

The background of the cover features a stylized musical staff with notes and a treble clef, rendered in a light blue color against a dark blue background. The staff is positioned horizontally across the top half of the cover.

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# Lied und populäre Kultur Song and Popular Culture

Jahrbuch des Zentrums  
für Populäre Kultur und Musik

Musik im Krieg

Music in War

WAXMANN



Lied und populäre Kultur/  
Song and Popular Culture

Jahrbuch des Zentrums für  
Populäre Kultur und Musik

63. Jahrgang – 2018

herausgegeben von  
Knut Holtsträter

Musik im Krieg  
Music in War



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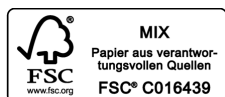
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# Inhalt

Vorwort .....	9
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## Musik im Krieg – Music in War

Albrecht Classen:

German Baroque Poets and their Responses to the Thirty Years' War An Unchartered Literary Terrain .....	15
--	----

James Davis:

Music, Homesickness, and American Civil War Soldiers .....	35
--	----

Mara Favoretto:

The Falklands/Malvinas War (1982) in Argentine Rock Songs .....	53
---	----

Michael Fischer:

Pazifismus und Opportunismus Max Kuckei und seine Liedersammlung „Nie wieder Krieg!“ (1930/1947) .....	67
---	----

Golan Gur:

Military Songs as Popular Music War, Memory, and Commemoration in the Songs of the Israeli Military Bands .....	93
---	----

Petra Hamer:

Patriotic Songs as a Means of Mobilization in Besieged Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995 .....	111
--	-----

Manfred Heidler:

„Mars und Musica“ – Krieg und Musik Militärmusik und Truppenbetreuung im Wandel der Zeit .....	129
---	-----

Wolfgang Jansen:

Der lustige Krieg und andere Schlachten .....	149
---	-----

Heather Josselyn-Cranson:

“O God, the Strength of Those Who War” The Hymns and Hymn Writers of World War I .....	167
---	-----

Lidia López Gómez: Theaters and Music Halls Musical Life in Spain during the Years of the Civil War .....	189
Eberhard Nehlsen: Die „Breisacher Buhlschaft“ .....	203
Martin Rempe: Stimmungsheber Berufsmusiker an der Front im Ersten Weltkrieg .....	235

## Rezensionen – Reviews

Gier, Christina: <i>Singing, Soldiering, and Sheet Music in America during the First World War</i> (TOBIAS WIDMAIER) .....	255
<i>Historical Sources of Ethnomusicology in Contemporary Debate.</i> Hg. von Susanne Ziegler, Ingrid Åkesson, Gerda Lechleitner und Susana Sardo (BRITTA SWEERS) .....	257
Kühn, Jan-Michael: <i>Die Wirtschaft der Techno-Szene. Arbeiten in einer subkulturellen Ökonomie</i> (PETER TSCHMUCK) .....	259
Kulezic-Wilson, Danijela: <i>The Musicality of Narrative Film</i> (MARKUS BANDUR) .....	261
Leppert, Richard: <i>Aesthetic Technologies of Modernity, Subjectivity, and Nature</i> (MARKUS BANDUR) .....	261
Stenzl, Jürg: <i>Musik/Film. Konstellationen zwischen Claude Debussy/Dudley Murphy und Hans Werner Henze/Alain Resnais</i> (MARKUS BANDUR) .....	261
Stenzl, Jürg: <i>Musik für über 1500 Stummfilme. Das Inventar der Filmmusik im Pariser Gaumont-Palace (1911–1928) von Paul Fosse</i> (MARKUS BANDUR) .....	261

Papenhagen, Felix: „Wem gehört der Schrank mit den heiligen Büchern?“ <i>Jüdische Religion im Kontext israelischer Populärmusik</i> (PHILIP V. BOHLMAN) .....	266
Stadler Elmer, Stefanie: <i>Kind und Musik. Das Entwicklungspotenzial erkennen und verstehen</i> (TIJU ERNITS) .....	269
<i>Violeta Parra. Lieder aus Chile. Zweisprachige Anthologie.</i> Hg. von Manfred Engelbert (TORSTEN ESSER) .....	272





# Vorwort

Geht man von dem Postulat des Militärtheoretikers Carl von Clausewitz aus, dass der Krieg – bei ihm noch der Krieg zwischen Staatsgefügen – „eine bloße Fortsetzung der Politik mit anderen Mitteln“ sei, so lässt sich fragen, ob und wie sich die ‚Andersheit‘ auch in Bereichen widerspiegelt, die anscheinend nur mittelbar vom Kriegsgeschehen betroffen sind, beispielsweise der Musik.

Mein Großvater wurde 1944 mit 17 Jahren an die Ostfront gezogen. Anders als viele Kriegsheimkehrer und vermutlich auch, weil er offenbar das Glück gehabt hatte, nicht an direkten Kampfhandlungen oder Kriegsgreueln teilgenommen haben zu müssen, erzählte er uns Enkeln viel vom Krieg. Eine seiner eindrucklichsten Erzählungen war, wie er den Beschuss der „Stalinorgel“ überstanden hat. Ein merkwürdiges Musikinstrument, wie wir Kinder dachten, welches in unserer Phantasie die schauerlichsten und wunderbarsten Formen der Bedrohung annahm.

Wie ich später herausfand, handelte es sich bei der Stalinorgel um den Katjuscha-Mehrfachraketenwerfer BM-32, dessen Haltevorrichtung in einsatzbereiter Position einer Reihe Orgelpfeifen ähnelt. Die Katjuscha war aufgrund ihrer Robustheit und einfachen Handhabung geschätzt und kam sogar noch 2006 im Libanon-Krieg zum Einsatz. Die Katjuscha (bzw. Катюша oder Katjuša, ins Deutsche übersetzbar als „Kathrinchen“) hat ihren Namen übrigens von einem russischen Lied, welches von einem Mädchen handelt, das auf ihren Liebsten wartet, der sich im Krieg befindet.

Das von Michael Jssakowski und Matwej J. Blanter komponierte Lied ist, wie so viele Popsongs, die späterhin den Status von Volksliedern annahmen, noch recht jung. Gerade einmal sechs oder sieben Jahre war das Lied alt, als mein Großvater an der Ostfront die anderen Katjuschas hörte. Hier der Originaltext und die silbentreue poetische Übersetzung von Alexander Ott für die frühe Verbreitung in der DDR:

Расцветали яблони и груши,  
Поплыли туманы над рекой.  
Выходила на берег Катюша,  
На высокий берег на крутой.

Leuchtend prangten ringsum Apfelblüten,  
still vom Fluß zog Nebel noch ins Land;  
durch die Wiesen kam hurtig Katjuscha  
zu des Flusses steiler Uferwand.

Выходила, песню заводила  
Про степного, сизого орла,  
Про того, которого любила,  
Про того, чьи письма берегла.

Und es schwang ein Lied aus frohem Herzen  
jubelnd, jauchzend sich empor zum Licht,  
weil der Liebste ein Brieflein geschrieben,  
das von Heimkehr und von Liebe spricht.

Ой ты, песня, песенка девичья,  
Ты лети за ясным солнцем вслед.  
И бойцу на дальнем пограничье  
От Катюши передай привет.

O, du kleines Lied von Glück und Freude,  
mit der Sonne Strahlen eile fort.  
Bring dem Freunde geschwinde die Antwort,  
von Katjuscha Gruß und Liebeswort!

Пусть он вспомнит девушку простую  
И услышит, как она поёт,  
Пусть он землю бережёт родную,  
А любовь Катюша сбережёт.

Er soll liebend ihrer stets gedenken,  
ihrer zarten Stimme Silberklang.  
Weil er innig der Heimat ergeben,  
bleibt Katjuschas Liebe ihm zu Dank.

Отцветали яблони и груши,  
Уплыли туманы над рекой.  
Уходила с берега Катюша,  
Уносила песенку домой.

Leuchtend prangten ringsum Apfelblüten;  
still vom Fluss zog Nebel noch ins Land.  
Fröhlich singend ging heimwärts Katjuscha –  
einsam träumt der sonnenhelle Strand.<sup>1</sup>

Was Otts Übersetzung ins Deutsche, bei aller Sprachschönheit und Sanglichkeit, verloren geht, ist der Kriegs- bzw. Propagandakontext: Der Kämpfer an der fernen Grenze („бойцу на дальнем пограничье“) wird durch einen „Freund“ ersetzt, und er soll nicht mehr das Heimatland schützen, damit Katjuscha ihre Liebe ihm gegenüber bewahren kann, sondern ist „der Heimat ergeben“.

Ein damals in Russland und mittlerweile weltweit populäres Propaganda- und/o-der Liebeslied wird zur Namensgeberin für eine Artilleriewaffe, welche wiederum im Sprachgebrauch der Angegriffenen zu einem Musikinstrument wird, das vom personalisierten Feindbild womöglich selbst gespielt oder gebaut wurde: der Stalinorgel. Bei aller historischen Ironie, die dieser Konstellation innewohnt, ist es doch bemerkenswert, dass sich die Kriegsbeteiligten beider Seiten (offensichtlich unabhängig voneinander) auf musikalische und musikbezogene Metaphorik stützen, die ihnen helfen, das Kriegsgerät und ihren Einsatz in gewisser Hinsicht näher an ihren alltäglichen Erfahrungshorizont heranzubringen und damit die außergewöhnliche Situation des Krieges mit Bildern und Vorstellungen aus dem gewohnten Leben im Frieden anreichern und damit erträglicher machen. Ist es auf russischer Seite die liebevolle Anthromorphisierung und Feminisierung des eigenen Kriegsgeräts über ein populäres Liebeslied, und damit die verbundenen Hoffnungsbilder auf ein baldiges Zurückschlagen der deutschen Invasoren und die glückliche Heimkehr in die im Lied beschworene Idylle, so ist es auf deutscher Seite der womöglich schicksalshafte und

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1 Die deutsche Fassung ist eine als „Nachdichtung“ bezeichnete poetische Übersetzung von Alexander Ott, welche in dieser Form breit in der DDR über Jugendliederbücher rezipiert wurde, beispielsweise über in dem 1949 erstmals erschienenen *Leben Singen Kämpfen. Liederbuch der deutschen Jugend* (vorliegendes Exemplar: Berlin: Verlag Neues Leben 1958, redaktionell betreut von Ott, Siegfried Stolte, Fritz Bachmann, Manfred Grüttner, Willi Hennig und Heinz Knorr, bes. S. 222–223) sowie in *Seid Bereit. Liederbuch der Thälmann-Pioniere* (vorliegend die 4., überar. und stark veränd. Aufl. aus den 1970ern, Leipzig: VEB Hofmeister o. J. Hg. von Siegfried Bimberg, bes. S. 208–209). In der relativ aktuellen, jedoch nicht silbentreuen Übersetzung von Günter Gerstberger für das *Liederbuch kompakt. für alle allgemein bildende Schulen*. Hg. von Friedrich Neumann und Stefan Sell, unveränd. Aufl. 2016. Kassel u. a.: Schott, S. 92, bleibt der soldatische Kontext erhalten, es finden sich aber nur die ersten drei Strophen. Für eine Durchsicht des russischen Originaltextes sei Lilli Schlecht herzlich gedankt.

gottgewollte Schrecken der unmittelbaren Bedrohungserfahrung, gleichzeitig verbunden mit einer Verballhornung des Gegners über das Bild eines Stalin am Spieltisch einer Kirchenorgel.

Gemeinsam ist allen Kriegserfahrungen und -narrativen der neueren Menschheitsgeschichte, dass sie außerhalb der gesellschaftlichen Normalität begriffen werden. Sie sind der zivilisatorische Ausnahmezustand, den es irgendwie zu beenden und nachträglich zu erzählen, verkraften und überwinden gilt. Darin sind sich der Krieg meines Großvaters, die Kalten oder Stellvertreterkriege, Handelskriege, asymmetrische Kriege, Heilige oder Glaubenskriege, Bürgerkriege, Staatenkriege, der „War on Terror“ oder andere kriegerische Handlungen einig. Musik kann dabei als idealisierte Gegenwelt des Friedens, als ironischer Kommentar auf das als unerträglich Empfundene und als Mittel der Aufmunterung und Propaganda genutzt werden: Musik im Krieg.

Von den Beitragenden für diesen Band sei Eberhard Nehlsen hier besonders erwähnt, da er mich bei einem seiner Besuche in unserem Archiv auf die Idee gebracht hatte, für 2018 einen Themenschwerpunkt anlässlich des 400. Jahrestages des Dreißigjährigen Kriegs zu konzipieren, eine der größten kulturellen und zivilisatorischen Herausforderungen der frühen Neuzeit. Dieses im wörtlichen Sinne Europa verheerende Kriegseignis bildet auch den geschichtlichen Anfangspunkt in unserer Palette. Während Nehlsen direkt aus den Kriegshandlungen um unsere benachbarte Stadt Breisach berichtet, nimmt Albrecht Classen die künstlerische Verarbeitung (oder Aufarbeitung) des Dreißigjährigen Krieges im Barock in den Blick.

Die Auffassung von Krieg als ein totales Phänomen, dem sich niemand entziehen kann und der die kriegsbeteiligten Menschen und Parteien an ihre kulturellen, gesellschaftlichen und zivilisatorischen Grenzen bringt, prägt auch die anderen Beiträge in dem Band. James Davis nimmt den Amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg in den Blick und untersucht das in den Frontbriefen geäußerte Heimweh und die Sehnsucht nach Normalität, welche oft mit Musikausübung in Verbindung gebracht wird.

Gaben im Amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg experimentelle Panzerfahrzeuge und Kanonenboote (nicht nur akustisch) schon eine Vorahnung auf die Grauen der Knochenmühlen im europäischen und asiatischen Raum, so widmen sich die anderen Autorinnen und Autoren den Kriegen des 20. Jahrhunderts. Den Ersten Weltkrieg unter einen gänzlich anderen Blickwinkel stellt Heather Josselyn-Cranson, wenn sie die Liedgattung der Hymns, englischer und amerikanischer geistlicher Lieder, untersucht.

Soldatisches Musizieren ist das Thema von Manfred Heidler und Martin Rempe, die beide aus sehr unterschiedlicher militär- und kulturgeschichtlicher Sicht Einblicke in den Musikalltag der deutschen Heere im 20. Jahrhundert geben. Die von Wolfgang Jansen betrachteten Kriegsoperetten ziehen hingegen alle Register des Genres, um das soldatische Leben (und Musizieren) als eine Reihe fortlaufender Vergnügungen zu inszenieren. Dass es aber allenthalben den Willen gab, die musikalische Kultur

in Kriegszeiten zu pflegen, um die gesellschaftliche Normalität aufrechtzuerhalten und den zivilisatorischen Firnis zu bewahren, zeigt Lidia López Gómez in ihrer Studie über die Zeit des Spanischen Bürgerkriegs. In dieser Gruppe an Texten ist sicher auch Golan Gurs Beitrag zu sehen, er betrachtet die Schnittstelle zwischen Militärmusik und Popmusik in der israelischen Gesellschaft.

In den medialen Erfahrungshorizont der Zeitgenossenschaft fallen für einige Leserinnen und Leser sicher die beiden Beiträge von Mara Favoretto und Petra Hamer. Favoretto untersucht die musikalische Verarbeitung der argentinischen Kampagne auf den Malvinas bzw. den Falkland-Inseln in den 1980er Jahren. Mit Hamers Beitrag sind wir beim jüngsten Krieg in diesem Band, den kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen um Sarajevo in den 1990er Jahren.

Bemerkenswert ist, dass bei aller Vielfalt an Liedern, die in den Beiträgen besprochen werden, sich unerwartet wenige offen gegen den Krieg wenden. Michael Fischer veranschaulicht am Lehrer und Volksliedforscher Max Kuckei, welche Kräfte es abverlangen kann, im Dritten Reich eine pazifistische Haltung zu vertreten. Dieser Beitrag war eigentlich für die Sektion der freien Beiträge gedacht, entwickelte sich aber während der Recherche in die Richtung des Heftschwerpunktes.

Obwohl in diesem Jahrgang keine thematisch „freien“ Beiträge erscheinen, sei herzlich um Einsendungen eingeladen und daran erinnert, dass Beiträge oder Beitragsvorschläge nach wie vor und unabhängig von den Regularien und Terminvorgaben der Call for Articles gerne an uns gerichtet werden können.

Schließlich sei auch den Autorinnen und Autoren herzlich gedankt, die mit ihren Beiträgen in unserem Rezensionsteil dazu beitragen, den wissenschaftlichen Diskurs über unsere Forschungsbereiche lebendig zu erhalten. Auch für diese Rubrik freuen wir uns immer über Titelvorschläge oder Angebote von Rezensionen.

Ein besonderer Dank geht an Franziska Neumann, sie hat im Rahmen ihrer Tätigkeit als studentische Hilfskraft zur Fertigstellung dieses Jahrbuchs beigetragen.

Knut Holtsträter, Freiburg i. Br. im September 2018

# **MUSIK IM KRIEG – MUSIC IN WAR**



Albrecht Classen

## German Baroque Poets and their Responses to the Thirty Years' War An Uncharted Literary Terrain

### Summary

*Obwohl wir nur zu gut wissen, dass der Dreißigjährige Krieg tiefe Spuren in der deutschen Kultur und Geschichte hinterlassen hat, und obwohl Literaturhistoriker schon einige der wichtigsten Dichter und Autoren diskutiert haben, ist doch bis heute der größte Teil der zeitgenössischen Volkslieddichtung und gelehrten Lyrik unbeachtet geblieben. Dieser Aufsatz entwirft eine Skizze davon, welche Texte überhaupt erhalten geblieben sind und wie die Dichter die Kriegserfahrung verarbeiteten. Es wird dabei deutlich, dass viele Dichter natürlich das überall wahrnehmbare Unglück beklagten und bejammerten, aber es gab auch viele Lieder, die das Soldatenleben glorifizierten oder globale Themen ansprachen, die nichts mit dem Krieg zu tun hatten, so als ob sie damit die Aufmerksamkeit von den schrecklichen Bedingungen ablenken und einfach mit der literarischen Tradition fortfahren wollten.*

As tragic as a major war like the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) might have been for many parties involved, some of the surprisingly constructive consequences have been that both poets and artists responded in highly dramatic, powerful ways, perhaps bringing out the best in the human spirit, often harshly condemning the military impact on the civil population.<sup>1</sup> Both human-made and natural catastrophes have always shocked us in our everyday situations and forced us to confront the fundamental

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1 Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann: *Court, Cloister and City: The Art and Culture of Central Europe 1450–1800*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1995; *1648: War and Peace in Europe*. Ed. by Klaus Bußmann and Heinz Schilling. Münster: Verlag Westfälischer Friede 1998; *Feuer an allen Ecken: der Dreißigjährige Krieg im Spiegel sachsen-anhaltischer Museen*. Ed. by Gaby Kuper. Döbel: Stekovics 2007. For some of the most dramatic depictions of the horrors of the war, see the series of eighteen etchings *Les Grandes Misères de la guerre* by Jacques Callot (1592–1635), well documented online. Online available via [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Les\\_Grandes\\_Mis%C3%A8res\\_de\\_la\\_guerre](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Les_Grandes_Mis%C3%A8res_de_la_guerre) (accessed on October 26, 2017).

question regarding the meaning of our lives. This proves to be particularly true when a war or a hurricane brings about a paradigm shift, insofar as when in that situation all basic assumptions about our existence are suddenly questioned or literally tossed into the air. This was certainly the case as well during and after the Thirty Years' War, a time curiously fertile for the creation of song poetry, prose narratives, and also plays. Popular songs have always served as excellent mirrors of the broader cultural conditions and the history of mentality, that is, reflecting general fears, desires, hopes, and attitudes.<sup>2</sup>

In response to the four-hundredth anniversary of the beginning of this most turbulent military event (1618–2018), it seems quite appropriate to examine how German poets responded to this experience and what kinds of reflections they presented in their works. After all, poetry and other types of literary expressions have always served to give vent to deep emotions, to the emergence of essential virtues, to courage and honor, and to formulate what matters most centrally in all of human existence. A modern example, though in a different genre, would be Joseph Haslinger's famous report, *Phi Phi Island: ein Bericht* (2007), in which he relates the way how he and his family survived the massive tsunami on this island in 2004.<sup>3</sup> By analogy, we could also look at the literature produced in the wake of the Kosovo War, the Vietnam War, the Korean War, the Second World War, etc.<sup>4</sup> Paul Celan's major poem *Die Todesfuge*

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- 2 Albrecht Classen: Volkskultur versus "gehobene" Kultur in Liederbüchern des Spätmittelalters und der Frühneuzeit. Der Fall von Jörg Dürnhofers Liederbuch von ca. 1515. In: *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* 42 (1997), pp. 13–37; idem: *Deutsche Liederbücher des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*. Münster: Waxmann 2001 (Volksliedstudien 1); idem: Geld als Thema deutscher Volkslieder des Spätmittelalters und der Frühneuzeit. Mentalitätsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen. In: *Lied und populäre Kultur / Song and Popular Culture: Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* 46 (2001), pp. 11–37; idem: Kinder – Eltern – Beziehung im Spätmittelalter: das Zeugnis der "Volkslieder." In: *Current Topics in Medieval German Literature: Texts and Analyses (Kalamazoo Papers 2000–2006)*. Ed. by Sibylle Jefferis. Göppingen: Kümmerle 2008, pp. 1–22.
  - 3 Josef Haslinger: *Phi Phi Island: ein Bericht*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 2007. This tsunami followed the Sumatra-Andaman earthquake on December 26 with the epicenter off the west coast of Sumatra, Indonesia. The shock had a moment magnitude of 9.1–9.3 and a maximum Mercalli intensity of IX (Violent). For a detailed and scientifically well-documented outline, see [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2004\\_Indian\\_Ocean\\_earthquake\\_and\\_tsunami](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2004_Indian_Ocean_earthquake_and_tsunami) (accessed on 21 October 2017).
  - 4 See, for instance, Steffen Hendl: *Den Krieg erzählen: Positionen und Poetiken der Darstellung des Jugoslawienkrieges in der deutschen Literatur*. Göttingen: V&R unipress 2017 (Schriften des Erich Maria Remarque-Archivs 33); *Die Revolte der heiligen Verdammten: literarische Kriegsverarbeitung vom 19. bis zum 21. Jahrhundert*. Ed. by Claudia Junk and Thomas F. Schneider. Göttingen: V&R unipress 2017; *Krieg und Frieden in der Literatur: zu Zeugnissen aus Literatur und Publizistik der letzten drei Jahrhunderte. Kolloquium anlässlich des Beginns des Zweiten Weltkrieges vor 70 Jahren*. Berlin: "Helle Panke" zur Förderung von Politik, Bildung und Kultur 2009 (Pankower Vorträge 137). For French examples, see Andreas Wagner:



from 1948 easily comes to mind as one of the most moving poetic reflections upon the Holocaust.

The lyrical voice and that of other poets has always served as a sort of seismograph of human destiny, and this also applies to the time of the Thirty Years' War.<sup>5</sup> However, we must be careful in our expectations because not every poet simply condemned the war, just as in modern times when some writers also composed texts describing the various war efforts in glowing terms. Ernst Jünger, with his famous novel *In Stahlgewittern* (1920), is an extraordinarily impressive, if not provocative example with respect to the First World War. Looking much further back, even prior to the seventeenth century, we could now cite the autobiographical poetry by the Captain Georg Niede (1525–1589), who mirrored his long life as a lansquenet, clerk, and administrator in a flood of remarkable songs.<sup>6</sup>

No literary history could really afford to ignore the monumental period from 1618 to 1648, affecting every aspect of life in the middle of the seventeenth century especially in Germany, although troops arrived from virtually all parts of Europe to participate in the many different battles. Nevertheless, Baroque scholars have mostly focused on the new developments concerning the drama, the novel, religious poetry, secular verse, etc. in the world of the courts, whether we consult the older, but still seminal monograph by Richard Newald,<sup>7</sup> or the newer, equally impressive effort by Peter Nusser, both mostly leaving aside the Thirty Years' War as a seminal period in the history of German song poetry.<sup>8</sup> Nusser groups Baroque lyric poetry into “Casuallyrik” (p. 92), spiritual, didactic, and meditative poetry (p. 97), Petrarchism (p. 103),

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*Krieg und Literatur in einem Frankreich des Wandels: Untersuchungen anhand von Liedern, Gedichten und Theaterstücken aus den Jahren 1756 bis 1807.* Anif/Salzburg: Müller-Speiser 1990. Cf., for premodern examples, Albrecht Classen: *Eine einsame Stimme für den Frieden im Mittelalter. Der erstaunliche Fall von Kudrun. Thalloris 1* (2016), pp. 69–90.

- 5 The literature on this topic is legion, of course; see, for instance, Georg Schmidt: *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg*. 8th rev. ed. Munich: C. H. Beck 2010. Johannes Arndt: *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg: 1618–1648*. Stuttgart: Reclam 2009. Alfred Kohler: *Von der Reformation zum Westfälischen Frieden*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter Oldenbourg 1980.
- 6 *Leben im 16. Jahrhundert: Lebenslauf und Lieder des Hauptmanns Georg Niede*. Ed. and commentary by Brage Bei der Wieden. Berlin: Akademie Verlag 1996 (Selbstzeugnisse der Neuzeit 4).
- 7 Richard Newald: *Die deutsche Literatur: Vom Späthumanismus zur Empfindsamkeit, 1570–1750*. Munich: C. H. Beck 1967 (Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart 5).
- 8 Peter Nusser: *Deutsche Literatur: Eine Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte. Vom Barock bis zur Gegenwart*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 2012 (first published 2002). Despite some attempts to embed the literary history into its social and historical context, which he calls “Lebensformen” (p. 16), there is no major difference to Newald’s approach to be observed here.

Mannerism (p. 107), gallantry (p. 109), and pastoral poetry (p. 111), but then passes over any works that might reflect on the impact of this devastating military campaign.

Even in such remarkable studies such as Arnold Hauser's *Sozialgeschichte der Kunst und Literatur* (1953/1973) does the Thirty Years' War figure only once, and then just in passing, with no further reflections on the relationship between the military history with its ensuing human suffering and poetry.<sup>9</sup> By contrast, Richard Erich Schade (on Friedrich von Logau) and Elio Brancaforte (on Andreas Gryphius)<sup>10</sup> focus directly on how these two Baroque poets responded to the horrors of the military campaigns, as they affected especially Silesia during the 1630s. In his contribution to *Geschichte der deutschen Lyrik*, Volker Meid includes some comments on Gryphius's famous poem on the Thirty Years' War, but he mostly covers the broad perspectives of Baroque poetry and does not engage with the specific impacts of the military events on the creation of songs, poetry, novels, and dramas.<sup>11</sup> Dietmar Sauermann reviews the genre of historical-political songs, and Hannjost Lixfeld studies the genre of soldiers' songs, but the Thirty Years' War does not figure either here or there.<sup>12</sup> However, in the *Deutsche Liederhort* we find a few songs from the first half of the seventeenth century glorifying soldiers and their accomplishments, but most of the songs in that section date from later periods.<sup>13</sup>

Granted, the war itself did not occupy people's minds all the time and everywhere, and ordinary life both at court and in the countryside, in the cities and within the Church continued during those terrible decades. Not every part of Germany was affected, and many poets tried their best to dedicate their energies to their own profession, to write their literary pieces, to pursue their studies and their private and public lives, disregarding the war and the marauding lansquenets all over the country in order to enjoy life as best as possible, to continue with learned traditions, and to contribute to education and entertainment. This is well documented by the text anthology published by Albrecht Schöne.<sup>14</sup> The major genres covered here are the following: 1. theoretical discussions about the German language and poetry; 2. religious prose

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9 Arnold Hauser: *Sozialgeschichte der Kunst und Literatur*. Munich: C. H. Beck 1953/1973.

10 *A New History of German Literature*. Ed. by David E. Wellbery and Judith Ryan. Cambridge, MA, and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press 2004, pp. 280–292.

11 Volker Meid: Das 17. Jahrhundert. In: *Geschichte der deutschen Lyrik vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*. Ed. by Walter Hinderer. Stuttgart: Reclam 1983, pp. 74–138.

12 Dietmar Sauermann: Das historisch-politische Lied. In: *Handbuch des Volksliedes. Vol. I: Die Gattungen des Volksliedes*. Ed. by Rolf Wilhelm Brednich, Lutz Röhrich, and Wolfgang Suppan. Munich: Fink 1973 (Motive 1/I), pp. 293–322; Hannjost Lixfeld: Soldatenlied. In: *ibid.*, pp. 833–862.

13 *Deutscher Liederhort: Auswahl der vorzüglicheren Deutschen Volkslieder. Volume 3*. Ed. by Ludwig Erk, continued by Franz M. Böhme. Hildesheim, Zürich, and New York, NY: Olms 1988 (first published 1894), pp. 194–294.

14 *Das Zeitalter des Barock: Texte und Zeugnisse*. Ed. by Albrecht Schöne. Munich: dtv 1968 (Die deutsche Literatur vom Mittelalter bis zum 20. Jahrhundert III).

and meditative reflections; 3. courtly literature, including novels, love poetry, erotic letters, tragedies, and opera; 4. urban and intellectual literature, including learned poetry, elegies and odes, sonnets, epitaphs, riddles, eclogues, pastoral poetry, epithalamiums, and funeral poems; 5. popular vernacular songs and prose texts (none in response to the Thirty Years' War).

One sub-group includes songs dealing with the lives of soldiers (pp. 976–980), but even though there is also a *Klage=Lied* (p. 980), this text does not engage with the misery and profound suffering resulting from the historical events at that time. In contrast to many modern expectations about the literary reflections during those somber decades, here we encounter songs that were apparently composed by lansquenets and other military poets who treated soldiers' lives either in a comical or moralizing, glorifying or dramatizing fashion.

Nevertheless, today, when we turn our attention to the Thirty Years' War, we are deeply shaped by Andreas Gryphius's most moving sonnet, his *Trawrklage des verwuesteten Deutschlands*,<sup>15</sup> first published in 1637 in his *Lissaer Sonette*, then again in 1643 and a number of other times, which I will discuss below in more detail. However, Gryphius composed it fairly late in the middle of the Thirty Years' War, and he pursued a very specific agenda with his poem, which was not at all shared by every German Baroque poet. Instead, as we will observe, during those fateful thirty years, many other topics, themes, motifs, and materials were addressed, reflecting a highly mixed literary market that was not completely dominated by the war experiences; hence not all was simply doom and gloom.

Searching further in Albrecht Schöne's anthology, in the chapter with elegies and odes, for instance, we observe that Julius Wilhelm Zingref (1591–1635) addresses the need to hold up courage and to fight fearlessly for one's fatherland (pp. 700–703). Printed in 1624, his text sounds like a propaganda song addressed to the soldiers who should watch out that they receive wounds only in the chest and not in the back since they would otherwise have apparently fled from the enemy. Neither Martin Opitz nor Simon Dach, neither Andreas Tscherning nor Georg Philipp Harsdörfer and Johann Klaj voiced, at least in this generic section, any concerns about the Thirty Years' War

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15 Andreas Gryphius: *Sonette*. Ed. by Marian Szyrocki. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer 1963 (Gesamtausgabe der deutschsprachigen Werke 1), no. XXV, p. 19; cf. Christian Pantle: *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg: Als Deutschland in Flammen stand*. Berlin: Ullstein 2017; Herfried Münkler: *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg: Europäische Katastrophe, deutsches Trauma 1618–1648*. Berlin: Rowohlt 2017; Volker Meid: *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg in der deutschen Barockliteratur*. Ditzingen: Reclam 2017. I could consult this study only after this article was already submitted. See now my review, forthcoming in *Sixteenth-Century Journal*. Meid covers the most burning issues of the Thirty Years' War as reflected in a variety of German literary and fictional texts; but there are numerous anonymous poems that he did not consult, especially because he almost circumvented the genre of the "Liederbuch" and "Volkslieder," which provide particularly valuable insights into the experiences of and with the war. Both our approaches, however, are fairly similar and complement each other well.

or the miserable fallout from the endless war campaigns, burning down of villages and even whole cities, and mass killings of the civil population.

However, much depends on the search filter applied here. Opitz certainly addressed the war in his *TrostGedichte In Widerwertigkeit Deß Krieges* (1633; pp. 743–747), formulating sharp criticism of the devastating consequences and expressing his deep concern about the fallout of the military campaign for people everywhere. Yet, he approaches his task at first in a long-winded reflection on previous poetic efforts in this regard and on his own tasks as a poet in face of God’s working here on earth. Drawing from Roman mythology (the god of war, Mars), he identifies the length of time since the beginning of the war and mentions the far-flung effects of the war all over Germany, which is much determined, as he notes, by soldiers from abroad: “frembder Voelcker Beute” (p. 744, v. 37). Even if there might still be some locations where the military operations have not yet had an impact, everyone would be afraid of the war (p. 744, v. 39). War activities have taken place all over Germany, and peasants would not even need to work on their fields any longer because in the end everything would be taken away from them anyway. It would be useless to think of sowing the newly plowed field because it would soon be covered with corpses preventing any harvest (p. 745, v. 6). While in the past the rain provided the necessary liquids, human blood has taken over that task (p. 745, vv. 7–8). Instead of the sweet songs of birds one would now only hear the sound of trumpets and cannons (p. 745, vv. 13–14). The farmers have run away from their lands in order to save their lives, all their animals have been killed, their sheds have been burned down, and the farm tools have been turned into swords and other arms (p. 745, vv. 17–24). While we know from the biblical text that swords should be turned into plowshares (Isaiah 2:4; Joel 3:10; Micah 4:3), here the opposite takes place, a radical travesty of the fundamental Christian teaching, which lays bare the absurdity of the entire Thirty Years’ War, if it was ever truly a war between the Catholics and the Protestants.

Subsequently, Opitz turns to the situation with cities and deeply laments how much the enemies, whom he does not identify specifically, have forced the citizens to intensify their fortification systems, to stock up on their weapons, and have created wide-spread fear and terror in the hearts of all people. Even the infants who are still suckling at their mothers’ breasts, express with their crying how much they are afraid of the war and the soldiers. Some of the most splendid cities have been burned down (p. 746, vv. 8–11). The actual battles with their cannons and gun fights dominate the open fields and make the land tremble in response (p. 746, vv. 15–21).

Opitz takes great care to provide most vivid images of the actual actions in the war, creating something of a synaesthetic effect of great intensity, which anachronistically could almost remind us of the Second World War, such as the air raid of Dresden in February of 1945, when he formulates: “Das harte Pflaster hat gegluet vnd gehitzet / // Die Thuerne selbst gewanckt / daß Ertz darauff geschwitzet; // Viel Menschen / die der Schaar der Kugeln sind entrant / Sind mitten in die Glut gerathen

vnd verbrant / // Sind durch den Dampff erstickt / verfallen durch die Waende” (p. 746, vv. 22–26).

The enemy soldiers are not identified in concrete terms; instead the poet calls them “Bestien” (p. 746, v. 33) who do not show any respect for young and old, do not differentiate between rich and poor, and do not distinguish between the social classes. Everyone is simply butchered to death, “hingeschlachtet” (p. 746, v. 35). Women are raped, both married and unmarried, without the men having any chance to protect them, a tragic situation which Opitz casts in the image of a wolf that is ravaging a herd of sheep (p. 746, vv. 36–37). Everyone in civil society is strangled to death (p. 746, v. 43), and even the unborn children are killed in their mothers’ womb (p. 746, vv. 1–4). Many people have thrown themselves off high cliffs to commit suicide instead of falling into the enemies hands.

In order to profile the soldiers’ cruelty even further, Opitz contrasts their actions with those committed by heathens and observes that the Christians rage even worse than the non-Christians (p. 747, vv. 8–11). To top it off, even the corpses have been unearthed as a mockery of all sanctity (p. 747, vv. 12–14).<sup>16</sup> Altogether, as he then concludes, there are not enough words really fully to address the true consequences of the war: “Mehr hat mich Graw vnd Schew nicht schreiben lassen wollen” (p. 747, v. 15).

At this point, Opitz has already proven to be an eloquent commentator of the Thirty Years’ War, outlining in dramatic intensity the enormous suffering which people are going through everywhere, both in the countryside and in the cities. However, the poet does not identify the various political and military sides and refrains from identifying the religious conflict and the foreign powers involved in this decades-old war. Instead of analyzing critically causes and responsibilities, he conveys impression and emotions, viewing the war exclusively through the lens of the victims. Most significantly, he underscores, above all, the general horror, the fear which has gripped all people, and the global destruction, which at times seem to anticipate comparable war scenarios even in the 20th century. Ultimately, the poet bemoans the massive killing of people and the cruelty of the war which badly hurts especially the civilian population.

By contrast, other poets composed songs glorifying the life of soldiers, who are described as heroes, dare-devils, fun-loving individuals, party-goers, gamblers, but then also as victorious fighters who mercilessly decimate their opponents for which

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16 The entire spectrum of corpses as they were dealt with and viewed by people in the Middle Ages and beyond is well documented by Romedio Schmitz-Esser: *Der Leichnam im Mittelalter: Einbalsamierung, Verbrennung und die kulturelle Konstruktion des toten Körpers*. 2nd ed. Ostfildern: Thorbecke 2016 (Mittelalter-Forschungen 48). He does not, however, address corpse desecration as a strategy practiced in war.

they earn greatest honor.<sup>17</sup> They lament the death of their comrades and express their great pride in being “Ehrliche Soldaten” who are “noch Lobens werth.”<sup>18</sup> In the poem, *Kein seeliger Tod ist in der Welt* by Jakob Vogel, printed in 1626, we are openly told that there is no more glorious death than to die in war by enemy fire. Dying at home, in one’s own bed, would be miserable and lonely, whereas dying on the battlefield would grant the victim universal glory and respect: “Davon man thut habn / Vnsterblichen Ruhm” (p. 978, vv. 12–13) because his death would be an honorable sacrifice “dem Vaterland zu gute” (p. 978, v. 16).

However, a later song from 1675 in *Geistlich-geharnischter / Krieges-Held* from 1679 expresses great dismay about war and bemoans it as a miserable situation in which life would be constantly at risk. Soldiers would be laughed at by people or would be hated; they would suffer from hunger and not receive their payment on time. Soldiers would not enjoy the comfort of a private home and would be constantly exposed to the extreme weather conditions (stanza 5). In the case of sickness, no one would take care of a soldier, who could only turn to God for help (stanza 7).<sup>19</sup>

When we search further, we come across a virtual flood of poems and songs composed during the Thirty Years’ War, either highlighting particular political and military aspects, or pursuing religious themes. After all, the medieval tradition of song poetry did not simply peter out by the early seventeenth century.<sup>20</sup> It would be erroneous to assume that the negative aspects of the seemingly endless war were perceived the same way by everyone. The religious differences continued to dominate the public discourse, while the courtly and urban world developed further and sought entertainment representative of their cultures.

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17 Throughout time, soldiers’ lives and wars have been glorified, irrespective of the concrete consequences of war for the ordinary people. Günther Ulrich: *Soldatenlieder im Wandel der Zeit: Darstellung, Wertung und Interpretation. Der Fahne folgten sie*. Beckum: Vogel 1989. For an extreme example from the Nazi regime, see: *Frontkämpferlieder: Eine Sammlung alter Soldaten- und Kriegslieder und eine Auswahl nationalsozialistischer Kampflieder*. Ed. by Julius Müller, Stuttgart: Süddeutsches Verlags-Institut H. Müller 1934. See also Aibe-Marlene Gerdes: *Soldatenlieder als Volkslieder, Volkslieder als Soldatenlieder: John Meier und das deutsche Soldatenlied*. In: *Populäre Kriegsliteratur im Ersten Weltkrieg*. Ed. by Nicolas Detering. Münster: Waxmann 2013 (Populäre Kultur und Musik 7), pp. 191–215; Aibe-Marlene Gerdes und Michael Fischer: *Massenerzeugnisse der Kriegskultur: Kriegslieder und -gedichte aus der Sammlung des Deutschen Volksliedarchivs*. In: *Der Erste Weltkrieg am Oberrhein*. Ed. by Robert Neisen. Freiburg i. Br., Berlin, and Vienna: Rombach 2015, pp. 129–152.

18 Anonymous, untitled song. In: *Das Zeitalter des Barock* (see nt. 14), pp. 976–977, first printed in 1622.

19 *Das Zeitalter des Barock* (see nt. 14), p. 980, first printed in 1675; drawn from *Geistlich-geharnischter / Krieges-Held*. Leipzig: Joh. Fuhrmann and Joh. Breuer 1675, pp. 978–980.

20 Albrecht Classen and Lukas Richter: *Lied und Liederbuch in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Münster: Waxmann 2010 (Volksliedstudien 10).

In an anonymous song from 1619, one year into the war, the poet emphasizes that everything is foreseen and controlled by God.<sup>21</sup> No damage in material terms, no consequence of military acts against civilians, including death, would happen without His predetermination. Instead of worrying meaninglessly, the listener should take heart and trust in God because all suffering would be nothing but a trial by Him. Those who would be able to take all pain patiently would be ultimately rewarded by Him again (stanza 5). In other words, as terrible as the war might appear, at the end the good Christian would experience his redemption after all. The war is identified as God's punishment for the sinners here on earth (stanza 6). Specifically, the poet entrusts in the King Frederick of the Palatinate who would be their savior and bring everything to a good conclusion.

In numerous other songs from the time during the Thirty Years' War, poets included political comments and systematically raised their voice against the allegedly pervasive influence of the Jesuits on the Catholic side who are, as one soldier confirms in *Gespräche* (pp. 3–14) from 1618, the driving force originating in Spain and who have such a negative impact on the situation in Germany. In *Gedencken* (pp. 15–16) from 1619, the Jesuits are compared with the elite forces of the Turks, the Janissaries, hence as extremely dangerous for the Protestant cause. This theme, formulated in many variations, can be observed in numerous songs from that time, which complement countless broadsheets with corresponding illustrations, demonizing the Jesuits above all, identifying them as responsible for the outbreak of the entire war in the first place.<sup>22</sup>

Similarly, numerous poets utilized their public forum to attack the pope and the Spanish crown as the worst enemies for Germany, such as in *Spanischer Geltrutz und castilianischer Hochmuth* from 1620 (pp. 28–31). Here we read, for instance, in the third stanza: "Der Jesuit hat gantz verderbt, / Deß Friedts Natur und Wesen" (vv. 1–2). Another example would be *Rosa Jesuitica, oder Jesuitische Rottgesellen* (1620), where the poet targets the pope above all, but then also the Jesuits again: "Er ist gerecht vor Gott allein, / Der die Jesuwitter hasset" (p. 93, stanza 3, vv. 1–2). And the poet of *Vom Bapst zu Rom* (pp. 161–165) identifies the Jesuits as "Jesuwiderlein" (p. 162, stanza 2, v. 5).

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21 Emil Weller: *Die Lieder des Dreißigjährigen Krieges nach den Originalen abgedruckt*. Basel: Neukirch'sche Buchhandlung 1855. Reprint Hildesheim: Georg Olms 1968, pp. 32–37. Other source texts following are quoted from this edition, unless noted otherwise.

22 Ursula Paintner: "*Des Papsts neue Creatur*": *Antijesuitische Publizistik im deutschsprachigen Raum (1555–1618)*. Amsterdam and New York, NY: Rodopi 2011 (Chloe. Beihefte zum Daphnis 44).

By contrast, King Frederick V of the Palatine (actually the king of Bohemia) is praised as a God-sent gift to Germany, who would protect the country from the foreign enemies.<sup>23</sup> Subsequently, turning away from political issues, the poet concludes his song with strong appeals to God, pleading for His help in a disastrous situation. Many other poets pursued the same approach, combining comments about the political and military conditions with religious reflections and prayer-like statements. But it did not take long for poets to realize the devastations affecting large sections of the entire country, as we can read in *Zwey Böhmische Lieder verdeutscht* (pp. 38–56), where the scenario emerging in front of our eyes could not be worse for people since all houses and gardens are destroyed, all farm animals killed, all furniture is broken, and naked greed for gold has made the soldiers of the hostile armies dig everywhere for suspected treasures (p. 39). The churches have been desecrated, women and children have died from famine, cities and villages have been burnt to the ground, and the innocent population has been killed. The fields have been cut down, meaning that people will die from hunger, which the poet broadly blames on Emperor Ferdinand II (p. 40).

Nevertheless, the poet calls out to the imperial ruler, asking him directly for what guilt the people might have to suffer so badly (p. 40), and he actually assumes that the Emperor would regret all the damages himself if he were to witness them personally (p. 41). Faced with the horror of the war, the poetic voice formulates the question who might really have brought about this calamity since no concrete party responsible for the war could be identified: “Er sey nun wer er immer wil, / Der angerichtet dieses spiel, / Er wird für Gott gar ubel stehn, / Und seiner Rache nicht entgehn” (p. 41, stanza 6). At the same time, the poet points out the danger of foreign soldiers, or mercenaries, “Ausländisch Kriegsvolck” (p. 42, stanza 3, v. 2), and yet he also injects a religious note by commenting that no one can know God’s will which always remains hidden, even, or particularly, in those dark times (p. 42).

In very concrete terms, the poet alerts his audience about the imminent danger of winter, with all houses and hence all necessary cover from the cold destroyed, which makes him identify the mercenaries as devils (p. 43) who treat the ordinary people worse than any heathen would, killing, robbing, and burning everywhere (p. 43). He does not even dare to address how the soldiers have treated virgins and other people (p. 44) because the evil deeds committed would simply be unspeakable. For a poet to admit this inability represents a strong statement about the true degree of atrocities

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23 See, for instance, *Der Winterkönig: Friedrich von der Pfalz. Bayern und Europa im Zeitalter des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*. Ed. by Peter Wolf. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 2003; Peter Bilhöfer: *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen: Friedrich V., Kurfürst von der Pfalz – der Winterkönig von Böhmen (1596–1632)*. Heidelberg: Rhein-Neckar-Kreis 2004 (Bausteine zur Kreisgeschichte / Rhein-Neckar-Kreis. Baustein 7). Cf. also the useful online article: [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Friedrich\\_V.\\_\(Pfalz\)](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Friedrich_V._(Pfalz)) (accessed on October 24, 2017).



that have occurred in this war. Not surprisingly, he also refers to the Antichrist in this context who stands in for all the suffering that the people have to undergo (p. 44).<sup>24</sup> Considering the concrete consequences of the war for the ordinary people, who experience it as an Armageddon, this biblical rhetoric does not come as a surprise. For the poet the complete end is near: “Geplündert ist jhr gantz Land, / Die Höff und Häuser ausgebrandt, / Und alles was darinnen war, / Ist, Gott erbarms, weg gantz und gar” (p. 45, stanza 6).

The only hope rests in the king, Frederick V, who might demonstrate his goodness and benevolence, while the people in turn would display their loyalty and obedience to him, as long as the king would only return peace to the land of Bohemia (p. 46). The poet skillfully weaves together historical with religious remarks, combining laments with appeals, admitting the people’s desperation and expressing hope at the same time that their ruler might overcome the opponents, restore peace in the land, and punish the wrong-doers (p. 48). All the standard elements of those songs representing the horrors of the Thirty Years’ War are given, but the poet still demonstrates a certain degree of hope that not everything is lost and that the strong hand of the king might return justice and peace. This was going to change radically, as we have seen already above, and as other poems composed later indicated as well.

While some songs emphasized the suffering of Bohemia above all, many others soon included the term “Vaterland” and talked about Germany at large which suffered in all parts from the horrendous war consequences. In *Hertzliches Seufftzen unnd Wehklagen, auch Christlicher Trost* from 1620 (pp. 96–99), for instance, the poet appeals to the war lords to live up to their obligations and to defend the country from the enemy, “Zu schützen das alte Teutsch Land” (p. 99, v. 6). The religious cause consistently favors Protestantism without mentioning it, but the biting attacks against the papacy and the Jesuits regularly underscore the opposition projected here. Simultaneously, various poets envisioned apocalyptic scenarios and predicted a catastrophic outcome of the bellicosity, such as in *Fünfferely Zeittungen* from 1621 (pp. 135–140). The Christian listeners/readers are encouraged to accept the warning signs seen in the sky: “Gott will uns darmit warnen, / Von sünden abzustahn, / Das betracht reich unnd arme, / Daß Gott sich unser erbarme, / Uns gnädiglich verschon” (p. 137, stanza 3, vv. 5–9). The suffering, however, has not only affected a particular section of the population, but the entire country, Germany, “das gantze teutsche Lande” (p. 137, stanza 4, v. 3).

The dialectics of warfare, pitting the soldiers against the ordinary people, that is, perpetrators against victims, finds vivid expression in the “Soldatenlied” from 1622 (pp. 157–161), where the service in an army is identified as an opportunity to gain the status of a hero, to defeat the enemy, and to serve God (p. 157). The soldier’s fiancé cries loudly when he is leaving, but he is convinced of gaining and enjoying

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24 Debra Higgs Strickland: *The Epiphany of Hieronymus Bosch: Imagining Antichrist and Others from the Middle Ages to the Reformation*. London and Turnhout: Miller 2016.

glory, fun, and love: “Kein besser Leben ist in der Welt, / Das sage ich widerumb, / Wann die Soldaten haben Geldt” (p. 158, stanza 3, vv. 1–3). The poet describes the military operations, the individual fighting units on foot and on horseback, the officers, the various types of cannons, and the excitement felt by all soldiers when they rush against their opponents (p. 159).

In fact, he does not even shy away from presenting in most vivid terms how they hack and cut the enemies to pieces and thus gain honor and fame: “Schieß, schlag und stich zu todt, / Herwider, / Haw nieder, / Nach des Hauptmans begehrt, / Fället ewer Picken auff den Mann, / Machtet die Sattel leer” (p. 160, stanza 1, vv. 6–11). Subsequently, the soldiers lament the loss of their comrades, but simply accept that death is taking away many of them. As long as one receives a worthy burial, the deadly consequences of war are fully accepted by the poet: “Viel lieber ich stürbe auff solcher Weiß, / Mit frischen freyen Muth, / Dadurch erlang ich Ehr und Preiß, / Und wage daran mein Blut” (p. 161, vv. 1–4). Not surprisingly, as is typical for this genre, there are no reflections on the political, religious, emotional, and physical consequences of war itself. The soldiers have joined an army, have submitted under the hierarchical rule, they fight as they are ordered to, and if they die in battle, then they accept this as their natural destiny because they at least can enjoy glory both here on earth (short-lived) and in the afterlife. For this poet, then, the impact of war on the civil population does not matter at all since the focus rests entirely on the military accomplishments. We would call this, without any doubt, a propaganda song, but this was simply the other side of the same proverbial coin in the poetic discourse during the first half of the seventeenth century.

On the other hand, many of the songs composed at that time undoubtedly addressed in most moving terms people’s suffering everywhere in the entire Christendom. In the poem *Zwo warhafftigen newe Zeitungen* (pp. 166–170) the narrative voice at first warns about the global decline of morality and ethics among all Christians since no one cares about the own neighbors and people hoard all their goods without sharing with the needy (p. 167). Trouble and strife dominate every aspect of life, and this even within Christian society everywhere: “Das Unfried wird gehört fürwar / In allen Land jetzt dieses Jahr” (p. 167, stanza 3, vv. 1–2). People are suffering not only from famine and inflation, but they also experience military threats by the Turks against Vienna, while Tartars are amassing troops in Hungary (p. 167), and others attack Wallachia. Imperial troops are stationed in Moravia, while armies are assembled in Electoral Saxony, Silesia (p. 168), Lower Saxony, France, and Holland (p. 169). The poet clearly recognized how much disaster was brewing on the horizon for all of Germany, and he could only appeal to his audience to be mindful of their own sinfulness and to pray to God for forgiveness in those hard times: “Und trachtet nach der Seligkeit” (p. 170, v. 5).

In a collection of four poems, *Vier wahre Zeitungen* from 1625, the lamentation about global suffering reaches an unforeseen pitch, but the poet identifies the

Protestants everywhere as the victims who are robbed of their goods, houses, and lives. Most interestingly, he also highlights the extent to which the peasants are the worst off since the soldiers take all their properties and then only laugh about the lamenting victims (p. 175). While the peasant usually was the butt of all jokes throughout the Middle Ages and beyond, here he emerges as a tragic and innocent victim who is forced to feed the marauding soldiers, in that process losing everything himself: “Der Bawrsmann muß hergeben, / Rinder, Küh, Schaaff und Schwein, / daß sie zu fressen haben” (p. 176, stanza 2, vv. 1–3).<sup>25</sup> Similarly, the army of poor people is swelling up, and lamenting and sorrow increase everywhere to such an extent that this poet also pleads his inability to ventilate appropriately the suffering everywhere: “Die Noth zu schreiben ist zu schwer” (p. 176, stanza 4, v. 5); ultimately, he can only hope that God will arrive and rescue His people from this misery. As before, the poet reveals to be a Protestant since he grieves, above all, about the suffering in Protestant areas, where the soldiers burn down villages and cities and rob everything from the rural population. In his desperation, he appeals to God and begs him to return and to destroy the enemies, but also the various religious sects: “Vertilg mit deinem flammenden Schwerdt, / Alle Abgöttische Rotten, / Und Secten hie auff Erdt” (p. 176, stanza 5, vv. 5–7). Again, there is a word about the ‘fatherland’ at risk of being destroyed (p. 182, stanza 4, v. 1), which the armies threaten through their infinite quest for material wealth: “Das Reich nur außzusaugen, / Ist ewer kunst und Meisterstück” (p. 182, 4, vv. 3–4).

The poet resorts to open satire and thus ridicules all religious pretenses by any army, when the soldiers in reality only aim for a quick and selfish strategy to enrich themselves (p. 183). Merchants, for example, would feel very thankful to the mercenaries because those would rob them of all goods (p. 183). In sum, as he concludes, those armies do nothing but steal from everyone and therefore enjoy the reputation of being “helden unverdrossen” (p. 183, stanza 5, v. 6). They would rage even worse than the Turks and destroy whole regions in the country, killing millions of people (p. 184). At the same time, as we learn later, the poet also criticizes the common man who trusted the enemies, that is, the Catholic side with its armies, which now is pulling the skin off the ordinary people, like a wolf would do to sheep (p. 185). For him, the soldiers are nothing but robbers and thieves (p. 186) who will eventually experience their own downfall, as was the case with Duke Alba in the Netherlands (p. 186, stanza 4), after he had committed massive murder and arson everywhere during his

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25 Cf. Günther Franz: *Der Dreissigjährige Krieg und das deutsche Volk: Untersuchungen zur Bevölkerungs- und Agrargeschichte*. 4th expanded and rev. ed. Stuttgart: Fischer 1979 (Quellen und Forschungen zur Agrargeschichte 7). See also the contributions to *Rural Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: The Spatial Turn in Premodern Studies*. Ed. by Albrecht Classen, with the collaboration of Christopher R. Clason. Berlin and New York, NY: Walter de Gruyter 2012 (Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture 9), esp. p. 89 and nt. 208.

governance in the Low Countries from 1567 to 1573 as part of his Council of Troubles set up shortly after his arrival there.<sup>26</sup>

The Thirty Years' War thus proves to be, for this poet, a direct continuation of the global struggle between the Catholics, led by the Spanish Habsburgs, the pope, the Jesuits, and all their troops, here under the leadership of General Albrecht von Wallenstein (1583–1634). At the end, the poet raises his warning voice particularly about the latter and alerts Germany at large to pay close attention to what Wallenstein and his troops are planning to do against the innocent people, that is, the Protestants (p. 186).

Moreover, almost as to be expected, he also raises the specter against the Jesuits whom he accuses of being the driving force bringing about all that misery and suffering for the Protestants in Germany (p. 187, stanza 2). Nevertheless, he concludes with self-blame and begs God to forgive them, their sins and to throw the whipping stick, with which He is punishing His people, into the fire (p. 187, stanza 2).

Other poems thematizing the Thirty Years' War focus on specific military events, such as the siege of the city of Stralsund (*Belagerung der Stadt Stralsund*, pp. 188–92), the role of the Catholic General Tilly (pp. 193–196), an adaptation of the “Pater Noster” in German (pp. 204–207), poems about the battles by Tilly against the Swedes, songs about the Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus (pp. 226–230 and 230–232), about a variety of military events, and finally also a song about the conclusion of the Westphalian Peace Treaty in Osnabrück and Münster in 1648 (pp. 265–270).

The latter poem, *Münsterischer Postilion*, deserves further attention because it represents the culminating ending of the long war in lyrical fashion. Many Christians had longed for this peace after thirty years of warfare (p. 265), and God had finally shown his mercy (p. 266). The joy is great everywhere, and all of Germany experiences enormous relief after such a long time of suffering (p. 266). According to the model employed, the speaking voice operates as a messenger and turns to the various social estates, first to the higher-ranking clerics, then the worldly lords, thereupon to the merchants, craftsmen, finally to the peasants, who no longer would have to hide in the forests and could thus return to do their work, plowing the fields (p. 269). While the merchants can return to the markets and offer their products for sale, the peasants are finally free to pursue their labor and grow fruit and harvest them peacefully, which the poet casts in the idyllic image: “Die Felder wider bawen, / Die frucht werden jhr sammeln eyn, / Im Herbst machen ein guoten Wein, / Nach gottes wolgefallen” (p. 269, stanza 2, vv. 4–7).

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26 See, for instance, Henry Kamen: *The Duke of Alba*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press 2004; Manuel Fernández Álvarez: *El duque de hierro: Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, III de Alba*. Colección Espasa Forum. Madrid: Espasa Calpé 2007; *Alba, General and Servant to the Crown*, ed. by Maurits Ebben, Margriet Lacy-Bruijn, and Rolof van Hövell tot Westerflier. Rotterdam: Karwansaray 2013.