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GESICHTE: A STUDY OF STRUCTURAL
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JOHANN MICHAEL MOSCHEROSCH'S GESICHTE:
A STUDY OF STRUCTURAL DEVICES

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Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
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CHAPTER I

Introduction

The general public ceased long ago to read Moscherosch's work; and the occasional critic who deals with him now is content to copy mistakes of older scholars, thereby perpetuating faulty information from one literary history to the next.¹ Yet, during his lifetime, Moscherosch was considered one of Germany's leading literary figures. His reputation was based not only on his major work, Die wunderlichen und wahrhaften Gesichte Philanders von Sittenwald, and on a number of minor works, but also on his activity as an editor. Thus he republished assorted political and educational works of authors such as Wimpheling,² Gumpelzhaimer,³ Erasmus⁴ and Bernhardt.⁵ Several of these writings were in Latin, and some in French. Moscherosch's proficiency in French also is indicated by his edition of the anonymous French poem Méditation sur la Vie de Jésus Christ,⁶ and by his compilation of a technical French-German dictionary.⁷
The greater part of Moscherosch's minor work consists of occasional poetry; the majority of entries in Bechtold's Moscherosch bibliography falls into this category. Besides occasional poetry, Moscherosch also wrote Latin epigrams. Several of these were included in Zincgref's *Apophthegmata*, a collection of short anecdotes, famous sayings, proverbs, and poems. Later, in 1630, Moscherosch's epigrams were published under the title *Epigrammata*. According to Muncker, Moscherosch attempted to obtain a chair at the university of Strassburg on the strength of this work's first edition. There is, however, some doubt as to the truth of this statement, since according to the date of the dedication, his epigrams were published after the application had already been refused. The work had popular acclaim and underwent three editions. With each edition the number of epigrams increased; the first edition had one hundred, and the last (1665) six hundred.

Another minor work is *Insomnis Cura Parentum*, first published in 1643, and reprinted in 1647, 1653 and 1678. To the second edition Moscherosch added a translation of *The mothers Legacie to her vnborne*
Childe by Elizabeth Joceline (1624). This tract inspired him to write the Insomnis Cura Parentum. This work has elements of the traditional devotional book, but is in the main a pedagogical treatise divided into thirty-two letters, in which a father gives advice to his children according to strict Lutheran principles. The book was well received, was even translated into Danish, and has been called Moscherosch's best work.

In 1893, Ludwig Pariser republished the 1643 edition of Insomnis Cura Parentum, and in 1897, he published Patientia, a manuscript by Moscherosch consisting of several fragmentary notes. One larger section, a dialogue between a person called Geängéstigter and his friend, is modeled closely on Amos Comenius' Ein trawrig Gespräch, which appeared first in Czech and was then translated into German. Two other sections consist of several prayers and a poem of fifty stanzas. The latter is an enumeration of life's hardship, with the emphasis placed on the adverse experiences Moscherosch had during his employment at court.
Moscherosch's major work, *Die wunderlichen und wahrhaftigen Gesichte Philanders von Sittewald*, established him as one of the foremost satirists of the seventeenth century. It was first published in 1640 and republished five times within the next twenty-five years. It consists of two parts, each of which is divided into seven chapters called *Gesichte*. The first edition is composed of the first part only. Later editions include the second part, first as four chapters, then as six, and finally in the 1650 edition as seven chapters.

The first part of this work was inspired by La Geneste's French translation, or rather adaptation, of Quevedo's *Los Sueños*. Moscherosch did not merely translate La Geneste, but used this work as a basic framework into which he introduced his own thoughts and ideas. The second part of *Gesichte*, on the other hand, can be considered as an original work.

In their discussion of *Gesichte*, the nineteenth century scholars Dittmar, Jördens, and Goedecke did not differentiate between authorized editions, pirated editions and editions that were anonymous.
copies or continuations. The havoc thus created in the listing of editions was eventually clarified in Bechtold's bibliography of 1922.25 Bechtold considers as first edition26 a volume that contains the entire first part consisting of the chapters Schergen-Teufel, Welt-Wesen, Venus-Narren, Todten-Heer, Letztes Gericht, Hällen-Kinder, and Hoff-Schule. This edition does not have a date of publication, but Bechtold thinks it to be 1640. The reason for this assumption are the dates of the letters between Moscherosch and his friend Gloner; 6 April, 1640 and 16 September, 1640, in which several references are made to Gesichte because Gloner proofread the work.27

For 1640, Bechtold cites as further proof from the Gesichte: "...wir sind in dem MDCXXXX Jahr" (p. 221 of this edition).28 Since this remark is found in the fourth Gesicht, Todten-Heer, it would not contradict Wirth's29 suggestion that the first three Gesichte appeared in a volume before the rest of the work, that is before 1640. Wirth was led to his opinion by his discovery of an undated edition of only the first three Gesichte, that concluded with the words: "Der vielgünstige Leser wolle ehist das
vierte Gesicht genandt Todten-Heer erwarten. It has not been established by how much time this partial edition would precede the complete one.

The first dated edition appeared in 1642. In it extensive additions were made, but since they are insertions of further examples and elaborations, additional comparisons and random discourses, they do not affect the basic structure of the original edition. By 1643 Moscherosch had finished the first four Gesichte of the second part. Published in 1643, they were bound together with the 1642 edition of the first part, and thus constitute edition B. The first part of this edition received again some minor changes and was reprinted in 1643. Bound with the second part of edition B, it is known as edition C.

The fourth edition appeared in 1644. It consists of a printing of the second part only. This time it was enlarged by the addition of the Gesichte Pflaster wider das Podagram and Soldaten-Leben.

The fifth edition (1650), is called edition E; it has two printings, \(E^1\) and \(E^2\), of which the
latter is an excellent pirated edition by Moscheroch's printer based on the original E1. Edition E is the first edition of the entire work, which contains the seventh and last Gesicht of the second part, Reformation.

In the year 1666 yet another printing took place, this time of the second part only. At first it appeared on the market bound with the first part of edition E (1650). Then, as copies of this first part became scarce, a new printing was made. This new edition of the first part (1677), bound with the 1666 printing of the second part, is the last authorized edition and is designated as edition F.

It would be logical to use the last authorized edition as a base for a discussion. In the case of Gesichte this would be especially valid, as several minor changes were made since the previous edition E of 1650.33 But, the first part of this edition was published eight years after the author's death and its preparation was supervised by his son Ernst Bogislav. It is therefore difficult to distinguish between those changes which Moscheroch himself authorized, and the modifications made by his son.
Since this fact speaks against relying on this edition of the first part as a basic text and since the 1666 edition of the second part shows only minor changes from edition E (1650), it seems logical to prefer the latter as a basic text. Already Bobertag found this to be the case and based his partial edition of Gesichte on it.\textsuperscript{34} Also, most recent discussions of Moscherosch refer to the 1650 edition. In consideration of these facts these studies will do the same.

The title of the first edition of Gesichte starts with the words: "Les Visiones De Don Francesco Quevedo Villegas...\textsuperscript{35}" which point directly to the original Spanish work of which the first part of Moscherosch's book is an adaptation. The history of the Spanish original is complex. Its five basic sueños circulated for years in manuscript; their titles and years of composition are: \textit{El sueño de Juicio final}, 1606; \textit{El Alguacil endemoniado}, 1607; \textit{El sueño del Infierno}, 1608; \textit{El mundo por de Dentro}, 1612; and \textit{El sueño de la Muerte}, 1621-22. These are the models respectively for the \textit{Gesichte Letztes Gericht}; \textit{Schergen-Teuffel}; \textit{Höllen-Kinder}; \textit{Welt-Wesen};
and Todten-Heer. In 1627 the Sueños were printed in Aragon at several locations at approximately the same time under varying titles.36

The next edition (1629)37 contains, besides other prose works, also the Discurso de Todos los Diablos, o Infierno Emendado con el cuento de cuentos.38 Although Quevedo did not consider this work a sueño, it was frequently published with them. La Geneste, the French translator, accepted it therefore as one of the sueños. Other adapters, among them Moscherosch, followed La Geneste's lead.

There is a question regarding the authorship of the sueño La Casa de Locos de Amor, the model for Moscherosch's Gesicht Venus-Narren. This sueño first appeared in the edition of Zaragoza (1627), and then in those of Barcelona (1629) and Pamplona (1631).39 It is also found in a somewhat altered form in the edition of Madrid (1648),40 which appeared three years after Quevedo's death. According to Aureliano Fernández-Guerra y Orbe,41 this sueño was written by Quevedo in his youth; he adds that Lorenzo van der Hammen, who edited the Zaragoza edition of 1627, may have suggested the theme to
Quevedo. Fernández-Guerra y Orbe suggests that van der Hammen reworked this sueño in 1648—this edition then served as a basis for all subsequent editions. On the other hand, Merimée doubts that Quevedo wrote this sueño, since he did not mention it when he enumerated his suenos in 1612 in the preface to his El mundo por de Dentro and later in the preface to his Sueño de la Muerte in 1622. Merimée also says: "Elle ne figure pas davantage dans la seule edition reconnue et avouee par lui, celle de Madrid, 1629." In the preface to this edition, we read:

Estos discursos en la forma que salen corregidos, y en parte aumentados, conozco por mios, sin entremetimiento de obras ajenas que me echacaron algunos mercaires extranjeros las pusieron en la publicidad de la imprenta, y...anadieron a mis tratados ajenos...

By this statement Quevedo disavowed the authorship of any sueños that were not published in this particular edition; and this edition did not include Casa de Locos de Amor. Merimée thinks that Quevedo's remark was not simply made in order to avoid stringent censorship, for the material contained in this sueño is such that possibly offensive parts could
have been easily rewritten. Even though this would speak against Quevedo's authorship, Emile also the existence of a manuscript from the first half of the seventeenth century, whose index firmly attributes this sueño to our author.

The question of authorship is still not resolved. However, the style of this sueño is much in the vein of the rest of Quevedo's work. The French translator of Quevedo did not take note of this authorship problem, but treated it as if it had been an original work of Quevedo. The same holds true for Moscherosch.

The international fame of Quevedo's Sueños in the seventeenth century was mainly based on its French translation, for all translations into other languages were based on it rather than on the Spanish original. It appeared under the title:


True to the tradition of the age, its author, La Geneste, did not translate Quevedo's work word for
word, but adapted it to a French setting. The changes in wording are only minor, and no extensive passages were added. Moscherosch, in contrast, based the first part of his work mainly on the French version and greatly enlarges upon his model.

Translations of the Sueños were published in England, Italy and Holland. Of these, the Dutch translation was the most successful; it went through seventeen editions. If the title of this Dutch translation (1641) is compared to the title of the Moscherosch edition from the year 1642/43, a striking similarity meets the eye. Moscherosch changed the word wunderbare of the 1640 edition to wunderliche, which corresponds to the Dutch wonderlijke. Moscherosch enlarged also the title of the earlier edition, which now, although not a word for word translation, is clearly a restatement of the ideas expressed in the Dutch title. Moscherosch may have glanced at the Dutch title and may have familiarized himself with the work. This is all the more likely as both were written from a Protestant point of view,
while the French and Spanish models have a Catholic outlook.

Besides the translations into the languages mentioned, Merimée notes a translation of Sueños into Latin. This is the only record of this item. If the work could be located, it would be interesting to see what connection it has to Moscherosch's work, especially since both were published at Straßburg.

Most of the criticism on Moscherosch appeared at a time when biographical and historical methods were the order of the day. The romantic period was interested in the literature of the seventeenth century, but of the romantic authors only Achim von Arnim turned his attention to Moscherosch. He based the fourth novelle of his Wintergarten on the material contained both in Moscherosch's Gesicht Soldaten-Leben and Grimmelshausen's Springinsfeld. A little later in the nineteenth century, Dittmar published an incomplete edition of Gesichte, containing only four chapters.

A revival of interest in Moscherosch came during the later years of the nineteenth century. When, in the wake of the Franco-Prussian war, Alsace-Lorraine
became again part of Germany, Moscherosch found favor with some patriotic critics, because of his Alsatian origin and the pro-German attitude of his Gesichte.

After the first world war, articles on Moscherosch decreased markedly. Only Huffschmid, Koltermann, and Bechtold continued to show interest in him. Their publications are, however, mainly of a biographical and bibliographical nature.

Since 1935 the publication on Moscherosch has been limited to a handful of articles and dissertations. Of these, items by American and British writers outnumber the German contributions.

Most critics concern themselves primarily with Moscherosch's biography. The literary histories of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as the writings of the late nineteenth century critics Fariser and Beihert, base their opinions mainly on the facts about Moscherosch's life contained in Matthias Meigen's eulogy.

In all of these writings Moscherosch appears as an upright and virtuous man of Lutheran traditions, who staunchly defends German customs. These critics
also emphasize Moscherosch's patriotism. A sentiment like this is typical:

Moscherosch schaut mit seinem biedern Sinn in unsere Zeit herüber, wo der deutsche Volksgläube zur Wirklichkeit geworden ist ... Keine zweite (Satire) ist so aus der Geschichte unseres Volkes herausgewachsen wie diese. Daher hat Moscherosch auch eigens wohlaubeachtendes nationales Verdienst.

During the twenties and thirties, new facts about Moscherosch's life were discovered. These years brought the publication of the extant portion of his diary, and also that of several newly discovered letters. A few articles dealing with his library shed further light on Moscherosch's literary interests. As a result of these probings, the picture of Moscherosch as a man of virtue needs some revision.

One of the newly uncovered facts about Moscherosch's life is his dismissal for gravely mistreating one of his pupils when he was a tutor of the children of the Count of Leiningen-Dagsburg-Hartenburg. His resignation as police inspector of the city of Strassburg, when the city council discovered that he had committed adultery, is another incident. Later, as head councilor at Hanau, Mosche-
Rosoch mismanaged this city's affairs and had to flee in order to avoid arrest. In addition to this, a letter contained in the archives at Hanau states that Moscherosch arrived there without letters of recommendation from any of his previous employers. In view of this, it is possible that Moscherosch had to leave his former positions rather hastily also. The positions in question are bailiff at Kriechingen, and privy and war councilor of the Swedes at Benfeld. At any rate, there is a dichotomy between the Moscherosch of real life and the virtuous picture of him in Meigener's eulogy.

A matter closely related to Moscherosch's biography is the question of his family's national origin. Dittmar states that the Moscherosch family came from Spain. This information was garnered from some letters discovered among the Moscherosch family papers. Although these letters proved to be fraudulent, the myth of Moscherosch's descent from Spanish nobility became a standard piece of information in every literary history for over a hundred years. Wilpert mentioned it as late as 1963. Max Huffschmid gathered some concrete evidence, however,
against the theory of his descent from Spanish nobility. He found that during the fifteenth century a bourgeois family with a name similar to that of Moscherosch lived in Hagenau, and Moscherosch's ancestry can probably be traced to it. Curt von Faber du Faur also rejects the report of a noble ancestry; but he still believes that the family may have come from Spain. His opinion is that Moscherosch descended from Spanish Jewry. A Jewish family name, Rosch, was quite common in Spain; together with the first name Moshe (Moses), it could easily have produced the name of Moscherosch. Faber du Faur conjectures that this family emigrated to Germany and eventually converted to Christianity.

Many other critics have attempted to find an etymology for the name Moscherosch. Richel sums up the various opinions this way:

Ältere Forscher sahen in der letzten Silbe ein hebräisches Wort rosch, welches Kopf bedeutet. So übersetzt Harsdörffer den Namen mit Moseskopf. Der gelehrte Rotermund nennt Moscherosch einen halb griechischen, halb hebräischen Namen. Konrad Hofmann findet den Namen zusammengesetzt aus dem spanischen Titel mosen und rosch, Ebert aus mosen und und dem limusinischen ros=rot, Heintze-Cascorbi aus mosen oder musen=monsieur und Ros, Spanish Ruiz, westgotisch Rodrigo.
Richel continues with a genealogy of the Moscherosch family:

Ein Hauptmann im Gefolge Karls V., Matzlof de Museros, kam 1520 von Barcelona nach den Niederlanden. In Aachen verlobte er sich mit Katherina Vespenan und führte mit seiner Braut und ihrer Mutter nach Straßburg, wo die Hochzeit stattfand. Sein Sohn, Maternus, nannte sich Mosenroß und heiratete 1551 Magdalene Wanger. Deren Sohn, Matergus (*1553), schrieb sich zuerst Moscherosch,

and suggests the following origin for the family name:

...der älteste bekannte Träger des Namens schrieb sich de Museros; er nannte sich offenbar nach dem Ort seiner Herkunft oder nach dem Stammbaum der Familie. Museros ist ein kleines Städtchen in der Provinz Valencia.

All this information is based on a genealogy compiled in 1750 by Moscherosch’s great-grandson Philipp Jakob Moscherosch. Recently, serious doubt has been raised about the accuracy of this document, thus shedding doubt on the theory of a Spanish ancestry of any kind. Still, Richel’s opinion about the origin of the name 'de Museros' has found favor with the most recent name-etymologists.

Although various articles about Moscherosch’s family and his life have appeared, not one covers
the subject adequately. Trittin gives a short summary of this biographical material. A little longer and somewhat more valuable is a chapter in Knight's dissertation which briefly mentions Moscherosch's teachers, of whom Bernegger was the best known, and notes Moscherosch's relation with other men of letters. In a recent dissertation, Grunwald attempts to write a complete biography. Unfortunately, he does not consult all the material published on Moscherosch, nor does he make use of documents from Moscherosch's lifetime still extant today. The digressions which merely retell material from Moscherosch's literary work constitute one flaw of this dissertation, while another is Grunwald's overemphasis on the general history of Germany rather than on the facts of Moscherosch's life. In short, a definitive biography of Moscherosch is still to be written.

Critics have scarcely touched upon Moscherosch's minor writings. Max Nickels confines his dissertation to an examination of the content of Insomnis Cura Parentum, and concludes that its main value lies in its pedagogical nature. Knight, in dealing with the same work, concentrates on its form and
finds that it has a great affinity to the large number of devotional texts that were in vogue during Moscherosch's time. With the exception of a short discussion of Epigrammata in Knight's dissertation and a few articles on hitherto unknown poems, the rest of Moscherosch's minor works is not treated anywhere.

A curious side chapter in the history of Moscherosch criticism is a series of articles on the anonymously published Der Unartig Teutscher Sprachverderber. This book deplores the intrusion of foreign words, mostly of French and Latin origin, into the German language. A controversy existed for a number of years over the authorship of this work. Bechstein tended to favor Schupp, while Köhler thought Moscherosch the author. The latter based his opinion on the fact that Moscherosch discussed the mingling of languages in his edition of Georg Gumpelzhaimer's Gymnasma, in which there is a list of authors who collected examples of language corruption; Moscherosch ended this enumeration of authors with the remark: "...wie auch ich in meinem Sprachverderber." Beinert, too, tried to substantiate
Moscherosch's authorship by comparing the language of this work to passages taken from Gesichte.

Joachim, on the other hand, discredited the view that Moscherosch was the author by referring to Moscherosch's dedicatory poem in H. H. Schill's Der Teutschen Sprach Ehren-Krantz. This poem attacks the Sprachverderber, and, in the opinion of Joachim, an author would not attack his own work.

The Sprachverderber deals with a subject matter that was quite popular in the seventeenth century; it underwent several editions and exerted great influence on other works.

Research concerned with Sprach-Verderber found that Moscherosch was not its author—in 1922 Otto Hartig proved that it was Johann Christoph Schorer. A possible influence that Moscherosch may have had on its composition can, however, not be completely discounted, especially not since both he and Schorer were closely associated with the Tannengesellschaft.

The critics who treat Gesichte consider primarily its textual history and the question of its
sources. A dissertation by Johann Wirth \(^{85}\) compares the various editions. He, as well as Bobertag, \(^{86}\) mentions that the first part of Gesichte relies more heavily on La Geneste's French version of Quevedo's *Los Suenos* than on the Spanish original itself. Brigitte Höft \(^{87}\) tries to check this statement in her recent dissertation. She compares the Gesichte Welt-Wesen to its French and Spanish models and discovers that Moscherosch does indeed base his text mainly on the French. However, according to her, Moscherosch's knowledge of the Spanish original cannot be discounted as certain details of Gesichte only have a parallel in the Spanish version and could only have been copied from it. Brigitte Höft also deals with the German models for the first part of Gesichte, and checks the references made in the dissertations of Beinert \(^{88}\) and Hinze \(^{89}\) about the influence of German satirists on Moscherosch. She finds that these older dissertations have overestimated that influence. Quite often passages from authors such as Fischart, Brant, Murner, or Ringwalt contain a thought similar to that found in a passage of Moscherosch.
Because of this, Beinert and Hinze immediately assumed a direct influence from the earlier authors. Brigitte Höft proves that the French and Spanish models often have passages similar in content to Moscherosch sections and also to sections from earlier satirists. Evidently Moscherosch needed only to take the passages from his models and develop them.

On the other hand, so Miss Höft continues, there are parts that Moscherosch has taken word for word from German authors, or else has just slightly revised; these sections are not from satires, but from the geographical writings of Zeiller, or from the sermons of Meyfart. These particular sections Moscherosch usually specifies by indicating the source in a small note in the margin of the text.

Besides the material that mainly deals with the sources of the Gesichte, there are also some publications that limit themselves to a particular theme of this book. Julie Cellarius, for example, investigates the political views of Moscherosch. She bases her research mostly on the Gesicht
entitled Hof-Schule, in which Julius Caesar appears. How the latter is depicted is the subject of several pages in Gundolf's book Cäsar in der deutschen Literatur. Of purely linguistic interest are the dissertations by Haney and Diane Blumenthal. Another topic is the treatment of proverbs in Gesichte dealt with in Marie Huth's dissertation, which does not go beyond presenting a list of proverbs and proverb-like expressions. Two articles by Schlosser relate certain locales described in Gesichte to the places where the author actually lived.

Another body of criticism places Moscherosch within the literary framework of his time. Klamroth devotes about twenty pages to Moscherosch; he gives information on the origin of dream satire, and endeavors to clarify Moscherosch's position within this tradition. Erika Vogt examines the anti-court elements in baroque literature and finds that Moscherosch is one of the main exponents of bourgeois ideals; and that he could therefore also be termed a leader in the anti-court trend of seventeenth century literature. Another
attempt to link Moscherosch to writers of his age is an article by Beinert which discusses his influence on Grimmelshausen and Weise. A similar subject matter occurs in von Bloedau: Grimmelshausen und seine Vorgänger. The most helpful work on German baroque satire in general is written by Hildegarde Wichert. She is mainly concerned with Schupp. However, before she enters on a discussion of a topic, such as the 'State' as it is seen in Schupp's work, she analyses the treatment of it by satirists such as Logau, Rachel, Lauremberg, Riemer, and particularly Moscherosch.

Miss Wichert states that Schupp's works and Moscherosch's Gesichte indicate a progression from the satiric review that is predominant in the sixteenth century to the satiric novel of the later seventeenth century. Marie Schmidt substantiates this in her dissertation. She holds that the second part of the Gesichte has many novelistic devices which influenced the anonymous continuations of this work. These continuations are no longer satires, but have become satiric novels. Knight affirms this trend toward the novel and states that
the Gesicht Soldaten-Leben could be regarded as one of the first German novels. In his dissertation, Knight\textsuperscript{104} takes the entire Gesichte into consideration. He confines himself to an examination of content rather than of structure, revealing that also in content matter Moscherosch straddles an intermediary position between the sixteenth century satire and the satiric novels of such an author as Weise.

Statements about the structure of Gesichte have been cursory. Perhaps one of the factors that has hindered a study of this kind has been the fact that the first part of Gesichte has been regarded as a translation and the second as an original work. The two parts have usually been treated separately, but I shall consider Gesichte as an entity, and shall point out that certain novelistic elements of the first part foreshadow the novelistic structure of the second. Although such critics as Wichert, Knight and Schmidt have stated that Moscherosch assumes a position between the sixteenth century satire and the seventeenth century satiric novel, no detailed study to investigate this state-
ment has been made. Therefore, I shall attempt to show that the internal structural development of Gesichte from the first to the second part parallels a broader development in literature, spanning from the satire of the sixteenth to the satiric adventure novel of the seventeenth century.
CHAPTER II

Discussion of "Gesichte Philanders von Sittewald, Part I"

The Framework

At first glance, the most obvious difference between Quevedo’s work and Moscherosch’s is the latter’s use of a framework. In the traditional framework novel several people gather for a reason, a pilgrimage in Chaucer’s Canterbury Tales, or an escape from a plague in the Decameron. Once assembled, the members of the group take turns in telling stories. Up to Moscherosch’s time, the use of this type of framework in German literature had been confined to some translations into German, the most important being Hans von Bühlen’s rendition of the Near-Eastern theme of the seven wise men, and Schlüsselfelder’s translation of Bocaccio’s Decameron. To my knowledge, the first original German work with this type of framework is Harsdörffer’s Frauenzimmergesprächsspiele. The year before Harsdörffer’s book, Moscherosch em-
ployed a different type of framework. Therefore Moscherosch is probably the first in German literature to use an original framework of any kind.

Moscherosch's framework consists of a grand tour through France. At various stations along the way, different events induce Philander, the main figure, to have a dream or a vision. In contrast to the traditional framework novel, both the visionary material and the framework itself are told in the first person. This mode of narrating is also common to the picaresque adventure novel; Moscherosch's book thus assumes an intermediary position between the picaresque and the traditional framework novel. In the latter form the individual stories never are adventures of the narrator, while in Moscherosch, Philander both experiences and narrates the dream sections. However, these sections differ from the adventures in a picaresque novel in that they are not experiences of the everyday world, but of the visionary realm. Moscherosch's work and the picaresque novel also resemble each other in that both Philander and the hero of a typical picaresque novel are travelling. But in
contrast to the aimless peripatetic wanderings of the picaresque hero, Philander has a definite route as well as a purpose, as his journey is an educational tour through France.

Criticism on the beginning sections of each of the Gesichte states that these parts taken together form the framework and are a rough account of Moscherosch's own grand tour from 1624-1626. The introductory fragments of each Gesicht are bits of autobiography, but, if the details of this journey are checked against the facts of Moscherosch's actual trip, it is noticed that they are not quite the same. According to Grunwald, Moscherosch graduated on April 8, 1624, from the university at Strassburg with the title of Magister. Moscherosch left immediately on a tour à la mode with his friend Matthias Machmer, and then—so Grunwald continues:

In October 1624, while staying in Geneva, he received his master's degree, thus completing his formal education. After a trip to southern France, the traveler was in Geneva on March 6th, 1625, whence he journeyed to Paris. In June 1625 he was still in Paris. According to certain entries in the Schreibkalender he was back in Strassburg on April 27, 1626.
According to this account Moscherosch's trip can be outlined with the following stations along the way: Strassburg, Geneva, southern France (perhaps Nancy), Geneva, Paris and Strassburg.

Another account of the time between 1624 and 1626 is given by Knight:

In 1624, after taking part, together with 23 other students, in a disputation on a few chapters of Suetonius' *Life of Caesar*, he obtained the degree of Magister. Then, as was customary in preparation for a professional career, he completed his education by a visit to Paris and a tour of France, returning home by Geneva in 1626.  

Knight has oversimplified Moscherosch's trip. He does not take into account the frequent return trips to Geneva, and he is mistaken in assuming that Moscherosch returned to Strassburg from Geneva instead of Paris. Knight errs in assuming that the journey as outlined in *Gesichte* is the actual journey that Moscherosch himself made. For his *Gesichte*, Moscherosch has evidently eliminated all detours of his actual trip. What remains is a simplified version, a journey that is not an actual travelogue, but a fictional account liberally sprinkled with autobiographical details.
After completing his education, Philander leaves his native Strassburg. He goes "in ein ander Land und Reich über den Blomen Berg,"

(Gesichte, I, Bo., p. 11) which according to von Bloedau is "wohl ein absichtlich dunkel gewählter Ausdruck für die Vogesen, bei dem man auch an Träume denken soll."

At the beginning of each chapter is an itinerary, of which the one in Venus-Narren is typical:


(Gesichte, I, Bo., p. 71)

This passage indicates the absence of description of the locale through which Philander travels. The framework is nothing more than an enumeration of placenames.

The journey does not serve as an introduction to the vision material directly. Instead in each
chapter an event that has occurred on the journey functions as a transitional element between the journey and the vision, and as such it also serves as the introduction to the vision proper. These events are of an every day nature and could occur at any location. The assigning of an event to a specific locale of the journey thus appears arbitrary.

The transitional parts are of two types. In one, Philander is immersed in some activity in the real world, when, without falling asleep, he imperceptively enters into the dream world. This type of transition closely follows the Spanish or French models. In contrast, the other type of transition is original with Moscherosch. It involves an incident, such as seeing a painting or hearing a story. The contemplation of such an experience will induce Philander to dream about a subject similar to the one of the picture or the story.

The first chapter, Schergen-Teuffel, stands apart from these two groups, in so far as it does not have a transitional section between the real and the dream world. Philander never leaves the
real world. News of the nether regions is gained by questioning a constable, for the devil who possesses this constable can give details of the happenings in hell.

A transition of the first type is found in Höllen-Kinder, in which Philander walks through the countryside surrounding a health spa. He comes upon two roads, one thorny and narrow, the other wide and smooth, and traveling along the wide road, Philander gradually realizes that it is the road to Hell. Similar to this is the transitional material in the chapter Hoff-Schule. Philander complains about intrigues and petty squabbles at court, and after comparing the events at court to a hell on earth, he places the events of the following paragraph in the actual Hell. In these two chapters, then, there is no noticeable transition between the every-day world and the dream setting.

The other four chapters of the first part have transition sections that are original with Moscherosch. They are always of the same pattern. Philander hears or sees something. While he contemplates this event he falls asleep, and has a dream
vision whose subject matter is closely related to whatever he has seen or heard before he fell asleep. In Welt-Wesen it is a fatal duel among friends that disturbs Philander, and in the following vision the subject matter turns to unnecessary injuries that people inflict upon each other. In Venus-Narren, Philander hears a story about a fatal duel between a girl's lover and her brother, while the topic of the following vision deals with the foolish excesses to which love leads. In Letztes Gericht, Philander remembers the gruesome frescos in La Grande Chartreuse which depict the Cenodoxus story of the founding of the Carthusian order. These make Philander dream about eschatological events and the final day of judgment. In Todten-Heer, Philander hears a man call out the hour around midnight. At first glance, this seems to be a night watchman and the scene seems to have nothing in common with the material of the vision that follows—the various forms of death and dying and the bringers of death, namely the different medical professions. Yet, the choice of words in the description of the night watchman's voice calls
Death to mind:

... (es) geschah, daß... nachts nach zwölf Uhren/ wir durch Läutung eines glückleins auff der gassen/ erwecket/ aufstunden/ und eines Männleins mit einer Lutzerne ansichtig wurden: welches anfienge gar beweglich/ doch mit einer holen gebrochenen todtenstimme/ sehr fürchterlich und grauslich zu rufen. (Gesichte, I, 1650, p. 165)

Moscherosch never mentions that this figure is a night watchman, and just as Philander, who later calls him ein Todtenmännlein and therefore sees in him a figure of Death, the reader is perhaps also to connect him with Death. Interestingly enough, Death appears in this same way—with bell and lantern—in one of the woodcuts of Holbein's Dance of Death (see figure 1, p. 37). A further connection with Holbein could be made. The first time that Death appears in his Dance of Death, in woodcut 3, Death plays a lyre when he leads Adam and Eve from Paradise. The first scene in the vision part of Todten-Heer—a scene original with Moscherosch—also presents Death playing a lyre.

As stated above, the events in the transitional material are of an every-day nature; for example, the night watchman-Death figure could have appeared
Figure 1: Holbein's Dance of Death and Bible Woodcuts, Woodcut 22 (Sylvan Press, New York, 1947), p. 22.
to Philander at any of the stops on his journey, and the story of the duel could have been told to him anywhere. Yet, each of these events is specifically linked to the visionary material that follows it. In this manner, these transitional parts between the journey and the vision proper form by themselves a framework to each vision. This framework is a traditional poetic device of the vision, and both noted types of entrance into the visionary world can also be found in the vision literature predating Moscherosch. He can be credited with having given a realistic mold to the introductory parts which in traditional vision literature—and as such also in Quevedo—have allegorical overtones. This realistic treatment was of course necessary for Moscherosch to connect the individual chapters to the unifying framework of the journey.

Vision Elements

The history of the vision is long and varied. Examples are found in ancient literature, but they become more abundant in the Latin writings of the Middle Ages. Because of the popularity of these
visions, many of them were eventually retold in the vernacular, and starting from about the tenth century, original visions were written in all major Western European languages.

The Vision of Saint Paul and the Vision of Tundalus are among the more popular visions for which German renditions exist. Following his models La Geneste and Quevedo, Moscherosch alludes to these visions in Hölzen-Kinder. When Philander sees two paths, one leading to Paradise and the other to Hell, a passer-by tells him that Saint Paul has had difficulty in traveling along the thorny path to Paradise:

Zu dem auch/ S. Paulus selbst/ als er diesen weg zu Pferd reysen wolte/ musste absteigen und zu fuss gehen/ wiewohl er zuvor auff einem trefflichen Ross gesehen.

(Gesichte, I, 1650, p. 343)

A little further in a passage that has no parallel in the models, Moscherosch alludes to the second vision:

Wie ich mich da ein wenig erholet und umbsahe/ sihe da ward ich gewahr zweier Personen/ welchen ich mich nahete/ und als
ich zu jhnen kam/ erkandte dass es zween Soldthaten/ der eine Nammens Egneus, der ander Tondalus waren...
(Gesichte, I, 1650, p. 347)

Tondalus is the hero of the Vision of Tondalus, and Egneus is probably Aeneas, whose journey to the underworld became known to German readers through Heinrich von Veldecke's Eneit and Thomas Murner's and Johannes Spreng's translations of the Aenead.

Moscherosch generally disregards Quevedo's allusions to other visionary material. Casa de Locos de Amor has a reference to Petrarch's I Trionfi, which neither La Geneste nor Moscherosch used. At the beginning of Juicio Final, Quevedo mentions the Divine Comedy; in several editions, however, this reference is deleted in favor of one to Saint Hippolytus. While La Geneste also refers to Saint Hippolytus, Moscherosch mentions neither him nor Dante.

Moscherosch and his models refer to examples of vision literature proving that they were familiar with this literary genre. The form of Moscherosch's work shows also an adherence to the literary convention of the vision, but because the work was
translated from Spanish into French and then into German, and because different examples of the vision genre influenced the work in each language, the final work of Moscherosch shows a complexity of source material. With Quevedo the Romance sources were strong, in particular the Italian materials. This is not surprising, since Quevedo lived for several years in Italy. Moscherosch deleted many of the references to Romance sources, and added a number of German items. Of interest among these are the citations from Bartholomeus Ringwaldt, the only German writer who preceded Moscherosch in the writing of vision satire.124

The visions of all languages have the same structure, as well as the same basic motifs. At the beginning a man with a troubled mind falls asleep. In a dream or vision that follows, a man or animal appears, who then acts as a leader, conducting the dreamer through the realms of death—Hades or Hell, or else through Earthly or Heavenly Paradise. The dreamer and his guide observe how people are punished or rewarded. After the journey the dreamer awakens, usually with the firm re-
solve to make use of what he has seen during his dream and to better himself accordingly. The recurring motifs of the vision include the idyllic scene of a flowered meadow with luscious trees and singing birds—mostly the setting for events in Earthly Paradise. A second motif is the bivium—two roads, one thorny and difficult, the other wide and easily traveled, leading to Heaven and Hell respectively. In addition, we can also expect a bridge, leading into the underworld over a limitless chasm or a raging river. Finally there are the different forms of punishment in Hell, and the variety of rewards in Heaven.

Moscherosch's Venus-Narren, Welt-Wesen, Todten-Heer and Letztes Gericht follow vision convention in as far as Philander falls asleep, and has a dream. Although the dream introduction is the predominant convention, there are several examples of visions in which the hero enters the visionary world without first falling asleep. The most famous example of this type is the Divine Comedy. Moscherosch follows this structure in two of his visions, Hoff-Schule and Höllen-Kinder.
Illustrations of conventional vision motifs are found in the first part of Gesichte, but the greatest number of them are assembled in Hüllen-Kinder. An examination of Hüllen-Kinder would therefore be warranted to show how Moscherosch made use of the literary tradition of the vision. After this discussion we shall indicate the divergencies in the treatment of motifs in the remainder of Moscherosch's work.

In the early part of Hüllen-Kinder, Philander takes a walk and loses his way in a dark forest. On one level, this is an actual forest. The dense forest is, however, also a conventional motif from the medieval religious vision. Here the woods surround Hell, as in the Vision of Alberic and the satiric Vision of Heriger, emphasizing the gloomy atmosphere. When encountered on the way to Earthly Paradise, the forest is a barrier; it is an inhospitable place with thorny underbrush, wild beasts and snakes.

Of a different significance are the forests at the beginning of Bruno Latini's Tesoretto and the Divine Comedy. In these works the forests are
of emblematic nature and could be termed the "Woods of Error." They represent the unsettled, confused mind of the hero who gropes in the dark to find answers to problems besetting him. Moscherosch's forest has the traits of the "Woods of Error," but it is also a barrier. It is located at the edge of the path that leads to the other world, and Philander gets lost in this forest when he is disturbed about the debauched living at the spa where he is spending a few days.

The darkness of the forest is complemented by the time of day—evening, which is again a conventional motif of the vision. Emotionally and psychologically speaking, it is a dark time in the protagonist's life. In the middle of this darkness Philander comes upon a meadow bathed in sunlight. This change from darkness to light parallels the change from night to day in the traditional vision. The protagonist usually falls asleep at night, but the dream of vision does not occur until morning. With the coming of daylight, there is a spiritual awakening into the truths of the visionary world.
Bathed in the light, Philander sees a meadow with fragrant flowers, trees stirred to song in the breezes and birds singing in competition to the gurgling waters:

In dem gerieth ich in einen Ort da es nicht mehr wie gegen Abend/ sondern hälter Tag ward/ und ein Feld umher mit Blumen gezieret so schön/ daß einem das Herz lachen mögen: Es war sehr still und an­müthig: die Luft so lieblich/ daß sich alle meine Sinne darob verjüngeten. Auff einer Seytte rauschte ein Kristallklares Wässerlein über die Steine daher; anderseits flienge ein sanffer Wind under den Bäumen und Blättern ein Gespräch an/ daß man sich schwerlich des schlaffes erwehren konnte. Diesem Allem wolten die lieben Vögelein nichts hinnach geben/ sondern sangen einen herrlichen so sunnsamgestimmten Gesang daher/ daß es mehr einem irdischen Paradiß als sonsten was köstliches gleich scheinete. (Gesichte, I, 1650, p. 342)

The meadow is a conventional motif with the typical details found in the description of Earthly Paradise in medieval visions. Moscherosch himself makes a reference to this parallel by the phrase: "...daß es mehr einem irdischen Paradiß als sonsten was köstliches gleich scheinete." A meadow, besides appearing in connection with Earthly Paradise, also is a conventional setting in which the protagonist of a vision falls asleep.
This motif is particularly common in English visions, such as The Pearl, Wynner and Wastoure, and Piers Ploughman. The last work has an exceptionally complete illustration of this motif:

So I wandered far and wide, and walked alone over a wild common and by a woodside where I stayed listening to the singing of the birds. And as I lay down for awhile in a glade under a limetree, listening to their sweet songs, their music lulled me to sleep.125

Moscherosch is familiar with the tradition of this setting, as he adds the phrase: "...daß man sich schwerlich des schlaffes erwehren konte," to his description of the meadow.

But Philander does not succumb to sleep. He continues his walk and encounters a forked path:

Bald aber wurde ich eines Weges gewahr/ welcher sich allgemach/ doch unfern/ in zween Wege theylete...Der/ gegen der rechten Hand zu/ war ein fusspfad/ schmal/ ...mit Dornen und Disteln...doch sahe man noch Wahrzeichen/ daraus zu spuren/ es mußten unlängst etliche Leuthlein seyn dahin durchgewandert: dann deren einer ein Aug/ eine Hand/ einen Fuß/ die Brust/ den Kopf/ ja die Haut dahinden gelassen.

(Gesichte, I, 1650, p. 342)

The bivium is an allegorical motif with a long tradition that likely found its origin in a story told in Xenophon. Here Prodicus tells the story of
Heracles facing the fork in the road. The passage begins:

When Heracles was passing from boyhood to youth's estate, wherein the young, now becoming their own masters, show whether they will approach life by the path of virtue or the path of vice, he went out into a quiet place, and sat pondering which road to take. Then the allegorical figures of Virtue and Vice tell Heracles of the "hard and long road to joy" and virtue, and the "short and easy road" to vice. The same motif appears also in the Bible:

Enter ye in at the strait gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat:

Because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.

(Matthew, VII, 13-14)

In both of these examples, the roads are allegorical representations of the conduct of life. This is true also in Moscherosch. Philander sees many people tumbling from the narrow road of virtue onto the path of vice, while very few change roads the other way. On the road of vice there are taverns, gambling houses, and houses of prostitution that
ensnare the traveler more and more as he progresses down the road.

In the quote from the Bible, the line "narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life," signifies that this is the path to salvation and God. Moscherosch actually uses the biblical term "Weg des Lebens" (Gesichte, I, p. 344) in reference to this path, but for him this is not only the path of the righteous during their lifetime. A beggar whom Philander meets explains:


(Gesichte, I, 1650, pp. 344-45)

However, the roads in Moscherosch are not entirely allegorical, nor are they to be traveled by the dead only. They are real roads on which Philander can walk. This can perhaps be traced to the medieval belief that there are actual roads that lead to the underworld and to paradise. 

Several
medieval maps are extant today that show where one believed Paradise to be located. It is drawn at the easternmost part of the world following the words of Genesis (II, 8), "And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden," with an inaccessible barrier surrounding it. The barrier is of a different nature in the various versions; sometimes it is a mountain range, sometimes a wall of fire. Upon occasion when Paradise is considered to be on an island, the barrier is water. Although most people in the Middle Ages maintained Paradise to be in the east, some suggested a northern location:

Martianus Capella, however, by following a Greek tradition which placed the Hyperboreans in a favored and delightful country in the far north, caused certain of the Church Fathers to look northward for Paradise. 729

Just as the cardinal points North and East are associated with Paradise and thus with the Divine, so also is the direction "Right." A substantiation of this fact can be found in the many medieval depictions of the Last Judgment. God always holds up his right hand pointing the way to Heaven for the righteous, while he lowers his left to show the
sinners the way to damnation. Mankind has always regarded East, North and Right as belonging to the Good and the Divine, which can perhaps be shown by the fact that many primitive languages still have only one word to express all three directions. It is therefore not surprising that the tradition of the vision always has the road to Paradise going toward the Right. Moscherosch follows this tradition also, for he says:

"...Der/ gegen der rechten hand zu/ war ein fußpfad schmal/..."

The motif of the path to the underworld can be found among all older cultures, but it was particularly prevalent among the Nordic and Celtic peoples, from where it in turn found its way into the multitude of medieval Irish visions. In these the location of the path varies widely. Moscherosch mocks these contradicting accounts by combining all roads into one. The result is a jumble:

...hatten vor Jahren noch einen/ und also den 3. Weg da herumb gesehen: der zwischen Irrland/ unfern von dem See Dere durch Eyssland bey Heckelfurt under Polen/Ungarn/
Moscherosch calls it the third path, meaning that it would lead to a third other world—purgatory. A pilgrim whom Philander meets explains that this path no longer exists and was recognized as unnecessary one hundred and twenty three years before. If 1640 is considered as the date of composition, the date in question would be 1517, the year that Luther posted his theses at Wittenberg.

The pilgrim is explicit in denouncing the belief in Purgatory:

...Fort/ Fort/...es ist da kein anderer Weg zu hoffen. Non datur tertium. Es ist nur Himmel und Hölle, Leib und Seele, Gesetz und Evangelium, Seeligkeit und Verdammuß. Hic non datur medium nisi in Mediator. Was nicht zu Gott will/ daß fahre zum Teuffel.

After this excursus on Lutheran other-worldly beliefs, Moscherosch lets Philander continue on the
broad road to Hell, whose entrance he and his fel­
low travelers soon reach:

In einem Augenblick/ ehe wir es gewahr
worden/ waren wir durch viel kleine Fall-
brücklein und Schneller darinnen/ wie die
mäuse in den Fallen/ da der Eingang leicht/
der Außgang aber schwer und unmöglich ist.
(Gesichte, I, 1650, p. 367)

The entrance to Hell in medieval visions is usually
over a bridge that spans some body of water, such
as a foul river containing snakes and dragons in
the Vision of the Third Robber, or a storm-tossed
lake in the Vision of Tundale. Although there
is no mention of a river or sea surrounding Hell,
Moscherosch preserves the imagery by mentioning
that the way to Hell leads over "viel kleine Fall-
brücklein"—a motif that has no parallel in Mosche-
rosch's models. Fallbrücklein is a happy choice,
for although the word does mean drawbridge, the
syllable Fall also implies that anyone passing
over the bridge may fall into the abyss below.
This is again a conventional motif that appears in
the Middle Ages as the Bridge of Judgment. Sinners will not be able to cross, but will fall
into the chasm of Hell.
Moscherosch's models mention a quickly closing door like that of a mousetrap, but they do not mention a bridge. Moscherosch's drawbridge fits well into the visionary tradition, for it emphasizes that there is no escape from Hell. It shows also that Moscherosch imagined Hell in the form of a castle or a walled city. This image is also conventional, its best known example being the walls of the city of Dis in Dante's *Inferno* (Canto ix).

In *Hölle-Kinder*, Moscherosch does not refer to the walls specifically, but he does so in another part of his work, in *Todten-Heer*:

> Indeß kamen wir in ein sehr großes weites Feld/ welches gleichwohl mit überraschend hohen und unbesteiglichen maren umbgeben. Der Todt sprach zu mir/ es wäre nun zeit alhie zu rasten/ dieweil wir in seiner Juristiction und bottmäßigkeit angelanget. (Gesichte, I, 1650, p. 197)

Here, however, the walls do not surround Hell, but the region of the dead to which Death himself has guided Philander.

Neither Moscherosch nor his models present a detailed structure of the underworld. From the occasional remarks about the setting in *Hölle-Kinder*, it may be assumed that Hell is located on
an underground plain very much like Virgil's Hades. This plain is filled with an array of rooms, caverns and other places where punishment is meted out. Two other parts of Moscherosch's work deal with the underworld. In Hoff-Schule the world below is also a jumble of rooms, although the description is less precise than that in Höllen-Kinder. In Todten-Heer the walls of the region of death surround a large plain on which the sinners walk. The concept of the underworld as a plain contradicts its usual description in most medieval visions as a region that progresses gradually downward into the earth to ever colder regions—a concept best known through Dante.

Three of Moscherosch's seven visions deal with a journey to the underworld and fall into the pattern of the traditional vision—Höllen-Kinder, Todten-Heer and Hoff-Schule. Schergen-Teuffel, too, deals with the underworld. A constable is being exorcised, and the devil in him is quizzed by Philander as to the conditions below. The setting of Letztes Gericht is the earth on which God has set up his tribunal on Judgment
The two remaining visions stand apart from the rest. In *Welt-Wesen* Philander walks through an allegorical city and its allegorical streets of Greed and Hypocrisy. By its allegorical nature and by its structural elements—the dream and the guide—*Welt-Wesen* is related to the vision, but its subject matter is closer to the tradition of fool's literature. *Venus-Narren* shows also elements of this type of literature; its relation to such examples of this genre as Brant's *Narrenschiff* and particularly Fischart's *Geuchmatt* has been pointed out by several critics.\(^{133}\)

*Venus-Narren* has also many of the features of medieval love allegory. This genre has been called a variant of the religious vision,\(^{134}\) for it has the basic framework of the dream and employs many of the same motifs, such as river, meadow and guide. The region which is visited by the protagonist is the realm of Venus with its pastoral scenes and sensuous joys.\(^{135}\) Several examples of the love vision introduce besides this pleasant scene a dark valley or a desolate tract in which we find such figures as Jealousy and Deceit, as
well as examples of individuals who have suffered ill from love. By way of his model Quevedo, it is this group of love visions which influenced Moscherosch most.

It would be valid to examine Venus-Narren’s imagery in order to compare and contrast it to the imagery already examined in conjunction with Höllen-Kinder, because Venus-Narren is a satiric love vision and stands apart from the rest of Moscherosch’s visions which are all variants of the satiric religious vision.

In Venus-Narren, after Philander has fallen asleep, the first scene starts with a description of a beautiful meadow:

...kamen also mit einander in eine schöne grüne Aue...Dieses mit den allerwohlriechend-sten Blumen und Kräutern gemähtes Feld war mit zweyen Wässerlein geziert, deren das ein süsses, das ander bitteres geschmacks, welche am Ende der Auen zusammenflossen, und durch etliche gesträuch und steine daher rauschen kamen, daß die, so dabey voruber oder spatzieren gungen, sich des Schlaffs schwerlich enthalten mochten. Ich meynete anderst nicht, als ob ich in Cypro in der Venus Garten wäre...

(Gesichte, I, Bo., p. 74)

At first glance the scenery resembles the meadow already encountered in the regular religious vision.
The sweet smelling flowers and gurgling waters recall Earthly Paradise, but it is also similar to the meadow in which the protagonist falls asleep and Moscherosch's comment: "...die, so dabe vor-uber oder spatzieren gungen, sich des Schlaffs schwerlich enthalten mochten," closely resembles the phrase spoken in connection with the meadow of Höllen-Kinder: "...daß man sich des Schlaffes schwerlich erwahren konnte." The motif of the bitter and the sweet brook is, however, foreign to the religious vision. Tradition has it that these are the waters into which Cupid dips his arrows. Moscherosch gives away the meaning of the scene in his line "...als ob ich in Cypro in der Venus Garten wäre." The great number of descriptions of the realm of Venus and for that matter the convention of the locus amoenus of the Middle Ages can primarily be traced back to Claudian's Epithalamium of Honorius and Maria. The traditional motifs can be found in this passage:

Where Cyprus looks out over the Ionian main a craggy mountain overshadows it; unapproachable by human foot it faces the isle of Pharos, the home of Proteus and the seven mouths of the Nile. The hoar
frost dares not clothe its sides, nor the rude winds buffet it, nor clouds obscure. It is consecrate to pleasure and to Venus. The year's less clement seasons are strangers to it, wherever ever brood the blessings of eternal spring. The mountain's height slopes down into a plain; that a golden hedge encircles, guarding its meadows with yellow metal...Fair is the enclosed country, ever bright with flowers though touched with no labouring hand, for Zephyr is husbandman enough therefore. Into its shady groves no bird may enter save such as has first won the goddess' approval for its song...Here spring two fountains, the one of sweet water, the other of bitter, honey is mingled with the first, poison with the second, and in these streams 'tis said that Cupid dips his arrows...Afar shines and glitters the goddess' many-coloured palace, green gleaming by reason of the encircling grove.  

The motifs of this scene found their way into western literature; more than anywhere else examples can be located in the Italian pastoral epic poetry of the fifteenth century, where the scene in Moscherosch also finds its direct model. A remark in Quevedo, which was copied neither by La Geneste nor Moscherosch, hints at the origin: "Y no pensaba mal, pues las mismas señas da el Poliziano en su Historia." Quevedo quotes four lines from Poliziano's Stanzze, but the similarity of Poliziano's
scene to the scene in Quevedo-La Geneste-Moscherosch stretches to more than those four lines. Two stanzas give most parallel images:

Vagheggia Cipri un dilettoso monte,
Che del gran Nilo i sette corai vede
Al primo roseggiar dell' Orizzonte,
Ove poggiar non lice a mortal piede.
Nel giogo un verde colle alza la fronte;
Sott'esso aprico un lieto pratel siede;
U'scherzando tra' fior lascive aurette,
Fan dolcemente tremolar l'erbette.

Corona un muro d'or l'estreme sponde
Con valle ombrosa si schietti arboscelli,
Ove i su' rami fra novelle fronde
Cantan gli loro amor soavi augelli.
Sentesi un grato mormorio dell'onde
Che fan duo freschi e lucidi ruscelli,
Versando dolce con amar liquore,
Ove arma l'ora de' suoi strali Amore. 139

It has been established that Botticelli based his well known painting Primavera on the stanzas of Poliziano that precede and follow those quoted above. 140 It is possible that Quevedo knew this painting and that it had also an influence on the imagery of his work.

Claudian, Poliziano and Quevedo show the same basic motifs connected to the pleasant meadow; furthermore, all three accounts mention an edifice standing in the middle of this meadow. It is built of precious stones and shows exquisite
craftsmanship in every detail. In Quevedo, there is an inscription over the doorway:

Casa de Locos de Amor,
Do al que más sabe de amar
Se le da mayor lugar.

In Quevedo, this house is divided into several rooms in which the different lovesick fools are housed. Moscherosch changes the locale. He has an inner realm that is surrounded by a wall. The entrance gate through this wall bears an adaptation of Quevedo's inscription:

Hier ist das berühmte Haus,
Da die Venus-Narren schweben,
Thorheit ein! Die Witz hinaus!
Reu hernach; halb-todt im Leben?

The inner realm consists of a green mountain which has several buildings on its side and the castle of Venus at its top. This picture can be gathered from several quotes:

Es stunden aber die Gebäude dieses Schlauffenlandes kunstreich und prächtig auff der Höhe und den Berg herab anzusehen...
(Gesichte, I, Bo., p. 79)

Ich gung...den Venusberg hinauff...
(Gesichte, I, Bo., p. 87)

Wie ich nun...in das obere Schloß, der Venus Kunstkammer genannt, gehen wolte...
(Gesichte, I, Bo., p. 106)
The classical myth told by Claudian mentions a mountain on the island of Cyprus, but the Mount of Venus referred to by Moscherosch has little to do with it; it originates from a legend that is essentially German. It started in the middle of the fifteenth century, continued to spread, and reached its zenith of popularity during the sixteenth century. Scattered examples of this myth can, however, be found in German literature after Moscherosch.

This legend has its origin in a variety of myths that deal with an other world of paradisiac characteristics. One of the major sources is the Grail legend. The concept of it in Wolfram's Parzival was a miraculous stone that through periodic recharging by divine grace supplied food and plenty to a group gathered in a castle on top of a deserted mountain. This legend gradually merged with the myth that King Arthur still held court inside a mountain. This combination of myths in turn combined with the classical story of Venus' realm, in which humanists of the fifteenth century had again become interested. Just as pilgrims had set
out in the early Middle Ages to find Earthly Paradise, now in the fifteenth century people attempted to locate the mountain of Venus. Most frequently it was considered to be the Sibyl's Mount in the Italian province of Spoleto, or else Mount Barbaro near Lake Avernus and the cave of the Sibyl. Here, then, is the merger of another ancient myth into the main legend. The Sibyl story adds the realm of magic to the Venus legend. The intermingling of these various myths eventually caused people to consider some myths as interchangeable variants, a fact which is clearly brought out by a passage from Fischart:

Bey Puteolis wollen wir guten Falernischen Wein sauffen, vnd darauff also voll vnd doll noch ein ander Loch neben dem, das Filius Vergilius durch den Fallabfernischen Berg hat gezaubert, durchfluchen. Auch zur andern Zeit den Gral oder Venusberg besuchen, vnd die guten Tropfen besehen, die das Feuer Vesuvio auffblasen: von dannen der Sibylla zu leyd zum Tartarischen Acheront absteigen.¹⁴²

The medieval church considered the ancient world pagan and sinful; this attitude contributed to the rise of popular beliefs which turned figures of the ancient world into sorcerers—as, for
example, Virgil\textsuperscript{143}—or embodiments of depravity. Venus, as the goddess of love, became a demon of lust and voluptuousness, and as a pagan goddess, she belonged to the evil world and eventually became also regarded as a witch. The evil nature of Venus can be shown by the burning of people as witches who confessed that their souls had been transported to the realm of Venus during their sleep.\textsuperscript{144} The widely diffused legend of Tannhäuser gives a further example that going into the Mount of Venus was considered an unpardonable sin. Tannhäuser, after spending some time in the Mount, returns to the world and asks the pope for forgiveness. He is refused. In summary, the region of Venus was considered as an evil other world that had the exaggerated paradisiac feature of complete abandonment to every sensual pleasure.

This is the tradition on which Moscherosch builds in his \textit{Venus-Narren}. The Mount of Venus is a scene of debauchery. Each group of people in this realm serves as an exemplum of a type of
excess of love. Also Venus and Cupid are introduced. They are in a darkened room and appear sleepy after a night of revelry.

In Quevedo the main purpose of depicting the variety of lovers is to hold their attitude up to ridicule. In Moscherosch the emphasis is changed toward moralizing. The behavior of the different groups of lovers is sinful, and Philander is instructed to stay away from their activities.

There are other things that changed from Quevedo to Moscherosch. Quevedo has several allegorical figures in his *Casa de Locos de Amor*, such as Belleza, Zelos, Memoria, Entendimiento, Razón and Tiempo. The introduction of such allegorical figures is in keeping with the classical tradition of the realm of Venus, and they can already be found in Claudian where one passage enumerates a number of such figures:

> Licence bound by no fetters, easily moved
> Anger, Wakes dripping with wine, inexperienced Tears, Pallor that lovers ever prize,
> Boldness trembling at his first thefts,
> happy Fears, unstable Pleasure, and lovers'
Oaths, the sport of every lightest breeze. Amid them all wanton Youth with haughty neck shuts out Age from the grove.

Moscherosch maintains most of the allegorical figures from Quevedo just as he found them, but there are two noticeable changes. Quevedo's Tiempo merges into Moscherosch's guide figure. In Quevedo, Belleza guards the entrance to Venus' dwelling. So does Moscherosch's Frau Schönnetta. Both authors describe their respective figure's physical beauty and exquisite garments, but Moscherosch adds also the opposite dimension to his figure, for when Philander looks back he sees the following verses stitched on a sash around Frau Schönnetta's backside:


Was einer liebt, das dünckt in fein, Ob es oft wüster als ein Schwein. Ein mancher meynt, er hab ein Schatz, So ist es nur ein faule Zatz.
After reading these quotations, Philander concludes:

Und kam mir das Bild hinderwerts so schön nicht für, als mich anfangs gedaucht...

(Gesichte, I, Bo., p. 80)

The duality in the female of beauty in front and ugliness in the rear recalls another passage from Moscherosch. In Welt-Wesen, Philander is attracted to a young lady, whose attributes are described in conventional Petrarchan imagery:

...ihre Brüste, welche weisser waren als Alabaster anzusehen...ihre Haare...geringelt und kräuselicht geschläncket über die Stirne und Wangen herab fliegend...Ihr Angesicht war wie der weisse Schnee mit Laibfarben Rosen lieblich bespranget, Ihre Lefftzen wie Corall...Ihre Zähne wie Perlen, Ihre Hände waren dem Helffenbein weit vorzuliehen:

(Gesichte, I, Bo., p. 61)

Expertus Robertus then tells Philander the secrets of this lady's beauty. Her hair is false, her complexion are layers of cosmetics, and her clothing barely covers the stench of her body. The description is summed up:

Solstu sie einmahl küssen, du würdest die Lefftzen und Wangen mit feisste und schmutz
This list of adverse epithets about women is a medieval topos that in turn has its origin in several classical passages. Yet, in this tradition woman usually has only a bad side, the duality of her appearance comes from a Germanic tradition. It is the case with Frau Welt, but more apropos to Moscherosch's Frau Schönnetta is the figure of Frau Holda. A number of legends have contributed to the formation of her character, and the picture of her changes with the date and location of the reference. In the late sixteenth century, however, one picture of her predominates. She is one of the inhabitants of the Mount of Venus, and at times she is even considered the ruler there, usurping Venus. She is a master of magic and witchcraft, and often leads the Furious Host in its rides through the air. In his description of one of the German mountains that was considered
as the Mount of Venus, Mannhardt ventures to say that Venus and Hulda merge into the same figure:

Finally popular legend makes this figure into a dual figure of beauty and ugliness:

Similar to Frau Holt, Moscherosch's Frau Schönnetta can also be found in the region of Venus, and she, too, is beautiful from the front and suggests ugliness when looked at from behind.

In summary, in *Venus-Narren* Moscherosch maintains the basic motifs of the classical myth of Venus just as they were transmitted to him through Quevedo's work, but he eliminates the references to classical and Italian authors who were the main perpetuators of Venus' paradisiac realm. On the other hand, Moscherosch adds a number of motifs
taken from popular folklore tradition in Germany. The same tendencies can be observed in the rest of Moscherosch's work. In the discussion of Höllen-Kinder, for example, I have pointed out that Moscherosch eliminates references to Spanish and Italian sources, while he retains or adds allusions to visionary legends that were popular in Germany. In addition, the visionary material is given a strong Protestant emphasis, either by direct reference to Lutheran principles or by a more homiletic and didactic tone of the work.

The Guide

The guide is a stock figure of the vision. It can be an actual person such as Virgil, Statius, or Beatrice in the Divine Comedy, or angels, found for example in the Vision of Saint Paul and the Vision of Tundalus, or animals with a biblical significance such as the Eagle in Chaucer's House of Fame, or an allegorical figure such as Lady Philosophy in Boethius' Consolation of Philosophy or Nature in Alanus de Insulis Anticlaudianus. In these visions the guide is an omniscient person
having gained his knowledge directly from God, as in the case of the angels and saints, or from personal experience by having once journeyed to the underworld himself, as Virgil or Aeneas. These guides fulfil two functions. They are the dreamer's conductors through the other world, and they are teachers who direct the dreamer to a virtuous life.

Philander's guide in Todten-Heer is Death. Yet this figure does little of the didactic lecturing proper to a guide. Rather, Philander is left on his own to explore the visionary world. Höllen-Kinder does not have a single person functioning as a guide throughout the vision; instead there are numerous devils who are always ready to give Philander whatever information he needs. The last vision, Hof-Schule, has no single guide figure either, but occasionally by-standers offer illuminating remarks. These by-standers are always designated as "ein Geist," "ein Teufel," or simply "einer." The fifth vision, Letztes Gericht, has no guide figure at all, while the first, Schergen-Teuffel, does not have a conventional figure.
Here the exorcised person can be seen as a guide, for Philander asks him questions about the other world. The moralizing function of the guide, however, is not performed by the exorcised person; it is the exorcising priest who does this.

A traditional guide combining the functions of teacher and conductor appears only in two of Moscherosch's visions, Welt-Wesen and Venus-Narren. This figure is an innovation of Moscherosch which only has a slight parallel in the models where the allegorical figure appears as Desengaño in the Spanish version and as Détrompeur de tout les choses in the French. Moscherosch concretized this figure; it is now an old man named Expertus Robertus. Endeavors to establish a connection between the allegorical figure and a life model have turned out to be fruitless. Faber du Faur has tried it by some fanciful etymology. He starts by suggesting a literary tradition:

Aus dem 'Experto credile' im 11. Gesang des Aeneis Vers 283 entwickelt sich im späten Mittelalter die Erweiterung 'Experto credo Roberto,' zum ersten mal nach-
and states that in the *Consilium pro dansatoribus* verse 3, the figure behind this literary image, namely Robert von Neapel (1278-1343), is mentioned.

Faber du Faur further suggests that an anagram 'ropertum d(ictum) expertum' could have been formed from the word *dé trompeur*. Although Moscherosch, like many other Baroque authors, liked to indulge in fanciful anagrams, this particular one seems far-fetched.

An endeavor to discover the meaning or the identity of Expertus Robertus should start with a rereading of the text. A decisive passage in this regard is the section in which Philander asks Expertus Robertus for his identity; and Expertus Robertus answers:

Erinnere dich nur dessen, was vor Jahren ich mit dir im Teutschenland, jenseit des Rheins, zu Sittewald wie du es nennest, an der Kintzig, da ich dich daß erste mahl gesehen, als du eben neben demer werthen Freund König den alten Gruterus besuchet, Wohlmeynend gesprachet, so wirstu dich von mir nicht viel werden zu verhälten haben,
After a few words about the difference in outlook between youth and old age, Expertus Robertus continues:

Meine Kleidung... und mein Ansehen geben genügsam zu erkennen, wer ich seye und was ich beginne. Nemblich ein Ehrlich Mann, den die Welt nicht sonsers achtet, der aber die Wahrheit lieb hat und der auch, wann es von nøthen ist, die Wahrheit darf heraufreden. Ich bin der, wie du weisest, der nun bei zwölff Jahren in Austrasia mit und umb dich gewesen. Männiglichen gibt vor, er liebe und ehre mich. So ich dann zu ihnen komme, so ists nichts dahinder als bloße wort...

The information in these passages comes from two sources: from a description of the allegorical figure in the models, and from Moscherosch, who adds facts which have a bearing on his own life.

Because he is maltreated by everyone, Dés-trompeur has a dishevelled appearance in the models. His clothes are torn and he looks haggard. This appearance is taken directly from the models.
in the early editions of Gesichte. The edition of 1640 reads:

Anzusehen war er übel bekleidet/ dann an vielen Orten sein Mantel gestickert und zerrissen/ er aber im Gesicht ellendig verkratzet und verstelllet/ als ob er mit den Katzen gegessen hatte.

(Gesichte, I, 1640, p. 56)

This description is amplified in the 1642 edition:

...als ob er mit den Katzen/ wie man zu reden pflegt/ zu mittag gessen hette/ unbärtig alß ein alter Mönch, mit einer Beltzkappe vff dem Haupt, Einen Beltzen Rock umb sich, ein Paretilin in der Hand, einem Degen an der Seite als ein alter Rathherr.

(Gesichte, I, 1642, p. 42)

In the 1650 edition references to the torn clothing and the scratches disappear; the description now begins with: "Anzusehen war er unbärtig alß ein alter Mönch...(and so on, as above)." In this edition, then, Expertus Robertus has lost his allegorical attributes and has assumed the guise of a middle-aged scholár.

In looking again at the lengthy quote above from the Bobertag edition, we note the sentence: "Ich bin der, wie du weissest, der nun bei zwölf Jahren in Austrasia mit und umb dich gewesen." It
refers to the allegorical figure of Détrompeur, and is practically a word for word translation from the French. Because of this, the description jars with the newly found identity of Expertus Robertus as a scholar.

Yet if all facts about Expertus Robertus as presented in the 1650 edition are taken together, even considering the fact that some sentences are directly translated from the model, whereas others are not, the reader can arrive at the conclusion that Expertus Robertus is not modeled after a person, but that he is the embodiment of knowledge, like the Détrompeur in the French or, for that matter, like all guide figures in vision literature.

Expertus Robertus mentions that he first met Philander when the latter and his friend König visited Janus Gruterus. This probably was the occasion on which Moscherosch became impressed with the value of education, for during Moscherosch's time Gruterus was southwestern Germany's most noted Humanist scholar. Gruterus (1560-1627) taught at Heidelberg and later at Strassburg.
Among his students were Zincgreff and Freinsheim, close friends of Moscherosch, and also Bernegger, who was to become the teacher that influenced Moscherosch most during his student days at Strassburg.

The sentence: "Ich bin der, wie du weisest, der nun bei zwölf Jahren in Austrasia mit und umb dich gewesen," gives particular credence to the allegorical interpretation of Expertus Robertus. The twelve years during which he accompanied Philander in Austrasia (an old term for the western part of Germany) coincide with the twelve years that Moscherosch spent at preparatory school and the university at Strassburg (1612-1624).

Expertus Robertus appears in two visions of the first part of the Gesichte only, in Welt-Wesen and Venus-Märren. He is mentioned by name in the former; in the latter he is merely referred to as 'der Alte.' However, the name "Expertus Robertus" is added in the margin. In Welt-Wesen, Expertus Robertus points out all the sights. Almost the entire vision is seen through his eyes as his speeches and comments on what he sees are.
only briefly interrupted by Philander's interjections. The change-over from one scene to the next is accomplished by Expertus Robertus using phrases as "Siche," or "schaue, mein Sohn." The making of moralizing statements on the various sinners is entirely left to Expertus Robertus.

Expertus Robertus assumes only a secondary role in Venus-Narren. After he has taken Philander into the visionary world, he disappears and a Wald-Engel takes over as guide. But, in contrast to Expertus Robertus, who gave detailed descriptions of all the sights, the Wald-Engel is a silent partner. His function is only to make it more plausible for the reader that Philander could find his way through completely strange surroundings. This time, Philander describes directly what he sees. The changes in scene are made by statements such as: "und dann sahe ich..."

Expertus Robertus is not forgotten in the remainder of the vision. After several pages he
appears again and explains his inability to guide Philander:

Darauff sagte mir der Alte, wie die Cur aller dieser Krancken ihme allein anbefohlen, derohalben lang abzukommen ihm nicht möglicb wäre; doch weisete er mit dem Finger die meiste, nach denen ich geforschet, und erlaubete mir, daß ich mit einem Wald-engel selbst hin und her, wo ich wolte, in den Palästen herumb spatziren unnd alles beschauen möchte.

(Gesichte, I, Bo., p. 82)

In the remainder of the vision Expertus Robertus makes several brief appearances in order to give Philander a clarification about puzzling things. In each instance, his appearance is unexpected and abrupt. It is always introduced by a phrase like "der alte in vorübergehen," or "kam der Alte zum guten Glück daher," or "als ich im vorübergehen dessen ursach von dem Alten erforschete. (Gesichte, I, Bo., pp. 84, 87, 103)." At other times the arrival of Expertus Robertus is not even mentioned. These instances are introduced by phrases such as "Aber der Alte sagte mir," "Der Alte berichtete mich hierauff," "aber der Alte sprach zu mir...,"
or "wie ich nun gehen wolte, sprach der Alte zu mir (Gesichte, I, Bo., pp. 88, 94, 101, and 106)."

The reason for Expertus Robertus' haphazard appearances is that he is based on two different figures. The first of these is introduced when in all three versions, the Spanish, the French, and the German, the narrator-persona lies in bed thinking. The Spanish has the phrase "me hallé tan lejos de mi como cerca de un desenganó" (This was as strange for me as being beside a "teller of truth"). The French version changes this desenganó into a concrete allegorical figure. The sentence now reads "...ie me trouvay fort escarté de mes premiers discours, & apperceu devant moy la Genie de la Détromperie." Moscherosch relates this figure to the conventional guide of the vision, more specifically to Expertus Robertus, the guide in his Welt-Wesen. But, Moscherosch does not call this guide Expertus Robertus, he simply names him "der Alte, dessen im vorigen Gesicht meldung geschehen."

This old man leads Philander into the realm of the
fools of love, which neither the desengaño nor the Genie de la Détromperie did.

A second figure on which Moscherosch bases his guide is the allegorical "Time" who in the Spanish and French appears inside the region of foolish lovers. Time tries to cure the love-sick, and because he is too occupied with this activity, he cannot conduct the narrator-persona through the region. Time is depicted as an old man. Moscherosch uses this figure, but he does not attribute the allegorical significance of time to him. He simply calls him der Alte. This causes an inconsistency in the text, for in the models it is made clear that Time, as the healer of the love-sick, is too busy to function as guide; in the German version, however, without a reference to time, it is not even clear why der Alte is obliged to tend the love-sick.

The similarity of physical appearance between der Alte and Expertus Robertus causes Moscherosch to add "Expertus Robertus" in the margin of later editions. This figure appears at intervals
throughout the vision and he also shows Philander the way out of the region of the love-sick. Moscherosch attempts to balance the vision by having only one major guide figure and by having him appear at the beginning and at the end of the vision. Yet, the frequent appearances of der Alte during the course of the vision seem imposed on the mainstream of the narrative, and create a disjointed effect.

Faber du Faur\textsuperscript{152} thinks Expertus Robertus is one half of Moscherosch's personality, the other half being Philander. I tend to agree with Grunwald that Faber du Faur has gone a little too far.\textsuperscript{153} There is no denying that a dichotomy exists between Moscherosch's personal life and what he advocates in his writings. But I cannot see the differences of Philander and Expertus Robertus as an indication of Moscherosch's pathological psyche. Instead, the differences are the result of literary convention. Vision literature shows an almost universal use of the debate technique involving the dreamer and his guide, the one asking short
naive questions and the other offering long explanatory answers. The nature of this debate technique necessitates an inequality in the personae. The first part of Gesichte does not offer a large base for a direct comparison between Philander and his guide. Welt-Wesen is predominantly devoted to Robertus' remarks, Philander barely makes any comments on his own, and in Venus-Narren, as we have seen, Expertus Robertus appears only at random and infrequently. This does not offer enough material for a deeper character analysis, and comments cannot go beyond a statement such as: Philander is young, naive, and in need of education, while Expertus Robertus is older, wiser, well-informed, and able to give the education needed.

The two visions in which Expertus Robertus appears deal with an allegorical region of this world; the remainder of the visions of the first part have an eschatological topic and take place in the other world. As the spirit of education and knowledge, Expertus Robertus has neither a first hand acquaintance with the Divine nor with
the nether regions so characteristic of the conventional guide to the other world. It is therefore not surprising that Expertus Robertus does not appear in these visions, but that he does assume a major role in the second half of the Gesichte whose action takes place entirely in a semi-allegorical area of this world.

Philander

Except for El Entremetido y la Dueña y el Soplón or its translation L'Enfer réformé, ou la sédition infernalle, every vision in Moscherosch's Spanish and French models is written in the first person singular, but the narrator remains nameless. Moscherosch writes all visions in the first person, and calls his narrator Philander. Thus, by introducing the name Philander, Moscherosch establishes a coherence between all visions—a coherence that was not to be found in the models.

The make-up of Philander is two-fold. He has attributes of the conventional narrator-dreamer of the vision and he shows some of the personal traits of Moscherosch himself. We shall first examine
where Philander's character is in keeping with the literary tradition of the vision, and then look at passages in which Philander diverges in character and function from this convention.

"Unlike the hero of a classical tragedy or a medieval romance, the typical conventional persona of the vision is not of heroic proportions. He distinguishes himself little either in social position or personal achievement. He is an average person, neither hero nor villain, and therefore the narrator of any vision can be regarded as a universalized Everyman. Philander, too, fits into this mold. He is a young student on a journey to complete his education. His adventures on this trip are not unusual and could have been experienced by anyone.

Newman analyzes the basic trait of the narrator-dreamer, saying that

he is confused, but troubled by his confusion; he is astray, yet he is anxious to find the highway. He is alone, often culpably so, yet by virtue of his aloneness he retreats into himself and so finds
a guide...he is a man in need of education, who eventually finds that need answered. 156

Related to the dreamer's confused state of mind is his naiveté. He is constantly duped by appearance and has to be told the real nature of things by his guide. The naive dreamer is also constantly baffled by the sights in the unfamiliar region to which he has been led, so that he can only pose short timid questions, which in turn are answered in sententious and moralizing phrases.

At the opening of every vision, Philander, too, troubled and disturbed by some event that has occurred along his journey, enters into the visionary world, where he shows the conventional trait of naive inquisitiveness. Thus, in the first Gesicht, Philander's function is limited to posing five questions—questions in the order of: "Ich möchte wohl wissen, ob auch viel Verliebte zur Hülle kommen (Gesichte, I, Bo., p. 18)?" In the second Gesicht, Philander appears as a mere foil for the sententious explanations and moralizings of the guide. In Philander's infrequent speeches, he again shows youthful naiveté, and his reactions
are usually expressed in simple-minded phrases such as: "Das möchte ich auch lernen (Gesichte, Bo., p. 44)."

In this Gesicht Philander does not talk to any of the people he sees. Neither do any of the figures take any note of him. It is as if both Philander and Expertus Robertus walk through this region, capable of seeing all that goes on, and remaining unseen. This is not the case in Venus-Narren. Here Philander enters occasionally into conversations with the people he meets. These conversations assume the form of question and answer. For example, Philander addresses Jungfrau Trau-nit and asks her who she is (Gesichte, I, Bo., p. 81). When Philander does not ask people, Expertus Robertus is at hand to offer any required information.

The questioning technique is also present in Todten-Heer, where Philander asks details of what he sees from the figure of Death and from other minor death figures he encounters—for instance, death by drinking, death by duelling. In Hölle-
Kinder, he makes inquiries from the devils that flit about him, and from several of the sinners, while in Hoff-Schule he questions some random bystanders. The only vision in which Philander does not ask any questions is Letztes Gericht.

Philander's questions depict him as the naive, uninformed narrator. The question technique is also a narrative device that gives a different viewpoint in the recounting of the sights in the visionary world. As it is, the first two visions, Schergen-Teuffel and Welt-Wesen, consist mostly of monologues by the guide who explains sight after sight encountered. In the other visions Philander more or less tells directly what he sees.

In the conventional vision it is highly unusual for the dreamer to show emotion or to react to what he sees. In Gesichte, Philander shows his reactions several times. In Venus-Narren he is at one time moved to "verwunderen und sonderbahrem doch schier unerdenklichem nachdencken (Gesichte, I, Bo., p. 81)." At another, his shy-
ness and naiveté in regard to women are revealed. When approached by a procuror showing one of his prime specimens, he has the following reaction:

Ich sahe bald under sich, legte die Finger auf die Nase und schämte mich wie ein junger Hund; doch endlich fieng ich an ein wenig zu gücklen...Ich aber verdeckte das Antlitz noch mehr und sahe durch die Finger, deswegen sie mich einen Schmäcker hiesse, der nicht das Herz habe, daß er eine Jungfrau recht angreifen dürffe.

(Gesichte, I, Bo., p. 82)

Elsewhere, Philander is moved to pity at the sight of two types of individuals, one of them being those unsuccessful in obtaining the love of women and the other once having married being unable to dispose of their wives at will. At this sign of pity, Philander is immediately admonished by his mentor Expertus Robertus: "Lassen sie gehen, Narren ist weder zu raten noch zu helfen, es sey denn, daß man ihnen mit Kolben lause (Gesichte, I, Bo., p. 101)." Philander shows disgust with what he sees only once in this Gesicht. This occurs when he meets two frenzied lovers, one of whom desires to become a flea in his beloved's bedroom, while the other would like to become the cover for his
beloved's privy. These wishes revolt Philander and he tells the lovers so, chastising them for their folly (Gesichte, I, Bo., p. 105). In Todten-Heer, Philander is shocked by what he sees:

"Ach Gott/ nein/ sprach ich/ ich kenne sie nicht/ begehre auch nicht zu wissen/ was und wer es seye."

(Gesichte, I, 1650, p. 190)

Todten-Heer is also the first vision in which we notice that Philander is more than an empathetic by-stander. He starts to apply what he sees to his own condition and draws conclusions for his betterment. This is an obvious device of Moscherosch to drive home his didactic purpose. Thus, Philander makes a comment typical of the baroque spirit about the vanity of life:

"Dieses Gesicht gab mit wider ursach/ ein wenig zurück zu gedencken/ an die Eitelkeit und Unachtsamkeit der Menschen/ zu seufzen und sprechen: O Gott/ wir haben ja nur ein Leben/ und so viel unzehliche weisen des Todtes!"

(Gesichte, I, 1650, p. 215)

A better example of Philander's contemplating what he has seen appears in Hölken-Kinder. He comes to a large prison where a great number of chained
people are weeping and wailing. They have put off repenting till very late in their life. Philander reflects:

> Als ich diese Worte/ o mihi praeteritis rufen hörte/ dachte ich an mich selbst/ und an die vorige gute Zeit und Gelegenheit/ die auß Unverstand der blinden thörichten Jungend eben auch offtmahl unnützlich fürüber schleichen lassen. Erseuffzete bei mir/ schlug an meine Brust...

*(Gesichte, I, 1650, p. 421)*

The questioning of people and the contemplation of the fate of sinners is in keeping with the convention of the vision. There are, however, some incidents of interaction between the dreamer and the people in the other world that do not fit into the picture of the vision. Two of these incidents appear in *Todten-Heer* and both have models in the Spanish version. One incident is a dialogue between Philander and Schickot. The latter is a medieval alchemist who has had himself cut into pieces and placed into a giant test tube. At a later date when times hopefully would have improved he wanted to become fused together again by a secret alchemistic process. It is Philander who does most of the speaking in their conversation.
Schickot asks about the conditions in the upper world and Philander answers. This scene, ranging over twenty pages, shows a reverse situation to what we have seen in the first Gesicht, where Philander inquired from the Scherge about the conditions in the lower world. Philander therefore has now become a guide figure. Philander reports what the lawyers, courtiers and other people are doing in the world. It is a description of facts that are not couched in the shroud of allegory in which people move in the lower world. This description foreshadows the direct criticism of society which becomes more and more prevalent in the second half of the Gesichte.

At the end of Todten-Heer, Philander gets involved with a cuckold, Dom Sennor Ruffo Barbaviso, who is enraged at Philander for having written some unpleasant verses about him. Philander counters with a few chosen words:

Großsprecher/ Franshausen und Auff­ schneider...der doch in warheit anderst
nicht/ als...ein rechter Hornaff oder Gauchmatz ist. (Gesichte, I, 1650, p. 272)

Thereupon Ruffo rushes at Philander with a pitchfork, causing him to wake up. Although there is a direct parallel to this incident in the Spanish, Moscherosch has changed it to his own purposes by giving the man a name—an anagram for one of Moscherosch's personal enemies who will assume a larger role in the second part of Gesichte.

Elsewhere, too, Moscherosch introduces figures who have a personal significance for him. The publisher Schönewetter appears in the form of Hübstdwetter in Hölle-Kinder (Gesichte, I, 1650, p. 377), and in Todten-Heer the long discussion about the evils of the night-owl is a pointed attack at Daniel Vogel (Gesichte, I, 1650, pp. 252-258)—a personal enemy who will appear more frequently in the second part of Gesichte.

Another event that has a bearing on Moscherosch's personal life is Philander's encounter with Reiner von Sittewald in Hölle-Kinder. Reiner, whom critics have proven to be the personation of
Moscherosch's younger brother, Quirinus, sits among a crowd of debauched students when Philander meets him. Immediately he tries to turn his brother from his evil ways. Philander, therefore, assumes a completely different attitude in this incident from the one he has in the remainder of the Gesichte. He no longer is the naive young man who is in need of instruction; rather, he now is a guide and enlightener of his errant brother. There is even a suggestion that Philander is an emissary of God sent to save Reiner. This connotation is particularly evident in these words:


(Gesichte, I, 1650, p. 436)

This section has, of course, no parallel in Moscherosch's models. He inserted it at random into the basic structure of the work.

The seventh vision, Hoff-Schule, which was written in the third person in the Spanish and French and which Moscherosch changes into the
first person, reveals a Philander that is least in keeping with the character of the vision. The vision contains two major sections. In the larger one, various sinners confront Lucifer. While the sinners are condemned and punished, Lucifer admonishes the rest of the by-standers. In this part of the vision, it is therefore Lucifer who has the function of moralizer, a function that in the previous visions had been assigned to the guide figures. Philander assumes no important role. He merely reports, but is not moved to any reaction by what he sees.

The second and smaller part of the seventh vision is inserted in the middle of the larger section. It is entirely Moscherosch's own, and does not have any parallel in the models. Here Philander takes on an active role, and assumes the functions of guide and moralizer.

Under discussion in this section are three subjects dear to Moscherosch's heart: the corruption of the German language by the intrusion of foreign words; the corruption of German tradition
by foreign models, especially from France, and the duties and miseries of a tutor. All these topics are also of primary importance in the second half of the Gesichte and thus foreshadow their discussion there.

The first point at issue starts with an argument about the usage of C and K, and Ph and F. Philander is called upon as an outsider to give his opinion on this matter. He states that, if one must use a foreign word, one should go back to its origin and write it with its original script. He gives his own name 'Philander' as an example, which, according to him, would be quite wrong and nonsensical if it were written as 'Filander.'

The section points out Moscherosch's interest in philological matters, a fact which led critics to attribute the Teutscher Sprachverderber to him.

The second topic of discussion starts when Philander meets two men who are duelling. They are a Frenchman and a German. When Philander is informed that the duel is on account of Reputation, he gets upset that Germans go to Italy, Spain or
France to learn how to handle swords, only to come home to kill their best friends in a duel. At this he recalls the good old German ways:

unsere redliche alte Teutsche/...waren mit dem zufrieden/ wan ihnen ein schimpff geschah/ dass sie sprachen: es ist erlogen. Es ist mir unrecht geschehen. Auf eine Lügen eine Maulschel/ aufs höchste etliche Büffe hie und da ausgetheilet, darnach... bey einem Trunck widerum/ mit viel mehrerer Vertraulichkeit und Freundschaft verglichen Feinde und vertragen...

(Gesichte, I, 1650, p. 601)

This lament soon takes on a more general tone, for it is not only the art of dueling that Philander objects to; he objects to all foreign matters undermining German tradition:

o deß heilosen Tausches! da wir die fremde Laster mit Teutscher Tugend/ wälschen Unreinigkeit gegen Teutsche Keuschheit/ & wälsche Untreu gegen Teutsche Redlichkeit auswechseln.

(Gesichte, I, 1650, p. 605)

In the first two sections of this part of the vision, Philander has acted as Moscherosch's mouthpiece by providing opinions on subjects of academic value and on the state of morals in Germany. The third section rests upon the experiences of Moscherosch's personal life. After his tour à la mode
Moscherosch became a tutor, but he was not employed long in this capacity as he was dismissed for the maltreatment of the children in his care—the children of the Count von Leiningen-Dagsburg-Hartenburg. In his comments on this affair, Moscherosch suppresses his own shortcomings and tries to blame everyone else for this abortive effort at earning a livelihood.

In the passage in question a tutor comes along, who is promptly condemned and punished by several devils. This gives food for thought to Philander, who thinks that private tutors are ill treated and are never rewarded for their efforts. An ill educated son and his father walk by, who blame each other for this apparent misadventure in child education. After they have gone past, Philander takes on the role of moralizer and admonisher, but he is not drawn to self-examination as he was in the previous visions. Rather than taking this affair as a didactic example for his own betterment, he turns to the reader directly with his admonition:

Welches ich hiemit allen Standespersonen/ allen Hof-Praeceptoribus, zu einem Spiegel
Moscherosch at this point gets carried away with his subject matter, for he now lists ten pages of rules for the parents to follow in educating their children, three pages of rules for the children to follow in their dealings with parents and tutor, and four pages of ground rules for the tutor himself. These rules are reminiscent of those which Moscherosch lists in his educational treatise *Insomnis Cura Parentum*. They are rules based on love, respect and reverence for God, country, parents, and tutors, in this order.161

As can be seen, this section has nothing in common with the basic visionary material. It actually clashes with it, for Philander no longer is the innocent erring young man who has to be educated. Instead, he assumes the role of edu-

vorstelle/ darinnen sie sich selbst be-
sehen und lernen mögen daß sie mit der
Kinderzucht ja nicht schläfrig und unbe-
dachtsam...verfahren.

(Gesichte, I, 1650, p. 624)
cator himself, and it is apparent that Moscherosch interspersed this section into the vision of his models.

Throughout the first part of Gesichte, Philander has the conventional traits of a visionary hero. Starting with the third vision, these traits become less noticeable, as Moscherosch relies less on his models and brings more material of his own into the work. Every vision starts with a perturbed Philander and ends with his better understanding the problems that disturbed him before. Thus, every vision satisfies a facet of Philander's need for education. Yet, taking the visions as a whole, we can also see a development of Philander from the innocent naive person in the first vision to the more responsible individual in the last, where he is no longer admonished to better himself, but admonishes the reader in turn. In his educational development the hero of a vision is similar to the hero of a Bildungsroman. But I would not go so far as Grunwald, who thinks that Gesichte is merely a variant of the Bildungsroman. The
problem is more complicated. One of the sources of the didactic motif is the vision. Several centuries later the vision, by way of its variant, the vision-satire, combined with elements from the picaresque novel and fool's literature to form such a work as Simplicius Simplicissimus. Although certain parts of Gesichte do have striking similarities to the developmental novel—these will be outlined later—Gesichte should not be considered a developmental novel, but the last link in the development from the vision towards this type of novel.

Satire in Gesichte, Part I

The occurrence of satyrische Gesichte in the title of the first edition of Gesichte suggests visionary as well as satiric elements.

The Poetics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries say very little about satire. If discussing it at all, they always refer to verse satire rather than prose, and they usually mention
it in connection with the epigram, of which satire was commonly considered a mere extension. Typical is Opitz' view:

\[ \text{Das Epigramma setze darumb zue der Satyra/ weil die Satyra ein lang Epigramma/ und das Epigramma eine kurtze Satyra ist...} \]

More authoritative is an epigram quoted by Moscherosch. It comes from Owen who made the epigram a popular literary genre and was widely imitated in Germany:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nil aliud Satyra quam sunt Epigrammata longa,} \\
\text{Nil Satyra, si non sapiant Epigrammata,} \\
\text{Nil Satyram sapiat, nil Epigramma juvat.} \\
\text{(Gesichte, II, 1650, preface, unpaged)}
\end{align*}
\]

Typically Moscherosch first published a volume of epigrams and then wrote lengthier epigrams--that is, satire.

Consternation was caused by attempts to define the word satire and its meaning, for there was constant confusion between satire, derived from Latin satura, a bowl filled with mixed fruit and applied to a poem with mixed content, and satyra, derived from the Greek and first applied to poems
dealing with woodsprites and later to pastoral poetry in general. In commenting on Harsdörffer's Poetischer Trichter, Markwardt puts the problem this way:

Und besondere Schwierigkeiten bereitet wiederum die armliche Eingliederung der Satyren, da sie einerseits von Schäfern, (wie früher von Waldgöttern) berichten, andererseits aber Strafgedichte (Vermisión mit Satire) bedeuten...

Attempts at clarifying the connection of satire with satyr gave rise to curious explanations. Birken thought that shepherds moving into the cities derided the citizens on account of their vices and debauched living. The citizens responded to their critics by calling them Satyren (= Waldteuffel). In this manner, Satyren, though they are Strafgedichte, could, according to Birken, still be included in the general category of pastoral poetry.

Moscherosch thought along similar lines. In Philanders Vorrede an den Teutsch-gesinnten Leser—which is one of the prefaces of the second part of
Gesichte— he explains the origin of the word satyrisch:

Darumb so wisse/ das wort Satyrisch komme her vom Lateinischen 'Satyricus' 'Satyra,' welches (viel andere den Gelehrten bekandte vermeynte Bedeutunge hie zu geschweigen) eigentlich ist/ ein Lied/ eine solche Rede; da man zu genügen alles das frey herauf sagt/ und zu verstehen gibt/ was einem umbs hertz ist.

(Gesichte, II, 1650, pp. 1-2 of above preface)

He then derives satyra from satyris:

Satyri waren ein Geschlecht der Heyden Wald Götter; deß oberen halben Leibs als Männschen/ ausserhalb das sie hörner und lange spitze Ohren hatten/ unden zu als haarichte Geisböcke gestaltet.

(Gesichte, II, 1650, p. 2 of above preface)

He imagines now that at bacchic orgies the satyrs, as soon as they noticed something scandalous about someone, acted out his sins in wild dances. Hence, so he says, the connection between scathing, biting attack and the satyrs.

After having derived satire from Roman and Greek antiquity, Moscherosch also connects it to Christianity and ancient Germanic tradition—both
of these being of primary concern to Moscherosch. He connects the satyrs to Christianity by saying:

Eigentlichen aber waren solche Satyri nur Teuffels Gespenster/ Waldgespenster/ Waldteuffel; doch von den blinden Heyden/ weil sie vom wahren Gott nichts wüsten/ hochgehalten; als doch in anderen orten der Teuffel unter mancher gestalt von solchen ellenden Leuten wird angebetet und verehret.

(Gesichte, II, 1650, p. 3 of preface)

Using Aventin as his source for Germanic tradition and folklore, Moscherosch tells how the great-granfather of all Germans, Teuto, commanded everyone to commemorate worthy Germans in Lieder. Soon another mythical figure, king Labrar, ruler of Bavaria—which is most of Germany according to Aventin—ordered songs to be sung also about wicked people so that they might be put to shame. Moscherosch saw these songs as forerunners to modern day satire.

Until 1682 poetics did not mention that satire could be in the form of prose. Morhof then stated in his Unterricht von der Teutschen Sprache und Poesie that it could occur in the form of a dialogue, a letter, a travelogue, or a novel.
Though German men of letters had been acquainted with Latin prose satires by authors such as Erasmus, Heinsius, Barclay and Carinus, the genre did not become popular until Moscherosch employed it in German. No matter whether the satire was in verse or in prose, the general content and purpose remained the same. In Opitz' words:

Zue einer Satyre gehören zwey dinge: die lehre von gueten sitten und ehrbaren wandel/ und höfliche reden und schertzworte. Ihr vornembestes aber und gleichsam als die seele ist/ die harte verweisung der laster und anmahnung zue der tugend: welches zue vollbringen sie mit allerley stachligren und spitzfindigen reden/ wie mit scharffen pfeilen/ umb sich scheußt. Und haben alle Satyrische Scribenten zum gebrauche/ das sie ungeschewet sich vor feinde aller laster angeben/ und ihrer besten freunde ja ihrer selbst auch nicht verschonen/ damit sie nur andere bestechen mögen...

The purpose of satire is found also in other types of literature popular at Moscherosch's time; in homiles, in the Dances of Death, and, of course, in the visions. The two—vision and satire—thus easily occur in combination.

Moscherosch directs his satire at foibles in human nature and often personifies them, thus continuing the medieval tradition in which allegory
was a frequent medium of expression. Occasionally Moscherosch enumerates allegorizations at length:

...uff der einen seyten stunden beysammen/
Ungenad/ Unglück/ Rachgier/ Zorn/ Unwillen/
Trawren/ Fluch und Pestilenz/ welche alle
wider die Herren Medicos Zetter und Mordio
ruffeten.

(Gesichte, I, 1650, p. 299)

Der Stallknecht träumet sich einen Stall-
meister...Hurerey Freundschaft, Wucher
Häuslichkeit, Betriegerey Geschwindigkeit,
Lügen Auffrichtigkeit, Boßheit Wackerkeit.

(Gesichte, I, Bo., p. 45)

Ich sahe die Zeit, durch deren Hülffe et-
liche genesen waren. Ich sahe den Eyffer
gegen diejenige, so es am wenigsten biß-
weilen verschuldet hatten. Ich sahe die
gedächtniß der alten Liebe und Wunden.
Ich sahe den Verstand in einem finsteren
Käfig eingeschlossen und gefangen. Ich
sahe die Vernunft mit blinden Augen...

(Gesichte, I, Bo., p. 107)

Sometimes he singles them out and describes them
more fully, as for example Frau Schönnetta and
Jungfrau Trau-nit in Venus-Narren, and Thorheit,
Frau Ingratitudo and Quidam in Todten-Heer.
Neither the lists of allegorical figures nor the
individual figures are original with Moscherosch;
they occur also in Quevedo.

Besides satirizing human flaws depicted in
allegorical form, Moscherosch derides also entire
groups of people. Müller, in his discussion of Quevedo's Sueños, divides these persons into two types:

Neben den noch typisch mittelalterlichen Lasterfiguren, soberbios, lujuriosos, avarientos, envidiosos, maldicientes, hypocrítas, lässt sich eine rein moralistische Typenreihe aufstellen, wie wir sie aus den französischen Moralisten des 17. Jahrhunderts kennen: die Klugen, Dummen, Schmeichler, Aufdringlichen, Schwätzer, Bittsteller, Langweiligen (enfadosos), Verliebten. 172

Moscherosch maintains the same groups. Those figures which Müller lists as medieval figures of vice appear also in medieval vision literature, where historical persons are usually singled out who embodied a particular vice. For Quevedo and Moscherosch the identity of the individual sinners is less important than the transgressions themselves. If they refer to one person in a group, he usually remains nameless. An exception is found in Hoff-Schule where several classical figures are mentioned as examples of strife that existed between a ruler and his courtiers. From the second group of satirized persons—the group which is called moralistic by Müller—both Quevedo and Moscherosch
choose representatives who are usually contemporaries and personal enemies of either of the authors.

Both groupings of people, the one with the medieval and the one with the moralistic tradition, are by far outnumbered by tradesmen and professional people who bear the brunt of Moscherosch's satire. Usually these are mentioned also as a group, with the same group making repeated appearances throughout. They are criticized no longer according to the wide spectrum of sins traditional in the Middle Ages, but are guilty of one all-encompassing sin: greed for money. Moscherosch singles out the various medical professions: doctors, barbers, surgeons, dentists, apothecaries, and vendors of different remedies; he includes also the different types of lawyers and attorneys, and astrologers and alchemists. Of the tradesmen, he singles out for special criticism bakers, tailors, shoemakers, innkeepers and sellers of herbs and spices. Of the dishonorable professions Moscherosch attacks particularly the catchpoles (Schergen), knackers, the procuresses and the
whores. Representative of any of these groups can be found almost anywhere in the text, but more detailed treatment of the constables is given in Schergen-Teuffel, of the medical professions in Todten-Heer, of the politicians in Hoff-Schule.

A model for Moscherosch's use of the tradesmen and professions can be found in the Vado mori poems or in the Dance of Death which supposedly evolved from these poems. The earliest examples of the Dance of Death in the fourteenth century mentioned only the higher officials of church and state; later examples of this genre added more general types such as the lover, the young man, the widow, the married woman, and the old man. Astrologers, bakers, tailors, shoemakers, etc. did not find their way into the Dance of Death until the sixteenth century. A parallel between Moscherosch's vision satire and the Dance of Death exists only in the similarity of the dramatis personae; satire is usually lacking in the Dance of Death, but it is present in a scene that recurs in several passion plays—a scene generally taken as one
of the sources for the *Dance of Death*. After his descent into Hell, Christ releases the confined sinners, and Lucifer sends his demons into the world to gather new people in order to fill Hell again. Soon afterwards devils drag various sinners before Lucifer. They confess their sins and Lucifer condemns them. This scene is developed in the *Innsbrucker Osterspiel* more fully than in other passion plays. Lucifer's command to his legions includes the full range of people that also occur in almost the same order in the *Dance of Death*:

388  Sathan, Sathan, min vil liber kumpan,  
lauf hen keyn Avian  
brenge mir (alczu mal)  
den babest und den kardenal,  
patriarchen vnd den legat,  
dy den luten geben bosen rat,  
konig vnd keyser  
dy brenge mir alczu male her,  
grafen vnd fursten  
dy darf nicht her geluesten,  
ritter vnd knechts,  
dy sint mir alczu mal rechte,  
brenge mir den voyt vnd den raczman,  
dy den luten vil vnrechtes haben getan,  
brenge mir euch dy wucherere,  
dy sint gote gar vnmere,  
dy schipphin mit dem orteyl,  
dy brenge mir her an dinem seyl,  
den phaffen mit der blatten,  
den monch mit der kappen,  
brenge mir den byrschencken,  
den wil ich in dy helle vorsenoken,
brenge mir den becken mit dem wecke,
  dem wil ich machen eyn gruz gelecke,
  den fleysheuer mit der kw
  vnd den webir dar czu,
brenge mit ouch den czymmerman,
min vil lyber kumpan,
brenge mir den schuster mit der ole,
  den althoß mit der acle
brenge mir ouch den byrschrotener,
  vnd dar czu den botener,
esser, eyler,
sporer, veyler,
bretsnyder, deler,
trencker, toppler, spiler,
dy brenge mir also her
(tho des schier noch myner ger),
brenge mir ouch den trunckenbolt,
got der wert em nymer holt,
brenge mir ouch den muller mit der meczen,
den wil ich czu hinderst in dy helle seczen.
brenge mir ouch den beder mit der questen,
den salzman mit der mesten,
den smet ich mit der czangen,
dez hatte ich vorgehen lange,
den fischer mit dem hamen,
den schiffman mit dem kauen,
brenge den phifer vnd den rotther,
den pucker vnd den fedeler,
vnd aller ley spilman,
der ich dir nicht genennen kan,
brenge mir ouch dy spinnerin,
mis der wil ich ouch vrouden begin,
ouch brenge mir den kemmer,
darczu den buerstenbinder,
brenge mir ouch dy klappermynnen,
dy da siczen an den czynnen
vnd duncken sich alzo heilig syn
also dez phaffen mastswin.
noch weiz ich eyn geschlechte,
(daz ist der helle nicht rechte),
After Lucifer's speech seven people are dragged before him: a baker, a shoemaker, a chaplain, an innkeeper, a butcher, a tailor, and a young lover. The tradesmen have cheated the public, the chaplain is accused of conspiring with women, and the lover of having loved only for personal gain. In Moscherosch, the same trades and people appear and are accused of the same sins.

In Spain, there existed several examples of the Dance of Death. Also several autos sacramentales of the sixteenth century show scenes similar to those of the passion plays. Therefore Quevedo had a ready store of models to which he could refer. Moscherosch could add to Quevedo's writings, drawing material from the passion plays and the German versions of the Dance of Death.

Moscherosch's Hoff-Schule shows a close parallel to the Lucifer scene of the passion play. Lucifer is annoyed at the uproar caused by a flatterer, a fool and a stewardess (Haushofmeisterin in Moscherosch; dueña in Quevedo). In the passion
plays, Lucifer flies also into a rage; this occurs when Christ releases the sinners from Hell. In Moscherosch, Lucifer rushes about his realm, and meets the various sinners. In Quevedo, towards the end of the vision, Lucifer sits on a fiery throne and holds court. This recalls the passion play scene where Lucifer sits also on a throne fashioned from a barrel. Lucifer's decree at the end of Hoff-Schule announces how discord shall be achieved in the world and how new souls shall be won for Hell.

During the sixteenth century the entrance of tradesmen and professionals into the passion play and the vision introduced a tendency toward satire into these genres, and with it came a turning away from the medieval condemnation of sin and a turning toward a satiric criticism of human folly.¹⁷⁸

Some critics have seen Gesichte entirely in a medieval tradition. Vogt, for example, says:

Quevedo...bewegt sich ganz in mittelalterlichen Gedanken und Moscherosch mit ihm... War das erste Buch außer der Hoffschule
Wichert is of the same opinion:

...the first half of the 17th century... produced satiric moralists rather than polemicists, men like Moscherosch and Logau who traversed in their works the interminable morass of human sinfulness. The satirist of the latter part of the century, more hopeful, walked on firmer ground where man appeared foolish and injudicious rather than sinful...

Moscherosch maintains undeniably much that is medieval, but shows also what, according to Wichert, is characteristic mainly of the satirists of the latter half of the seventeenth century. Gesichte does not dwell on gruesome eternal punishments, so frequent in medieval visions. Of the visions dealing with the nether region, Schergen-Teuffel and Todten-Heer simply enumerate the various people that can be found in Hell or the region of Death. No punishments are mentioned. In Letztes Gericht, Höllen-Kinder, and Hoff-Schule devils drag the condemned away; and there is not often a reference to the form of punishment meted out to the sinners.

If it is mentioned, it is drastic:

...da sahe ich wie einem glüende Nügel an statt der Absätze in die Füße geschlagen
wurden: einer andern anstatt der Brei­nestel/ glüende Ketten umbgethan: Einer anderen/ anstatt des Krauses/ glüende Halßeisen. der einen wurden die Arme aus dem Leib gezogen/ der anderen die Brüste mit glüenden Hacken ausgerissen/ die Haare und das Gesicht zerzaust und zer­kratzet...

(Gesichte, I, 1650, p. 413)

...sah ich einen großen Scheiterhaufen Pastetenbecker über einanderliegen/ denen ein Teuffel die Köpff in Mörsern und Klingelsteinen verstiess...

(Gesichte, I, 1650, p. 388)

These passages have a parallel in the Spanish model; Moscherosch adds nothing. He is interested more in the satiric description of the people con­demned to Hell. Quevedo has several passages that depict people with satiric humor; Moscherosch amplifies these and adds new passages. One of these describes an astrologer who insists that it is too early for Judgment Day. This scene must have appealed to Moscherosch; he uses it twice (Todten-Heer, p. 328; Höllen-Kinder, p. 493).

Another scene mentions a church official who in­sists that he should be saved from Hell because he has dusted the statues of the saints in his church (Gesichte, I, p. 325). During their life—
time, innkeepers have watered down the beverages they dispensed. They are reminded of this as they fall again and again into water puddles. On one occasion a devil is apprehensive that their splashing may douse the fires of Hell (Gesichte, I, p. 462).

These passages elicit the reader's laughter because of the grotesque description of people, but this laughter is due less to outright humor and more to a gloating over the well deserved misfortune of others.

Hinze has denied the presence of humor in Moscherosch:

Dann fehlt Moscherosch aber vor allen Dingen das, was uns die Satire Murners näher bringt: der Humor. Moscherosch ist gänzlich die Gabe des ridendo dicere verum versagt. Stets ist sein Gesicht ernst und niemals ertönt ein befreiendes Lachen.181

Klamroth has also noted a lack of real humor:

In der Regel müssen Wiederholungen und unzweideutige Grobheiten die Stelle von Witz und Spott vertreten.182

By way of contrast, Knight finds that:

The rhetorical basis of Moscherosch's humor which is similar in many ways to that of Fischart, is most evident in his use of
Puns occur often:

Weh-einschenken - Weinschenken
Abdecker - Apotheker
Brach die-kanten - Praktikanten
maulhenkholisch - melancholisch
Sternschlucker - Sterngucker
Sold-thaten - Soldat
Dock-thor - Doktor
Kust-ab-Lehr - Konstabler

Fischart's technique of creating a humorous effect by presenting a long list of similar parts of speech is shown in Moscherosch's description of the alchemists:

Ein Theil distillirte, despumirte, calcinirte; der ander lavirte, der dritt purificirte, rectificirte, separirte, praeceptitirte, sublimirte, cimentirte, gradazte, filtrirte, coagulirte, circulirte, fibrirte, macerirte, radirte, triturirte, limirte, condirte, digerirte, exprimirte, liquirte, nutrirte, fermentirte, levigirte, inspissirte, rarificirte, solvirte, in Rauch/ in Dunst/ in Luft/ in Nichts...

(‘Gesichte, I, 1650, p. 486)

These accumulations and puns are not only a playing with words, they contain always a satiric barb.

Throughout the first part of ‘Gesichte, satire is directed at people. It is a class satire or a satire of types. But in ‘Hoff-Schule it changes
into a critique of morals and customs. Moscherosch mentions the problems of education at court. He criticizes tutor, student and parents alike, and recommends rules for them to follow. Two dueling noblemen lead Moscherosch to remark on the ridiculous behavior of noblemen and the evils of customs introduced from foreign parts, especially France. This discussion of education, noblemen, and foreign influences foreshadows the much broader treatment of these same topics in the second part of Gesichte. These sections in Hoff-Schule foreshadow also a type of satire which will predominate in the second part of Gesichte; it will no longer be the class satire or satire of types with its enumeration of human foibles which are universal, but it will be a satire on the customs and morals of Germany.

Conclusions to the discussion of Gesichte, Part I

Moscherosch subjected his source material to a number of changes, of which the most obvious is
the rearrangement of the individual visions. In general, I agree with Knight's opinion in this matter:

It is characteristic of Moscherosch's more methodical approach that he replaces the haphazard order of the "Visions" (which begins with the "Last Judgment") by a more logical sequence which traces the course of human folly first in the world, then through Death and the Judgment Day, and finally to Hell.

Besides rearranging the visions, Moscherosch introduced a framework connecting them. It unifies the first part of the Gesichte and is an attempt at a novel-like structure. At the same time, it anticipates a further development in the novelistic technique in the second part. Also anticipated—in Hoff-Schule—is the satire in the form of a critique of mores rather than the medieval condemnation of individual sins.

Moscherosch not only innovates and anticipates features of the second part, he also maintains much from medieval and specifically German tradition. From the vision, he preserved the basic motifs, the guide and the narrator figure, as well as a tendency to use allegory. In his use of satire,
Moscherosch employed medieval categories of sins, and also figures from ethical categories similar to those encountered in French moralistic satires of the seventeenth century. Finally he used figures of the middle classes who did not appear in Spanish or German satiric writings until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Moscherosch, then, used a great deal of traditional material, but he also made significant changes in his sources—changes that will be developed further in the second part of Gesichte.
CHAPTER III

Discussion of "Gesichte, Part I"

Structure outline and content

The first and second parts of Gesichte are divided into seven chapters. A framework consisting of a journey connects the chapters of the first part, every chapter occurring at a different location along the way. In the second part all chapters occur in the castle Geroldseck and its immediate surroundings. Whereas the first part of Gesichte advances in relation to Philander's progress on his journey, the progress in the second part is indicated by frequent references to time. The action is designed to take place within one week. A la Mode Kehraus begins on a Sunday and describes Philander's arrival at the castle Geroldseck; on Monday Philander confronts seven Germanic kings and other courtiers at the castle. The chapters Hans hierüber, Ganß herüber, Weiber-Lob, Thurnier, and Pflaster wider das Podagram take place on
Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday respectively. **Soldaten-Leben** starts on Saturday when Philander escapes from the castle. The complete narrative unit from Philander's entering to his leaving of the castle takes exactly one week. The part of the work which describes this week is Mosche-rosch's original plot outline of the work.

Most of **Soldaten-Leben** and all of **Reformation** do not follow the time sequence of the rest of the work. The time references become indefinite and the pattern of one day for each chapter is broken. This dissimilarity suggests that these parts of **Gesichte** are later additions. In **Soldaten-Leben**, in the part dealing with Philander's stay with the soldiers, there are such phrases as "etliche tage darauff," "acht tage danach," or "des anderen morgens." When, towards the end of the chapter, Philander returns to the castle, the time references are still in the order of "acht tage," "nach drey wochen," "nach zwey tagen," and "des nächsten morgens." **Reformation** refers again to weekdays, but there is no apparent purpose in mentioning them.
The chapter starts on Monday, and the time references are made by phrases like "dritten taghernach," "den folgenden Samstag," "folgenden Mittwochs," "Donnerstags früh," and "Samstags früh."

The section of the second part allocating one day of the week to each chapter shows a similarity to the Italian novella cycles of authors like Basile and Bocaccio. In France, Margarite of Navarra's *Heptameron* also forms a parallel with its division of seven days. The German chapbook *Die Sieben Weisen Meister* corresponds in its structure also to *Gesichte*. The most obvious similarity is the division into seven days. The prince is condemned to death by his father because his stepmother has falsely accused him of having attempted to seduce her. The prince has vowed to remain silent for seven days and therefore he cannot defend himself. On each of these days, one of his seven tutors tells a story about the wickedness of womanhood, while the stepmother answers every day with a story about the wickedness of men. Finally, on the eighth day, the prince talks, defends himself,
and is found innocent. Gesichte, as well as Sieben Weisen Meister, has a group of seven wise men. Weiber-Lob, in which two persons defend and two attack womankind, resembles the structure of Sieben Weise Meister in as much as in the latter stories opposite points of view are presented also in an alternate order. In Sieben Weise Meister and Gesichte, the hero has to defend himself of accusations lodged against him; in each the hero is acquitted.

The structure of each chapter in the second part is more complicated than appears at first glance. The first chapter, A la Mode Kehraus, can be divided into two sections: the first half takes place on a Sunday and covers Philander's arrival at the castle Geroldseck, his meeting with Expertus Robertus, and his initial encounter with Ariuviatus; the second half takes place on a Monday and deals with the interrogation of Philander by a court of seven ancient Germanic kings. The remainder of the chapter is a heated discussion during the evening meal in which the primary cour-
The chapter's main theme is the decay of German manners, customs, and habits. When Philander enters the courtyard, he is mocked because of his peculiar foreign dress. Ariovist is the most vehement mocker, and sums up his opinion of Philander in the words "wälscher Schalksnarr" which he employs again and again. The seven German kings deride every phase of Philander's appearance and character: his hat, his hair, his beard, his dress, his shoes, his mannerisms, his obsequious courtly gestures, and his use of many languages. The last section of A la Mode Kehraus is a discussion about new eating manners which starts when the gathering observes that Philander eats his salad with a fork and not with his fingers as every good German should. The discussion is not a personal attack on Philander, but a general discussion of new styles, of their origin, and of the fools who are enslaved by fashion.

This chapter is an example of Alamode literature which grew out of the sixteenth century.
Several examples of Teufelsliteratur attack extravagant fashions that had entered Germany from the Romance countries. The most important and most imitated work of this type is Andreas Musculus' *Vom Rosenteufel* (1555). Later works—Johannes Ellinger's *Allmodische Kleyderteufel* (1629), Johann Ludwig Hartmann's *Alamode-Teufel* (1679), and Michael Freud's *Alamode-Teufel oder Gewissens-Fragen von der heutigen Tracht und Kleider Pracht* (1682)—combined the sermon-like quality of the sixteenth century genre with the Alamode concept of the seventeenth century. These works are by minor authors, but some of the better known poets of the century also comment on ridiculous fashions. Among these we find the satirists Lauremberg, Abraham a Santa Clara, and Rachel, as well as Grimmelshausen (in *Teutscher Michel*) and Gryphius (in *Horribilicribifex*).

At the end of the nineteenth century, Mosche-rosch attracted the attention of critics because of his nationalistic fervor. His national pride is evident primarily in *A la Mode Kehraus*, and
therefore at the expense of the remainder of Moscherosch's work, this chapter has received excessive and undeserved attention. In contrast to other critics, Vogt\textsuperscript{188} places the emphasis in Moscherosch's work not on the extolling of Germanic virtues, but on the manners of courtly society which the middle classes had begun to imitate. I consider the views of Vogt and of the other critics not mutually exclusive.

Critics dismiss the second chapter, Hanß hienüber, Ganß herüber, usually as Moscherosch's opinion on the tour à la mode which every student undertook after his schooling to complete his education. Actually only one quarter of this chapter covers this topic; the remainder deals with a variety of subjects. The arrival of Cicero at the castle Geroldseck sparks a discussion on the merits of classical Ciceronean Latin as opposed to the Neo-Latin writing tradition. Moscherosch favors the latter. A walk along the river by Philander, Freymund, Expertus Robertus, and Thurnmeyer ends with a visit to Fried Wolff's house.\textsuperscript{189} The con-
versation turns to a lengthy discussion of friendship. In another section of the chapter, a young Frenchman dies at the castle and Freymund writes an epitaph for him. The reciting of this epitaph starts an enumeration of several epitaphs and a debate on their nature.

Drinking is mentioned frequently in this chapter. A group of French students arrive at the castle in order to open a drinking school. One of them dies of an overdose of water. Laelius, who appears in this chapter, is an old academician whose main interest in life is drinking. He participates in a drinking bout with several students. Philander arrives at the tavern after the carousing is over and describes what he sees:

...ich fande Sie schlaffend darinnen... den Laelius aber langen wegs auff dem boden alle Viere von sich streckende wie ein Frosche. Schüssel/ Deller/ Messer/ die Hüte und Mäntel/ eines hie das ander da im Saal...die Fenster zerschmissen; dem einen bluteten die Hände/ dem andern die Nase/ die Augen waren erstorben als eines gestochenen Kalbs: der Bart und das Maul hieng voller Brocken...fast ein Ohme Wein floß uff dem Boden umb den Tisch herumb:
Many details of the students' drinking bout are foreshadowed in the first part of Gesichte by the drinking scene of Höllen-Kinder (Gesichte, I, p. 432), where Philander rescues his brother, who appears under the name of Reiner von Sittewald. Scenes of drunkenness in taverns such as described above are in the tradition of sixteenth century satires on drinking and Grobianus literature.\textsuperscript{190} Works of the latter genre remained popular until well into the seventeenth century. As late as 1640 one of Moscherosch's literary friends, Wenzel Scherffer von Scherffenstein,\textsuperscript{192} reworked Dedeckind's Grobianus, the most popular example of this genre.

As already mentioned, Hanß hierüber, Ganß herüber deals extensively with the tour à la mode. Mutius Jungfisch, a foppish young man, appears at the castle and applies for a position as secretary on a Persian expedition. He is interrogated and the knowledge from his educational travels is
found to amount to nothing more than an intimate acquaintance with the inside of taverns. The assumption is wrong that Moscherosch proposes for young people to remain in their homeland. He simply says that if a young person does not learn anything but debauched living on his trip, it would be more sensible for him to stay at home. Moscherosch is not against the tour à la mode as long as it serves an educational purpose.

The third chapter, *Weiher-Lob*, introduces a new era. Up to now ancient Germany and Rome were contrasted to the seventeenth century, and representatives from both ages were brought to face each other. Now the world of the Middle Ages enters with its kings, knights, minstrels and tournaments.

The chapter opens with Expertus Robertus' asking Philander to look down at a large meadow near the Saar river, where two knights are about to have a duel over a lady. The members of the audience at this tournament are listed:

In dem...waren alle Gemache in der Burg voller Volcks, insonderheit der Burg Thurn,
The ruler of the court is no longer the venerable king Saro or king Ariovist, but the medieval emperor Heinrich I. The ancient Germanic kings have retreated into the background and are mentioned only once in the entire chapter.

The tournament Moscherosch describes is based on the first tournament in history. It was held at Magdeburg in 935 and is described in detail in Rüxner's *Thurnierbüchlein*—the book that Moscherosch inserted later in an abbreviated form into the chapter *Thurnier*. Rüxner mentions that Graf Friedrich von Appermont, Graf Wibrecht von Leiningen, the emperor Heinrich, and his sons Heinrich and Otto were present at the tournament. Moscherosch introduces the same people into his description.
The similarity between Moscherosch's description and the tournament of 935 has escaped the critic Schlosser who calls the tournament "ein gänzlich erdichteter Zweikampf." He identifies one of the participants, Graf Friedrich von Appermunt, as follows:

Wahrscheinlich eine Anspielung auf Friedrich Emrich (nachher Graf Friedrich Emrich XIII.) einen der zwei Söhne des Grafen Friedrich von Leiningen-Dagsburg, bei welchem M. die Stelle eines Hofmeisters versehen hatte.¹⁹⁵

An actual Graf Friedrich von Appermunt participated in the tournament at Magdeburg. The fact that Moscherosch singled him out from the remainder of the contestants can be seen as flattering to the house of Appremont, for Moscherosch's former employer, besides ruling Leiningen-Dagsburg, was also the lord of Appremont.

Weiber-Lob shows also Moscherosch's acquaintance with the courtly literature of Germany. He inserts into his narrative songs of various minnesingers, such as Friedrich von Leiningen and Rudolf von Rotenburg. The misquotation from Winsbeckin (Gesichte, II, Bo., p. 241-243) suggests, however,
that Moscherosch used Goldast's unreliable edition of these poets—which was the first and only edition up to Moscherosch's time.196

During the lunch after the tournament, the conversation turns to women and continues in the afternoon with two persons defending and two attacking women. Expertus Robertus acts as judge in the debate. The setting of Weiber-Lob in medieval Germany and the discussion of women and love in the form of a dialogue parallels the medieval tradition of the court of love.197

The debate has the usual interruptions that the reader has come to expect in Moscherosch. One is a quarrel by a married couple which in its exchange of accusations and abusive epithets resembles closely scenes of similar nature in Shrove-tide plays.198 In Moscherosch, this quarrel amounts to a dramatic dialogue and serves as a concrete example of Thurnmeyer's and Freymund's adverse opinions of married life. Another lengthy interruption of the debate—twelve pages—is a listing of the various words that contain a form of the
word Horn. The list begins with an attack on the medieval pointed headdress of women. From there it launches into an anti-feminist motif—cuckoldry, and ends with a list of unrelated words in which Horn or the Latin cornu appear.

Weiber-Lob deals with women as did Venus-Narren of the first part of Gesichte, but in contrast to Venus-Narren it is not completely anti-feminist. The medieval chivalrous concept of womanhood and love has been added.

The following chapter, Thurnier, deals with the medieval world of tournaments and knights also. The chapter starts with Thurnmeyer’s handing Philander a compendium of tournaments. This text is then reprinted for the next several pages; it is a highly abbreviated version of Rüxner’s Thurnier-büchlein. For example, the first tournament occupies about twenty pages in the original, while with Moscherosch it covers barely one page. The remainder of the thirty six tournaments are treated in the same way. In the list of participants in the various tournaments, Moscherosch mentions only
those who lived in the southwestern part of Germany. He mentions the earls of Hanau, Finstingen and Leiningen whose descendants had been his employers.

The second half of the chapter depicts Philander and his companions on a walk to the Yschwald. It is a feastday in honor of the ancient king Manno, and the Druids are to conduct a religious ceremony near the oaktrees in the Yschwald. The walk to Yschwald and back serves as a framework for a discussion on nobility. The participants are Philander, Expertus Robertus, Thurnmeyer, Freymund, and Adelbrecht—the latter a newly added character. They are of the same opinion: true nobility is not constituted by a title, but depends on virtuous conduct. The chapter ends with a quote from Winsbecke, which serves as a moral for the chapter and restates the Tugend-Adel motif.

Critics have been derogatory in their remarks on this chapter; they have regarded it as a filler with limited appeal. It is true, it does not excel in narrative form and the satiric element has been played down in favor of the didactic. The
chapter is no more than a pedagogical invective against nobility.

The fifth chapter, *Pflaster wider das Podagram*, has two major sections; one deals with doctors and those that are ill with gout, the other with a court case brought against Philander.

The chapter starts with a medical operation. Philander, Expertus Robertus, Thurnmeyer, and Freymund attend to two gout patients; a barber and his assistant are ready to perform surgery, and a physician seeks inspiration from his astrologer's globes and books for the correct timing of the operation. The scene is original and shows Moscherosch at his best as a narrative writer.

In the section that follows, Expertus Robertus gives Philander and the surviving gout patient a document entitled *Bedencken wider das Podagram* which suggests ways of regarding gout as an actually beneficial disease. The treatment of this topic follows the great number of comical encomiums of this disease that were prevalent in humanistic literature. Beinert suggests that Mosche-
rosch used Fischart's *Podagrammisch Trostbüchlein* as his model. Moscherosch himself refers to Willibald Pirckheimer's *Apologia seu Podagrae Laus*, or as Moscherosch calls it, the *Diapirckeimeron*. In the introduction to *Pflaster wider das Podagram*, Moscherosch mentions that the *Diapirckeimeron* has all the ingredients for a gout cure, and that it could be purchased at Johannes Mülbén, his publisher at Strassburg.

In the second part of the chapter, Mutius Jungfisch, Daniel Vnfallo, and Dom Thraso Barbaviso lodge a complaint against Philander with the seven ancient Germanic kings. The accusers are ordered to rewrite their complaints in decent German and to present this document to the court on the following day.

As can be seen by the summary of the plot, the chapter is a mélange of prose passages. It offers one of the best narrative sections that Moscherosch has yet to offer in the description of the gout operation, but it also shows him as a translator and imitator in *Bedenoken wider das Podag-
gram. The section with his accusers, however, is important in that it links this chapter with the court scene of *A la Mode Kehraus* and also with the following chapters *Soldaten-Leben* and *Reformation*.

In secondary literature the sixth chapter, *Soldaten-Leben*, is regarded as Moscherosch's best work. One of the reasons it has received so much attention is that its largest part—Philander's stay among the soldiers—is a model for Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus*. In a discussion of this chapter, the opening and closing pages are usually forgotten. At the beginning, Philander leaves the castle, because he fears an adverse judgment on the complaint that his three accusers have lodged against him. At the end of the chapter, Philander has returned to the castle. While waiting for the result of his trial, he watches two other trials, one about the invention of the printing press, and the other about the invention of gun powder. These lengthy episodes, although of topical
interest, are inserts into the main narrative. When Philander appears before the court of the Germanic kings, he is acquitted.

Gesichte abounds in stories and incidents that do not relate directly to the major plot line. The lengthiest incidental episode is the encounter of Philander with the marauding soldiers, an episode that covers almost one third of the second part of the book. Knight states that "this 'Gesicht' completes the transition which Moscherosch's work as a whole represents, from didactic fool satire to popular novel."206 There is a difference between Soldaten-Leben and the rest of the book, but this chapter has not completely broken away from the tendencies characterizing the remainder of the work. There are still many irrelevant details that encroach upon the main part of the narrative. The most glaring are the poems by Opitz and Weckerlin, as well as the twenty page dictionary of Rotwelsch.207 The didacticism of Gesichte appears also in Soldaten-Leben. The episode can be seen as a pedagogical tract intended to reform the
hords of marauding soldiers. At various points in the story, people who have been robbed and maltreated try to show the soldiers the evil of their ways. Most didactic passages are taken from Luther, especially from his Kriegs- und Soldatenstände, which Moscherosch alludes to also in his preface to the chapter:

Dannenhero D. Luther das güldene Büchlin/ welches alle Christliche Soldaten billich lesen solten/ geschrieben/ nemlich/ daß ein Kriegsmann in einen seeligen Stand leben möge.

Beinert* offers a list of page numbers in which Luther is cited; he mentions also that a pastor visited by Philander and Bbwtz reads from a book written by Luther.

At the end of his stay with the soldiers, Philander has a vision in which a pack of dogs chases a soldier, who is representative of all marauding soldiers. This soldier drops a fiery letter at Philander's feet; it is a Soldaten Lehr-Brief consisting of eighty stanzas taken from Ringwaldt's
Lautere Warheit. They outline the actions of a Christian soldier.

Critics have shown that Moscherosch frequently mingle fact and fiction in Gesichte; this is true also for Soldaten-Leben. One incident Moscherosch has taken from life is the attack on the estate of the Schwarze Bschiderich (black councilor). During his stay at Finstingen, Moscherosch was robbed and plundered no less than five times. He describes one of these attacks in Soldaten-Leben: the black councilor is Moscherosch himself. The marauding soldiers sack a town whose occupation forces, in contrast to Philander's horde, is markedly God-fearing. The town Moscherosch alludes to is Benfeld, whose Swedish occupation forces remained humane.

Besides having taken incidents from life, Moscherosch may have modeled several scenes in Gesichte on Jacques Callot's etchings. It may be assumed that Moscherosch knew of Callot because Nancy, where Callot worked, is the nearest larger town to Finstingen, where Moscherosch was employed.
The catalogue of Moscherosch's library mentions also that Moscherosch had several hundred prints. Moscherosch, being such a fervent art enthusiast, would probably have tried to obtain Callot's works.

Callot drew his *Les petits misères de la guerre* in 1632. They consist of six sketches, which are preliminary studies to *Les grandes misères de la guerre*, published in 1633. It is a collection of eighteen scenes from a soldier's life entitled: enrollment of troops; the battle; marauding; pillaging; sacking of monastery; sacking and burning of village; robbing on highway; discovery of malefactors; flogging; hanging; firing squad; burning at stake; execution on the wheel; hospital; begging and dying veterans; peasants' revenge; and distribution of rewards. Scenes of marauding, pillaging, robbing on the highway, as well as torturing of the prisoners by flogging, hanging and shooting, all appear in Moscherosch. More interesting parallels can be seen in the accounts of the sacking of the monastery and also the
final retribution when a large group of peasants
surprises the group at night.

The grimness of Callot's sketches equals the
detailed depiction of horror in Moscherosch's
writing. The following opinion of these sketches
is incorrect:

Callot's war prints, on the other hand,
lack none of his usual lightness of touch.
They are among the most brilliant of his
designs, a veritable ballet of horror and
death. Indeed it has been doubted whether
Callot pursued any other aim in his work
than to amuse his contemporaries with a
Grand Guignol display. 213

The obvious mistake of the critic is that he sees
a relationship between the war prints and earlier
sketches of the Commedia dell'Arte Callot made
during his stay in Italy. The war prints are more
in the spirit of his Temptation of Saint Anthony;
here, too, is the ghastly horror of a misshapen
world. 214 It is true that the war prints show none
of the distortion of figures in either Temptation
or the war sketches of Goya a hundred years later,
but he is meticulous in his realistic detail. The same realism pervades Moscherosch's descriptions.

Similarities in theme by Callot and Grimmelshausen have been cursorily pointed out by the critic Klingender, but the parallel between Callot and Moscherosch has been missed. Although Grimmelshausen's acquaintance with Callot cannot be ruled out, it seems more likely that Callot's influence came to Grimmelshausen by way of Moscherosch.

In Soldaten-Leben, Philander's stay with the soldiers is inserted into a framework which deals with Philander's trial. He leaves the castle at the beginning of the chapter, and after his stay with the soldiers, returns to face the court of the Germanic kings, who transfer judgment on literary matters in Philander's trial to another tribunal, the Reformations-Rath. In the last chapter, Reformation, this council questions Philander, and later they read his letters of reference aloud. These letters are a collection of eulogies from Moscherosch's friends Freinsheim,
Rist, Gustav von Hille, and an anonymous person signing himself A.G.—A.C. could mean Amos Comenius or simply "Anno Christi." The letters are similar to dedicatory verses and prefaces found in many Baroque works, but rather than leaving them in a preface, Moscherosch wove them into the plot. In Reformation, the fictional hero of Gesichte merges with Moscherosch, for the letters of reference do not praise Philander, but Moscherosch and his Gesichte. They laud his skill as a writer and his renown as a member of the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft.

The content outline of the second part of Gesichte shows that Moscherosch relies no longer primarily on the vision as a model but on different genres prevalent in Germany in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The work is a collection of incidents in which Philander and his friends participate. Yet, Moscherosch adds also a great deal of material inconsequential to the main plot. At times it seems as if the work is a catch-all for any material that Moscherosch thought might
amuse or benefit the reader, no matter what its relation to the plot. A unity in the narrative is still maintained, however, by adherence to the same setting and by having the same main characters throughout.

The allegorical setting

Each chapter of the second part is called Gesicht, but the resemblance to the traditional vision structure is remote. Unlike the first part of Gesichte, none of the chapters of the second is a self-contained vision. Rather they form one vision. At the beginning of the first chapter, Philander enters the allegorical world at the castle Geroldseck. He stays at the castle or its immediate surroundings until the beginning of the sixth chapter, when he leaves because he fears an adverse judgment from the kings. His acquittal, upon his return to the castle, would serve as a fitting end to the book, as it is in the first four editions. The fifth edition was enlarged by another chapter. Necessarily some remarks had to be added to the sixth chapter in order to have a logical
connection between it and the seventh. The connection is furnished by Mutius Jungfisch, one of Philander's enemies, who gives a copy of Gesichte to the assembled Germanic kings with the following wish:

so bitte ich allerverehrlicher, hiebey abgegebenes Buch durch einen auß deß Helden-Raths Geheimen Rathschreibern durchsehen zu lassen, uff daß, so ichtwas wider gemeine Ruhe, Frieden, und Wolstand drinn zu finden wäre, dasselbige zu Verhütung dergleichen mehr einschleichenden Giftes der gebühr nach beschnitten und geändert werden.

(Gesichte, Bo., p. 396)

As a consequence of this wish, Philander is asked to return to face the Reformations-Rath and to defend his writings. The last chapter deals with an interrogation of Philander by the ten council members, and their final decision to allow Philander to enter the world again. Thus, there are actually three places at which Gesichte could end: at the beginning of the sixth chapter where Philander leaves the castle, and at the end of the
sixth and seventh where Philander is allowed to go free.

_A la Mode Kehraus_, the transition from the real to the allegoric world combines facts pertaining to both. Philander describes war-torn Germany and contrasts it to the peaceful, idyllic Mount Parnassus. He longs to go to this peaceful region, and sets out on his journey. The poetic and the real world blend into one as he identifies Parnassus with an area of Germany where the ravages of war have been less severe.

Philip van W, an einem Sontag hernach, als ob ich nur in die Gärten spazieren wolte, gantz allein mit einem _a la mode_ stecken (Hirtenstab) in der Hand das wasser hindurchschleiche, in hoffnung, meinen Feinden unvermerckt auß dem Gesicht, als auch geschehe, zu kommen und irgend einen gespannen anzutreffen, der es mit mir in das gute Land, (Also nennen wir bey uns das Gülcher Land und Erzbiestumb Cöllen) da mann brod genung zu essen hätte und ruhig schlafen dürffte, durchwagen thäte. Aber in all meinen Gedancken war es nur der Parnassus. (Gesichte, 1650, II, Bo., p. 114)

Philander sees a large horse ridden by a dwarf with gigantic boots. Again there is an intermingling of worlds, as Philander imagines this horse and rider to be Pegasus. He then encounters a
troup of riders. Their description shows that Philander now has entered a different world:

Auß ihrem Gespräch und Worten, die mich zwar Teutsch zu sein andeten, konnte ich doch nichts verstehen als etliche Buchstaben...Sie sassen nicht auff Sätteln, sondern ritten auff den blossen Pferden oanh einigen andern gehüllf...Ihre Kleidung war von Kalb, Rehe, Hirsch, Bären, Wolff, und Fuchshüttchen und fellen, doch unbe-reitet, also rauh mit den haaren, wie sie schlecht angezogen...

(Gesichte, II, 1650, Bo., p. 118)

The clothing of the riders fits the time of ancient Germany. The riders take Philander with them to a castle:


(Gesichte, II, 1650, Bo., p. 119)

The appearance of the riders and the telling of the legend prepares Philander's entrance into the castle where he meets the kings of whom the legend speaks.

The transition into the allegoric world in A la Mode Kehraus recalls a similar transition in Höllen-Kinder of the first part of Gesichte.

There, too, Philander walks through the country-
side and the allegoric world is gradually intro-
duced by blending allegoric scenes into the real
world—the pleasant meadow and the thorny path.
In both chapters, Philander is taken along by
people that belong to the other world—in Hölle-
Kinder by the souls of the sinners who take him
into Hell, in A La Mode Kehraus by the Germanic
soldiers who take him into the castle.

Schlosser has pointed out that the setting of
the allegoric world in the second part of Gesichte
is modeled after places that lie near Finstingen
where Moscherosch once lived. By comparing Mo-
scherosch's details with the actual location, he
says:

Diese selten besuchte und wenig bekannte
Ruine liegt auf dem rechten Ufer der Saar,
3 Kilometer unterhalb Finstingen, zwischen
dem zum Bezirke Unter-Elsaß zählenden Orte
Wolfskirchen und dem zum Bezirke Lothringen
gehörenden Dorfe Niederstinzel (gemeinig-
lisch Stinzel).

Moscherosch gives a clue to the location of this
castle in his Soldaten-Leben:

...bey Elsaß-zabern ligt ein zerstört alt
Schloß zwischen zweyen andern, das wird ge-
nannt Geroltz-Eck am Waseigin, und daß
Land so hinder selbigem Gebürg ligt, bis
In this passage Moscherosch specifically points out that he does not refer to the castle known as Geroltzeck, but that he is writing about a lesser known ruin situated in the Wasgau.

Schlosser also concludes that the fountain which Moscherosch designates as "unden am Bruder-garten genant (Gesichte, II, 1650, Bo., p. 114)" must be located in the following spot:

Zwei Kilometer...östlich von Finstingen...erhebt sich...eine...Wallfahrtskapelle, die den Namen Brudergarten führt...In diesem Seitenstückchen, ungefähr 200 Meter unterhalb des besagten Heiligtums, kommt bei einer alten abgekämpften Hagenbuche eine Quelle zu Tage, die gegenwärtig den Namen Muttergottesbrunnen führt...Diese Quelle ist ohne Zweifel dieselbe, welche bei Moscherosch's Lebzeiten bloß "der bronnen unden am Brudergarten" genannt wurde.

In Thurnier, Philander and his friends go to the Yschwald in which services are conducted by the Druids. Schlosser finds an actual forest by this name:

Der hier genannte Ischwald besteht noch heut zu Tage und liegt am nördlichen Ende
der Landzunge, welche die Saar von dem ihr zueilenden Nebenflusse Isch scheidet...nur 1 Kilometer von Burg Geroldseck entfernten Privat-Wald.219

Schlosser discovered also the model for the village where Philander first meets the marauding soldiers. The church where Philander finds them bears the inscription "DOMUS VASALLI." According to Schlosser, this refers to the village Domfessel located in the neighborhood of Diemingen.220 All these details give an identifiable background to an otherwise fictional account. It seems that Moscherosch wants to add a touch of realism to make his story more believable. This purpose is especially noted in Weiber-Lob, where Moscherosch discusses the relative merits of fictional accounts and stories based on real events. He concludes that a story based on a real person or event carries more weight in convincing a reader (Gesichte, II, Bo., p. 219).

Philander

Philander is a great deal more complex in the second part of Gesichte than he is in the first. Three variations in his make-up can be distinguished.
First, most chapters show him with the features he has in the first part of Gesichte—especially those characteristics traditional for the hero of the vision. Secondly, particularly in Soldaten-Leben, he not only narrates, but also participates in the activities he describes. Thirdly, Philander's character blends with Moscherosch's personality primarily in the episodes with Daniel Unfallo, Mutius Jungfisch and Dom Thraso Barbaviso. Since these three are frequently slandered in Gesichte, they lodge a complaint against Philander. He, as the first person narrator of Gesichte, could of course be considered its author, and therefore the originator of the passages mocking the complainants. But the names of the three plaintiffs are thinly disguised pseudonyms of Moscherosch's enemies and their complaint constitutes an attack on the actual writer of Gesichte. The introduction of the suit against Philander serves Moscherosch in his purpose of mocking his enemies further, as he ridicules their appearance and their presentation of the complaint. In Reformation, too, Phi-
lander blends with Moscherosch. The Reformations-Rath—a court that resembles the judging body of the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft—questions him about his theories on writing. When Philander answers, Moscherosch uses him as his mouthpiece for his literary ideas. The letters of reference read before the Reformations-Rath are signed by Freinsheim, Gustav von Hille and others. These names belong to Moscherosch's closest literary friends; the letters were actually written by these friends and Moscherosch simply inserted them into his work. They resemble letters typically found in the prefaces of Baroque works, the introductory eulogies on the author of a work. Furthermore, the letters in Reformation seem not to state an opinion on the fictional Philander, but seem to eulogize Moscherosch.

In A la Mode Kehraus, Philander preserves much of the naiveté he had in the first part of Gesichte. He has fallen to imitating foreign dress and customs, and when he is chastised on account of this by Ariovist and the other kings, he is afraid and
stutters. Just as before Philander needs instruction, but no longer is he informed of the deceit, hypocrisy and sinfulness of everyone else. Now Philander's own flaws in character and his indiscretions in regard to Germanic customs have to be corrected. The seven kings condemn Philander to stay at the castle so that he can learn correct behavior by observing the proceedings at the castle and by associating with the primary courtiers—Expertus Robertus, Hans Thurnmeyer, and Freymund. Starting from the second chapter, Hans Hienüber, Ganß Herüber, Philander loses his shyness. He is accepted as a friend and companion by the courtiers. His opinions are valued, and in Weiber-Lob he is asked to recite a song and entertain the gathering at the castle. Philander's speeches soon cannot be distinguished from the statements made by his courtier friends. In the first part of Gesichte, primarily the guides made didactic statements that summarized a moral to be drawn from an incident. In the second part, Philander, too,
makes moralistic statements. Typical of these is one of his speeches in Hanß Hienüber, Ganß Herüber:

Vollsaufen aber...daß ist schon eine Krankheit an sich selbst/ und eine solche Krankheit/ die hoch zu fliehen Ursach/ weil die Vernunft dadurch krank liget. Und meines erachtens/ der sich will gesund sauffen/ der thut eben als derjenige/ der jhm eine Weib durch Zaubeerey will zu wegen bringen.

(Gesichte, II, 1650, p. 220)

In Thurnier, Philander summarizes his opinion on nobility in one sententious statement:

Es wohnet...der Adel in der Tugend/ die Tugend in der Liebe zum Nächsten/ und die Liebe in Gott/ und also muß eines in dem anderen wohnen.

(Gesichte, II, 1650, p. 412)

In the first part, factual information is related only by a guide. Now Philander, too, contributes information. For instance, he shows himself an expert on Mexican "nobility":

Darumb/ sprach ich/ hielten die Mexicaner den krieg am höchsten/ dieweil die vor-nebmsten in Krieg Edelleuth waren/ und wurden/ und die sich wohl darinnen hiel-ten/ bekamen stattliche geschencke/ wurden zu hoher Aemptern gezogen/ und unter die Edelleuth gerechnet/ mit dem Ehrentitul der Adler/ Löwen und Tigerthier geziert.

(Gesichte, II, 1650, p. 418)

While at the castle, Philander is involved in several events. None of these are intended to
shock him into bettering himself as the eschatological visions of the first part were. The episodes of the second part expose Philander to factual information and cause him to broaden his views.

Philander is developed more fully in Soldaten-Leben. He does not participate willingly in the actions of the marauding soldiers. He stays with the band because he is afraid of being killed if he should seek to escape. The only reason the soldiers do not kill him is his usefulness as a reader of cryptic messages which they constantly receive from their spies. Although Philander rides with them, carries a gun, and stoops to help in the plundering, he does not participate in any of the atrocities the soldiers commit. During the torture scenes he is an inactive bystander who utters his horror at the proceedings (cf. Gesichtê, Bo., pp. 267, 268). Often Philander tries to intercede on behalf of the victims:

Ich erschracke dieser schrecklichen Plagen und unbarmherzigen Tyranney, bate den Bttrtwtz, daß er doch an Gott und an ein
Gewissen dencken wolte unnd der armen unschuldigen Leuthe etwas mit der Marter schonen.

(Gesichte, Bo., p. 261)

...ich ihm deßwegen aber zugesprochen, er solte den guten Mann, der vielleicht zu Haß arme Kinder sitzen hättele, nicht eben so gleich hien, ohne Gewissens-Forch tödten!

(Gesichte, Bo., p. 283)

Nicht viel Gewalt war dißmal an den armen Leuten verübt, weil ich es nicht zulassen wolte...

(Gesichte, Bo., p. 314)

Lffl, der grausamlich gegen sie wütete und den einen oben zum Kopffe hienein hiewe, daß ihm der Spitz zum rechten Aug wieder außgieng, war von mir gebeten, eines fast alten Mannes zu verschonen.

(Gesichte, Bo., p. 320)

Philander shows his disdain for the soldier's lewd behavior, and his objection to their violent cursing is particularly strong. (Gesichte, II, Bo., p. 309).

By his association with them, he feels himself dragged further and further into corruption, and he is constantly plagued by his conscience:

Die Unordnung war nun mein Leben worden, und das elende Leben deuchte mich mein Wol-fahrt zu seyn, wie wol mir das Gewissen oft das Widerspiel in ein Ohr sagte.

(Gesichte, II, Bo., p. 301)

It also weighs on his conscience that he has not attended church for a long time. Therefore, when
he visits a pastor, he asks him if he could attend a sermon:

...ich fragte, ob er nicht morgen Predigt hielte, so wolte ich einen in die Kirchen gehen, deren ich lange zeit (anderst als aus Vorsatz, was zu finden) keine besucht hätte.

(Gesichte, II, Bo., p. 326)

Finally his conscience prods him to leave the soldiers, for he becomes more and more ill at ease at seeing their atrocities and feels he may become as depraved as the soldiers during a prolonged stay with them.

There are many features in Soldaten-Leben similar to those in the picaresque novel: it is written in the first person singular; the hero lives a wandering life and associates with members of the lower classes, and adventure is heaped upon adventure. Yet, despite these similarities Soldaten-Leben could not be called picaresque, for in the picaresque novel the hero stays willingly among the lower classes. In Soldaten-Leben, as we have Philander neither belongs to the soldiering class nor stays with them of his own free will.

After all marauding soldiers have been cap-
tured or killed and his last companions, the doctor and Btrwitz, have left him, Philander remarks:

   Ja mein Barmhertziger Gott und Vatter... lasse du mich nur nicht, auff daß ich dich nicht lasse.

Then he continues his narration:

   Im fortgehen bescherte mir Gott ein grosses Brod, durch einen Hürten-Knaben, der etlichen Vieh im Gebürg verloren hatte, den packte ich an, doch weil er schreyen wolte, ließ ich ihn mit dem halben Brod wider gehen.

   (Gesichte, II, Bo, p. 366)

These quotes show that during his stay with the soldiers, Philander has come to see God solely as the provider of material benefits. His returning half of the bread to the boy, however, indicates that Philander has not completely lost his moral values.

On his return to the castle, Philander is thrown into a dungeon, where he falls sick. In his misery he turns to God in prayer, and in the following night he is answered in a vision. An old venerable man, "heiliges Ansehen," appears, and sings a verse in praise of God. Upon awaken-
ing, Philander sees a writing in golden letters on the wall:

Ich hoff, daß uns Gott soll versehen mit allem dem, das wir bedürffen.

(Gesichte, II, Bo., p. 369)

Philander thinks about these events and concludes:

daß wahrhaftig alles aus schickung Gottes sein müste, der auch Krafft seiner All-
macht mein geängstigtes Hertz und die inner-
ste Gedancken gesehen und mir zu Trost diesen Bottschaffter zugesand hatte.

(Gesichte, II, Bo., p. 370)

With the return of Philander’s belief in God, his bodily strength returns also, and soon thereafter he is released from the dungeon.

In the section with the soldiers, Philander shows a spiritual change: he loses and regains his faith in God. No significant development within Philander can be seen in the rest of the second part of Gesichte. He appears as an Alamode fool in the first chapter and is forced to stay at the castle to observe proper behavior. Yet, never is it mentioned that he gains knowledge during his stay at the castle, nor is it mentioned when the period of his learning is to end. In Soldaten-Leben, Philander is only declared to have
suffered enough in the dungeon after his return from the soldiers, and he is set free for that reason. In the defense of his writings both from accusations of personal vindictiveness in Gesichte against his three enemies, and also later before the Reformations-Rath, there is no character development at all. Philander states simply his case and is acquitted.

Guides, companions, and enemies

In contrast to the first, the second part of Gesichte has a large number of persons that appear more than once. Expertus Robertus, Hans Thurnmeyer, and Freymund have features of the traditional visionary guide figure, but they are more than guides, they are Philander's older friends. The seven kings in chapters one and six are also guide figures to some degree, as are the courtiers forming the Reformations-Rath in the last chapter. Three enemies appear in the fifth, the sixth and the seventh chapters.

In the second part of Gesichte, the allegorical nature of Expertus Robertus is not as pronounced
as in the first. He still performs the functions of a guide. He meets Philander at the castle and introduces him to Ariovist. In Weiber-Lob he calls Philander into his room and asks him to look through a window at the tournament below, thus introducing Philander to the world of the Middle Ages. This symbolic function of the window occurs frequently. It appears in the first chapter: "Der Alte aber kam bald an das Fenster (Gesichte, I, Bo., p. 137)," and also in the last: "...und er zog mich beiseite an ein Fenster (Gesichte, II, 1650, p. 897)." Pflaster wider das Podagram opens with a similar theme:

Freytag...morgens/ als wir noch im Gemach am Fenster lagen/ und von dem unglücklichen Kampff deß Graffen von der Hoya rede hatten/ kam daher durch den Hoff/ ein Mann eines Ehrbahren reputirlichen Ansehens...

(Gesichte, II, 1650, p. 435)

In Soldaten-Leben, Expertus Robertus shows Philander a secret passage. It is a way of escape
for Philander and at the same time presents him with another experience.

Expertus Robertus has retained the tendency to moralize. At the end of *Hanß hienüber, Ganß herüber*, for instance, he summarizes, and gives the pointe of the entire chapter. This is also the case in *Weiber-Lob*.

He delivers also summarizing didactic statements at the end of incidents within a chapter. For instance, in the second, when everyone is boasting, drinking, and singing, he states the lesson that should be drawn from observing such debauchery:

*Bey solchen Thorheiten...ist kerab die rechte Maß; aber ein allgemeines angeborenes Elend auch bey Frommen/ grossen/ rechtschaffenen Leutten/ und die ein ander am besten und redlichsten meynen: wan man einmahl zu Disch recht erwarmet/ unnd die wurckung des Weins im Hirn spüret/ so fanget der muth und lust an under dem Gespräch zu steigen...*  

(Gesichte, II, 1650, p. 219)

Expertus Robertus' didactic function shows itself also in the lengthy notes that he hands to people. These notes contain remedies for mental and physical illnesses. He gives two pages entitled
Remedes Chymiques pour guérir les malades de Presumption to Mutius Jungfisch at the end of the second chapter, and in the fifth, a script entitled Bedencken wider das Podagram to a gout patient and to Philander.

Expertus Robertus is older and wiser than Philander, and it is natural to expect him to assume the role of a teacher, but he appears also as a friend and companion to both Philander and the other people at the castle. He participates in their activities like anyone else. He walks with them to the Yschwald (in the chapter Thurnier) in order to attend a Druid sermon. He goes along to the gout specialist for whom he holds one of the patients during the operation. In Weiber-Lob he serves as judge on the debate on women, and shows the two main facets of his personality—that of participant and companion, and that of knowledgeable critic.

Hans Thurnmeyer serves a function similar to Expertus Robertus. He is an expert on Germanic traditions, in contrast to Expertus Robertus who
tends to be more informed about the Latin world. Whereas Expertus Robertus often quotes Latin authors, and is charged with Cicero's defense (Gesichte, II, 1650, p. 191), Thurnmeyer can explain the ancient Druid religion, as well as details of tournaments and life during the Middle Ages.

The model for Thurnmeyer was the humanist Aventinus, whose German name was Hans Thurmaier. He, as Bavarian court historiographer wrote such works as Chronicka vom Ursprung der uhralten Teutschen (1541), and annals of Bavarian history such as Bayerischer Chronikon (1522) and Annalium Bavorum libri VII (1554). These works are not actually histories in the modern sense, but conglomerations of facts, fiction, and myths.

Moscherosch uses these works as his primary source for details of ancient and medieval Germany and often quotes them at length. With him, Thurnmeyer is historiographer and secretary at the castle Geroldseck. He draws up formal decrees and often is charged with reading them. In the first chap-
ter, he reads to Philander the initial verdict of the kings. In Soldaten-Leben, Thurnmeyer reads also the final judgment of the kings.

Just as Expertus Robertus, Thurnmeyer is a friend and companion to Philander. An essential difference between Expertus Robertus and Thurnmeyer is that the latter is less moralistic and more inclined to give factual details. As an expert of the Germanic world, Thurnmeyer also serves as an intermediary between Philander and the ancient Germanic heroes.

Freymund completes the trio of Philander's friends. He appears less frequently than the other two and his function is less clearly defined. Rarely does he explain something to Philander and often he appears just as flabbergasted about events as his friend. He distinguishes himself with his knowledge of legal matters. At the end of Pflaster wider das Podagram, Philander, upon Freymund's advice, maintains that the suit of Mutius Jungfisch is outdated and no longer valid (Gesichte, II, 1650, p. 530). A few pages
before Freymund makes also a comment about the legal suit three enemies have brought against Philander:

Freymund, der disse drey Schaden-froh fast wol kante wegen ihren handlungen/ sprach:
Ja Herr Ertzkönig/ es ist nicht gnug/
klagen/ sondern man muß auch beweisen...
ein Richter soll beide Theil hören.

(Gesichte, II, 1650, p. 521)

This interest in legal matters may indicate that Moscherosch modeled Freymund on Freymon, a Swabian lawyer, who was a contemporary and acquaintance of Aventinus.

It is also possible, however, that Moscherosch's close friend Rompler von Löwenhalt served as a model for Freymund. Towards the end of Soldaten-Leben are the words "Warmund sprach." Warmund appears nowhere else in Gesichte. Perhaps by using the same second syllable "-mund" Moscherosch wanted to point at the identity of Freymund. "Warmund von der Tannen" is the literary pseudonym of Rompler von Löwenhalt. Under this name he contributed several poems to the introductory section of the first part of Gesichte and also a lengthy prose introduction to the second part. Furthermore,
the first syllable of the word Freymund could have been derived from der Freie, the name given to Rompler in Zesen's Teutschgesinnte Gesellschaft.

Moscherosch depicts Freymund as a writer, a literary critic and a member of the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft. In the chapter Reformation, Freymund appears as a member of the Reformations-Rath wearing "zierliche Kleinodien, an sittiggrüm seiden banden"—the insignia of the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft. Freymund acts as messenger of the Reformations-Rath, calls Philander into the assembly room (Gesichte, II, 1650, p. 896), and announces that all references gathered from the literary world were favorable to Philander, so that the charge against Philander of not having written a universally applicable satire, but a personal vendetta against his three enemies could now be considered in a more favorable light. Freymund and Thurnmeyer are charged to make minor changes in Gesichte, in order to expunge the morally offen-
sive parts. As a final gesture, Freymund hands Philander the Reformations-Rath's passport to freedom.

Expertus Robertus as a councillor, Thurnmeyer as secretary, and Freymund as königlicher Siegelverwahrer (Gesichte, II, 1650, p. 238), are all courtiers in the service of the seven kings. They belong to an inner group that Moscherosch refers to as the Gemeine Hoff-Rath (Gesichte, II, 1650, p. 393), a group that is introduced when in the first chapter Philander goes to dinner after his session with the kings:

Zu Disch kamen der Alte Expertus Robertus, Hans Thurnmeyer, Freymund, Mannhart, Gutrund, Kühnrath, wie ich ihre Namen hernach erforschet hatte, welche vier letztere bey den helden auch in Bestallung waren. (Gesichte, II, Bo., p. 177)

Mannhart, Gutrund, and Kühnrath are mentioned less frequently than Freymund, Expertus Robertus, and Thurnmeyer, and are therefore hard to characterize. It cannot be determined whether Moscherosch had models for Mannhart, Gutrund and Kühnrath. For Gutrund one could offer a tentative suggestion. At one point (Gesichte; II, Bo., p. 271), Mosche-
rosch gives a quote from Balthasar Venator in which the words "veluti Guntherus ait" occur. Moscherosch may have had this Guntherus in mind as a model for his Gutrund. Guntherus was a thirteenth century monk from Alsace. Several Latin writings are attributed to him.223 As model for Kühnrath, one could suggest Heinrich Kuhnrath (1560-1605), a doctor who authored a number of alchemistic and philosophical writings. Moscherosch refers to him in one of his marginal glosses: "Cunrad Khunradi: Medull. distillator. part. 2. tr. 2. p. 51" (Gesichte, Bo., p. 274; also note 25 on Heinrich Kuhnrath this page.)

The kings and heroes—Ariovist or Ehrenfest, Saro, Arminius or Herman, Vitichindus or Witikhund, Cativulcus or Kallofels,224 Viridomarus or Friedrich, and Induriomarus or Tütschmeyer—play roles similar to those of Expertus Robertus, Thurnmeyer, and Freymund. They, too, are advisers and teachers to Philander. Ehrenfest is the leader and spokesman of the group, but nothing distinguishes him from the rest of the kings, except that he appears
and speaks more often. All kings have the same physical appearance and none of them differentiates himself from the others by the form and content of his speeches. All kings appear in the first chapter; in the second only Ehrenfest is mentioned briefly (Gesichte, II, 1650, p. 242); in the third the names of Ehrenfest, Wittichund and Arminius are mentioned as attending the tournament; in the fifth chapter only Ehrenfest appears. At the end of the sixth, the whole group of kings is said to be present, but only Ehrenfest and Tütschmeyer speak. When these kings are first introduced, they are described in detail:

...da sahe ich Sieben Manns-Personen, recht davon zu reden, Sieben Helden in grosser gravitüt und Stärcke deß Leibs auff eingemauerten Seßlen sitzen, mit langen breiten Bärten, so theils die haar mitten auff dem Haupt in einem schlupff zusammen gewunden und fast grosse Schwerter an der Seite hencken hatten; theils lange Wurffspieß in der eine faust, in der andern grosse Pfaff-essen oder Schilde, und auff dem Leib mit Wolff, Bären und Hirschhauten, daran theils noch die Gewichter oder Gehörn waren, geziert, welches förchterlichen war anzu-sehen. Wie sonst ihre Kleidung gewesen, kan ich nicht beschreiben, doch hab ich vor wenig tagen noch von einem Vorwitzigen Weib gehöret, welche auch einmahl in der
Burg gewesen, das diese Helden mächtig grosse Latzen an den Hosen tragen.
(Gesichte, II, 1650, Bo., p. 138)

Critics have found something comical in the description of these kings. Grunwald sums up his position in these words:

J. Cellarius finds the heroes of the court comical, but fails to recognize how intensely the author satirized them. Indeed, the courtiers are not only described as anachronous and uncouth men, but as downright ridiculous old fools, assembled not on a ship, but in a castle.

An examination of the text does not substantiate this opinion. The picture is not at all comical, though the information given by the woman seems farcical.

Furthermore, the speeches and actions of the heroes do not show that they are being satirized. Their opinions are onesided and harsh polemics on manners and customs of society. In contrast, Philander is more reasonable; he sees the good and the bad when, for instance, he defends the French nation:

...obschon E. M. billige Ursachen haben, über die Wälsche und ihre thaten, so sie in diesem Lande verüben, zuklagen, so ist
doch gewiß, daß man ihnen in vielen dingen auch unbillig die schuld gibt, und sie nicht alle so böß sind. Man findet gute und böse unter ihnen wie bey allen Mänschen. (Gesichte, II, Bo., p. 134)

When the talk turns to public officials, Philander suggests that extenuating circumstances often force someone to leave his homeland. He might not have found a position at home, even though he has looked for a long time, or else, he might have felt that he could be much more useful to his homeland by serving a friendly foreign power. In this defense, Philander explains Moscherosch's own actions, for Moscherosch, too, could not find a position at home, and took employment with the Swedes.

Older critics have found a patriotic feeling and an extolling of ancient German virtues in the words of the seven kings. The kings' position, however, is not as chauvinistic as these critics have stated. Their speeches rarely offer a contrast between the old German era and Philander's own day. Extensive passages of praise of the old Germans are only contained in the Saalbuch from
which Thurnmeyer is asked to read twice during Philander's trial. Upon closer reading of the kings' speeches it can also be observed that their attack on the French is only secondary to their primary concern: the encroachment of the pedantic and affected manners of the courts on the manners of the ordinary citizen. It is true that the manners of the seventeenth century German courts found their origin in France, but the conflict should not be seen as a conflict between France and Germany, but as a conflict between the court and the bourgeoisie.  

The kings are qualified to rule on Philander's lack of reverence for Germanic traditions, but they are not qualified to rule on literary matters. The case against Philander initiated by his three enemies Mutius Jungfisch, Don Vnfalo, and Dom Thraso Barbaviso deals with bad taste and allegedly personal attacks made in Philander's writings. In Reformation, this complaint has been referred to another judicial body, the Reformations-Rath. It consists of ten anonymous members, who are
called erster Held, zweiter Held, etc. Several facts indicate that this Rath is supposed to represent the governing council of the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft. The members are clad in sitzig-grüne Seide—the identifying color of the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft. The group meets in a palm garden, thus establishing a connection to Palmenorden, the alternate name of the Gesellschaft. Finally, the names Reformations-Rath, Gesellschafts-Rath and FruchtbringendeGesellschafts-Rath (Gesichte, II, p. 926) are used interchangeably. The questions of this Rath are pointed, but the speeches resemble in no way the polemic invectives of the kings. Nor do the members of the Reformations-Rath attempt to teach Philander, or to persuade him of their way of thinking. Philander is not cowed by them as he was when confronting the kings. The question and answer session between Philander and the Reformations-Rath is a dialogue between equals. Philander defends himself successfully and the letters of recommendation solicited from various men of letters speak
favorably of Philander. Therefore the Reformations-Rath absolves Philander and sets him free.

Mutius Jungfisch, Dom Thraso Barbaviso, and Don Vnafalo lodge a complaint against Philander in the last pages of Pflaster wider das Podagram, the fourth chapter of the second part. They feel that they have been harshly satirized in Gesichte. With their names at times only slightly changed, they appear not only in Gesichte, but also in Epigrammata and Insomnis Cura Parentum.

Mutius Jungfisch occurs in the chapter Hans Hienüber, Ganß Herüber, where he is mocked as the uneducated youth who applies for a job as secretary. He appears also as Sennor Mutio in A la Mode Kehr-aus, where he is the flattering courtier who ingratiates himself with his master to such an extent that the latter dismisses his trustworthy servants and invests the flatterer with all the affairs of state.

Critics are agreed that Mutius Jungfisch, Don Vnafalo and Dom Thraso Barbaviso are modeled upon three enemies of Moscherosch. The identity of
Mutius Jungfisch has not yet been clearly established, however. Schlosser has investigated this problem in detail and has arrived at the following conclusion:

Dem einfältigen, eingebildeten, französeln­den Mutius Jungfisch, der sich in Hans hienüber (S. 242 u. f.) als Flamländer (Flandricus) und als ein feiner Weinkenner vorstellt, gleicht entschieden mehr der damalige Amtmann (1633-1653) des in den Niederlanden begütterten Herzogs von Havré, François Thomas. Von diesem seinem engeren Kollègen sagt nämlich M. in seinen Epi­grammata, er sei aus Flandern gebürtig ("Flandricus es"), dem Trunk etwas ergeben ("Thomas pocula") und den Franzosen ganz zugethan ("Gallumque gallicae laudas"). Aus letzterem Grunde wurde auch dieser Amt­Mann zu Finstingen scherzweise Thomas le François (d. h. Th. le Français), Th. le Franchois, Th. Frantzhoys (der Franzose) genannt.

In several places in Insomnis Cura Parentum (pp. 12, 103, 130, 216), Moscherosch complains about being persecuted by "dreyer Hündisch - Ungerechter - Wütender Feinde." It could be assumed that these three enemies are the same as those in Gesichte, but Schlosser does not draw this conclusion. He thinks Mutius Jungfisch and the "Hündische Feind"
from *Insomnis Cura Parentum* are not the same person:

Sein "Hündischer oder "Hönischer" Feind war vermutlich Juncker Friedrich von Hindenburg (alias Hündenburg, Hünburg) der Jüngere, ein Sohn seines gleichnämigen Amtsvorgängers, der, obwohl ein Katholik, in dem Kirchenbuche der ev. Pfarrei Finstingen unterm 15. Februar als Taufzeuge erscheint. 228

At the end of *Soldaten-Leben*, Mutius Jungfisch is referred to as Mutius Hundsfisch (*Gesichte*, Bo., pp. 396, 397). This can be seen as a clear indication that Moscherosch wants the reader to make a connection between Hundsfisch, Hündisch, and Hündenburg. A connection can also be seen between Jungfisch and Friedrich von Hündenburg der Jüngere. The latter facts discount the thesis that Mutius Jungfisch is modeled after François Thomas and show that the most likely model for him would be Friedrich von Hündenburg der Jüngere.

Dom Thraso Barbaviso appears in *A la Mode Kehraus* (*Gesichte*, II, Bo., p. 135) as Ruffo Dubbio Thrasone and in *Todten-Heer* (*Gesichte*, I, 1650, p. 272) as Dom Sennor Ruffo Barbaviso. Moscherosch calls the latter "Grossprecher, Fränshausen, und
Aufschneider," and accuses him of being a cuckold. In *A la Mode Kehraus*, Expertus Robertus tells a story of a youth and his tutor searching for the most foolish man in the world. One of the fools they meet is a son of a wine merchant. He has amassed a large fortune through connivance and ruthlessness, and has married a daughter of the French nobility. In the margin to this story, Moscherosch has added "Don Thraso." The descriptive details of the wine merchant's son resemble those given in a poem in Todten-Heer:

Un petit Ayme-grand, Rousseau, visemoustache, Casaque de velours, et fils d'un vignon.  
(Gesichte, I, 1650, p. 274)

The French attributes correspond to names already seen earlier: visemoustache - Barbaviso; Rousseau - Rufüs, Rufulus. The same names occur also in several epigrams (*Epigrammata*, Cent. I, 16; Cent. III, 72, 73; Cent. V, 37). In addition, there are the pseudonyms Schanruффum and Schandetepp. Schlosser cannot find a model for this person; he only ventures a guess for the last pseudonym:

Welchen Namen dieser bereits in der ersten Centuries der Epigrammata erwähnte Gegner
It seems more likely that this pseudonym should be unraveled as Johann der Tepp (John the nincompoop.) Schanruffum would be Johann Ruffus, with Ruffus pointing to the name Dom Sennor Ruffo Barbaviso familiar from Gesichte.

One of Moscherosch's councilor colleagues at Finstingen was Johann Barthelomeus Dither. He was an uncle of Moscherosch's wife and he refused to surrender to her a rightful inheritance of several houses. Moscherosch never forgave him, and polemicated against him in several epigrams (Epigrammata, Cent. III, 31, 51, 28).

In Soldaten-Leben an inscription on a stone reads:

WES, WES, WES, Convitii DV DV vitiata Terra, mihi posthac caute habitanda.

(Gesichte, II, Bo., p. 366)

Schlosser attempts to clarify this inscription:

Da nach der in der Ausgabe von 1666 an dieser Stelle vorkommenden Randbemerkung: HB. Dither. D. Voghel, mit WES, WES, WES, nur der kirburgische Amtmann Diether bezeichnet sein kann, so ist letzterer höchst
Schlosser sees a connection between this Diether and the "wütende Feind" from Insomnis Cura Parentum, but further details would substantiate the suggestion that "der Wütende," Dom Thraso Barbaviso, Ruffo Barbaviso, Schanruffo, and Johann Barthelomeus Dither are all the same person. "Thraso" is derived from the Greek and means "impassioned, hotheaded"; there is a connection between "Thraso" and "Wütende." Schan is Jean - Johann, and Johann is Dither's first name. Moscherosch selected probably the Italian name Barbaviso because of the identical first letters in the name Barthelomeus. Finally, Moscherosch chose the name "Ruffo" because of its allusion to a common devil figure. Ruffo, in the Pfarrkircher Passion, is the patron devil of highwaymen and thieves, and thievery is the offense of which Moscherosch accuses Dither.

The third of Philander's accusers, Don Vnfalo, is the only one for which critics have not had any problems in finding a model. The name Vnfalo has probably been taken from Maximilian I.'s Teuerdank
(1517), where Teuerdank has three enemies who put obstacle after obstacle into his path when he tries to marry a princess. One of these enemies is named Unfallo. In Gesichte, Unfallo is spelled with a "V". Here, the name "Don Vnfalo" is a pseudonym for Daniel Vogel, another of Moscherosch's fellow councilors at Finstingen. Moscherosch mocks Daniel Vogel throughout his work by referring to him in the abbreviated form of D V and several other pseudonyms. There are more than a dozen such references, of which the following are the most important. In Todten-Heer (Gesichte, I, 1650, p. 256-262) Philander meets an owl and launches into a long list of its crimes. All of these refer to Daniel Vogel—as can be seen from the note in the margin: "Caluminatorem si dixeris, omnio dixeris D.V." In the listing of the three enemies in Insomnis Cura Parentum, Moscherosch makes it a point to spell "Vngerecht" with a "V," thus pointing directly at Vogel. Also, Moscherosch adds Phogel, Da Vo and DV DV to the list of devils
who apply for the position of Lucifer's lieutenant in Hoff-Schule.

Besides Philander's enemies, his close friends and the court of Germanic kings, all of whom appear in more than one chapter, there are several persons who appear in one chapter only and whose appearance has a direct connection with the topic of the particular chapter in which they occur. Adelbrecht is introduced in Thurnier. His name fits the topic of the chapter: nobility. His character has no distinguishing features; he simply becomes a companion of Philander, Expertus Robertus and Thurnmeyer, and accompanies them on their walks.

Weiber-Lob has two newly introduced persons: Weibhold and Frawendienst. The chapter contains a discussion about women. Weibhold and Frawendienst defend, and Thurnmeyer and Freymund attack, womanhood. Expertus Robertus acts as judge.

Moscherosch has chosen the names for the defenders of womanhood well, for they indicate the medieval attitude toward love. Hold and dienst indicate that love and service to a lady always go
together. The names Weib and Frawe show the medieval ideals of womanhood also, and tend to recall the controversy had with Regenbogen about the terms wib and frouwe. The resemblance to the name Frawenlob and to the title of the chapter Weiber-Lob is probably intentional.

Weibhold is only an alter-ego of Philander.

At the end of Soldaten-Leben, Ariovist says: "Du Philander, oder auff Helden-Art mit mir zu reden, du Mannhold, hastu Lust bey uns zu sitzen?" (Gesichte, Bo., p. 394). Mannhold is the German translation of Philander; a connection between the names Mannhold and Weibhold is readily seen. Philander and Weibhold have the same characteristics and frequently appear together or have the same opinion. When Weibhold is first introduced, the passage reads:

Weibhold und Ich schwigen stille und wolten, weil uns die Gesellschaft nicht alle bekant war, uns mit urtheilen nicht heraus lassen; zumahl weil es unsers achterns ein rechter Ubelstand ist, wo bey loblicher Gesellschaft die Jüngere
Philander and Weibhold are the only two to be asked to entertain their companions with a poem (Gesichte, II, 1650, Bo., p. 209). Weibhold, as well as Philander, knows French (Gesichte, II, 1650, Bo., p. 209). Both have the same swarthy complexion:

Es ist, sagte Freymund, das Lob der Schwartzen farb billig an den Philander und Weibhold kommen; dann sie sind so schneeweiss anzusehen als ein Ofenloch.  
(Gesichte, II, 1650, Bo., p. 211)

When the group is divided into parties for and against womanhood, Philander says:

Ich meines theils hätte es mit Hans Thurn-meyern lieber gehalten als mit Weibhold; damit aber der Streit nicht ungleich werde, muste ich mich innehalten...
(Gesichte, II, 1650, Bo., p. 214)

This is a strange remark to come from Philander, especially after he has just finished praising women in a poem, but it seems logical that if Philander were to participate in this discussion, he would have to be on the side of Freymund and
Thurnmeyer, for his alter-ego, Weibhold, is already on the other side.

In **Hans hienüber, Ganß herüber**, which deals with academic life, Mutius and Laelius appear. We have already met Mutius as one of Philander's enemies. In this chapter he is satirized as an ignorant, pompous young scholar, whose education is exposed as a sham.

Laelius is, in Moscherosch's words, "ein alter verlagener Academius." He is a pedant who likes to impress with his knowledge, but he is not employed and cannot use his knowledge. His only occupation is to wander from one inn to the next, continuously getting involved in brawls along the way.

In his comments on **Hans hienüber, Ganß herüber**, Knight sees Laelius and Mutius complementing each other:

Besides Laelius, who shows the coarse and depraved tastes of the man who has studied in foreign parts, there is a second character, Mutius Jungfisch, who typifies his
complete ignorance and unfittedness for practical affairs.251

He comments further on Laelius:

Laelius' pedantry and pride are the result of contact with the foreigner; he is the German 'Hans' of the title who went abroad to study and returned home changed into a goose.252

Laelius' pedantry is not a result of his travels; it is never actually mentioned that he has been on a trip to foreign parts. The German 'Hans' is Mutius Jungfisch. He supposedly went abroad and returned as the ignorant 'Gans' of the title.

In Pflaster wider das Podagram, a gout specialist, Celsus by name, and his two patients assume a major role. One gout patient is described in detail—his crippled fingers, his hesitant walk and his cursing at every step he takes. The other patient is in a far advanced stage of the sickness and has to be carried around on his bed. During the operation on these patients, the learned physician seeks inspiration from his astrologer's globes and books. When the heavenly aspects are right, he tells the attending barber-surgeon to let the blood of the patients. The pretentiousness
of the physician is satirized. He mumbles a great deal of nonsense, liberally interspersed with Latin and astrological symbolism, but despite this "learned discourse," one of the patients dies from having lost too much blood. The physician simply shrugs it off:

Ich hab mein bestes gethan. Aber gewiß die Ursach daß er gestorben/ ist diese/ dieweil der Krancke auff dem Bett gelegen/ und nicht auff dem boden gestanden wie der andere/ also daß der Aspectus seine Würckung in die füsse nicht effectuieren mögen. Gung damit zur thür hinauß/ En guden dach mine Herren...  

(Gesichte, II, 1650, p. 444)

The extensive treatment of the physician makes Pflaster wider das Podagram more than its title would indicate. It is not merely another in the great number of satiric treatises on the debauched living that supposedly results in the gout, it is a polemic against the incompetence of physicians.

A number of marauding soldiers are introduced in Soldaten-Leben. Two of them assume a larger role. There is a physician who, when captured, cannot pay his ransom. Like Philander, he is allowed to live because he can render a valuable service to the soldiers, and because he does not parti-
cipate in the killings and tortures, although he is forced to participate in the stealing and plundering. He becomes the confidant of Philander and together they hatch their plan of escape. Of the soldiers, Bttrwitz is the most clearly defined. Although he rapes, loots, kills, and tortures with the rest, he still has a spark of decency in him. This is shown particularly in his relationship to Philander, who at one time had helped to ransom him. He has not forgotten Philander's kindness, and intervenes in his behalf when the latter incurs the wrath of the rest of the troop. Bttrwitz' kindness is often nothing more than a rough kind of camaraderie. He shows his good intentions by shoving a piece of bread in Philander's direction while muttering: "Freß Bruter, du mußt jetzt reitt! (Gesichte, II, 1650, Bo., p. 257)" While the remainder of the band is either captured, hanged, or killed in ambush, Philander, the doctor, and Bttrwitz escape. This end is an attempt to show the moral of the story: only those who are com-
passionate and decent will be saved, while the evil will be punished.

For every chapter, except the first and the last, we have enumerated individuals whose appearance was appropriately confined to one chapter because their appearance was directly related to the chapter's topic. In Reformation, the Rath has a similar function. The subject matter of the chapter is literature, and the Rath acts as judge on literary matters. In A la Mode Kehraus, the ancient Germanic kings are linked to the subject matter; they show their opposition to foreign fashion and customs.

Comparing the first and second part of Gesichte, one sees that in the first most of the characters are passive; they are merely observed by Philander and Expertus Robertus. In the second, most characters are active, and they participate in the different events of the narrative. In the first part, individuals are enumerated one after the other; most of them remain anonymous and their characters are not greatly developed. In the second, the same
people appear more often; they no longer remain nameless and their personalities are further developed. In this treatment of the characters, one can thus see a progression from the medieval tendency to use anonymous characters to create an everyman effect, to the more fully developed active characters of a novel.

Novelistic elements—short story and novel

Moscherosch expresses often his disdain for the popular literature of his day, that is, the collections of anecdotes and farces, the oracle books, the collections of trivia and most of all the chapbooks, many of which garnered their material from Romance sources. On several occasions in *Gesichte*, Moscherosch has long lists of the books he despises most. One of these lists includes the following:

Amadiß, Schäfferey, Rollwagen, Gartenge­sell­schaft, Schimpf und Ernst, Eulen­spiegel, König Löw, Melusina, Ritter Pontus, Herr Tristram, Peter mit den silbernen Schlüsseln, Albertus Magnus, Hebammenbuch,
These books have in common that they do not generally aim at a moral. Written in the sixteenth century, they remained popular for a long time. In the seventeenth century, the trend in writing was toward the didactic, and stories for the most part end with a summarizing moral.

Harsdörffer can perhaps be considered the most successful short story writer in seventeenth century Germany, and with him critics have noted the didactic purpose to his stories:

Harsdörffer's Beurteilung der Geschichte der Novelle, die die Zusammensetzung seiner Sammlungen bedingt und die durch die fast völlige Ablehnung der 'unmoralischen' italienischen Novellistik gekennzeichnet ist, beruht auf dieser Grundhaltung. Mit Anfangs- und Schlusskommentaren, verbunden mit lehrhaften Einschüben, sucht Harsdörffer sein literarisches Erziehungsprogramm zu verwirklichen.

This comment, as well as the following, holds true for Harsdörffer and also for Moscherosch:

...seine Bestrebungen (sind) unmissverständlich darauf gerichtet, den lehrhaften und erbaulichen Charakter der Literatur zu bewahren. Wenn sich seine Geschichten zuweilen aus der Umklammerung des Exempel-
Verifications of the didactic nature of Gesichte can be found throughout the work, but the best illustrations of didacticism are the inserted fables. They serve as exempla and are always ended with a statement of the moral. One of these fables is found in the first part of Gesichte, and is entitled Der Löwe als Gastgeber. A lion invites a donkey, a wolf and a fox to dinner into his evil smelling den. The donkey tells the truth and says it smells bad, the wolf flatters the lion and says it smells of perfume; both of them are killed by the lion. The fox does not commit himself and says that he has a cold and cannot smell, thereby saving himself. The moral:

Also: wer die Wahrheit redet, der macht sich verhaßt, wer aber schmeichelt, wird verachtet; wer sich stellt, als ob er nichts merkt und nichts versteht, ist seinem Herrn stets angenehm.

(Gesichte, I, 1650, p. 548)
A second fable starts with a description of an autocratic ruler:

Zucht, Ehr, Gottesfurcht, Redlichkeit das sind bürgerliche Tugenden, gehen unseren Fürsten und Herren allhie nicht an. Der thut, was er will; und wz er will, dz ist, ob es schon nicht wäre.

(Gesichte, II, Bo., p. 190)

The fable briefly states: a wolf wants to catch a carp, but finds a herd of swine wallowing in the mud. Saying that one of the sows is a carp, he takes it as his booty. The story concludes with the moral:

Also, was unser Herr, weil er den (sic) Gewalt hat, will, das muß sein, wan es schon nicht wäre.

(Gesichte, II, Bo., p. 190)

A third fable tells of a household set up by a bird, a mouse and a sausage. This household comes to a dreadful end when they switch their chores because the bird is envious of the easy life the others lead. Moscherosch imposes political significance on the story. The three signify the three estates that have brought Germany to ruin. Moscherosch summarizes:

Also gung diser schöne Stath/ allein auß Mißtrauen und neid eines gegen dem andern/
The fables of Esop and of Phaedrus were translated for the first time into German at the end of the fifteenth century. They underwent several printings in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These fables are not typical of the structure of short stories before Moscherosch. Stories were usually told to amuse; fables, on the other hand, conveyed a moral given in a pointe at the end.

The moralistic intent noticed in the fables is also present in the short stories Moscherosch inserted into his work. They are stories told by one of Philander's mentors in order to make the meaning of a certain situation clear to him. There are three of these stories. One of them tells of a wife who holds a wake over the body of her husband. A guard from a near-by gallows comes to comfort her, and while they make love, a hanged man is stolen from the gallows. The woman suggests that her husband replace the hanged man, for she does not want her new lover to be punished because
he was negligent in his duty. This story is found in Petronius and also in Sieben Weise Meister, from where Moscherosch takes it almost word for word. In the sources, it is a ribald story in which the erotic element is stressed. Moscherosch does not neglect this aspect, but he forces the story to serve also as an example of the insatiable desire of women, who:

...gar...der Exempel der Alten nicht achteten, noch derselben Tugenden; sondern nur an daßjenige glauben, Wat sey sehen ende gippen könen, was vor der Thür und Ihnen im Gesicht unnd den gedancken umgeben...  

(Gesichte, II, 1650, Bo., p. 215)

The second story in Weiber-Lob is modeled also on a classic Italian tale of ribaldry, for which Moscherosch gives Ariosto as the source. Jocondus sees himself deceived by his wife and finds that his king Alfonsus is also deceived in the same manner. The king and Jocondus decide to travel in the world in order to discover the ways of women. On their journey, they engage a young girl, Flammetta, as their servant. They guard her jealously at night by sleeping one on each side of her.
the girl can deceive them even in this arrangement with her childhood sweetheart, Greco, Jocondus and the king resign themselves to the infidelity of women and they decide to go home to continue living with their unfaithful wives. This tale was told originally for its erotic content, but Moscherosch makes it serve as:

...ein herrliches stücklein der Unbeständigkeit unnd Untrew deß Weiblichen Geschlechtes. (Gesichte, II, 1650, Bo., p. 227)

A story showing similarities in structure and theme to Gesichte's main plot is told in A la Mode Kehraus. An old king gives his son a golden apple and tells him to travel in the world to find the greatest fool. After finding him, he is to give the apple to the fool. Thereafter the son may come home and take up the reins of government. The youth and his tutor set out on their journey and encounter many fools. At the end of their journey, they come to the Rhine valley in Germany where they find:

Junge Leutte, Manns- und Weibs-volk, welche alle Viertel Jahr, ja je zu Zeiten alle Monat, ihre Kleidung änderten, dann Hut, Hosen, Wambs, Strimpff, Schue, Stiffel,
Speck, ja am Leib selbsten dann grosse Bärte, dann kleine Bärte, dann schwartze, dann weiße Haar etc. und solches mit grossen Kosten, also das viel sich und die Ihrige darüber in das verderben und zu grund richteten.

(Gesichte, II, Bo., p. 198)

The youth decides to give the apple to these Ala-mode fools. Thus, Moscherosch twists the ending of the story to suit his purpose (since the Ala-mode fools are considered the greatest fools only because this story appears in the chapter Al la Mode Kehraus).

The structure of the story is similar to that of the entire work. In the story, as well as in Gesichte, the hero undertakes a journey and meets fools along the way. Whenever Jocondus meets a fool, he leaves the fool with a remark characterizing him. This remark corresponds to the final pointe at the end of each chapter. At the end of the story Jocondus discovers the greatest fool; Philander does the same. The only difference is that Philander, after having been shown many fools, learns upon self-examination
that he himself is just as big a fool as anyone else.

The short stories discussed were narrated by persons appearing in Gesichte. Some episodes in Gesichte take on a short story form also. One of these, in Hanß hienüber, Ganß herüber, tells of a French student who came to Gerolseck to found a drinking school. He repents of his drinking and dies when the blessed water of the absolving priest touches his lips. The story is told without any disruptive inserts of other subject matter. The same holds true for the lengthy description of the visit to the gout specialist, in Pflaster wider das Podagram. Except for Soldaten-Leben, much of the remainder of the book is told in the form of discussions by way of either direct or indirect speech with inconsequential passages connecting the different discussion sections. In a discussion on a subject several persons state their views. Seemingly the intention is to show several opinions, but often these speeches are only varia-
tions of the same opinion. An example occurs in Thurnier when the conversation turns to nobility:

...under wegs aber/ behüte Gott/ sprach ich zu Hans Thurnmeyer/ daß sind scharße Gesätze/ die einer vom Adel zuhalten verpflichtet ist...

Ja/ sagt Expertus Robertus der Alte/ der Rechte Adel ist eine grosse Gabe Gottes...

Darauff/ sprach Freymund/ dann ohne solche Tugenden ist der Adel nichts als ein blusser schatte...

Recht/ sagt Adelbrecht/ darumb spricht man Kunst/ tugend/ Ehr und Redlichkeit/ Ist ein sehr schön und köstlich kleid/...

Dannenher/ antwortet Hans Thurnmeyer/ ist Nobilis nichts anderes als Notabilis Virtute...

Es wohnet/ sprach ich/ der Adel in der Tugend/ die Tugend in der liebe zum Nächsten. (Gesichte, II, 1650, pp. 417-418)

This method of discussing a theme shows the intent to indicate the moral as precisely and as often as possible.

Soldaten-Leben has been called "Moscherosch's only venture into novel-writing" and the "first original popular German novel." The plot consists of a number of episodes of plundering, sack­ing, and looting by marauding soldiers. They have
come to Germany—their names suggest a Slavic origin—to defend it against its enemies, but they have become parasites living off the land. When Philander joins the soldiers they are at the height of their power; they have a network of spies, and receive tribute from many sources. In the end, except for the doctor and Bttrwtz who show a trace of moral values, they are killed or captured by the peasants they have been torturing. Similar to what was observed above in the short stories, a moral is stated in this "novel" also. It comes in the form of an eighty stanza Soldaten Lehr-Brief which is an adaptation of Ringwaldt's Lautere Wahrheit.

Knight contends that

It (Soldaten-Leben) has many faults, notably the unresolved conclusion. Philander's return to Geroldseck, the satire on the avarice of Jews and tax-collectors, the digression on gunpowder and printing (pp. 371-93)—all these represent an evasion by the author of the one problem inherent in all picaresque novels: that of finding an appropriate fate for the hero after his life of adventure is over.24

Knight makes the mistake of looking at the chapter as an entity. From the chapter he should have iso-
lated the section which starts with Philander's escape from the castle and ends with his release from the dungeon. Moscherosch has his hero re-enter the world, and thus he did find an appropriate ending for Philander.

Knight compares *Soldaten-Leben* to later novels, like Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus*:

> The most important (difference) is...in the quality of composition, which is so great that *Soldaten-Leben* appears, beside *Simplicissimus*, like a short and uneven draft. As a narrative it follows a hesitant unsteady course and is halted more than once by ill-prepared digressions.  

I tend to agree. Although there is an attempt at novelistic structure, the story is interrupted by many details that have no bearing on the development of the plot. In this way *Soldaten-Leben* is, like the rest of *Gesichte*, a compendium of facts that Moscherosch thought either useful or amusing to know. Only a tenuous plot line holds these facts together. These interjected details, however, do serve a purpose: they are exempla of a moral that Moscherosch wants to convey. This is always Moscherosch's primary objective. It
appears everywhere: at the end of exemplary fables, of short stories, of the "novel" Soldaten-Leben, and also as a summary at the end of each Gesicht.
CHAPTER IV

Conclusions

The second part of Gesichte shows several differences from the first. A coherence among chapters is foreshadowed in the first part by Moscherosch's introduction of a framework. Here every chapter has a transition from an everyday setting of the framework to the visionary world; in the second part the transition sections are reduced to one. Philander enters the allegorical world in the first chapter and leaves it in the last. Expertus Robertus' appearance in two chapters is an indication of Moscherosch's awareness that coherence is created also by having other persons besides the hero appear in several chapters. The second part has several minor characters re-appear in some chapters; Expertus Robertus, Thurnmeyer, and Freymund occur in all chapters.

A further development is the change of Philander from a passive to an active hero. In the
first part he mainly observes and narrates what happens in the visionary world; he is only active in as much as he undertakes a journey described in the framework, and only in as much as he speaks to people he meets in isolated incidents in the vision sections. In the second part of Gesichte Philander still is the narrator, but he has become more active as he involves himself directly in what occurs at the castle and its surroundings.

A major development is also the tendency to de-emphasize medieval motifs. The traditional motifs of the vision are lacking; the only feature remaining from this genre is the removal of the hero from a real to an allegorical world, but changes have taken place even in this respect. Many of the events in the allegorical setting are every-day occurrences, and in Soldaten-Leben, the setting and events have lost all allegorical aspects. The categorizing of sinners according to types—the gluttons, the liars, the lovers, etc.—which is typical for medieval material, is de-emphasized in the first part and completely disregarded in
the second. The satire on occupations and professions popular in late-medieval literature and in German satire of the sixteenth century is stressed in the first part of Gesichte; in the second, only traces of it appear, for instance, the satire on tax-collectors in Soldaten-Leben. The second part treats certain groups of people and specific human foibles on a much broader scale than the first: doctors in Podagram, nobility in Thurnier, fashion in A la Modé Kehraus, drinking and needless travel in Hanß hierüber, Ganß herüber. Satiric description is amply used in A la Mode Kehraus, Hanß hierüber, Ganß herüber, and Pflaster wider das Podagram; it is less pronounced in other chapters, and it is almost non-existent in the section of Soldaten-Leben. Generally speaking, there is a tendency to replace satiric passages by narrative passages.

The second part of Gesichte shows structural changes also. Visions and sixteenth century German satire emphasize a revue-type structure in which a narrator mentions people and events in a series
without stressing the importance of any specific event or person more than another. This type of structure is much in evidence in the first part; in the second, the narrator re-tells no longer a series of numerous sights; he related events in which he is directly involved, confining the content of one chapter to only a limited number of occurrences.

The greater coherence among chapters, the tendency away from an allegorical towards a realistic setting, the creation of an active hero, and the stress on a narration of successive events, all point to a trend towards the structure of an adventure novel. Interestingly enough, the anonymous continuations of Gesichte undergo this change completely. They tell of Philander's adventures as a soldier, as a traveler, as a monk, and as a priest up to his death. There are even continuations that have Expertus Robertus as the main hero and tell of his adventures. The features of the vision have been lost in these continuations, and the original satiric purpose of Gesichte has dis-
appeared almost completely. They are adventure novels similar to the works by Grimmelshausen, Reuter, or Happel.

The first part of Gesichte shows many of the elements of writers previous to Moscherosch, while the second shows many features of satiric authors coming after him. Moscherosch is a pivot point for satiric writings of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.

In placing Moscherosch into the stream of satiric writers, critics have for the most part pointed out similarities in motifs he supposedly either adapted from earlier authors or passed on to later ones. Particularly Beinert and Hinze have considered many passages and motifs from earlier German authors as direct influences on Moscherosch. Recently, however, Brigitte Höft has established that many of these motifs are also present in Moscherosch's models Quevedo and La Geneste. The reason for the similarity between Moscherosch's motifs and those of other German authors is the
tendency for satire to treat the same subject matter repeatedly.

German authors often compared to Moscherosch are of two types: one group consists of such satirists as Brant, Murner, and Fischart, the other group includes authors who maintain the dream-vision form. Schupp, a contemporary of Moscherosch, belongs to the latter group. Some of his earlier Latin writings and sections from several German works are written in the vision form. The motifs in these works point, as Vogt maintains, to a derivation from Lucian's satiric vision, and not to an influence from the medieval religious vision. Many traits of the medieval vision are found, however, in Dionysius Klein's visionary play, which seems also to have been influenced by Ringwalt's Christliche Warnung des Trewen Eckarts, the only complete satiric dream-vision written in German preceding Moscherosch. It abounds in typical visionary motifs. The hero tells how an angel guided his soul on a journey through Heaven and Hell. The journey, in a form typical for the
vision, enumerates the various sights in a series. Yet, a different form of narration is also introduced. In Hell, several sinners come forward and tell of their sins in a scene resembling the procession of sinners before Lucifer in the passion plays. Ringwalt introduces also the same characters as in the plays: Wucherer, Juncker, Edelfrau, hohe Person, Schmeichler/verdampt Rath, Hofprediger, Jurist, Dorfprediger, ledige Person (the inconstant lover), Jungfer, and Bauer.

In contrast to Ringwalt's 'colorless description of Heaven, his recounting of events in Hell contains a number of memorable images. Vivid descriptions of Hell are typical for visions, but they are not confined to them exclusively. Also many sermons depict gruesome scenes of Hell intended to bring sinners to repent. Often quoted by Moscherosch, Meyfarth's sermons delineated Hell particularly clearly in the seventeenth century.

Opinions vary as to the degree of influence Ringwalt exerted on Moscherosch. Hinze thinks
there is an influence:

Dennoch schlage ich den Einfluss des "Ge­trewen Eckart" auf die Gesichte noch höher an, als aus den Parallelstellen ersichtlich ist.251

In contrast, Klamroth flatly denies any influence:

Auch ist der Einfluß, den diese früheren Visiondichter (Klein und Ringwalt) auf ihn geübt haben, gleich Null...252

Of course, there are parallels in motifs and material treated, but a direct influence of Ringwalt on Moscherosch cannot be established with certainty. The writings of Ringwalt, Klein, and Schupp affirm only that the vision existed in Germany before Moscherosch. The genre was never very popular. Perhaps the lack of popular appeal can be traced partly to the usual colorless descriptions of Heaven. On the other hand, the popularity of many sermons, and for that matter of Moscherosch's work, can be partly explained by the impression which the vivid descriptions of the underworld made on the reader.

The other group of authors who supposedly influenced Moscherosch are satirists of the sixteenth century. Critics have pointed out that they satirized people and customs similar to those sati-
rized by Moscherosch. Also, most of these satires, for example Brant's *Narrenschiff*, and Murner's *Geuchmatt* and *Schelmenzunft*, show a similarity to Moscherosch in their choice of allegorical settings. Furthermore, Knight sees a correspondence in the structure of smaller sections of *Gesichte* and a typical earlier German satire:

Perhaps this is why even the internal structure of the "Narrenschiff" is so similar to that of the "Gesichte." Three component parts remain constant. The first is a direct or indirect statement of the moral in the verse placed above Brant's woodcut illustration. The second is a satirical description of the particular fool concerned. After this comes a further list of examples, drawn from the Bible, or the Classics. All three of these principal elements can be paralleled in the "Gesichte." Quevedo supplies the satirical description of the fool. The moral is expressed in the didactic commentary interpolated by Moscherosch. Finally the abundant quotations are the guarantee of truth from established sources...

Knight refers to Brant specifically, but as the structure of Murner's and Fischart's satires greatly resemble the *Narrenschiff*, the same parallels can
be drawn between Moscherosch and any other earlier German satirists.

Most satires have a contrived framework: a ship bound to Narragonia, a narrator coming to a meadow filled with fools of love. These frameworks and settings serve as logical explanations for an assembly of sinners or fools whom the author proceeds to enumerate. This observer-revue of all people encountered resembles the type of structure seen in the vision. The satire also resembles the vision in its allegorical setting, its moralistic didacticism, as well as its attempt at an all-encompassing framework. All these features were passed on to Gesichte, particularly to the first part.

After the publication of Gesichte, the dream-vision framework enjoyed an increase in popularity. Most authors who imitated this feature are minor literary figures, such as Veridor von Stackdorn, Balthasar Kindermann, Balthasar Venator, and Johann Gorgias. Better known authors such as Klaj
and Grimmelshausen used the dream form as well.

The dream described in the sixth book of Simplicissimus resembles the vision framework of Gesichte, but Knight has pointed out additional parallels between the dream of Simplicissimus and specifically the chapter Hoff-Schule of Gesichte:

The chief features common to both works are:
(a) the assembly of Lucifer's servants at his court, which Moscherosch calls the "Hölische Reichsversammlung und Höllische Stände"; (b) the comparison between the respective powers of various devils and of two in particular; (c) the ironical reflection that peace, like war, leads men to forfeit their salvation.

Weise's first novel, Die drey Haupt-Verderber in Deutschland, shows not only a dream framework, but also a number of other motifs parallel to Gesichte. The hero finds himself in a pastoral setting on his way to the underworld—a cave in which Mistevo, the king of the Wends, holds court. Mistevo, a combination of Moscherosch's Lucifer and Ariovist, listens to the report of three men sent to create unrest in the world. One was to spread confusion in religious affairs, the second in poli-
tics, and the third was to advocate idle amusements and excesses in fashion. Weise's guide is a mysterious figure who during the night shows the hero a way out of the underworld. Haupt-Verderber differs from Gesichte as it places greater emphasis on the narrative, and does not stress the didactic element as much. Also, the vision framework is scarcely noticed. There is no mention of the hero falling asleep at the beginning of the story, and only the last sentence refers to the hero's awakening.

Weise's second novel, too, has taken some features from Moscherosch. Die drey ärgrsten Erznarren have a plot similar to a story told in Gesichte. (Gesichte, Bo., pp. 185-198). A young man sets out with his tutors to find the greatest fools in the world. The setting of the story is no longer an allegorical realm, but the world. The people encountered, too, are no longer allegorical types, but examples of every-day persons. The guide figure is still maintained in the tutor, but he has lost all allegorical attributes. Erznarren
is the last satiric work in which a direct relationship with Gesichte can be ascertained. Yet, a look at later satiric works may prove helpful in showing how Gesichte foreshadowed structural developments of the satire.

An attempt at tracing the structure of satire in the seventeenth century has only been made by Hildegarde Wichert; although she confines her discussion to only the major satirists after Schupp's and Moscherosch's time, her statements still give insight into the development of seventeenth century satire in general. She sums up her findings this way:

...a double line of progress is distinguishable--a tendency to transform mechanical devices into living beings, and a trend toward the simplification of both structural apparatus and language. This progress may be noted in the guide or mentor, in the locale, in the figures introduced as satiric media, and in the character of the style which clothes the structural skeleton.

Moscherosch foreshadows all trends which Hildegarde Wichert mentions. The second part of Gesichte shows a tendency to abandon the vision framework. Also, Moscherosch's imitator Kindermann used the
dream framework in his first two Gesichte, and abandons it in his last six. The dream goes almost unnoticed in Weise's Haupt-Verderber, and later satires do not use the vision framework at all.

Associated with the disappearance of the vision framework is the relocation of the setting from an allegorical to an every-day world. This trend is shown well in Moscherosch's Soldaten-Leben, but also Weise whose first novel has an allegorical setting changes it in his later novels to a realistic locale. Toward the end of the century allegorical features disappear completely from satire.

The guide, formerly a typical allegorical device in the vision, still appears in the form of the helper in Haupt-Verderber and the "Genius" in Verkehrte Welt, but in both works his delineation is shadowy, indicating the conventional use of this figure is disappearing. In other works the guide develops from an allegorical into a more life-like figure. This change is noticed in Expertus Robertus, but a more pronounced change can
be seen in Gelanor of Weise's Erznarren who appears as a true-to-life schoolmaster.

The narrator-hero gradually begins to rival the guide in his didactic functions. From this overlapping of roles a blending of the guide and the hero occurs. An early example of this feature can be seen in an anonymous continuation of Gesichte in which, after Philander's death, the adventures of Expertus Robertus are told. In the satiric works of the end of the seventeenth century, for instance Happel's Adademischer Roman or Reuter's Schelmuffsky, there is no longer a guide, and the didactic function formerly assigned to him, if one can still speak of a didactic element in these novels, has been taken over by the narrator-hero.

For the most part of the century, the satire shows a reluctance to give up its didacticism. In earlier satires this element appears usually as moralizing intrusions into the main narrative. In the first part of Gesichte these intrusions consist in a large number of quotations, in the second
part they become less abundant, and the didactic function is assumed instead by anecdotes and events meant to exemplify a moral message. Later satires appear more and more in the form of a series of anecdotes or events which eventually lose their function as exempla.

The trend towards a different form of expression for the didactic element is closely related to the basic structural change of the satire. The passive observer-narrator becomes actively involved in the events he narrates. In so doing, he changes the narration from the earlier revue of fools and types to an enumeration of adventures. The hero of the satire assumes features of the picaro, and the satire becomes an adventure novel in which the satiric element remains only in the depictions of individual adventures and persons whom the hero encounters.

2 a) Jacobi Wimpfelingij/ Cis Rhenum/ Germania/ Recusa/ Post CXLVIII annos/ Editore Joh. Mich. Moscherosch/ Argentorati... Anno MDCXLI.


Méditation Sur La Vie De Iésus Christ. Rapportée, revue, corrigée, augmentée par J. M. Moscherosch Alleman. A Strasbourgh, Chez Jean Philippes Mülb, Imprimeur de L'Academie. MDCXLVI.


J. W. Zinogreff, Der Teutschen Scharpsinnige Kluge Sprüch/ Apotheegmata genannt. Teil I & II (Strassburg, 1628 and 1631).

The title of the last edition is J. M. Moscherosch, Sex Centuriae Epigrammatum (Frankfurt, 1665).


See Bechtold, Verzeichnis, p. 79.
13 Insomnis Cura Parentum/ Christliches Ver- 
mächtniß/ oder, Schuldige Vorsorg/ Eines Trewen Vat-
ters/ bey jetzigen Hochbetribtsten gefährlichsten 
Zeitten/ den seinigen zur letzten Nachicht/ hinder-
lassen. Durch Hanß-Michel Moscherosch. Straßburg, Bey 
Johann Philip Mülben. Im Jahr 1643.

14 Elizabeth Iocelin, The mothers legacie to her 
unborne childe. London Printed by John Hauiland for 
William Barret, 1624.
Moscherosch's translation is Testament/ So eine 
Mutter ihrem noch/ ungeborenen Kind gemacht/ hat. 
Erstlich von einer Gottseiligen/ Matrone in Englischer 
Sprach/ geschrieben/ hernach in Frantösischer und in 
Teutsche Sprach gebracht./ Ist ein Tractätlein/ allen 
Christen, sonderlich der Jugend sehr nützlich und 
nöthig zu lesen. Gedruckt im Jahr 1646.

15 Mentioned in the introduction to Hanss Michael 
Moscherosch, Gesichte Philanders von Sittewald, ed. 
Felix Bobertag. Deutsche Nationalliteratur, Vol. 32 
(Stuttgart, 1883), p. xiii. Hereafter referred to in 
the text as Bo.

16 Joseph Nadler, Literaturgeschichte des deut-

17 Hans Michael Moscherosch, Insomnis Cura Paren-
tum, ed. Ludwig Pariser, Neudrucke deutscher Littera-
turwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, Vol. 108-
109 (Halle, 1893).

18 H. M. Moscherosch, Die Patientia, ed. Ludwig 
Pariser, Forschungen zur neueren Literaturgeschichte, 
II (Munich, 1897).

19 Ein trawrig Gespräch/ oder Hertzliches wehe-
klagen eines wegen des vatterlandes und der kirchen 
betribten zustandes hochbekümmerten und beängstigten 
Christen: welchen erstlich die Vernunft/ darnach der 
Glaub (doch vergeblich und umsonst) zu trösten sich 
untersehet. Inmittles kommt Christus/ und strafet ihn 
erstlich wegen seiner ungeduld. Zeigt seiner schreck-
lichen strafen ursach an/ benimmt jhne seine schmerzten
verheisst ihm zeitliche und ewige erlösung; lehret
jhm letalich/ wie er sich zu diesen beiden erlösun-
gen schicken und bereiten soll. 1626. Amos Comenius.

20. Les Visions de Dom Francisco de Quevedo Vi-
Ilegas. Chevalier de l'Ordre Saint Jacques. Augmen-
tées de l'Enfer Reformé. Traduite d'Espagnol Par le
Sieur de la Geneste, 1633.

21. The following editions are indicated in Don
Francisco Quevedo Villegas, Obras Completas, obras
1373 ff.

Sueños/ y discursos/ de verdades des-/ cubri-
doras de abusos/ vicios, y Enghños, en todos los
oficios/ y Estados del Mundo. Por Don Francisco de
Quevedo Villegas, Cavallero del Orden/ de Santiago,
y Señor de Iuan Abad. Con Licencia y Privilegio: En
Barcelona por Estauan LI-/ beros en la Calle de Santo
Domingo./ A costa de Iuan Sapera Linero.—The edition
published in the same year at Valencia is a direct
copy.

Desvelos soñolentos, y verdades soñadas. Por
Don Francisco de Quevedo Villegas, Cavallero del Or-
den de Santiago, y Señor de la Villa de Iuan Abad.
Corregido y emendado de la Casa de Locos de Amor. Con
Licencia en Zaragoza, Por Pedro Verges. Ano 1627. Ven-
dese en casa de Roberto Duport en al Cuchilleria.

Another Zaragoza edition of the same year is:

Sueños y discursos de verdades, descubridoras
de Abusos, Vicios, y Enghños, en todos los oficios,
y Estados del Mundo. Por Don Francisco de Quevedo
Villegas, Cavallero de la Orden de Santiago, y Señor
de Iuan Abad. Corregidos y emendados en esta ultima
Impresion. Ano 1627. Con Licencia En Garagoça, por
Pedro Cabarte, Impresor del Reyno de Aragon. Vendese
en casa Matias de Líeco menor, en calle de la Cuchi-
lleria.

22. Heinrich Dittmar, Wunderliche und wahrschafftige
Gesichte Philanders von Sittewald. d. i. Satirische
Schriften von Johann Michael Moscherosch (Berlin,
1830).


25 See note 8, above.


The type of changes are best summed up by Arthur Bechtold, "Moscherosch-Bildnisse. Mit 7 Abbildungen," Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde, N. F., VI (Leipzig, 1915), 274: "Aus den Kroaten Lffl, Bttwitz, Bbwitz der früheren Drucke werden Laffal, Battrawitz, Bobowitz; das Schiff, das nach T. geht und dann mit Mann und Maus untergeht, war nach Trier bestimmt (S. 602); der Kommandant D.V., der mit dem Feinde ein Übereinkommen schließen will, wie sie sich in das Vieh ihrer Bauern teilen wollen, ist der kaiserliche Kommandant D. V. Gordon (S. 698), die beiden Städten, um die es sich handelt, sind Saarbrücken und Finstingen (S. 703); im Gegensatz zu den zuchtlosen, im Felde liegenden Parteien wird die Zucht der Besatzung von Benfelden (S. 718) gerühmt, in welcher Moscherosch nach seinem Weggang von Finstingen schwedischer Kriegsrat unter dem Obersten Moser war."

34 See note 15, above.
35 See note 26, above.
36 See note 21, above.
37 Desvelos soñolientos y discursos de verdades soñadas: descubridoras de abusos, vicios y engaños en todos los oficios, y estados del mundo. Año de (IHS) 1629. Con licencia y privilegio: En Barcelona Por Pedro Lacavalleria, en la calle de Arlet, junto la Librería.
38 First published separately in France entitled: Discourse de todos los diablos, o infierno emendado. Autor/ Don Francisco de/ Quevedo, Villegas, Cavallero de la Orden de Santiago./ Año 1628./ Con licencia/ En Gerona por Gaspar Garrich,/ y Juan Simon.
The first edition in Spain came a year later: Discourse de todos los diablos, o infierno emendado. Autor. Don Francisco Quevedo Villegas, Cavallero de
la Orden de Santiago. Con Licencia. En Valencia, por la viuda de Iuan Chrysostomo Garriz, junto al molino de Rouella. Ano MDCXXIX.

32 Desvelos soñolientos, y discursos de verdades soñadas... En Pamplona. Por Carlos de Labayen. Impresor del Reyno de Navaorra. 1631.

40 Enseñanza entretenida, i donaireosa moralidad, Comprehendida/ En el Archivo ingenioso de las Obras/ escritas en Prosa/ de don Francisco de Quevedo Villegas, i Caballero de la orden de Santiago,/ i Señor de la villa de la torre de Iuan Abad. Contienense juntas en este Tomo las que sparcidas en diffe-/ rentes Libros hasta ahora se han impresso. En Madrid,/ Lo imprimo En su officina Diego Díaz/ de la Carreaz,/ Ano MDCXLVIII. A costa de Pedro Coello Mercader/ de Libros.

41 Biblioteca de Autores Españoles desde la for- mación del Lenguaje hasta nuestros dias. Tomo 23, Obras de Don Francisco de Quevedo Villegas... por D. Aureliano Fernandez Guerra y Orbe, I (Madrid, 1912), p. 350, note a.


43 Ibid., p. 180. The edition in question was approved for printing in 1629, but actually not prin­ ted until 1631.

44 Ibid., p. 181, notes 2 and 3.

45 The first edition has the translation of six sueños, the following have all seven.

46 The Visions of Quevedo translated by Rog. l’Estrange (London, 1667). Recently republished as

Stratto-de Sogni di D. Francesco Quevedo, Transportato dal Francese per Innocentio Maranaviti, in Milano, 1672. Nella Stampa del Vignone.

All seventeen editions have approximately the same title: Seven Wonderlike Ghesichten/ Van Dom Francisco de Quevedo, Vol- legas, Ridder van S. Jacques Ordre./ In welcke alle de Gebreken/ deser Eeuwe, onder alle Staten van Menschen, vermaecklijck en oock/ stichtelijck, werden bestraft; ende/ als in een Schilderye naeck-/telijck vertoont./ In't Nederlandtz gebracht/ Door Capiteyn/ Haring van Harinxma./ Tot Leeuwarden, Von Jan Jansen de Fries, Boeck-/- vercooper/ Anno 1641.

(Sueños, traduct. latine). Argentorati, 1642, in 8° (Graesse).


Heinrich Dittmar, Moscheroschs Gesichte, I, No. 1 (Berlin, 1830).


"Beiträge zu Moscheroschs Diensten unter Peter Ernst von Kriechingen," Elsäss-Lothringisches Jahrbuch, XIII (1934), 105-137.


Kritisches Verzeichnis der Schriften Johann Michael Moscheroschs (München, 1922)


Matthias Meigener, Ultimum Vale Philandrum, das Ewig-Gründer-Gedächtniss- und Ehren-Säul in höchsten Leidwesen aufgerichtet als der Hochderr/ Vester und Hochgelährter Herr Johann Michael Moscherosch Vornehmer Juris consultus, verschiedener Fürsten und Stände gewesener hoch meritirter Rath etc.

dieses 1669 Jahrs auf den Palm-Sonntag zwischen 2 und 3 Uhr Nachmittag seelig in seinem Erlöser Jesu Christo entschlaffen/ den 6. aber in sein Ruhkämmerlein begleitet worden. Frankfurt am Main, 1669.


This is mentioned in Dittrich's introduction (see note 22, above).

See Huffschmid, note 52, above.

63 See Huffschmid, note 52, above.


65 A. Richel, "Aus Tagebüchern der Frankfurter Moscherosch," *Archiv für Sippenforschung und alle verwandten Gebiete*, V (Görlitz, 1944), 100-103. Here: p. 100. Richel does not have footnotes and I am not able to locate the references to Harsdörffer, Hofmann and Ebert. The reference to Rotermund relates to:

"Moscherosch," in Christian G. Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrtenlexicon*, Vol. K-R, revised by Rotermund. The origin of 'Moscherosch' is noted as, p. 2164: "Ein halb griechisch halb hebräisch, aus dem eigent- lich deutschen Kalbskopf, gebildeter Name." This view is followed by most French encyclopedias, for example:


Heintze-Cascorbi garners his information from:


67. Ibid., p. 100.

68. Hufschmid, see note 52, above.


74. Knight, "Moscherosch" (see note 71, above).

75. Der Unartige Deutscher Sprachverderber gedruckt im Jahr unserer Erlösung, MDCCCLIII.

There are two modern reprints:


*See note 3, above.*

Moscherosch, Gymnasma (see note 3, above), p. 117; quoted in Bechtold, Verzeichnis, p. 63.

Johannes Beinert, "Der Verfasser des Sprachverderbers von 1643," Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung, VI (1904/05), 76-89.


R. H. Schill, Der Teutschen Sprach Ehrenkrantz (Straßburg, 1644).

See Hans Gräf, Der Sprachverderber von 1643 und die aus ihm hervorgegangenen Schriften (dissertation, Jena, 1892).


Johann Wirth (see note 29, above).

Bobertag (see note 15, above).


91 Friedrich Gundelfinger (Gundolf), Cäsar in der deutschen Literatur. Palästra, Vol. 33 (1904), 64-68.


Hildegarde Wichert, Johann Balthasar Schupp and the baroque satire in Germany. Columbia University German Studies, Vol. 22 (New York, 1952).

Ibid., pp. 10-12.


Knight, "Moscherosch" (see note 71, above).


Earlier critics took Steinhöwel as the translator, but Georg Baesecke suggested Heinrich Schlüsselfelder. Pertinent literature on this question is Karl Drescher, Arigo, der Übersetzer des Decamerons und


109 Grunwald (see note 72, above), p. 16.

110 Ibid., p. 17.


112 See notations in Adolf Schmidt, "Moscherosch's Schreibkalender," (see above note 59), pp. 139-190.

113 Bloedau (see above note 99), p. 133.

114 The best books giving an overall picture of the vision are Heinz Klamroth, Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Träumsatire im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert (dissertation, Bonn, 1912); Francis Xavier Newman, "Somnium, Medieval Theories of Dreaming and the Form of Vision Poetry" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1963); Howard Rollin Patch, The Other World, according to descriptions in Medieval Literature (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1950); August Rüegg, Die Jenseitsvorstellungen vor Dante und die übrigen literarischen Voraussetzungen der "Divina Comedia" (Einsiedeln, 1945).

115 Apocrypha Anecdota, ed. Montague Rhodes James (Cambridge, England, 1893), 1-42. Also see references in Theodore Silverstein, "Did Dante know the Vision of St. Paul?" Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, XIX (1937), 232-233; Herman Brandes, Visio S. Pauli: Ein Beitrag zur Visionsliteratur mit einem deutschen und zwei lateinischen Texten (Halle, 1885), Gesellschaft für deutsche Philologie, Festchrift. For the French tradition of the vision see
Walter Meiden, "La descente de Saint-Paul en Enfer" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1945).

For a short bibliography on this vision see Ernest Becker, A Contribution to the Comparative Study of the Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell, with Special Reference to the Middle-English Versions (dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1899), pp. 81-82. For the basic text see Albrecht Wagner, Visio Teugdali Lateinisch und Altddeutsch (Erlangen, 1882). Also refer to Karl Langosch, Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon, IV (Berlin, 1955), 515–517.


Ilias Homeri... Desertlich die 12. Bücher Ae­neidos des Hochberümmtesten Lateinischen Poeten Pub­liij Virgilij Maronis... von weiland Magistro Johann Sprengen... Gedruckt zu Augspurg, durch Christoph Mangen, in verlegung Elias Winters. Anno 1610.

The two works above are cited in Goedecke, IV, p. 217 and p. 571 respectively.

118 "Todo esto nacía de la mucha ociasidad; donde la hay por fuerza ha de haber grande amor, como lo sintió el Petrarca en el Triunfo del amor."—"El nasce d'otio, e di lascivia humana."—" quoted in "Casa de Locos de Amor," Obras de Quevedo, I. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 23, p. 352.

119 "...habiendo cerrado los ojos con el libro del "ante; lo cual fue causa de soñar que veía un tropel de visiones," quoted in "El sueño de las Cala­veras," Obras de Quevedo, I. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 23, p. 296.

See further comments on Ringwaldt in Chapter IV of this dissertation.

Patch (see note 114, above), pp. 110-112.

For numerous examples of this motif see Newman (see note 114, above), pp. 282-283.

See Patch (see note 114, above), p. 134 ff.; Arturo Graf, Miti, Leggende e Superstizioni del Medio Evo (Turin, 1925), p. 30 ff.; Edoardo Coli, Il Paradiso Terrestre Dantesco (Firenze, 1897), passim, particularly pp. 127-163.


For a history of this motif in literature and art see Erwin Panofsky, Hercules am Scheideweg (Leipzig, 1930).


Wright (see note 128, above), p. 71; see also p. 390, note 123 quoting from Martianus Capella, De nuptiis Philologae et Mercurii, ed. F. Eyssenhardt, VI (Leipzig, 1866), p. 664 and p. 693.

Patch (see note 114, above), pp. 112-114, and pp. 124-127.

Becker (see note 116, above), pp. 17-18.

Hinze (see note 89, above), p. 52 and pp. 61-63; Beinert (see note 88, above), pp. 14-17.

Newman (see note 114, above), p. 252.

Some examples of this genre are Petrarch's *I Trionfi*; the *Roman de la Rose* and Capellanus' *De arte honesti amandi*.

Into this group belong Bocaccio's *Corbaccio*, and Santillana's *Defunision* and *Infierno de los Enamorados*.


See *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie*, I 273-75 quoting an account from the *Hexenprozeßakten*, 1632.

Claudian (see note 137, above), p. 249.


For a discussion of this motif see Wolfgang Stammler, *Frau Welt* (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1959), and Gisela Thiel, "Das Frau Welt-Motiv in der Literatur des Mittelalters" (unpublished dissertation, Saarbrücken, 1957).


See note 144, above.

253 Grunwald (see note 72, above), p. 58: "I do not agree with some critics that Expertus and Philander signify Moscherosch's split personality. Both figures rather, are autonomous and distinct in age, character, interests and linguistic expression. They are clearly intended to indicate the coexistence of two different ages..."

154 Newman (see note 114, above); a list of occupations of dreamers is given on p. 264.

155 Leo Spitzer, "Note on the Poetic and the Empirical I in Medieval Authors," Traditio, IV (1946), 416-422.

156 Newman (see note 114, above), p. 263.


158 Ibid., p. 349.

159 Ernst Batzer, "Reiner von Sittewald," Euphorion, XXIII (1921), 18-22.

160 See notes 75-77, above.

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162 Grunwald (see note 72, above), p. 60.

163 Martin Opitz, Buch von der Deutschen Poe

164 John Owen, Epigrammata (London, 1606); first German translation: Teutschredender Owenus...Durch Valentinum Löbern (Hamburg, 1653). See also Erich Urban, Owenus und die deutschen Epigrammatiker des 17. Jahrhunderts (Berlin, 1900).

165 Georg Philip Harstdorffer, Poetischer Trichter die deutsche Dicht- und Reimkunst...in VI Stunden einzugießen (Nürnberg, 1647).


167 Siegmund von Birken, Teutsche Rede und Dichtkunst (Nürnberg, 1679); quoted in Markwardt (see note 166, above), p. 123.

168 The description of the satyr clarifies the meaning of the figures on the titular woodcuts. They are satyrs and by the previous reasoning they are justified in appearing on the title page of a satire. On the other hand, they are also devils—Moscherosch's translation of Satyr is Waldteuffel—as such they are related to the underworld depicted by Moscherosch and as such they are also the antithesis to the angels with whom they are shown on the frontpieces.

169 Johannes Aventinus (Turmaier) is most noted for his historical works: Bayerischer Chronickon (1522); Chronicka von Ursprung der uhralten Teutschen (1541); Annalium Bojgrum, Libri VII (1554). Aventin appears under his real name of Turmaier or Thurnmeier as one of Philander's mentors in the second part of Esichte.
170 Daniel Georg Morhof, Unterricht von der deutschen Sprache und Poesie, deren Ursprung, Fortgang und Lehrsätze...Unterricht von der Teutschen Poesie (Kiel, 1682); cited in Markwardt (see note 166, above), p. 239.

171 Opitz (see note 163, above), p. 20.


173 For a historical discussion of these professions see Werner Danckert, Unehrliche Leute; Die Verfechten Berufe (Bern, 1963).


"Die religiöse Vision wird zur Moral der Satire, die von der Verdammung der Sünde zur Geisselung der Törheit übergeht."

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For a list of editions and criticism of this work see Paul Heitz and Friedrich Ritter (see above note 105); Moscherosch quotes one story from Sieben Weise Meister (Gesichte, Bo., pp. 215-218). He remarks that this same story can be found in Petronius, thus showing his acquaintance with classical prose satire.

Max Osborn, Die Teufelliteratur des XVI. Jahrhunderts (Berlin, 1893); reprinted (Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim, 1965).


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Schlosser, "Burg Geroldseck" (see note 95, above), pp. 47-48: "Der zuletzt angeführten Stelle zufolge wohnte damals zu Steinsal der Vater des "Herrn Frid Wolffen", eines der "besten Freunde" Philanders. Diesem seinem "getreuen Freunde", der eigentlich Friedrich Wolfram hieß, hat Moscherosch eben das Gesicht 'Hans Hinüber, Gans Herüber', ...absichtlich gewidmet... (er) dürfte ein Mitschüler des Satirikers..."
an der Straßburger Hochschule gewesen sein... Um die Zeit, da der Verfasser der Geschichte dort als Amtmann wirkte, war auch Friedrich Wolfram an denselben Orte (und Kriechingen)... als evangelischer Pfarrer angestellt. So geschah es, daß beide Freunde durch die Sonde der Schwägerschaft und Gevatter- schaft verbunden wurden...


193 Moscherosch makes a historical error in this list of people. Hedwig, the daughter of Heinrich I. of Bavaria, and granddaughter of emperor Heinrich I., was married to Burckard II. of Swabia, and not to Eberhard as Moscherosch suggests. Eberhard was the nobleman who joined in a revolt against emperor Heinrich I. Hedwig also lived about half a century later than the other medieval figures listed.

von Georg Rülner Eraldo genannt Hierusalem.—Kündiger der Wappen."

195 Schlosser, "Burg "eroldseck" (see note 95, above), p. 52, n. 2.


197 The best expression of this tradition in literature is found in Boccaccio's Filocolo and hints of it are given in Andreas Capellanus' De Amore, II, 7.


199 The motif of the pointed headdress is also taken up in Fischart's Jesuitenhütlein, where the points are, however, not the insignia of cuckoldry, but the horns of the devil. See Johann Fischart, Jesuitenhütlein, pp. 226–262, in Johann Fischart's Werke, I, ed. Adolf Hauffen. Deutsche National Literatur, Vol. 18 (Stuttgart, 1895).

200 See note 195, above.

201 According to Tacitus' Germania, Mannus is the father of Ingva, Irmin and Istvo, who are the ancestors of the three major Germanic tribes—the Ingaevones, the Hermiones, and the Istvaoes.

202 Beinert (see note 88, above), p. 49.

203 A modern edition is Das Podagrammisch Trostbüchlin, 1577; Das Philosophisch Enzuchtbüchlin, 1578, Johann Fischart's Werke, III, ed. Adolf Hauffen. Deutsche National Literatur, Vol. 18 (Stuttgart, 1895). In the preface to this edition, Hauffen reprints and states that Fischart's work is based on the following two works: De Podagrae Laudibus Oratio Habita In Celeberrimo Gymnasio Patovino a Joanne Carnario Gandensi, in initio lectionum Idus Novemb. 1552;

204 Adolf Hauffen, "Zu den Quellen der 'Gesichte Philanders von Sittewald' von Moscherosch," *Euphorion*, VII (1900), 699-702. Hauffen suggests that Moscherosch solely used Pirckheimer’s work and Fischart’s. He also mentions that Moscherosch’s *Pflaster wider das Podagram* became so popular that a separate edition of it was published in 1739.

205 See "Die Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst bei Moscherosch," *Frankfurter Bücherfreund*, I (Frankfurt, 1900), 105-107.

206 Knight, "Moscherosch" (see above note 71), p. 155.

207 Friedrich Kluge, *Rotwelsch*, I (Straßburg, 1901), pp. 152-155. Kluge states that Moscherosch’s information has been taken for the most part from the *Liber vagatorum*, 1510.

208 Beinert (see note 88, above), p. 55. The page numbers cited as having been taken from Luther are from the 1650 edition: 540, 547-550, 550ff., 668-670, 678, 712, 713, 726, 730.

209 There is a striking similarity between this scene and an incident in Canto XIII of the *Divine Comedy*.

210 Schlosser (see note 95, above), pp. 62-66.

211 Ibid., p. 66, note 3.


Hieronymus Bosch has also a work on this theme, and critics have tried to establish that it influenced Quevedo's Sueños. See Margarita Levisi, "Los sueños de Quevedo, el estilo, el humor, el arte" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1964).

Klingender (see note 213, above).


Schlosser, "Burg Geroldseck" (see note 95, above), p. 16.

Ibid., pp. 22-23.

Ibid., p. 54.

Ibid., p. 58.

Other references made by Philander in regard to Indians occur in Gesichte,II, 1650, pp. 414-415, and p. 422.

Johann Stintzig, "Johann Wolfgang Freymonius (Freymann, Freymond)," Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, VII (Leipzig, 1878), p. 572.

See Gesichte, Bo., p. 271, note 19.

Schlosser, "Burg Geroldseck" (see note 95, above), pp. 31-40, proves that Kallofels is based on a contemporary of Moscherosch: Johann Heinrich von Steinca llenfelst, an officer in the Swedish army and commandant of the occupation forces in Finstingen during the winter 1636/37.
225Grunwald (see note 72, above), p. 55.
226Vogt (see note 97, above), passim, particularly pp. 9, 12, and 19.
227Schlosser, "Burg Geroldseck" (see note 95, above), p. 57, note 1.
228Ibid., p. 39, note 2.
229Ibid., p. 68, note 4.
230Ibid., p. 68, note 4.
231Knight, "Moscherosch" (see note 71, above), p. 126.
232Ibid., p. 125.
233The most important of his short story collections is: Der Große Schauplatz Lust und Lehrreicher Geschichte: Das 1. hundert; das 2. hundert (3rd ed.; Frankfurt, 1653).
235Ibid., p. 76.
236The three fables were modernized and edited seperately: Johannes Beinert, "Fabeln von H. M. Moscherosch," Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht, XXIV (1910), 441-443.
237On p. 105 of his dissertation, Hinze (see above note 89) indicates a parallel to a fable in Rollenhagen's Froschmäuseler, II, 2, p. 218.
238The most popular collection of Esop's fables is by Erasmus Alberus. The first edition: Etliche fabel Esopi/ verteutscht unnd/ ynn Rheymen bracht
A second greatly enlarged edition brings many fables from other sources than Esop: Das buch von der Tugent und Weisheit, nemlich, Neunundvierzig Fabeln, der mehrer theil aus Esopo gezogen, und mit guten Rheimen verkleret, durch Erasmus Alberum, Allen stenden nutzlich zu lesen... Getruckt zu Frankfurt am Mayn, bey Peter Braubachen. Anno Domini 1550.


The following quote is taken from the Braune edition, p. xxx: "Die im Mittelalter verbreiteste lateinische Fabelsammlung des Romulus, die eine Prosaauflösung des Phaedrus ist, aber schlechthin als Aesopus galt, bildete den Kern des mit deutscher Übersetzung versehenen Aesop Heinrich Steinhöwels, der zwischen 1476 und 1480 zuerst erschien und dann bis ins 17. Jahrhundert immer wieder neu gedruckt wurde."


This fact is also pointed out in Knight, "Moscherosch" (see above note 71), pp. 146-148.


Ibid., p. 53.

Ibid., p. 54.

Beinert (see note 88, above); Hinze (see note 89, above).

Höft (see note 87, above).


For Latin visions and dream inserts in German works see Vogt (see note 246 above), Euphorion, XVI, 693 ff.; for Schupp's possible influence on Moscherosch, ibid., XVIII, 322.

Klamroth discusses the possible connection to Klein and gives the full title of this work, p. 98; Tragi-Comedia Von einer hochnotwendigen Wallfahrt beedes in die Hölle und in Himmel...Durch Dionysium Klein von Esslingen. Tübingen, Anno 1622.


Johann Mathäus Meyfart, Das Höllische Sodoma (Coburg, 1630); J. M. Meyfart, Das Jüngste Vericht (Nürnberg, 1632).
Hinze (see note 88, above), p. 80.

Klamroth (see note 96, above), p. 59.

Knight, "Moscherosch" (see note 71, above), pp. 93-94.


The works: Der fliegende Wandersmann nach dem Mond: Oder Eine gar Kurtzweilige und seltzame Beschreibung der Newen Welt desz Monds... Wolfenbüttel, 1659, and Traum-Geschicht, von Dir und Mir... 1660, are generally taken to have been written by Grimmelshausen, but others consider Balthasar Venator their author. See Erich Volkmann, Balthasar Venator (dissertation, Berlin, 1936), and Julie Cellarius, "Zur Seltzamen Traumgeschicht," Euphorion, Supplement 17 (1924), 97.


Knight, "Moscherosch" (see note 71, above), p. 176, mentions Johann Klaj, Royaume de la Cocquerterie, Beschreibung des New-entdeckten Schnäblerlandes (Heidelberg, 1659).

For Grimmelshausen besides the two works mentioned in note 12, above, the list must also include Die verkehrte Welt (probably 1672) and partially Das Wunderbarliche Vogelnest, I (1672).

See Bloedau (see note 99, above), pp. 140-141.
258 Knight, "Moscherosch" (see note 71, above), pp. 177-180.


260 This fact is also mentioned by Knight, "Moscherosch" (see note 71, above), p. 179.

261 Wichert (see note 246, above), pp. 9-19.

262 Ibid., p. 15.

263 The ideas for the development of the guide I have taken from Wichert (see note 246, above), p. 15.
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For a complete list of Moscherosch's works see
Arthur Bechtold, Kritisches Verzeichnis der Schriften
Johann Michael Moscheroschs (München, 1922), and
"Zur Moscherosch Bibliographie," Euphorion, XXVI(1925),
427-434.


. Insomnis Cura Parentum/ Christ-}
liches Vermächtnuß/ oder, Schuldige Vorsorg/ Ei-
nes Trenen Vatters/ bey jetzigen Hochbetrübtsten}
gefährlichsten Zeitten/ den seinigen zur letzten}
Nachricht/ hinderlassen. Straßburg. Bey Johann
Philip Mülben. Im Jahr 1643, ed. Ludwig Pariser.
Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des XVI. und

. Die Patientia, ed. Ludwig
Pariser. Forschungen zur neueren Literaturge-
schichte, II. München, 1897.

. Wunderliche und Warhafftige
Gesichte Philanders von Sittewald/ Das ist Straff-
Schrifften Hanß-Michael Moscherosch von Wilstädt.
In welchen Aller Welt Wesen/ Aller Mänschen Hän-
del/ mit jhren Natürlichen Farben der Eitelkeit/
Gewalts/ Heucheley/ Thorheit bekleidet/ öffent-
llich auff die Schau geführet/ als in einem Spie-
gel dargestellet und gesehen werden. Erster Theil.
Von Ihme zum letztern mahl auffgelegt/ vermehret/
gebessert/ mit Bildnüssen gezieret/ und Männig-

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lichen unvergreifflich zu lesen in Truckgegeben.
Straßburg/ bey Johan-Philip Mülben und Josias
Städeln. MDCL.

Gesichte Philanders von Sittewald,
ed. Felix Bobertag. Deutsche Nationalliteratur,
Vol. 32. Stuttgart, 1883.

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This list includes all material on Moscherosch published after 1922 and the more important works before that date. For a complete list of material on Moscherosch see Arthur Bechtold, Kritisches Verzeichnis der Schriften Johann Michael Moscherosch (München, 1922).


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