

SOME SPANISH SOURCES OF GRIMMELSHAUSEN

by

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INTRODUCTION.

When Lazarillo de Tormes and Guzmán de Alfarache, the first picares, put in their appearance in Spain, the knights and shepherds of the chivalresque and pastoral romances began to take a reluctant departure. The superlatively and painfully perfect knights and nobles whose deeds were founded on imagination gave ground before the graceless but entertaining picares whose exploits were based on actual life. Gongorism was replaced by a more natural style and the long and improbable books of the Amadís and Arcadia type by the more realistic picaresque novel.

The picaresque novels describe in serial form the amazing adventures of their heroes, the picares - audacious and highly enterprising rascals who live by their wits and are practically devoid of scruples. They have many "moving adventures by land and sea", resorting to all sorts of tricks for gaining money and engaging in a great variety of pursuits. They travel from city to city and from country to country and seldom stop long at any one place. They may leave Madrid to-day in rags, and return in a short time mounted on a fine horse and accompanied by several servants. They may lead the life of a prince in Rome and languish in jail in Siena, or labor in the galleys on the Mediterranean, a few weeks later. At times they display consummate cunning and devise astonishingly clever methods for defrauding their fellow-man, and again, they themselves fall easy victims to the trickery of others.

Whatever they do and wherever they go the picaros are entertaining. Their popularity is assured and their number is legion. They first appeared in the sixteenth century, but they have survived the years and may be found to-day, slightly altered perhaps, but showing no signs of decrepitude.

Lazarillo de Tormes and Guzmán de Alfarache were the first, and by no means the least meritorious of the novels of this type. Lesage produced a worthy example in his Gil Blas and Dickens another in his Pickwick-Papers, while Raffles, Arsène Lupin and Get-Rich-Quick-Wallingford may also claim rather direct descent.

It is obvious that the first picaresque novels were of considerable literary importance. The roman de mœurs and in consequence the novel of to-day may be traced back to Spain and her stories of roguery. The gulf between the old story for the story's sake and the new story of realism and actual life is bridged by the picaresque novels, and the biographies and autobiographies of the picaros mark a sure progression toward modern fiction.

About a hundred years after the publication of Lazarillo de Tormes there appeared in Germany an important book with the title Der Abenteurliche Simplicissimus and purporting to be "the description of the life of a curious vagabond named Melchior Sternfels von Fuchshain, how, where and in what way he entered this world, what he saw, learned and underwent therein and why he forsook it voluntarily."

As this description indicates, the book is picaresque in its nature and it was, indeed, the first book of its kind to be produced

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by a German author.

It is an interesting book and represents the beginning of the
2
modern novel in Germany.

German critics hold that it is in the main original but admit
that its author H.J.Christoffel v.Grimmelshausen was indebted to some
extent to certain Spanish writers.

To point out these sources, and to determine the extent of this
indebtedness is the object of the present study.

Various histories of German literature have been consulted not
only with the idea of ascertaining Grimmelshausen's exact place in
literature and possible Spanish sources, but also with the hope of
obtaining some knowledge of Spanish influence on German literature in
general.

An interesting result of this reading has been the discovery
of the fact that French critics and historians are rather prone to
ignore the Spanish influence on German literature.

This tendency is apparent in Bossert's book³, in which German
literature is divided into seven periods. The fifth, he calls the
period of French imitation and considers that it extended from 1618
until 1740. In describing the important German books of this era he
mentions Grimmelshausen and Moscherosch at some length but makes no
mention of their indebtedness to Spain.

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1. Farinelli, Spanien und die Spanische Litteratur (Berlin 1892) p.50.
 2. Scherer, Geschichte d. deutschen Litteratur (Berlin 1885) p.380.
 3. Bossert, Histoire abrégée de la littérature allemande (Paris 1891).

As this indebtedness had been acknowledged by German critics years before M. Bossert wrote his Histoire he can hardly have been in ignorance of the facts, and we must assume that he ignored them in the English and not in the French or Spanish sense of the word.

Moscherosch is known to have read French books, but one of his principal sources was Quevedo's Sueños, and Grimmelshausen was influenced fully as much by Spanish as by French writers.

To include these two writers under the heading "period of French imitation" is to say the least misleading.

Various translations of Spanish books were published in Germany during M. Bossert's "period of French imitation", but he fails to mention this fact, nor does he, in dealing with later periods, mention Tieck's indebtedness to Lope de Vega or Calderon's influence upon Lessing. He does mention Lessing's familiarity with Spanish literature but does not seem aware of any influence. Herder, he says, ¹ donna le souffle inspirateur à Goethe and à Schiller, but he neglects to mention the fact that Herder owed much of his own inspiration to Spanish sources.

It is obvious that even in an abridged history of German literature some account should be taken not only of the French influence which is admitted, but also of Spanish influence which has been well established by such authorities as Wilhelm Scherer ² and Dr. Artur Farinelli. ³

Not all French critics are as oblivious to Spanish literature as M. Bossert, but there nevertheless seems to be considerable reticence

1. Bossert op. cit. p. 262.

2. op. cit.

3. op. cit.

displayed on that score by a great many French writers.

Antoine¹ says in speaking of Grimmelshausen: Il connaissait du moins les deux plus célèbres, le Guzman et le Lazarillo, but he does not say that Grimmelshausen may have been influenced by these books. He does speak of Simplicissimus as a picaresque novel and admits, to that extent at least, a Spanish influence. While he does not seem to give Lazarillo or Guzmán their just due it must be conceded that in his whole-hearted praise of Cervantes he shows himself willing to admit the greatness of at least one Spanish author.

An attempt to set down all the facts concerning Spanish influence on German literature would not be within the bounds of the present study.² A short account follows, however, of the main facts of the matter up to and including the time of Grimmelshausen.

Charles the Great caused the first German prose works to be produced (about 789) and he is also said to have become acquainted with the culture of the Latin world during his Italian campaign. Also the Spanish-Goth Theodulf visited for a time his court in Aachen at which place Charles had a sort of academy.

At about the same period German music adopted the Lateinische gereimte Poesie, possibly introduced by wandering bards who had visited Spain or Italy.

1. Ferd. Antoine, Etude sur le Simplicissimus (Paris 1882) p.55.

2. Schneider, Spaniens Anteil an der deutschen Litteratur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts (Strassburg i.E. 1898) gives a full account of the Spanish influence on German literature in the 16th and 17th centuries.

In the latter part of the 10th century Ekkehard I sings of the deeds of "Walther von Spanien" in his Walthari Lied. Apparently Walther was a hero of Gothic origin who lived in Spain some time before the advent of the Arabs. He is also mentioned in the Nibelungenlied as a friend of Hagen. Also in other Sagencyklen, in Biterolf, in Rosengarten and in Alphardts Tod Walter von Spanien is mentioned.

To these meager beginnings little seems to have been added for a considerable period.

In 953 Otto the First of Germany received plenipotentiaries from Abderrahmann III. Three hundred years later Alfonso X of Spain (known as el Sabio) reigned for a time over the Germans.¹ Alfonso, however, had abundant difficulties at home and paid little attention to his foreign subjects.

If we are to believe the historians, the Germans were at that time straight-laced and very religious. It is little wonder then that their main interest in Spain centred in Santiago of Compostella to which place many pilgrimages were made by devout Germans.

In the Gralsage and in Parsifal a few Spanish names are to be found, but the authors were manifestly not familiar with Spain and the few pilgrims who wrote of their adventures in that country were apparently not literary and did not mention the Cid nor any other Spanish legends.

Reports (in German and Latin) of a Bohemian, Baron Rožmítal,

1. See Raumer, Geschichte der Hohenstaufen und ihrer Zeit (Leipzig 1841).

who travelled through Spain in 1457 are however of greater interest. According to Farinelli¹ they are full of legends of Spanish chivalry, historical allusions and interesting accounts of the Baron's adventures on his travels and also contain descriptions of the Spanish architecture of that period.

A few of Rožmítal's descriptions² may prove of interest: "Burgos is a large and beautiful city (elegans et ampla), wonderful is the temple in quo tabula altari praetensa, pulcherime depicta, et artificiosissimo opere coelata visitur etc." He praises the "Hochschule" of Salamanca and says that the nobles of that city take active part in the bull-fights. The public gallows is in the middle of the town but there is a special gallows for foreigners elsewhere.

In the cloister of Guadalupe he finds the most pious monks that he has ever seen and he remarks of the Spanish women: Die frauen und junkfrauen tanzen gar köstlich tänz auf die heidnischen mainung, und sein all braune weiber, und schwartz augen und essen und trinken wenig und sehen die landfarer gern und haben die Teutschen lieb.

In Olviedo a member of Rožmítal's troop wrestled with one of the natives. The first time, the Bohemian won, but the second time the Spaniard who was a "short thick man and very strong" was victor-

1. op. cit. p.7.

2. idem p.9,10. See also Libros de antaño... viajes de Ehingen, Rosmítal etc. traducidos por Fabie (Madrid 1879).

ious. In the same city they witnessed the execution of a rebel:
"... a target was painted on his breast, and he who desired might
shoot. Whoever hits the target receives twenty-four maravedís, and
whoever misses, pays a golden castellano."

This original method of executing offenders is only one of
many interesting things and the book is doubtless well worth read-
ing, and was important in providing the Germans with some knowledge
of the Iberian Peninsula.

Rožmítal's Ritter-, Hof- und Pilger-Reise appeared in 1468
and at about the same time a number of books of Spanish origin found
their way to Germany. Among these was the Disciplina Clericalis by
Petrus Alphonsus and the Speculum Vitae humanae by Zamorensis, the
latter work being translated into German in 1472 by Stainhoevel¹.

Political events had of course a considerable influence on
the literary interchange between Germany and Spain. When the troops
of Charles V won the battle of Pavia in 1525, the Germans were at
first elated and their folksongs praised the Spanish and ridiculed
the French and Swiss. Shortly, however, they became incensed at
Charles' attitude toward their country².

They were not in accord with the thought expressed by Charles'
court poet Acuña when he sang:

Ya se acerca Señor, o ya es llegada
La edad dichosa en que promete el cielo
Una grey y un pastor solo en el suelo.

1. Stainhoevel's Aesop was transl. into Span. (Zaragoza 1484).

2. See Soltau's Hundert deutsche hist. Volkslieder (Leipzig 1836).

Their sentiments were rather embodied in the following by an unknown poet:

Wir haben wohl erfahren
der Spanier untrew
her von etlichen Jaren
Welsch küherei, nicht new;
sie schenden weib und kinde,
nemen uns hab und gut;
des teufels hofgesinde
treibet gross übermut.

Charles was a catholic, but the German catholics as well as the German protestants were highly aroused at his suppression of national freedom and introduction of a policy of absolutism in politics and religion.

This hatred¹ was extended to everything Spanish and doubtless prevented the introduction of Spanish books into Germany at that time.

After the Armada had been sunk and Spain's military glory was on the wane, the fear and hatred lessened, and Spanish books began to appear. The Amadís which -according to Farinelli - first appeared in Spain and was translated into French by des Essarts about 1540, was published in Germany in 1569.²

1. A Spanish opinion of the Germans may be seen in chap. LXXXI of the Empresas politicas ó Ideas de un príncipe by Diego Saavedra y Faxardo, who represented the house of Burgundy in Germany. (Cited by Farinelli op. cit. p. 49.)

2. Grimmelshausen in his Landstörtzerin Courasche mentions the astonishing popularity of the Amadís.

Gínez Pérez de Hita's work Historia de las guerras civiles de Granada appeared a few years later. Both these books aroused great interest and enjoyed a very considerable popularity.

A protégé of the Jesuits, Aegidius Albertinus, translated A. de Guevara's Cortegiano and also his Menosprecio de la Corte about 1600.¹

The Jesuits possibly had an axe to grind² when they caused these books to be translated, but they nevertheless served to arouse interest in Spanish literature.

About the beginning of the seventeenth century the Spanish "pícaro" novels began to appear. These differed greatly from the Amadís type. They were fairly free from Gongorism and depicted the adventurous lives of Spanish vagabonds. At that time Germany as well as Spain was poverty-stricken and there was no lack of comprehension of the type presented by the Spanish narratives.

Guzmán de Alfarache³, Lazarillo de Tormes⁴, Rinconete y Cortadillo⁵ and the Pícara Justina⁶ appeared and the first three at least made many friends.

If we add to these Antonio de Torquemada's Jardín de Flores Curiosas⁷, Don Diego de San Pedro's Cárcel de Amor and the

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1. J.L.Beyschlag also translated A.de Guevara(beginning of 17th cent)
 2. They probably thought that the books would be excellent propaganda for the churches and monasteries.
 3. by Mateo Alemán, translated by Albertinus, 1615.
 4. (author unknown) translated by N.Uhlenhart, 1617.
 5. by Cervantes, translated by N.Uhlenhart, 1617.
 6. by F.de Ubeda, translated 1626 (from an Italian translation).
 7. In book II, chap.18 of Simplicissimus Grimmelshausen mentions the Hexamerone of Torquemadius.

Albertinus translations (to be mentioned in detail later) we have completed the list of Spanish books which came into Germany before the appearance of the originals of Moscherosch and Grimmelshausen.

With the picaresque novels from Spain appeared their rivals from France, the pastoral and chivalresque novels of which the Amadís had been the fore-runner. The former (partly - no doubt - because of their emulation by Grimmelshausen) were to triumph in Germany as elsewhere.¹ The picaresque novels and the works of A. de Guevara and Ginez Pérez de Hita aroused a general interest in the literary activities of the peninsula.

George Phillip Harsdörffer, a contemporary of Grimmelshausen, was one of the first to acquire a comprehensive knowledge of the Spanish language and literature. His translation of Gil Polo's Diana in 1646 was highly praised many years later by A.W.Schlegel in his Atheneum. In fact Harsdörffer is forever lauding the Spaniards and advocating the translation of Spanish books into German. He refers to Lope de Vega's Arcadia and is familiar with some of Lope's dramas.² In his Gesprächsspiele (1641-1649) he gives a list of his Spanish sources and mentions among others Cervantes, Santa Cruz, A. de Guevara, Lopez de Mendoza, Montemayor, Quevedo and Hurtado de la Vera.

Harsdörffer is not held in high regard by the modern critics

1. Antoine, op. cit. says p.51: C'est à l'Espagne que revient l'honneur d'avoir fait sortir le roman de ces éternelles descriptions de coup de lance, d'aventures merveilleuses et invraisemblables etc.

2. Farinelli, op. cit.

(Farinelli¹ calls him "langweilig"), but his untiring enthusiasm doubtless called the attention of abler men to the remarkable products of Spain's "Golden Age".

During the first years of the Thirty Years' War, Spain again aroused the antagonism of the Germans, and Spanish literature was again neglected.

As the war progressed and conditions became serious throughout the country the pen was replaced by the sword and intellectual activities were almost at a stand-still.

Peace came and found Germany with her fields laid waste and her population reduced by at least one-half. The foundations of religious tolerance had, however, been laid and the country began a scientific, commercial and agricultural development which was to receive no very serious set-back until the world-war of 1914.

At this time the chivalresque romance began to meet serious opposition and the foundation of the modern novel was laid by the satirist Moscherosch (1601-1669) and the soldier-author Grimmelshausen (1625-1676).

These two men to whom critics assign an important place in German literature were both influenced by the Spaniards. Moscherosch admired and imitated Quevedo. His ambition was to be a German Quevedo and his biting satires had great effect. He attacks unmercifully the tendency of his compatriots to worship everything

1. op. cit. p. 33.

that is foreign, and deplores the "Sprachmengerei" and use of foreign words in Germany.

His Philander von Sittenwald which appeared about 1640 began with translations from the Sueños of Quevedo to which he added inventions of his own.¹ His style was careless and he lapsed at times into the "Viel- und Buntrednerei" which he so assailed, but his pictures of army life were faithful and marked a departure from anything that had appeared theretofore. This realistic element in his work doubtless inspired Grimmelshausen in his production of Simplicissimus.

According to Farinelli, the name Moscherosch is of Spanish origin being a corruption of the Arragonese dialect word "mosen" (mister) and the original family name "Ros".

It is known that he studied law in Strassburg and took his degree of "doctor juris" in Geneva subsequently spending some time in France. He possessed the ability to read French and had access to a French translation of Quevedo's Dreams which appeared at Caen in 1633 with the title Les visions de Don Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas.

At the outbreak of the war, he was living in a little village near Metz and for twelve years he was exposed to all the horrors of that long struggle, plundered by both parties, exposed to the plague, and reduced almost to starvation.

In his Soldaten-Leben in which he obviously draws from his own experiences, he produces a repellently realistic picture of the demoralization of the land during the Thirty Years' War. He was per-

1. The second part is original. See Bobertag, Deutsche National-litteratur v.32 p.XVI.

haps more of a patriot but less of a novelist than his Spanish original: his hero's adventures only interest him in so far as they afford material for satire. His work, however, was not merely a form of satire or didactic literature such as had been known up to his time. The realistic element is pronounced at times and his efforts were valuable in helping the German novel to establish itself as an independent literary genre.

It is evident that Moscherosch imitated Quevedo. German critics are agreed on that point. There seems, however, to be some disagreement as to Grimmelshausen's sources and not a great deal seems to have been written on the subject.

To show what has been done towards discovering these sources and to present some similarities between Simplicissimus and various Spanish books will be the main object of this study, but before doing this we will endeavor to obtain an idea of the personality of Grimmelshausen and the literary importance of his work.

The author of Simplicissimus was a writer of many pseudonyms - German Schleifheim von Sulsort, Samuel Greiffenson von Hirschfield, Melchior Sternfels von Fugsheim, Philarcus Grossus von Trommenheim, Michael Regulen von Sehmsdorf and other names of which he made use have been proven to be anagrams of his real name Hans Jacob Christoffel to which he added ¹ von Grimmelshausen.

Little is known about his life, but a few facts seem fairly well

1. See Rudolf Kögel, Introduction to "New Edition" of Simplicissimus (Halle 1880).

established. He was born in or near Gelnhausen in Hesse about 1624 and his parents belonged to the peasant class. His early education was neglected as he himself acknowledges in an amusing way in the following answer to an attack by one of his many detractors -

"What do you, animal, think that I, so uneducated as I am, would not have accomplished (in a literary way) if I had been educated from my youth?"

As a boy of ten he was carried off by the soldiers and his experience of army life, begun about 1634, lasted until the end of the war. He fought now on the one side, now on the other. In 1646 he is known to have been in Offenburg, where he went over to the Catholic Church, and the last years of his life were spent as Bailiff in Renchen on the border of the Black Forest, where he died in 1676.

There are apparently a good many points of resemblance between his own life and that of his hero, Simplicissimus, as may be seen by comparing Kögel's ¹ account of his early years with his own description (in the first three chapters of Simplicissimus) of the early life of his hero. Simplicissimus' retirement to a peaceful home in the Black Forest is another point of resemblance.

After the close of the war Grimmelshausen added to his knowledge of the world (and probably of languages and literature)

1. op. cit.

by several years of foreign travel.

His first book Fliegende Wandersmann nach dem Monde (1659) is merely a translation of Baudouin's L'homme dans la lune, which, itself, is supposed to have been taken from an English original.¹

He also tried his hand with Traumgeschichte similar to those of Moscherosch,² but it is generally agreed that all of his earlier writings were of little importance being rather servile imitations of the Spaniards or of Germans who had imitated the French or the Spanish writers.

Der Abenteurliche Simplicius Simplicissimus (1669) and its sequels Die Landstörtzerin Courasche, Der Seltsame Springinsfeld, Das wunderbarliche Vogelnest and Simplicissimus Wunderbarliche Gaukeltasche did not begin to appear until ten years after the publication of the Wandersmann. They are superior to his earlier writings and it may be assumed that during this period of literary inactivity the author had developed higher ideals and a better appreciation of literary values.

Into the sequels to Simplicissimus the author introduces a good many of the characters used in the first and larger work.

The first, Der Abenteurliche Simplicissimus, is the most interesting because based to a greater extent on the author's personal observations.

1. Farinelli, op. cit. p. 50.

2. Robertson, History of German Literature (New York) p. 228.

Die Landstörtzerin Courasche deals largely with military life, but the author reveals little ability in the treatment of female characters and the obscenities indulged in by the heroine are more numerous and repellent than similar elements in Simplicissimus.

All of these sequels have picaresque qualities, but the Simplicissimus will be used as the main basis of our attempts to show Grimmelshausen's indebtedness to Spain.

Simplicissimus was practically the first book to introduce naturalness and realism into German literature.¹ It was the Lazarillo de Tormes of Germany. Just as the great Spanish "picaresque" novel differed from the stilted works of its period, so also did Grimmelshausen's master-piece differ from the German chivalresque novels. Simplicissimus represents the beginning of the modern German novel. This is its main merit but it also possesses a certain satirical value and is of interest from a philological and a historical stand-point.

Compared with other books of the time the style is clear and vigorous and the hero's adventures are related in a realistic manner.

The book was immensely popular and had a host of imitators. German critics are unanimous in declaring Simplicissimus the greatest German novel of the seventeenth century. Bobertag² assures us after undergoing the ordeal of reading Grimmelshausen's contemporaries

1. In this connection mention must be made of the Pfaffe Amis by "Der Stricker" (13th cent.) and of the poems of Ulrich v. Liechtenstein (13th cent.) which may be considered as forerunners of Eulenspiegel and Simplicissimus and which revealed a closer touch with actual life than is to be found in the works of the Arthurian epic.

2. Bobertag, Grimmelshausen's Simplic. Schriften (Breslau 1874) p. 26.

and immediate predecessors he came to the conclusion that Simplicissimus is an oasis in the midst of a desert.

Farinelli¹ refers to Simplicissimus as das beste litterarische Erzeugnis auf dem Gebiete des Volkstümlichen Romans im 17ten Jahrhundert.

Scherer² finds that the truest pictures of the Thirty Years' War, the most faithful portraits from real life which have come down to us from the beginnings of our modern literature are from the pens of Grimmelshausen and Moscherosch.

Boyesen³ says: Passing over a long and dreary waste of semi-biblical and semi-classical wonder-stories, we come at last to a work of definite literary value. In fact Grimmelshausen's "Simplicissimus" is not only the first German novel of real merit, but it will always remain a historical document of the utmost importance.

Robertson mentions Grimmelshausen as the one German novelist of genius in his century.⁴

Bilow⁵ says that Simplicissimus is of great significance because it continues the national tradition, and Antoine develops this statement by pointing out that Grimmelshausen is the literary legatee

1. op. cit. p. 50.

2. op. cit. p. 380.

3. Boyesen, Essays on German Literature (New York) 1892, p.228.

4. Robertson, op. cit. p. 289.

5. Bilow, Simplicissimus (Leipzig 1836) preface.

of Fischart (who has been called le Rabelais allemand) and continues the series of narratives of adventure of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. C'est Eulenspiegel de XVIIe siècle. Eulenspiegel est le premier roman comique allemand: livre sans ordre, sans disposition ni plan, où l'art fait complètement défaut. Le Simplicissimus est un Eulenspiegel mieux composé.

M. Antoine's ¹ comparison of Eulenspiegel and Simplicissimus is interesting. The idea, he says, is similar. Each of the books relates the adventures of a young and unexperienced child, endowed by nature with good qualities, but cast into a world where falsity, roguery, and immorality abound. In each of the books the personnage passes through a series of situations often painful, sometimes comic. Each of the characters occupies, after appearance in public, a position, which enables him to give merited lessons to the great and wise.

Simplicissimus however differs from Eulenspiegel, he says, in the fact that the former lacks the unalterable gaiety of its predecessor while Eulenspiegel lacks the passion of travel and adventure, the hazards of the unknown and the allegorical quality.

It would seem that Antoine has proved his point and that Simplicissimus may be said to have continued the Eulenspiegel.

This, however, is perhaps not as important as Scherer's assertion that Grimmelshausen represents the beginnings of the modern

1. op. cit. p. 85, 86, 87.

novel in Germany. His indebtedness to the Eulenspiegel is apparent, but to him nevertheless is due the credit of having been the important link between the chivalresque and pastoral novels and the modern novel.

The main merit of his book, besides the historic interest, lies in its simplicity, clearness and vigor as compared to other books of the period and in the fact that part of it - the best part indeed - seems founded on personal observations of the author. The scenes are true to life and this was a distinct departure.

Another important point is that Grimmelshausen wrote German and not a mixture of German, Latin and French. His German is, of course, vastly different from modern German, but for a book of that period it is truly remarkable, not only as regards the small number of foreign words used, but as regards the independence of style and the intelligent use of his mother tongue. A good idea of Grimmelshausen's style may be gained from the following paragraph taken from book IV, chapter 14:

Die Ring-Kunst, darin ich mich zu L. oft übte, kam mir damals wol zu statten, sonst hatte ich ohn Zweifel eingeküst, dan mein Feind war viel stärker als ich, und über das Eisenfest. Als wir einander fast tödlich abgemattet, sagte er endlich: Bruder, höre auff, ich ergebe mich dir zu eigen! Ich sagte, du solltest mich anfänglich haben passieren lassen: Was hast du mehr, antwortete jener, wenngleich ich sterbe: Und was hättest du gehabt, sagte ich, wan du mich hättest niedergeschossen.

It will be seen that the above compares very favorably with the following, from the Lucifers Königreich und Seelenjagd by Albertinus, and also seventeenth century prose:

Diser Holofernes war ein Feind dess Volcks Gottes, vnd ist ein Ebenbildt dess laidigen Sathans, dessen art vnd eygenschaftt ist, dass er die jenige nicht beschediget die sich selbst freywilliglich seinem Dienst ergeben, vnd die er gleichsamb ruwigklich vnd ohne einige rebellion besitzt, Aber wider diejenigen hebt er den Spiess der Versuchungen auff, vnd brauchet alle seine Kunststückel, die er vermerket, dass sie wider jhne auffstehen, vnd auss seinem Dienst treten wollen. Wie er eine schwangere vnd gleichsamb geberende Fraw (welche den Mond vnder den Fuessen vnd ein Kron mit zwölff Sternen auffm Haupt hatte, durch welche die Kirch bedeut wirdt) verfolgte, vnd sich vnderstundt jhr Geburt zuverschlindern, also sehen wir, dass der Sathan sich noch heutiges Tages starck bemühet, die Geburt oder Buessfertige Kinder der Kirohen zuverschlindern, dann er kundschaftet eines jeglichen Menschen Natur vnd Eygenschaftt eigentlich auss, vnd wann er sihet, dass einer einen Melancholischen Humor oder Kopff hat, alsdann vexiret er jhne vilfaltigklich mit geistlichen Versuchungen.

It is not true, of course, that Simplicissimus is entirely free from foreign words. Such examples as battalia, stratagemata, courtoisie, occasion, cavalcada, cadavera, aromata, actu, variabel, liberey, phisiognomiam, chiromantia and many others might be given, but the number is relatively small.

Voltaire said¹ of Lesage: Son roman de Gil Blas est demeuré, parce qu'il y a du naturel.

The same might well be said of Simplicissimus. It possesses the quality of naturalness. Grimmelshausen dared to break a lance with his contemporaries and produce a book which was natural. Because of this honest simplicity and avoidance of pedantry, he stands practically alone among the German writers of his century. He took the incidents of daily life and related them without seeking to dazzle the reader with brilliant metaphors and high-sounding phrases. With remarkable fidelity he observed the customs of the time and portrayed them in a style, rapid and, for the most part, simple.

His hero's life is much as his own life must have been. Battles are described in which Grimmelshausen, himself a soldier in the Thirty Years' War, may have taken part. Towns are mentioned with which the author was undoubtedly familiar. Grimmelshausen saw the things he describes - the fights between the soldiers of both armies and the peasants, the carousals of the officers, the life of the burghers in the fortified towns, merchants, beggars, governors, paupers, pious ministers and blasphemous soldiers, fortune-tellers and wise men and the women who followed the army, duels, murders, battles and the peaceful life of the cloister, "badegäste", peacefully sipping their wine at Wiesbaden, and headless and naked bodies lying in the

1. Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XIV (Liste raisonnée.... de la plupart des écrivains etc.) p. 644.

streets of deserted villages. Tales of buried treasure and of ransomed soldiers, of mercenaries who serve first the catholics and then the protestants, - everything, especially in the first four books, seems to ring true.

Simplicissimus abounds in picturesque phrases manifestly taken from the language of the people of the period. Many of these phrases are still in use in modern German. At times the characters speak in dialect, as, for instance, in the dialogue between Simplicissimus and his "Knän" in book I, chap. 2.¹ This divergence from the literary custom of the time is not only refreshing but decidedly interesting from a philological standpoint.²

Many of the non-dialectic or so-called High German words, as well as the peculiarities of syntax to be found in Simplicissimus have also proven of great interest to students of the German language.

If the fact that he has many imitators is proof of a man's greatness then Grimmelshausen was indeed great. Simplicissimus was immensely successful and a formidable number of imitations appeared. France produced a Simplicissimus in 1681 and Hungary followed suit in 1683.³ In each of these, contemporary life and scenes are described.

In Germany the Hasenkopf Simplicissimus and the Haspelhans

1. Bub biss flissig, loss di Schoff nit ze wit unnananger laffen, un spill wacker uff der Sackpfiffa, dass der Wolff nit kom, und Schada dau, dan he yss a solcher veyrboinigter Schelm und Dieb, der Menscha und Vieha friset, un wan dau awer farlässj bisst, so will eich dir da Buckel erauma etc.

2. See Kurz, Grimmelsh. Simplicianische Schriften (Leipzig 1877) vol. 1, p. XLV.

3. See Antoine op.cit. chap. X: Reprod. et imitat. de Simplicissimus.

Simplicissimus and several others made their appearance, the latest arriving in 1743.

In mentioning these imitations Antoine says laconically: La comparaison de tous ces ouvrages avec le Simplicissimus relève singulièrement le mérite de Grimmelshausen.

Simplicissimus was a sort of national institution at the end of the seventeenth century and the fact that one of the foremost modern German comic weeklies bears the name "Simplicissimus" proves that the work is not forgotten in modern times.

Another fact worthy of note in connection with the importance of the book is that the hero, Simplicissimus, was the first Robinson. He was cast away on a desert island where he lived alone for a considerable time. He precedes Defoe's hero by fifty years and was the first of a numerous family of Robinsons.

That Simplicissimus possessed a considerable literary value must be manifest from the foregoing. The efforts of certain German critics to place it on a level with Cervantes or even Lesage seem overambitious. It would be perhaps sufficient to say that it is far superior to other German books of the period and that, with Moscherosch and perhaps Wickram, Grimmelshausen may be said to have founded the German novel.

Antoine, however, in speaking on this same subject says: Mais nous devons convenir que toute proportion gardée: Grimmelshausen ne fait point trop mauvaise figure à cote de ces deux représentants du roman satirique.

Robertson¹ writes as follows: In the great era in European literature which opened with Shakespeare and Bacon, with Tasso, Cervantes and Lope de Vega, and closed with Calderon, Milton and the master-dramatists of France, Corneille, Racine and Moliere - the most brilliant literary era in the history of the world - Germany had no share..... versions of Spanish picaresque novels and French heroic romances formed the chief reading of the cultured public: in place of a Shakespeare, a Gryphius; in place of a Cervantes, a Grimmelshausen.

Scherer and other critics say that although Grimmelshausen was inspired by Lazarillo and Guzmán the German picaro possesses a deeper and more moral character than either of his Spanish predecessors and certain things seem to bear out this statement to a degree.

Simplicissimus is separated from his parents at an early age. Until this separation occurs he has seen only a few people and has received no religious teaching. His parents (or foster-parents) are simple peasants of no education whatever. After he is driven away from them by marauding soldiers, he is taken in by a hermit who teaches him to read and to pray and instills in him the loftiest religious and moral ideals.

All through the book the hero sees in everything that happens

1. Robertson, History of German Literature p. XXI intr.

the acting of providence and the disposition of a higher power. He thinks that his foster-parents were despoiled by the soldiers as a punishment for not having given him religious teachings.

When the hermit dies and he goes to a city and observes dissipation, immorality, cheating, infidelity and the like, his youthful soul is shocked and revolted. He even attempts to correct some of the evil conditions and it is only gradually and after countless inward struggles that he forgets for a time the teachings of the hermit and leads the life of those around him.

In this regard he differs from the start from Lazarillo, who at first contact with the world takes his cue promptly, and plunges into a life of roguery without any visible twinges of conscience.

Another point in his favor is that even at the height of his lawlessness he gives occasional evidence of a chivalrous character perhaps lacking in the Spanish picaros.

An example of this is shown by his treatment of a curate. After visiting that worthy man's house disguised as a devil and stealing a large quantity of provisions he sends back a messenger with a letter begging forgiveness and encloses therein jewels of a value more than sufficient to pay for the eatables taken.

The above are, however, his only possible points of superiority over the Spanish picaros.

When some mishap befalls him, he at once assumes that he is being punished for his misdeeds and throughout the book he indulges

in moralizing on the thoughtlessness of youth, the evils of gambling, of drink, of idleness and so on, but all of these qualities may be found in Guzmán.¹

This Spanish picaro moralizes on an endless variety of subjects and one of several instances of repentance may be seen in the following: La mar andaba por el cielo..... Empero en esta vez no temé tanto a questa tormenta ni sentí el peligro, respeto del temor de arriba, no por el mar mas por la infamia. Harto deció yo entre mi cuando pasaban estas cosas, que por mi solo padecian los demas.²

The fact that Simplicissimus bids farewell to the world and endeavors to atone for his sins by becoming a hermit is given as another proof of superiority of morals. On the other hand it must not be forgotten that Guzmán also retires from the world for a number of years in order to study for the priesthood.

Simplicissimus does not stay long in his first hermitage but finally ends (after a hundred pages or so of further wanderings and adventure) as a sort of holy man on a lonely island. Even this, however proves little superiority to the Spanish models. After having his hero do everything under the sun Grimmelshausen was obliged to finish him in some manner for the time being and since he reappears in Springinsfeld as a quack and a trickster his second conversion can

1. Antoine's attempt to prove a complete absence of moral in Guzmán would seem to have been a failure.

2. Part II, chap. 8.

not well be considered a permanent one.

All things considered the moral of Simplicissimus seems to resemble that of Guzmán but does not seem to be superior to any great extent.

Grimmelshausen gives accurate descriptions of the evil customs prevalent in his country with the evident idea that publishing these things would make for reform. Without omitting even the most revolting details he tells the entire truth with the hope that in making social conditions known he is doing something towards their betterment. He makes no direct accusations or attacks but seems to say: "Things are thus and so. What is to be done about it?"

In the epigraph of the book he says: "It pleased me laughingly to tell the truth (Es hat mir wollen behagen mit Lachen die Wahrheit zu sagen)."

And it is only in this respect that the book seems to have any real moral.

The same thing, however, may be said of the Spanish picaresque books.

It is true that the effect is spoiled and the purpose (if one existed) is defeated in Guzmán by the lengthy philosophizing.¹ On the other hand, the introduction of tales of witchcraft, trips to the

1. Aribau, in his introduction to volume 3 of the Bibl. Autores Esp. says: Desmochado el Guzmán de Alfarache de semejantes apéndices, sería una novela entretenidísima: llena de gracejo y salpimentada de interés.

centre of the earth and the like, rather interrupt the action and defeat the purpose in Simplicissimus.

Antoine¹ mentions an element in Simplicissimus which is lacking in Guzmán and which adds to the richness of the subject matter and perhaps to the moral. The horrors and terrible results of a long war are vividly described. With the villages destroyed, the fields neglected and industry at a stand-still, the all-powerful soldier laughs at virtue and good behaviour and might makes right.

If M. Antoine is right in thinking that the author intended with these descriptions to sound a note of warning to humanity then, indeed, a superiority over Guzmán must be conceded. It must be admitted, however, by his most enthusiastic admirers that Grimmelshausen merely describes the horrors of war and makes no attempt to arouse pity at the plight of the many victims of the soldiers - as he might have done had he intended to impart any serious lesson. The fact that he took many of the philosophic elements in his book from Alemán (as will be shown) would seem to prove that his main talent consisted of an ability to describe action and events and a conscious attempt to reform mankind seems scarcely to have existed. The elements of a philosophic nature contained in his book were probably included out of deference to the literary customs of the period.

1. op. cit. p. 109.

It may also be asserted that the satire in Simplicissimus is not prompted by any definite aim and exists merely in the truthful setting down of the deplorable conditions of the time. It is not intentional as the satire in Don Quixotte is intentional, but more or less unconscious.

The book is humorous but the humour is too often coarse and obscene, recalling Fishart and Hans Sachs. As it adds to the realism in a way it serves a certain purpose and its presence is certainly not to be wondered at if the author's life and environment are taken into consideration.

An example of genuine humour which does not degenerate into coarseness may be found in the account of the pilgrimage made by Simplicissimus and his friend Hertzbruder. The former consents to take part in this undertaking merely to please his friend, and when Hertzbruder insists that they put peas in their boots to make their penance more severe, Simplicissimus has his allotment cooked and walks in comparative comfort. His friend's indignation when the deceit is discovered may be imagined.

The conversations which the hero holds with a wanderer who claims to be Jupiter are humorously described and remarkable in another direction because Jupiter offers a prophecy concerning the future of the German nation. This prophecy, briefly, was to the effect that a hero would come who would conquer the entire world for Germany and that happiness would reign thenceforth and even

Jupiter would speak German. This seems not to have been verified, but Jupiter further foretold a union between the various cities and countries of Germany and this part of his prophecy at least was subsequently fulfilled.

Mateo Alemán gives several legends of Jupiter in Guzmán, but there seems to be no resemblance between these and the material presented by Grimmelshausen.

That Simplicissimus has considerable historical value must be apparent. It appeared in 1668, at the close of the Thirty Years' War and describes the adventures of a young soldier during that period. As the author himself, had fought throughout the war the descriptions may be considered true and accurate. A thorough knowledge of Germany, from the Swiss border to Westfalia is revealed by the mention of towns and cities and by the introduction of many different dialect forms, and the book with its frequent mention of battles and sieges has been a by no means inconsiderable help to historians.

A few apparent discrepancies as to dates may, however, be noted. The battle of Höchst was fought in 1622 and the battle of Nordlingen in 1634. Hanau was in the possession of the Swedes from 1634 to 1638 and the battle of Wittstock took place in 1636. Lippstadt in possession of the Hessians, was being besieged by the Imperials at the same time.

We are told that Simplicissimus was born just after the

battle of Höchst (1622) and that he was in Hanau when the Swedes held that place (1634-38). We are forced, therefore, to believe that he was only twelve years old when he indulged in such learned conversation and gave utterance to so many wise sayings as a page to the governor of Hanau, and that he was only sixteen when he was married in Lippstadt. And when we consider that his marriage was preceded by considerable military experience we must concede that our hero was indeed precocious.

This may, however, be excused on the plea of literary license and does not detract from the historical value of the work.

There are in Simplicissimus a few elements which viewed from our present day stand-point might well have been omitted. The hero discourses at length on witch-craft, and finally flies with some witches from southern Germany to Magdeburg. He also dives into a mysterious lake in the Black Forest and visits the domains of its inhabitants who take him, always under water, to the "mouth" of the Pacific Ocean. He likewise appears to believe in sooth-sayers, the elder Hertzbruder's prophecy forming an important element in the plot of the story.

These defects do not, however, prevent Simplicissimus from being the chef-d'oeuvre of German literature of the seventeenth century.

PART I.

GRIMMELSHAUSEN'S INDEBTEDNESS TO

MATEO ALEMÁN.

German critics have discovered and pointed out various non-Spanish sources of Grimmelshausen¹ but too little has been said of his indebtedness to the Spanish author, Mateo Alemán.

Antoine says² that he borrowed the form from Spain and³ that his familiarity with Spanish authors is one of the factors to be con-

1. Kurz (Simpl. Schriften, Leipzig 1877, vol.2, p.405) asserts that the story of the hero's amorous adventures in Paris was taken from a French translation (Histoires tragiques exactes des oeuvres du Bandel, Rouen 1604) of Bandello's Nouvelle and quotes from the fourth and fifth chapters of the Italian original.

Antoine (op.cit.p.191) points out a resemblance between the adventure of the Mummelsee and various legends concerning the disposition of the body of Pontius Pilate. He also says (p.194) that the fourteenth chapter, sixth book of Simplicissimus is a reproduction of an old theory advanced by Virgil in book four of the Georgics, and that the story of the statue which comes to life (book VI, chap. IX) is to be found in Hans Sachs in the legend of Protée.

Tittman (Simpl. Schriften, Leipzig 1877, p.19, intr.) notes that chapters five, six, seven and eight of the Springinsfeld are based on Les Faveurs et les Disgraces de l'amour which appeared (without date or place of publication) some time (according to Tittman) before the publication of the Springinsfeld. The same writer suggests a resemblance between the adventure which Courasche has with the peas (Trutz Simplex, chap. XII) and episodes in "various French works", and also cites old Jewish legends as a source for the love passages between the soldier and the Jewess in the fourteenth and fifteenth chapters of Das wunderbarliche Vogelnest.

2. op. cit. p. 56.

3. op. cit. p. 58.

sidered in forming a just appreciation of the Simplicissimus, but mentions no specific instances of plagiarism from Spanish authors.

¹ Bossert describes Simplicissimus as quite original.

² Farinelli thinks that it is essentially original but says that the succession of events and the philosophy were influenced by the Guzmán of Mateo Alemán. He does not go into details, however, but refers us to Rudolf v. Payer who, writing in Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie ³ gives the results of his comparison of the "discourses" in Simplicissimus and in the Albertinus translation of Guzmán de Alfarache.

In "deadly paralel columns" he reproduces the following:

Guzman de Alfarache p.357, II:
Was den Adel und Edelleut be-
langet, Gepietender Juncker,
welche jederzeit und billich
bey allen Völckern in grossen
Ehren gehalten worden, befinden
wir, dass derselbige auch von
vielen wird gemissbrauchet, in-
dem auch viele gemeine, und ge-

Simplicissimus, book I, chap.1:
Es eröffnet sich zu dieser un-
srer Zeit (von welcher man glau-
bet, dass es die letzte sey)
unter geringen Leuten eine Sucht,
in deren die Patienten, wan sie
daran kranck ligen, und soviel
zusammen geraspelt und erschach-
ert haben, dass sie neben ein

1. op. cit. p.158: Un seul roman allemand du XVIIe siècle est tout à fait original et vraiment instructif pour la connaissance de l'époque: c'est le Simplicissimus de Grimmelshausen.

2. op. cit. p. 51.

3. vol. 22, 1888.

ringes Standspersohnen gefunden
werden, welche, wann sie so viel
zusammen geraspelt und gescha-
chert, dass sie drey Heller im
Beutel und ein Seyden Kleid, be-
neben einem federbusch auff dem
Hut tragen können, mit gewaldt
Rittermässige Herren wollen
seyn, kauffen AdelsBrieff, und
stutzen so Adulich in (358)den
Städten umbher, dass man genug
von ihnen hat zu sagen, und mit
fingern nachdeutet, welches ih-
nen doch nicht zu Ehren, son-
dern zu mehrer Schmach und
Schande gereicht, dann da weiss
man nichts mehr zu erzehlen, als
dass jhr Grossvatter, auch wohl
jhr Vatter, Taglohner und Last-
trager, ihre Vätter Beerstecher
.....

Guzmán p. 359, II:

....und müssen leyden, das man
jhnen an allen Enden auch wol

paar Hellern im Beutel ein nãrri-
ches Kleid auff die neue Mode,
mit tausenderley seidenen Bãn-
dern, antragen können, oder sonst
etwan durch Glücksfall mannhafft
und bekannt worden, gleich Rit-
termässige Herren, und Adelige
Personen, von uhraltem Geschlecht,
seyn wollen; da sich doch offft
befindet, dass ihre Vor-Eltern
Taglöhner, Karchelzieher und
Lastträger: ihre Vettern Esel-
treiber

Simplicissimus I, 1:

Anstat der Pagen, Laqueyen und
Stallknechte, hatte er Schaf,

ins Angesicht darff sagen, dass
eine Bawren Hütte sey jhr Pallast
gewesen, darinn sie geboren und
erzogen, die Stätte, da sie ge-
wohnet oder von denen sie sich
schreiben, also beschaffen, dass
wann man über die Mawren sprin-
get, die Zeune krachen, ihre Gü-
ter offermals ein gemein Feldt,
darauff sie sich kümmerlich er-
halten, jhre behengte Kammern
und Gemach, ein stinckendes und
berauchtes Loch, da man weder
Sonn noch Mond recht gesehen:
jhre Diener und Lackeyen Schafe,
Böcke oder Säwe, deren sie ge-
hüttet, der Pflug jhre Ritter-
liche Währen, darin sie sich ge-
übet, dass Kühe melcken ist jhre
kurtzweil, Graben auswerffen jh-
re disciplina militaris, Esel
treiben oder Mist auff Beren tra-
gen, oder am Karch ziehen jhre
Hauptmanschaftt gewesen, und was

Böcke und Sau, jedes fein ordent-
lich in seine natürliche Libe-
rey gekleidet, welche mir auch
oftt auff der Waid auffgewartet,
biss ich sie heimgetrieben; Die
Rüst- oder Harnisch-Kammer war
mit Pflügen, Karsten, Aexten,
Hauen, Schaufeln, Mist- und Heu-
gabeln genugsam versehen, mit
welchen Waffen er sich täglich
übete; dan hacken und reuthen war
seine disciplina militaris, wie
bey den alten Römern zu Friedens-
zeiten, Ochsen anspannen, war sein
Hauptmanschafttliches Commando,
Mist ausführen, sein Fortifica-
tionswesen, und Ackern sein Feldzug,
Stall-aussmisten aber, seine Adeli-
che Kurtzweile, und Turnierspiel;
Hiermit bestritte er die gantze
Weltkugel, soweit er reichen konte.

dess dings mehr ist, dessen
sie sich zum höchsten müssen
schämen, wann es ihnen zu
hindertreibung ihres Über-
muths vorgeworffen wird.

Guzmán 368, II:

Und wil Johannes de Platea
ausdrücklich, dass mann in be-
stellung der Empter, dem Adel
allezeit den Vorzug lassen und
sie den plebeis schlecht sol
vorziehen, wie solches auch in
allen Rechten bräuchlich: auch
in heiliger Schrift bestetiget
wirt.... (s.369) Also lieset man
auch in dem Büchlein Syrach cap.
10: Beata terra, cuius Rex nobi-
lis est: wol dem Landt, dessen
König Edel ist: welches auch ein
Zeugnuss ist des Vorzugs, so dem
Adel in dem weltlichen Regiment
gebühret.

(370) Daher dann dieser Spruch
Senecae wol zu bedencken, da er

Simplicissimus I, 17:

Zudem gebührt dem Adel der Vor-
zug in allwege, wie solches leg.
Honor. dig. de honor. zusehen.
Johannes de Platea will ausdrück-
lich, dass man in Bestallung der
Aemter dem Adel den Vorzug lassen,
und die Edelleute den Plebejis
schlecht soll vorziehen; ja sol-
ches ist in allen Rechten bräuch-
lich, und wird in heiliger Schrift
bestetiget, dan Beata terra, cujus
Rex nobilis est, saget Syrach cap.
10, welches ein herrlich Zeugnuß
ist des Vorzugs, so dem Adel ge-
bühret. Und wanschon einer von
euch ein guter Soldat ist, der
Pulver riechen, und in allen Be-
gebenheiten treffliche Anschläge

sagt: Habet hoc proprium gene-
rosus animus, quod concitatur ad
honesta, & neminem excelsi Ingenii
virum humilia delectant & sordida.

Das ist, welches auch
Faustus Poeta in nachfolgendem
disticho gar wol exprimirt hat:

Si te rusticitas vilem genuis-
set agrestis Nobilitas animi non
foret ista tui.

geben kan, so ist er darum nicht
gleich tüchtig, andere zu comman-
dieren; da hingegen diese Tugend
dem Adel angeboren, oder von Ju-
gend auff angewöhnet wird.

Seneca saget: Habet hoc pro-
prium generosus animus, quod con-
citur ad honesta, & neminem
excelsi Ingenii Virum humilia de-
lectant, & sordida. Welches auch
Faustus Poeta in diesem Dysticho
exprimiret hat:

Si te rusticitas vilem genuisset
agrestis, Nobilitas animi non
foret ista tui.

It will be seen that the above passages reveal not only simi-
larity but, in places, an exact copy.

Payer suggests that the following passage from Moscherosch's
Weltwesen may also have been taken from page 357, II of the Alberti-
nus translation of Guzmán given above. A resemblance does exist
but it would seem probable that Moscherosch copied from Quevedo in this
instance as in others. Compare the following passages:

Moscherosch, Weltwesen :

..sich doch ungeachtet aller
ehrbarkeit nicht mehr Metzger,
nicht mehr Wagner etc. ...son-
dern Herren von Metzgeren,
Herren von Wagenern etc. will
tituliret etc. haben, damit er
unter die Altgeborene vom Adel,
unter die alte Ritterschaft
nicht nur gerechnet sondern
auch denselbigen gar möchte
vorgezogen werden.

Quevedo, Sueños, vol.I:

..el zapatero de viejo se llama
entretenedor del calzado. El
botero, sastre del vino. El mozo
de mulas, gentilhombre de camino.
El bodegón estado. El verdugo
se llama miembro de la justicia,
el corchete, criado, el fullero,
diestro el ventero, huésped.....
Pues todos son hipocresía etc.

Payer also finds that the travels and adventures of Simpli-
cissimus as described in the sixth book resemble Guzmán's adventures
as related in Frewdenhold's sequel¹ of the Albertinus Guzmán.

Albertinus who translated many Spanish books into German is
known to have been rather unreliable. Indeed one may read on the
title-page of his Guzmán that it is "theils gemehrt und gebessert"²

Likewise the Frewdenhold sequel to the Albertinus Guzmán seems
to have differed considerably from Alemán's original and also from
Sayavedra's sequel or spurious second part.

1. The Frewdenhold sequel bore the title Der Landstörtzer Guzmán
de Alfarache oder Picaro genannt, and appeared in 1623.

2. v.Liliencron, Deutsche Nationalliteratur, vol.26, p.28, says
"seine Übersetzungen sind freie, oft sehr freie Bearbeitungen."

To point out similarities between Simplicissimus and the Albertinus Guzmán or the Frewdenhold Guzmán might merely prove that Grimmelshausen copied some of the inventions of Albertinus or Frewdenhold and not necessarily any of the ideas of Mateo Alemán.

A direct comparison of Simplicissimus with the Spanish original and not the German translation would seem to make for greater accuracy in establishing Grimmelshausen's direct indebtedness to the Spanish author and a close study of the two books being necessary it is best to begin with short resumés of Simplicissimus and of Guzmán.

Of good birth in reality, Simplicissimus is brought up in the Spessart by a peasant whom he believes to be his father. One day the soldiers appear and while they are torturing the peasants to make them disclose the whereabouts of their money, Simplicissimus escapes into the forest where he finds shelter in the abode of a hermit, who, as he only discovers long afterwards, is his own father. For two years he sits at the hermit's feet and receives religious and moral instruction and when the latter dies he leaves the forest and falling in with soldiers near Hanau is taken to the governor, who learns that the boy is his own nephew, and makes him his page. Here he enjoys for a time certain privileges, but his previous training has not fitted him for such a place and he is laughed at and an attempt is even made to convert him into a court fool by unhinging his mind. One day he is carried off by the Croats and after a period during which he learns to cook and to care for horses, he escapes and makes his way to the Ger-

man forces robbing the peasants in true picaresque fashion on the way. Soon after he rejoins the Germans, he develops into a redoubtable warrior and gains much honor and considerable booty.

Some of the expedients to which he resorts during this time are decidedly of a picaresque nature, and he now meets Hertzbruder, his good angel, and Olivier who is to exert an evil influence in his life.

He falls into the hands of the Swedes and is well treated, he discovers a large treasure, and is inveigled into a hasty marriage. In the course of further adventures he finds his way to Cologne and Paris. In the French capital he flourishes as "beau aleman" and accumulates considerable wealth by capitalizing his charms.

Acting upon a tardy realization of his bad conduct, he starts for Germany but is robbed shortly after he leaves Paris.

With his few remaining francs he buys the ingredients from which he concocts all sorts of quack medicines. These he sells at a profit to the farmers and villagers along his line of travel and arrives at the border well mounted and with plenty of money. Here, however, he has no option but to become a soldier again. Shortly, he meets Olivier who tempts him to join him in a life of open brigandage: Olivier is killed and Simplicissimus finds Hertzbruder who persuades him to live a better life for the time being. His first wife is dead and a second marriage proving unhappy he seeks consolation in his love for adventure. He goes out once more into the world

and visits Moscow, Japan, Portugal, Turkey and Italy. After three years of travel he returns to the Spessart and becomes a hermit.

In the continuation which the author added some time after the completion of the main work the hero's adventures again take him far afield and he finally retires from the world to a lonely island.

The story of Guzmán is briefly as follows:

His father dead and his mother in poverty he starts out into the world to seek his fortune. On his way from Sevilla to Madrid he has an unpleasant encounter with the police and several disagreeable adventures with innkeepers. In Madrid he associates for a time with picaros, learning to gamble and to steal and then becomes assistant to a cook. Ejected for stealing he becomes a picaro and robs a druggist of a considerable sum, escaping to Toledo, where he is swindled by various women. On his way to Barcelona he joins a company of soldiers and serves the captain, whose slender income he augments by thievery. They go to Genoa and Guzmán leaves the soldiers and receives rough treatment at the hands of his father's relatives. He begs his way to Rome and becomes page in the house of a cardinal where he has a privileged position. Dismissed for gambling he enters the service of the French ambassador whose love affairs he endeavors to further. He brings ridicule upon the ambassador and himself and on leaving Rome, is robbed of valuables. Aided by his friend Sayavedra he wins a large sum at cards in

Bologna and swindles an usurer at Milan. He appears at Genova dressed as an abbot and swindles his relatives. On the way from Genoa to Spain Sayavedra is drowned and Guzmán proceeds to Madrid where he marries and engages in banking but fails to prosper because of his wife's extravagance.

On his wife's death, he goes to Alcalá to study for the priesthood. Here after a long period of good behaviour he remarries. His second wife flirts with former friends and he takes her to Madrid and Sevilla in which places he markets her charms. Finally his wife leaves him and he becomes steward for a rich lady. He becomes her lover but arouses her jealousy and she has him committed to the galleys for the theft of her money. He is harshly treated at first, but learning of a plot, warns the captain and is liberated for saving the ship. The story closes with the promise of an account of the hero's further adventures.-

A comparison of the above rough outlines of the lives of the German and the Spanish picaresque fails at first glance to reveal many marked similarities, but a closer study of the two stories will reveal many points of resemblance and some specific passages in Simplicissimus might well have been translated word for word from Guzmán.

We will consider first some of the general similarities in the events.

Each of the heroes leaves his home at an early age, and

each, shortly after his first contact with life, occupies, for a time, in the dwelling of an influential personage, a privileged position, which enables him to impart precocious advice and measure fearless censure to the great and powerful.

Guzmán (p.267) assures us: Mi amo holgaba de oirme, mas que por oirme, y como buen jardinero recogia las flores que le parecian convenientes para el ramillete que deseaba componer, y dejaba lo restante para su entendimiento. He advises his master at various times and also administers reproof and criticism to his master's guests.

Simplicissimus, likewise, enjoys many privileges, as may be seen from the following: Du Bernheuter, sagte mein Herr, wer lernt dich so predigen? Ich antwortete, Liebster Herr, sage ich nicht wahr, dass du von deinen Ohrenbläsern und Daumendrehern dergestalt verderbt seyst, dass dir bereits nicht mehr zuhelffen: Hingegen sehen andere Leute deine Laster gar bald

And, likewise, (p.118) in arguing with one of his master's guests, he says: Sage mir, was seyn vor herrliche Thaten begangen, und vor löbliche Künste erfunden worden, die genügsam seyn, ein ganz Geschlecht etlich hundert Jahre nacheinander, auff Absterben der Helden und Künstler, selbst zuadeln? Ist nicht beides der Helden Stärcke, und der Künstler Weissheit und hoher Verstand, mit hinweg gestorben? Wan du diss nicht verstehst so muss ich davor halten, dein Vater sey ein Stockfisch etc. .

While this first example reveals a similarity of ideas, it is by no means conclusive because the same motif is used in the Eulenspiegel with which Grimmelshausen is known to have been familiar.

Another point of resemblance may be found in the fact that the women with whom the German and the Spanish picaro come in contact exert no refining influence.

Simplicissimus is tricked into a marriage with his first wife with whom he remains but a short time. His second wife proves unfaithful and addicted to drink, and, to quote his rather coarse humour, he almost laughs himself sick when she dies: zu einem Witwer machte, welches mir so zuhertzen ging, dass ich mich fast krank hierüber gelachtet hatte.

Guzmán also was twice married. His first wife was not nearly as wealthy as he had been led to believe, and developed, moreover, a decided talent for extravagance: Caséme rico, casado estoy pobre, alegres fueron los días de mi boda para mis amigos, y tristes los de mi matrimonio para mi. (Part II, book III, chap.4.)

He says in mentioning her death: ... de una enfermedad aguda murió sin mostrar arrepentimiento ni recibir sacramento and encerramos a la malograda, hicimos lo que debíamos por su alma ...

Guzmán's second wife proved unfaithful, and when she finally runs away with the captain of a galley, he shrugs his shoulders and says: Yo había oído decir, que aquel era verdaderamente loco, que buscaba su mujer habiéndosele ido.

While neither Guzmán nor Simplicissimus finds felicity in marriage, each is fortunate in finding a faithful friend.

Guzmán indulges in a great deal of moralizing but rarely displays genuine emotion. When, however, his friend Sayavedra is drowned, his grief is deep and sincere: ... y asi se quedó el pobre sepultado, no con pequeña lastima de todos, que harto hacían en consolarme. Otro día, cuando amenció levantéme luego por la mañana, y todo el casi se me pasó recibiendo pésames, cual si fuera mi hermano, pariente ó deudo que me hiciera mucha falta No sabían regalo que hacerme ni como a su parecer, alegrarme. And years later, he says: que otro Sayavedra viniese, ó que aquel rescucitase, porque nunca mas hallé criado ni compañero semejante con quien poderme llevar, ni me supiera entender.

Simplicissimus, likewise, reveals a real capacity for friendship and, when his faithful companion Hertzbruder dies, he mourns him sincerely: Sein Abschied that mir schmerzlich weh.... und obzwar ich solches nicht endern konnte, so enderts doch mich, dan ich flohe alle Gesellschaften, und suchte nur die Einsamkeit, meinen betrüben Gedanken Audientz zugeben und betrachtete nicht allein was ich vor einen Freund verloren, sondern auch dass ich mein Lebtag seines gleichen nicht mehr bekommen würde.

It will be seen that the thought expressed in the passage just quoted, is very similar to that expressed by Guzmán after the

death of Sayavedra.

Vanity regarding personal appearance is another characteristic which Simplicissimus and Guzmán have in common, and each is partial to fine raiment and anxious to be considered of noble birth. Guzmán gives us various descriptions of his clothes and appearance. In part I, book II he says: lo hice de raso morado guarnecido con tren-cillas de oro; puseme de liga pajada, con un rapacejo y puntas de oro ... todo muy a la órden. Asentábame con el rostro, que no habia mas que pedir, y en realidad de verdad, tuve cuando mozo lo buena cara. Viéndome tan galán, dí ciertas pavonadas por Toledo en buena estofa y figura de hijo de algun hombre principal. And again in describing his second visit to Genoa: Yo iba bien apercebido, bien vestido, y la enjundia de cuatro dedos en alto. Cuando a Jénova llegué, no sabían en la posada que fiesta hacerme, ni con que regu-larme. Indeed, he tells us that even after he became a galley slave he did not entirely lose his appearance of nobility. His guard says to him on one occasion: verdaderamente, después que vienes a mi cargo, he reconocido en ti cierta nobleza, que debe proceder de alguna buena sangre etc.

And Simplicissimus who is nothing if not boastful, outdoes even Guzmán in pride and vanity. He relates how the people exclaimed as he rode by: "Sehet, das ist der Jäger. Ach welch ein schön Pferd! Ach wie ein schöner Federbusch!" or: "Min God, wat vor en prave Kerl is mi dat", and describes his costumes and that

of his page, who waits upon him "as if he were a nobleman".

Indeed Simplicissimus is in this regard a true picaro and, like Guzmán, enjoys splendor and show, and vulgar display of wealth.

He realizes his shortcomings in this and other respects and, as does also Guzmán, takes himself to task frequently. Whenever mishap befalls him, he looks upon the occurrence as a warning from the deity and resolves to reform, but his good resolutions seldom last long.

Guzmán, likewise, deplores his many bad qualities and his mala vida; chap. VI, part II, book III begins as follows: Como los que se escapan de algún grave peligro, que pensando en él siempre, aun les parece no verse libres, me acuerdo muchas veces (y nunca se me olvida) mi mala vida poca honra, falta de respeto que tuve a Dios todo aquel tiempo que seguí tan malos pasos, admirando de mi que fuese tan bruto, y mas que el mayor de los hombres etc.

Guzmán finally becomes so displeased with himself that he resolves to retire from the world and become a priest. During a long sojourn in Alcalá where he studies for the clergy, he displays sufficient strength of character to apply himself to his studies and refrain from evil or immoral actions.

Simplicissimus imitates his Spanish predecessor in this respect also by evincing distaste for the world and becoming a hermit. ¹

1. Lazarillo de Tormes (book II, chap. XV) also becomes a hermit.

Guzmán does not, however, finish his studies and, shortly before he is to graduate, becomes enamored of a beautiful lady and forgets all about the priesthood. Pues de bachiller en teología salté a maestro de amor profano, ya se supone que soy licenciado, y como tal podré con su buena licencia decir lo que conozco del, como tan buen practicante suyo.¹

Simplicissimus, likewise, does not remain in the seclusion of the hermitage. He reenters active affairs as a beggar monk and wanders far afield indulging in a jaunt through Egypt, Italy, the Holy Land and Arabia and finally landing, after an exciting shipwreck, on an island somewhere near the coast of the "Terram Australem".

Another point of resemblance is that each hero is re-united with his mother toward the end of the story.

Guzmán after traveling through Spain and Italy and meeting with many adventures returns to Sevilla and begins at once to look for his mother. When he finally succeeds in finding her, he urges her to live with him and does all that he can to care for her.

Simplicissimus reveals a similar solicitude in seeking his mother (or foster-mother, his own mother being dead) and even goes so far as to consult fortune-tellers in the hope of locating her. He, also, provides for her to the best of his ability as soon as he

1. Part II, book III, chap. V.

discovers her whereabouts.

To these main points of similarity in the plot - if a picaresque novel may be considered to have a plot - may be added various instances of plagiarism and also many points of resemblance in the philosophy or moralizing and in the detached episodes.

We may consider first a few passages in *Simplicissimus* which might have been translated almost word for word from the Spanish book and which prove rather conclusively that Grimmelshausen appreciated not only the philosophy introduced into the German translation by Albertinus, but also that which emanated from the Spanish original.

Compare:

Simplicissimus book II, chap.12:

Wan du es nicht weist, so
lass dirs den Griechischen
Demosthenem sagen, welcher
nachdem er den gemeinen Nutzen
and das Recht der Athenienser,
dapfer und treulich befördert..
des Landes verwiesen, und in
das Elend verjagt ward: Dem
Socrati ward mit Gift vergeben;
dem Hannibal ward von den
seinen so übel gelohnet, dass
er elendiglich in der Welt Land-

Guzmán part II, book I, chap.8:

Dicese de Demóstenes que salien-
do desterrado... vertiendo muchas
lagrimas por la crueldad que con
él habían usado sus naturales mis-
mos, a quien el había siempre am-
parado y favorecido, defendiénd-
los con todo su possible....
Anibal murió en destierro. Camilo
fué desterrado, siendo tan vale-
roso..... Los lacedemonios des-
terraron á su Licurgo, varon sa-
bio y prudentísimo.... Y no se

flüchtig herum schwaiffen musste; also geschahe dem Römischen Camillo; und dergestalt bezahlten die Griechen den Lycurgum and Solenem deren der eine gesteiniget ward, dem andern aber wurde als einem Mörder endlich das Land verwiesen....

Another almost direct translation is the following:

Simplicissimus book I, chap.34:
...Seithero habe ich der Sache
vielmals nachgedacht, und bin
der Meynung worden, dass solche
Excrementa, die einem auss
Angst und Schrecken entgehen,
viel übleren Geruch von sich ge-
ben, als wan einer eine starcke
Purgation eingenommen.....

Also:

Simplicissimus book III, p.262:
...Aber es war nit genug, mich
vom Müssiggang, der ein Ur-
sprung vielen Übels ist, aller-
dings zubehouden, vornehmlich
weil niemand war, der mir zu-

contentaron con solo esto; que
aun le apedrearon y le quebraron
un ojo. Los atenienses desterraron
con ignominia y sin causa su le-
gislator Solon, y le echaron a
la isla de Chipre....

Guzmán part I, book II, chap.VII:
...Allí supe que las inmundicias
de tales acaecimientos huelen mas
y peor que las naturalmente ordi-
narias; quede a cargo del filóso-
fo inquirir y dar la causa dello.

Guzmán part I, book II, p.227:
...la ociosidad ayudó gran parte;
y aun fué la causa de todos mis
daños.
...Como al bien ocupado no hay
vicio que no le acompañe. Es la

gebieten hatte.

ociosidad campo franco de perdicion.

In book I, pages 70 and 71 Grimmelshausen seems to have combined in an abbreviated form several of Guzmán's teachings.

Simplicissimus:

Guzmán part I, book I, chap.IV:

.....Christus spricht liebet
euere Feinde, segnet die euch
fluchen, thut wol denen die
euch hassen, bittet vor die
so euch beleidigen und ver-
folgen...

....Refiérenos el sagrado Evange-
lio por san Mateo, en el capitulo
quinto y San Lucas en el sexto:
Perdonad a vuestros enemigos, y
haced bien a los que os aborrecen.

Guzmán part I, book II, chap.VI:

....Viel Hündische Herren und
Meister betrogen ihre fleissige
Dienstboten um ihren gebühren-
den Lohn, und schmälerten bey-
des Speiss und Tranck, hingegen
sahe ich auch viel untreu Ge-
sinde, die ihre fromme Herren
entweder durch Diebstahl oder
Fahrlässigkeit ins Verderben
satzten. Die Handels-Leute und
Handwerker ranten mit dem
Juden-Spiess gleichsam um die
Wette....

....Gran culpa desto suelen tener
los amos, donde corto salario y
mal pagado....

Guzmán part II, book III, chap.IV:

...Mucho se padece con ellas en to-
do tiempo y de cualquiera edad: si
son viejas malas, y si mozas peores.

Guzmán part I, book I, chap.I:

...Estratagemas son de mercaderes
que donde quiera se practican en
España, especialmente donde lo han
hecho granjería ordinaria. No hay
de que nos asombremos....

Another quite possible case of plagiarism is

Simplicissimus book III, p.280:

...Es schicket sich ein Ding
auff mancherley Weise, dess
einen Unstern komt Staffelweis
und allgemach, und einen andern
überfällt das Seinige mit Hauf-
fen....

Guzmán part I, book I, chap.VII:

....podiera decir cuando seme-
jantes desgracias me vinieron:
bien vengas mal si solo vienes..
Poco dano espanta, y mucho
amansa....

Grimmelshausen (in book II) devotes five pages to dissertation on the evils of gambling, and Alemán argues extensively on the same subject (in part I, book II and III and part II, book II).

While some of the arguments in Simplicissimus resemble those in Guzmán there is not sufficient similarity to warrant the statement that the one was copied from the other. It seems probable, however, that Grimmelshausen took the general idea at least from Mateo Alemán.

From the very beginning of his travels Guzmán is swindled by dishonest innkeepers - one feeds ^{him} with omelet made from antiquated eggs, another gives him mule flesh disguised as veal, and so on; and in referring (part I, book II, chap. I) to his experiences as stable boy for an innkeeper of Castile, he dwells at some length on the tricks resorted to by his master and members of that profession in general.

Simplicissimus gives a long account of his experiences at an inn in Cologne. His descriptions of the bad fare served him

and of the miserly propensities of the innkeeper may not have been borrowed directly from Guzmán, but the picaresque flavor is decidedly in evidence and would seem to indicate some Spanish source. Also the tricks which he plays on the innkeeper might well have been inspired by a study of Guzmán's activities during his apprenticeship to a cook in Madrid and while serving as a page to a cardinal in Rome.

In the twenty-first chapter of the Springinsfeld, a sequel to Simplicissimus, the hero becomes an innkeeper¹ and by dishonest methods begins to accumulate wealth rapidly. Prying and envious neighbors ultimately put a stop to this and bring about his downfall by discovering that he is mixing large quantities of water with the wine.

This idea also is probably from Guzmán although dishonest innkeepers are likewise satirized in the Pícara Justina and in Lazarillo with which Grimmelshausen is known to have been familiar.

In the Gordufia de Sevilla, the hermit Crispin escapes from prison by donning woman's clothes and walking calmly past his jailers. Guzmán tries the same expedient (part II, book III, chap. VII) but without success. Híceme por quince días enfermo. No salí del calabozo ni me levanté de la cama y al fin dellos ya tenía prevenido un vestido de mujer. Con una navaja me quití la barba y vestido, tocado y afeitado el rostro salí por las

1. p.218.

dos puertas altas de los corredores, que ninguno de los porteros me habló palabra Mas, cuando llegué abajo á la puerta de la calle y quise sacar el pie fuera, puso el brazo delante del postigo un portero tuerto de un ojo, que á Dios plugiera y del otro fuera ciego! Detuvóme y mirome. Reconocíome luego y dio el golpe á la puerta.

For this attempt to escape Guzmán is punished severely and Simplicissimus when he attempts¹ to escape in woman's clothes from a camp in which he is virtually a prisoner is also discovered and escapes the rack almost by a miracle.

Simplicissimus also imitates Guzmán and the other picaros by becoming for a time a beggar. Like Guzmán he indulges in philosophy on charity and on the variety of reactions to be observed in the various classes of people he approaches for help. Guzmán, however, begs at the beginning of his career while Simplicissimus enters the ranks of the mendicants later in life and not as an ordinary beggar but in the disguise of a beggar monk. So we must again conclude that while the material used in this particular by Grimmelshausen is decidedly peculiar to the picaresque novels it need not necessarily have been taken from Guzmán.

Guzmán describes (in part I, book III, chap. II) his voyage to Genoa where he hopes to find his father's relatives. An old gentleman who claims to have known his father invites him to his

1. Book II, chap. 25.

house and provides him with a delicious repast and a luxurious bed. During the night four men disguised as devils enter the room, and manhandle him in an exceedingly rough and brutal manner, ...estando dormido como un muerto, recordóme un ruido de cuatro bultos, figuras de los demonios, con vestidos, caballéras y máscaras dello: llegaronse a mi cama

Simplicissimus has a very similiar adventure. In book II, chap. 5 he relates: Im ersten Schlaff kamen vier Kerl in schrecklichen Teufels-Larven vermunmt, zu mir ins Zimmer vors Bette.....

It is true that a direct similarity ceases after the first few lines, but the idea of having four "devils" appear at the hero's bedside is identical.

In Guzmán the progress of the narrative is interrupted not only by the moralizing but also by the introduction of various stories foreign to the main narrative. Thus one of the priests with whom Guzmán travels for a day on his way to Madrid relieves the monotony of the journey by telling the story of Osmin and Daraja, and, later, in the house of the French ambassador in Rome one of the guests relates the sad tale of Dorido and Clorinia. Likewise Sayavedra tells Guzmán the story of his life during their rather hurried trip from Bologna to Milan.

In a like manner, Grimmelshausen introduces stories and other elements not directly concerned with the hero's adventures. One of these is the story of Olivier's life as he relates it to Simplicis-

simus during that period of their lives in which they engage in highway robbery.

Sayavedra goes out into the world in quest of adventure, and when his means are exhausted, becomes a picaro, and, with other daring rascals, indulges in all sorts of thievery, rather specializing in the theft of cloaks. In relating these adventures he says (part II, book II, chap. IV): Otras veces fingíamos entrar a orinar y si acertábamos con la caballeriza, donde nunca faltaba la manta de la mula, el almohado o la criba, la capa del mozo y el trabon cuando mas no podiamos....,and,.....Cuando mas no podia, con las tijeras que siempre andaban en la mano, del mejor ferreruelo que me parecía y del mas pintado gentilhomme, le sacaba por detrás o por un lado (si acaso con el aprieto se le caia) para tres ó cuatro pares de soletas: y lo que desto mas gustaba era verlos ir después hechos un retrato de san Martin, con media capa menos.....¹

In book IV, chap. XX Olivier says:demnach wir nicht mehr wie hiebevot spendiren konten, geselleten wir uns zu einer Birsch, die den Leuten dess Nachts auff der Gasse die Mäntel abzwacken: ... Als wir nun einsmals, unsrer Gewohnheit nach, bey der Nacht herumschlingelten, den Studenten ihre Mäntel hinweg zu vulpinieren wurden wir überwunden etc. Grimmelshausen doubtless recalled this speciality of the Spanish picaros and adopted it to his pur-

1. Guzmán also engages in the theft of "capas" when more ambitious plans for gaining money miscarry.

poses in Olivier's story.

Sayavedra is finally apprehended and punished, and a like fate overtakes Olivier.

While Olivier's misdeeds resemble Sayavedra's his character resembles Guzmán's, in one particular at least.

Guzmán after he is sent to the galleys, decides that his only hope of being pardoned lies in a pretense of reform and an exhibition of good behaviour. He bends all his energies to this end and displays excellent deportment and an almost exaggerated spirit of servility toward the officers and toward a distinguished guest of the galley to whose service he has been appointed:

De todo se me daba un clavo, solo mi cuidado era atender al servicio de mi amo, por serle agradable, pareciendome que podria ser (por él ó por otro, con mi buen servicio) alcanzar algun tiempo libertad. (Part II, book III, chap. IX.)

Olivier also furnishes an example of a rogue assuming the mantle of good behaviour with a definite object in view: Ich lernete von unserem Secretario, wie ich mich halten solte, und mein Vorsatz gross zuwerden verursachete, dass ich mich ehrbar und reputirlich einstellete, und nit mehr, wie hiebevor meiner Art nach, mich mit Lumpenbossen schleppete:ich spendirte wo ich konte, dan als meine Mutter erfuhr, dass ich anfinde, gut zuthun, schickte sie mir noch immer Geld. (Book IV, chap. IX.)

Olivier has certain things in common with Guzmán and his

friend Sayavedra but resembles in other respects certain of the Spanish "valientes" or "rufianes". He is a bully and a braggart like Chiquisnaque and Maniferro in Rinconete y Cortadillo but more thoroughly bad as he does not hesitate at murdering people for their money. On one occasion¹ he and seven others are sent out to collect contributions from villages near their camp. They collect a considerable sum and decide to abscond. Olivier persuades three of his comrades to help him murder the other four and then one of the three remaining to help him do away with the other two; finally he kills the last one and remains in possession of the entire sum. It may be submitted that in brutality this exploit outdoes anything in the Spanish picaresque novels. The only thing that might possibly be compared with it is the "pícaro" Justina's description of the death of her father and the subsequent partial devouring of the corpse by a hungry dog.²

Students are described in many of the picaresque novels. Guzman gives an entertaining account of the life and activities of the students in Alcalá.³ Most of his comrades are rogues who spend more time in making merry than in study and during the seven years of his stay in Alcalá he learns little and is chiefly concerned with getting enough to eat. In the Pícaro Justina⁴ another

1. Book IV, chap. 21.

2. Part I, book I, chap. III.

3. Part II, book III, chap. IV.

4. Part I, book II, chap. I and II.

rollicking drunken crew of students is described. On the heroine's expedition to the "fiesta" at Arenillas a number of them disguised as canons and archdeacons with their chief as bishop overtake her and force her to sing:

Yo soy palma de danzantes,

Y hoy me llevan los estudiantes.

Besides Olivier, who was a decidedly worthless and rascally student, Grimmelshausen mentions¹ a "Latinischer Handwercks-Gesell", der erst kürzlich auss der Schule entloffen. This worthy falls in with Simplicissimus, who is at the moment planning the robbery of a neighboring priest. The student readily agrees to render assistance and his knowledge of Latin and of the ways of churchmen proves very helpful in the successful execution of the plan.

Physicians are a favorite butt for the jests and satire of the picaros. Guzmán tells of a convalescent who went to mass against the orders of his doctor, who meeting him began to reprove him for his rashness. The patient, however, pays him a fee to discontinue his advice. Guzmán himself arouses the pity of a cardinal² by exhibiting a painted ulcer. Two doctors called by the benevolent man detect the fraud but readily agree to help Guzmán deceive the cardinal in order to share in his bounty.

3

Simplicissimus serves while in Paris a doctor who does not

1. Book II, chap. 31.

2. Part I, book III, chap. VI.

3. Book IV, chap. IV.

hesitate to lend him to rich patrons for unworthy purposes, and when he leaves Paris he earns his way to the border by the manufacture and sale of absolutely worthless medicines. He tells also¹ how Hertzbruder's enemies bribe a doctor to give him a slow poison which eventually causes his death.

This last similarity to the Guzmán is not absolutely convincing and some of the other instances mentioned in the foregoing pages might be original with Grimmelshausen. The sum total, however, is sufficiently formidable to warrant the statement that the indebtedness to Mateo Alemán is greater than the critics quoted at the beginning of the chapter seem willing to admit. The chapter following will be devoted to a consideration of other Spanish sources of Grimmelshausen.

1. Book V, chap. V.

PART II.

OTHER SPANISH SOURCES
OF GRIMMELSHAUSEN.

An indebtedness to Antonio de Guevara is frankly acknowledged by Grimmelshausen.

In chapter twenty-three, fifth book, Simplicissimus tells the reader of his decision to retire from the world and become a hermit, saying that a certain work of "Guevarae" had strengthened him in this resolve and served to make the world entirely distasteful: Mit solchen Gedanken quälte ich mich täglich, und eben damals kamen mir etliche Schrifften dess Guevarae unter die Hände, davon ich etwas hieher setzen muss, weil sie so kräftig waren, mir die Welt vollends zuverleiten.

And there follows a long farewell to the world taken almost word for word from the twentieth chapter of the Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea by Antonio de Guevara. A small part of these passages, given below, will show the fidelity of the translation:

Quédate adiós, mundo, pues no hay que fiar de ti ni tiempo para gozar de ti; porque en tu casa, o mundo, lo passado ya passó, lo presente entre las manos se passa, lo por venir aun no comienza, lo más firme

Adieu Welt, dan auff dich ist nicht zutrauen, noch von dir nichts zu hoffen, in deinem Hauss ist das Vergangene schon verschwunden, das Gegenwärtige verschwindet uns unter den Händen, das Zukünfftige hat nie angefangen, das Allerbeständigste

ello se cae, lo más recio muy presto quiebra y aun lo más perpetuo luego fenescé; por manera que eres más defuncto que un defuncto y que en cien años de vida no nos dexas vivir una hora. Quédate adiós, mundo, pues prendes y no sueltas.

fällt, das Allerstärckste zerbricht, und das Allerewigste nimt ein Ende; also, dass du ein Toder bist unter den Toden, und in hundert Jahren lässt du uns nicht eine Stunde leben.

Adieu Welt, dan du nimst uns gefangen, und lässt uns nicht wieder ledig, du bindest uns, und lösest uns nicht wieder auff. (Simplicissimus book 5, chap.XXIV.)

On the first page of Simplicissimus is a reference to the "Zuckerbastels Zunfft" in Prague. In speaking of people of humble birth the author says: "Their forefathers were probably as vulgar and corrupt as the members of the Zuckerbastels association in Prague." This argues a familiarity with Ulenhart's novel Isaak Winterfelder und Jobst von der Schneid¹, which was a more or less faithful translation of Cervante's Rinconete y Cortadillo.

In the Cervantes book a highly organized congregation of rogues is described in a most entertaining manner. The band includes policemen, "fences", lawyers, bondsmen, spies, pickpockets, street-women, cutthroats and thugs. All loot is divided into certain specified lots and each member has to contribute toward a general fund which is used for buying oil for the lamp that is kept burning before

1. Augsburg, 1617.

the status of a certain saint. Any gentleman or lady having an enemy can arrange with the leader of the band to have this enemy mistreated in any form desired. On one occasion, two "rufianes" told off to put a certain number of "stripes", that is knife marks, on a certain man's face, return with the information that inasmuch as the face did not seem large enough to contain all the "stripes" specified, a few were put on the servant's face.

The Cervantes rogues inhabit Seville, while those in the Uhlenhart translation make Prague the scene of their activities their chief being called the "Zuckerbastel".

A further proof of familiarity with the Rinconete is noted in the marked resemblance between Olivier (to whom reference was made in the preceding chapter) and the rogues described by Cervantes. The Uhlenhart translation was doubtless in Grimmelshausen's possession while Simplicissimus was being composed.

Grimmelshausen's familiarity with the Pícara Justina is likewise apparent. The second book of his Simplicissimus series is called Trutz Simplex oder Ausführliche und wunderseltzame Lebensbeschreibung der Erzbetrügerin und Landstörzerin Courage. A translation of the Pícara Justina which appeared at Frankfurt in 1626 bore the title Die Landstörtzerin Justina Dietzin Picara¹.

Comparing the Spanish original with Simplicissimus we note that

1. This was a translation from the Italian translation by Barezzi Barzuzzi.

the German picaro goes on an insincere pilgrimage strongly resembling those indulged in by the far from pious Justina. The latter makes fun of the priests and "cantadores" in the cathedral at Leon and hints at immorality on their part but declares in the "aprovechamiento": "The evil-intentioned are insects which suck poison from flowers." In her levity at sacred things she is incorrigible. On a pilgrimage to the shrine of "Our Lady of the Road", she meets a vender raffling off hazel-nuts and calling them indulgences:

Ya llegué á la ermita, y de veras que me dió gusto el sitio, que es un campo anchuroso que huele a tomillo salsero, proveido de caserías, y aun hay allí personas que no las podrán sacar tan presto de sus casillas; digolo porque engordan mucho á las venteras. La ermita bien edificada, adornada, curiosa, limpia, rica de aderezo, cera y lámparas, ornamentos, plata, telas y presentallas. Gran concurso de gente, que por eso y por estar en el camino de Santiago se llama nuestra Señora del Camino. Notable provision de todas frutas, vino y comidas. Acuérdomes que desde esta romería quedé muy devota de los perdones de aquella tierra. Fué el cuento que cierto galan estaba rifando al naípe ciertas avellanas y genobradas, lo cual gané; y viéndome, convidó á ello, y dijo: Tome perdones, señora hermosa. Yo no entendia el uso de la tierra; y pensando que se burlaba y que me habia deparado Dios otro obispo de romería, le dije: Beso a vuestra merced las manos, señor obispo, que en verdad que me suele á mí ir bien con obispos, aunque a ellos conmigo no tanto.

And Simplicissimus says¹: Hierdurch persuadirte ich ihn, dass er zuliess, den heiligen Ort mit ihm zubesuchen, weil ich (wiewohl alles erlogen war) eine grosse Reue über mein böses Leben von mir scheinen liess. He tells us that by pretending a piety he does not really possess he persuades his friend Hertzbruder to accept him as a companion on a pilgrimage and agrees to put peas in his boots to make his penance more severe. In reality he has the peas cooked beforehand without Hertzbruder's knowledge.

Hertzbruder who is "too conscientious" prays during the entire journey without once looking about him, while Simplicissimus (like Justina in the passage just cited) takes in all the sights along the way: die Ställe stunden voll Viehe, die Baurh-Höfe lieffen voll Hüner, Gäns und Enten, die Strassen wurden sicher von den Raisenden gebraucht, die Wirthshäuser sassen voll Leute die sich lustig machten ... Das machte, dass ich auff dem gantzen Weg nur hin und her gaffte, wan hingegen Hertzbruder an seinem Rosenkrantz betete.

An indebtedness to Quevedo is also found by comparing Simplicissimus with certain passages in Quevedo's Sueños the connecting link being Moscherosch's Philander.

The reference to hypocrisy² in Simplicissimus is traceable to the Sueños:³

1, Book V, chap. 1.

2. Book I, chap. 24.

3. Vol.II, p.24 (in vol.34 of Clásicos Castellanos, Madrid 1917).

...Anstatt der aufrichtigen Meynung die einjedweder rechtschaffener Christ haben soll, fand ich eitel Heucheley, und sonst so unzehlbare Thorheiten bey allen Welt-Menschen... Hader, Neid, Zorn, Zanck, Zweytracht, Rotten, Hass, Mord, Sauffen, Fressen...

...De suerte que todo el hombre es mentira por cualquier parte que le examines ... ¡Ves los pecados? Pues todos son hipocresía, y en ella empiezan y acaban y della nacen y se alimentan la ira, la gula, la soberbia, la avaricia, la lujuria, la pereza, el homicidio y otros mil.

The corresponding passage in Moscherosch reads:

Ist derowegen die lose Heucheley eine allgemeine Seuche in allen Ständen, auch bei den geringsten Handwercken, die alle sich in ihrem Wesen selbst schmeicheln vnd Liebkosen, so, dass keiner sich selbst mehr recht kan oder mag erkennen (p.44)....Und wann ich eben Teutsche Warheit reden soll, so haben Zorn, Schwalgerey, Stolz, Geitz, Üppigkeit, Faulkeit, Mord vnd viel tausend andere Sünden einig vnd allein ihren Vrsprung von der Heucheley (p.45).

Also a reference in Simplicissimus¹ to artificial aids to beauty is to be found in the Sueños²:

...Hingegen waren Weibsbilder, die hatten ihre eigne Schönheit täglich mit allerhand Schmincke,

...las mujeres lo primero que se visten, en despertando, es una cara, una garganta y unas

1. Book I, chap. 24.

2. p. 45.

Salben, Wassern, Pulvern und
sonst Schmirsel unterhalten
und verehret...

manos y luego las sayas. Todo
quanto ves en ellas es tienda
y no natural... Si se lavasen
las caras, no las conocerías.

The Moscherosch rendering is as follows:

Vnd nur ein wenig sie zu anatomiren vnd in Stücke zerlegen,
so sind erstlich die Haare nicht ihre eigene Haar, sondern sie kom-
men auss dem Kram-Laden, vielleicht von einer, deren der Schädel
abgeschlagen worden, vnd dieser elenden, mit Eisen und Zangen ge-
marterter Haar gebraucht sie sich, weil die ihrige entweder durch
einen bösen Frantzosischen Luft ausgefallen, oder doch, wann sie
noch etliche deren hat, auss forcht, ihr alter dadurch verrathen
wirde, dieselbige nicht darff sehen lassen. Wann keine Schwartze
wäre, so hätte sie auch keine Augenbrawen, supercilia protulit de
pixide. Wann das Geschminck nicht wäre, so hätte sie weniger Farn
als ein Jud. Sie ist ein alter Götz, mit destillirten gebranten
Mercurialischen giftigen Wassern verjüngert:

Psilotro nitet, aut acida latet oblita creta

aut tegitur pingui terque quaterque faba (p.66).

In Sueño XXXIX the jews of Salonica discourse as follows
on the power of money: La moneda es la Circe, que todo lo que se
le llega u de ella se enamora, lo muda en varias formas..... El
dinero es un dios de rebozo... Es la riqueza una seta universal
en que convienen los más espíritus del mundo, y la codicia, un

heresiarca bienquisto de los discursos políticos y el conciliador de todas las diferencias de opinionens y humores... es el mágico y el nigromante que más prodigios obra...

And very similar is the thought expressed in Simplicissimus:¹
Diejenige, die wissen was das Geld gält, und dahero solches vor ihren Gott halten, haben dessen nicht geringe Ursache... dass es alle Tugend- und Würckungen viel kräftiger hat und vermag, als alle Edelgetein... es vertreibt böse Träume, machet fröhlich, schärfet den Verstand, und so man mit jemand zancket, machet es dass man sieget, vornehmlich wan man den Richter brav damit schmieret..

The following, also from the thirty-ninth sueño - Los bienes del mundo son de los solícitos; su fortuna, de los disimulados y violentos. Los señoríos y los reinos, antes se arrebatan y usurpan que se heredan y merecen, - is evidently imitated in the sixteenth chapter of the fourth book of Simplicissimus:

Sage mir, wie viel Königreiche und Fürstenthumer sind nicht mit Gewalt erobert und zuwege gebracht worden etc.

Also the general setting of the scene in hell² in which Avarice and Waste have a long controversy resembles the scene in La hora de todos y la Fortuna con seso³ in which Fortuna and El Sol engage in a lengthy argument.

1. Book III, chap. 13.

2. Chap. 4, book VI of Simplicissimus.

3. Book I of the Sueños.

In addition to the specific cases cited above there are in Simplicissimus and its sequels various picaresque elements not mentioned in the preceding chapter and apparently borrowed from Spanish sources although the incidents are not copied word for word. Grimmelshausen makes use of hermits, officials and gypsies all of which are familiar figures in the Spanish tales.¹

Marcos de Obregón² has a sad experience with gypsies and Alonzo³ suffers still more at their hands. The heroine of the Sabia Flora Malsabidilla⁴ is herself a gypsy and Cervantes describes this wandering folk with great skill in his wonderful story La Gitanilla.

In Lazarillo de Tormes, the hero, Lazarillo⁵, comes upon a band of gypsies by whom he is well received, and among whom he finds an attractive girl, who describes her early career. She was first preferred by a priest, then won the love of a jailer set to guard her and finally enslaved an alguazil, whom she befooled by arranging a quarrel in which blood from a bladder gave the appearance of a really sanguinary conflict.

Grimmelshausen introduces gypsies into the plots of the Landstörtzerin Courasche and the Springinsfeld.

Courasche who describes herself as not possessing the slightest amount of honesty or virtue joins, after many adventures,

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1. See Romances of Roguery, Chandler, New York 1899, p.131,132,133.
 2. by Espinel about 1620.
 3. Alonzo, Mozo de muchos amos by Alcalá de Yanez.
 4. by Alonso Geronimo de Salas Barbadillo, Madrid 1621.
 5. Part II, chap.XI.

some gypsies and is soon directing the activities of the band. In one of the villages through which they pass, a love-sick girl asks her for some magic help in bringing to time a fickle lover.

She accompanies the girl to her home and taking her to the cellar makes all sorts of symbols on the top of a barrel of wine¹, then pulling out the stopper tells the girl to hold her finger at the bung-hole while she goes upstairs to perform the necessary magic with the stopper. Once alone in the upper part of the house she takes all the jewels she can find and disappears.

At another village she has a young gypsy kill a hen belonging to a rich peasant. The gypsies feign extreme anger and announce to the villagers that the miscreant shall be taken to their camp and executed. The entire population wishes to see the execution and follows the gypsies to their camp while a few gypsy women remain behind and after stealing a quantity of valuables set fire to a straw stack thus creating a confusion during which the whole band escapes.

²
Springinsfeld is captured by gypsies and required to write the memoirs of the gypsy queen, who promises him not only a rich reward but also a gypsy bride. After the work is completed, however, he awakes one morning to find that the gypsies have departed during the night without leaving either the bride or the reward.

It will be seen that the gypsies described in the Springinsfeld

1. Chap. XXVII, p. 114.

2. Chapters V and VI.

and in the Courasche are rather talented picaros.

The trick which Courasche plays on the love-sick girl by leaving her in the cellar while she robs the house resembles strongly one of the ruses employed by the gypsies in the Varia fortuna del soldado Píndaro¹. Julia much in love with Píndaro consults an old gypsy woman as to the best means of securing his love. The old woman promising to fulfill her desire leads the girl to a distant part of the town, while gypsy accomplices enter and rob the house that Julia has been persuaded to leave unlocked².

The Píndaro appeared in 1626, forty years before the Simplissimus, so it may be considered as a possible (although not very probable) source. Grimmelshausen is not known to have been able to read Spanish and there is no record of a German translation of the Píndaro, so the story, if he knew it at all, must have reached him in some indirect way.

The hermits, like the gypsies, receive frequent mention in the Spanish picaresque novels³ and they are depicted for the most part as insincere and as assuming the profession only as a cloak to roguery.

Lazarillo de Tormes in the third account of his life⁴ meets a hermit who dilates upon the advantages of the trade in the fol-

1. by Don Gonzalo de Cespedes y Meneses, Lisbon 1626.

2. see Chandler, Romances of Roguery (New York 1899) p. 139.

3. id.

p. 101 and 131.

4. Chap. XV.

lowing manner:

Aquí ha veinte años que vivo fuera tumultosé inquietud humana: este es hermano, el paraiso terrestre: aquí contemplo en las cosas dÍvinas y aun humanas, aquí velo cuando no puedo dormir, y duermo cuando el sueño me acosa: aquí paso el soledad cuando no tengo compañía ... aquí pienso en mi mala vida pasada, y contemplo la buena presente: aquí finalmente es donde todo se ignora y todo se sabe.

Justina, in La PÍcara Justina, speaks¹ as follows of an insincere and roguish hermit: En mi pueblo hubo uno de estos, tan gran ladron como hipócrita, que en hábito de ermitaño era gran guarduño, por tal le prendió el corregidor etc. And in the "aprovechamiento" she says: Hipócritas y gente que no viven en comunidad y hacen ostentación de ejercicios y ceremonias, y hábitos inventados por solo su antojo, siempre fueron tenidos por sospechosos en el camino de la virtud.

Grimmelshausen doubtless had these Spanisch types in mind when he wrote of his hero's experiences as a hermit, for Simplicissimus, when he decides after a career of immorality and roguery, to adopt that profession manifests an insincerity which is very similar.

He relates with pride how the peasants who lived near his hermitage brought him gifts and how they worshiped him as a holy man,

1. Part II, book II, chap. IV.

but accuses himself of lack of fervor and even of hypocrisy¹ :
ward aber darum nicht desto seliger, sondern je länger je kälter,
saumseliger und schlimmer, also dass man mich beynahe einen Heuchler
oder heiligen Schalck hette nennen mogen: doch unterliess ich nicht,
die Tugenden und Laster zubetrachten und zугedencken was mir zuthun
seyn mögte, wan ich in Himmel wollte etc.

Nor are the men of the law spared by the picaros, whose activities bring them into unending conflict with the criminal judge and his subordinates the "escribiano" and the "alguazil".

Frequently these officials are described as dishonest, corruptible and cowardly and almost surpassing the picaros themselves in downright roguery.

Guzmán is robbed in Siena and traces the thief to Bologna where he finds and denounces him only to be himself imprisoned at the instigation of the culprit's father who has corrupted the officials. And Guzmán's second wife, when she is arrested in Madrid gains her freedom by accepting the advances of an elderly judge.

Lazarillo de Tormes serves an extremely clever alguazil who - acting in collusion with a rascally indulgence seller - accuses him of fraud and then pretends to be seized with a fit explaining afterwards that the fit must have been a divine punishment for his wrongful accusation of a manifestly very honest and holy man. After

1. Book VI, chap. 1.

this bit of acting the bystanders buy the holy wares generously and at a high price and the alguazil receives half the profits.

In Trutz Simplex the officials are also scored¹. The heroine is arrested and fined for a serious misdemeanor, but the officials take not only the fine but all the jewels that she possesses - etliche Kleinodien, die einer hier, der ander dort zu sich zwackte.

Also in Simplicissimus² we are told that the efficient bribing of officials constitutes one of the most important uses of money.

Lazarillo de Tormes goes to Salamanca to become a student at the university and the rector himself examines him³. The manner in which he confounds the rector is very amusing. He was asked to tell how many days there had been since the world began, and answered: "Not more than seven, because when the first seven had been used up they were repeated over and over again and will be repeated until the world ends." Another question was: "How far is the earth from heaven?" and he answers: "It is very near because the songs and prayers sung and said on earth are heard in heaven, and if you do not believe me go to heaven and I will sing in a very low voice, and if you can not hear me, condemn me for a fool." He concludes his account of the examination as follows: Prometo a vuestra merced que hubo de cellar el bueno del rector, y dejar lo demas para los otros. Pero cuando le vieron como corrido, no hubo quien osase ponerse en

1. Chapter XXV.

2. Book III, chap. 13.

3. Part II, chap. XVIII.

ello, antes todos callaron y dieron por muy excelentes mis respuestas. Nunca me vi entre los hombres tan honrado, ni tan señor acá, y señor aculla; la honra de Lazáro de día en día iba acrecentando.

Simplicissimus also wishes to visit a university and to this end consults a "Pfarrer" with whom he soon becomes involved in an argument¹ confounding him as Lazarillo confounded the rector - bat ihn darneben, er wollte mir doch ferner mit gutem Rath beförderlich seyn, auf welche Academiam ich mich begeben sollte? werde mich auch zu keinem Theil vollkommen verpflichten biss mich ein oder ander durch genügsame Erweisungen persuadiret zuglauben, dass er vor den anderen die rechte waare und allein seeligmachende Religion habe.

And, like Lazarillo in the passage just quoted, Simplicissimus rejoices at the high honor shown him by his fellow townsmen² : Ich hielt in meinem Sinn gäntzlich davor, dass mein damaliger Stand so vest gegründet wäre, dass mich kein Unglück davon stürzen könnte, weil mir jederman ... sowol wollte.

In concluding, mention may be made of a few books which have not been available but whose titles suggest that they may have been sources of Grimmelshausen.

Payer's comparison of the Albertinus Guzmán with Simplicissimus shows that Grimmelshausen must have used the Albertinus Guzmán and it is extremely likely that he used other books by the same

1. Book III, chap. XX.

2. Book III, chap. XIX.

author.

Albertinus produced fifty-one books and pamphlets, many of which he designated as translations. These more or less free translations were in many cases from the Spanish. He translated seven books by Antonio de Guevara, one by Anton de Avila, two by Francisco de Ossuna, one by Salvator Pons, one by Pedro de Medina, another by Pedro Malon, and others by Malvenda, Orosco, de la Cerda and Zamora.

It has not been possible to obtain copies of these translations nor of their Spanish originals but some of the titles as given by v. Liliencron¹ would seem to indicate possible sources for the Simplicissimus series. One of them, Horologium Principium² from the Spanish of A. de Guevara, contains rules of conduct for princes and high dignitaries and may have furnished Simplicissimus with material for his conversations with the governor of Hanau³.

Another, the Flagellum Diaboli (from the Spanish of Ossuna) in which the wiles and habits of witches, wizards and devils are described, may well have served Grimmelshausen for similar subjects in the Simplicissimus.

A third, an "original" work by Albertinus, but "collected from good and well-tried authors" as he himself admits, treats of the "natural and moral" properties of animals, birds, fish, trees, fruit,

1. op. cit.

2. Published at Berlin 1604, Freiburg 1611, Leipzig 1619.

3. Simplicissimus, book II, chapters X and XI.

metals etc. and may also have proved useful to Grimmelshausen in the discourses.

In book II, chapter XVIII Simplicissimus says in speaking of witches: "What Torquemadius says about the experiences of his school friend may be read in his Hexamerone."

According to Schneider¹ a French translation of Torquemada's Jardín de flores curiosas appeared in 1582 with the title Hexameron ou six journées une Table de toutes les principales matières.

The Jardín de flores curiosas which appeared in Salamanca in 1570 was translated into French by Gabriel Chappoys in 1582. A German translation of this French translation was made by Landgraf Herman IV. of Hesse in 1652 and likewise called the Hexameron and it is to this that Grimmelshausen doubtless refers. Like the French translation it is divided into six days - the first four being described as follows:

1. Von den wunderbahren Effecten der Natur, wieder den gemeinen oder gewöhnlichen Lauff derselben.
2. Von der Arth vnnd Eigenschafft der Brunnen, Strömen, Seen, etc. von dem irdischen Paradeyss, von den vier Strömen, so aus demselben fliessen, vnd in welchen theil der Welt die Christenheit sey.
3. Von Gespensten, Erscheinungen, Geistern, Buhlteuffeln, Zau-

1. Schneider, Spaniens Anteil an der deutschen Litteratur (Strassburg 1898) p. 122.

berern, Vergiffteren, Segensprechern vnd dergleichen.

4. Vom Glück vnd allerhand Zufällen, vnd wie fern dasselbe von dem Fato oder Fürscheidung vnterschieden sey. Von der Influentz der Himmlischen Körper vnd von andern merkwürdigen Sachen.

Schneider gives no further details, but it will be noted that the second "day" treats of the properties of springs, streams, lakes etc. Simplicissimus¹ says: "I had seen many wonderful springs - that which forms the source of the Weixel and the one near Zepusio in Hungary which dissolves iron, also the hot water and sulphur springs of Iceland Also I could describe many lakes - the Pilatus lake on mount Fractmont, the Camarin in Sicily, Mareote in Egypt, Icomede in Ethiopia, Trasimeno in Umbria And rivers I had seen in great numbers - Moldau in Bohemia, Thames in England, Tagum in Hispania, Nilum in Aegypt etc."

Judging merely by the meagre details given by Schneider it would seem quite probable that Torquemada's Jardín de flores curiosas was the source of the above geographical references.

Chandler³ says that Barbadillo in his novel El necio bien afortunado⁴ "sought satirically to show that prosperity and success in this world attend simplicity thereby closely approaching the later scheme of Grimmelshausen in Simplicissimus."

1. Book VI, chap. 14.

2. op. cit.

3. op. cit. p. 292.

4. Madrid 1621.

It would be interesting to study El necio bien afortunado with the object of proving it to be another source of Grimmelshausen, but this work also has not been available.

For the same reason it has not been possible to endeavor to prove a Spanish source for the Acerra philologica¹ of Peter Lauremberg. Bobertag² mentions the Acerra as one of Grimmelshausen's sources and quotes a few classical references from the Acerra. Curiously enough some of these are to be found in Alemán's Guzmán de Alfarache. Circe, Cupid, Jupiter, Vulcan are mentioned in both works and it might be possible if the necessary material were at hand, to prove a Spanish source for the Acerra.

1. Leipzig, 1640.

2. Deutsche National-Litteratur, vol. 33, p. 24.

SUMMARY .

Simplicissimus has considerable value - the first four books are especially good. It is undoubtedly better than the Albertinus translation of Guzmán which was so changed as to be almost unrecognizable, the translator taking some things from the original Guzmán and some from the spurious second part by Sayavedra, and making additions of his own as the spirit moved him. That it is better than Aleman's Guzmán is doubtful. The Spanish original if stripped of the lengthy discourses is very entertaining and possesses a certain pleasing style and typically and exclusively Spanish flavor which few non-latin writers could have produced.

There is some coarseness in Guzmán but more in Simplicissimus and there is at times a cruelty and cynicism in the German work which is practically absent in the Guzmán. The Spanish picares are, after all, fairly harmless. They steal and swindle but almost never commit murder. Some of them are bullies who boast and bluster but not one can compare in coarseness, cruelty and cynicism to Olivier in the Simplicissimus.

The subject matter in Simplicissimus is probably richer than in the Guzmán and the hero gives proof of personal prowess and bravery, which traits his Spanish cousin lacks. The German hero is, however, in every other respect fully as weak and inconsistent as the Spanish hero and there is undoubtedly more charm in the Guzmán.

Certain German critics¹ blinded perhaps by a too close proximity to the holy fire of patriotism have endeavored to place Grimmelshausen in the same class with Cervantes.

It would have been better not to attempt a comparison. The little musketeer is entirely out-classed by the Spanish giant, who has made the tour of the world and proven his undying popularity. Don Quixote is a universal type who has been accorded a reception and greeted with an applause out of all proportion to the comparatively local success of Simplicissimus.

Without doubt, Grimmelshausen like Cervantes put into his book the treasures of experience amassed in an eventful life. But what a superiority in conception and execution in the Spanish work!

It is not clear that the German author had any particular object in view. He does not really attack or defend anything and his book lacks a precise conclusion. If even Guzmán excels it in charm what might we not say in this respect about the Quixote which has been not merely a national but a universal inspiration.

Cervantes ridicules the romances of chivalry in such a way that they disappeared from Spanish literature at once. Grimmelshausen laid the foundation for the modern novel in Germany by producing a book which was a departure from the romances of chivalry. But after as before Grimmelshausen romances of chivalry appeared in Germany.

1. See especially Eichendorff, Der deutsche Roman des 18. Jahrhunderts. p. 59.

He combatted the heavy semi-biblical and semi-classical works and assailed the use of foreign words in German¹, but he was by no means as successful in this direction as was Cervantes in combatting undesirable literary customs in Spain. The effect produced by the Quixote was infinitely greater than that produced by the Simplicissimus. The latter work had influence but in a lesser degree.

The Quixote was the product of Spain alone. Simplicissimus was not the product of Germany alone and this is another proof of its inferiority to the Spanish master work.

In justice to Grimmelshausen it must be said that his work contains much that is original, but it must also be said that there is considerable foreign influence.

From the foregoing chapters it must be apparent that the indebtedness to Spain is considerable - indeed it is safe to assert that Grimmelshausen owed more to Spain than to Italy, France and Germany combined. From the literatures of these countries he took a few detached episodes most of them unimportant, but from the literature of Spain he obtained the idea of writing a picaresque novel. Critics may call Simplicissimus a German novel with a German setting and attempt to establish a superiority over the Spanish originals but none can deny the Spanish origin.

That German students of this book and its sequels have failed

1. This is especially the case in Der Teutsche Michel, Leipzig 1863-64 (reprint from 1673).

to emphasize the foreign sources is not surprising. In studying the literature of their country they have found that while the thirteenth and the eighteenth centuries produced great literary works, the seventeenth was a rather sterile, perhaps the most sterile period in German literature. Little wonder then that they make the most of Grimmelshausen, who was one of the most important and original writers of his time and little wonder if they pass lightly over his faults and fail to attach importance to his foreign sources.

We must admit that in spite of numerous plagiarisms he was a great writer. Plagiarism was not uncommon in his day and few if any of his contemporaries and immediate successors failed to borrow from other writers. In this connection we involuntarily think of Lesage's Gil Blas, the foreign sources of which form perhaps one fifth of the entire romance.¹

We must also admit that at times Grimmelshausen's imitations were an improvement on the original. We have already spoken of the Jewish legend which furnished the idea for the fourteenth and fifteenth chapters of Das wunderbarliche Vogelneest. The original legend as described by Tittmann is of little interest, but the form given it by Grimmelshausen may be described as extremely interesting and entertaining.

But in spite of the fact that Grimmelshausen improved at times

1. See Geddes & Josselyn, Introduction to Historia de Gil Blas (Boston, 1901).

on the original source too little emphasis has been placed on his borrowings.

Summing up the results of our present study we may say that he took from Guzmán the general idea for a picaresque novel. This is shown by the similarity in the course of events in the Simplicissimus and the Guzmán. Also we find that he took some of the discourses and classical allusions and sundry detached episodes from the same source.

We likewise find that into Simplicissimus and its sequels he introduces dishonest innkeepers, beggars, rogues who steal cloaks, ruffians, gypsies, hermits, dishonest officials, unscrupulous doctors, lazy servants, cruel masters and marauding students - all familiar figures in the Spanish picaresque novels and doubtless borrowed, although altered in some cases, from Guzmán, Lazarillo or the Pícara Justina.

Furthermore, there is an indebtedness to Antonio de Guevara, for the farewell speech to the world and probably also for some of the hero's philosophizing.

There is also a debt to Quevedo as shown by similarities between the Simplicissimus and the Philander part of which was copied from Quevedo, to Cervantes from whom Grimmelshausen took the reference to the thieves' nest in Prague and probably also the character of Olivier, and to Ubeda from whom he took the title to the Landstörtzerin Courasche and probably some of the picaresque elements.

From the Lazarillo de Tormes he very probably took other picar-

esque elements and from the same source he may have obtained the idea for his hero's conversations with the clergyman.

As has been indicated in the latter part of the second chapter of the present study there are several other very probable sources which have not been investigated because of lack of material.

Others have not been considered because of the apparent impossibility of proving that they were known to Grimmelshausen. One of these is La Vida i Hechos de Estevanillo Gonzalez,¹ the hero of which is a soldier who serves in Italy, Bavaria, the Netherlands and finally in Germany during the Thirty Years' War.

Although it has not been practicable or possible to study all of the probable sources, the works investigated reveal a decided Spanish indebtedness - in fact a much greater indebtedness than has been generally conceded.

1. Dedicated to O. Piccolomini and said to be by his bufoon. First edition Antwerp, 1646. (See Chandler, op.cit. p.346.)

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