

Title: The Great and Famous Battel of Lutzen, Fought between the renowned King of Sweden, and Walstein; Wherein were left dead upon the place between 5 and 6000. of the Swedish party, and between 10 and 12000. of the Imperialists, where the King himself was unfortunately slain, whose death counterpoyz'd all the other. Pappenheim, Merode, Isolani, and divers other great Commanders were offered up like so many Sacrifices on the Swedish Altar, to the memory of their King. Here is also Inserted an Abridgement of the Kings life, and a Relation of the King of Bohemia's Death. Faithfully translated out of the French Coppie.

Author: Anonymous

Publication: [London]

Year: 1633

OCLC: 55584113

Short Title Catalog (2nd ed.): 12534

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To the Reader,

Wee see that in the greater Maps things are expressed more plainly then they can be in the smaller, though they be drawn all by one skill: So Vertue in Princes is more perspicuous, then in Plebians; in the former shee is drawn at length with all her dimensions; in the latter shee is limn'd in little, being invisible, vnlesse you approach very neere her. And, indeed, this is consonant to Natures owne Wisedome, who suffers the vitali spirits in the body to go to the least member, yea to the very fingers end; yet doth shee most plentifully bestow them where shee hath the greatest employment for them: so on the vulgar shee conferred gifts sutable to so lowe a Calling: But in Princes and Monarchs, shee centuples and irradiates her ornaments, because by them she speakes, and giues Lawes to Humanitie. Yet is not this Rule so generall, that it often suffers not an exception: for as Nature distinguisheth betweene the Subject and Prince by Soveraigntie, so doth shee betweene Prince and Prince by Vertue, and Abilitie. That this is true, this our deare Tragicall subject will serue for liuely and cleare demonstration, whom neither this Age, nor any of the former could parallel in the management both of the Scepter and the Sword. In his whole Reigne, his Prudence at home hath not deserued more admiration then his Prowesse abroad: For indeede, from his Youth vpwards, *Mars* hath bene the Spheare wherein he hath mooved, into which violated Iustice first hall'd him, and out of which nothing but shee appeased, or Death could remooue him. Hee was a Generall ere a Man, and with a yet vnreaped Chin mowed downe his Enemies before him. With many Kingdomes at once hee waged warre, from all which hee forced conditions advantagious to him and his. This was not without the amazement of all men, to see a Poynt oppose and conquer so vaste a circumference. In his warres I will onely obserue three things, His Way to Victory, his behaviour in it, his Carriage after it. For the first, hee did animate his Souldiers rather by Fighting, then Exhorting; nor did hee challenge to himselfe any advantage about the meanest of them, but Honour and Command. Hee knew that it is in Empire, as in the Bodie, where the most dangerous diseases flowe from the Head: Wherefore hee work'd on their manners by his owne, the onely firme Ciment of a Generall and his Armie. Hee well understood that Faith and Loyaltie are not to bee expected where wee impose thraldome and servitude, and therefore at times he would bee familiar as wel with the Common Souldier as the Commaunder. His Invention, and execution of all Military stratagemes were ever twinnes: for in all his Conquests hee owes as much to his Celeritie, as Valour. When his foes were in their Tents securely discoursing of him, as a farre off, hee like the Wolfe, broke into their fable, to their irrecoverable astonishment. They could not withstand the force of his Fame, much lesse that of his Armes. One feather more I must adde, without which his Victories had not been fully plumed, nor could haue soared so high, and that was this: Hee never perswaded any man to an Enterprize, in which hee would not himselfe make one. Hee taught them as well by Hand, as Tongue. I may adde, that neither Antiquitie can, nor Posteritie ever shall produce a Prince so patient of all Military wants, as of meate, drinke, warmth, sleepe, etc. all which are necessary to the maintenance of life. In divers sufferings of his hee recalls to my mind the most accomplisht of the Romans, *Cato*, who leading his Troups through the contagious and poysonous Deserts, was ever the last of his Army that dranke, saue once, when he began to them all in water taken from a spring suspected to be envenomed.

Thus much of his way to Victorie, now less come to his Department in it. After all his Conquests, such a calme immediately ensued, that it passed storme was soone forgotten, and the Enemie appeared rather like one suddenly wakened, then frighted. There was not any of his Victories that washed not her hands of all cold and innocent blood. He was so severe a Iusticer, that he often reveged the violating of his merciful Decrees euen vpon the place, & sometime on men of qualitie, whom he affected. The Lawes of Retaliation hee knew so well, that hee gaue to all men punctuall satisfaction for all offences received from his partie, according to the nature of the wrong done. For this cause his Tribunall (like the Roman) stood euer open. All his great Atchieuements were ever attended by Devotion within, and Circumspection without. He first praised God, and then provided for man, at once having an eye on his enemies next designes, & his souldiers present necessities. The greatest of his glories purchased with blood & sweat, could neither change the estate of his mind, or copie of his countenance. The true greatnesse of his spirit was such, that in all his actions he placed Ostentation behind, & Conscience before him, & sought not the reward of a good deed from Fame, but from the deed it selfe. I conclude this poynt with this assertion, That Honestie had as strict, and great a command over him, as Necessitie over mankind. He was a Prince of so great & cleare a fame, that Envie her selfe blushed to oppose it, and therefore was forced to assume the maske of Religion, under which she might securely display her invectives. Religion, Religion, it is thou that shouldst vnite, but dost estrange hearts, and makest us seeke to take away euen those liues that gaue us ours. Let a man haue in eminency all the Cardinall and Theologicall vertues, he of a contrary sect looks on all these through a mist raised by his malice, which makes him either not see them at all, or not as they are. O *Jesus, Jesus*, in thy best blessed time gather thy straied flock into one fold, & let Truth and Peace kisse each other. This testimony the perfections of this Prince drew from me, who was abstemious & continent in euery thing, saue in the search of Glory and Vertue.

It now remaines that I say something of the ensuing Treatise, in which is contained the last and greatest Battell of this King, his depicted Death, and other weightie Circumstances. The Originall is French, written by one of the ablest Pennes of that Nation. Hee begins at the Kings coming downe into *Germany*, and extends his Story to his death. Of all the Moderne Histories, I dare make it the *Gherus*; for it is written in a stile so Attick, and so judiciall, that it may wel be called, The French *Tacitus*. What hath been before deliver'd in other Discourses concerning this Subject, is to this nought else but a Faile. The full and perfect Translation of this rare piece, I here promise the Courteous Reader; and in the meane time, intreat him to weare as a favour, this Branch, by which hee may judge the whole body.

Diaes [sic?].

[p. 1]

The great and famous Battell of Lutzen, fought betweene the renowned King of *Sweden*, and *Walstein*, wherein were left dead upon the place between 5. and 6000 of the *Swedish* party, and betweene 10. and 12000. of the *Imperialists*, where the King himselfe was vnfortunately slaine, whose death counterpoyz'd all the other. *Pappenheim*, *Merode*, *Istonain*, and divers other great Commanders were offered up like so many sacrifices on the *Swedish* Altar, to the memory of their King.

Here is also Inserted an Abridgment of the Kings life, and a Relation of the *King of Bohemia's Death*.

The King having mustred his Troups, and those of Duke *Bernard* of Saxon-Weymar about Erffurt, the Armie received command to advance towards Naumburg.

The King came thither in person on Saint *Martins* day, and cutt in pieces two Regiments of *Merode*, and that oppos'd him by the way. Hee was no sooner arrived at Naumbourg, but hee received Intelligence that the [p. 2] Enemies forces lay encamped at Leipzig, and Noerspurg, and stretched thence in length as farre as Weissenfels, and that they were entrenched in a place advantageous. Which proceeding of theirs obliged the king to doe the like at Naumbourg, and to seeke the meanes to joyne his Armie with the Electorall, which then lay about Torgau, consisting of fifteene thousand men, and reinforced with two thousand Horse, belonging to the Duke of *Lunebourg*. Hee sent divers Postes to informe them of his comming, and of the courses were to bee taken for their vniting, *Walstein*, and *Pappenhiem* being lodg'd between them, had an eye on them both, and made it their onely studie to hinder their coniunction. On the fourteenth of November, the Scours of the King brought him word, the Enemie had sack'd, and abandon'd the Citie, and Castle of Weiffenfells, layd plaine his Trenches, and retired himself towards Lutzen, two German miles from Leipzig. The King hearing this newes, resolved no longer to delay the Fight, his courage not permitting him to temporize any further, nor to attend the returne of his Posts sent to the Electour.

That which confirm'd him in this his Resolution, was the assurance of certaine prisoners brought him by *Relinguen*, that *Pappenheim* was gone to Hall with sixe Regiments Wherefore his Armie had order to march toward the enemie, the fifteenth, three houres before day, and to dare him to a Battaile. The diligence of the Van was such, that it reached the enemie by the second heure after Noone, and began the Assault. The Imperialists failed not to make head, and a strong resistance. Many charges were given with advantage, and losse equall, the victorie enclining now to this side, then to that, till at length the Swedes gaue fire to their small Field-pieces, which pierc'd, and broke sundry Imperiall Companies, and forc'd them to a Retreat. The Swedes became Masters of the Field, and brought to the King a Standard taken from the Enemie, with this Deuise, *La Fortune & l'Aigle Romain*, Fortune, and the Roman Eagle. Hence some drewe this Prognosticke, that the enemie should ere long part with the one and the other. A thicke miste, and the night comming upon them, the Swedes were hindered in the pursuit of the enemy, and the victory.

The King remained in the Field, and stood in order of Battaile all night, having no other shelter then his Caroach, resolved to follow close his Designe, and engage the enemie to a generall Combate. Hee communicated his Intention to the Dukes of Saxon-Weymar, and other remarkable Commanders, who passed away that night neere his Caroach, having nothing over their heads, but the Heavenly Arch, nor any thing under them, but trusses of strawe layd upon the earth. Their field furniture they left behind, believing they should returne to lodge in Naumbourg. But the patience of their Generall made them with ease passe over these inconveniences. Some of the principall Officers endeavour'd to difwade the King from giving Battaile, alleadging that the Forces of the Enemie were great, his Seates advantagious, their owne Armie feeble, and wearied with continuall Marches; and that it was farre safer to wayt for the arrivall of the Saxon, and make so strong an vnion, as may promise successe in the equalitie of their Armies. Their

reasons were not received, but crossed by the King, with many more solid, derived from the Experience of the times past, and the present astonishment of his Souldiers, and his advantages obtained, from the Iustice of his Armes, from the Benediction from above, from the absence of *Pappenheim*, and the discommodities he should bee subject to in that season now waxing bitter, in case hee should suffer the enemie to perfect his Trenches, which hee had already begun in many places. To which hee added his Reputation, and how important it was to hasten the Combate, saying aloud, *That hee could not suffer Walstein to beard him, without calling him to an account, and letting him see by prooffe he was not to be faulted, that ere this hee had not seene him with his sword in his hand: that hee desired to make tryall of his ability in the Field, and ferret him out of his burrowes.*

The Commanders perceiving by the language, and tone of the King, that his decree to fight was inevitable, and their opposition fruitlesse, conformed their wills by an humble obedience to his, not without reiterated protestations to subscribe themselves his, in their owne blood, and seale it with the losse of their lives: Whereat the King rejoiced extreamely, nor could he containe his joy from appearing in his face, but by his cheerefull lookes expressed his inward content, and forth-with called for a new sute of *Chammois*, which hee presently put on. Then they presented to him his Armes, and the Duke *Bernard* of Saxon Weymar, and sundry other Princes, and Officers conjur'd him by all things deare and holy to weare his *Helmet* and *Cuirasse*: but they could not winne him to it, hee objecting the incumbrance, and laying his hand on the Musket bullet still remaining in his shoulder, which to him made the least weight unsupportable.

The Kings designe was to beginne the combate by the peepe of day; but so thicke and darke a mist arose, that it confin'd the eye to a small distance, and rendred any enterprise not onely difficult, but dangerous: Wherefore the King was constrained to expect till the Sunne had chased it away, which till then had deprived him of all fight of the Enemy. The interim (according to his custome) hee imployed in his devotions, and in making the Round of his Army, to marke the disposition and countenance of his souldiers, and encourage them to *fight manfully*. Comming to the Quarter of the Swedes and Finlanders, he put them in Battaile Ray, and with a voice and countenance alike cheerefull he thus *bespake them* : *My friends, and Camerades, this is the day that invites you to demonstrate what you are; shew your selves men of valour, keepe your ranks, and fight couragiously for your selves and your King: If this day the bravery of your spirits shine forth, you shall find the heavenly Benediction perched on the poynts of your swords, Honour, and a recompence of your valour; On the contrary, if you turne backe, and basely and foolishly commit the armed band to the protection of the unarmed foot, you shall find Infamy, my disgrace, and your owne ruine, and I protest to you on the word of a King, that not the least piece of you, or of your bones, shall returne againe into Swedeland.*

This Exhortation, delievered in a high and piercing tone, wonne from the Swedes and Finlanders onely these generall acclamations: *That they would approve themselves men of Honor; that they had lives only for him, which they were ambitious to preserve in the obtaining of victory, and his good graces.*

The Swedes being placed in Rank and File, the King embattailes the Alman Regiments, and thus in few wordes exhorts them: *My friends ,Officers, and Souldiers, I*

conjure you by your love to heaven and me, this day to manifest whose you are; You shall fight not only under me, but with me, my bloud and life shall marke you out the way to Honour; Breake not your rankes, but second me with courage: If you performe this, Victory is ours with all her glories, you, and your posterity shall enjoy it; if you give backe, your lives and liberties have one period.

This Speech was answered with an universall shout, and vowes recipocall; *That they would make it appeare they knew the way to Victory, or to death; that the King should receive all satisfaction in their service, and the Enemy should acknowledge hee had to doe with men of Honour.*

Walstein, and his pincipall Officers discovered quickly by his Scouts the resolution of the King, and the countenance of his, and thereupon grounded this resolution, *that they must needs come to blowes.* *Walstein* was infinitely desirous to avoyd the Combate; but hee was wisely admonished by some about him, that every step in his men made in a retreat would take from their courage, and give it to the Enemy, and bring upon his Army a Panicke feare, and an utter confusion. Hee spent that whole night in digging and intrenching, in embattailing his Army, and planting his Artillery in the diverse places advantageous, the better to sustaine the shocke of the Enemy. *Pappenheim* was sent for backe in post hast, who was gone to Hall, *being desirous to invest it*, not believing that the King would give or accept of battaile, before the Forces of *Saxon* were arrived. In the meane time the utmost endeavours of *Walstein* were not wanting to hearten his men, and layd before them Honour, Reward, their advantages, their Forces, the justice of their cause, which God, the Catholike Church, the Emperour, and the whole Empire justified against the violence and usurpation of a stranger, and all this and more he uttered in his Litter, which his Gowt would not permit him to forsake.

This was subject to diverse interpretations; Some believing that indeed he felt some symptomnes of that sicknesse very familiar to him; others maintayned, this posture to have no good grace on a day of Battaile, and judg'd that *Walstein* was very willing to preserve himselfe safe and sound, that hee might hereafter serve his Master, and his party: others averred, he was much indebted to his Gowt, which did warrant his retreat without his reproach, necessity commanding the stoutest courage to yield to such an Enemy.

On the other side, the King being ready at all poynts, and his Army embattail'd hee would take no refection, because he would be an example to his men, and lose no time. Being placed in the head of *Steinbocks* Regiment, hee thus spake with avoyce audible: *Now, now is the time Camerades, wee must goe on undaunted; let us charge, let us charge in the name of God: Iesus, Iesus, Iesus, guide me in fighting this day and favour my right.*

These words were no sooner pronounced, but he gave spurres to his horse, and with his head inclined, gave a charge to a Battalion of foure and twentie Companies of Cuirassiers, which were esteemd the flower of the Imperiall Army. Two Swedish Regiments had order to second him. The Artillery of the King was advanced, and five Cannon shot discharged upon the Enemy, who answered them with two hundred, which went off with a horrid noyse, and lightning, but with small losse to the Swedes, the Cannoniers of *Walstein* not having well taken their aime. But the first shocke was fatall to the King, and all the Army: For though the Squadrons led by so brave a Chiefe, with an unheard of resolution, gave on like Thunder on the Enemy, and made him recoyle; yet

one shot from a Pistoll gave him new courage, which pierced the Kings arme, and broke the bone. When those next to the Kind saw him bleed, they were amaz'd and cryed out, *The King is wounded.* Which wordes the King heard with much distast and repining, fearing it would abate the valour of his men: wherefore dissembling his griefe with a joyfull and undaunted looke, hee sought to quallify the feare of his Souldiers with these masculine words: *The hurt is slight Camerades, take courage, let us make use of our oddes, and returne to the Charge.* The Commanders that were about him, with hands lifted up, earnestly besought him to retire: but the apprehension of frighting his men, and his ambition to overcome prevailed.

The Assault being rebegunne with vigour, and fervour, and the King fighting againe in the head of his Troopes, once more to breake those Rankes that were againe made up, the losse of bloud, and the griefe which hee felt in the agitation of his body, enfeebled much his spirits and voyce, which caused him to whisper these wordes in the eare of the Duke of Saxon of Lavenburg; *Convey me hence, for I am dangerously wounded.* Hee had scarcely ended his speech, and turned head to retire, when a Cuirassier marking this retreat, advanced upon the gallop from the Battalion of the Enemy, and discharged his Carabin full in the shoulder of the King, with this insulting Speech: *And art thou there then? long it is that I have sought thee.* Some imagined that it was *Pappenheim* that gave the blow, by reason hee had often vaunted, that an auncient prediction was found amongst the Records of his Family, *That a Stranger King should dye the hand of a Pappenheim, with diverse scarres in his body, and mounted on a white Horse.* And for this cause (having many scarres in his face, and diverse other parts of his body sticht up) hee reflected on himselfe, and beleevved the Prophecy should bee accomplished by his hand. But this needes no other confutation when the absence of *Pappenheim*, and the time when the King received his hurt, which was in the very beginning of the Assault, before *Pappenheim* could make one of the adverse party. I may add, that the discretion of this worthy Count would not have sufferd him to runne into an error so uncivill, as to speake so undecently to a Prince of that eminency.

When the King had received this mortall wound, which pierced him through and through, he fell from his Horse, and gave up the Ghost, with nothing but (*my God*) in his mouth. He that made this accursed shot was beaten downe with a storme of Harquebusados, and sacrificed to the indignation of the Swedes. But while the Groome of the Kings Chamber, and diverse others lighted to raise the body, the charge beganne againe more furiously then ever; the Enemy having taken notice of this blow, and concluding that all was now finisht, and that hee should have Swedes good cheape. This hindered the Kings servants from bearing of his body, and summond every man to regaine the stirrupe, and withstand the foe: so that the King could not bee defended from receiving another pistoll shot in the head, and being twice runne through with a sword: The Imperiallists fearing him even after death, and cowardly suspecting his speedy resurrection. The poore Groome of his Chamber never forsooke him, but breath'd his last upon his Masters carcasse, after the receipt of an infinity of wounds.

But neither the Kings death, nor the great oddes that the enemy had, being strongly entrenched in divers place, could let the Swedes (madded with their inestimable losse) from assaulting the Imperiallists with and unspeakable furie, insomuch that they compelled the Battalion of Cuirassiers (which made the left Wing) to retire into their

Trenches, whom they dislodged about noone, and gained seven of their Cannon, together with many Colours and Cornets.

Lieutenant Coronell *Relinguen* received commaund to advaunce, and with three hundred Horse, to charge foure Regiments of Crabbats commaunded by *Isolani*, which made the right wing of the Enemy, which hee performed with so much braverie and courage, that hee twice pearc'd through them, and brought backe three Standards, leaving behinde one of his owne. All his Officers were wounded, and hee himselfe in the second onset had his arme shot through with a Pistoll bullet, which forced him to retyre. *Isolani* Generall of the Crabbats lost his life, with a great number of his men. Eighteene of his Companies charged some Germane Regiments that guarded the Baggage, but they were stoutly opposed, the Combate fierce, the Assaults reiterated, the earth dyed crimson, and burdened with carcasses, the Crabbats driven backe, though not without some disorder of the Germane Horse, recoiled amongst the Carts: but this disadvantage the Enemy could not espie, by reason of a thicke cloud which then arose, and gaue the Germanes opportunitie to ranke themselves.

The Imperiall Commaunders, *Galas*, *Merode*, and *Holok*, longing to recover their Seat, and Cannon lost [?], tooke selected Bands, fired the foure Corners of Lutzen, to blinde the Swedes, and keepe them from piercing that side, to the succour of their friends. This Essay was followed by successe, the Trench forced by the Imperiallists, the seven pieces of Cannon lost, regained, and some Swedish Regiments disordered.

The Duke *Bernard* of Saxon Weymar seeing the confusion of his men, and being advertiz'd by *Kinphausen* of the Kings death, was extremely incensed, and protesting hee had not so base a wish as to surviue him, hee ranne (with his head couched) on the enemy, seconded by the Regiments of the Prince of *Anhalt*, and Count *Lowenstein*. Then the fight became obstinate on both sides, the Charges redoubled, the Carkasses piled up, the Pikes broken, and the difference come to bee decided by dint of Sword. The eye of man, nor that greater of the World ever beheld a Ioust more furious. The Imperialistes stroue to hold their advantage recover'd, and the Swedes to dispossesse them of it. The Duke *Bernard* did wonders that day. Thrice like Lightning shot hee through the Forces of the Enemy, nor could a wound received on the left Arme cause him to leaue the field, before hee had constrained the Enemy to abandon the Cannon, and his Post.

The winning of this opened him the way to the conquest of another: For this valiant Prince pressed the Imperialist so hard, that hee againe disrank'd them, and compelled them to quit another Post, guarded with thirteene Cannon. His dexteritie in the drilling of his men, in the opening and shutting of his rankes was such, that they received little or no hurt from the Enemies Cannon. The Duke undaunted, pierc'd through the clouds of smoke, displac'd the enemy, and made himselfe Master likewise of this place, and of the Cannon, and droue the enemy to a confused Retreat. The slaughter was great, and the Swedes well blouded, made good use of their advantage, and the disorder of their foes, passing over their bellies, killing all that came in their way, and stopping their eares against all motiues for quarter.

The Duke possessed of this place, and Master of the Field, betweene two and three in the afternoone, thinking there was but one Post to force, seated by a Windmill, and guarded by three Imperiall Regiments, endeavoured to remooue them, sending in the meane time sundry Squadrons to chase the fugitiues. But then the fight grew more cruell then ever: For *Pappenheim* was returned from Hall, and came upon the gallop with

certaine fresh Regiments. His Reputation, and his encouragement gaue new spirits to the Runawayes, and call'd them to the combate. The Duke having notice of this, quits this place, new ranks and encourages his men, and giues *Pappenheim* a meeting in the midway. All the Charges past were nothing in respect of these latter. *Pappenheim* employed his utmost cunning and diligence, and shewed himselfe in all places in the Head of his Troupes, to embolden them. On the other side, the Duke *Bernard* fixt a resolution either to die, or overcome; and the Swedes and Finlanders enrag'd for the death of their King, fought like Lions, and desperately ranne upon the enemy. The Artillery advanced, and began to thunder, and to enter divers Battalions, and to make legges and Armes to flie from one place to another. The smaller shot was also so violent, that the Squadrons encountred in the palpable darknesse caused by the smoake without knowledge of their parties. This furious shocke continued two houres, with equall losse to both, Victorie opening her armes to imbrace now one side, then another. *Galas*, *Merode*, and *Holok* were wounded to death, and a Cannon shot cut off *Pappenheim* by the middle.

His death, and the losse of divers other Commanders, stagger'd the Imperialistes, as much as that of the kings incensed the Swedes. Then the enemy (upon the receite of a newe salute from the foure and twenty Cannon, which pierc'd their thickest Troupes) began to flie, and the Swedes pressed and pursude them far within night, which favour'd the retreat of the fugitiues, and hinder'd the Swedes from ranging further in the chase. Indeede they were so tyred, that they had neither breath, nor force further to follow them. The Imperiallists (giving fire to their campe, and part of their baggage,) tooke some the way of Leipzig, others that of Leutmeritz, towards the Frontiers of Bohemia, whither it was thought *Walstein* was gone, (having heard of the losse of the Battell) to find a safe place of retreat, and to gather together his dispersed Troupes.

The Swedes remained in possession of the Enemies campe, and most of his Baggage, of one and twentie exquisite Cannon, besides inferiour ones, and a multitude of Standards and Cornets. Vpon the mustering of their Armie, they found wanting, (over and aboue the incomparable, and irreparable losse of their King) the Major Generall *Ißlet*, and other Coronells, and officers. A Prince of *Anhalt*, a Count of *Nilis*, the Coronels *Brandestein*, *Wildenstein*, *Relinguen*, and *Winchell* received that day deepe and honourable wounds. The Duke *Bernard* of Weymar also was hurt, to whose valour and conduct the Swedean partie (after God) owes the glorie of that day, more bloody by far, then that which was fought the yeare past in the neighbouring fields of Leipzig. The Duke *Ernest* of Weymar also insinuated himselfe into the hearts of all men by his courage, and leading that day. The Regiments of these two Princes, and those of the Prince of *Anhalt*, of the Count of *Lewestein*, of Coronell *Brandestein*, and the two Swedish Coronells, surnamed, *The Blew*, and *the Yellow*, bore the brunt of that day. The Swedes lost between fiue and sixe thousand men, and the enemy betweene ten and twelue thousand remaining on the place, and two thirds of their Armie ruin'd, and dispersed, besides the death or mortall wounds of divers of their remarkable Commanders, as *Galas*, *Merode*, *Holok*, *Piccolomini*, *Isolani*, and divers others. *Pappenheim* aboue all the rest was bewayled by his partie, and not without just cause; his courage, his Conduct, his Vigilancie, and Experience having conspired to ranke him in the Souldiers esteeme amongst the bravest Generalls of the these times.

But this glorious Victory of the Swedien Armie suffered an Eclipse by the death of that truly great King, who was the soule of his Friends, and the terrour and scourge of his Enemies. His bodie could not bee found till the next day, when after a curious search it was discover'd amidst the dead heapes rifled, and halfe naked, and so disfigur'd with blood, and dirt, that hee could hardly bee knowne. This at once so dolefull and glorious a spectacle of the end of so great a Monarch, work'd so strongly, and effectually on the hearts of his Souldiers, that with teares and lamentations for a losse so irreparable, they made an unanimous Vow, upon the place to revenge his death, and make him revieve in the rigorous pursuite of his Designes, which hee had so often conjur'd them to continue, especially a little before this Battell, when hee seem'd to presage his ende, touching which hee discoursed often and seriously with many of his familiars. Amongst other passages, the King marking the multitude of people that flock'd about him at his entry into Naumbourg, three dayes before the Battell, and hearing their shouts of Ioy, and this generall acclamation, *Long Live the King*, as if now they had nothing to feare, since hee was present, hee made to the standers by this short but memorable speech: *Our Affaires answer our desires, but I doubt God will punish mee for the folly of the people, who attribute too much to mee, and esteeme mee as it were their God, and therefore hee will make them shortly see I am but a man. Hee bee my witnesse it is a thing distastfull to mee. What ever befall mee, I shall receiue it as proceeding from his divine will: In this onely I rest fully satisfied, that hee will not leaue this great Enterprise of mine imperfect.*

The seventeenth of November immediately following the day of the Battaile, and the Kings death[,] Duke *Bernard* of Weymar retir'd to Weiffenfels to take a generall review of his Army, and to give rest, and breath to his over wearyed Troopes. By the review of his Regiments, it appeared that his Army was betweene fifteene and sixteene thousand strong. The Duke imparted his present estate, and all other necessary particulars to the Court of Saxon, and urg'd the Electour to an uniting of their Forces, to the end they might follow close their designe, and pursue *Walstein* to the remotest parts of Austria. After this, all the Army, as well Swedish and Germane, agreed in the election of Duke *Bernard* for their Generall, and tooke a new Oath faithfully to serve him, who had deserved so well of the Swedien party by so many benefits, by his vigilancy, his conduct, and the greatnesse of his fame in Warre: but above all, by his resolution, and incomparable valour, of which he made so oportune and cleare a demonstration on that bloody day of Battaile. The Chancellour *Oxesterne* (who lay then about Frankfort) was sent for in all hast to manage the affaires of the Chancery Royall removed to Erfurt; but chiefly, to serve and counsell the desolate and disconsolate Queen, environ'd with griefes and crosses inexprimable, yet but equall to the greatnesse of her losse. The said Chancellour, and the Chevalier Rache served happily to rectify sundry disorders, and to raise the spirits of such as were dejected; but principally, to stop the floud of teares flowing from the eyes of this most virtuous Princesse, and to replant in her mind generous and masculine resolutions.

De la Gorde was sent for in post hast, who was imbarcked in Swedeland with certaine Regiments of Swedes, and Finlanders, to bring a supply to the Campe Royall, and reinforce it, the dead King being anchor'd in this maxime, to make continuall levies, (notwithstanding the number of his Armies) that so hee might have men at will to fill up those empty Companies, which the Sword, mortality, and many other militarie miseries might unhappily depopulate.

But notwithstanding the death of this mighty Prince, the astonishment and fright of the Enemy was such, that hee basely forsooke diverse strong and impregnable places in the Electorate of Saxony. Amongst others the City of Leipzig was forsaken, and the Castle rased to the ground, Chemnitz was taken, Zwickaw invested and forced, the Duke *Bernard* following close his good fortune, and making good use of the Enemies amazement. To this hee was animated the more, by the fixt decree of the confederate Princes, to make all fast, and more and more to knit a firme Vnion with the Swedes, that so joyntly, that so both of them joyntly might execute and fulfill the intentions and exhortations of the deceased King.

Walstein having notice betimes of his mens infortunity, and the advantage of the Swedes, recovered Leipsig that night, and before day tooke the way of Leutmeritz, where hee recollected his disbanded men, and added to them sixe fresh Regiments that had not beene engaged in the Battaile. After the often sending of his Posts to all parts, at length *Altringer* had order from the Duke of Bavaria to joyne halfe his Army to that of *Walstein*.

Notwithstanding the so miserable defeat of the Imperiallists, bonefires were made in diverse parts of Bavaria, for the death of the King, and *Te Deum* chanted aloude through all the streets of Ingolstatt, and Ratisbone. But these vaine fires, and triumphs seru'd for so many Trumpets, to sound forth the praise and glory of the departed King, since in the Enemies owne judgement his death was thought sufficient to counterpoize the dissipation and slaughter of so puissant an Army: and indeed, except this accursed blow, there was no one circumstance that did not oblige the Imperiall partie to a funeral Equipage. Nothing was more to bee admired then the moderation of the Court of Vienna, which expressed no joy in triumph, or exultation. They contented themselves with the discharging of a few Ordnance, to make the silly people believe they had the better of the day. Some judg'd this modest behaviour to proceed from sensible losses, suffered in the Battaile, from the consideration of the Swedish Forces, and the difficulty to set on foot againe an Army of that vastnesse. Others deemed it to proceed from the dispersed rumour of the Emperours death, which they thought countervail'd that of the King, and cast the Imperiall Court into an irrecoverable dejection.

The failing of the Saxon to appeare in the Field on the day of Battaile, (when his aide concerned his owne honour and the Kings good) was attributed to the like sad accident, a rumour being divulged, not onely of the Dukes death, but the manner of it, to wit, suddaine Apoplexie: But these false bruits, both of the one and the other, were contradicted by assured newes that both the Princes were living.

That the Saxon was not dead, hee gave good proofs, resolving to take occasion by the lock to revenge the ruine of his Cities, and depopulation of his Countrey, and to hinder the Imperialists from sending into his Dominions any more Incendiaries.

The continuance of the Emperours life was favourable to his party, the very name and splendour of Majesty being of vertue to animate and retaine diverse spirits in devotion and obedience to the Austrian Line, which else perhaps might have followed the Chariot of the victorious Triumpher.

But whil'st the foolish people spread abroad, or by designe, or credulity, the death of these two Princes, there came too assured newes from Nayence of the King of Bohemia's death. When this vnfortunate Prince was ready to take a new possession of his Countrey, and the conditions drawn up betweene him, the King of Sweden, and the Governour of Frankendale, hee was surprised in Nayence with a contagious disease,

presently after his returne from Deux-ponts, where hee had visited a Prince of his alliance. The care and sufficiency of the Phisitian was so great that he quickly expelled the pestilent quality, and set him in all appearance free from danger, but the great calamities through which hee had passed, had much estranged his Constitution from its first puritie, and quite altered his colour and complexion. When he thought to quit his tedious bed, and take possession of Frankendale, it unfortunately happened that the King of *Swedens* death came to his eare, which wrought so on his mind, and body, that his disease was aggravated, and his death ensued on the 29 of November. His death was much deplored by those of his bloud, by his servants and subjects, yet did their grieffe receiue an allay by his devotion and his last words of full of faith and pietie.

The life of this Prince was a meere Medley, and like a Picture with many faces. His entry into the Electorate was glorious, his beginning happy, his Vertues eminent and courted hee was by the whole Empire. His Alliance, and friends within and without Germany, the consideration of his House, of his Dominions, and the great Bodie that depended on his direction, were the cause of his election to the Crowne of *Bohemia*, which was fatall to him, and all *Germanie*, which felt the sad accidents that attended this Comet, and was foorthwith invaded by an universall Warre in her heart, and all her quarters, which hath never since forsooke her, having engaged all the Imperiall States and Provinces, every one whereof this day carries her markes. And though this Prince hath sought all meanes of reconciliation, hoping that way to quench this Wild-fire; yet hath hee from time to time found such fatal oppositions, and such an ingrafted malice in the incensed partie, that all motiues, propositions, and intercessions of great Kings haue beene unprofitable; and this good Prince hath beene constrained to liue an exile from his Countrey. At length when a most pleading prospect laid at once open to his view the frontiers of his Countrey, and the ends of his afflictions, suddaine death deprived him of his fight and the fruition of so delightfull an object.

The calamitie of this Prince hath given occasion to many licentious tongues, and pens to declaime against him, and unjustly to judge of his cause by the sad event. Those that were of his more inward acquaintance, avow that hee was most unfortunate beyond defect, and that the most magnanimous, and Heroicke soule could beare more afflictions with no greater moderation and patience, then he did. If many of his virtues haue beene clouded and obscured by his infelicity, yet are there more which his darker fortune could not hinder from shining forth, and striking envie blind. His great Family, his Extraction, his Allies and Confederates, and his Princely virtues, me thinkes should haue contained within the bounds of Honour, and truth, certaine Mercenary, Satyricke Spirits who haue common places of prayses, and Invectiues, which they draw forth to exalt, or deprese whom they please, and mainetaine their looser vaine at the cost of the Princes, and play upon their persons, qualities and estates, whom the greatnesse of their births should priviledge from such contumelies. Wee owe honour, and respect to Princes of what party soever; whether they be friends, enemies, or Neuters: And I thought this short apologie due to my so much deplored Subject, whom his miseries rendered to some contemptible, though by others he was truly honored in the midst of his disgraces and afflictions. The King of Sweden gaue many braue testimonies of him, being forced often times to giue him a stop in the carriere of honour, lest courage should engage him too farre, exhorting him to preserue his life, the good of his Countrey, and the publike cause.

All the comfort of his Subjects is contained in the generous unparalell'd Princesses and in her faire line, and numerous issue which promiseth them one day an entire liberty and the reestablishment, and subsistence of a house so many wayes considerable, as being one of the first, and most ancient of Europe.

The Reader, I doubt not, will pardon this digression of the Souldier, who held himselfe obliged to speake for a prince, who had beene a long time the common But of all afflictions, and insultations. That which hath made him the more bold, and earnest in his defence, is the neare alliance of this Prince to mighty Monarchs. I shut up all concerning this point in this Assertion, that all Princes have a common interest in the honour of their equals and should all joyne to place their Crownes, and purple about the reach of Envie.

The death of these two Kings was sufficient enough to make the Germans approve of the calculation, and prognosticks of their great Astrologer *Herlicius*, who had noted this Moneth of *November*, as fatall to great Princes and Commanders, and foretold by the Aspects, and fiery constellations, the tragicall encounters of these two great Armies, and the death of such eminent persons, as may well compose the greatest part of the history of our time.

The Swedes were even wedded to sorrow for the death of their King, vowing they would more willingly have suffered the losse of many more battailes then that of him, if it had lyen in their power to dispose of the Arrests of Heaven, and the fatall lawes of the eternall Providence, which with a Diamantine point markes all things and giues them a Character, which never can be changed, or defaced.

Indeed all the dayes of this Moneth of *November*, were at strife for Superioritie in evill, but the sixteenth overcame, to which all stories shall giue a brand, in that it gave so strange an alteration to the face of Christendom. The battaile fought on that day is enobled by many memorable accidents, which exalts it above those of former Ages. Amongst others are remarkeable the small number of victors, and the multitude of the vanquish, the violent and furious charges, the durance of the fight, the doubtful event of the combat, when victory (as if she had beene the daughter of *Ianus*) had two faces, and looked two waies; the piles of the dead, the losse of eminent Commanders, and the different effect which one and the same cause wrought in both parties, the Kings death kindling indignation and desire of revenge in the bosome of the Swede, and the death of *Pappenheim*, and other great Commanders, begetting an astonishment in the hearts, and lookes of the Imperialists. As we may well affirme, that amongst all the accidents of that saddest of daies, this particular hath bin most remarkable; that the Swedes having lost their King in the first shocke, this unparaleld mischance, served rather to confirm, than shake their courage, and was one of the most apparant causes of the victory.

This also raised as high as Heaven the Kings renowne, that in his fall hee crushed in pieces so vast a body, and the hearts of his men were so inflamed with this his disaster, that after his death they made the palme and the Lawrell to spring out of his blood. Nor was the life of this Prince lesse famous then his death.

His youth was exercised in great affaires, which hardened his body to endure travell, and armed his mind against all sinister accidents, and infus'd into him a courage which might easily be provoked, never subdued. The entrie of his Raigne (which was the Eleventh of this age, and the Seventeenth of his) was thorny, and salubrious. At one, and the same time hee was confronted by the Danes, the Polonians, and the Muscovites,

who on all sides assaulted him: And though their motives to warre were diverse, yet all their intentions, like so many lines met in this Center, to ruine the Swede. Sometimes hee shewed himselfe on the Frontiers of Denmarke, sometimes on those of Muscovia, sometimes againe on those of Livonia, and all with that promptnesse and celerity, that his Enemies believed his body to bee ubiquitous. And his troubles were increased by corruption of many of his Subjects to a base revolt. But his valour, his dexterity, and the continuall travaile of his body and mind were such, that hee passed through these, and greater impediments without stop, or diminution of his Fame. His composition with the Danes, and Muscovites was honourable, and to his advantage. The quarrell betweene him and the Polonian was not about any small petty Territorie; but the Crowne and Scepter itselfe, and therefore hardly to be decided.

The Prowesse and agility of this King were such, that the Polonians saw him in all parts, like another *Hanniball*, before their gates; and after many great losses received in Livonia, and Prussia, they tooke counsell of the Pillow, and (to preserve the remainder of those Countries unviolated) concluded to come to a treaty, on which attended a Truce, which from thier soules they wish'd had beene a Peace, whereby their repose might bee eternized. Our youthfull *Mars* had not a soule so narrow, as to bee contented to weare onely the Lawrell of the North. More wreathes were prepared for him, and a Theater more spacious, and glorious. Posterity will hardly beleieve that what this Prince hath done was by a man fisible. That the conquest of so many vast Provinces, and the ruine of so many Armies was the worke onely of two yeares, and a few moneths. That a puissant Empire, formidable in her greatnesse, in her supports, in her extension, in her Armies, in her conquests, and successe, fortified with so many Garrisons, who hath for her bounds the Ocean, and the Alps, should in so short a time be forc'd to put on the yoke. A man would think infinite Forces were required to manage well an Enterpise of this nature, and greatnesse.

The personall qualities of this Prince were admirable. His externall bravery consisted in a sweet yet majesticall aspect, in a comely stature, in a piercing eye, in a commanding voyce, in an agility, and universall application to all such as might hinder or further him. But the great guests that lodg'd within were farre more illustrious, a quicke spirit, a sollid judgement, an incomparable wisdom, an inexprimable courage, an indefatigable nature, and an admirable conduct, which were the happy instruments of all his victories, and the embellishment of this rare piece. I may justly adde his Encampments, his Discipline, his foresight, his direction, and unequalld Industrie. Nor was his readinesse lesse in the disposition of his affaires, in the governemnt of his men, and his complying with their severall humours, which make him as well Lord of hearts, as Provinces and Cities. But above all the rest, his devotion was conspicuous, and his frequent pious exercises, which recieved no interruption by his most serious employments. And (which draweth neere to a miracle) hee himselfe projected and executed all things. It sufficed not him to bee onely a Generall, but hee wpoould also bee a Captaine, and Engenier, a Serjeant, a Cannonier, a common Souldier, or of any Militarie calling. The most dangerous occurrence dazled not his judgement, but then was he most venturous when his valour was most required. Hee never formed a military project, in the execution whereof hee would not himselfe make one. And (which bred in all an amazement) hee was never weary, though ever busied, as if action had been his nourishment. I will close up the Pannegyricke of this Worthy with this affirmation, that

in him all imaginable brave parts conspired to make him the greatest, and most able Captaine of Christendome.

There was nothing in him the least way blameable but his choller, to which the least provocation gave fire: an humour familiar to fiery spirits chased with continuall businesse which often falls out crosse. But hee had a corrective ever ready, which was an overflowing courtesy, and sweetnesse to him naturall, which stopp'd and repair'd the breach his Anger had made. For any hasty speech he would give satisfaction, not onely to men of eminency, who might justly be offended, but to those also of the meanest condition, borne to suffer. In acknowledgement of his nature so apt to take fire at the least distast, he would often say; *That he was willing oftentimes to beare with others infirmities, as the flegme of some, and the wine of others, and therefore reciprocally his choller deserved some support.* And, to say truth; this passion may challenge, and winne connivence from him who shall duely consider his working spirit, never weakned, though ever bended; as also his extraordinary vertues, and his gentlenesse, which, upon occasion, made him familiar with the meanest of his souldiers, so farre was hee from being pufft up with prosperity, or raising his mind with his fortune.

Some note another oversight in this Prince, that he did not better distinguish betweene the duties of a Carabin, and a Generall, but exposed himselfe to all dangers, and was too prodigall of a blood so precious. To confesse the truth, it is not so much to bee wondred at, that he lost his life in this famous Battail, as that he parted not with it long before in so many Encounters, where his life ranne the same hazard with the basest of his souldiers. And in his defence this may worthily bee annexed, that the valour of his men depended on his example, and all his victories had for their originall his presence, and forwardnesse in all Battailes, which like a heavenly aspect sent downe influences, and irradiations into the spirits of his souldiers, and terrour and amazement into those of his Enemies.

The Souldier hath attempted to draw this Prince to the life, and assures himself, that they who have had the honour to see, and serve him in his wars, wil confesse that the portraict hath some aire of his face, if not drawne to the life. And hee beleeveth withall, that they who have felt the puissance of his Armies will be the first to extoll and magnify his worth, that thereby they may lessen their owne losses, justify their disgraces, and shew to the world that so powerfull an Organ was required to operate on them with such successe.

Amongst other circumstances, this is the most agreeable, and worthy of observation, that this Prince hath left his affaires in an estate so prosperous, and advantagious. The Swedian party is possessed of two thirds of Germany, and of the best Cites, of most of the Rivers from the Vistule to the Danube, and Rheine. It hath also ten Armies dispersed through the higher and lower Saxonies, Silesia, Moravia, Bavaria, Franconia, Suabe, Alsatia, and the Circle of the Rhein. This party is also back'd, and countenanc'd within by the the principall Forces of the Empire, and without by great Kings and States, who thinke themselves interested in support of it, and preferre sure friends before doubtfull and wavering, who will eternally remember the least losse, or affront received, and, opportunity serving, bee ready to revenge it. To this may be adjoyned the experience of the times past, which demonstrates unto us how well in the Mantuan warre they requited the benefits received from that house at a dead lift, which serves for an infallible argument of their

dealings.

It now remains that the Princes, and States united continue to make good the advantages bequeath'd them, by banishing all jealousies, suppressing of factions, extirpating of Schismes, and partialities, deciding of all disputes arising from their Genealogies, by conferring offices on men, not of great descent, but ability, by making use of the times present and past, by quickly seconding their consultation with action, and by a straight conjunction of their Councils, and Forces to seek their own preservation in that of the Empire. In any of which being wanting, neither the care and pains of the deceased King, nor their own Armies, or advantages can secure them from being a miserable prey to their Enemies, and wretched spectacle to their friends.

The truth is, hitherto the Princes and Generalls united have much abated the pride of the Enemy, by deceiving his hopes, and apprehensions, and making it evident by their proceedings that they were not in vain so long train'd up in the Kings schoole, but were still mindfull of his instructions and discipline, and that his death did but concentrate, and redouble their vigour. The Dukes of Weymar tread on *Walsteins* heels, whom some report to be wounded, others dead in the Forrest which lyes betweene Fravestein and Klostergrappe. If he be deceased, he serves as another sacrifice due to the Kings tombe. *Tubal* keeps the greatest part of Silesia, and Moravia in obedience. The Prince of Birkenfield shuts up all passages to the Bavarians, within the circle of Ingolstat and Ratisbone. *Horne* is Master of Alsatia, and hath joyned to it the Conquest of Schletstatt. *Colman* and *Kentzingen* have Senfeld, nothing remaining in those parts unconquer'd, but *Frebourg* which they batter, and *Brissack* which they play with. *Baudifin* marcheth through the Archbishopricke of Cullen without resistance, and traverseth his Galleries (maugre the Count of Gransfield) from the river of Wesper even to the gates of Cullen. The Troopes of *Wartenberg* advance towards the Lake of Constance, and are resolved to make good proofe of their courage. To be briefe, the Swedes shew that they have no great desire to repasse the Sea, no more then have the Germans to re-fall into their wonted slavery.

But though the King of Sweden hath left his partie in an Estate prosperous, yet wee must needs confesse, that the enemy derives from his death great Advantages, and that the expense of a little Lead hath profited him as much as the gaining of many millions, in that the severall Heads of the Swedish Armies are subject and prone to jealousies and misconceptions, which gives him means and opportunitie to preserve what hee yet holds, to calme seditions, to recall long-banisht peace, and once more to replant her in the Empire.

If hee make good use of his losses and imfortunities, wee shall see him forthwith to abandon all counfells tending to blood, or violence, to have a care, lest by the oppression of Princes he make them desperate, to recall his strayed Subjects by a generall Pardon of all their offences, and seek to raigne by Love, not Feare. Hee will then no more violate Peace, and the publique Faith, under the pretext of conscience, which ought to be perswaded, not forced, as depending on another Tribunall then that of men. This way to rest and quiet, he is invited also to take and persist in, because he may now peaceably enjoy all his due rights and Titles, the death of the King having cur'd him of the deadly Feare hee was in, lest this magnanimous Prince should yet sore higher, and

aspire to new Diadems, and make good his Anagram, by changing the name of *Gustavus* into *Augustus*.

FINIS

Brief Commentary:

Presented here is but one in a staggering wealth of elegies and histories of the Swedish king Gustavus Adolphus that found their way into seventeenth century English print sources, most of which were translated from continental sources in Latin, French, or German. This particular piece is no exception: as the translator notes in his address to the reader, it was “written by one of the ablest Pennes” in all of France. However, the translator is hardly reticent to supplement the account with his own colorful commentary as well as digressions upon the life of Adolphus prior to the Battle of Lützen and the death of the Friedrich V of the Palatinate. Hence, the work serves more as a sketch of the magnanimous qualities of the Protestant leadership during the Thirty Years’ War than as a simple narrative of the Battle of Lützen, as its title indicates.

Yet the narrative of the battle is not terribly deficient: both sides in the conflict sustained heavy losses on both sides as well as the deaths of a number of important leaders (Pappenheim, for example), and Adolphus did indeed die after receiving multiple wounds (though neither Oxestierna nor Wallenstein would believe him dead until weeks later). Beyond this however, the most intimate and fantastic details should be questioned. The translator makes a surprisingly astute connection between the author of this source and Tacitus, though he may do so in slightly misguided fashion. Both make copious use of fabricated speeches to drive home political points as well as elucidate the character of the speaker (in this case, mostly Adolphus).

Through these speeches, as well as the authors and translators invectives against the Imperial forces and their eulogies of the Swedish and Protestants, one may determine that the greatest historical value of the source lies not in its narrative, but rather in the proof of public sentiment that it provides, in especial that regarding the Swedish king. Gustavus Adolphus has been for many a champion of the Protestant cause and savior of the true faith. This text, translated and printed into English in 1633, only one year after his death, stands at the beginning of the creation of a semi-mythic, near saintly image of the man, which prevailed not only in England, but throughout the Protestant territories of continental Europe as well.

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