (Garzoni, Discourse 52, was apparently the inspiration for the episode).

11. Murano: a city near Venice, since the thirteenth century the site of the Venetian glass manufacturing industry. Garzoni (Discourse 63, p. 418) claims that “the art of glass blowing has now risen so high in Murano that there is nothing one can design which they cannot fabricate.”

12. *disciplina militaris*: military exercises, military training.

13. *general commando*: general command.

14. because it is really not my purpose here...: the German here—“weil es ohne das allhier umb keine Adeliche Stiftung zu thun ist / da ich soll auff schwören”—is unclear, but presumably Grimmelshausen, as Alt (p. 32 f) noted, has taken over in garbled form a remark from Ulenhart’s translation of Cervantes (p. 269) which is clear enough: “...(weil es an diesem Ort nicht umb Adeliche Stifter zu thun / zu denen wir sollen auffgeschworen werden). . . .”

15. *principia*: principles.

16. *exercitia*: exercises.

17. *Amplistides*...*Suidas*...: this bit of erudition is taken verbatim from Garzoni, Discourse 15 (for parallel texts see Scholte, p. 121); *Amplistides* should read *Amphistides* (the name of one of the fool figures in Greek comedy who was extremely stupid); *Suidas*, the famous Greek lexicographer who flourished c. 970 A. D., mentioned this example of stupidity (*Suidae Lexicon*, ed. Bernhardt, vol I, col. 1081).

18. *Jalemi songs*: songs of lament, dirges; the term is derived from the Greek word for lament, dirge. Grimmelshausen’s source is Garzoni, Discourse 40 (p. 348), where the context probably led him to presume that *Jalemi songs* were those whose music was unbearable bad or cacophonous. In instances

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where Scholte did not find borrowings, I shall include the text 1) of the Source (S) and 2) of Grimmelshausen's edition princeps (ST). S: "Und man findet manchen Narren / welcher sich wol für einen Orpheum oder Amphionem darff außgeben / macht aber einen kalten und unlustigen Ialemi Gesang an / welcher solcherkünstlichen Stück halben / eine ewigen Namen hinderlassen / daß man / wie Paulus Manutius saget / solche Gesäng Ialemi Gesäng nennet / davon die Teutschen / so zwar haben hören leuten / wissen aber nicht in welchem Dorff / sagen / er gehe auff ein La, mi auß."; ST: "Sonst war ich ein trefflicher Musicus auff der Sackpfeiffen / mit deren ich schöne Ialemi-Gesäng machen konte..."

19. theologia: theology.
20. studio legum: the study of law.
21. lectiones: lessons.

CHAPTER 2: Describes the first stage of nobility to which Simplicius rose, together with an encomium to shepherds, with appended excellent instructions

22. Strabo...: Grimmelshausen here borrows nearly verbatim from Garzoni, Discourse 40 (Scholte, p. 122, presents parallel texts). Strabo (c. 64 B.C.-24 A.D.) was the foremost Roman geographer.
23. since the beginning of the world...amiable office of herdsman: the source of this "Encomium to Herdsmen" is Garzoni, Discourse 54 (Scholte, p. 122 ff., presents parallel texts).
24. Moses...: the number (not mentioned at all in Garzoni, and thus apparently an interpolation made by Grimmelshausen) is actually given as 603,550 in the Bible (Numbers 1, 46).

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25. Bubulcus, Statilus, Pomponius, Vitulus, Vitellios, Annius, Caprus: a strange mixture of Roman family names (Statilius, Pomponius, Vitellius, Annius) and surnames (Bubulcus, Vitulus, Capra), of which only four refer to herded animals: Bubulcus (plowman, one who plows with oxen, from *bos*, *bovis*, adj. *bubulus* - ox, bull, cow); Vitulus (bull calf); Vitellius (from Vitellus - little calf); and Capra (from *capra* - nanny goat, *caper* - billy goat). The reason for the confusion becomes clear when the sequence as it appeared in Grimmelshausen's source is considered (names are in the accusative plural): "Iunios, Bubulcos, Statilios, Tauros, Pomponios, Vitullos, Vitellios, Portios, Annios, Capros." While the punctuation here makes it appear as if all the names were of the same sort, the sequence in which they appear indicates that reference is being made to four Roman families by name and surname (*nomen et cognomen*), namely the family of Iunius Bubulcus, Statilius Taurus, Pomponius Vitulus, and Annius Capra. Marcus Terentius Varro, in *De re rusticarum* II, i, 10, cites the latter three as examples of families whose names derived from the terms for domestic animals. Vitellius was a well-known name because of the Roman emperor who bore it (reigned A.D. 69, between Otho and Vespasian); Portius, finally, is apparently a misprint of Porcius (from *porcus* - pig), a Roman family also cited by M. Terentius Varro. The confusion introduced by erroneous punctuation in Grimmelshausen's source is compounded, of course, by the fact that Grimmelshausen (or his editor) omitted from the sequence Iunios and Tauros.

26. Romulus and Remus: Romulus was the legendary founder of Rome who, together with his twin brother Remus, was suckled by a she-wolf, then discovered by Faustulus, a herdsman, and brought up among his companions.

27. Spartacus: originally a shepherd, he was sold into slavery and trained to be a gladiator. In about 73 B. C. he escaped and became the leader of a band of runaway slaves which soon grew so large that he was able, in 73-71 B.C.,

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to defeat one Roman army after another. He was finally slain in a battle near the river Silarus.

28. Lucian...in his dialogo *Helena*: Lucian (c. 120-180 A.D.), a Greek writer and greatest of the second-century sophists, flourished during the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The dialogus *Helena*, more rightly the *dearum iudicium* (Judgment of the Goddesses) is a separate dialogue but is traditionally printed as the twentieth of Lucian's *Dialogues of the Gods*; it portrays the "judgment of Paris" and of course mentions Paris, Priam, and Anchises and makes clear that they are herdsmen.

29. Paris: the second son of Priam, King of Troy, and Hecuba; Paris' abduction of Helen, the wife of Menelaus, brought about the Trojan War.

30. Anchises: because he rivaled the gods in beauty, Aphrodite (Venus) became enamored of him and bore him a son, Aeneas, who, after the fall of Troy, carried his blind father on his shoulders out of the burning city.

31. Endymion...Luna: Endymion was a youth famous for his beauty; while he was sleeping on Mount Latmus Selene (Luna), the moon goddess, became captivated by his beauty, came down to earth, kissed him, and lay down beside him.

32. Polyphemus: the son of Poseidon (Neptune); he was one of the Cyclops, gigantic monsters who had only one eye, and that in the center of the forehead. He captured Ulysses, who escaped with his men by blinding the giant. He is described in *Acerra philologica* II, 14 (p. 214 f.).

33. Phornutus: Lucius Annaeus Phornutus (Phurnutus), or Cornutus was a Stoic philosopher who flourished around 50 A. D.; his work on the gods was entitled, in the Latin translation of the original Greek, *De natura deorum*....

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34. Apollo...Admetus: after Apollo, one of the major Greek gods, slew the Cyclops he was required to live as a mortal for nine years, during which time he tended the flocks of Admetus, who was king of Pherae in Thessaly.

35. Mercury: Roman god of commerce and financial gain (equivalent to the Greek god Hermes); see below, Notes to Book III, Chapter 4. Daphnis: son of Mercury (Hermes) and a nymph; he was deemed to be the founder of bucolic poetry.

36. Pan: Greek god of flocks and herdsmen; he is generally thought of as a son of Hermes (Mercury). See also Notes to Book III, Chapter 4.

37. Proteus: a man endowed with prophetic powers, he appears in early Greek legend as a subject of Poseidon (Neptune), whose flocks of seals he tended.

38. Mesha: 2 Kings 3, 4: "And Mesha king of Moab was a sheepmaster...."

39. Cyrus...Mithridates: Cyrus (the Elder) was the founder of the Persian empire. According to legend his grandfather, even before Cyrus was born, ordered him killed after a dream seemed to portend that Cyrus would become ruler of all Asia; instead of carrying out the grandfather's order, the man to whom the new-born child was given took Cyrus to a herdsman, by whom the boy was then raised (Herodotus, Persian Wars I, 110f.); Mithridates should actually read Mitradates (cf. Herodotus, Persian Wars I, 110).

40. Gyges: a Lydian king who reigned from 716 to 678 B.C.; according to legend Gyges, while a herdsman, found a ring which made its wearer invisible. The tale is retold in *Acerra philologica* I, 49 (p. 86 ff.) and in Garzoni, Discourse 58 (p. 403).

41. Ismael Sophi: founder of a Persian dynasty (1487-1524).

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42. Philo the Jew...in his *vita Moysis*: Philo Judaeus (first century A. D.) discussed the life of Moses in two treatises which are generally entitled *De vita Mosis* (despite the fact that they were written in Greek); the quotation cited is found in I, 60).

43. *bellicosa* and *martiala ingenia*: war-like and martial geniuses, i.e. great military leaders.

44. But to return to my flock...: Kurz (p. 368) suspected that the expression was an allusion to “*Pour revenir a nos moutons*,” which was well known from its use by Rabelais and by Moliere in his *Farce de Pathelin*.

CHAPTER 3: *Reports of the fellow-suffering of a loyal bagpipe*

45. making such a racket...in the herb-garden with it: this rather strange trope is taken verbatim from Garzoni, *Discourse 42* (p. 348); see also below, Notes to Book III, Chapter 3.

46. Vogelsberg Mountain: der Vogelsberg is a mountain (772 meters high) which rises above the southern Hessian highlands.

47. The Peasant's Song: Grimmelshausen's source has not yet been identified; concerning Grimmelshausen and the peasantry see Hans Dieter Gebauer, *Grimmelshausens Bauerndarstellung*, Marburg: Elwert, 1977 (*Marburger Beiträge zur Germanistik* 53).

48. *cuirassiers*: light cavalymen who wore as armor only a cuirass, a doublet of leather, or sometimes metal.

49. as the American Indians did...: the source of this anecdote has not been determined. Könnecke (I, 149 f.) believed that *Simplicissimus'* perception of horse and rider as a single creature was inspired by a similar misapprehension on the part of Parzifal. The similarities between the early

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years of *Simplicissimus* and of the hero of Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzifal* have long been noted: both spend their boyhoods in the forest, far removed from all save the immediate family, and both are so naive as to seem perfect fools. Weydt (p. 202 ff.) reviews earlier comparisons of *Simplicissimus* and *Parzifal* and gives a comprehensive list of motif correspondances.

50. centauris: centaurs: wild beasts who were half horse and half man.

51. And so my mare...*primum mobile*: this far-fetched simile was doubtless inspired by a similar image used by Garzoni in Discourse 44 (p. 352): S: "Die Wirth halten sich auch nit allzeit zum besten / ziehen einen bißweilen eine Meren unter / die einen stättigen Trab hat / wie das *primum mobile*,..."; ST: "Also gieng meine Mehr mit mir dahin / in einem stetigen Trab / wie das *Primum mobile*,..." Garzoni, in his Discourse 6, defined a *primum mobile* as "the first movement...which the sun takes with it from sunrise till sunset, and which is taken again from sunset till sunrise, from which there arises one natural day." Grimmelshausen presumably had in mind the regular rising and falling, the up and down motion of one not accustomed to riding on horseback. Willi Heining's surmise (p. 84) that the passage indicated Grimmelshausen's knowledge of alchemy is thus groundless.

CHAPTER 4: *Simplicius' palace is conquered, plundered, and destroyed, and the soldiers do terrible damage in it*

52. atrocities...: Bechtold suggests (p. 36 f.) that the scene was inspired by a description of similar plundering in Moscherosch, *Zauberbecher* (p. 297).

53. this German war of ours: in Grimmelshausen's historical source, Wassenberg, the Thirty Years' War is broken down into a series of wars, each named after the primary scene of the action or a major participant; since the "German war" does not appear as one of them, it would seem that this

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is Grimmelshausen's sardonic comment on the fact that after the fall of the "Winter King" in 1620 all the major military actions took place on German soil.

54. the Golden Fleece of Colchis: the golden fleece was suspended from an oak tree in the grove of Ares in Colchis; Jason and his companions on the Argo (the argonauts) were sent by Pelias, the king of Thessaly, to get it away from the Colchian king Acetes. With the help of the king's daughter, Medea, Jason succeeded in taking possession of the golden fleece and escaping from Colchis with it. Grimmelshausen was probably familiar with the tale from its re-narration in *Acerra philologica* I, 87, p. 88 f.; Garzoni, p. 684; Herold's version of Diodorus Siculus, p. cc ff.

55. "Swedish Punch": liquid excrement.

56. But my Pa...nearly died laughing: this episode may have been inspired by a popular anecdote about Dracula, who inflicted a similar torture on his victims; the anecdote appears, among other places, in Zanach's *Historische Erquickstunden* I, 160.

CHAPTER 5: *How Simplicius ran away and was frightened by rotted trees*

57. Nova Zembla: Novaya Zemlya ("new land"), two large islands extending from Russia northwest into the Arctic.

CHAPTER 6: *A short chapter, and so pious that Simplicius falls into a swoon*

58. the encounter with the hermit: various works have been cited as models or inspiration for this episode: Bloedau (p. 27 f.) cites Balthasar

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Kindermann's *Die unglückliche Nisette*, Bechtold (p. 40 f.) the beginning of Part II of *Guzman, Konopatzki* (p. 44 f., 145) Paphnutius' description of his first encounter with St. Onuphrius, as related in the *Vitae patrum I*, "Vita sancti Onuphrii, eremitae, and Bechtold (p. 41 f.) the tale of the alchemist in Moscherosch, "Kauff-haus."

59. a heavy iron chain such as St. William wears: Grimmelshausen scholars are not in complete agreement about which St. William is meant. While most who attempt to identify him at all believe he is William Duke of Aquitaine (8th century), Borchardt identifies him (p. 357) as the St. William who lived in the twelfth century, was converted by St. Bernard, undertook, dressed in chains and a helmet, a pilgrimage to Rome and the Holy Land, and then lived in Sienna as a hermit until his death in 1157. The St. William whom Grimmelshausen has in mind is doubtless the legendary hero of the *chansons de geste* whom Wolfram von Eschenbach treated in his *Willehalm* and who represents the fusion of more than a dozen historical personages named William (Guillaume) who participated in the struggle against the invading Saracens in the eighth century and in the subsequent French conquest of Catalonia. Two of these in particular contributed to the figure of legend: William of Orange (Guillaume d'Orange), later St. William of Gellone; and William Fairhair (Guillaume tete d'etoupe), who was Duke of Aquitaine. The former, who was in the service of Charlemagne, defended Narbonne against the Saracens, fought valiantly against them in the battle at Villedaigne, and in 803 took Barcelona from them; in 804 he founded a monastery in Gellone (now called Saint Guilhem-le-Desert), to which he retired in 806 and where he died in 812. Duke William of Aquitaine (died 983) was as loyal to his master, Louis IV, as William of Orange had been to Charlemagne. The confusion of the two men in the popular imagination may have occurred because Louis the Pious, whom Charlemagne put under William of Orange's charge in 790, bore among other titles that of King of Aquitaine. In any event,

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the deeds and piety of William of Orange soon came to be attributed to Duke William of Aquitaine. The view that Grimmelshausen had this figure in mind is supported by the fact that above the picture of St. William in Aegidius Albertinus' *Himmlische Cammer-Herren* (p. 526), which shows him with a Bible in his right hand, a staff in his left, a helmet on his head, and chains wrapped around his waist, the saint is identified as "S. Willhelmus Hertzog" (Saint William, Duke). Konopatzki reproduces the picture (opposite p. 48).

60. this old man must needs be the wolf. . . . Konopatzki (p. 46, 145) suggests that the mistaking of the hermit for a wolf was inspired by the anecdote in the *Vitrum patrum* about the herdsmen who came upon the hermit Aceptsimas and took him to be a wolf because the weight of the chains he was wearing caused him to walk bent over as if he were going on all fours. It seems more likely that Grimmelshausen was prompted to link the hermit who reminded him of St. William to a wolf by the quatrain in German which was printed directly under his picture in *Himmlische Cammer-Herren*: "Ein Wolff zuvor Wilhelmus war / Hernach mild als ein Lämblein gar / Da Gottes Gnad sein Hertz berührt / Und ihn zur Sünden Büssung führt" ("Before William was a wolf, Afterwards mild as a little lamb, Since God's grace touches his heart and leads him to repent of his sins").

61. St. Anthony the Great: a famous hermit in Egypt (died 356 A. D.) who several times successfully warded off the devil's efforts do disturb him during his religious devotions; the subject of the "temptation of St. Anthony" was a favorite theme of painters in medieval times and later.

CHAPTER 7: *Simplicius is treated like a friend in humble quarters*

62. "O Morning Star, How Fair and Bright!": the hermit's song is identical in rhythm to the text of this popular protestant hymn (*Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern*), the text of which was written by Philipp Nicolai (1556-1608)

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in 1599 and set to music by Scheidemann; a number of other hymn texts (and at least one secular one) were set to the same music (Weydt, *Nachahmung*, 163-90 discusses them in detail); whether Grimmelshausen composed the text himself or, as seems more likely, copied it from an as yet unidentified source, has not yet been determined.

CHAPTER 8: *How Simplicius, by means of exalted eloquence, gives evidence of his excellence*

63. Ursula: Könnecke (I, 153, and Footnote 5) established that the name did occur in Grimmelshausen's own family and that his mother-in-law was named Ursula.

CHAPTER 9: *Simplicius turns from a bestia into a Christian human being*

64. my probationary year: the year which a novice was required to serve before he was permitted to take monastic orders.

65. St. Gertrude: St. Gertrude of Nivelles (626-659) was the first abbess of the Nunnery of Nivelles, which was founded about 646 by her mother, Ita. St. Gertrude's feast day, as Grimmelshausen noted in his *Perpetual Calendar* (p. 60), was March 17.

66. Since that time I have...found that...: the entire passage is taken almost verbatim from Garzoni's introductory essay, entitled "General Discourse on all the Sciences, Arts, and Trades"; Scholte (p. 124 f.) presents parallel texts.

67. Aristotle...in his lib. 3. de Anima: Aristotle (384-322 B.C.), Greek philosopher, second in fame only to Plato.

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68. Averroes, in lib. 2. de Anima: Averroes (ibn Rushd, c. 1126-c.1198) was the most famous of the Islamic philosophers.

69. Cicero...in lib. t. Tuscul. quaest.: M. Tullius Cicero (106-44 B.C.) was a famous Roman orator; the work referred to is his Tusculanarum disputationum, II, 5, 13.

CHAPTER 10: *In what manner he learned in the wild forest to read and write*

70. The hermit could not but laugh...: the hermit's normal demeanor—calm and amiable equanimity—was that which was considered ideal at the time. A similar episode in *The Singular Life Story of Heedless Hopalong* (Chapter 3, p. 9) reveals that the mature Simplicissimus does attain this ideal of behavior: "Simplicius, however, who had been listening to this conversation, broke out laughing and laughed till he shook, which in fact was the first and last time I ever saw or heard him laugh, for otherwise he comported himself in a very grave manner, and although he spoke in a rough and manly voice, he was more gracious and amiable than he looked, albeit he was in fact right sparing with words."

CHAPTER 11: *Tells of food, household articles, and other necessary things which one requests for life in this world*

71. like Gideon's warriors: Judges 7, 4 ff.

72. Orthographia: the goddess of orthography (correct language).

CHAPTER 12: *Takes note of a beautiful way to die in a state of blessedness and to have oneself buried at slight expense*

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73. Villingen: in 1633 and 1634 Villingen, a city on the eastern edge of the Black Forest which was in the hands of the Imperial forces, was besieged three times by the Swedes; the second time (16 July-9 September 1634) the Swedes built a dam which backed up the Brigach River, on which Villingen was situated, so that the town was flooded. An account of the incident can be found in *Theatrum Europaeum* III, 100.

74. Methuselah: an ancestor of Noah; Methuselah is said to have lived 969 years (Genesis 5, 27).

75. malmsey: a strong sweet wine; it originally came from Monemvasia (Napoli die Malvosia, hence the German name “Malvoisier”) in Morea.

76. till I had...to his rest: the entire passage is based on Garzoni, *Discourse* 143 (p. 349-351). While funeralia (funeral ceremonies) and exequias (rites, obsequies) were copied correctly, either Grimmelshausen or his printer changed Garzoni's *ludos gladiatoros* (gladiatorial games) into the meaningless phrase *luctus gladiatorios* (S: “Es haben aber die Alten unterschiedliche Weisen gehabt / ihre Todten zu begraben / dabey sie auch vielerhand vnnd unterschiedliche Ceremonien gehalten / welche sie funeralia vnd exequias genennet /...”; ST: “biß ich fertig worden / und auff diese Weis die funeralia, exequias und luctus gladiatorios allein geendet /...”) In enumerating the requisites for a proper funeral Grimmelshausen followed Garzoni *verbatim* except in two instances where he shortened his source: S: “Endlich bey dem Begräbnußbedencket man den todten Körper /dz Bahr / den Sarck / die Decke / die Liechter / die Leute / so in beleiten / die Todtenträger / vnd die Clerisey / so den Gesang verrichten.”; ST: “weil ohne das weder Baar / Sarch / Decken / Liechter / Todtenträger noch Gelaits-Leut / und auch kein Clerisey vorhanden gewest / die den Todten besungen hätte.”

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CHAPTER 13: *Simplicius lets himself be pushed hither and thither like a reed in the wind*

77. monachus: monk.

78. Timon: Timon of Athens, a legendary misanthrope who was a contemporary of Pericles; the tale about Timon's gallows was wide spread. Grimmelshausen included the anecdote in the "Gegensatz" of *The Satyrical Pilgrim* I, 2; here it agrees almost verbatim with the rendition of the anecdote found in Boaistuau-Launay's *Theatrum mundi* (four-language version), p. 28 f., and Zanach's *Historische Erquickstunden* III, 4 f.

79. my end stood on hair: Grimmelshausen uses such transpositions to indicate the speaker's fright and confusion; in *The Singular Life Story of Heedless Hopalong* the alleged author, Philarchus, becomes so distraught that he writes that "Day was not built in a Rome" (p. 1).

80. Sauerland: the "Süderland" of Westphalia; it consists of the territory between the Sieg, Möhne and Ruhr and is a forested hill region with deep and narrow valleys.

CHAPTER 14: *A quaint comoedia about five peasants*

81. comoedia: comedy, farce, merry episode.

82. soldateska: soldiers, soldiery.

83. solenniter: solemnly.

84. So you are one of that ilk!: So you are one of those people who have sold their souls to the devil in return for the guarantee that no weapon can kill you. The belief was at the time wide spread that a person could be made "shotfree" (impervious to harm by weapons) by entering into a pact with the devil.

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85. s. v.: *salva venia*, i.e. with your indulgence, i.e. if you'll pardon my language.

CHAPTER 15: *Simplicius is despoiled and has a wondrous dream about the peasantry, and how things go in time of war*

86. antipathia: antipathy, dislike.

87. Amidst these thoughts...: the technique of the symbolic dream or vision (which now follows) is one which Moscherosch favored and employed repeatedly in his "Gesichte" (visions) in *Philander von Sittewald*. Bechtold (p. 43) believed that the "Tree of Mars" was patterned on the "Tree of Society" section in Moscherosch, "Zauberbecher."

88. all manner of fellows: those with long lances are pikemen; those with muskets, musketeers or dragoons; those with pistols, probably troopers of horse; those with partizans, infantrymen; those with flags, ensigns (standard bearers), the lowest commissioned officer rank.

89. partizans: a partizan was a long-handled spear with one or more lateral cutting projections; it was carried by infantrymen in the seventeenth century.

90. commissarii: plural of commissarius, the quartermaster officer in charge of billeting and procuring provisions for the troops.

CHAPTER 16: *What soldiers nowadays do and omit to do, and how difficult it is for one of lowly birth to achieve preferment in the army*

91. Hunger and thirst...: the source of the poem is as yet unknown.

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92. the soldiers' deeds: Bechtold (p. 43 f.) suggested that this passage might have been inspired by a similar description of the soldier's life in Moscherosch, "Soldatenleben."

93. runagates: German "Landstörtzer"; vagabonds, tramps.

94. such old chicken thieves: during the Thirty Years' War it was a matter of honor among foragers to steal only large cattle, and it was considered demeaning to steal anything as small as a chicken; see Hopalong's retort when Simplicissimus' Ma called him a "chicken thief": "Chicken thief? Don't think I wasted my time on such trifles, on such childish tricks! I stole only four-footed animals, and only healthy ones to boot, or I should not deign to take them." (The Singular Life of Heedless Hopalong, p. 54)

95. gradum: grade, military rank.

96. hell-bards: play on words on "halberds"; the halberd was a combination of a spear and a battle-ax, with a sharp blade ending in a point which was affixed to a staff about six feet long.

97. pikemen: the pikeman, protected by a helmet and a breastplate, carried a sword and a pike some eighteen feet long; Hopalong probably summed up the universal attitude towards the pikeman when he said: "Now a musketeer, to be sure, is a poor, harried creature, but compared to a miserable pikeman he enjoys lordly good fortune. It is sad to contemplate, much less to tell, of the hardships these poor boobies are obliged to suffer, and you cannot really believe it unless you have been one yourself. And therefore I think that anyone who slays a pikeman when he could spare his life is murdering an innocent man and can never justify such homicide, for even though these poor dumb cattle (as they are contemptuously called) are assigned the task of protecting brigades against cavalry attack in the open field, they do not, on their own accord, do any harm at all, and anyone who runs into their long spears gets what he deserves. In summa, I have been in many hot encounters in my day,

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but I have seldom seen a pikeman kill anyone.” (The Singular Life of Heedless Hopalong, p. 56 f.).

98. musketeers: the musketeer carried a musket, or firelock, which was about six feet long and so heavy that it had to be rested on a fork or otherwise supported when fired; he also carried a bandolier with extra powder charges.

99. materialia: substances.

100. those with flags: the ensigns; since the soldiers at that time swore allegiance not to any particular country or person but to the flag (standard) of their unit, and because any fighting unit which captured a standard also automatically received all those who had sworn to it, the standard inevitably drew hot enemy attack and thus exposed the ensign, the lowest ranking commissioned officer to considerable danger.

101. Further up sat yet higher ones...: the commissioned officers above the rank of ensign.

102. ink-squigglers: army slang for “company clerks” because they did all the writing; the German verb from which the noun is derived is quite close in meaning to the now obsolete “squitter” (“to void thin excrement”), the thin excrement in this case being black ink.

CHAPTER 17: Though in time of war the nobleman, and rightly so, is given preference over him of low birth, many from the contemptible estate do come to high honors

103. a sergeant major...Sir Lovelord: the abrupt introduction of the two disputants, like the name Lovelord (Adelhold) given to the nobleman, is typical of the practice of Moscherosch in his satires in the form of dreams or

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visions in Philander von Sittewald. A sergeant major was the highest non-commissioned rank. The subject of the dispute—whether military leaders should come from the ranks of the nobility or up through the ranks of the military—was discussed repeatedly in the seventeenth century.

104. A younger ram...: the poem is taken verbatim from Julius Wilhelm Zinkgraf's *Sapientia picta*, Plate LXIII, ("Iam regit argumentum").

105. Moreover, the nobility...non foret esta tui: Source for the passage is Garzoni, Discourse 19; Scholte (*Zonagri*, p. 125 f.) presents parallel texts.

106. John de Platea: Joannes de Platea (died 1427); according to Jöcher III, 1621, he wrote a book entitled *De feudis*.

107. plebeii: commoners, people of base birth.

108. Beata terra,...Eccliaeticus 10: 'Blessed art thou, O land, when thy king is the son of nobles.' The quotation comes from *Ecclesiastes* 10, 17, not from *Eccliaeticus*; Borchardt (p. 361 f.) conjectures that Grimmelshausen's source, Garzoni, confused the abbreviations "Eccle." and "Eccli."

109. Seneca...et sordida: L. Annaeus Seneca (4 B.C.-65 A.D.), the famous Roman philosopher and orator; In English the quotation from Seneca would read: "'Tis the property of a noble soul that it is inspired by what is good; and no man of noble mind is delighted by things which are base and vile." In the German version of Garzoni which Grimmelshausen used, a German translation of the quotation was given, but Grimmelshausen chose to omit it.

110. Fausta Poeta...non foret esta tui: Publio Fausto Andreline of Firli (c. 1462-1518), a humanist, university professor and poet who wrote in Latin, produced a number of literary works, among them *Hecatodistichon* (1512), from which this distich may come. In English the distich would read: "If thou wert born of low estate, of ignoble parents,/ Never wouldst thou possess

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mind and spirit sublime.” Here too Grimmelshausen omitted the German translation which his source provided.

111. Never doth sheer so sharp the sword...: this old saw and slight variations of it are quite common; as Kurz was first to point out (p. 372), a variation is found as early as Freidank's *Bescheidenheit*: “Nieman so nahe schiert, Als wa der bur herre wird.” Strangely enough, I could find no equivalent proverb or saying in English.

112. soldiers of fortune: men who are not of noble birth but choose the military as a profession and rise through the ranks to become officers.

113. A lamp will give you light...: the poem is taken verbatim from Zinkgref's *Sapientia picta*, Plate XLII (“Nisi infundas oleum”).

114. Johann de Werdt: also written Jean de Wert (1600-1652); he was greatly admired by the common soldiers because he, a “soldier of fortune” par excellence, had risen from the rank of common trooper of horse to colonel and, after his victory at the battle of Nördlingen, to the rank of lieutenant field-marshal. He was an officer first in the army of the Duke of Bavaria and then, in 1646, was made a general in the allied Imperial army.

115. Stablejack: Stallhans, or Staalhans, or, as spelled in military correspondence of the time (cf. Könnecke II, 214 f.) Stahlhansch (died 1644), a lieutenant colonel in the Swedish army; Riederer, in his edition of Grimmelshausen's works (II, 603), says he was the child of poor Finnish parents.

116. Little Jim: in German “der kleine Jakob”: the nickname of Jakob Mercier (died 1633), who rose through the ranks to become a colonel in the Hessian army.

117. St. Andreas: Daniel St. Andree, colonel in the Hessian forces in Westphalia in 1637 (cf. Könnecke I, 221 and 250 ff.).

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118. Tamerlane: (1336-1405), Mongolian conqueror of central Asia.
119. Agathocles: (361-289 B.C.), tyrant of Syracuse. According to Polybius (XII 15, 6) his father, Carcinus, was a potter.
120. Valentinian's father: Valentinian I (321-375) was Roman emperor from 364 until his death. His father, Gratianus Funarius (which means "rope-maker") was of low birth; according to Ammianus Marcellinus (*Rerum gestarum* XXX 7, 2), as a boy he carried around rope for sale and fought off grown men who sought to take it away from him.
121. Mauritius Cappadox: Mauricius of Cappadocia (539-602), Byzantine emperor (reigned 582-602); he was not an indentured servant at all, but rather the offspring of an old Roman family which had settled in Arabissus in Cappadocia (cf. Pauly I4, 2387 ff.)
122. Tiberius: Tiberius II (Anicius Thrax, Flavius Constantinus), reigned from 578-582.
123. John Zemisces: Joannes I Zimisces, emperor of Constantinople (969-976); actually, in his early youth he served with distinction in the Greek armies.
124. Flavius Vobiscus: Flavius Vopiscus Syracusius (late 3rd century A.D.), one of the six "scriptores historiae Augustae" and biographer of Bonosus; according to Borcherdt (p. 363) the citation is found in II, 423 of Haurisius' edition *Scriptores historiae Romanae*.
125. Bonosus Imperator: Quintus Bonosus Imperator, a Roman general in the Rhenish provinces; he led a rebellion against Rome and was declared emperor in the provinces, but when the Emperor Probus put down the revolt (in 280 or 281) Bonosus took his own life by hanging himself.

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126. Hyperbolus...Chermes: Hyperbolus, Athenian demagogue during the Peloponnesian War, was ostracized in 417 (or 415), whereupon he went to Samos; he was murdered by the oligarchs of Samos in 411 B.C. Sources disagree as to the name of his father; according to Theopompus of Chios the father's name was "Chremes"—not "Chermes" (cf. Pauly IX 254 ff.).

127. Justinus...Justinian: Justinus I (Flavius Anicus, 450-527), East Roman emperor (518 to 527); he was succeeded by Justinian, surnamed the Great, Roman emperor in Constantinople (527-565) and the driving force behind the establishment of the Pandects and the Justinian Code. Justinus, born to poor parents, is said by Zonaras to have worked in his youth as a herdsman (Procopius says he worked as a farm hand). Cf. Pauly X, 1314.

128. Hugo Capet: founder of the Capetian dynasty in France, and king from 987 to 996.

129. Pizarro: Francisco Pizarro (1475-1541), discoverer and conqueror of Peru.

130. ingenium: mind.

CHAPTER 18: *Simplicius plunges into the world for the first time and suffers ill fortune*

131. Europa: Europe.

132. The mighty oak...: the poem is taken verbatim from Zinkgref's *Sapientia picta*, Plate XXX ("A se confringi tur ipsa").

133. Vale!: Farewell!

134. Gelnhausen: a town on the upper course of the Kinzig River where the river descends from the hills into the Rhine-Main basin.

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135. the battle of Nördlingen: the battle, in which the Imperial army of King Ferdinand of Hungary, reinforced by Spanish troops, defeated the forces of Marshal Horn and Duke Bernhard of Weimar, took place on September 6-7, 1634. Grimmelshausen's other protagonists also experienced the battle. Courage, who was with the Imperials, lost a husband in the fray (Runagate Courage, p. 157); Hopalong, also with the Imperial army, fought in the battle and reports that he took good booty (The Singular Life Story of Heedless Hopalong, p. 62 ff.).

CHAPTER 19: *How Simplicius is taken to Hanau and Hanau is taken with Simplicius*

136. Gelnhausen...Duke of Weimar's troops there: the town was taken and plundered by the Duke of Weimar's troops in September 1634, and again on January 15, 1635 (Könnecke I, 159). Grimmelshausen seems to have conflated the two events. Inasmuch as Gelnhausen was his birthplace, it seems likely that he experienced the earlier attack.

137. Duke of Weimar: Duke Bernhard of Weimar (1604-1639) joined Gustav Adolf's army in 1631 after serving as an officer in the Danish army, and after Gustav's death in the Battle of Lützen became the primary military leader of the Protestant forces in Germany.

138. the splendid fortress of Hanau: situated at the confluence of the Main and the Kinzig, some ten miles from Frankfurt/Main; the well fortified town and garrison was strategically important for the control of the Hessian plain.

139. corps de garde: guard-room, headquarters of the watch.

140. the Greek, the German, or the French fashion: as yet I have been unable to determine what these fashions in hairdressing were.

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141. as they were wont to paint St. William: see above, Notes to Chapter 6.

142. Samoyed: one of a Siberian Mongolian people, related to the Finns; the Samoyeds were hunters and fishers.

143. valete: farewell present.

CHAPTER 20: *In what manner he was delivered from prison and torture*

144. the governor: at the time the governor was Jacob Freiherr von Ramsay (1589-1639), a major general in the Swedish army; he entered Swedish service in 1630 and was made commandant of the Hanau fortress in 1634, in which post he remained until 1638.

145. dragoons: a dragoon was a mounted infantryman and thus combined the mobility of the cavalryman with the fire-power of the infantryman; he carried both pistols and a musket, so he could fight either on horseback or on foot, though he was classified as an infantryman.

CHAPTER 21: *Fickle Fortune smiles upon Simplicius*

146. a painter with his tools: the paints, of course, do not match at all the colors they are supposed to produce; Grimmelshausen's source for this passage has not yet been found.

147. trophaeum: used here in the original sense, i.e. a tree or stone pillar upon which accoutrements taken from the enemy were affixed, as a sign of victory.

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CHAPTER 22: *Who the hermit was whose companionship Simplicius had enjoyed*

148. museum: study, library.
149. Scotland: Ramsay was by birth a Scot; Grimmelshausen here indicates that the hermit was of the same nationality, which conflicts, of course, with the clearly German name of the hermit, which is revealed in Book V, Chapter 8.
150. gloria: glory.
151. the bloody battle of Höchst: in the Battle of Höchst, which was fought on June 22, 1622, General Tilly, the commander of the Imperial forces, defeated the Protestant army led by Duke Christian von Braunschweig. Courage reports that she took part in the battle and captured a major and took much booty (The Runagate Courage, p. 66).
152. General Mansfeld: Count Ernst von Mansfeld (1585-1626).
153. the Evangelical cause: the protestant cause, for which the hermit had fought unsuccessfully in the Battle of Höchst.
154. contrefait: picture, portrait.
155. the battle at Nördlingen: cf. above, Chapter 18.
156. item: also, furthermore.

CHAPTER 23: *Simplicius becomes a page; item, how the hermit's wife was lost*

157. Ramsey: see above, Chapter 20.

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158. a trumpeter: during the Thirty Years' War parleys with the enemy were customarily carried out by trumpeters.

CHAPTER 24: *Simplicius excoriates the folk and sees in the world many idols*

159. the command of Christ: Matthew 7, 1.

160. St. Paul: the quotation is from Galatians 5, 19 ff.; Willi Heining (p. 99 f.) determined that Grimmelshausen here quoted directly from the 1546 Luther translation of the Bible.

161. reputatio: good name, good reputation.

162. Bacchus: Roman god of wine.

163. Ceres: Roman goddess of grain, agriculture.

164. medicus: doctor, physician.

165. associate: the German play on words, GeEsell (Gesell: comrade, and Esel: ass), is an old one. Burkhard Waldis, for example, employs it in his translation of Aesop (Fable 20, line 77), as Borcherdts points out.

166. insecta: literally, insects; here, repulsive creatures.

167. an Ecce homo: depiction of Christ with the crown of thorns.

CHAPTER 25: *To strange Simplicius everything in the world seems strange, and he for his part seems that way to the world too*

168. Christ says: Love your enemies...: Matthew 5, 44-46.

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169. in playing the Jew: in engaging in sharp business practices. Grimmelshausen shares the casual anti-Semitic attitude of virtually all Christians of his time.
170. couillon: scoundrel, rogue, troublemaker; from Vulgar Latin “coleone” (eunuch), which derived from Latin “coleus” (scrotum); it became in French “couillon,” in German “cujon,” and in Italian “coglione.”
171. Then I heard them swear...: Bechtold (p. 493) points out a similar description of soldiers’ curses in Moscherosch, “Soldatenleben.”
172. Christ’s command...”Swear not at all...: Matthew 5, 34.
173. two knaves: this anecdote is elaborated upon in Vogelnest I.

CHAPTER 26: *A strange new way of wishing one another good luck and of greeting one another*

174. the late Sir Samuel: apparently refers to the hermit, whose first name, one would have to assume, was “Samuel”; the hermit’s first name, it should be noted, is never revealed (he is referred to by his title, “Captain”, in Book V, Chapter 8). “Samuel,” of course, could also refer to Samuel Greifsohn von Hirschfeld (another of the many anagrams of his name which Grimmelshausen devised), who is identified in an afterword as the real author of *Simplicissimus* (cf. p.). It seems unlikely that “Samuel” is meant to refer to Samuel S. de Tecla (died 1650), as Borchardt (p. 367) suggested.

CHAPTER 27: *The secretarius is smoked out of the chancellor’s by a foul stench*

175. secretarius: Latin: secretary, clerk, company clerk (in the military), in charge of conducting correspondence for the commanding officer (in this

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case, the governor of the fortress); Grimmelshausen himself occupied this position in Offenburg toward the end of his military career.

176. spiritus papyri: spirit of paper.

177. commissarii: commisars, commissioners.

178. notarii: notaries, law clerks.

179. Fortunatus: hero of *Fortunatus*, a popular chapbook which first appeared in 1509; among the magic objects which the hero possessed was a purse which remained full of coins, no matter how many coins were taken from it.

CHAPTER 28: *One who envies Simplicius teaches him fortunetelling, and another pretty little trick too*

180. where the snake: this display of erudition is taken for the most part verbatim from Garzoni, Discourse 62 (Scholte, 127, prints both texts); Garzoni, however, writes “Medea against Peleager,” thus omitting “against Perseus, Nessus against Hercules, and, what is more, Althea against her own son....”; the omission, it might be noted, goes back to Garzoni’s original Italian version. Whether Grimmelshausen or his publisher’s editor filled in the omission correctly cannot be determined.

181. Nasica: The pairing here makes no sense. “Nasica” might refer to Pub. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio (2nd century B.C.), the leader in the assassination of Tib. Sempronius Gracchus (164-133 B.C.). It is possible, though unlikely, that one of the Renaissance polyhistorians (or a typesetter) mistook “Sempronius” for some form of “serpens” (snake, serpent); it seems more probable that there was an omission here too and that the “snake” was meant to be paired with Heracles (Hercules), who killed with his bare hands

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the two serpents which Hera sent into the chamber where he and his brother were sleeping (he was only a few months old at the time), and that Nasica was meant to be paired with Gracchus. Herold's version of Diodorus Siculus contains the tale of Hercules and the serpents (p. clxxv).

182. Goliath...David: see Samuel 17, 1-11, 17-58.

183. the Minotaur...Theseus: the Minotaur, a monster with the head of a man and the body of a bull, was the result of a liaison between Pasiphae, the wife of King Minos of Crete, and a bull. Minos shut the Minotaur up in the labyrinth, where it was fed on human flesh, namely that of seven boys and seven maidens from Athens who were delivered to Minos each year. This abomination came to an end when Theseus, the Athenian hero, entered the labyrinth and destroyed the Minotaur. The story can be found in German in *Acerra philologica* I, 34 (p. 62 f.) and Herold's version of Diodorus Siculus (p. ccxiii).

184. Medusa...Perseus: Medusa, the daughter of Phorcus, bore Neptune (Poseidon) a son, Pegasus, and as punishment for this Minerva (Athena) gave her eyes which could turn to stone anyone upon whom they looked. Perseus, using his shield as a mirror, was able to locate Medusa without looking at her directly, and he then put her to death by cutting off her head.

185. Circe...Ulysses: Circe, a sorceress dwelling on the island of Aea, turned all Ulysses' companions except Eurylochus into swine by giving them a drink from a magic cup. Ulysses, protected from the magic liquid by a root which Hermes had given him, forced Circe to restore his crew to their original form. The tale is recounted in *Acerra philologica* I, 87 (p. 161 f.), in Garzoni (p. 333), and in Moscherosch.

186. Aegisthus...Menelaus: this pairing is obviously an error. Aegisthus seduced Clytemnestra while her husband Agamemnon was away fighting in the Trojan War; he then slew Agamemnon upon his return. Agamemnon's

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son, Orestes, spurred on by his sister Electra, then avenged his father's murder by slaying both Aegisthus and Clytemnestra. The only connection between Aegisthus and Menelaus is that Menelaus was Agamemnon's brother. It is possible that Garzoni, or Garzoni's source, confused Menelaus with Orestes; it is also possible, of course, that Garzoni or his printer, dropped the words "against Orestes, Paris"; Paris was the seducer of Menelaus' wife Helen and thus Menelaus' arch-enemy, and he was defeated by Menelaus in single combat outside the walls of Troy, but Aphrodite saved him; Paris later died from a wound inflicted by Philoctetes.

187. Paludes...Coraebus: this pairing also makes no sense as it stands. Virgil (Aeneid II, 424) remarks that Coroebus (not "Coraebus"), who was the son of Mygdon of Phrygia (Virgil, Aeneid II, 341), freed Cassandra and fought on the side of Troy in the Trojan War, was killed in battle by Peneleus, one of the leaders of the Boetians. It is conceivable that "Peneleus" became confused with "Peleides," another name for Achilles, the foremost warrior of the Greeks, and thus logically an opponent of the side for which Coroebus was fighting.

188. Medea...Pelias: Medea, by betraying her father and killing her brother, made it possible for Jason to take the Golden Fleece which had been in their custody. Jason turned the Fleece over to his uncle, Pelias, who had sent Jason on the quest for it in order to get rid of him. When Pelias still refused to make Jason his heir, Medea exacted vengeance by persuading Pelias' daughters that they could restore their father to vigor and youth by cutting him up and boiling the pieces of his body. The cure was a failure. Herold (p. ccvii f.) tells this "Wunderthaat Medee."

189. Nessus...Hercules: When Hercules was going into exile together with his wife Deianira they came to the River Evenus; Hercules forded it, but he gave his wife to the centaur Nessus to carry across on his back. Nessus,

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however, sought to take Deianira by force, and when Hercules heard her screams he shot an arrow through Nessus' heart. Diodorus Siculus' account of the deed appears in Herold (p. cxcvii).

190. Althea...Meleager: When Meleager was a week old, the Fates prophesied that he would die as soon as a piece of wood burning on the hearth was completely consumed. His mother, Althea, put out the firebrand and had it locked in a chest. When Meleager, in order to punish his mother's brothers, slew them, Althea avenged their death by throwing the piece of wood into the fire and thus bringing about the death of her own son. Herold (p. cxcvi f.) presents Diodorus Siculus' version of the tale. Inasmuch as the stories of Medea and Pelias, Heracles and Nessus, and Althea and Meleager should have been familiar to Grimmelshausen from Herold, it is quite possible that Grimmelshausen, realizing that "Medea against Peleager" made no sense, paired these two with their appropriate opponents and threw in Hercules and Nessus, whose story immediately follows that of Althea and Meleager, for good measure.

191. Jonathan...David: the legendary friends in the Old Testament (1 Samuel 18).

192. the eyes of a dove: the allusion is to two passages in the Song of Solomon (1, 15 and 4, 1).

193. je pète: I'm breaking wind.

194. if it stinks...: in Grimmelshausen's *Vogelnest I* the hero does in fact escape from a room by causing a stench which the occupants of the room blame on the dogs.

CHAPTER 29: *Two eyes from a calf's head fall to the lot of Simplicius*

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195. Braunfels: a city in Hestia near Wetzlar; the fortress there was taken by protestant forces on January 28, 1635 (cf. *Theatrum Europaeum* III, 404).
196. calf's head: the model for Simplicius' feat, Bechtold (p. 61) asserts, is an anecdote in Moscherosch, "Rentkammer."
197. piece de resistance: main dish.
198. coup de grace: finishing stroke.
199. par dieu!: By God!
200. actus: trick, performance, feat.
201. dictum: remark, assertion.

CHAPTER 30: *How the people little by little got tipsy and finally, without knowing it, blind drunk*

202. potages: soups.
203. ollas potridas: a stew of vegetables and various meats.
204. Cnaeus Manlius: Cnaeus Manlius Vulso, Roman consul who amassed considerable wealth during the wars in Asia (188 B.C.); he and his soldiers are said to have spread Asiatic luxuries amongst the Romans.
205. bestia: mindless beast.
206. Circe...Ulysses: see above, Chapter 28.
207. minas: miens, looks, facial expressions.
208. the Wetterau region: district in Hestia.

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CHAPTER 31: *How Simplicius fails badly when he tries to perform his trick, and how they beat time to churchsong on his body*

209. aromata: aromatic substances.

210. actu: stage performance.

CHAPTER 32: *Deals again with nothing else but drunken carousing and how one can rid oneself of parsons*

211. ratio status: welfare of the state.

CHAPTER 33: *What the governor did when he became abominably drunk*

212. tresoir: side-board.

213. lavoir: washbasin.

214. materi: substance.

215. sal. ven.: salva venia: with your indulgence, i.e. if you'll pardon my language.

216. tractament: French: feast, food.

CHAPTER 34: *How Simplicius ruined a dance*

217. Indeed, the sight of them...: the notion that an onlooker who cannot hear the music playing could very easily take dancers to be raging maniacs is frequently expressed in the attacks on dancing which abound in the literature of the time. Grimmelshausen could have encountered it in Garzoni, Discourse 45 (p. 353), among other places.

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218. my end stood on hair: see above, Notes to Chapter 13.

219. to stamp in the floor of the hall...: this notion may have been inspired by actual historical episodes which those inveighing against dancing were delighted to cite. Zanach (*Historische Erquickstunden* III, 375 ff.) tells of a dance given by the Archbishop of Salzburg at which the floor collapsed, killing many of the dancers; and Zeiller (*Episteln* I, 32 f.), citing as his source Martinus Crusius, *Annal. suev.* (III, i, 4), tells of a floor collapsing under the weight of the participants at a dance held in Nuremberg in 1225; nearly 70 people allegedly lost their lives in the accident.

220. homme desparat: French: man about to despair.

221. Since that day...purgative: the same opinion is expressed Guzman (Chapter 14).

222. excrementa: excretions; fecal matter and liquid excretions. 2) Peter Lauremberg's *Acerra philologica*, which contained two chapters on figures from classical mythology and a number of the better known classical tales; a strong indication that he knew this work well is the near verbatim agreement of his remarks concerning Democritus and Heraclitus in *The Singular Life Story of Heedless Hopalong* (Chapter 3, p. 9) and Lauremberg's description in I, 75, p. 138 (S: Diese zwey Dinge / Lachen und Weinen / gehören zwar dem Menschen eygentlich zu / und keinem unfernünftigen Thiere. Aber man muß nicht allzeit weinen / und nicht allzeit lachen / als diese beyde Männer gethan: Sondern weinen hat seine Zeit und lachen hat auch seine Zeit. Nun ist das Weinen dem Menschen mehr angebohren / als das Lachen: dann nicht allein alle Menschen / wann sie auff die wWelt kommen / weinen: (Man hat nur das einige Exempel des Königes Zoroastris, der / wie er geboren / alsbald gelachtet.) Sondern es hat der Herr Christus unser Seligmacher / etliche mahl geweinet / als nemblich über Jerusalem / über den verstorbenen Lazarum: Aber daß er jemahls gelachtet / finden wir in der heiligen Schrifft nicht.”;

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Der seltsame Springinsfeld: "Simplicius antwortet / das Wainen gehöret dem Menschen so wohl als das Lachen eigentlich zu / aber gleichwol alzeit zulachen oder alzeit zu wainen wie diese beyde Männer gethan / wäre eine Thorheit / dann alles hat seine Zeit; gleichwohl aber ist das Wainen dem Menschen mehr als das Lachen angeborn / wainen (man hat nur das einige Exempel des Königs Zoroastris, der / wie er geborn / alsbald gelacht / so zwar von Nerone auch gesagt wird) sondesr es hat der Herr Christus unser Seeligmacher selbst etlichmahl gewainet; aber daß wer iemahls gelacht / wird in H. Schriffn nirgends gefunden / ..."). Weydt is in error when he asserts that Grimmelshausen constructed the Springinsfeldt passage from three passages from Harsdörffer's Heraclitus und Democritus.

Notes

BOOK II

CHAPTER 1: *How goose and gander mated*

1. my book BLACK AND WHITE: the first of Grimmelshausen's works to be published was *Der Satyrische Pilgram I* (The Satirical Pilgrim Part I), which he calls Black and White because of its subtitle: that is, Cold and Warm, White and Black.... It consisted of ten discourses (he called them "Sätze"), each of which consisted of three parts: a "Satz" (which gave the positive aspects of the subject); a "Gegensatz" (which considered the negative aspects); and a "Nachklang" (in which an attempt was made to resolve the differences). Most of the material was taken verbatim from Garzoni and others, and very little was original writing. The first volume appeared in 1666; a second volume, containing ten more discourses, appeared in 1667, the year before the publication of the *editio princeps* of *Simplicissimus*, and it contains perhaps the first explicit reference to *Simplicissimus*. Part I, Discourse 6 (*Sechster Satz vom Tantzen*) and Discourse 7 (*Siebender Satz vom Wein*) are the parts to which Grimmelshausen is referring here.

2. *praeludium Veneris*: prelude of Venus, i.e., prelude to love-making.
3. *histori*: story, tale.
4. Dear Reader, I tell this tale...: the assignation in the goose-coop, according to Borchardt (p. 371), is modeled on an episode in *Guzman* (III, 32).

CHAPTER 2: *When it is a right good time to bathe*

5. *corps de garde*: guard-room.

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CHAPTER 3: *The other page is rewarded for his tutorials and Simplicius is chosen to be a fool*

6. hippocras: a wine flavored with spices, so called because of its Latin name, “vinum Hippocraticum,” which it was given because the wine was filtered through a “Hippocrates bag.”
7. the music of seventeen lutes: Grimmelshausen repeatedly uses the number “seventeen” to indicate a large number of items. As Koschlig (p. 31 f.) has pointed out, it occurs not only here, but also in Book III, Chapter 7, and twice in *The Wondrous Bird’s Nest*. Weydt (p. 298) suspects that the reason may have been because of its connection with Grimmelshausen’s day of birth, which Weydt believes was March 17, 1621. It might also be noted that the number plays an important role in the life of Joseph, one of Grimmelshausen’s favorite Biblical figures: Joseph was seventeen when he was carried off to Egypt (Genesis 37, 2), and he spent seventeen years there (Genesis 47, 28).
8. scil.: Latin: scilicet: you may understand or know; used by Roman authors to indicate that a statement was obvious, evident or clearly true; here Grimmelshausen uses it ironically, as it is used in *Moscherosch* (I, 130 and III, 179).

CHAPTER 4: *About the man who pays and what manner of military service Simplicius performed for the Crown of Sweden, from which service he received the name Simplicissimus*

9. commissarius: agent (of the Swedish crown), here functioning as an inspector-general.
10. Crown of Sweden: the Hanau garrison was part of the Swedish army.

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11. ink-squiggler: see Notes to Book I, Chapter 16; here the term is used to indicate that the commissarius spends all his time at a desk and never engages in genuinely soldierly tasks.

CHAPTER 5: *Simplicius is taken to hell by four devils and plied with Spanish wine*

12. No sooner was I sound asleep...: Bechtold (p. 62) notes that this scene is modeled on an episode in Guzman (Book I, Chapter 14).

CHAPTER 6: *Simplicius goes to heaven and is transformed into a calf*

13. the Eumenides: in classical mythology the furies, goddesses of vengeance; in the later classical tradition they were three in number: Tisiphone, Alecto, and Megaera. Acerra philologica I, 86 (p. 160) and Moscherosch (VI, 307) identify them as Eumenides, Furies and Errinyes and give their names correctly.

14. Tisiphone...Athamas: Athamas, the son of Aeolus and Enarete, was king of Orchomenus in Boeotia. At Hera's orders he married Nephele, who bore him two children, but he was really in love with Cadmus' daughter Ino, who also bore him two sons. He thereby incurred the wrath of Hera, who caused him to go mad.

15. ...when I awoke again...: Bechtold (p. 62 f.) suggests that an anecdote in Moscherosch, "Complementum" (p. 672) may have served as a model for this scene.

16. in the Polish or Swabian fashion: precisely what these fashions were has not been determined.

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CHAPTER 7: *How Simplicius reconciled himself to his bestial condition*

17. the story about the goldsmith's boy : the boy availed himself of a caustic response which is crude but often heard in that part of Germany: "Kiss my arse!"
18. To put it summariter: to put it in a nutshell.
19. some human beings are more swinish than pigs...: Bechtold (p. 64) thought the series was taken from or modeled on Moscherosch, "Wahrmund von der Tannen" (Preface to the First Vision). Such series of animal comparisons were common at the time, however; Garzoni, Discourse 3 (p. 57), includes one in a description of a prelate, and Aegidius Albertinus wrote one in his *Hirnschleiffer* (p. 29 f.).
20. old Circe: see above, Book I, Chapter 28.

CHAPTER 8: *Tells of the remarkable memory of some folks, and of the forgetfulness of others*

21. remarkable memory: lists of persons with remarkable memories abound in seventeenth-century writings, and all of them go back to similar lists offered by Latin writers whom the Renaissance polyhistor and encyclopedists mined for information. The classical source of the first seven men mentioned (Simonides, Metrodorus, Cyrus, Lucius Scipio, Cineas, Mithridates, and Charmadas) was Pliny's *Naturalis historia* VII, 24; Pliny also related the anecdote concerning the twelfth person mentioned, Julius Caesar (l.c. VII, 25). Quintilian (XI, 50) repeated the anecdotes about Cyrus and Charmadas and added new ones concerning Themistocles and Crassus (the tenth and eleventh persons listed), and the Elder Seneca, in the prologue to his *Controversarium* supplied the information given about himself and

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Porcius Latro. To these twelve persons Renaissance polyhistorians added a number of others (Beyerlink's *Magnum Theatrum Vitae Humanae* lists more than thirty), among them Ezra (apparently from Josephus II, 5), St. Anthony and St. Jerome (from Augustine's prologue to *De doctrina Christiana* and his epistle to Bishop Cyrillus), Aelius Hadrianus (presumably from Aelius Spartianus' *Life of Hadrian*, Chapter 20), and Muretus. Scholte suggested Garzoni, *Discourse 60*, as the source which Grimmelshausen then amplified somewhat and presented parallel texts (Scholte, p. 128 ff.)—Garzoni lists twelve of the seventeen examples). Borchardt ("Miscellen zu Grimmelshausens *Simplicissimus*," *Euphorion* 23, 289 f.) compared the list with similar lists in polyhistorical works by Ravisius Textor, Sabellicus, Solinus and Zwinger and came to the conclusion that Zwinger's *Theatrum vitae humanae* (Basel, 1565), which lists all the examples except Crassus, was probably the source Grimmelshausen used. More recently, Koschlig (p. 311 ff.) suggested that Grimmelshausen used as point of departure for the passage a list given by Johannes Colerus (see below), who is specifically referred to in the passage, but Colerus' list is so short—only four of the seventeen examples, i.e. two fewer than are given in *Acerra philologica* (1637), which Bobertaag deemed the starting point—and would entail so much editing that it seems unlikely that Grimmelshausen used it, for his tendency was to take over entire passages almost unchanged, including the scholarly citations they contained. The real source of the list is yet to be determined.

22. forgetfulness: these examples, save for that given by Schrammhan, are originally from Pliny, *Naturalis historia* VII, 24.

23. the phoenix : legendary bird which supposedly lived 500 years, then burned itself and arose rejuvenated from its own ashes. It is described in *Acerra philologica* II, 37 (p. 241 f.).

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24. Simonides Melicus: Simonides of Ceos, surnamed not Mellicus but Melicertes (556-468 B.C.), was deemed to be the inventor of mnemonics (the art of strengthening the memory); he was thought of as an Athenian because he lived in Athens until his patron there was murdered.
25. Metrodorus Sceptius: (c. 140 B.C.), a philosopher at the court of Mithridates Eupator, who later had him executed.
26. Cyrus: Cyrus the Great (reigned 558-529 B.C.), founder of the Persian Empire.
27. Lucius Scipio: Pliny (*Naturalis historia* VII, 24) does not identify him more specifically; Borcherdt (p. 375) suggests that Lucius Scipio Asiaticus is meant.
28. Cynaenus: Cineas served as ambassador of King Pyrrhus to the Romans in 280 B.C.
29. Mithridates: Mithridates VI of Ponto, surnamed the Great (136-63 B.C.), celebrated because of his wars with the Romans.
30. Sabell...: Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus (1436-1506), best known for his poem *De rerum et artium inventoribus* ; the passage, according to Borcherdt (p. 375), is from his *Exemplorum libri decem*.
31. Charmides: actually Charmadas (flourished c. 110 B.C.), a schoolman, pupil of Carneades.
32. Lucius Seneca: see above, Book I, Chapter 17; the Seneca who mentions his own prodigious memory in his preface to *Controversiarum liber I* was not Lucius Seneca but his father, M. Annaeus Seneca, whose work came to be published together with that of his son.

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33. Ravisius: Joannes Ravisius Textor, i.e. Jean Tixier, seigneur de Ravisi (c. 1480-1524), Renaissance polyhistorian and philologist, author of *Officina partim historiis, partim poeticiis referta disciplinis* (Paris, 1520).
34. Ezra: priest and scribe; one of the principal characters in the chronicler's history of Israel; he is said to have been sent to Jerusalem in 398 B.C. by the king of Babylon Artaxerxes II to restore the Pentateuch.
35. Eusebius: surnamed Pamphili (c. 264-340); he was made bishop of Caesarea about 315; the author of an ecclesiastical history. Borchardt (p. 375) notes that the citation is incorrect; the passage is in *Chronicarum (Temporum)*, liber I, caput 18, 5. The citation as given reflects that of Zwinger, who used Bapt. Fulgosus' *De dictis et factis memorabilibus Pontificum, Imperatorum, Ducum, Principum, Episcoporum aliorumque collectanea lib. IX* (p. 843 in the Basel edition of 1541).
36. Themistocles: (514-449 B.C.), celebrated commander of the Athenian fleet which defeated Emperor of Persia Xerxes in 480 B.C. at Salamis.
37. Crassus: P. Licinius Crassus Dives Mucianus (2nd century B.C.); consul in 131 B.C., he died after being defeated by Aristiconus, who had occupied the kingdom of Pergamus, a territory which had been bequeathed to Rome. The classical source of the anecdote is Quintilian XI 2, 50.
38. Julius Caesar: (100-44 B.B.), most famous of all Roman generals.
39. Aelius Hadrianus: P. Aelius Hadrianus, usually called Hadrian (76-138 A.D.), Roman emperor from 117 to his death.
40. Portius Latrone: Porcius Latro (flourished 17 B.C., died 4 B.C.), celebrated Roman orator and rhetorician, and close friend of the Elder Seneca.

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41. St. Jerome: Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus (c. 320-420), the great Christian scholar of his time.
42. Antonius: St. Anthony; see above Book I, Chapter 6.
43. Colerus: Johannes Colerus (c. 1570-1639), scholar and expert on farming in all its aspects; his best known work was his *Oeconomia ruralis et domestica*. According to Borcherdt (p. 376), the work referred to here is *Calendarium perpetuum et sex libri Oeconomici* (p. 794 in the 1613 edition). For a detailed discussion of his influence on Grimmelshausen, see Koschlig, pp. 121-135 and 140-158.
44. Marcus Antonius Muretus: (1526-1585), French philologist. The passage, according to Borcherdt (p.376) comes from *Variorum lectionem*, lib. III, caput I.
45. Plinius: Gaius Plinius Secundus, usually called Pliny the Elder (c. 23-79 A.D.). The quotation comes from his *Naturalis historiae*, lib. 37.
46. Messala Corvinus: M. Messala Corvinus (c. 70 B.C.-3 A.D.); his memory failed him about two years before his death.
47. Schrammhans: Bobertag (DNL XXX, 121, Footnote 15) suggested that Grimmelshausen might have invented the name and pointed out that a lansequenet in an anecdote by Hans Sachs and the hero of several stories by Michael Lindner bore that name; Borcherdt (p. 376) was able to add little except the exact title of Lindner's work, *Katzipori*. While Grimmelshausen may have been familiar with the Schrammhans of Sachs and Lindner, he was in fact alluding to a real person, Johann Schramm, who in 1589 published a work entitled *Fasciculus historiarum, das ist: Historien vnd Exempel, der alten Keyser, Könige und Herren, so in jrem Stande vnd Beruff den Regimenten, jhnen selbst, vnd andern nützlich oder schedlich gewesen... Aus welscher und lateinischer Sprache ins Deutsche gantz kurtz*

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zusammengezogen... The anecdote referred to is indeed found on the page mentioned. Since no other anecdotes from Schramm's work appear to have been used by Grimmelshausen, and inasmuch as he almost invariably includes authorial citations only when he is copying from a second source, it seems unlikely that he was familiar with the *Fasciculus*, but rather found it cited in some other work. Whether Grimmelshausen or his source was responsible for changing "Johann Schramm" into "Schrammhans" will remain uncertain until the source is determined. The reason for the change, however, does seem certain: the "bloodthirstiness" of Schramm's anecdote must have brought to mind one of the most bloodthirsty criminals of the 1660's, one Hans Hahn, of Wohlau in Silesia, whose nickname was "Schrammhans." His story was well known at the time and is covered in grisly detail in *Theatrum Europaeum* IX, 514 ff. The historical Schrammhans was member of a gang which consisted of Hans Liehmann (called "Wein-Hans"), also from Wohlau, and Liehmann's wife, son, and brother-in-law, Georg Wilde (called "Wampe Georg"). In 1660 the authorities in Silesia arrested the three Liehmans and, after interrogating them (both with and without the use of torture) seven times between December 21, 1660, and April 1, 1661, charged Wein-Hans with 34 counts of petty and grand theft, five counts of adultery and lechery (with four different persons), 25 counts of homicide, and four counts of arson; his wife and son were indicted as conspirators and also charged with incest, and the son with bestiality. All three were convicted as charged and condemned to torture and death; the sentence was carried out on April 27, 1661. Wampe-Georg and Schramm-Hans, whom Wein-Hans had implicated during interrogation, eluded the authorities for a while, apparently by fleeing across the border to Poland, but on Pentecost Sunday of 1661 they were apprehended when they, together with Schramm-Hans' wife, were recognized while taking communion at the church in Wohlau. After all three were interrogated (with and without the use of torture) on June 24 and 25, Schamm-Hans was indicted on 12 counts of petty and grand

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theft committed together with Wampe-Georg and thefts too numerous to mention which he committed alone, with six counts of lechery and rape (three together with Wampe-Georg), 28 counts of homicide (some of them particularly grisly), and three counts of arson. Schramm-Hans was, of course, convicted on all counts, and he was executed on July 11, 1661. While Grimmelshausen could not possibly have read the account in *Theatrum Europaeum* (Volume IX did not appear until after the publication of *Simplicissimus*), he may well have read the broadside on which the *Theatrum Europaeum* account is probably based; in any event, Schramm-Hans' alleged crimes were so numerous and so heinous that they must have been common knowledge at the time.

48. Jo. Wierus: Johannes Wier (1515-1588), a pupil of Cornelius Agrippa and personal physician to the Duke of Cleves; his most famous work is *De praestigiis daemonum* (Basel, 1563), which was translated into German under the title *De praestigiis. Von den teuffeln/zaubern, schwartzkünstlern, teuffels beschwerern/hexen oder unholden vnd gifftbereitern* (Frankfurt am Main, 1575)

49. Callisto: an Arcadian nymph who was one of the many lovers of Zeus (Jupiter); he metamorphosed her into a she-bear, and when his wife arranged for the bear to be killed in a hunt, he placed her among the stars under the name Arctos (the Bear). Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* II, 409 ff. The anecdote in German can be found in *Acerra philologica* II, 54 (p. 271 f.), where Jupiter's abduction of Europa is also told.

50. Jupiter: chief of the Greek gods. He changed himself into a bull in order to kidnap Europa, the daughter of King Agenor of Phoenicia; in the form of a bull he mingled with the king's herd while Europa and her maidens were playing by the seashore, and he seemed so tame to her that

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she climbed up onto his back, whereupon he rushed to the water and swam over to Crete with her. Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* II, 847 ff.

CHAPTER 9: *Perverse praise for a fair lady*

51. Perverse praise: Borchardt (p. 376) conjectures that this satire was inspired by the *Scherzgedichte* of Johann Lauremberg; a similar “perverse praise” occurs in Sorel’s *Francion* (p. 413).

52. Ulm: city in Swabia on the Danube.

CHAPTER 10: *Tells of nothing but heroes and famous artists*

53. Nabuchodonosar: Babylonian king who, according to Daniel 4, was turned into an ox as punishment for his arrogance.

54. Alexander the Great: (356-323); king of Macedonia and the foremost ruler and military leader of his era. The anecdotes concerning him were quite popular from the Middle Ages on. Grimmelshausen’s immediate source, Kissel (p. 17) asserts, was Boaistuau-Launay’s *Theatrum mundi* (four-language version), p. 996 (Alexander sweating blood), p. 1022 (Alexander’s breath like balsam), and p. 940 ff. (Alexander’s tears).

55. Quintus Curtius: Quintus Curtius Rufus (1st century AD), a Roman historian and author of a biography of Alexander the Great in ten books. Borchardt (p. 377) notes that Grimmelshausen’s citation comes not from Curtius but from stories by Johannes Freinsheim (1608-1660) which are based on Plutarch’s *Life of Alexander*, cap. 4.

56. Julius Caesar: (Pliny VII, 25) gives the total number killed as 1,192,000. Boaistuau-Launay mentions 1,152,00 (p. 944 ff.).

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57. Pompey: Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (106-48 B.C.), Roman general and one of the triumvirate. Pliny (VII, 25) mentions 846 ships, not 940. Here again Grimmelshausen's number agrees with that given by Baoistau-Launay (p. 944 ff.)
58. Marcus Sergius: Pliny (VII, 28) recounts in some detail the heroics of this warrior, who fought valiantly in the wars against Hannibal.
59. Lucius Siccus Dentatus: Pliny (VII, 28) mentions 120 battles rather than 110.
60. Spurius Turpeius and Aulus Eternius: Roman consuls in 454 B.C.
61. Manlius Capitolinus: a Roman consul (died 384 B.C.) who in 390 B.C. saved Rome from the Gauls. Pliny (VII, 28) mentions only 23 wounds. Manlius Capitolinus "diminished" his honor at the end of his life by plotting—or so it was alleged—to restore the monarchy, for which crime he was hurled from the Tarpeian Rock in 384 B.C.
62. Hercules: most famous of the classical demigods and heroes; his many labors and adventures demonstrated his valor and strength.
63. Theseus: the legendary hero of Attica (cf. above).
64. Zeuxis: Greek painter (flourished 424-380 B.C.).
65. Apelles: Greek painter (4th century B.C.); a contemporary of Alexander the Great, whom he alone was permitted to paint.
66. Plutarch: Greek biographer and philosopher (1st century A.D.).
67. Archimedes: (287-212 B.C.); most famous of the ancient mathematicians and natural philosophers, he was also a famous inventor; his war machines, which were employed in the siege of Syracuse, were widely praised.

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68. Sapor: Sapor I (reigned 241-272 A.D.), one of the first rulers of the house of Sassinids.
69. Ptolemy: Claudius Ptolomaeus (flourished 127-148 A.D.), famous astronomer, mathematician and geographer.
70. Ceres: Roman goddess (Greek: Demeter) who was the protectress of agriculture.
71. those terrible things I saw...: he means the cannons on caissons described above.
72. that holy man: meant, as Konopatzki (p. 64) recognized, St. Anthony (see above, Notes to Book I, Chapter 6), whom Konopatzki considers to be the role model which Grimmelshausen had in mind for both the Hermit and for Simplicissimus.

CHAPTER 11: *About the onerous and perilous life of a regent*

73. the onerous and perilous life of a regent: a favorite topic of the time; the list of famous men scorned or even persecuted by their fellow citizens is a nearly verbatim reproduction of similar lists in Boaistuau-Launay's *Theatrum mundi* (four-language version), p. 467 ff, and Zanach's *Historische Erquickstunden* III, 162 ff. (doubtless copied verbatim, and without attribution, from Launay). The best-known such list in classical antiquity was provided by Plutarch in his essay on "Precepts of Statecraft" in his *Moralia* (800 D-E), where he mentions the public carping at Cimon, Scipio, and Pompey. Renaissance polyhistorians were, of course, quick to expand the list.
74. Orb...Braunfels...Staden: Orb, a village in the northeast Spessart Forest, taken from the Imperials by protestant forces on December 7, 1634 (Könnecke I, 163, citing *Theatrum Europaeum* III, 383); Braunfels, a town located in Hesse, about 3 miles up the Mühlbach, a left tributary of the

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Lahn River; it was taken back from the Imperials on January 18, 1635 (Könnecke I, 160, citing *Theatrum Europaeum* III, 403-04); Staden, a village in upper Hesse was not taken until May 15, 1635 (Könnecke I, 163 f., citing *Theatrum Europaeum* III, 458); as Könnecke points out, the inclusion of Staden in the list of towns taken violates the chronology of the novel.

75. Simonides: not Simonides, the Greek lyricist, as Borchardt (p. 370) and others assume, but Cimon (died 449 B.C.), an Athenian general and statesman; Plutarch (*Moralia* 800 D-E) reports that the Athenians criticized him because he drank too much wine.

76. The Thebans complained about their Paniculus...: the statement makes no sense. Surely the reference is not to "Panniculus," one of the stock comic figures in the Roman mimes (he was the stupid one who always got slapped by his comrade, Latinus). The only figure in Theban history with a name even vaguely similar to "Paniculus" is Polyneices, and I find no reference that the Thebans were critical of his expectation.

77. Lycurgus: not the legendary law-giver of Sparta (9th century B.C.), but rather a Lacedaemonian who was chosen king in 220 B.C. and died about 210 B.C.

78. Scipio: P. Cornelius Scipio, called Africanus the Younger (died 129 B.C.).

79. Pompey: see above, Notes to Book II, Chapter 10.

80. Cato: M. Porcius Cato Uticensis (95-46 B.C.), sometimes called Cato the Younger.

81. Hannibal: most famous of all Carthaginian generals (247-c. 183 B.C.) and military commander in the Punic Wars.

82. Demosthenes: greatest of the Athenian orators (c. 384-322 B.C.).

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83. Socrates: (469-399 B.C.); first of the great Athenian philosophers.
84. Solon: (639-c. 559 B.C.); greatest of the Athenian lawgivers.

CHAPTER 12: *About the intelligence and knowledge of mindless beasts*

85. the intelligence and knowledge of mindless beasts: despite the fact that such enumerations are frequently found in polyhistorical works of the time, Grimmelshausen's immediate source has been determined, for the observations here are taken verbatim from Boaistuau-Launay's *Theatrum mundi* (four-language version), p. 92 ff, or perhaps from Zanach's *Historische Erquickstunden* III, 26 ff., where Launay's text was reproduced unchanged (and, of course, without attribution).
86. chelidonio: commoncelandine, also called "swallow-wort," presumably because swallows used its thick yellow juice.
87. affectionibus: affects.
88. philosophi: philosophers.

CHAPTER 13: *Contains all manner of things; anyone who desires to know about them must read it himself, or have someone read it to him*

89. the Pater noster: the Lord's Prayer.
90. We read of a man who...: the following six anecdotes are "exempla melancholicorum." A favorite topic in the seventeenth century was psychological aberration in the form of an overwhelming fixation (a person who suffered from one was called a "melancholicus"—in German a "Phantast"), and identical, similar, or partly similar examples abound in

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the literature of the time. Kurz (p. 388) found the first two of Grimmelshausen's examples in Galen and the first three in both Beyerlink's *Magnum theatrum vitae humanae* (XI 397 f.) and Goulard's *Schatzkammer* (I, 324 ff.). Bechtold (p. 63 ff.) found three of the examples in the Moscherosch—the first, third and sixth—and four in Johann Praetorius' *Eine neue Weltbeschreibung*—the first, third, fourth and fifth (and Praetorius himself cited both Zeiller and Redschor as his sources). Borcherdt ("Miszellen zu Grimmelshausens *Simplicissimus*," *Euphorion* 23, 291 f.) reported on the occurrence of the first and fifth example in Remigius' *Daemonolatria* (II, 5, p. 267 f.). More recently Weydt (p. 69 f.), suggested that Grimmelshausen's source was a list of "madmen" ("Die Wahnsinnigen") in Harsdörffer's *Der große Schauplatz Lust- und Lehrreicher Geschichten*, in which examples only remotely similar to Grimmelshausen's first, fourth and sixth "melancholicii" are given; Weydt emphasized that Harsdörffer, in his version of the first example, the so-called "homo vitreus," cited Cervantes' "El licenciado vidriera," thus providing a link between Cervantes and Grimmelshausen. Inasmuch as none of the sources suggested thus far include identical examples of all six "melancholicii" in the same order and with demonstrable verbatim borrowings by Grimmelshausen, it would seem that the real source of the list has not been established.

CHAPTER 14: *What a noble life Simplicius continued to lead, and how the Croats spoiled it for him when they took him as part of their spoils*

91. Cardinal Richelieu: (1585-1642); French statesman; he concluded an alliance with Sweden in 1636, despite the fact that France was a Roman Catholic country and the Swedes were leaders of the Protestant cause in this phase of the Thirty Years' War, which from this point on became less and

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less a religious struggle and more and more a contest between the French and the Habsburgs of Austria and Spain.

92. Duke Bernhard of Weimar: see above, Notes to Book I, Chapter 19.

93. comoedia: comedy, farce.

94. Mee vameh....: the faultily written Croatian is supposed to mean: “We’ll take this fool with us, we’ll take him to our colonel. By God, yes! he understands German, he’ll have fun with him.”

CHAPTER 15: *Simplicius’ life with the troopers and what he saw and experienced with the Croats*

95. Budingen: town in upper Hesse at the edge of the Wetterau region.

96. Fulda: town in Hesse situated on the right bank of the Fulda River between Vogelsberg Mountain and the Röhn.

97. s. v.: *salva venia*, with your indulgence, i.e. if you’ll pardon my language.

98. convent of Hirschfeld: the Benedictine monastery in Hersfeld, to the northeast of Budingen.

99. Colonel Corpes: (died 1638); commander of a Croatian light cavalry unit in the Imperial army led by Ottavio Piccolomini; Corpes’ immediate superior was the Imperial general Count Isolani. In late January 1635, at a time when the water in the moat at Hanau was frozen, he was sent there on a scouting mission in order to determine whether Duke Bernhard of Weimar was in the fortress. Corpes’ men seized some youngsters who were playing on the ice—among them, perhaps, Grimmelshausen himself. Könncke (I, 171 ff.) presents the ascertainable facts in exhaustive detail.

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100. Melander: Peter Melander Reichsgraf zu Holzappel (1585-1648); between 1633 and 1640 he was the commander-in-chief of the army of Hesse-Cassel; he was not in Hesse at this time, as Grimmelshausen mistakenly assumed, but in Westphalia (cf. Könnecke I, 181 f.).

101. Cassel : principal city in Hesse, situated on the Fulda; at the time it was the capital of Hesse-Cassel.

102. to puff up...: the German (“aufblasen”) is unclear, but the context seems to support my interpretation.

CHAPTER 17: *How Simplicius went to the witches’ dance*

103. the witches’ dance: the episode, as critics have noted, represents a sudden break in the action; Simplicissimus himself intimates at the end of the chapter that it is a literary device to shift the scene of the action from Hesse to Magdeburg.

104. nota: note.

105. a blue flame: it was commonly believed that a blue flame was the necessary light for unholy doings involving the devil; in Grimmelshausen’s *Vogelnest I* the blue flame plays an important role in a robbery attempt by persons in league with the devil.

106. harmoniam: harmony.

CHAPTER 18: *Why it should not be thought that Simplicius is a teller of tall tales*

107. Simon the Magus: the famous sorcerer (Acts 8, 9-24) who, when he saw that “through laying on of the apostles’ hands the Holy Ghost was

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given,...offered them money.” The story of Simon’s disastrous attempt to fly was widespread at the time. Garzoni tells it in Discourse 41 (p. 335), as Konopatzki (p. 13) pointed out, and Zeiller refers to it in the commentary to Rosset’s *Traurige Geschichten* (p. 98), which seems to be the source of two other passages in this chapter (see below).

108. Nicolaus Remigius: Nicolaus Remi (1530-1612), author of *Daemonolatriae libri tres* (1595), which was translated into German in 1598 under the title *Nicolai Remigii Daemonolatria, oder Beschreibung von Zauberern und Zauberinnen*; the work was widely read during the seventeenth century. Borcherdt (“*Miszellenzu Grimmelshausens Simplicissimus*,” *Euphorion* XXIII, 292 f.) presented parallel texts which demonstrate that the German translation of Remigius is the source of the passage on Johann von Hembach and Catherina Praevotia and that quoted from Olaus Magnus and cited from Torquemada.

109. Majolus: Simeone Maiolo (1520-1597?), Bishop of Volturara and Monte Corbino from 1572 to 1597; his most famous work (and the source of the anecdotes recounted here) was *Dies caniculares*, a German translation of which appeared in 1650. In one of his commentaries to his translation of Rosset’s *Traurige Geschichten* Zeiller (p. 99) gives the second and third examples, which agree almost verbatim with Grimmelshausen’s account: S: “Majolus in besagtem Colloq. 3. p. 212 setzet zwey Exempel von einem Ehebrecher / so der Ehebrecherin Büchsen genommen / sich mit Salben geschmiert / vnd sie also beyde in der Zauberer Zusammenkunfft kommen seynd. Und wird es diesem schier ergangen seyn / als jenem Knecht / in einem wolbekandten Land und Ort / (dasselben es mir von etlichen glaubwürdigen Leuten erzehlt worden /) welcher / vor wenig Jahren / früh auffgestanden ist / und die unrechte Büchsen in der Finstere erwischt / und den Wagen geschmiert / der sich mit sampt den Rädern übersich in die Lufft soll erhebt haben / also / daß man ihn wieder herab hat ziehen

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müssen.”; ST : “Majolus setzet zwey Exempel / von einem Ehebrecher / so sich an sein Frau gehängt / und von eionem Ehebrecher / so der Ehebrecherin Büchsen genommen / sich mit deren Salben geschmiert / und also beyde zu der Zauberer Zusammenkunfft kommen seyn. So sagt man auch von einem Knecht / der frühe auffgestanden / und den Wagen geschmiert / weil er aber die unrechte Büchs in der Finstere erdappt / hat sich der Wagen in die Luft erhoben / also daß man ihn wieder herab ziehen müssen.” Zeiller’s commentary (p. 99) also contains the anecdote attributed to Ghirlandus: S : “Obgedachter Majolus schreibt d.col. 3. p. 211. auß Paul. Grillandi Buch / de sortileg. von einem vornehmen Mann / welcher / als er gemerckt / daß sein Weib sich salbe / und darauff auß dem Hauß fahre / hab er sie gezwungen / ihn einsmals mit ihr su der Zauberer Sabbat zunehmen. Als man nun daselbst aß / und aber kein Saltz verhanden war / habe er solches begehrt / und mit harter müh auch erhalten / und darauff gesagt: Gott sey es gelobt / jetzt kompt das Saltz. So bald er dieses redt / sezy alles verschwunden / und seyen die Liechter erloschen; (sintemal die Zauberer nicht allein kein Saltz by ihren Conventen sollen leiden / sondern auch den Namen Gottes nicht hören können. Vid. Bodinus lib. 2. cap. 2. de Daemonomania.) Als es nun Tag worden / habe er von den Hirten oder Haltern verstanden / daß er nahend der Stadt Benevento, im Königreich Neapolis / und also 100. Meil wegs von seiner Heimat sey. Derowegen / ob er wol sonst reich gewesen / habe er doch nach Hauß betteln müssen / und so bald er heim kommen / habe er sein Weib / als eine Zauberin bey der Obrigkeit angeben / die auch gerichtet worden sey”; ST : Ghirlandus schreibet auch von einem vornehmen Mann / welcher als er gemerckt / daß sich sein Weib salbe / und darauff auß dem Hauß fahre / habe er sie einsmals gezwungen / ihn mit sich auff der Zauberer Zusammenkunfft zu nehmen; Als sie daselbst assen / und kein Saltz vorhanden war / habe er dessen begehrt / mit grosser Mühe auch erhalten / und darauff gesagt: Gott sey gelobt / jetzt kompt das Saltz! Darauff die Liechter erloschen / und alles verschwunden. Als es nun Tag worden / hat er von den Hirten

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verstanden / daß er nahend der Statt Benevento, im Königreich Neapolis / und also wol 100. Meil von seiner Heimat sey; Derowegen ob er wol reich gewesen / habe er doch nach Hauß betteln müssen / und als er heim kam / gab er alsbald sein Weib vor eine Zauberin bey der Obrigkeit an / welch auch verbrennt worden." Grimmelshausen was familiar with the Latin version of Grillandi's name from Garzoni, where it is cited repeatedly.

110. Olaus Magnus: (1490-1558); Archbishop at Upsala and Swedish historian, author of *Historia de gentibus Septentrionalibus* (1555), which was translated into German under the title *Beschreibung allerley Gelegdenheite, Sitten, Gebräuchen vnd Gewohnheiten der Mitnächtigen Völcker* (Strasbourg, 1567).

111. Hading: mythical king of Denmark whose exploits were described by Saxo Grammaticus in his *Gesta Danorum* I, 23 ff.

112. Odin: Wotan, the chief Nordic god.

113. Torquemada: Antonio de Torquemada (16th century), author of *Jardin de flores curiosas*, which was translated into from the French version of Gabriel Chappuys into German with the title *Hexamereon; oder Sechs Tagezeiten* (Cassel, 1652).

114. Ghirlandus: Paulo Grillando (late 16th century), a jurist whose chief work, which dealt with witches and the punishment of them, was entitled *Tractat de hereticis: sortilegiis omnifariam coitu: eorum penis* (1536).

115. Doctor Faust: the story of Faust's flight through the air was well known, for it was told in the very first Faust book and retold in all later versions, including Widman's *Faust* of 1599 (II, 10, p. 61 ff.). Grimmelshausen was doubtless familiar with it, but he may have been reminded of it by Zeiller's references to Faust in the commentary to *Traurige Geschichten* (p. 83).

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116. Archbishopric of Magdeburg: region around Magdeburg in Saxony.

CHAPTER 19: Simplicius comes to be a fool once more, just as he had been before

117. Zerbst beer: the beer brewed in Zerbst, a village on the Nuthe River, some 24 miles southeast of Magdeburg, was not only much praised, it was furnished to both sides in the war indiscriminately.

118. the armies of both the Emperor and the Prince Elector of Saxony: the siege began in late April of 1636; Könnicke (I, 187 ff.) notes how accurate Grimmelshausen's account is and presumes that he was indeed present at the siege.

119. master-of-horse: the officer in charge of the care of the horses of staff officers.

CHAPTER 20: A rather long chapter dealing with dice-playing and what goes with it

120. dice-playing: sermons on the evils of gambling abound in medieval and later literature; no source for this lecture has been found, but it does seem likely that Grimmelshausen did not write this chapter as an original treatise based on his own experience.

121. physiognomiam: physiognomy, the art of telling a person's character and fortune from the person's facial features.

122. chiromantia: chiromancy, palmistry, the art of telling a person's character and fortune by reading the person's palm.

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123. fatum: fate, fortune.
124. materi: matter, subject matter.

CHAPTER 21: *A chapter somewhat shorter and more amusing than the previous one*

125. inventio: invention, device.
126. materi: subject matter, material.
127. Dicis non facis: You talk but you do not act (you don't practice what you preach).
128. pater: priest.
129. cavaliers a la mode: men of fashion, men of the world.
130. galantes dames: elegant ladies.
131. Diana: goddess of the hunt.
132. conjured larger horns onto their husbands' heads: made cuckolds of their husbands, betrayed their husbands.
133. Acteon: legendary huntsman who while roving about one day saw Artemis (Diana) and her nymphs as they were bathing; as punishment for observing them, Acteon was turned into a stag and torn to pieces by his own hunting dogs. Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* III, 138-252. The tale is told in *Acerra philologica* II, 4 (p. 184 f.) and Moscherosch (I, 875). Richard Trueheart : in German "Ulrich Hertzbruder." The name is actually employed by Grimmelshausen as a tag-name; the word "Herzbruder" has the sense of "bosom buddy," "very best and most loyal friend." Könnecke (I, 151 f.) conjectures that Grimmelshausen's friendship with another steward

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named Ulrich Bruder, together with the fact that Count von Götz' secretary was named Ulrich Lauttenmayer, inspired the name.

CHAPTER 22: *A scoundrelly thief's trick to do another man in*

134. provosts: in seventeenth-century armies the provost was the chief military police officer.

135. specter-cavalrymen: a common superstition of the time was that some practitioners of black magic could conjure up spectre cavalrymen in order to turn the tide of a battle.

136. as impervious to musket balls...: it was believed that by entering into a pact with the devil a person could make himself "shotfree" and thereby safe from wounds by bullets.

137. Saturn...scythe: Saturn was frequently depicted as an old, bent-over man with grey hair and a long beard; in his right hand he held a crutch or a scythe; Weydt (p. 375) reproduces a contemporary depiction of Saturn.

138. conjunctio of Saturnus and Mercurius: in astronomy and astrology a "conjunctio" was the alignment of two planets; here the reference is to the alliance of the provost (Saturn) and the clerk (Mercury); Grimmelshausen employs a similar turn of phrase in the title of Chapter 2 of *The Singular Life of Heedless Hopalong* ("Conjunctio Saturni, Martiis & Mercurii") to describe the meeting of Simplicissimus (Saturn), Hopalong (Mars), and the scribe Philarchus (Mercury). Grimmelshausen's use of astronomical parlance in this manner has inspired some scholars (Rehder, Weydt, and Weydt's students) to develop a "planetary god" theory (see in particular Weydt, 243-301 and appendix). It should be pointed out that Moscherosch, who obviously exerted a great influence on Grimmelshausen as a writer, makes

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use of the same device (he speaks of the conjunctio Saturni et Martis) in I, 634.

139. large gold-plated goblet: the misuse of the goblet is reminiscent of Joseph's ruse to require that his brothers leave Benjamin behind in Egypt with him while they returned home (Genesis 44). A similar incident occurs in Grimmelshausen's *Vogelnest I* when a stolen object is planted in the quarters of Simplicissimus' own son by his enemies, with the result that the son is compelled to leave the court where he had been held in high esteem. It is thus difficult to agree with the suggestion of Bechtold (p. 502 f.) that Grimmelshausen was inspired by a passage in the "Somnium" (Book VI).

CHAPTER 23: *Richard Trueheart sells himself for a hundred ducats*

140. burdened him down with a pike: see above, Notes to Book I, Chapter 16.

141. this summam: this sum of money.

142. buy his way free: in the seventeenth century it was possible and quite legal for a soldier to buy his freedom from the army or from the unit to which he had been assigned.

143. a freebooter: a soldier—of any rank—who fought with a military unit to which he was not officially attached; because plunder and spoils were the freebooter's major incentive, the term soon took on the pejorative meaning it has today.

CHAPTER 24: *Two prophecies fulfilled simultaneously*

144. mathematicus: mathematician.

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145. chiromanticus: reader of palms.
146. the battle of Wittstock: Wittstock was a town in the Prignitz in Brandenburg; in the battle fought there on September 24, 1636, the Imperial army defeated the forces of the Prince Elector of Saxony.
147. Magdeburg...: city in Saxony located on the middle course of the Elbe, where the old overland trade routes crossed the river; Könnicke (I, 187) surmises that Simplicissimus arrived at Magdeburg in May of 1636; the city was finally taken on July 13, 1636.
148. the Prince Elector of Saxony: Johann Georg I (1585-1658); since the Peace of Prague (1635) he had sided with the Imperial cause.
149. von Hatzfeld: Melchior von Hatzfeld (1593-1658), general of the Imperial army, which together with the Saxon army of the Prince Elector, was besieging Magdeburg.

CHAPTER 25: *From a lad Simplicius is transformed into a lass and acquires divers lovers*

150. Simplicius is transformed into a lass : Bloedau (p. 52 f.) assumed that an episode in Sir Philip Sydney's *Arcadia*, which was translated into German from the French version in 1629 and was revised and republished by Martin Opitz in 1638, inspired this episode: a young lover, Pirocles, dons women's clothes in order to be near the object of his desire, a maiden named Philocles, but the maiden's father, King Basilius, becomes smitten with him, while her mother, Gynecias, who sees through the disguise, also begins to lust for him. Walter Holzinger ("Der abentheurliche Simplicissimus and Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*," *Colloquia Germanica* 1969, pp. 189 ff.) made a careful comparison of the two works, which Bloedau had omitted to do, and attempted, without much success, to point out verbal agreements between

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them. Weydt (p. 88), noting that the motif of disguise as a member of the opposite sex is a widespread motif, believes that Grimmelshausen's inspiration for the episode is to be found in an anecdote entitled "Virtue Preserved" ("Die gerettete Keuschheit") in Harsdörffer's *Der große Schau-Platz Lust- und Lehrreicher Geschichte* (Anecdote LXXXIII), in which a maiden dresses as a youth in order to preserve her virtue. While the maiden's situation bears some slight resemblance to that of Courage before she came to the army, it merits no consideration as the model for Simplicissimus' plight; Bloedau's suggestion is far more convincing.

151. *histori*: story, tale.

152. *von Wallenstein...at Eger*: Albrecht von Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland (1583-1634), the most important field marshal on the Imperial side, was assassinated at the fortress of Eger on February 25, 1634, because it was feared that he would defect with his forces to the other side.

153. *secretarius*: company clerk.

154. *Achilles...Lycomedes*: Achilles, the greatest of the heroes who fought in the Trojan war, was the son of Peleus and the Nereid Thetis; in an attempt to prevent him from participating in the war, Thetis disguised him as a maiden and sent him to the court of Lycomedes, the king of the Dolopians on the island of Scyros. The king was taken in by the disguise, but not the king's daughter, Deidamia, who bore Achilles two sons. The anecdote appears in one of Grimmelshausen's sources, Cerda's *Weiblicher Lustgarten* (p. 14).

155. *Werberschanz...Havelberg...Perleberg*: *Werberschanz* refers to fortifications thrown up at Werben, a village on the Elbe; taken by the Imperials on August 27, 1636 (Könnecke I, 190, citing *Theatrum Europaeum* III, 690); *Havelberg*, a town in the Magdeburg region not far from the mouth of the Havel River, was taken by Imperial forces on

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August 25, 1636 (Könnecke I, 190, citing *Theatrum Europaeum* III, 690); Perleberg, a town in the Westprignitz, was taken by the Imperials on September 14, 1636 (Könnecke I, 191).

156. Fortuna: goddess of fortune.

157. the two armies...: the Imperial army under von Hatzfeld and the army of the Prince Elector of Saxony.

158. General Banier: Johan Baner (1593-1641), a Swedish general; he was the victor at the battle of Wittstock (see above, Notes to Book II, Chapter 24). Chapter 26 turned me over to the stableboys : in army camps and garrisons it was customary to punish loose women by turning them over to the boys who were too young to fight but not too young to commit rape; this fate also very nearly befalls Courage (*The Runagate Courage*, Chapter 12).

CHAPTER 26: *How he is imprisoned as a traitor and sorcerer*

159. Domine, non sum dignus: Lord God, I am not worthy.

CHAPTER 27: *How the provost fared at the Battle of Wittstock*

160. the battle of Wittstock: see Notes to Book II, Chapter 24 above.

161. battaglia: battle.

162. In the battle itself, however,...: Bechtold (p. 502) suggested that the following battle description was inspired by a rather brief description in Moscherosch, "Complementum" (p. 693). H. Geulen ("'Arcadische' Simpliciana," *Euphorion* 63, 427 ff.) and Walter Holzinger ("Der abentheurliche Simplicissimus und Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia," *Colloquia Germanica* 1969, 186 ff.) presented parallel texts from

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Simplicissimus and the German translation of *Arcadia* (III, 7, 5), in which a number of verbatim agreements occur. Despite these findings the stylistic analyses of the passage by Richard Alewyn (*Johann Beer: Studien zum Roman des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig: 1932, pp. 200ff.) and M. E. Gilbert (“Simplex and the Battle of Wittstock,” *German Life and Letters* 18, 264 ff.) remain valid.

163. Summa summarum: In sum.

164. So that’s the sort of fellow you are!: “So you are one of those who are in league with the devil!” (because he is impervious to bullets); Borcherd (p. 389) suggests that the episode may have been inspired by an account in *Theatrum Europaeum* III, 99 of another battle (at Phillipsburg in 1633): “Among the dead was a chasseur and village-mayor who could not be killed by any rifle or fire-arm, but rather had to be beaten to death with battle axes.”

CHAPTER 28: *Concerning a battle in which the victor is captured whilst vanquishing his foes*

165. strategemata: stratagems, ruses, plans.

166. armada: army.

167. cavalcada: a detachment of cavalry.

168. Gemmer March: Gemmer Mark; Könnecke (I, 212) suggests that Grimmelshausen meant the Günner Mark, a part of the Arnsberg Forest, which lies somewhat south of Hamm-Soest.

169. Hamm: town in Westphalia; situated in a broad level valley south of the Lippe River.

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170. Soest: Town in the fertile Soester Börde; c. 15 miles southeast of Hamm and 13 miles southwest of Lippstadt.
171. *rencontre*: encounter, battle, skirmish.
172. *dragoon*: see Notes to Book I, Chapter 20.

CHAPTER 29: *How well a pious soldier fared in Paradise, till he died, and how after his death a chasseur took his place*

173. the battle of Pavia: the coat must indeed have been old, for the battle of Pavia, in which the army of Emperor Charles V defeated that of King Francis I of France, took place on February 15, 1524.
174. Lippstadt: town in Westphalia situated on the Lippe River; despite the fact that it was a Hansa city and thus technically neutral in the war, it was occupied in December of 1633 by Swedish and Hessian troops, who then heavily fortified it; together with Soest, Lippstadt is the scene of most of Simplicissimus' adventures in Westphalia.
175. a furrier...a mastersinger: the members of the furriers' guild were renowned as mastersingers; their guild had the third largest number of mastersingers, even more than the shoemakers' guild, to which the most famous mastersinger of them all, Hans Sachs, belonged (cf. Bert Nagel, p. 17).
176. *orthographic*: orthographically, spelled correctly.

CHAPTER 30: *How the chasseur started out when he fell to plying the soldier's trade, from which a young soldier can learn a few things*

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177. refusing to let me pass for a grown man....: Bechtold (p. 506) points out that in Guzman (I, 13) the hero finds himself in the same situation, but he does not succeed in becoming a soldier.

178. Count von Götz: (1595-1645); after serving with Mansfeld he became an officer in the Imperial army, then transferred to the allied army of the Prince Elector of Bavaria. Götz was in charge of the Imperial campaign launched in 1636 to retake Westphalia from the Protestant forces; Könnecke (I, 14 ff., esp. 223 ff.) adduced evidence which makes it seem plausible that Grimmelshausen served as a stableboy with one of Götz' regiments during 1636 and 1637.

179. Dorsten: town in Westphalia, on the lower course of the Lippe River; Könnecke (I, 216) notes that it remained, despite Count von Götz' efforts, in protestant hands.

180. Lippstadt: Lippstadt likewise remained a Protestant stronghold.

181. Coesfeld: town in Westphalia, on the Berkel, west of Münster; the Hessians controlled it throughout this period (cf. Könnecke I, 216).

182. siege...at Ostende: a harbor city in East Flanders; it was besieged by the Spaniards under Ambrose Spinola in 1601 and finally taken by them in 1604.

CHAPTER 31: *How the devil stole the parson's bacon and how the chasseur got himself into a trap*

183. the parson's bacon: the theft of bacon by a person who, when apprehended, pretends to be the devil, was an old and popular tale, as Bechtold (p. 508) noted. Anton Birlinger ("Zu Grimmelshausens Simplicissimus," Alemannia X, 79-81 and XIV, 79-101 and 252-256) cited

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a number of collections of tales in which the anecdote appeared; Johannes Bolte ("Studien zu Grimmelshausens *Simplicissimus*," *Alemannia* XV, 62-63) cited a similar tale in Memel's *Lustige Gesellschaft*; Bloedau (p.61) believed the source to be Anecdote 52 in Parival's *Histoires facetieuses*; Josef Trostler ("Zur Quellengeschichte des *Simplicissimus*," *Euphorion* 21, 695-702) found the same motif in Hans Sachs, Thünger's *Facetien*, Wendunmuth, Talitz von Liechtensee's *Kurtzweilige Reyse-Gespan*, and Erasmus Francisci's *Lustige Schaubühne*; and Bechtold (p. 508 f.) pointed to the same anecdote in Johann Praetorius' *Wünschelruthe*. Whatever Grimmelshausen's immediate source was, it seems indisputable that Bechtold was correct in asserting that the first treatment which makes the thief a musketeer and thus places the action in a military context was that of Thisabo von Redtschorn (the pseudonym of Christoph Schorer), whom Praetorius himself cited as his source of the anecdote. In Schorer's work, *Allmodische Sitten-Schule* (Magdeburg, 1660), the anecdote is entitled "Wunderlicher Speck-Fall" (pp. 110-113). It might be noted that another item in Schorer's book (pp. 292-296) about the "torment and usefulness of flax" ("Von des Flachses Marter und Nutzen") might well have inspired the so-called "Schermesser-Episode" which Grimmelshausen included in the first *Continuatio* to *Simplicissimus*.

184. Recklinghausen: city in Westphalia, on the northern edge of the Ruhr territory; in 1636 Imperial forces co-occupied it in order to keep the Hessians under surveillance.

185. caravana: caravan, wagon train.

186. re vera: as a matter of true fact.

187. convivium: repast, convivial meal.

188. O mirum!: O wonder!

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189. Acteon: see Notes to Book II, Chapter 21.
190. Hopalong: in German “Springinsfeld”; the name is actually a tag-name, since “Springinsfeld” is the word for a heedless madcap, which fairly well characterizes Simplicissimus’ partner in crime during his days in Soest. In the second of the Simplician novels, *The Runagate Courage*, we are told how he got his name. In the contract which Courage demanded he enter before she would agree to live with him as his common-law wife, the seventh point stipulated, in her words: “that I call him by a special name, which name was to be formed from the first words of the command by which I should the first time order him to do something.” (p. 109) As it turned out, Courage, in order to send him off so that she might take her pleasure with a young officer, ordered him to “hop along and catch our piebald,” which the officer was ostensibly interested in purchasing (p. 111). Hopalong later becomes the principal narrator of *The Singular Life Story of Heedless Hopalong*. Könnecke (I, 150) notes that in 1665 a drummer named Jacob Springinsfeld is documented as living in Oppenau, a village quite near Gaisbach, where Grimmelshausen resided.
191. Interim: In the meanwhile.
192. Rheine: town in Westphalia; situated on the Ems.
193. Münster: main city of Westphalia; located in the middle of the Westphalian plain.
194. Vale: Farewell!

Notes

BOOK III

CHAPTER 1: *How the chasseur strayed too far from the right path*

1. to steal chickens: see Notes to Book I, Chapter 16.

CHAPTER 2: *The chasseur of Soest rides himself of the chasseur of Werl*

2. Werl: village near Soest; it too was in the hands of Count von Götz' troops.

CHAPTER 3: *The great god Jupiter is captured and reveals the counsels of the gods*

3. The great god Jupiter is captured...: like several other "episodes" in *Simplicissimus*, the so-called "Jupiter Episode" extends over several chapters (3 through 7) and consists of fairly clearly defined segments: 1) The Meeting of Jupiter and *Simplicissimus* (Chapter 3); 2) Jupiter's Prophecy of a German Hero and Secular Reform Leading to a Utopia (Chapter 4); 3) Jupiter's Argument with Hopalong (Chapter 5); 4) Jupiter's Prophecy of Religious Reform Leading to a Utopia (Chapter 5); 5) Jupiter's Argument with *Simplicissimus* (Chapter 6); 6) Jupiter's Battle with the Lice (Chapter 6); and 7) Jupiter after the Skirmish (Chapter 7). The structure of the episode (and Bechtold failed to note this) is somewhat similar to that of Moscherosch, "Phantasten-Spital." Philander, the narrator, encounters a number of "Phantasten," but there are only two lengthy episodes: 1) his encounter with a "sehr ehrbarn / köstlich bekleidten und gravitatischen Mann" (Grimmelshausen describes Jupiter as "fein ehrbar gekleidet"), whom Philander at first takes to be a doctor but then discovers to be an inmate who believes he is God and who embarks upon a description of how he

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will treat the Pope, Luther and Calvin on Judgment Day; and 2) a poor gardner who is convinced that he is a general in the French army and explains why a German would wish to serve in the French army rather than in a German one. The “General” and “God” episodes are thus satires on matters religious and secular, as are Jupiter’s two prophecies about his German Hero.

The Jupiter Episode has been of prime importance for Grimmelshausen scholarship and for the interpretation of *Simplicissimus* since the 1960s, for it is the starting point for those who have advanced the “astrological” interpretation: Weydt, in 1965 in a paper entitled “Planetensymbolik im barocken Roman. Versuch einer Entschlüsselung des *Simplicissimus* aufgrund der astrologischen Tradition” given at the third Internationaler Germanisten-Kongress in Amsterdam and in 1968 in *Nachahmung*, in a chapter with the same title (pp. 243-279); and Helmut Rehder, in 1968 in an essay entitled “Planetenkinder: Some Problems of Character Portrayal in Literature” (*The Graduate Journal* 8, Nr. 1, 69-97). That Grimmelshausen was interested in astrology is indisputable—his *Eternal Calendar* (*Deß Abentheurlichen Simplicissimi Ewig-währender Calender*) contains long passages on the subject which were taken verbatim from Garzoni’s *Discourse 40* and Johannes ab Indagine’s *Natürliche Stern-Kunst*. At the time astrologists, soothsayers, and casters of horoscopes still relied on the Chaldean-Ptolomaic (geocentric) view of the universe, which conceived of a fixed earth around which rotated seven planets, traditionally arranged in the following sequence, beginning with the planet furthestest from the earth (the one which took the longest to complete one full revolution): 1) Saturn, 2) Jupiter, 3) Mars, 4) Sol (the sun), 5) Venus, 6) Mercury, and 7) Luna (the moon). Astrologers maintained that these seven, which were conceived of as “planetary gods,” influenced mortals, and everything else on earth, with the influence depending on 1) their momentary relationship to

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one another and 2) the prevailing “mansion” (sign of the Zodiac, of which there were twelve: the “midnight,” i.e. northern mansions—Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, and Virgo—and the “midday,” i.e. southern ones—Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius, and Pisces). The astrological interpreters of *Simplicissimus* believe that Grimmelshausen intentionally and consciously structured his novel according to the “astrological” cycle, with each of the seven planetary gods at some point the dominant force. Rehder, focusing on the figure of *Simplicissimus*, discerned seven “stations” in his life (as depicted in Books I-V), corresponding to the following seven planetary gods: 1) Saturn (god of solitary and base occupations) - childhood and stay with the hermit; 2) Mars - from the death of the hermit to the end of the sojourn in the Paradise Cloister; 3) Jupiter (master of the hunt, bestower of good fortune) - *Simplicissimus*’ adventures as the Chasseur of Soest; 4) Sol (god of leisure, of the arts and sciences) - the sojourns in Lippstadt and Cologne; 5) Venus - the adventures in Paris; 6) Mercury (the changeable god, sometimes bestowing good fortune and sometimes bad) - up to the beginning of the Lake Mummer episode; 7) Luna (goddess associated with water) - up through the end of the novel, which returns to Saturn (withdrawal to a life of solitude). Rehder realized that the Jupiter and Mars “stations” were the reverse of the accepted sequence but noted that “such reversion of sequence is not disturbing, judging from similar instances in astrological and moralizing literature” (p. 90).

Weydt considered both the first five books and the first *Continuatio* (Book VI) and examined not only the hero but 27 other factors which the seven planetary gods are traditionally described as controlling or being associated with, and he arrived at the following structure, in which the dominant planetary gods overlap (cf. Weydt, p. 301): 1) Saturn - up to Book I, Chapter 18; 2) Mars - from the beginning to the end of Chapter 5/6 in Book II; 3)

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Sol - Book I, Chapter 20/21 to Book II, Chapter 29; 4) Jupiter - Book II, Chapter 26 to Book III, Chapter 23; 5) Venus - Book III, Chapter 17 to Book 4, Chapter 6/8; 6) Mercury - Book III, Chapter 23 to Book 5, Chapter 18; 7) Luna - Book V, Chapter 8 to the middle of Book VI; and 8) Saturn (beginning a new cycle, as would astrologically be expected) - middle of Book VI to its conclusion. In each instance the planetary god is most dominant, according to Weydt, midway through its cycle (Book I begins and Book VI ends at mid-cycle). Weydt's sequence, it will be noted, does not agree with the traditional sequence either.

The astrological theory, Weydt argues, is supported in part by the fact that there are two pieces of evidence which indicate that Grimmelshausen was immersed in the study of astrology at the very time he must have been composing *Simplicissimus* (the mid-1660s): 1) his citation of Hildebrand's *Planetenbuch* in the "Gegensatz" of *The Satyrical Pilgrim I*, 10; and 2) his use of the 1664 edition of Johann ab Indagine's *Natürliche Stern-Kunst* as a source for the so-called "fifth materia" in his *Perpetual Calender*. The citation of the *Planetenbuch*, which first appeared in 1613 and was re-issued in a revised edition in 1625, is meaningful only a) if one assumes (as many scholars do) that Grimmelshausen wrote—compiled would be a better word—*The Satyrical Pilgrim I* immediately before its publication in the fall of 1666 and b) if he in fact took the citation directly from the *Planetenbuch* and not from another source which cited and quoted the *Planetenbuch*—which the form of the citation renders quite probable: "Wolfgang Hildebrand meldet Generaliter im teutschen Theil seines *Planetenbuchs* auß Gu: H: R: & Mathem: da er von der Phisiognomiae handelt / ..." (in virtually every other instance when Grimmelshausen is so specific in citing a source, he has borrowed both the information and the citation from another source). The second piece of evidence (cf. Weydt, pp. 308 ff. in an Exkurs entitled "Die Indagine-Ausgabe von 1664 als Vorlage für die

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Fünfte Materie des <Ewigwährenden Kalender>”) is at first glance far more persuasive, for a) it supplies a terminus a quo—1664, b) one must presume only that Grimmelshausen was working on *The Perpetual Calendar*, which did not appear until the fall of 1671, at about the same time he was writing *Simplicissimus*, the editio princeps of which appeared in the spring of 1668, and c) there appear to be some borrowings from *Indagine* in *Simplicissimus*, Book III, Chapter 4 (see below). The evidence seems to indicate conclusively that Grimmelshausen must have used *Indagine* sometime between 1664, when it appeared, and 1668, when *Simplicissimus* was first published. There were, however, earlier editions of *Indagine*’s work. It was first published (in Latin) in Strasbourg in 1522 under the title *Introductiones apotelesmaticae elegantes in chiromantium, phisignomiam, astrologiam naturalem, complexiones hominum, naturas planetarum...*; a year later a German version appeared under the title *Die kunst der Chiromantzey...*, but neither this edition nor a second German version published in 1540 represented a translation of the complete Latin text (Scholte, p. 68, nevertheless believed that the 1523 edition was the source). Weydt is probably correct when he argues (p. 308) that Grimmelshausen did not use a sixteenth-century German version of the work. There is, however, at least one indication that Grimmelshausen used not the 1664 edition but an earlier German one which appeared in 1630. The full title of the 1664 edition is *Natürlicher Stern-Kunst / Oder Gründlicher Bericht wie auß Ansehen des Gesicht / der Händ / vnd gantzer Gestalt des Menschen Wahr gesagt werden könne: Lateinisch beschrieben durch Johann von INDAGINE, Ins Teütsch übergesetzt vnd erklärt von Johann Freridrich Halbmeier Der Stern-Kunst Liebhabern.*; the title of the 1630 edition is slightly different: *Deß hochgelehrten Ioannis Indagine Astrologia naturalis; das ist, Gründlicher Bericht, wie man Chiromancia, Physiognomia vnd Astrologia leichtlich erlernen* The heading to the fifth “materia” in the *Perpetual Calendar* reads “*Simplicii Discurs mit Ioanne*

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Indagine / darinnen er unterrichtet wird, wie vermittelt der Astrologia Naturali er einem jeden Menschen ohne Kopfbrechung die Nativität stellen könne....” This heading contains two elements which agree with the title of the 1630 edition and are at variance with that of the edition of 1664: the term “Astrologia naturalis” (translated as “Natürliche Stern-Kunst” in the 1664 edition); and the form of the author’s name (“Ioannis Indagine” in the 1630 edition, but translated into German as “Johann von Indagine” in the 1664 edition). On the basis of the titles and the heading, it surely seems more likely that Grimmelshausen copied out of the 1630 edition, and if that were the case he could have used the book any time before 1668, when borrowings from it appear in *Simplicissimus*. Weydt’s two arguments are thus far from persuasive proofs.

4. Dorsten: see above, Book II, Chapter 30.

5. There came a lone man strolling up...: Grimmelshausen begins the Jupiter Episode by employing a favorite technique of Moscherosch: the narrator describes a person whom he observes but does not know and cannot identify—or identifies incorrectly; the narrator and the person then begin to converse, and the person’s identity is revealed. In at least three instances—in addition to the encounter with the man with the “God” complex mentioned above—Moscherosch’ stranger is in some respects similar to Grimmelshausen’s Jupiter: in the “Todtenheer” one dead person who “was walking along gravely” approaches Philander and introduces himself as “the first King of the Old Franconians” (I, 188 f.), and another, whose appearance is such that Philander takes him for a “wild man” and regards him with a mixture of fear and awe, introduces himself as “Herr Lug ins Land, the most accurate astrologus and prophet who can be found today” (I, 211 f.). The astrologer, like Jupiter, is quick to take offense and flies into a rage when Philander speaks of “foolish prophecies” attributed to him which one now and again hears in Germany. In a later vision, “Alamode

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Kehrauß,” Philander encounters a figure who introduces himself as “King Ariovistus” and who not only rails against those who are ruining the German language by introducing foreign words into it, but even goes so far as to predict the total destruction of Germany unless a “Hero” appears who can restore German to its original purity (I, 684 f.)

6. Numen: Latin for god, godhead, divinity.

7. a powerful prince who had been going about in disguise this way in order to inform himself about his subjects’ lives and behavior: the idea of having Jupiter come to earth to investigate man’s doings may have been inspired by the assertion of Diodorus Siculus (I, 12, 9-10), who cited Homer (*Odyssey* XVII, 485-87) as his authority, that the gods, Jupiter of course among them, visited the cities of men in disguise in order to observe their good and evil ways; Grimmelshausen was probably familiar with Herold’s German translation of the passage (p. vi: “...die Gütter ziehen offermals in frembder gestalt in den stätten hin und wider / und nemmen acht was böses oder guttes die menschen thuen.”).

8. vex the citizens of Soest by teasing them about their great god and his golden apron: the “great god” of Soest was a crucifix with a five-foot long figure of Christ on it; it reposed in St. Patroclus Cathedral in Soest.

9. he introduced himself as the god Jupiter: Grimmelshausen scholars have suggested a number of figures as the model for Jupiter: 1-2) Bloedau (p. 119 f.) pointed out 1) an episode in Quevodo’s *Buscon* in which two madmen, one an engineer and the other a poet, expound their bizarre ideas and theories; he also cited 2) Fischart’s *Flohhatz* as possible inspiration for Jupiter’s problems with lice. 3-4) Bechtold (pp. 514-18) cited 3) one of Philander’s visions (in “*Phantasten-Spital*”) in which a melancholicus who thinks he is God plans to do away with religious strife among the Christian confessions; he also pointed out that 4) in *Guzman*

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there is a description of Jupiter presiding over an assembly of the gods which is considering whether to extirpate mankind as punishment for its vices. 5) Koschlig (pp. 45-87) believed the model for Jupiter was Hortensius, a character in Charles Sorel's *Histoire comique de Francion*, which was translated into German in 1662 and 1668; Koschlig emphasized (p. 67 f.) that Hortensius, like Jupiter, is a writer who has studied too much, who suffers from "morbus poetarum," and who is greatly interested in fleas and lice (he intends to write a poetic work about them). While the similarities between Jupiter and Hortensius are superficial, at best, Koschlig does make the very good point that Grimmelshausen, in *The Satirical Pilgrim II*, 1, expressly singles out Francion for praise (in one of the few passages not taken from Garzoni, I might add). 6-9) Weydt, in an essay entitled "Don Quijote, Der Wahnsinnige Schäfer und Jupiter Teutsch" (revised and reprinted in Weydt, pp. 138-154), cited as sources four works written by Harsdörffer and members of his circle: 6) the renarration of Sorel's *Le berger extravagant* under the title of "Der wahnwitzige Schäfer" in the *Frauenzimmer-Gesprächspiele* of 1647 (CCL VII); 7) the "Hylas Episode" in the continuation of the *Pegnitz-Schäferey* (1645), written by Harsdörffer's friends Sigmund von Birken and Johann Klaj; 8) the "Pamela Episode" in the first *Pegnitz-Schäferey* (1644); and 9) the "Neptune-Jupiter Anecdote" recounted by Harsdörffer in his list of melancholicii referred to above in the Notes to Book II, Chapter 13. Weydt points out the following similarities to Grimmelshausen's Jupiter: Lysis, the "mad shepherd," addled his pate by reading too much; Hylas suffers from the same delusion as Lysis, is introduced to the reader in the way Jupiter is, and includes names of figures from mythology in his tirades; Pamela, an equally "mad shepherdess," believes that she is "poor Germany lying in her death throes"; and the two melancholicii are poor souls who are convinced that they are Neptune and Jupiter respectively. No verbatim borrowings by Grimmelshausen are established, but Weydt does discuss what he takes to

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be a borrowing in another part of *Simplicissimus* (Book I, Chapter 3): the peculiar idiom “to poison toads” (“den Kröten vergeben”), which is also found in the continuation of the Pegnitz-Schäferey (“...und könde man mit seinen Schwanken zur Noht einer Kröten vergeben.”) However, as indicated above (Notes to Book I, Chapter 3), Grimmelshausen is here quoting Garzoni nearly verbatim: *Simplicissimus* I, 3: “Da fienge ich an mit meiner Sackpfeiffen so gut Geschirr zu machen / daß man den Krotten im Krautgarten damit hätte vergeben mögen /...”; Garzoni, Discourse 42 (p. 348), in discussing the flaws of musicians: “Und damit wir auch deß dritten / oder wol vierdten Mangels nicht vergessen / so finden sich auch etliche Sudeler under ihnen / welche sich zwar auch understehen / beydes zu singen vnnd zu componiren / wollen auch hoch dafür abgesehen seyn / machen aber solch jämmerlich Geschirr / daß man den Krotten im Krautgarten damit vergeben möchte / ...” In fact, Garzoni employs the same idiom a second time, in Discourse 103 (p. 575, recta 574): “Ihre inventiones sind daß man wol den Kröten darmit vergeben möchte...”

Not all suggested models for Jupiter are literary; both Julius Petersen and Scholte suggest historical personalities: 10-13) Petersen (“Grimmelshausens Teutscher Held,” *Euphorion* 17, 5 ff.) believed Grimmelshausen may have met one “mad prophet” well known in his time, 10) Bartholomäus Holzhauser (died 1658), and may have been familiar with the chiliastic writings of two others, 11) Johann Warner and 12) Philippus Ziegler; he also found it probable that Grimmelshausen read in *Theatrum Europaeum* about a mad prophet who called himself 13) Albrecht von Adelgreiff and who claimed to be the “Prince of Peace” and the “Judge of the Quick and the Dead” (Adelgreiff—who was plagued by lice, by the way—first gained notoriety in 1636, about the time, Petersen notes, that the Jupiter episode occurs, and was executed on October 12, 1637). 14) Scholte, in an essay first published in 1946 entitled “Der ‘Simplicissimus Teutsch’ als verhüllte

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Religions satire" (reprinted in Scholte, *Der Simplicissimus und sein Dichter*, pp. 15-48), attempted to demonstrate that the Jupiter figure, with his utopian visions and overwhelming knowledge of classical mythology, was actually a) a satirical portrayal of Jesaias Rompler von Löwenhalt, who was a poet and the theorist and leader of the Tannengesellschaft in Strasbourg, and b) a parody of Rompler's disciple, Count Friedrich von Württemberg-Mompelgard; Scholte was convinced that the actual model for Jupiter was Grimmelshausen's contemporary, Count Georg von Württemberg-Mompelgard, whose behavior and views were quite out of the ordinary (p. 40). Scholte goes to some lengths to demonstrate Grimmelshausen's dislike for Rompler and concludes that only Rompler and his friends could have been the language reformers whom Grimmelshausen attacked in *Der teutsche Michel*, but he neglects to consider that in *The Satyrical Pilgrim II, I*—again in a passage not taken from Garzoni and presumably Grimmelshausen's own composition—poets are linked to language reformers who coin new words, use them both in writing and in speech, and attempt to prescribe new rules for grammar and orthography for the German language: "so giebt's auch etliche / und zwar nicht wenig / die sich als Sprachhelden unterstehen / ganz Nagelneue Wörter uff die Bahn zu bringen / deren sie sich nicht allein in ihren Schrifften gebrauchen / sonder auch in ihren täglichen Reden vernemmen lassen; und ob sie zwar deßwegen oft so kahl damit bestehen / daß sie auch die Wald-bauern verlachen und corrigiren, so vermeinen sie iedoch / das Vaterland sey ihnen umb solcher ihrer nährischen Witz halber hoch verbunden; Andere wollen eine neue Grammatica und Orthographicam der teutschen Sprach vorschreiben / die so Phantastisch beschaffen / daß die Schüler Knaben / wann sie darmit aufgezo-gen kämen / bey den Schulmeistern übel anlaffen würden; und dennoch schämen sie sich nicht / sich solcher Thorheit halber zu rühmen."

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Surely Rompler was one of the persons Grimmelshausen had in mind when he penned this diatribe (see also below, Note to Helicon).

To these possible historical models I might add two more: 15) Simon Morin, a French “mad prophet” who was executed in Paris on 4/14 March 1653, i.e. roughly at the time Grimmelshausen was embarking upon his literary career. Morin had preached that the king should turn over to him all church properties and that the church should be completely reorganized; he claimed, moreover, that he was Christ returned to earth to pass judgment and to establish the “realm of the Holy Ghost.” Morin’s views and fate were dutifully reported in *Theatrum Europaeum* IX, 1077, and while Grimmelshausen could not have used this report (the volume did not appear until 1672), it seems quite likely that Morin’s “heresy” was well known at the time and possibly described in broadsides. 16) Tomaso Garzoni, the polyhistorian and encyclopaedist to whom Grimmelshausen owed so much. Although Garzoni was not a poet but a scholar, in Discourse 153 he assumes the role of a poet and writes a parody of an invocation (p. 719): “Auff solche weise wil ich nun / wie ein nachfolger der Poeten / aber doch in Prosa / den Mercuriuim anrufen / daß er mir seine talaria wölle leyhen / oder auch wo möglich / grössere wölle verschaffen / daß ich so hoch fliegen wie Iupiter als er vnter der gestalt eines Adellers den Ganimedem hinweg geföhret. Oder den Phoebem, daß er mir seine güldene Cythat, als er den Plutonem vnnd die Proserpinam auß der Höllenm hinweg föhrete: oder aber die / wie Penthasilea gewapnete Mineruam, daß sie mich so muthig mache / wie Bacchus gewesen / als er auff einem langohrichten Esel in den Krief wider die Centauros gezogen. Deßgleichen die Cytheram, daß meine Lippen mit lieblichem Honig wol bestreichen: Chloridem und Galatheam, daß sie mich auch in den Arcadischen Wälden angenehm machen. Nereidam und Thetin, daß sie mich bey den Meergüttern commendiren / Pomonam und Cererem, daß

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sie mich Handthaben / vnnd daß Laub vnd Graß zu mir neygen. Und damit ich ja niemandt vergesse / ruffe ich auch Pythonem an, daß sie mich als eine Göttin der Wolredenheit mit gebührlicher Eloquentz wölle begaben / die Camoenas, als Göttin des Gesangs / unnd Stimulam, daß sie mich zu diesem lustigen Discurs wölle aufmuntern / Heben die Göttin der Jugend / daß sie Muth un Krafft darzu wölle verleyhen / auff daß ich mich im Namen der schönen Doridis im Meer / der holdseligen Tochter Latone in der Lufft / Promethei deß Gottes des Fewers / Florae der Göttin der Erden / mit dem Thyrso Bacchi, mit dem Schmidthammer Vulcani, mit dem Tridente Neptuni, mit dem eisernen Kühriß Martis, mit dem Kolben Herculis, unnd dem fulmine oder Blitzstralen Iovis in diesem meinem Dioscurs die gantze Ehrliche Gesellschaft der Edelen / vnd mit Lorberblätter gekröneten Poeten nach ihren Würden müge rähmen vnnd ehren." This horrendous peroration is precisely the sort of thing Grimmelshausen must have had in mind when he, in *The Satyirical Pilgrim* II, 1, lamented that the average person could barely understand poets unless he had studied intensively classical mythology: "Jetziger Zeit findet man viel / die in ihren Poematis sich mit Untermengung der alten Poetischen Grillen dermassen schleppen und versteigen / daß mancher gelehrter und erfahrner Kerl geschweige ein gemeiner Mann / beynahe nichts daraus versteht / er habe dann sich zuvor auch in dergleichen Thorheiten geübt / und der alten Poeten schrecklich Einfäll und Wundergedichte gelesen / und ihre Phantastische und Närrische Träume im Kopff behalten /..." The passage, furthermore, links Garzoni to Jupiter twice, once at the beginning, where the rape of Ganymede is alluded to, and once at the end, where Garzoni requests, among other gifts from the gods, the "lightning bolts of Jupiter." The conclusion of the passage could not but have reminded Grimmelshausen of the beginning of Garzoni's Introduction, where Momus explicitly compares Garzoni to Jupiter, among others, in much the same terms: "...hie schlägt er einen mit deß Herculis Kolben / dort einen andern mit

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deß Neptuni Trident / hie lähmet er einen mit Jupiters Blitz / dort erschreckt er einen andern wie ein Meerwunder / als einer / so ihm vorgenommen / die ganzte Welt zu ersäuffen /..." Finally, it should be noted that Jupiter's threat to punish his detractors as Tantalus and others were punished (see below) is taken from Garzoni's response to his calumniators in his Introduction, perhaps an indication that Grimmelshausen in his own mind associated his Jupiter with Garzoni.

While the consensus has been that Grimmelshausen first created his Jupiter figure and then embellished his dialogue with material borrowed from Garzoni, it seems possible that Garzoni's Discourse 153, together with his Introduction, could have been the starting point. In any event, Grimmelshausen's intimate knowledge of Garzoni and Moscherosch, together with his experiences with the poetic circle in Strasbourg and his awareness of various historical "mad prophets" with ideas of utopian reform, would be sufficient for him to create in Jupiter a figure in which he satirizes a number of human types: the overly erudite, classically educated scholar and polyhistor who relishes recondite classical allusions; the poet who is similarly intent upon displaying his knowledge of classical mythology; the madman; the mad prophet; the astrologer, soothsayer, and caster of horoscopes; the language reformer; and the totally impractical utopist.

10. Jove: Jupiter.

11. sylvani: divinities of the fields and forests, defined by Grimmelshausen's source for information on classical mythology (*Acerra philologica* I, 85, p. 156, and Moscherosch VI, 299) as "forest spirits, or gods, patrons of peasants and farmers; of just the same appearance as satyrs, with horned heads and with goats' feet." Grimmelshausen's inspiration to have Simplicius adopt the role of Silvanus, however, may

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have been Garzoni's definition (in Momus' Tirade against Garzoni, in the Introduction): "the father of herdsmen of swine and cattle." Considering Simplicissimus' first occupation as a boy, the appellation Silvanus is quite appropriate.

12. faunis: fauns (in Roman mythology the equivalent of the Greek satyrs); rural deities associated with Pan; defined (*loc. cit.*) exactly the same as "sylvani."

13. nymphis: nymphs; female deities believed to dwell in groves, on mountain tops, in rivers and streams, and in grottoes (similarly defined in Grimmelshausen's sources).

14. Ganymede: in Greek legend he was the most beautiful of all mortals and was carried off to Mount Olympus to serve as Jupiter's cupbearer. Cf. Apollodorus, Library III, 12, 2. Grimmelshausen's sources for information on classical mythology (Acerra philologica I, 85, p. 155 f., and Moscherosch VI, 299) describe him as "a little lad...taken up to heaven by Jove on an eagle; there he was given the post of waiting upon the gods when they dined and pouring them nectar, that is the drink of the gods, and ambrosia, that is the food of the gods." It might be noted that in Garzoni's Introduction, in two passages lifted by Grimmelshausen, the "rape of Ganymede" is mentioned (and both times Grimmelshausen deletes it from his text).

15. Pan: Greek god of flocks and shepherds. Grimmelshausen's sources (*op. cit.* I, 85, p. 155 and VI, 299) lump Pan together with satyrs, calling them "gods of herdsmen and bagpipers, wondrous in form, with goats' feet, thick fur, horns on their heads, long ears, and ugly faces..."

16. in Lycaon's time: Lycaon, the king of Arcadia, served Jupiter a dish of human flesh, whereupon Jupiter turned him and all his sons except Nyctimus into wolves; during Nyctimus' reign Jupiter sent the great

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flood, which only Pyrrha and Deucalion were able to survive. Cf. Apollodorus, Library III, 8, 1-2. Grimmelshausen may have been reminded of the “flood” by a remark in Momus’ Tirade against Garzoni in Garzoni’s Introduction in which Momus alludes to “wielding Jupiter’s lightning bolt” and “undertaking to inundate the world....”

CHAPTER 4: Concerning the German hero who will conquer the entire world and establish peace amongst all peoples

17. I shall endow him...shall conquer the entire world: this passage, which is deemed by proponents of the astrological interpretation to be of the greatest significance, reads as follows in the original: “in seiner Geburt-Stund will ich ihm verleyhen einen wolgestalten und stärckern Leib / als Hercules einen hatte / mit Fürsichtigkeit / Weisheit / und Verstand überflüssig geziert / hierzu soll ihm Venus geben ein schön Angesicht / also daß er auch Narcissum, Adonidem und meinen Ganymedem selbst übertreffen solle / sie soll ihm zu allen seinen Tugenden ein sonderbare Zierlichkeit / Auffsehen und Anmütigkeit vorstrecken / und dahero ihn bey aller Welt beliebt machen / weil ich sie eben der Ursachen halber in seiner Nativität desto freundlicher anblicken werde; Mercurius aber soll ihn mit unvergleichlich-sinnreicher Vernunft begaben / und der unbeständige Mond soll ihm nicht schädlich / sondern nützlich seyn / weil er ihm eine unglaubliche Geschwindigkeit einpflanzen wird; die Pallas soll ihn auff dem Parnasso auferziehen / und Vulcanus soll ihm in Hora Martis seine Waffen / sonderlich ein Schwert schmiden / mit welchem er die gantze Welt bezwingen / ...” Weydt (p. 244 ff.) asserts that this passage proves that Grimmelshausen meant Jupiter and the other gods mentioned to be regarded as planetary gods. Haberkamm (p. 44 ff.) pointed out, as yet further proof, that the gifts of some of the gods are evidently patterned on remarks which are found in Grimmelshausen’s Perpetual Calendar and which were taken verbatim

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from Indagine (the underlinings are Haberkamm's): "Venus hat gar nahe mit dem Jove gleiche Eigenschafften / doch etwas geringer / und was der Planet Jupiter von Tugenden / Künsten / Geschicklichkeiten und allem Guten im Thun und Lassen inflösset / demselben gibt Venus hinzu eine Zierlichkeit besonders Auffsehen und Anmuth; und solches umb so viel destomehr / wann Jupiter sie freundlich anblickt,.."; "Jupiter hat ein unsträfflich anmuthige Influentz / sintemahl kein Gab noch Ruhm der Rathgebung / Weißheit / Fürsichtigkeit /Kunst / Wohlredenheit noch Schönheit ist / die nit seiner Geburt mit allem Fleiß verleyhen solte."; and "Mercurius ist / wie etliche Authores wollen / ein zweifelhafter Planet / bey guten Planeten gut / und bey bösen böß / sonsten für sich selbst ist er ein erwehlteter guter Planet / bevorab Vernunft und Sinnreichen Verstand zu verleyhen..." Haberkamm also points out that in the same text the moon is described as inconstant, but in the proper astrological configuration it can be beneficial, and celerity ("Schnelligkeit") is one of its attributes. Haberkamm cites no verbal reminiscences in Jupiter's remarks concerning Mars, but points out that Mars' role is consistent with the astrological view and that the phrase "Hora Martis" points towards astrology rather than mythology. Both Haberkamm (p. 46, footnote 23 et passimi) and Weydt (p. 248) suspected that Grimmelshausen meant Pallas Athena to be construed as the sun and Vulcan as Saturn, in which case the passage would list all seven planetary gods.

Left unanswered by Weydt and Haberkamm is one important question: What prompted Grimmelshausen to have Jupiter give this horoscope of his German Hero, i.e. was there a model for the passage in terms of form rather than content (partially)? Several possibilities might be considered: 1) In Moscherosh, "Phantasten-Spital" (I, 411 f.) there is a satire on casters of horoscopes which involves exaggerated predictions. The wealthy parents of the most hideous looking child imaginable call in the "most

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distinguished Professores of things to come,” and when these gentlemen saw “what was to their advantage,” they declared that “from the Genesi, Horoscopo, lineamenten and all other circumstances they could only conclude that this child would surpass Nestor in length of life, Aristotle in high intelligence, Hercules in strength, Alexander the Great in good fortune and Croesus in wealth, and Julius Caesar in heroic deeds, Octavius Augustus in fame and praise...” Doubtless other satires on casters of horoscopes, many of whom were frauds, could be cited. 2) Garzoni, Discourse 153, which deals with poets and poetry, includes scathing remarks about the tendency of poets to flatter their friends and benefactors: “Wenn aber die Poeten einen wollen loben / so müssen ihm auch die Planeten weichen / die himlische Spheren sich für ihm beugen / Sonn vnd Mond ihn ehren / vnd himlische Götter ihn zu sich nehmen / so bald sie seiner ansichtig werden; dannenhero Horatius sagt: Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori. Das ist: Einen Mann der is lobens werth / Der Poet mit ewigen namen ehrt. Item: Caelo Musa beat. Die Musae ihn in den Himmel heben.

Wenn du einen Poeten zum freunt hast vnd behelst / so bistu in weißheit gleich wie ein Athlas, in vorsichtigkeit / wie ein Iuppiter; in wolredenheit / wie ein Mercurius, in ehren glantz wie ein Phoebus, in stärke vnd tapfferkeit wie ein Mars, in herrlichkeit wie eine glanzende Sonne. Der Poet macht dich mit seinen Versen so schön / wie ein Rose / die Charites theilen dir ihre freundlichkeit vnd holdseligkeit mit / der Chorus Aphius zieret dich mit allen Tugendten vnd Gaben / die Venus muß ihre anmütigkeit mir dir theilen. In summa, es müssen alle Götter mit dir zu thun haben / daß du zu einem Außbundt genugsam auß gebutzt seyest: vndd kompt alles / was du gutes an dir hast / von den Gratiis, oder von deß Atlantis Enckel / oder von dem Superno choro, oder von dem weisen Motore der gantzen Welt. Ein Poet kan dich / wie Iupiter Europam in einem huy

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vber das wilde Meer führen / ja biß in den Himmel führen; kan dich wie eine Ariadnam zwischen die Sterne setzen; wie eine Mineruani zu den obersten oder höchsten Chor deß templi Honoris setzen: wie einen Ganimedem vber alle freude der Götter erheben. Dieweil ein Poet deine laudes beschreibet / gewinnst du Flügel wie ein Adeler / schwingest dich in die höhe wie ein anderer Pegasus, badest dich in dem fonte Cabillino, vnd kompst eines mals auff die spitze des Parnassi oder Heliconis. In summa, wo wolte man grössere wunderwerck sehen / als bey einem Poeten / welcher mit seiner Federn einen in den abgrundt der Erden kan störtzen / vnd also bald widerumb biß vber den Olympum erheben?“

Garzoni's satire on poets' exaggerated praise mentions nine of the fourteen classical figures or planetary gods named in Jupiter's horoscope (only Hercules, Narcissus and Adonis, and Vulcan are missing); and it contains three clearly identifiable groups of figures: planetary gods (the sun and the moon, mentioned in the introduction); classical figures which can only be mythological (Atlas, Phoebus, the Charites, the Graces, Europa, Ariadne, Minerva, Ganymede, Pegasus, the Parnasusus, the Helicon, and Mount Olympus); and figures which could be either gods from mythology or planetary gods (Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, and Venus)—their qualities, derived as they are from Greek mythology, fit both mythic and planetary gods.

3) Grimmelshausen first exploited the above passage from Garzoni in *The Satyirical Pilgrim* II, 1 (“On Poetry”), where the revision reads as follows: “Wan du einen Poeten zum Freunde hast / so erhebt er dich über den Athlantem: die Planeten müssen dir weichen / Sonne und Mon mueß dich ehren / und die gantze welt mueß sich über dich vorwundern; Alsdann bistu tapfferer als Mars; stärcker als Hercules; ohnerschrockener als Minos; klüger als Minerua; beredter als Mercurius; vorsichtiger als Juppiter; höher erhaben als Phoebus; schöner als Narcissus; anmutiger als Venus; holdseeliger als die Charites selbsten; und alles was du ahn dir hast / seind lauther seltene Gaben der Gratien; Ein solcher Poet erhebt dich biß ahn

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den Himmel / und setzet dich wie ein andere Ariadnae zwischen die Stern / oder wie eine Palladem in den höchsten Orth des Templi Honoris! oder gar wie einen Ganimedem über alle Freud der Himlischen Götter; da kriegstu Flügel wie ein Adler: schwingst dich in die Höhe wie Pegasus! badest dich in fonte Caballino und kömst einsmals uff die Spitze des Parnassi oder Heliconis.” As in Garzoni’s satire, exclusively planetary gods (the sun and the moon, and the planets) are mentioned in an off-hand manner in the introduction, and figures which are exclusively mythological and those which could be either mythological or planetary gods are intermingled. Grimmelshausen not only deletes several purely mythological figures, he adds three not found in Garzoni (Hercules, Narcissus, and Minos), and two of them (Hercules and Narcissus) appear in Jupiter’s Horoscope; thus eleven of the thirteen figures (or places) in the horoscope appear in Grimmelshausen’s first re-working of Garzoni’s satire—only Vulcan and Adonis (who is a logical addition to Narcissus and Ganymede, both also paragons of male beauty) are missing. Having included Minerva (Athena) by that name in the opening list of gods, he changes Garzoni’s Minerva to Pallas, the form of the name employed in Jupiter’s Horoscope (apparently Pallas cannot be construed to be the Sun after all). Finally, the entire opening section of this satire is cast in the same form as the satire on casters of horoscopes in “Phantasten-Spital”: the person being praised is said to excel in virtue the mythological paragon of that particular virtue.

In light of the above it would seem that Grimmelshausen thought of his Jupiter figure not as a planetary god but as a mad poet and visionary and that Jupiter’s Horoscope or the German Hero is meant to be just what its model and Grimmelshausen’s first reworking of that model is: a satire on the tendency of poets, prophets, soothsayers, astrologers, and casters of horoscopes to indulge in excessive praise (for a variety of reasons). The encomium itself, like its model in Garzoni’s discourse and its predecessor

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in *The Satyrical Pilgrim*, presents an intermingling of mythological gods, planetary gods, and figures which could be either, with some characteristics for Venus, Jupiter, Mercury and the Moon borrowed from *Indagine*.

18. Hercules: strongest and boldest of the classical mythological figures. Lauremberg's *Acerra philologica* I, 43 (p.76 ff.) presents a survey of his more important feats, and Herold describes no fewer than 32 heroic "deeds of Hercules" (Diodorus Siculus rendering, clxxv-cxci).

19. Venus: goddess of love and beauty, termed in *Acerra philologica* I 85 (p. 157) and Moscherosch VI 301 f. "the most beautiful goddess."

20. Narcissus: a beautiful youth, inaccessible to the feeling of love, rejected Echo, who pined for him; as punishment Nemesis caused Narcissus to become so enamored of his own reflection in the water that he pined away and died. Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* III, 339-510. Following Ovid, Lauremberg tells the tale in *Acerra philologica* I, 67 (p. 122 f.).

21. Adonis: a youth of such beauty that Aphrodite (Venus), the goddess of love herself, fell in love with him. Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* X, 503-739.

22. Mercury: Roman god of commerce and financial gain; defined in *Acerra philologica* I, 85 (p. 155) as "the messenger of all the gods, with wings on his feet and head, in his hand a rod with which he leads souls to hell; is the patron of merchants,... Eloquence is his province."

23. Pallas: surname of Athena, the foremost goddess of the Roman Pantheon; she was patroness of the arts and sciences. *Acerra philologica* I, 85 (p 156 f.) and Moscherosch (VI, 300f.) list her as "Minerva or Pallas. Goddesses (sic) of wisdom and intelligence, and of studying..."

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24. Parnassus: mountain in Greece, in legend the home of Apollo (god of art and poetry, among other things) and the Muses (goddesses of song and different kinds of poetry). It is also so defined, together with the Helicon, in *Acerra philologica* I, 85 (p. 157) and Moscherosch VI, 301.

25. Vulcan: Roman god of fire (equivalent to Greek Hephaestus); defined in *Acerra philologica* I, 85 (p. 153) as “the limping god, and smith of all the gods.”

26. in hora Martis: in the hour of (under the sign of) Mars, the Roman god of warfare. Haberkamm (p. 39 f.) discusses the astrological import of the phrase; more important, in a footnote (p. 39-40) he identifies two possible sources for it: Harsdörffer’s *Gesprechspiele* and Johann Staricius’ *Heldenschatz*.

27. an entire Swiss mile: like the “German mile,” it was about 7.5 kilometers.

28. Tamerlane: see above Notes to Book I, Chapter 17; the source of this anecdote has not yet been determined.

29. Elysian fields: Elysium, the part of the afterworld where the shades of the blessed reside.

30. *chorum deorum*: choir of the gods; the phrase is used several times by Garzoni in his Introduction.

31. Helicon: mountain range in Boetia which was sacred to Apollo and the Muses. The notion that the Helicon should be moved to Germany may be a sly dig at Jesaias Rompler von Löwenhalt which Scholte failed to note in his argument that this poet inspired in part the Jupiter figure. To Rompler’s only published volume of poetry, *Des Jesaias Romplers von Löwenhalt erstes gebüsch seiner Reim-getichte*, were appended seven congratulatory poems—one in French, two in Latin, and four in German. Inasmuch

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as one of the German poems is by Johannes K ueffer, it seems quite likely that Grimmelshausen, who worked for K ueffer as a steward for several years and was presumably during that time either considering or already embarking upon a career as a writer, was familiar with it and the volume in which it appeared. Of the three other congratulatory poems in German, which were written by Balthasar Venator, Harsd orffer, and Johann Matthias Schneuber, Venator's is particularly interesting: it begins with the assertion that the Helicon had moved to Germany, that the Muses were German and that Apollo and Venus and her son were beginning to use the German language; there follows a description of the ravages of the Thirty Years' War which put an end to this removal of Greece to Upper Germany, and the poem ends with the claim that Rompler, despite the war, had preserved "our Helicon" and kept it in high esteem. If Grimmelshausen is indeed alluding to Rompler, then the figure in Rompler's poem which would correspond to Jupiter would be Rompler himself, the man who allegedly created the Helicon in Germany.

32. Fabricius: Gaius Fabricius Suscinus, consul in Rome in 282 and 278 B.C. and one of the most popular heroes in the annals of Rome because of the steadfastness with which he resisted the efforts of Pyrrhus to subvert him.

33. King Pyrrhus: (318-272) king of Epirus.

34. Manoa in America: city in Dorado, Venezuela renowned for its wealth in gold.

35. Tatar Khan: title of the Mongolian rulers of Persia.

36. Prester John: during the Middle Ages it was believed that he ruled over a Christian empire deep in Asia.

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37. in the times of Augustus: Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus (63 B.C.-14 A.D.), given the name Augustus when he became the first Roman emperor in 27 B.C. Although only the last five years of his reign were free of war, he did establish the so-called *pax Augusta*, which despite the ineptitude of his successors became the *pax Romana*, the longest period of peace and prosperity ever known to mankind.

CHAPTER 5: How he will unite the religions with one another and pour them into one mold

38. the plague of Erysichton: Erysichton cut down trees in a grove sacred to Demeter (Ceres), and he was punished with a ravening hunger which compelled him to devour his own flesh. Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* VII, 725-884.

39. Momus: god of mockery and censure.

40. Zoilus: a grammarian from Amphipolis who flourished during the reign of Philip of Macedon; his harsh treatment of Homer's works caused posterity to regard him as the epitome of the carping critic and incorrigible fault-finder.

41. *materi*: substance.

42. Theon: presumably Aelius Theon of Alexandria, a sophist and rhetorician who apparently lived during the reign of Augustus, is meant.

43. Hipponax-tongue: a sharp or biting tongue; Hipponax of Ephesus (flourished 546-520 B.C.) was famous for his bitter satires.

44. Battus: a shepherd of Neleus; when he saw Hermes (Mercury) driving away cattle he had stolen from Apollo, he promised to say nothing of what he knew, but he broke this promise and as punishment was turned into

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a stone. Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* II, 676-707. In Garzoni's Introduction he is one of the participants and presents his defense of his actions, and in Garzoni's Discourse 88 (p. 511), which deals with calumniators, his actions and fate are described (see above).

45. Juno: wife of Jupiter.
46. lapidem philosophorum: philosophers' stone.
47. argumenta: arguments.
48. theologos: theologians.
49. Ptolomeus Philadelphus: Ptolomeus II (309-247 B.C.), king of Egypt from 285 until his death; according to tradition it was at his command that the Holy Scriptures of the Jews were translated into Greek. The story of the "72 translators" was wide-spread; it appeared, among other places, in Garzoni, Discourse 127 (p. 644).
50. Pluto: Pluton (at first a surname of Hades), god of the lower world; so defined in Grimmelshausen's sources for classical mythology.
51. ad infinitum or indefinitum: indefinitely.
52. concilium: council.
53. congregatio: congregation, group, persons assembled.
54. take strides ad rem: to get down to business.
55. to pin a palm onto such a heretic and give him to Pluto as a New Year's present: to flay a heretic with thorns (cf. Borchardt, "Miscellen zu Grimmelshausens *Simplicissimus*," *Euphorion* 23, p. 294).

CHAPTER 6: *What the legatio of lice did with Jove*

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56. *legatio*: legation, group of deputies sent on a mission.
57. *Daedalus*: a mythological craftsman of renown who procured wings for himself and his son and flew across the Aegean Sea. Cf. Apollodorus, *Epitome* I, 12 f. and Ovid, *Metamorphoses* VIII, 183-235. The tale of *Daedalus* and his son *Icarus* was well known; *Acerra philologica* II, 7, p. 185 f., among other works, made it available to Germans who knew little or no Latin or classical mythology. *Grimmelshausen* may have been prompted to use *Daedalus'* flight by the last sentence in the Response and Judgment of the Assembled Gods, in *Garzoni's* Introduction: "And if it is deemed appropriate that you do...something useful and in accord with the dignity of the Author, then you should forthwith put on the wings of *Daedulus* and bring the happy message to us." : *Garzoni*: "Und wann ihr in gemeltem Hoff etwas nützlichs / nach Würden deß Authoris verrichtet / solt ihr also bald deß *Daedali* Flügel anziehen / und uns die früliche Botschaft bringen."; *ST*: "...die Ursach / daß ich auß dem Himmel kommen / ist / daß ich dich selbst darinn manglete / nam derowegen deß *Daedali* Flügel / und flog auff Erden dich zu suchen /..."
58. *Zoilus* and *Moscus*: for *Zoilus*, see above, Book III, Chapter 5; *Moscus* is not, as *Borcherdt* (p. 397) suggested, intended to be "Momus"; *Moscus* is the name of the arrogant pedant who speaks against the author in *Garzoni's* Introduction (his tirade is entitled "Moscus redet von wegen deß gantzen Collegii der Schulfüchse und Naßweisen Magistellis, welche alles verbessern / und das Magnificat corrigiren wöllen"). The name is apparently derived from the Italian "mosca" (Latin "musca": literally "fly" and figuratively "pest").
59. the slander of the gods: this diatribe is modeled very closely on two tirades in *Garzoni's* Introduction: that of *Zoilus*, which excoriated *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and *Mercury* and ended with the comparison of the

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gods to the stalls of Augias—interestingly enough, a reference to Jupiter’s rape of Ganymede is omitted (parallel texts in Scholte, p. 131—the Garzoni passage will be repeated here, in this instance); and that of Minerva (overlooked by Scholte), in which she cites the calumnies of Momus concerning Venus, Vulcan, Mars and Priapus (again reference to Jupiter’s rape of Ganymede is omitted). Garzoni 1: “Wer ist Jupiter / oder was ist er mehr / als ein Filtzläusiger Hurenhängst? Und Läst sich darbey noch nicht benügen / wie man an dem raptu deß Ganymedis gnugsamb mag abnehmen? Was ist der schöne Jungfrauenknecht Apollo, mit seinen Krausenlettich umb den Halß / mehr / als ein vnverschämpter Hurenbul / wie ihr dann solches / so wol als ich / in allen Historien gelesen? Was ist Mercurius mehr / als ein beschwätzer Hurenmackeler und Ruffian / der beydes den Göttern und den Göttinnen in ihren unzimblichen Bulschafften zu Hauß und zu Handt gehet? Was ist / damit ich es kurtz zusammen fasse / dieser gantze chorus oder Hauffe mehr / alß deß Augei Viehe / dessen Stall durch die gantze Welt hindurch stincket?”; Garzoni 2): “Wer hat den Ehebruch Veneris mit dem Marte außgebracht? Hat es nicht Momus gethan? Wer hat Mercurium für einen Gott und Fürsteher der Diebe außgeschrien? ...von Momo kompt es her / daß ...Priapus für einen Unflat gehalten wirdt.”; ST: “du selbst / sagen sie / seyest ein Filtzläusiger Ehebrecherische Hurenhengst / mit was für Billichkeit du dann die Welt wegen solcher Laster straffen mögest? Vulcanus sey ein gedultiger Hanrey / und habe den Ehebruch Martis ohne sonderbare nahmhafter Rach müssen hingehen lassen / was der hincckende Gauch dann vor Waffen werde schmiden können? Venus sey selbst die verhaßte Vettel von der Welt / wegen ihrer Unkeuschheit / was sie denn vor Gnad und Gunst einem andern werde mittheilen können? Mars sey ein Mörder und Rauber; Apollo ein unverschämter Huren-Jäger; Mercurius ein unnützer Plauderer / Dieb und Kuppler / Priapus ein Unflat / Hercules ein Hirnschälliger Wüterich / und in Summa die gantze Schaar der Götter so verrucht / daß man sie

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sonst nirgends hin als in deß Augei Stall logiren solte / welcher ohne das durch die gantze Welt stinckt." Garzoni, Discourse 74 (p. 465), probably also contributed to the passage: "Ich will auch der alten Poeten geschweigen / welche von den alten Göttern vorgeben / dz sie auch außbündige Hurenmaklern gewesen / wie den Mercurius ir Bott / beynah nichts anders zu thun hatte als dz er die Hurenbottschaft verrichtet /... Venus is eine Göttin / welche alle Hurenliebe befördert /... Mars setzt dem Vulcano hörner auff/..."

60. Vulcan...Mars...: Mars is said to have seduced Vulcan's wife, Venus. The tale was retold in several of Grimmelshausen's favorite sources: Moscherosch I, 120; Cerda's Weiblicher Lustgarten, p. 273; and Garzoni, Discourse 74 (p. 465).

61. Priapus: fertility god, protector of sheep and goats, of bees, of viniculture and agriculture. Acerra philologica (I, 85, p. 156) and Moscherosch (VI, 299) define him as "the wooden god, with his abominable large members....a protector of gardens, into which he is put so that he can protect them and their fruits from thieves." Garzoni, Discourse 146 (p. 701) describes him in a similar manner. Herold (p. clxxii) gives Diodorus Siculus' description of him.

62. the stable of Augias: according to legend, Augias had a herd of 3,000 oxen, and the stalls had not been cleaned out for 30 years, until Hercules accomplished the task on a single day (the "fifth labor of Hercules"). Cf. Apollodorus, Library II, 5, 5. The tale appears in Acerra philologica I, 43, p. 77, and Herold, p. clxxix (where it is the "tenth deed").

63. Shall I torment these chatterboxes...Anaxarchus in a mortar: Jupiter's "threatened punishments" are taken from Garzoni's Response to the Chorus of the Gods in his Introduction; Scholte (p.131 f.) reproduces parallel texts.

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64. Tantalus: as punishment for divulging secrets entrusted to him by Zeus (Jupiter) Tantalus was afflicted with a great thirst and placed in the middle of a body of water which always receded before him when he attempted to drink from it. Garzoni, Discourse 88 (p. 511), describes the punishments of Tantalus and of the next two figures, Daphitas and Anaxarchus.

65. Mount Thorax...Daphitas: Daphitas, a grammarian from Telmesus in Asia Minor, was celebrated for his slanderous disposition, which ultimately moved the ruler of Pergamon to have him crucified on Mount Thorax.

66. Anaxarchus: a philosopher of Abdera, of the school of Democritus; Nicocreon, the king of Cyprus, whom Anaxarchus had offended, had him pounded to death in a stone mortar.

67. Phalaris: ruler of Agrigentum in Sicily; his name was synonymous with cruel tyranny. At his command Perillus created a brazen bull into which the tyrant forced his victims; he then lit a fire underneath it and roasted the man in it till he was dead. Polybius (XII, 25) noted that the screaming of the victim caused a sound to come from the machine which was very like the bellowing of a bull. Phalaris used Perillus himself to test the device (it worked as planned). The anecdote appears in *Acerra philologica* (II, 54, p. 274) and at the end of Garzoni, Discourse 87 (p. 508), i.e. just before the tales of the punishments of Daphitas, Anaxarchus and Tantalus in Discourse 88.

68. Pandora's box: in Greek legend Pandora, the first woman on earth, was destined by her beauty to bring misery upon the entire human race; her box contained all the ills of the world, but also Hope, which might make them bearable. Cf. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 60-105. Grimmelshausen could have read the story in *Acerra philologica* I, 85, p. 158 and III, 21, p. 398 f.

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69. Nemesis: Greek goddess who meted out to mortals both misery and happiness and made sure that those with too many blessings were sooner or later visited with losses and suffering.

70. Alecto, Megaera, and Tisiphone: see above Notes to Book II, Chapter 6.

71. Cerberus: the many-headed dog which guarded the entrance to the underworld, defined in *Acerra philologica* (I, 86, p. 160) and Moscherosch as “the dog...with three heads and spitting fire” which guards “the house of the god of hell.” Grimmelshausen may have been inspired by a passage in Minerva’s Oration in Garzoni’s Introduction in which she compares Cerberus to Momus and then links Cerberus with the dogs of Acteon.

72. Hesiod: early Greek poet and cosmogonist from the Boetian school (flourished c. 735 B.C.).

73. Homer: most famous of the Greek epic poets (flourished c. 850 B.C.).

74. the Eumenides: see above Notes to Book II, Chapter 6.

75. the River Styx: the river which flows around the underworld seven times; mentioned as one of the three rivers in the underworld in *Acerra philologica* I, 86, p. 159, and Moscherosch VI, 305.

76. what had transpired betwixt me and Io, Callisto, Europa...: for Jupiter’s affairs with Callisto and Europa see above, Notes to Book II, Chapter 8; Io, the daughter of King Inachos of Argos, was loved by Jupiter, who turned her into a heifer in order to protect her from his jealous spouse. Cf. Apollodorus, *Library* II, 1, 3, and Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I, 568 ff. The story of Jupiter and Io may have been familiar to Grimmelshausen from Cerda’s *Weiblicher Lustgarten*, p. 150.

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77. Apollo...the ravens: the raven, one of Apollo's servants, reported to him that his mistress Coronis had been unfaithful, whereupon Apollo railed at the raven so violently that it turned black. Cf. Apollodorus, Library III, 10, 3, and Ovid, *Metamorphoses* II, 531 ff. The punishment is referred to in Garzoni, Discourse 88 (p. 511).

78. territorio: territory, domain.

79. privilegium: privileges.

CHAPTER 7: *The chasseur once more wins honor and booty from the chase*

80. Cocytus: a river in the underworld, the so-called "river of wailing"

81. inasmuch as he could ride no better than an old maid...: in *The Satirical Pilgrim* II, 1, Grimmelshausen points out that a poet's head is so full of strange things that no room is left for him to engage in practical matters—which is surely Jupiter's state here: "...daß alsdann ihr Hirn mit Poetischen Dünsten der Thorheit solcher gestalt übernäbelt und angefüllt sey / daß bey nahe kein Platz mehr übrig bleibt / dahin sich die Gedanken uff Verrichtungen anderer nötigen Gefshäfften logiren könten;..."

82. the Lapithae...the Centaurs...the wedding feast of Pirithous: during the feast, in which Pirithous, king of the Lapithae, was celebrating his marriage with Hippodamia, an intoxicated centaur carried off the bride, which led to a celebrated war between the Lapithae and the Centaurs, in which the latter were defeated. Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XII, 210-535. The battle between them became a simile for a heated and bloody military encounter—it is used this way, for example, in *Arcadia*, p. 320 (cf. H. Geulen, p. 435). In Garzoni's Introduction Momus, in his Tirade against Garzoni, specifically refers to the gods hurling thunder and lightning

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down upon the Centaurs and Lapithae. Grimmelshausen could have read about the battle in Herold (p. ccxx), where the account of Diodorus Siculus (IV, 70 2) was rendered into German.

83. Johann de Werdt: see above, Notes to Book I, Chapter 17.

CHAPTER 8: *How he found the devil in a trunk, and how Hopalong seized some fine horses*

84. Count von der Wahl: Johann Christian von der Wahl (died 1644) was an artillery general in the army of the Duke of Bavaria; in 1637, his army marched from the Upper Palatinate into Westphalia, where he was commander-in-chief of Imperial troops.

85. cavalcada: cavalcade, military unit.

86. Vecht, Meppen, Lingen: Vechte (a village on the Vechta, a tributary of the Haase) was attacked by von der Wahl's troops June 10-13, 1637 without result (cf. Könnicke I, 252); equally unsuccessful was an attack on Meppen, a town in Hannover in Lower Saxony at the confluence of the Haase and the Ems (Könnicke I, 252). Lingen was a town in Lower Saxony on the Ems.

87. the bishopric of Paderborn: region whose capital was the city of Paderborn, which was situated in Westphalia at the western foot of the Egge Mountains.

88. the Prince of Orange: the Dutch stadtholder Friedrich Heinrich von Oranien (1584-1647) is probably meant; in 1634 he sent a Dutch army of 5,000 men to help the Swedes and the Hessians in their struggle with the Imperials. Bechtold (p. 512 f.) explains that the Dutch soldiers insisted on being paid in coin of their own realm, and he suggests that if the

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Hessian officer had taken part in the campaign with them, his possession of such a coin would be quite reasonable.

89. valete: farewell present.

CHAPTER 9: *An unequal fight in which the weaker party wins and the winner is taken captive*

90. An unequal fight...: Weydt (p. 70 ff.) suspects that the inspiration for this episode may have been an anecdote entitled “Fatal Imagination” (“Die tödtliche Einbildung”), which appeared in Harsdörffer’s *Heraklit und Demokrit* (as Anecdote CXCIX) and which was reprinted with minor editing in the 1671 *Europäischer Wundergeschichten-Kalender* (Weydt attributes this publication to Grimmelshausen; Koschlig disputes it). In the anecdote two soldiers who are mortal enemies are compelled by their commanding officer to stop feuding with each other; they follow orders, but one of them, using an unloaded weapon, pretends to attack the other and fire the weapon at him, with the result that the target of the feigned attack dies of heart failure; the attacker is punished as if he had in fact attacked his foe with a deadly weapon. Weydt (p. 74) notes that if this anecdote was Grimmelshausen’s starting point, as Weydt believes, he reshaped it in a masterly fashion. It would seem more likely, however, that the fight between *Simplicissimus* and the trooper of horse is based on a ruse which was doubtless much discussed amongst soldiers at the time and in fact has probably been in use since wars began (feigned incapacitation in order to take by surprise a foe who has been lulled into a false sense of security).

91. Things were in floribus: The party was in full swing; in floribus is also used by Moscherosch in describing drinking bouts (see “Höllenkinder,”

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p. 358, and “Hanß hinuber Ganß hinuber,” p. 791); Moscherosch also uses the abbreviated form “in flor.” (“Hofschule,” p. 409 and 552).

92. musketeers...dragoons: see above, Book I, Chapters 16 and 20.
93. the prae of his branch: the honor of his branch.
94. reputatio: reputation, good name.
95. recta: directly

CHAPTER 10: *The major general of ordnance spares the chasseur's life and otherwise gives him cause to hope for the best*

96. major general of ordnance: Count von der Wahl.
97. corpo: army; the use of the wrong case in Latin here, according to Weydt (Nachahmung, p. 24), does not prove that Grimmelshausen knew little or no Latin, but rather represents an attempt to give the flavor of the Latin military terms as they were used during the Thirty Years' War; the term “corpo” does indeed occur repeatedly in Grimmelshausen's two favorite historical sources, Wassenberg and the *Theatrum Europaeum*.
98. N.N.: abbreviation for “nomen nescio” (I do not know the name) or “nomen nominandum” (the name is yet to be given), used by Grimmelshausen and others at the time when they wished not to give a name.
99. Münster: see above, Notes to Book II, Chapter 21.
100. Hamm: see above, Notes to Book II, Chapter 28.
101. surrender...per accord: surrender conditionally ; during the Thirty Years' War this generally meant that a besieged garrison was permitted to withdraw from its fortress without risk of attack, leaving the stronghold

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to be occupied by the enemy; those vacating the fortress were usually permitted to take their personal effects with them—in the worst cases at least as much as they could carry on their own person.

CHAPTER 11: Contains all manner of things of slight importance and considerable fancy

- 102. the Hessians: the Lippstadt garrison.
- 103. Lippstadt: see above, Notes to Book II, Chapter 29.
- 104. histori: story, tale.
- 105. cavalcada: here in the sense of “military mission.”
- 106. comitem palatinum: the Count Palatine, who at that time was responsible for bestowing coats of arms and the like.
- 107. Amor: the god of love

CHAPTER 12: Fortuna unexpectedly bestows a noble present upon the chasseur

- 108. Fortuna: goddess of fortune.
- 109. I had two fine horses.....: Bechtold (p. 506 f.) points out a similar description in the Guzman (I, 24).
- 110. Queen of Sheba...Solomon: I Kings 10.
- 111. nowadays the meanest stableboy...: Grimmelshausen makes the same point in *The Satirical Pilgrim* (Part II, Section 2 : “On Guns”) and in *The Singular Life Story of Heedless Hopalong*, Chapter 15 (p. 64). The

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thought is not original with him, of course; Moscherosch, among others, makes the same point in his “Soldatenleben.”

112. the discovery of the buried treasure: Bechtold (p. 509) asserts that motifs from this episode come from Goulart and Praetorius, where (p. 104) the discovery of a treasure in Soest in 1622 is reported; he also notes that Praetorius describes the unusual behavior of horses and other animals in the presence of spirits and ghosts (Neue Weltbeschreibung II).

113. Joachim Valley: actually St. Joachim’s Valley (St. Joachimsthal), a town in northwestern Bohemia which was the center of silver mining; the “Joachimsthaler” (the word dollar derives from the suffix -thaler, from Thal: valley), a silver coin, was first struck in 1517.

CHAPTER 13: *Simplicius’ strange crotchets and castles in the air, and how he kept his treasure secure*

114. virtues and strengths (of) precious stones: Kurz (p. 400 f.) noted that many of the examples also appear in Konrad von Megenburg’s *Das Buch der Natur*.

115. melancholia: melancholy, sadness.

116. my book BLACK AND WHITE: see above, Notes to Book II, Chapter 1.

117. Cologne: a major German city since medieval times, it is located on the Rhine in the so-called Cologne Basin, the region between where the Sieg and the Wupper flow into the Rhine.

118. Münster: see above, Book II, Chapter 31.

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CHAPTER 14: *How the chasseur is taken prisoner by the other side*

119. the land of Berg: in the seventeenth century Berg was a duchy situated on the right bank of the lower course of the Rhine; its capital was Düsseldorf.

120. German miles: a German mile was about 7.5 kilometers.

CHAPTER 15: *Under what conditionibus the chasseur was released once more*

121. conditionibus: conditions.

122. N. de S.A.: Daniel de St. Andräe, the then commandant of Lippstadt (see Notes to Book I, Chapter 17).

123. soldiers of fortune: during the Thirty Years' War a "soldier of fortune" was a man of common birth who as a consequence of uncommon valor and very good luck had been able to rise to a military rank ordinarily reserved for men of noble birth.

124. secretario: secretary, clerk.

125. in duplo: in duplicate, in two copies.

CHAPTER 16: *How Simplicius became a gentleman*

126. Fortuna: the goddess of good fortune.

127. valet: farewell, goodbye.

128. soldateska: soldiery.

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CHAPTER 17: *Wherewith the chasseur thought to pass the six months, and also something concerning the sibyl of Soest*

129. the Lippa River: tributary of the Rhine which arises in the western part of the Egge Mountains and flows in a westerly direction for more than 200 miles through Westphalia until it empties into the Rhine at Wesel.

CHAPTER 18: *How the chasseur turns wooer and makes a trade of wooing*

130. ARCADIA: famous pastoral romance (1590) by Sir Philipp Sidney (1554-1586) which was translated into German by Valent. Theocritus in 1630 and by Martin Opitz in 1638.

131. Thomas Thomäus' WORLD GARDEN: Thomaeus was a physician and author from Ravenna; his *Idea del giardino del mondo* appeared in German translation in 1620 under the title *Hortulus mundi*, i.e. *Welt-Gärtlein*.

132. as...swains and wooers do...: Scholte (p. 132 f.) suggests Garzoni, Discourse 96, as the source of the "catalogue of lovers' woes" which follows and presents parallel texts; the sequence of the woes is not identical, however, and such catalogues doubtless abounded in satirical and homiletic works of the time.

133. as Aurora did...Endymion: the passage, not noted by Scholte, is taken, with one exception (discussed below), verbatim from Garzoni, Discourse 96 (p. 543): Garzoni: "Sie würden sich nicht also Tag vnd Nacht vmb ein leichtfertiges / boßhaftiges vnd betriegliches Weib grämen / welches / wenn sie ihre Reputation wüsten zu halten / vnd sich ein wenig theuwer zu machen / ihnen selbst würden nachlauffen / wie die Aurora dem Clito, Cephalo, vnd Vitoni, Venus dem Anchisae, Atidi vnd Adoni, Ceres dem

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Iasoni, vnd die Diana oder Luna irem lieben Endimioni”; ST: “...also daß mir das Frauenzimmer / wann ich mich dessen schon nicht sonderlich anname / wie Aurora dem Clito, Cephalo, und Vitoni, Venus dem Anchise, Atidi, und Adoni, Ceres dem Glauco, Ulysse und Jasoni, und die keusche Diana selbst ihrem Endimione, von sich selbst nachlieffe / mehr als ich dessen begehrte.”

134. Aurora...Clitus, Cephalus, and Tithonus: Aurora, the goddess of the dawn, carried off several youths renowned for their beauty; those usually mentioned are Orion, Cephalus, and Tithonus.

135. Venus...Anchises, Atidus, and Adonis: Venus had two mortal lovers, Anchises and Adonis; her union with Anchises produced Aneas (for Adonis see Notes to Book III, Chapter 4). Atys (Attis), a Phrygian shepherd, was the beloved of Cybele, not of Venus; when he betrayed her he was changed into a fir tree. A slightly different version, with which Grimmelshausen was probably familiar, appeared in Herold’s version of Diodorus Siculus (p. clv). When it became known that Cybele was with child by Atys her father had Atys and all Cybele’s handmaidens killed, and Cybele fell into madness and wandered distraught around the kingdom.

136. Ceres...Glaucus, Ulysses, and Jason: here the text departs from Garzoni, who mentions only Ceres and Jason; either Grimmelshausen or one of his publisher’s editors inserted Glaucus and Ulysses, who had no connection whatsoever with Ceres. The misunderstanding apparently arose because Jason was taken to be the famous seafarer and leader of the argonauts. In fact, the figure in classical mythology who is meant is not Jason but the hero Jasion, who was the beloved of Demeter (Ceres)—cf. Hesiod, *Theogony*, 969 f. Ulysses and Glaucus were perhaps interpolated in the phrase because they, like Jason, were famous seafarers. Ulysses, by far the better known of the two, is, of course, the hero of Homer’s *Odyssey*.

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Glaucus, a fisherman from Anthedon in Boetia, ate part of a divine herb which Chronos had sown and thereby became immortal; he was said to have built the Argo and sailed with Jason. It is also possible that Ceres was confused with Circe, who had designs on both Ulysses (Homer, *Odyssey* X, 133 ff.; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XIV, 247 ff.) and Glaucus (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XIV, 10 ff.); she bewitched the crew of Ulysses, and when Glaucus rejected her overtures, she disfigured his beloved, Scylla. Herold's description of Medea, the wife of Jason, as "the Circe of Colches" (p. cciii), could have linked the two women in Grimmelshausen's mind. In producing a German version of Diodorus Siculus, Herold of course reproduced the story of Jason and the Argonauts (pp. cc ff.), including Jason's encounter with Glaucus.

137. Diana...Endymion: see above Notes to Book I, Chapter 2.

138. Martinmas...Shrovetide: Martinmas is the feast of St. Martin, traditionally on November 11; Shrovetide is the three days before Ash Wednesday, the beginning of Lent.

CHAPTER 19: *By what means the chasseur made friends, and what devoutness he displayed during a sermon*

139. hog-slaughter soup: in German "metzelsuppe"; defined by Grimm as the soup in which sausages are cooked during the slaughter of hogs, or sausage soup, and also the festive meal which was held during the slaughtering of hogs.

140. my JOSEPH: Chaste Joseph (Der keusche Joseph), which centers on the biblical hero's problems with Potiphar's wife, actually was a work of Grimmelshausen, who gave as his name on the title page Samuel Greifson

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vom Hirschfeld (an anagram of Grimmelhausen's own name); it appeared in 1666 for the first time.

141. Suleika (who was Potiphar's wife): in Chaste Joseph Grimmelhausen calls her "Selicha"—a name he gleaned from Adam Olearius' *Persianisches Rosenthal* (1654), Book I, Chapter 40, footnote a (p. 40); for Grimmelhausen's defense of his work against what he took to be criticism, see Vogelnest I.

142. scil.: see above, Notes to Book II, Chapter 4.

143. ingenium: mind, mental abilities.

144. If you go a-soldiering when you're young, you'll go begging when you're old": this old saw is the topic of another of the Simplician novels, *The Singular Life Story of Heedless Hopalong*.

145. sententiae: words of wisdom, sententious remarks.

146. the goldsmith's boy in the story: see above, Notes to Book II, Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 20: *How he gave the parson other grist for his mill, so that he would forget to correct his Epicurean life*

147. academiam: university, institution of higher learning.

148. Leyden: Leiden was a town in the Netherlands in the province of Holland; the University of Leyden was founded in 1575, three years after the Spaniards were expelled from there, and it soon became one of the major universities in Europe.

149. an adherent of neither Peter nor Paul: neither Catholic nor protestant.

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150. simpliciter: simply.
151. the twelve articles of faith: precisely what Grimmslhausen has in mind here is unclear; he may be referring to the basic principles of Christianity as stated by Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount.
152. fundamenta: fundamentals, basic principles.
153. what Conrad Vetter and Johann Nass have spread abroad...against Luther: Conrad Vetter (died 1622), a jurist from Munich, wrote polemics against Luther. The major work of Johannes Nass (1534-1590), bishop of Brixien, is *Sechs Centurien Evangelischer Wahrheiten* (Ingolstadt, 1569).
154. Spangenberg: Cyriacus Spangenberg (1528-1604), theologian and historian.
155. St. Francis: St. Francis of Assisi (1182-1226), founder of the Franciscan order.
156. religions...the Armenian, the Abyssinian, the Greek, the Georgian...: variants of Christian catholicism.
157. Ananias: a disciple of Christ in Damascus, he was one of the men who converted Saul of Tarsus (later St. Paul) to the Christian faith (see Acts 9, 10-31).

CHAPTER 21: *How the chasseur unexpectedly came to be a bridegroom*

158. secretarius: secretary.
159. nuptialia: nuptials.
160. Croat: the officer's servant was a Croation whose name the officer had not even bothered to learn.

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161. bestia: beast.

CHAPTER 22: *How things went at the wedding feast, and what else he undertook to do*

162. unless he had married his daughter to me the way Pythagoras did his: reference is to the anecdote that when Pythagoras was asked why he had married his daughter to his enemy, he answered: "I had nothing worse to give him." The anecdote appeared in Cerda's *Weiblicher Lustgarten* (p. 278).

163. give...the sign of the fig: make an obscene gesture (the sign of the fig, which was made by sticking the thumb between the index and middle finger).

164. Count von Götz: see above, Notes to Book II, Chapter 30.

165. Dortmund: city in Westphalia; in the eastern part of the Ruhr region, on the upper course of the Emscher; Götz made his headquarters there from December 1637 until March 1638 (Könnecke I, 285).

166. Johann de Werdt: see above, Notes to Book I, Chapter 17.

167. the Breisgau: the southern part of the Black Forest; i.e., the territory between the upper Rhine and the Black Forest.

168. the fortress of Breisach: Breisach, on the right bank of the upper Rhine, was the site of fortresses from Caesar's time on, because of its location and terrain (mons Brisiacus); the fortress was besieged in 1633 and again in 1638, at which time it was in Imperial hands.

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CHAPTER 23: *Simplicius goes to a city which he calls pro forma Cologne to fetch his treasure*

169. a city which he calls pro forma Cologne: precisely why Grimmelshausen is chary about openly naming the city is unclear; it is, of course, indeed the city of Cologne. Weydt (p. 247) points out that in astrology Cologne, where the Jupiter figure has relatives, is under the dominance of the planetary god Jupiter, and he believes that Grimmelshausen's wording here is tantamount to a "fingerprint"; Grimmelshausen may also have been acting out of deference to Franz Egon von Fürstenberg, who was ambassador of the Prince Elector of Cologne before assuming the post of Bishop of Strasbourg in 1663 (see below, Notes to Book IV, Chapter 4).

170. Deutz: town on the right bank of the Rhine, across the river from Cologne; there was a Benedictine abbey there founded in 1002 by St. Heribert.

171. the Berg country: see above, Book III, Chapter 14.

172. notarius: notary, lawyer.

173. doctor medicinae: doctor of medicine.

174. doctoribus: doctors.

175. Philemon: (360-265 B.B.); the first author of the New Comedy; he is said to have died laughing at one of his own jokes.

176. Democritus: (c. 460-361 B.C.); Greek philosopher; Seneca (On Anger II, 10) reports that Democritus could never observe the actions of his fellow-citizens of Abdera without laughing (and perhaps rightly so, for the people of Abdera were famous in classical antiquity for their absurd behavior and slowness of mind).

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CHAPTER 24: *The chasseur catches a hare, right in the middle of the city*

177. he feasted upon his boarders....: the skinflint landlord or innkeeper, as Bechtold (p. 519) pointed out, is a stock figure in the picaresque novel of the time and appears in Sorel's *Francion*, Quevedo's *Buscon*, in *Guzman*, in *Lazarillo des Tormes* and even in Moscherosch, "Phantasten-hospital." Garzoni, in Discourse 66, is similarly critical of their behavior.

178. solenniter: solemnly, ceremoniously.

179. we were obliged to chew around on stinking kippers...in mind to throw away: Scholte (p. 133) believes Garzoni, Discourse 66, to be *Grimmelshausen's* source.

Notes

BOOK IV

CHAPTER 1: *How and for what reasons the chasseur was tricked into going off to France*

1. the chasseur was tricked into going off to France: Martin Erich Schmid (p. 280) points out that the transition here is almost as abrupt as that in Book II, Chapters 17 and 18, where Grimmelshausen arbitrarily transports his hero from Fulda to Magdeburg. Schmid (p. 280) also correctly discerns that the so-called “Beau Alman Episode” which follows consists of three segments: 1) Simplicissimus in the home of Dr. Canard (part of Chapter 1 and all of Chapter 2); 2) Simplicissimus as the singer Beau Alman at the royal court (Chapter 3); and 3) Simplicissimus’ erotic adventures and conquests (Chapters 4 and 5).
2. commissarius: commissioner.
3. medicus: doctor, physician.
4. obligatio: seizure order.

CHAPTER 2: *Simplicius acquires a better host than he had before*

5. Monsieur Canard: “canard” in French literally means “duck” but it soon came to mean “an absurd story spread abroad as a hoax”; Weydt (p. 28) states that “canard” suggested, even in Grimmelshausen’s time, boastfulness. Bechtold (Johann Jacob Christoph von Grimmelshausen und seine Zeit, Munich: 1919, p. 112 f.) and many other Grimmelshausen scholars presume that the model for Dr. Canard was Dr. Johann Küffer der Jüngere of Strasbourg, by whom Grimmelshausen was employed as a steward from 1662 to 1665.
6. L.: Lippstadt.

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7. militiae: military authorities.
8. in duplo: in duplicate, in two copies.
9. laboratorio: laboratory.
10. taste another man's excrement: in Moscherosch, II, 105, doctors are derided for tasting patients' excrementa.

CHAPTER 3: How he let himself be used as an actor and acquired a new name

11. collatio: collation, repast, meal.
12. I was happy to oblige, for I was in the mood to do it: the sentence is apparently derived from Garzoni, Discourse 40 (p. 347 f.): Garzoni: "...daß sie (singers) so seltsam und Fantastisch seynd / daß man nit kan wissen / wenn sie im Laun seynd zu singen oder nicht; und wenn man irer begehret / muß man sie so lang bitten / daß man müdt und uberdrüssig wird / ehe sie anfangen. Hergegen / wenn sie selbst anfangen / können sie nicht nachlassen / und machen abermals deß guten Geschirs so viel / daßman ihrer auch uberdrüssuig wird:..."; ST: "ich folgte gern / weil ich eben im Laun war / wie dann die Musici gemeiniglich seltsame Grillenfänger sind / beflisse mich derhalben das beste Geschirr zu machen /..."
13. musici: musicians.
14. he would procure me an exceeding good position with the king and queen: if the opera Grimmelshausen had in mind was indeed one which was performed for the French court in 1647 (see below), then Grimmelshausen is possibly guilty of an anachronism here: "king and queen" seem to refer to the monarch and his wife, but in 1647 Louis XIV, who had officially become King of France at the age of five upon the death of his father in May, 1643,

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was only nine years old, and the Queen of France was his mother, Anne of Austria (Louis was not to marry until fourteen years later).

15. *comoedia*: theatrical performance.
16. the Louvre: the French royal palace in Paris which, of course, contained a court theatre.
17. the role of Orpheus...: the tale of Orpheus and Eurydice was well known and often retold, in Acerra philologia III, 18 (p. 392 ff.) and Cerda's *Weiblicher Lustgarten* (p. 146), among other works Grimmelshausen probably consulted. Schmid, after examining all the Orpheus operas he could find, decided that the version in which *Simplicissimus* stars was *L'Orfeo* (music by Luigi Rossi, libretto by Francesco Buti), which was performed (in Italian with an Italian cast) at the Palais Royal in Paris immediately before and after Lent, 1647 (Schmid, 290 ff.). The performance of March 6 (mardi gras) was described in detail in the house organ of the French royal court, the *Gazette de Paris* (March 8, 1647: Issue No. 27, pp. 201-212). Whether Grimmelshausen had access to this review or a German description based upon it has not been determined. While *L'Orfeo* was extremely well received by the French court, it has fared less well with modern critics: Romain Rolland (*Histoire de l'opera en Europe avant Lully et Scarlatti*, Paris: 1895, p. 246) called it "un cortège d'äpisodes insipides et niais." I should add that Schmid was unaware that a French Orpheus music drama was being presented in Paris at about the same time (see below).
18. *oleo talci*: a facial creme made of tallow.
19. *actu*: performance, action.
20. Pluto and Proserpina: the ruler of the underworld and his wife; so defined in Acerra philologia I, 86 (p. 160 f.) and Moscherosch, VI, 306.

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21. the bacchis: priests or priestesses of Bacchus, the god of wine and revelry.

22. “Beau Alman”: “handsome German.”

23. Hercules...Achelous...Deianira: Hercules and Achelous, the river god, were rivals for the hand of Deianira, the daughter of Oeneus, and fought in single combat in order to win her; despite the fact that Achelous turned himself first into a snake and then into a bull, Hercules vanquished him and took the fair Deianira as his wife. Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* IX, 4-88.

While no opera with Hercules as its hero was performed in 1647, one was given in Paris in 1662. In 1659 Cardinal Mazarin, intent upon properly celebrating the political marriage which he had arranged for Louis XIV, decided to have a new Italian opera performed as part of the nuptial festivities. With characteristic energy and guile he set about having a proper theatre built (by the famous Italian architect Vigarini) and persuaded one of the most famous Italian composers of the time, Pietro Francesco Cavalli, to relinquish his post in Venice and come to Paris. Cavalli arrived with one new opera, *Serse* (Xerxes) complete, and a second one, to be composed to a libretto by Buti, in preparation. The second one, which was premiered in the theatre in the Tuilleries after many delays and only after Louis XIV himself set a deadline for the performance, was entitled *Ercole amante*. The first performance, given before the king and his bride, the Infanta of Spain, was sung on February 7 and repeated twice more before Lent and six times after Lent was over; the libretto was in Italian, not French, but a French translation of the text was published that same year. Anyone familiar only with the title might well conclude that *Ercole amante* must have dealt with the contest of Hercules and Achelous for the hand of Deianira. In fact, it presented the story of Hercules' last love affair, in which his passion for Iole, who loves and is loved in return by Hercules' own son, Hyllus, leads to Hercules' death when Deianira gives him the cloak

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of the Centaur Nessus (Demuth, p. 88 ff., gives a synopsis of the plot). *Ercole amante* thus in no way resembles the opera to which *Simplicissimus* briefly alludes. It is nevertheless a striking coincidence that the two operas in which *Simplicissimus* sings treat the very two mythological figures who were heroes in two very expensive operas presented at the court of France under the aegis of Cardinal Mazarin.

Yet another remarkable coincidence: In 1662, at the time when *Ercole amante* was being performed in Paris, a music drama in French treating the Orpheus legend was also being presented. The Rossi-Buti *L'Orfeo*, despite its success with the French nobility, was never played again in France after its last performance in May of 1647 (Demuth is in error when he asserts that it was revived for the King's nuptials). The production, requiring a complete cast of Italian singers and extremely complex stage settings and machinery, was simply too expensive and too difficult to cast—no one but a king (or a venal prime minister) could afford to put it on. The spectacular stage affects, however, made a profound impression on French audiences, and the Parisian theatre of the time was quick to capitalize on the reputation of *L'Orfeo* and on public interest in this new kind of spectacle. In 1639, well before the premiere of *L'Orfeo*, the troupe royale had presented at the Hôtel de Bourgogne a play by de Chapoton entitled *La descente d'Orfæe aux Enfers*, which included some songs (cf. Deierkauf-Holsbeer, p. 28). When the directors of the Théâtre du Marais saw how successful *L'Orfeo* was, they hired a stage machinist, Denis Buffequin, to construct stage machines for their theatre, and they revived de Chapoton's play, now with a somewhat altered title: *La Grande Journée des Machines ou Le Mariage d'Orfæe et d'Euridice*. This piece @ grand spectacle was apparently quite successful (see Deierkauf-Holsbeer, p. 29 for contemporary reactions). When, in 1661, the Parisian theatres learned that Cardinal Mazarin was planning to present *Ercole amante* for the court, they immediately revived *Le Mariage d'Orfæe et d'Euridice*. The comédiens de

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Mademoiselle d'Orleans included it in their repertoire in 1661 and performed it to enthralled audiences in Brussels during the carnaval season, or so the gazette *Relations veritables* reported (cf. Liebrecht, p. 59). During the carnaval season of 1662 the Thââtre du Marais performed in Paris its revival of this music drama, which played to packed houses; it was apparently played again in 1663 (Deierkauf-Holsbeer, p. 143 and 150).

Thus, in 1662 operas devoted to both Hercules and Orpheus, the latter in French, were presumably the talk of Paris. It is impossible to determine whether Grimmelshausen became aware of the two operas, perhaps through Dr. Küffer, who as a member of the patriciate in Strasbourg probably followed political and cultural events in France (i.e. Paris) fairly closely—given the situation of Strasbourg at the time, a free city, surrounded by territory under French control, the Strasbourg patriciate had every reason to keep a close eye on France, particularly since Louis XIV's political marriage had apparently put to an end the hostility between Spain and France which had previously prevailed. In any event, it is a remarkable coincidence that in Paris during the carnaval season of 1662 two operas or music dramas, *Ercole amante* and *Le Mariage d'Orfêe et d'Euridice*, were being performed which treat somewhat the same subject matter as the two operas in which *Simplicissimus* performs during the carnaval season in Paris.

CHAPTER 4: *Beau Aleman is taken against his will to the mountain of Venus*

24. the mountain of Venus: the basic motif of this third part of the *Beau Aleman* Episode is an old one: the amorous encounter between a handsome young man and a woman who takes every precaution to keep her identity from becoming known to him, for if the young man is able to identify her, he will lose his life or be separated forever from her. Kurz (p. 405) thought

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one of Bandello's novellas (Part IV, No. 26) might be the source, but he also saw some similarities in one of the anecdotes in the *Mâmoires du Maräschal de Bassompierre* (presumably the very anecdote which supplied material to both Goethe and Hofmannsthal). Felix Bobertag, in his *Habilitationsschrift* (*Ueber Grimmelshausens Simplicianische Schriften*, Breslau: 1874) noted that it was Novella 25 rather than 26 and suggested that Grimmelshausen's source was actually a French translation of the tale which was included as No 96 in Volume V of *Histoires tragiques, extractes des oeuvres Italiennes du Bandel, et mises en langue Françoise* (Rouen: 1604); Bobertag stressed that the intermediary between the "demoiselle, qui n'auoit le don de continence" and her young lover was an "apothicaire" (p. 19). In Bandello's novella a young widow who has no wish to marry again has a cavalier in whom she has become enamored brought to her home by dark of night and by a circuitous route, and the trysts continue without the cavalier ever discovering either the identity of his mysterious beloved or the location of her residence.

Bloedau (p. 54 f.) thought *Simplicissimus'* amatory adventures were based on the similar experience of a young German knight in Italy which was recounted in Balthasar Kindermann's *Die unglückselige Nisette* (1660). In this story the hero does know where the lady lives, but when he points to her balcony and boasts of his conquest, she sends six armed ruffians after him who straightway do him in.

In 1952 Leonard Forster (pp. 161 ff.) suspected he had found Grimmelshausen's model in an episode in Brantôme's *Le Beau Escuyer Gruffy*.

Finally, Weydt (pp. 49 ff.) maintained that the true link to the Bandello novella and thus Grimmelshausen's prime source for the episode was to be found in Harsdörffer's *Großer Schauplatz Lust- und lehrreicher Geschichte* in Part V of the 1651 edition in an anecdote (No. CII) entitled "Das gefährliche Vertrauen" ("Dangerous Trust"). In this story Adonis, an exceedingly

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handsome young man in Paris, becomes the lover of an unknown lady, spends five nights in her company, and receives for his services a large diamond, of which he is then robbed while returning home from the adventure. Despite a number of dissimilarities between this tale and Simplicissimus' adventure, and the complete absence of any verbal borrowings, Weydt was so sure that Harsdörffer was the source that he made the "Beau Alman Episode" the "comparative motif test case" ("motivgeschichtlicher Probefall") in his effort to prove that Harsdörffer was one of Grimmelshausen's prime sources and also represented a link between Grimmelshausen and French, Spanish and Italian literature.

No critic, to my knowledge, has yet pointed out a possible source for the sequence of events which lead to Simplicissimus' transformation into a male whore: his transformation into a fool, described in Book II, Chapters 5 and 6. Immediately before each transformation he is given a drug—in Hanau the pastor gives him an ointment to smear on himself to protect him, and in Paris Dr. Canard gives him "a few delicate little sausages which...strongly smacked of the apothecary." In both transformations the attempt is made to trick him: in Hanau the four men in devil's masks try to make him think he is being taken to hell; in Paris he is led to believe that he is being taken to see a gentleman who wishes him to give music lessons. In both instances he is then taken blindfolded to another location, and in each case he is escorted by soldiers, in Hanau by soldiers disguised as devils, in Paris by men dressed as soldiers. In each episode Simplicissimus is bathed by a member or members of the opposite sex, in each instance by old crones whose teeth he describes. In Hanau he is put to bed after his bath and awakens to see two "angels," who are meant to convince him that he has left hell and is in heaven; in Paris he dines after his bath with three beautiful masked women. In Hanau he is then put to sleep yet again and awakens in the goose coop to find himself dressed in fool's garb; in Paris he spends a week with the lady (or ladies) and is then

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returned, blindfolded, to Paris, where he continues to ply the trade of a male whore, and when, after escaping Paris, he comes down with small pox, he awakens to find himself a penniless and pock-marked wretch, robbed of both his wealth and his beauty.

The two transformations are clearly contrapuntal, and the stark contrasts between them underscore the irony of the second one. In Hanau Simplicissimus is still a naive boy, while in Paris he is a worldly, materialistic and sensual young man who has already strayed from the path of righteousness. Whereas he permits the pastor in Hanau to help him and is thus prepared for the experience to which he is subjected, he rejects the attempts of the pastor in Lippstadt to help him and is thus unprepared for the direction his life takes. In Paris he is deceived, in part at least, by external appearances: the three French ladies whom he sees are beautiful and desirable, and with little resistance he falls prey to them, whereas in Hanau the physical ugliness of the three old crones causes him to realize the dangers of temptations to the flesh and remark: "Truly a frightening sight, which might have served no purpose other than as an excellent antidote against the mindless lust of lewd billy goats." This insight of the young and naive Simplicissimus, inspired by the sight of one of the old hag's "pendulous breasts," which he compares to "two shrunken cow-udders drained of two-thirds of their milk" with "at the bottom of each...a dark brown teat a half-finger long," is completely forgotten when Beau Alman gazes at the three Parisiennes, whose gowns "left their alabaster breasts rather bare." One would think that the presence of the old German woman, whose function is similar to that of the three old hags in Hanau, should have reminded Simplicissimus of what he had already realized as a child, but Beau Alman is as blind as the Calf was clear-sighted.

25. Monsig.: Monsieur, Mister.

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26. to perulate, insolulate...: a similar series of alchemical terms—all ending in the same suffix (-irt in German) is found in Moscherosch I, 412.
27. collatio: meal, repast.
28. Venus...Adonis: see above Notes to Book III, Chapter 4.
29. the eyes of a basilisk: the basilisk was a legendary reptile whose breath and gaze killed anyone they struck. The creature is described in *Acerra philologica* II, 17 (p. 224 f.).
30. A man must know no fear when he goes to a woman: this remark is quite similar to a bon mot which Hoffmann puts into the mouth of his heroine, Mme. de Scudery: “An amant, qui craint les voleurs, n'est point digne d'amour.” Hoffmann's source was an anecdote in *De Sacri Rom. Imperii Libera Civitate Noribergensi commentatio* (pp. 561-563) by Johann Christoph Wagenseil (1633-1705), who tells how Mme. de Scudery wrote the aphoristic statement after courtiers had implored Louis XIV to do more to protect them from robbers and brigands who were attacking them when they went out in Paris in the evening to see their beloveds. It is possible to determine approximately when the bon mot was the talk of Paris, for Wagenseil indicates that at about the same time Philippe Quinault (1635-1688) had completed the first three acts of his comedy *Astrate, roi de Tyr*, which was first played in Paris between December 27, 1664 and January 6, 1665 (it received “privelüge” on February 10, 1665). Wagenseil, who accompanied as preceptor the son of Count Ernst von Traun on his grand tour of Europe, which included, of course, the then obligatory sojourn in Paris, must have heard about Scudery's clever remark sometime in 1664 or earlier. Inasmuch as Wagenseil's written account of the bon mot, its cause, and its results for Mme. de Scudery, did not appear until 1697, it would seem that if Grimmelshausen was indeed inspired by it, he must have learned of it by word of mouth, presumably sometime during his tenure as steward for Dr. Küffer, i.e. from 1662-1665.

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CHAPTER 5: *How he fared there, and how he got out of there again*

31. for Paris is a very dirty city anyway: Weydt (p. 28) believes that this is a paraphrase of the etymological witticism which branded Paris (“Lutetia”) a dirty city (Lutece @ Luto, de la boue—”Luto,” from “lutum,” which meant “mud, excrement, filth”); if F. J. L. Meyer (*Briefe aus der Hauptstadt und dem Innern Frankreichs*, Tübingen: Cotta, 1802, 2 vols.) is to be believed, the city was still noted for its filthiness at the end of the eighteenth century (I, 75).

32. Simplicissimus’ bath: of all the sources suggested for this episode, only *Die unglückselige Nisette* contains a similar scene: Albertus, a young German nobleman, is taken to the lady’s house and led to an opulently furnished room. The lady is quite beautiful, but when she genteely makes her desires known to him, he temporizes, and only after she assures him that he has no cause to be afraid does he permit himself to be taken to another room, while the lady retires; in this room, which is equipped with a bath tub, described in some detail, and various oils and perfumes, Albertus is required to undress and permit the maidservant to bathe him, as this is the “custom of the country”; after his bath Albertus is led to a bed, where the lady is waiting to receive him, and after the maidservant withdraws, the lady overcomes Albertus’ scruples and the two pass the night in lovemaking.

33. Allez, Mons.: Let us go , sir.

34. my cheri: my darling.

35. I do believe that the other three lay with me too: While none of the suggested models for this episode portray the hero as the lover of four ladies of high station, in the early 1660s one of the juicier morsels of scandalous court gossip linked a well-known opera singer to four ladies with close connections to the court of Louis XIV. The ladies were sisters, the nieces of Cardinal

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Mazarin, and were referred to in Paris as “les Mazarinettes.” In 1647, the very year in which L’Orfeo was first performed in Paris, the Cardinal began to bring members of his family to Italy to live with him in his palace in Paris. His nieces were given as a governess Mme. de Senüce, the same lady who had earlier been the governess of young Louis XIV; and it is reported that Anne of Austria directed personally the nieces’ devotions. Les Mazarinettes, it seems, were reared like princesses and treated like royalty.

Of the five daughters of Mazarin’s sister, Baroness Mancini, only the eldest, Laura, was destined to remain untainted by scandal. She was married in 1651 to the Duke of Mercoeur and died six years later (her husband so adored her that upon her death he renounced his wealth, took orders, and withdrew from the world). Laura’s four sisters were equally beautiful; they were also the talk of Paris and other European cities from the 1650s on. The oldest of the four, Olympe, was married to the Count de Soissons in 1657, and soon thereafter court gossips noted that young King Louis XIV was spending most of the evenings at soirées held at the home of the young Countess, apparently with the full blessing of the Count. Within a year, however, Louis had transferred his affection from Olympe to her younger sister Marie. Their romance, perhaps the only genuine one Louis was ever to experience, and certainly the only innocent one, very nearly frustrated Cardinal Mazarin’s carefully laid plans to bring about a political marriage between Louis and his cousin, the Infanta of Spain Maria Theresia. It appears that Louis ardently desired to marry Marie Mancini and live happily ever after. Mazarin succeeded in breaking up the affair when he duped the young king into believing that Marie had jilted him in favor of Charles of Lorraine (who was, in fact, smitten with her). The third Mazarinette, Hortense Mancini, was generally conceded to be the most beautiful of the four girls. Mme. de Lafayette described her as “non seulement la plus belle de niüces du cardinal, mais aussi une des plus parfaites beautäs de la cour”; and for St. Evremond—a connoisseur of

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feminine beauty—Hortense was simply “la plus belle femme du monde.” The fourth and youngest of the Mancinis, Marie-Anne, was only 15 in 1661, when her uncle died, and was the least conspicuous one at the time, her only claim to fame then being that she was one of the Mazarinettes; twenty years later, as the Duchess of Bouillon, she achieved notoriety when she and her sister Olympe were exiled because of their alleged involvement in the celebrated Affair of the Poisons.

The opera singer to whom gossips linked the Mazarinettes in the early 1660s was a castrato named Atto Melani (the name is almost an anagram of “Alman”). He was born on March 31, 1626, in Pistoia, Italy, the son of a humble bellringer. When the beauty of the lad’s voice was discovered, it was decided to perform on him that operation by which, at the time, it was customary to attempt to preserve permanently a boy-soprano voice. When Melani was later sent to Rome he was immediately admitted to the circle of elite musicians whom Luigi Rossi had assembled there, and the boy soon found a wealthy patron in Grand Duke Matthias of Tuscany. When Cardinal Mazarin decided in 1644 to import Italian opera to France, and with it Italian singers, he was able to prevail upon the Grand Duke to let Melani come to Paris. Within weeks of his arrival at the French court he had become the favorite of the regent, Anne of Austria, and in so doing he aroused, as *Simplicissimus* also did, the envy and jealousy of the other singers who had access to the court. Melani’s letters have been preserved, and in them he boasts, in much the same way *Simplicissimus* does, of his inordinate success and fame (cf. *Prunières*, p. 60, footnote 4). In the spring of 1645 Melani returned to Italy, but when Cardinal Mazarin decided to establish a permanent Italian opera troupe in Paris, he again succeeded in procuring Melani’s services, and again the castrato was the darling of the French court (cf. *Prunières*, p. 90 and Anne of Austria’s letter quoted by him, p. 141). In the 1647 performance of Buti-Rossi’s *L’Orfeo* Atto Melani was cast, of course, in the title role. He again returned to

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Italy, but in 1657, when Cardinal Mazarin, having defeated for once and for all the Fronde, again turned to his favorite project, a permanent Italian opera in Paris, Melani again came back to France, this time to stay. Louis XIV, now no longer a child but a young monarch, rewarded him well; he appointed Melani a “gentilhomme de la Chambre” and bestowed upon him the revenues of the Abbey de Beauhä in Normandy, about 1800 livres (Pruniüres, p. 189 and p. 237). These tokens of royal esteem, of course, rendered Melani de facto a servant of the crown, just as Simplicissimus claims was nearly the case with him. Melani did not perform, however, in *Ercole amante* in 1662, for by then he had fallen into disfavor with the king—as a direct result, according to Hortense Mancini, of rumors of his liaison with her and her sisters (*Mämoires*, p. 519).

In a very real sense, Cardinal Mazarin, who was responsible for Melani’s honored position at court, was also the cause of his downfall, which began shortly after the Cardinal’s death in early February of 1661. The Cardinal had spent his last months attempting to achieve two objectives: to protect the marriageable but as yet unmarried Mazarinettes by marrying them off to suitable husbands, and to ensure that the name Mazarin would be perpetuated and that the fortune which he had amassed, sometimes by rather unethical means, should for the most part accompany the name. His one surviving nephew he considered unfit to carry on the family name, so he suggested to Armand-Charles, Marquis de la Meilleraye, that he marry Marie, give up his own fine family name, and become after his marriage “Duke Mazarin.” The Marquis rejected the proposal, perhaps because he felt that no former beloved of the King of France would make a very good spouse, but when the Cardinal then proposed Hortense as his bride (with the same conditions), the Marquis was quick to agree, for he had literally fallen in love with Hortense the first time he laid eyes on her. The wedding took place only ten days before the Cardinal’s death; a month after his death a second

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marriage which he had arranged took place: Marie Mancini and Connetable Colonna, an extremely wealthy Italian nobleman, were married by proxy in Paris, after which Marie left France for Italy to join the spouse she had never seen. With Cardinal Mazarin's disappearance from the political scene, the animosities became evident which Frenchmen of all classes had felt, but had feared to express openly, towards him and towards the Italians he had brought to Paris. The Mazarinettes, now married into French and Italian aristocracy, were unassailable, but the other Italians were not, and with Mazarin dead and Marie in Italy, so Hortense asserts in her memoirs, the Cardinal's enemies began to make war on Melani and spread vicious rumors about him in an attempt to drive him from the court and from France. One such rumor accused him of being the lover of all four of the Mazarinettes. As Hortense put it in her memoirs: "Ce (Duc Mazarin) ne fut pas la seule Personne, @ qui j'eus le Malheur de plaire. Un Eunuque Italien, Musicien de M. le Cardinal, Homme de beaucoup d'Esprit, fut accusé de la même chose; mais, il est vrai que c'ätoit ägalement pour mes Soeurs et pour moi." (Mämoires, p. 509). The "eunuch" was, of course, Atto Melani.

It would seem at first glance highly improbable that a man of Grimmelshausen's station and position in the world should be privy to such court gossip—surely there were no printed accounts of the scandal—but certain unusual circumstances render it quite possible and perhaps less improbable. From about mid-summer 1662 until 1665 Grimmelshausen was the steward of a man who certainly had access to such knowledge and may have spoken about the affair to Grimmelshausen or in his presence: Dr. Johannes Köffer the Younger (his name is also found spelled Küeffer and Kieffer). Kuffer's connection to Strasbourg literary circles has been noted above (Notes to Book III, Chapter 4), but in regard to the matter under consideration his professional life is more relevant. Kuffer was the "Leibmedicus" (personal physician) for a number of members of the nobility, among them Margrave Wilhelm of Baden,

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the count of Nassau-Saarbrücken, Duke Eberhard of Württemberg and his brother Duke Ulrich, and Franz Egon von Fürstenberg, Bishop of Strasbourg from 1663 until his death (cf. Bechtold, *Grimmelshausen und seine Zeit*, p. 107). It was through Duke Eberhard that Küffer acquired the Ullenburg, a run-down castle and lands which had formerly belonged to the Bishop of Strasbourg and had been mortgaged to the Duke. Küffer received the property on the condition that he put it in good order and maintain it; and to this purpose he hired Grimmelshausen as steward and overseer. Bechtold (*Ibid.*) assumes that Küffer spent most of the warm summer months at the Ullenburg and that Grimmelshausen was therefore in daily contact with him and with any guests who may have come to visit. Of all Köffer's noble patients, however, it was Franz Egon von Fürstenberg who undoubtedly knew everything going on in Paris. Before becoming Bishop of Strasbourg in 1663 he had for years been "the guest and agent of the Archbishop of Cologne" (cf. F. L. Ford, p. 51), and the French strongly supported his candidacy for Bishop of Strasbourg because they were intent upon maintaining and extending their influence in Alsatia (G. Livet, pp. 275 ff.). Franz Egon could not have been unaware that the policy forged by Cardinal Mazarin and Colbert de Choissy was designed to annex ultimately the free city of Strasbourg, a policy which proved to be astonishingly successful—in 1681, three years after Grimmelshausen's death, France annexed the city and turned it into a near unassailable fortress. Thus Franz Egon, who did not always act in accord with the French, had every reason to keep a careful eye on the court of Louis XIV, and on the governor of Alsatia whom it appointed to administer French territories and cities there.

Franz Egon was not only probably aware of the Melani-Mazarinettes scandal, he may have met socially one of the ladies in question: Hortense, Duchess Mazarin. Duke Mazarin proved to be an ever watchful husband, and whenever his official duties obliged him to leave Paris, he took her along. After five years of this life—"cette Vie vagabonde," Hortense called it—she demanded a legal

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separation from her possessive spouse, and when, in 1668, she realized that the courts would not accede to her request, she donned men's clothing and fled to Italy to join her sister Marie, who was also unhappy in her marriage (Hortense later went to England, where she became the mistress of Charles II, to whom there had once been plans to affiance her; she never set foot on French soil again). The travels in the "provinces" which Hortense so detested included at least three sojourns in Alsatia, if we are to believe Hortense's lament: "Pendant les trois ou quatre premiüres annäes de notre Mariage, je fis trois voyages en Alsace..."; for Cardinal Mazarin, wishing to assure that the man who was to perpetuate his name have not only money and prestige but also a position of responsibility in the government, had seen to it before his death that Duke Mazarin was appointed the new governor of Alsatia. On the first visit, in 1661, the Duke (and perhaps the Duchess) received a number of important visitors at the governor's administrative headquarters in the fortress of Breisach, among them several who were patients or acquaintances of Dr. Küffer: the two dukes of Württemberg, the Margrave of Baden-Durlach, and Count Georg of Württemberg-Mompelgard and his wife, the former Anne de Coligny-Chatillon (see above, Notes to Book III, Chapter 4); the magistrates of the city of Strasbourg also came to pay their respects and subsequently acted as hosts at two formal dinners (*deux repas bien ordonnés*) given for the Duke and his entourage (G. Livet, p. 96). The second sojourn of the Duke and Duchess in Alsatia, from September 1662 to January 1663, was of particular diplomatic importance, for the Duke's main efforts were devoted to assuring that the French candidate for the post of bishop of Strasbourg, Franz Egon von Fürstenberg, be appointed to the position. The Duke's mission, as already noted, met with success. I might add that from 1667 until his death Grimmelshausen served as mayor-administrator of Renchen, the property of the Bishop of Strasbourg; his ultimate superior was thus that same Franz Egon von Fürstenberg, to whom, however, he did not report directly.

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It is also quite possible, indeed very probable, that Franz Egon knew Atto Melani personally, and it is certain that he knew much about him. Melani was not merely a singer whose beautiful voice, pleasing appearance and ingratiating manner quickly captivated members of the nobility, particularly the ladies; he was also a master of intrigue, and until Cardinal Mazarin's death a secret agent who operated under the Cardinal's direction. Whether he was already serving as Mazarin's spy during the Fronde, as Prunières (p. 148) believes, is not certain, but it is known that he carried out a delicate secret mission for the Cardinal in Germany in 1657. In 1653 Melani had gone to Munich and, as always, had immediately become a court favorite. In this instance his patroness was the Prince Electress of Bavaria, Henriette Adalaide, a former princess of Savoy who was a devotee of the opera (Rudhart, p. 179 ff., lists those presented during her reign and later—*L'Orfeo* was not among them). When Emperor Ferdinand III died on April 1, 1657, Cardinal Mazarin saw an opportunity to deal the Austrian Habsburgs a blow, for if he could persuade Ferdinand Maria, Prince Elector of Bavaria, to seek the post, and if he were indeed to become emperor, the balance of power on the continent would shift radically in favor of France. Melani was dispatched to Munich to convince the Prince Electress to cajole her husband into announcing his candidacy. Details of the intrigue can be found in the memoirs of one of the participants in the plot, Maréchal de Gramont (*Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France*, Second series, Paris: Foucault, 1826, volume 56, pp. 464 f.), who also emphasizes that at the time very few persons were aware of Melani's mission to Munich: Melani and Mazarin, of course, and de Gramont, Franz Egon von Fürstenberg, and one or two others. Melani soon discovered that the Prince Electress was using every power at her command to persuade her husband to make her an empress, and Melani reported that he was convinced that the Prince Elector in his heart of hearts yearned for the position but felt he dared not let his desire be known. Meanwhile, the Prince Elector, in his official correspondence with Louis XIV, was giving the

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impression that he was quite content with his lot and had no desire to rise any higher. Mazarin simply did not know whom to believe. From September of 1657 on, de Gramont relates, the matter of the Bavarian Prince Elector was the subject of prolonged secret discussions which he and de Lionne held with the Prince Elector of Mainz and with Franz Egon von Fürstenberg, who was acting as the ambassador of the Prince Elector of Cologne. Finally it was decided to send Franz Egon to Munich as an independent observer, in the hopes that the Prince Elector would speak more openly with him. Franz Egon returned from Bavaria completely convinced that Atto Melani's assessment was correct, but the matter then became even more complex and protracted and ultimately led to naught. A Habsburg, Leopold, the second son of the late emperor, succeeded to the Imperial throne. The wisdom of Mazarin's efforts to prevent another Habsburg from becoming Emperor was demonstrated later when Leopold intervened in the Dutch War (1672-1679) and the War of the Palatine Succession (1688-1697) and thereby frustrated France's expansionist aims. Given Franz Egon von Fürstenberg's role in "Melani's mission to Munich," it seems quite probable that he knew Melani personally, and it is hard to believe that he would not have been intensely interested in Melani's later misadventures, including the accusations linking him to the Mazarinettes. Whether Franz Egon, after Melani's fall from grace, ever discussed the scandal with his personal physician, Dr. Küffer, and whether Grimmelshausen ever heard of it from his then employer cannot, of course, be determined, but it is possible, and if he did, Simplicissimus' adventure with the four noble ladies in Paris might well be a "conte @ clef."

36. My reward was two hundred gold pieces: this is in stark contrast to the "rewards" which Harsdörffer's Adonis and Kindermann's Albertus receive. Each is given by his unknown beloved a precious jewel, a token of love and gratitude for love returned; Simplicissimus is given, as he clearly realizes, a whore's wages.

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CHAPTER 6: *Simplicius secretly steals away, and how his tables were turned when he thought he had the mal de Naples*

37. Simplicissimus' illness: this could have been inspired by an actual historical event, Christian Ernst Margrave of Kulmbach's bout with smallpox in 1660. That Dr. Küffer and his circle, and in fact members of the Strasbourg patriciate in general, were aware of Christian Ernst's dangerous illness appears not only possible but highly probable, for Christian Ernst had close ties to Strasbourg. When, at the age of eight, he lost both parents, his cousin, Friedrich Wilhelm the Great Elector, had himself appointed the lad's guardian and undertook to give him an education which would prepare him to assume his obligations as a ruler. After attending school in Halberstadt and in Berlin under Friedrich Wilhelm's watchful eye, Christian Ernst was immatriculated, in the summer of 1657, in the University of Strasbourg, where he studied various subjects, including the French language, until April of 1659, when he embarked upon his "grand tour." The following year, while in France, he contracted smallpox but survived the illness. Sigmund von Birken, using the diaries of some of the members of Christian Ernst's retinue and perhaps notes made by the young man himself, described in loving detail the young prince's experiences and travels in a work entitled, with customary Baroque hyperbole, *Der Brandenburgische Ulysses*. This work, which mentions Christian Ernst's bout with smallpox prominently, was published in 1668 and thus could not have been read by Grimmelshausen while he was writing *Simplicissimus*, but it is difficult to believe that he could remain unaware of the young prince's illness.

Dr. Küffer was almost certainly aware of the young prince's illness, and it is not impossible that Küffer had earlier had occasion to act as a consulting physician to the young prince. In 1658 Christian Ernst, while a student at Strasbourg, suffered a prolonged illness "von einem beschwer- und verdrißlichen affect"

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and went “auf vielfältiges Einrathen der Leib- und anderer Medicorum, den 17. Juli / nach Griesbach / die Sauerbrunnen Cur daselbst zu gebrauchen” (Der Brandenburgische Ulysses, p. 33). He returned from his cure strong and healthy. There is some reason to believe that Dr. Küffer may have been one of the “other physicians,” for in July of 1657, while on his way to Strasbourg, Christian Ernst visited the courts and was entertained by several noblemen who retained Dr. Küffer as their personal physician: Duke Johann Friedrich and Duke Ulrich of Württemberg, and Albrecht Margrave of Baden-Durlach. These men could well have recommended their personal physician to the young prince.

One interesting coincidence might also be noted. In 1662, the year after Christian Ernst had officially taken over the government of his principality, he married the daughter of Johann Georg II of Saxony and his wife Magdalene Sybille, the very couple whose nuptial celebrations twenty-four years earlier had included a performance of the Buchner-Schütz Orpheus opera ballet. Unfortunately, von Birken concludes his description of Christian Ernst’s exploits with the prince’s triumphant entry into his capital, Bayreuth, in 1661 and thus provides no information concerning the prince’s wedding celebration.

38. the mal de Naples: syphillis.
39. Maastricht: capital of the province of Limburg in the Netherlands; situated on the Meuse (Maas in German) where it is joined by the Jeker.
40. medicum: doctor, physician.
41. s.v.: *salva venia*, i.e. with your indulgence, i.e. if you’ll pardon my language.
42. the fine French malady: syphillis.

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CHAPTER 7: *How Simplicius reflected upon his past life and learned to swim when he was up to his neck in water*

43. cornelium: cataract.

44. studiis: studies.

CHAPTER 8: *How he came to be a mountebank and a charlatan*

45. How Simplicissimus came to be a mountebank and a charlatan: Bechtold (p. 521) suggests that this episode is modeled on a similar depiction in Guzman (III, Chapter 8).

46. materiala: materials, ingredients.

47. Theriaca Diatessaron: a poison antidote.

48. terra Tripolitana: Tripoli, Tripoline powder (a fine earth used at the time as a polishing powder, named after the area in North Africa where it was found; it consisted mainly of decomposed siliceous matter, for which reason it is also called rotten-stone or infusorial earth).

49. sal ammoniacum: sal-ammoniac.

50. theriac: nostrum, cure-all.

51. gallus of yellow arsenicum: risigallum, i.e. yellow arsenic; it is made by heating metallic (gray) arsenic and then rapidly cooling its vapor.

52. victril: sulfuric acid.

53. mercurium sublimatum: mercuric chloride (bichloride or perchloride of mercury), a white crystalline powder which acts as a deadly poison.

54. aquam fortis: nitric acid.

55. spiritus victril: sulfuric acid.

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CHAPTER 9: *How the doctor was given a musket and put into the service of Captain Rumblygut*

56. the Fleckenstein district: area in the Vosges Mountains around Fleckenstein Castle, which is situated at the head of the Sauertal.

57. Philippsburg: an important fortress on the Rhine; about 11 miles from Bruchsal.

58. Wagelburg Castle: Könnecke (I, 283) assumes that the summer palace of the bishop located in the hamlet of Waghäusel is meant (it is only a few miles northeast of Phillippsburg); it seems more likely, however, that Grimmelshausen had in mind the Wegelburg (Wegelburg Castle), a fortress situated near Fleckenstein on a mountain top from which one can see not only the Vosges Mountains but the Black Forest and the Odenwald; like Fleckenstein castle, the Wegelburg is on the border of the Palatinate.

59. ride the wooden horse: a type of corporal punishment meted out in the Bavarian army at that time; the victim's arms and legs were tied together around a wooden beam which was then moved up and down quickly and vigorously.

CHAPTER 10: *Simplicius survives an unpleasant bath in the Rhine*

60. histori: life story.

61. the Lower Margravate: the Baden-Durlach territory.

62. Ottenheim: village on the right bank of the Rhine near the mouth of the Lahr; it is somewhat more than 20 miles from Offenburg.

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63. Goldscheuer: a village on the Rhine, some ten miles north of i.e. downstream from) Ottenheim.
64. recta: directly, straight.
65. fatum: fate.
66. L.: Lippstadt.
67. Rheinhausen: village on the Rhine, several miles north of Phillipsburg.

CHAPTER 11: *Why clergymen should not eat hares caught with snares*

68. ride the wooden horse: see Notes to Book IV, Chapter 9.
69. die in a fit of despair: euphemism for “commit suicide.”

CHAPTER 12: *Simplicius is unexpectedly relieved of his musket*

70. the closer Count von Götz approached with his army: Duke Bernhard of Weimar’s threat to take the key fortress of Breisach compelled the Imperial high command to order von Götz to withdraw his army from Westphalia and march it to the upper Rhine and engage Duke Bernhard’s forces in battle.
71. Bruchsal: town in northern Baden; General von Götz used it as his headquarters from June 4 to 10, 1638 (Könnecke I, 290).
72. Count von der Wahl: see above, Notes to Book III, Chapter 8.

CHAPTER 13: *Concerns the Brotherhood of Merode*

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73. the brotherhood of Merode: as Könnicke (I, 297 f.) determined, Grimmelshausen found much of his information about these folk in *Theatrum Europeaeum* III, 796.

74. the Neuneck regiment: such a regiment, that of Alexander von Neuneck, was indeed at that time part of Götz' Bavarian army (see Könnicke I, 296), but it was a regiment of harquebusiers, not of dragoons, as *Simplicissimus* indicates (the harquebus was an early type of portable gun which could be pulled along behind a carriage by its hook; later the term referred to any sort of portable gun).

75. freebooter: see above, Notes to Book II, Chapter 23.

76. the Breisgau: see above, Notes to Book III, Chapter 22.

77. Kenzingen: town in Baden in the Breisgau; situated on the Elz River, it is some 20 miles northeast of the fortress of Breisach; the Imperials had a large garrison there in the summer of 1638, and General von Götz made it his headquarters for one day (June 26) on his march to Breisach to relieve the embattled garrison there.

78. General Mansfeld: see above, Notes to Book I, Chapter 22.

79. a gentleman named "Merode": there was a Swedish colonel named Werner von Merode whose troops rebelled during a military action and dispersed in all directions; when news of the incident spread, this Merode soon became mistaken for the Imperial general Johann Graf von Merode (died 1633), who was in fact a valiant cavalry officer (cf. Borchardt, p. 414, who cites A. Bechtold's article in *Zeitschrift für Wortforschung* XII, 230 f.). The English equivalent of "Meroder" derives from the French "Marauder" (from "maraud": rogue, vagabond), and although the earliest citation in the Oxford English Dictionary is 1698, the word could well have come into German much

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earlier. Interestingly, Grimms (under “Marode” rather than “Merode”) cites Grimmelshausen as its source for the definition of the word.

80. soldateska: soldiery, troops.

81. armada: army.

82. the battle of Wittenweier: in the battle, which took place on August 9, 1638, Duke Bernhard of Weimar defeated Count von Götz and Duke von Savelli.

83. Schuttern: an abbey located on the Schutter, a left tributary of the Kinzig which arises in the Black Forest and flows into the Kinzig above Kehl; Count von Götz’ forces arrived there on August 7; Götz used it as his headquarters during the battle at Wittenweier.

84. the Geroldseck region: area around Geroldseck Castle, which is situated in the northern Vosges Mountains some ten miles south of Offenburg.

85. Colonel Hattstein: Philipp Eustachius Hattstein (died 1644); a colonel in the army of Duke Bernhard of Weimar whose regiment, as *Simplicissimus* states, participated in the taking of the bridge (see *Könnecke I*, 305, who cites the passage from *Theatrum Europaeum III*, 991 which may have been Grimmelshausen’s source).

CHAPTER 14: *Single combat with peril to life and limb in which each combatant nevertheless escapes with his life*

86. Freiburg: a fortified town in Baden situated on the Dreisam at the foot of the Schlossberg, some 40 miles north of Basel.

87. the forest towns: Rheinfelden, Säckingen, Laufenburg and Waldshut.

88. the lake district: the Lake of Constance is meant.

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89. besiege Breisach: Duke Bernhard of Weimar's forces completely encircled the fortress, with the idea of either taking it by storm or starving it into surrender.

90. L.: Lippstadt.

91. Endingen: village in Baden northwest of Freiburg and seven or so miles from Breisach.

92. a shot was fired at me: the beginning of the "Olivier Episode," which continues through the end of Chapter 24 and includes, among other things, a satire on "robbers as the equivalent of noblemen" (Chapter 15), Olivier's misinterpretation of old Trueheart's prophecy (Chapter 16), a satire on the abuse of churches by clergy and worshipers (Chapter 17), the complete life-story of Olivier (Chapters 18 through 22), an example of Olivier's ruthlessness (Chapter 23) and Olivier's death, in which Old Trueheart's prophecy for him is finally fulfilled (Chapter 24).

93. as impervious to musketballs as steel: see above, Notes to Book II, Chapter 22..

94. the Kinzig River: right tributary of the Rhine; it originates on the eastern slope of the Black Forest and flows in a westerly direction, reaching the Rhine River Valley at Offenburg, and joining the Rhine below Kehl.

CHAPTER 15: *How Olivier thought to excuse his wicked brigandage*

95. Olivier: Könnecke (I, 152) notes that Grimmelshausen was well acquainted with the fate of one Antoni Oliver, a soldier in Bärthel's dragoon regiment who was involved in a mutiny against Colonel Bäärthel and was condemned to death. Grimmelshausen has Hopalong give an account of the mutiny in Chapter 20 of *The Singular Life of Heedless Hopalong*, supplying some details which were not given in *Theatrum Europaeum*.

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96. *secretario*: secretary, company clerk.
97. *Waldkirch*: village in the Black Forest at the foot of the Kandel Mountains.
98. the gentlemen in Nuremberg...: a well-known saying, in German: “Die Nürnberger hängen keinen, sie haben ihn denn zuvor”; Kurz (p. 408) gives as a variant “Nach dem Nürnberger Recht hängt man keinen, bis man ihn hat.”
99. *exercitium*: exercise, trade, pursuit.
100. The only people you’ll see hanged are poor and petty thieves: Kurz (p. 408 f.) lists several German proverbs which assert that “petty thieves are hanged, thieves on a grand scale go Scot free”: “Kleine Diebe hängt man, die großen lässt man laufen”; *Kleine Diebe hängt man, vor großen zieht man die Kappe ab*; *Ei kleiner Dieb an Galgen muß; Von großen nimmt man Pfennigs Buß*; and “Kleine Diebe henk man ins Feld, Große ins Geld.”
101. *Machiavelli*: Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) expounded in his famous treatise *The Prince* (1513/1514) on the ruthless political actions which could be employed by a regent.
102. *monarchiam*: monarchy.

CHAPTER 16: *How he interprets Trueheart’s prophecy to his own advantage and therefore loves his worst enemy*

103. the concepta of my heart: the truth about my innermost feelings.

CHAPTER 17: *Simplicius’ thoughts are more pious when he goes robbing with Olivier than they were when he was in church*

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104. we climbed up to the top of the church tower: Bechtold (p. 527), notes that according to local legend the church was in the village of Langendenzlingen near Freiburg.

105. I shall pass over in silence...: Bechtold (p. 525, Note 1) believes that this is an allusion to an episode in *Guzman* in which the hero's father begins his wooing in a church.

106. materia: matter, subject.

107. epitaphia: epitaphs.

108. two spiritual fathers of the church...caused such a bloodbath...: Borcherdt (p. 415 f.) suggests that the reference may be to the quarrel which broke out in the Cathedral of Goslar in 1063 between the followers of Bishop Wetzel of Hildesheim and Abbot Widerad of Fulda.

CHAPTER 18: Olivier tells of his origins and of how he behaved in his youth, particularly in school

109. Olivier's life story: Bobertag (p. xix) noted that a robber named Olivier plays a fairly significant role in Sorel's *Francion*, but, as Bobertag's plot summary indicates, Sorel's Olivier is quite different from Grimmelshausen's (he longs to break with his fellow robbers and put his life of crime behind him). Bechtold (p. 524 f.) suggested that a tale in Moscherosch, "Complementum," about a famous robber named "der kleine Jacob" might have been the model for Olivier's life story. Weydt (pp. 123-129) suggests that an anecdote in Harsdörffer's *Jammer- und Mord-Geschichten* (No. CIV), concerning the life of the then famous robber Guillery is the basis for it. The story of Guillery's life, crimes, exploits and death was indeed popular, and it appeared in far greater detail in several works, one of which, Rosset-Zeiller's *Trawrige Geschichten*, Grimmelshausen demonstrably knew and borrowed from for

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his Simplician novels (see above, Notes to Book II, Chapter 18). In Zeiller's learned commentary on the story of Guillery (it is No. 30, entitled "Von der grossen Rauberey / so einer / Namens Guillery, in Frankreich verübt / unnd was er vor ein End genommen": pp. 1037 ff.), he remarks (p. 1050 f.) that many times parents start their children off wrong by spoiling them and that the children behave all the worse when they are given their freedom at a university and fail to "shun evil companions." Zeiller also laments that many who have fought valiantly as soldiers choose in peace time to turn to robbery and violence rather than to an acceptable profession.

If Grimmelshausen did use the Guillery story as a model, he took from it only a few main points: the wealth of the hero's family, his misspent university days, his preference of life as a soldier to a return home, and his life as a robber and bandit after he quit soldiering. The specifics of Olivier's life story seem to have been dictated not so much by any model as by Grimmelshausen's conscious attempt to present in Olivier a figure which would be in stark contrast to Simplicissimus but whose path in life could remind Simplicissimus of what was happening to him. Thus, Olivier is born to well-to-do parents who give him everything that money can buy, while Simplicissimus grows up in abject poverty. While Simplicissimus' foster parents are poor farmers and his real parents are clearly noble both by birth and in character, Olivier's father and mother are of the merchant class and totally devoid of nobility of character; in fact, Olivier is technically illegitimate, while Simplicissimus, as it turns out, was born in wedlock. Whereas Simplicissimus receives no formal education at all, only religious instruction and the basics of reading and writing from the hermit, Olivier is exposed to an excellent formal education, both at home as a boy and later at the university. The most telling contrast, of course, is apparent in the Olivier Episode: The life of a bandit and murderer suits Olivier perfectly, because he has become totally devoid of moral scruples, but this

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sort of life causes Simplicissimus to contemplate seriously for the first time how far he has strayed from the path of virtue.

110. how he behaved in his youth, particularly in school: Olivier's behaviour is modeled on remarks in Garzoni, Discourse 101, about schoolboys and their teachers, and university students and their professors.

111. Potiphar...Joseph: Genesis 39, 1-6.

112. I went about on the streets with other bad boys of my ilk...: Garzoni: "Sonderlich aber sollen sie (young schoolboys) sich höchstes fleisses hüten für böser Gesellschaft..."; ST ich terminirte mit meines gleichen bösen Bube durch dinn und dick auff der Gassen herumb /..." Garzoni: "Hergegen aber sollen sie wissen / daß es ihnen ubel anstehet / wann sie allerhandt Mutwillen in den Schulen anstellen in deß Praeceptoris Abwesen / sich miteinander schlagen..." ; ST: "und hatte schon das Hertz / mit stärckern als ich war / herumb zu schlagen..."

113. When I soiled or tore up my books...: Garzoni: "wann sie...ihre Bücher verhönen / verklettern / zerreißen / oder mit Esels Ohren zeichnen..."; ST: "Wenn ich eine Bücher verklettert oder zerrisse /..."

114. In the summer I caught field crickets...: Garzoni: "wann sie...Grillen auff dem Feldte fangen / und dieselbe in die Schul setzen / daß sie anfangen zu singen..."; ST: "Im Sommer fieng ich Feldgrillen / und setzte sie fein heimlich in die Schul / die uns ein lieblich Gesang machten /..."

CHAPTER 19: *How he studied at Liège and how he behaved there*

115. how he studied at Liège...: Garzoni, Discourse 101, also supplied much material for this description.

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116. *praeceptor*: tutor; wealthy students were accompanied to the university by private tutors who also functioned as valets, companions, and sometimes, as in Olivier's case, as instructors and fellow participants in less laudable pursuits.

117. As concerns studying...: Garzoni: "...daß sie (university students) sich nicht sollen verlassen auff ihre Geschwindigkeit / auff die Schärpfe ihres Verstandes / ..auff ihre gute Gedächtnu~/..."; ST: "So viel das Studirn anbelangt / verließ ich mich auff mein gut Gedächtnus und scharpfen Verstand /..."

118. and immersed myself in...: Garzoni: "Es geschicht aber heutiges Tages fast allenthalben / gantz das Widerspiel / und ist kein Laster / kein Mutwillen / kein Bubenstück / da man nicht die heutigen Studenten meistentheils gleichsam innen ersoffen findet."; ST: war deßwegen desto fahrlässiger / im übrigen aber in allen Lastern / Bubenstücken und Muthwillen ersoffen /..."

119. *Bernius*: Francesco Berni (c. 1497-1535), Italian poet and translator, best known for his burlesques and satires.

120. *Burchiellus*: Domenico Burchiello (1404-1449), Italian poet best known in his own time for his sonnets.

121. *Aretinus*: Pietro Aretino (1432-1556), Italian author known for his unconventional language, colorful style and treatment of the sensual aspects of life.

122. *Ita missa est*: The mass is over.

123. in the church during the sermon...*Ita missa est*: taken verbatim, with a large excision, from Garzoni, Discourse 101; parallel texts presented by Scholte (p. 133).

124. I behaved like a dandy: Garzoni: "Die Freygebigkeit unnd Verschwendung zu allerhandt unnötigen ja uppigen Sachen / ist bey diesen

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gemachten Herren und Stutzern eine Adelige und Heroische Tugend; ...”;
ST: “Darneben bedänckte ich mich keine Sau zu seyn / sondern hielte mich
recht Stutzerisch / .. und weil ich mich dergestalt hielte wie ein gemachter
Herr / ...”

125. For me every day was Martinmas...: Garzoni: “Im ubrigen halten sie
alle Tage so lang ihr Geldt währet / Martins-Abendt / unnd Fastennacht / ...”;
ST: “alle Tag war mirs Martins-Abend oder Faßnacht / ...”

126. my mother’s milk money: Garzoni: “Unter dessen haben sie wol
anders zu gedencken / als zu studiren / biß ihr Bott kommet vnnd ihnen von
den armen Eltern / die ihnen ihr Brodt lassen Blutsawr werden / daß ihre
Söhnlein bey den studiis mögen erhalten / das Geldt beneben einem Guten
Mutter-Pfennig bringen / welches alsdann seinen gewissen Mann weiß / vnd
gehet gemeinlich zu der Isabella oder der Iacomina zu”; ST: “und nicht nur
das / so mein Vatter zur Nothdurfft reichlich schickte / sonder auch meiner
Mutter fette Milchpfennig dapffer durchgehen liesse / lockte uns auch das
Frauenzimmer an sich / ...”

127. from these bawds I learned to flirt...: Garzoni: “leffeln / bulen / spielen
/ ist ihre beste Kunst die sie zu Hauß bringen / frühe vnnd spat mit fressen
vnd sauffen außhalten / ...”; ST: “bey diesen Schleppsäcken lernte ich leffeln /
bulen und spielen; hadern / balgen und schlagen konte ich zuvor / und mein
Praeceptor wehrte mir das Fressen und sauffen auch nicht / ...”

128. factor: business representative.

129. at night snatched people’s coats away from them: Bechtold (p. 52)
pointed out that “der kleine Jacob,” whose career is described in Moscherosch,
“Von den Lastern der Welt” (V, 325), and Guzman (Guzman I, Chapter 59)
also engaged in this sort of crime.

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CHAPTER 20: *The homecoming and departure of the honorable studiosus and how he sought to make a career in the war*

130. studiosus: student.

131. When my father brought me home...: the entire passage is also based very closely on the concluding paragraph of Garzoni, Discourse 101: Garzoni: “Wann sie aber hernach zu Hauß kommen / vnnd die arme Eltern meynen / sie werden einen wolgelerten züchtigen Ehrbaren Domine zu Haußbekommen / darvon ihr gantz Geschlechte sol Ehre haben / so kommet inen ein anfangliches ein sauber Gesellchen /ein Disputirer unnd Schnarcher / der trawn auch will wissen / was die Rüben geldten / unnd was weiß oder schwartz ist. Wann es aber eine kleine Zeit gewähret / so wirdt man gewahr / wie die EselsOhren mit gewalt herfür stossen / daß man einen groben unwissenden Schlingel / unnd ein inutile terrae pondus, eine unnütze Last der Erden / hat mit so grossem Kosten auffgebracht / dann der gute Dominus tauget nirgendt mehr zu: Ein Handwerck zu lernen ist er zu groß / einem Herrn zu dienen / ist er zu steiff / müssen sich derhalben die Eltern mit Betrübnuß bedencken / was sie mit dem Schlingel wöllen anfangen / .. Unnd wol dem der noch die Gabe hat / daß er kan ein Schulmeister / ein Schreiber / ein Corrector oder Lector, oder sonsten etwas werden / daß er den hungrigen Bauch möge stillen.”; ST: “Da mich mein Vatter heim brachte / befand er / daß ich in Grund verderbt war; Ich war kein ehrbarer Domine worden / als er wol gehofft hatte / sonder ein Disputirer und Schnarcher / der sich einbildete / er verstehe trefflich viel. Ich war kaum ein wenig daheim erwarmt / als er zu mir sagte: Höre Olivier, ich sihe deine Esels-Ohren je länger le mehr herfür ragen / du bist ein unnütze Last der ERden / ein Schlingel / der nirgends zu mehr taug! ein Handwerck zu lernen bistu zu groß / einen Herrn zu dienen / bistu zu Flegelhaftig / und meine Handierung zu begreifen und zu treiben / bistu nichts nötz. Ach was hab ich doch mit meinem grossen Kosten / den ich an dich gewendet / außgericht?”

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132. domine: cleric, churchman (the vocative form gradually came to be used as a nominative); Grimmelshausen, in adapting the Garzoni passage, obviously forgot that Olivier was not sent to the university to become a cleric (see above, Chapter 19).

133. quill-mill: slang term for a room full of scribes or copyists.

134. let you melt miseriam cum aceto...: Heining (p. 81) suspected that the Latin phrase might be a fairly well-known and common one; Weydt (p. 26) nevertheless thought it indicated Grimmelshausen's solid knowledge of Latin. In fact, it is taken verbatim from Garzoni's Discourse 101 (p. 567): Garzoni: "Da wir ihn (the lazy university student) lassen sitzen / schwitzen unnd miseram cum aceto schmeltzen, biß ihme ein besser Glück aufstösset.;" ST: "Das beste wirds seyn / daß ich dich in eine Kelmüß-Mühl thue / und Miseriam cum aceto schmeltzen lasse / biß dir ohne das ein besser Glück auffstösst / wenn du dein übel Verhalten abgebüst haben würdest."

135. lectiones: lectures.

136. our commander...in the camp outside Magdeburg: General von Hatzfeld (see above, Book II, Chapter 24).

137. as impervious to musket balls as steel: see above, Notes to Book II, Chapter 22.

CHAPTER 21: *How Simplicius fulfilled Trueheart's prophecy concerning Olivier when neither recognized the other one*

138. the battle of Wittstock: see above, Notes to Book II, Chapter 24 and Chapter 27.

139. the Wild Huntsman: "der wilde Jäger," in German folk superstition the spirit who rides in howling winds during storms.

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140. the fortune of the Swedes prevailed: see above, Notes to Book II, Chapter 27.
141. Pomerania: province of Germany on the Baltic; the Swedish forces had their bases on the continent there.
142. My escape I set about...: Weydt (Bp. 133 f.) suggests that an anecdote in Harsdörffer's *Jammer- und Mord-Geschichten* (Tale No. LXXX) might have inspired this episode.
143. service with the Dutch: the army of Frederick Henry of Orange, who was allied with the French against the Cardinal Infante of Spain, whose army occupied the Spanish Netherlands.
144. refuge with the Spaniards: the Cardinal Infante's army.
145. the Bavarians: the army of General von Götz occupied much of Westphalia in 1637 and the first few months of 1638.
146. from Westphalia to the Breisgau: see above, Notes to Book IV, Chapter 12.
147. the battle of Wittenweier: see above, Notes to Book IV, Chapter 13.
148. the Duke of Weimar: see above, Notes to Book I, Chapter 19.
149. the camp outside the walls of Breisach: see above, Notes to Book IV, Chapter 14.

CHAPTER 22: *How a man fares and what it means, when he "goes to the cats"*

150. bestia: beast, wild animal.

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151. St. Stephen's Day: August 3; horses were fed hay which had been blessed and then they were bled, and their blood was kept as a cure for various diseases (Borcherdt, p. 417).

152. capitolium: head.

CHAPTER 23: A little tale which gives an example of the trade which Olivier plied, at which he was a master and Simplicius was to be his apprentice

153. If you break eggs into a pan, they won't hatch chickens: Kurz (p. 410) lists several German proverbs to the same effect, among them "Eier in die Pfanne geben Kuchen abker keine Küken."

CHAPTER 24: Olivier bites the dust, taking six men with him

154. Caliburn, the sword of King Arthur: in English Arthurian tradition the sword is named "Excaliber."

CHAPTER 25: Simplicius comes away rich; Trueheart, on the other hand, appears in very wretched condition

155. Lichteneck: a fortress several miles from Endingen; at the time it was occupied by troops of Duke Bernhard of Weimar.

156. Villingen: town on the eastern edge of the Black Forest; situated on the Brigach River; in 1638 it was in fact in the hands of the Imperials.

157. L.: Lippstadt.

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158. an entire perpetual calendar: a perpetual calendar was a numerical table by which the date of any given day in any given year could be reckoned. Grimmelshausen, of course, included one in his own Perpetual Calendar.

159. forged by Vulcan himself: Vulcan (Hephaestus) was the smith of the gods who forged their weapons and devices.

160. in hora Martis: in the hour of Mars (literally), under the sign of Mars (figuratively); see above, Notes to Book III, Chapter 4.

161. HERO'S TREASURE CHEST: in German "Heldenschatz"; critics long interpreted it to be the much better-known Heldenbuch, but the work in question is in fact Johann Staricius' Heldenschatz.

162. the Swabian heath: Schwäbischer Alb; i. e. that part which is called the "Rauhe Alb" (a high plateau).

CHAPTER 26: The end of this Fourth Book, because there is not any more of it

163. factotum: right-hand man.

164. Count von Götz...the most recent campaign under his command and generalcy: in December of 1638, after the utter failure in the campaign in the Breisgau to succour the fortress of Breisach, Götz was arrested by the Emperor and brought to Ingolstadt; in August of 1640 he was cleared of all charges and returned to the army.

Notes

BOOK V

CHAPTER 1: *How Simplicius becomes a pilgrim and makes a pilgrimage with Trueheart*

1. the Cloister of Einsiedeln: town and cloister in Switzerland in Canton Schwyz; the Benedictine Monastery there is actually named “Maria-Einsiedeln” (after a painting of the Holy Virgin there); from medieval times on it has been the goal of pilgrimages by devout Roman Catholics.
2. But whosoever shall deny me...: Matthew 10, 33.
3. soldateska: soldiers, soldiery.
4. Rottweil: a town situated between the Black Forest and the Swabian Alb; on the left bank of the upper course of the Neckar River.
5. under his vine or under his fig tree: although the phrase occurs repeatedly in the Bible (I Kings 4, 25 and Zechariah 3, 10, among others), the allusion here is probably to Micah 4, 3-4: “He shall judge between many peoples, and shall decide for strong nations afar off; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more; but they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree, and none shall make them afraid; for the mouth of the Lord of hosts has spoken.”
6. Schaffhausen: town in Switzerland in Canton Schaffhausen; located on the right bank of the Rhine, just above the Rhine Falls.

CHAPTER 2: *Simplicius is converted after he has first been frightened by the devil*

7. a man who was possessed: Bechtold (p. 529) pointed out that there is a depiction of such a man in Moscherosch, "Schergenteuffel," which appears in revised form later in Moscherosch, "Somnium" (p. 252).
8. the padres: the priests.
9. Baden: town in Switzerland in Canton Aargau; on the Limmat where it breaks through the Lägern Range.

CHAPTER 3: How the two friends passed the winter

10. L.: Lippstadt.
11. in duplo: in duplicate, in two copies.
12. Constance: town on the Lake of Constance; situated on the strip of land which separates the upper part of the lake from the lower one.
13. Ulm: city in Württemberg, situated on the left bank of the Danube at the foot of the Swabian Alb.

CHAPTER 4: How Trueheart and Simplicius go to war again and leave it again

14. Fortuna: the goddess of fortune.
15. fatum...fatuitas: fate...fatuosity; Heining (p. 83) and Weydt (p. 26 f.) cite this play on words as an indication that Grimmelshausen possessed a fairly good command of the Latin language.
16. Count von der Wahl: see above, notes to Book III, Chapter 8.
17. the cunning Hessian colonel, S. A.: Daniel St. André; see above, Notes to Book I, Chapter 17.

18. conditiones: conditions.
19. in prima plana: “on the first page” (the page of a unit’s roster which listed the commissioned officers); Simplicissimus’ unit thus has a full complement of officers but not of common soldiers.
20. the bitter engagement...in which battle Count von Götz lost his life: Count von Götz was killed in a battle at Jankau on March 6, 1645; as Borcherdt (p. 420) points out, Grimmelshausen is guilty of an anachronism here, since the action in the novel must be taking place in 1640.
21. testiculos: testicles.
22. medici: doctors, physicians.
23. a cholericus: an irascible sort of person; choler was, in the medical theory of the time, bile, one of the four “humours,” and those who had a superabundance of it were thought to be prone to irascibility.
24. Griesbach: village and then-famous spa in the northern part of the Black Forest, in the Rench River valley.

*CHAPTER 5: Simplicius rides courier and in the guise of Mercury
learns what Jupiter actually has in mind as regards war and peace*

25. medicos: doctors, physicians.
26. recepta: recipes, prescriptions.
27. pharmaca: drugs.
28. antidota: antidotes.
29. medicus: doctor, physician.
30. L.: Lippstadt.

31. Münster: see above, Notes to Book II, Chapter 21.
32. under his own vine or under his own fig tree: see above, Notes to Book V, Chapter 1.
33. both my nose and that of the child fell to bleeding: Bächtold-Stäubli, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, mentions no popular superstition of this sort.
34. sympathia: sympathy, bond.

CHAPTER 6: *Story of a prank which Simplicius played at the spa*

35. doctores: doctors, physicians.
36. a beautiful lady who claimed to be of the nobility: the lady is Courage, who gives her version of their affair in *The Runagate Courage*, Chapter 24 (164 ff.).
37. more mobilis than nobilis: “more lax than lady-like.” Weydt (p. 27) terms this Grimmelshausen’s own word play, citing it as one of the indications that Grimmelshausen was indeed quite capable in Latin; Heining (p. 83) expresses some doubt that the word play is original. The inspiration for the word play is, in fact, found in Garzoni, Discourse 108 (p. 598): Garzoni: “Item ein anderer / der von einem leichtfertigen Edelmann sagte: er were nicht weniger mobilis als nobilis.”; ST: “eine schöne Dame / die sich vor eine Adel ausgab / und meines Erachtens doch mehr mobilis als nobilis war /...”
38. Geißhut: Borcherdt (p. 421) conjectures that “Haus an der Geishut” (a little over a mile from Gengenbach) is meant.
39. partem: share.

40. the Rench River: a right tributary of the Upper Rhine; it originates at the Kniebis in the Black Forest and empties into the Rhine at Helmlingen; a number of spas with mineral springs lie on the Rench, among them Griesbach, Peterstal, and Sulzbach.

41. spiritum familiarem: the “spiritus familiaris” was an evil spirit which one could acquire, by making a pact with the Devil, as an ever-present and willing personal servant; Courage was temporarily the master of one such spirit (see *The Runagate Courage*, Chapter 18).

42. an Epicurean: one who pursues sensual pleasure.

CHAPTER 7: *Trueheart dies and Simplicius goes a-wooing again*

43. soldier of fortune: see above, Notes to Book I, Chapter 17.

44. medici: doctors, physicians.

45. saeculo: saeculum, epoch.

CHAPTER 8: *Simplicius embarks upon a second marriage, encounters his Pa, and learns who his parents were*

46. exempla: examples.

47. “Nannygoatbrook”: Geißbach, in German, from Geiß (nanny goat) and Bach (brook); the play on words is no more effective in the original than it is in English translation.

48. a-bother-carriers: Pa’s mangling of “apothecaries” (in German: “Abdecker” instead of “Apotheker”).

49. Mansfeld's war: the campaign of the summer of 1622, which began with Mansfeld's defeat of the Catholic forces under Tilly at Wiesloch and ended with Tilly's decisive victory over the protestant league at Höchst.
50. the battle of Nördlingen: see above, Notes to Book I, Chapter 18.
51. histori: story, tale.
52. the battle of Höchst: see above, Notes to Book I, Chapter 22.
53. Susanna Ramsay: no evidence has been found to indicate that Governor Ramsay had a sister, or that she was married to a German nobleman.
54. my uncle Ramsay...went quite mad from anger and frustration.: in December of 1637 Ramsay refused to return Hanau to its rightful master, Count Philipp Moritz of Nassau. He was then taken prisoner on February 22, 1638, and popular report had it that he had died in prison a madman; in point of fact, he died at Dillenburg Castle on June 25, 1639, of a serious wound he had received at Hanau (see Könnecke I, 184).

CHAPTER 9: How he suffered the pangs of childbirth and once more came to be a widower

55. notarium: notary.
56. histori: life story.
57. o mirum: O wonder!
58. the lady whom I mentioned above also left a baby...: Courage's version, in *The Runagate Courage*, p. 163, is as follows: "I left Sauerbrunnen in great vexation and anger, pondering on revenge, because I had been both insulted and scorned by Simplicius. And my maid had been just as busy

at Sauerbrunnen as I, and (because the poor ninny could not take a joke) she had been left with a baby boy instead of the usual fee, which child she brought safely into the world on my farm outside town. She was obliged to have it baptized 'Simplicius,' though Simplicius had never in all his life laid a finger on her. Now as soon as I found out that Simplicius had married a farmer's daughter, my maid was obliged to wean her child, and after I had fitted it out with soft diapers, indeed with silken blankets and swaddling bands, to make my deceit more complete and decorous, she, in the company of my farmhand, was obliged to take it to Simplicius' house, where she left it by night on his doorstep, with a written note that he had begot it with me." In *The Singular Life of Heedless Hopalong*, Chapter 5 (p. 17) Simplicissimus is apprised of Courage's revenge, but it turns out that it was she who was deceived, for Simplicissimus reveals: "If I still found pleasure in that sort of foolishness, as I once did, it would greatly amuse me to hear that this foolish woman imagines that she pulled the wool over my eyes in this matter, since actually she has done me the greatest service while to this day deceiving herself with vain dreams; for at the time when I was making up to her I lay more often with her chambermaid than with her herself; and it is much more agreeable to me that this same chambermaid and not that wanton gypsy woman is the mother of my son, Simplicius, whom I cannot disown since he takes after me in both mind and body."

59. praeludia: preludes.

CHAPTER 10: *Tales of sundry peasants about wondrous Lake*

Mummer

60. in re rusticorum: in matters concerning farming.

61. Lake Mummer: in German, "der Mummelsee", a cirque lake situated on the southern slope of the Hornisgrinde (the highest peak in the northern

part of the Black Forest). Bechtold (p.533 ff.) describes the similarities and differences between Simplicissimus' adventures and those of Elia Georgius Loretus, who depicted them in a report to Athanasius Kircher.

62. spectra: spectres.

63. geometra: geometer.

CHAPTER 11: *Unheard-of thanks uttered by a patient, which rouses almost holy thoughts in Simplicius*

64. fatum: fate.

65. cholica: gout.

66. doctores: doctors, physicians.

67. medici: doctors, physicians.

CHAPTER 12: *How Simplicius journeys with the sylphis into the centrum terrae*

68. sylphis: usually spirits of the air, here the equivalent of water spirits.

69. centrum terrae: center of the earth.

70. when Doc Daniel (he meant le duc d'Anguin) marched down to Philippsburg with his troops: Duc d'Enghien was the title borne by Louis II of Bourbon (1621-1686) until the death of his father in 1646, at which time he took the family title, Prince de Conde. He marched his forces to Philippsburg in early August, 1644 (Hopalong describes the ensuing battle in Chapter 18 of *The Singular Life Story of Heedless Hopalong*). Since Simplicissimus' narrative has at this point reached only the year 1642, it

is obvious that Grimmelshausen included the remark without paying any particular attention to his chronology.

71. rudera: oars.

72. abyssum: abyss.

73. like a second Empedocles of Agrigento...up into heaven): this bit of erudition is taken verbatim from Momus' excoriation of Garzoni in Garzoni, Introduction (p. 2): Garzoni: "ein anderer Empedocles Agrigentinus, welcher sich in den Feuerberg Aetnam stürzt / auf daß man meinen solte / dieweil man in nirgendt gefunden / er were gehn Himmel gefahren."; ST: "Andere bildeten sich ein / ich hätte mich wie ein anderer Empedocles Agrigentinus (welcher sich in den Berg Aetnam gestürzt / damit jedermann gedencken solte / wenn man ihn nirgend finde / er wäre gen Himmel gefahren) selbst im See ertränckt / ..." Empedocles (c.490-430 B.C.), a Greek philosopher and statesman who resided in Sicily, killed himself, according to legend, by hurling himself into the crater of Mount Aetna; in fact, he died in exile somewhere in the Peloponesus.

CHAPTER 13: *The prince of Lake Mummer tells of the nature and origin of the sylphs*

74. Dionysius Dorus: Dionysodorus, a geometer from Cydnus is meant; the classical source of this comment is Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 2, 48. In this instance Grimmelshausen was misled by his source. Garzoni refers to the geometer, in the nominative case, as "Dionysius Dorus"; in Grimmelshausen's text the name appears in the dative case ("vom Geometra Dionysio Dorō". *Acerra philologica* III, 20 (p. 397) gives the name nearly correctly (also in a dative case construction): "Es ist nur eine erdichtete und Griechische Lügen was Plinius schreibet l. 2. c. ult. vom Dionysiodoro, welcher nach dem er

gestorben / vnd von seinen Verwandten ins Grab geleet war / hat man wenig Tage hernach im Grabe gefunden einen Brieff / welchen er Dionysiodorus aus der Hellen hätte an die Lebendigen auff Erden geschrieben: darin er angezeigt / daß von dannen bis zu vns weren 42000 Stadia, das ist / 1312 ein halb Meile: ...”;

75. Pliny writes...: the passage, as Scholte (p. 134 f.) demonstrates, was lifted from Garzoni, Discourse 24 (p. 147).

76. 42,000 stadia...centrum terrae: 42,000 stadia...center of the earth; since a Roman stadia was 607 feet, the radius of the earth would be 4,751 miles, or 7,644.35 kilometers; taking the figure of 1,312.5 German miles (given in Acerra philologica), the radius would be a little over 6,601 miles, or 9,843.75 kilometers.

77. 900 German miles: according to this, the radius of the earth would be about 4,185 miles, or 6,750 kilometers; of the two estimates, this is the closer one, for the radius (on average) is now calculated at about 3,959 miles, or 6,371 kilometers.

78. antipodibus: antipodes.

79. Oceanus: ocean.

80. abyssu: abyss.

81. donec auferatur luna, Psal. 71: “as long as the moon endureth” (actually Psalms 72, 7).

82. generationes fructu- & animalium: the procreation of fruits (plants) and animals.

83. chymici: chemists (alchemists at this time).

84. simpliciter: simply, in simple terms.

85. nuntii: messengers, ambassadors.
86. justitiam: justice.
87. in coitu: in sexual intercourse.

CHAPTER 14: *What further matters Simplicius discussed on the way with this prince, and what wonderous and strange things he heard and saw*

88. materia: subject, matter.
89. Lake Pilatus: a small mountain lake on Mount Pilatus (bordering Lake Lucerne).
90. camarinam movere: Camarina was (in ancient geography) a city on the southern coast of Sicily, about 45 miles southwest of Syracuse.
91. the spring in Arcadia, with whose waters Jolla is said to have poisoned Alexander the Great: the spring was the Styx; Jolla was Alexander's cupbearer.
92. aqua fort: aqua fortis, i.e. nitric acid.
93. county of Zips...: in Czech "Szepes" and Slovak "Spish"; a gold and silver mining area on the southeastern foot of the Hoher Tatra and in the Slovakian Erzgebirge, in what was then Hungary and is now Czechoslovakia.
94. one which is said to be in Thessaly...: Thessaly is the northern part of Greece.
95. The lake at Zircknitz in Corinthia: Zircknitz (in Slovenian Cerknica) is situated in what is now the Peoples Republic of Sovenia, Yugoslavia; the lake periodically drains through sinkholes and gorges into subterraneous passageways which empty into the Unz River.

96. the spring in Aengstlen...: Aengstlen is in Switzerland in the Bernese Highlands.

97. the Schändle Brook at Ober-Nähenheim : Ober-Nähenheim (in French Obernai) is a village in the Lower Alsace at the foot of Odilie Mountain.

98. the Fluvius Sabbaticus: a river in Palastine which, according to Josephus, De bellico Judaico (VIII, 24) flows only on the sabbath, and according to Pliny (31, 18, 3) fails to flow only on the sabbath. Despite the fact that he used Josephus as a source for Chaste Joseph and Musai, Grimmelshausen here obviously is copying from someone whose source was Pliny.

99. metalla: metals.

100. semi-mineralia: semi-minerals. all the metals and "semi-minerals" (a classification no longer used) mentioned are also listed by Garzoni in Discourse 69 (p. 439), the metals in a slightly different order, the semi-minerals in the exact order in which Grimmelshausen lists them: Garzoni: "Halb Mineralien sind Schwefel / Saltz mit allen seinen Sorten / als naturale, sal gemma, sal natium, sal radicum, sal nitru (sic), sal armoniacum (sic), sal petrae, weisse, rothe, gelbe Farben / Spangrün / Victrill / marchasita aurea, argentea, plumbea, ferra, lapis Lazuli, alumen, arsenicum, antimonium, risigallum, Electrum naturale, Chrisocolla: Sublimatum, aber minium, cerusa, Sandaraca, Sandix, Suicum, vnnnd Thutia, werden also bereitet. // Die Metallen sind / Mercurius, Quecksilber / Bley / Zinn / Silber / Kupffer / Eisen vnd Gold / ..."; ST: "...zwischen die Metalla passire,...als da sey Gold / Silber / Kupffer / Zinn / Bley / Eisen / Quecksilber / & oder durch die halbe Mineralia, nemlich Schwefel / Saltz mit allen seinen Gattungen / als naturale, sal gemmae, sal nativum, sal radicum, sal nitrum, sal armoniacum (sic), sal petrae, &c. weisse / rothe / gelbe und grüne Farben / Victril,

marchasita aurea, argentea, plumbea, ferrea, lapis lazuli, alumen, arsenicum, antimonium, risigallum, Electrum naturale, Chrisocola, Sublimatum, &c. ...”

101. sal naturale: natural salt (derived from brine).
102. sal gemmae: crystalline salt.
103. sal nativum: uric acid salts.
104. sal radicum: “root salt” (apparently salt derived from root vegetables is meant).
105. sal nitrum: saltpeter (usually potassium nitrate, but also possibly sodium nitrate or calcium nitrate).
106. sal ammoniacum: sal ammoniac (ammonium chloride).
107. sal petrae: rock salt.
108. marchasita aurea, argentea, plumbea, ferrea: marcasites (iron pyrites) which had the color of gold, silver, lead, iron; they were used in the seventeenth and eighteenth century in the manufacture of ornaments.
109. lapis lazuli: a semiprecious stone which is azure blue in color and is actually a complex silicate, often with iron pyrites intermixed.
110. alumen: alum.
111. arsenicum: arsenic (now recognized as an element; probably what is meant here is either gray arsenic or “arsenides”—the form of arsenic found in many sulfide ores).
112. antimonium: antimony (now recognized as an element; probably gray or metallic antimony is meant).

113. risigallum: yellow arsenic, which is obtained by heating gray (metallic) arsenic and then rapidly cooling its vapor.
114. Electrum naturale: amber, which is neither a mineral nor an element, but rather a fossil resin.
115. Chrysocolla: a mineral which is green or blue (also brown or black in its impure form), it is actually a hydrous silicate of copper.
116. sublimatum: presumably mercuric chloride is meant (see above, Notes to Book IV, Chapter 8).
117. Cervia: town in Italy in the province of Ravenna, on the Adriatic Sea between Ravenna and Rimini.
118. Commachio: actually spelled Comacchio, a town in Northern Italy in the province of Ferrara, situated on 13 islands and a promontory between the Adriatic and the inlet of Comacchio, some 29 miles southeast of Ferrara.
119. Centuripean water: Centuripe was, in antiquity, a city in Sicily near Mount Aetna; according to Pliny 31, 7, much salt was found there.
120. Cappodocian water: Cappadocia is an area in Asia Minor.
121. In Cervia...yellow-hued: Scholte notes that these facts are taken virtually unchanged from Garzoni, Discourse 151 (p. 135).
122. aequatoris: equator.

CHAPTER 15: What the king said to Simplicius and Simplicius said to the king

123. troglodytes: cave-dwellers.
124. Nova Zembla: see above, Notes to Book I, Chapter 5.

125. Samoyedes: members of Uralic tribes living in Siberia.
126. Moluccahs: inhabitants of the Moluccas (the Spice Islands, the islands of the Malay archipelago).
127. the polis arctico and antarctico: the North and South Poles.
128. Wild lake: presumably the “Wildsee” (in the Black Forest near the Enz River).
129. Black Lake: presumably the “Schwarzer See” (also called the “Bistritzer See”), located in the Bavarian Forest, and 142 feet deep.
130. as Eusebius described...in a sermon: the passage was taken from Garzoni, Discourse 3; Scholte (p. 135) presents parallel texts.
131. Justitiam: Justice.
132. the theologi: the theologians, churchmen, clergy.
133. Jerome: St. Jerome (Eusebius Hieronymus, c. 347-420 A.D.), church father and biblical scholar; he produced the standard Latin translation of the Bible which is known as the Vulgate.
134. Bede: usually termed “the Venerable Bede” (c. 673-735), Northumbrian monk and author of the Ecclesiastical History of the English People.
135. Borromaeus: St. Borromaeus (Carlo Borromeo, 1538-1584); as archbishop of Milan and cardinal he worked for church reform, particularly at the third session of the Council of Trent (1560-1563).
136. Augustine: St. Augustine (Augustine of Hippo, 435-530), bishop of Hippo, church father, and most important theologian of his epoch.
137. Hilarion: St. Hilarion (c. 291-371 A.D.), monk and mystic who, following the Egyptian tradition, founded Christian monasticism in Palestine.

138. Pachomus: St. Pachomius (c. 290-346 A.D.), the founder of Christian communal monasticism.

CHAPTER 16: Some new tidings from the depths of the unfathomable sea which is called the Mare del Zur, or the peaceful, quiet sea

139. the Mare del Zur: the Pacific Ocean, the South Seas.

140. polo antartico: South Pole.

141. the isles de los ladrones: the Marianas (should read “de los ladrones”)

142. pygmaei: pygmies.

143. Aristarchus...Copernicus...: Aristarchus of Samos (c. 310-230 B.C.), Greek astronomer who was the first to theorize that the earth moved around the sun; Nicolaus Copernicus (1473-1543), Polish astronomer and proponent of the view that the earth rotates around the sun. Grimmelshausen could have learned this from Garzoni, Discourse 39 (p. 294), where the “error” of both astronomers is discussed.

144. exhalatione humida, viscosa & crassa: humid, thick and tenacious vapors; in Garzoni’s Discourse 69 (p. 439), where the phrase occurs in conjunction with a description of Aristotle’s theory of the origin of metals, the words are afterwards translated into the vernacular: Garzoni: “Aristoteles schreibt lib. 3. Meteoror. daß sie (metals) vnter der Erden von einer exhalatione humida viscosa, & crassa, das ist / von einem feuchten dicken vnd zähen Dunst generirt werden / ...”; ST: “da antwortet er / es befinden sich hin und wieder in der Erden läre stätte / die sich nach und nach mit allerhand Metallen außfüllen / weil sie daselbst auß einer exhalatione humida, viscosa & crassa, generirt werden / ...”

145. *Marchasitae aureae vel argenteae*: marcasites (iron pyrites) which were the color of gold and silver.
146. *metallis*: metals.
147. the king of the *salamandrae*: the king of the salamanders (fire sprites).
148. a strange cloth which we had on earth: asbestos fiber.
149. the elixir of Theophrastus: Theophrastus is Paracelsus, whose full name was Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Paracelsus von Hohenheim—called Bombastus (1493-1541) and who was said to have produced an elixir which cured all ills.
150. *cholericus*: see above, Notes to Book V, Chapter 4.
151. a Greek *nephalia*: a feast or celebration at which no alcoholic beverages are drunk.

CHAPTER 17: *Journey back from the center of the earth, strange crotchets, castles in the air, schemes, and a reckoning without the host*

152. the American Sea: presumably the Pacific Ocean is meant.
153. *mineralia*: minerals.
154. German-Swiss miles: presumably the mile which equals about 7.5 kilometers.
155. *medicos*: doctors, physicians.
156. *Schwalbach*: town and mineral springs (Langenschwalbach) in a side valley of the Aar River, in the Taunus Mountains in Hesse.
157. *medici*: physicians.

158. L.: Lippstadt.

159. lapide: lapis, i.e. stone.

160. the Golden Fleece from the Island of Colchis: see above, Notes to Book I, Chapter 26.

CHAPTER 18: *Simplicius loses his mineral spring by planting it in the wrong spot*

161. physiognomiam...chiromantiam: see above, Notes to Book II, Chapter 20.

162. Mückenloch: a hamlet in the northernmost part of the Black Forest.

163. O mirum! Troy was lost.: O wonder! Troy was lost.

164. the Dornstett district: the area around Dornstetten, in the Black Forest east of Freudenstadt.

165. the Baiersbronn valley: Baiersbronn is a town on the Murg in the northern part of the Black Forest, at the head of the Murg Valley.

166. Seebach: Black Forest village on the Acher, to the southwest of the Mummelsee; the Acher itself was called the Seebach in the seventeenth century, and the construction in German leads one to believe that Grimmelshausen has the river in mind rather than the village.

CHAPTER 19: *Some few facts about the Hungarian Anabaptists and their way of life*

167. the Hungarian Anabaptists: A. J. F. Ziegelschmid ("Grimmelshausens ungarische Wiedertäufer," PMLA 54, 1939, pp. 1033 ff.) identified this group as "Hutterer," members of Anabaptist communes (called "Bruderhöfe")

which were established in Moravia in the sixteenth century; in 1622 the Hutterer fled to Hungary, where they settled and remained until 1763, when they migrated to Transylvania, Wallachia, the Ukraine and the North American continent. In 1654 one such group, from Sobotishte in Hungary, was permitted by Count Palatine Carl Ludwig to settle in Mannheim, where they stayed until 1684; because there is no evidence that Grimmelshausen ever visited Hungary, Ziegelschmid assumed that it was through this group that Grimmelshausen became acquainted with the life style of the Hungarian Anabaptists, which he describes with great accuracy.

168. My greatest joy and delight...: all the subjects which *Simplicissimus* lists are treated by Garzoni in individual discourses.

169. *grammatici*: grammarians.

170. *arithmetica*: arithmetic.

171. *musicam*: music.

172. *mathematica*: mathematics.

173. *geometrica*: geometry.

174. *astronomia*: astronomy.

175. *astrologia*: astrology.

176. the “art” of *Raymundus Lullus*: *Lullus* (properly *Ramon Llull*, c. 1235-1316) was a Catalan mystic; the “art” is his major work, *Ars magna*, in which he interpreted all reality as the embodiment of some aspect of the divine and regarded art, science and nature as analogues of each other.

177. because I deemed it a *topicam*: the sentence, of course, makes little sense, either in the original German (“und weil ich sie vor eine *Topicam* hielte, ließ ich sie fahren”) or as I have translated it; it does make better

sense when Grimmelshausen's source, Garzoni, Discourse 21, is taken into account, where the passage reads: "Was mich aber anlangt / halt ich sie für eine Topicam, welche aber nicht so vollkommen / wie sich Raymundus bedunken läst..." (But as for me, I deem it a topicam which is, however, not so complete as Raymundus imagines); either Grimmelshausen or his printer dropped out the clause which qualifies the word topicam.

178. the cabbalum of the Hebrews: Kabbala, esoteric Jewish mysticism; its major text was the Sefer ha-bahir, or Book of Brightness (12th century).

179. hieroglyphicas: hieroglyphics.

180. theologia: theology.

181. the Essenes, whom Josephus and others describe.: Flavius Josephus (first century A.D.); Grimmelshausen used his *De bellico Judaico* as a source for his first novel, *The Chaste Joseph*.

182. medicum: doctor, physician.

183. harmoniam: harmony.

184. St. Dominick: (1170-1221), founder of the Dominican Order of Preaching Friars.

CHAPTER 20: *Contains a diverting stroll from the Black Forest to Moscow in Russia*

185. an Imperial city...built by an English king and named after him: Offenburg, according to legend, was founded around 600 A.D. by an English king named Offo; the city was blockaded by the Duke of Weimar's troops from February till September 1643.

186. General Torstenson: Lennart Torstenson, Count of Orjala (1603-1647) was commander-in-chief of Swedish armies in Germany from 1641 until 1646, and he led them to victories in the second battle at Breitenfeld (1643) and in the battle at Jankau (1645).

187. Bairischbrunn: Baiersbronn (see above, Notes to Book V, Chapter 18).

188. Livonia: in German “Livland”; the lands now called Latvia and Estonia.

189. Wismar: seaport on the Bay of Wismar in the Baltic Sea, some 65 miles northeast of Hamburg.

190. magnates: high-ranking noblemen.

metropolitans: archbishops of the Russian Orthodox Church.

CHAPTER 21: *How Simplicius further fared in Moscow*

191. strelitzi: members of the tsar’s royal guard.

192. ordinari: normally (i.e., they were permanent residents rather than visitors from Germany).

193. Podoliam: a part of Poland.

194. the Tatars: Turkic nomads of the south Russian Steppe.

195. corpus: military unit, army corps.

196. battaglia: battle.

197. histori: life history.

198. mirsa: son of a prince.

CHAPTER 22: By what direct and pleasant route he came back home to his Pa

199. Astrakhan: province on the Caspian Sea.
200. Empedocles or Gorgias Leontinus: Garzoni also links these two figures in Discourse 21 (p. 142), where they are pictured as men who could discourse on any subject.
201. boromace, the sheep plant: melons which are shaped like lambs. Olearius (p. 155) mentions the plant. The “fur” of the plant was used by the natives to make wool. Superstition had it that the plant devoured all other plants around it and then died. Olearius determined that the plant simply did not exist.
202. Loreto: town in Ancona province in central Italy; the goal of the pilgrims who went there was the Santa Casa (Holy House of the Virgin), which according to tradition was saved from destruction by the Turks in 1291 when a band of angels carried it away from Nazareth and deposited it unchanged in Dalmatia, which where it was later miraculously transported to the Italian coast of the Adriatic and then to Loreto.

CHAPTER 23: A right fine and short chapter which deals with Simplicius

203. the writings of Guevara: Antonio de Guevara (c. 1490-1545), a Spanish ascetic and author; in the early seventeenth century Aegidius Albertinus translated several of his works into German.

CHAPTER 24: The very last chapter, which reports why and in what wise Simplicius once more withdrew from the world

204. Farewell, World...: adaptation and mostly verbatim redaction of a tirade found in Guevara's *Contemptus Vitae Aulicae et Laus Ruris*.

205. *posui finem curis, spes & fortuna valet*: I put an end to my cares, Hope and Fortune farewell!

206. But whether I, like my blessed father, shall remain there till the end of my life, I cannot say: this remark left open the possibility of having *Simplicissimus* return to the world and recount yet more of his adventures, and this does indeed occur in the first *Continuatio* (sometimes called Book VI of *Simplicissimus*).