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SILESIAN POETRY AND THE ATLANTIC GEOGRAPHY OF WAR: EUROPE AND THE AMERICAS IN THE WORKS OF MARTIN OPITZ AND FRIEDRICH VON LOGAU

In 1759 Gotthold Ephraim Lessing and Karl Wilhelm Ramler published a new edition of the *Sinngedichte* by Friedrich von Logau. More than a century after Logau's death, Lessing and Ramler not only modernized the language and spelling but also edited a number of passages that they regarded as incomprehensible for an eighteenth-century audience. One of these editorial changes concerned Logau's poem *Das Gold auß der neuen Welt*, which addressed the early modern European–American encounter. In the third and fourth lines of this poem, in which Logau discusses the relationship between the two continents, the original version evokes a certain ambiguity and requires thorough reading to determine whether it is the 'Old' or 'New' World that is primarily affected by the exploitation of American riches and, as a result, 'entirely covered in blood'. Referring only to 'this' and 'that' world ('die' and 'jene'), Logau's original version reads:

Denn das Gold der neuen Welt macht/ daß alte Welt sehr narrt,
Jene macht wol gar/ daß *die* gantz in ihrem Blute starrt;
[. . .]

(*Sinn-Getichte*, III. 6. 62)¹

Lessing and Ramler changed the entire fourth line of the poem and its complex structure of demonstrative pronouns and made explicit that it was the 'Old World' that was mostly affected by the flow of American bullion:

Denn das Gold der neuen Welt macht, daß alte Welt sehr narrt,
Ja *es* macht, daß *alte Welt* ganz in ihrem Blute starrt:
[. . .]²

Lessing and Ramler's interpretation, in which it is the 'alte Welt [die] ganz in ihrem Blute starrt', is convincing from both a grammatical and a syntactic perspective. In contrast, Logau's original also allows for a reading in which

¹ Italics added. Unless indicated otherwise, I refer to the 1654 edition of Logau's poems: Friedrich von Logau, *Salomons von Golaw Deutscher Sinn-Getichte Drey Tausend* (Breslau: Klotzmann, 1654). The book is divided into three parts each separately paginated. The arabic numbers follow the order of the poems as indicated in the volume. Throughout this article the poems are identified by referring to the chiliad in question (here III), the section ('6' or sixth hundred), and the number of the poem (62).

² *Friedrichs von Logau Sinngedichte: Zwölf Bücher*, ed. by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing and Karl Wilhelm Ramler (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1759), p. 293 (italics added). On Lessing and Ramler's edition of Logau's poems see Agnieszka Ciolek-Jóźwiak, 'Logaus Sinngedichte in Lessings und Ramlers Bearbeitung', in *Salomo in Schlesien: Beiträge zum 400. Geburtstag Friedrich von Logaus (1605–2005)*, ed. by Thomas Althaus and Sabine Heimann-Seelbach (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), pp. 262–378.

the European gold craze primarily affected the Americas and their native populations. This double perspective, in which Europe and the Americas are connected within a new and expanding system of violence, is lost in the eighteenth-century re-edition, probably because Lessing and Ramler feared that their contemporaries might miss the point that the manic search for gold affected not only native American populations but principally Europe itself. At the heart of both editions, however, lies a challenge to the old separation between the 'Old' and 'New' Worlds—both continents, not just America, are severely affected by a historical process of violent transformation.

How new was the 'New World' from a European perspective in the seventeenth century?³ Any answer to this question is blurred by the coexistence of various discourses of both newness and familiarity. At first glance, continuity with earlier European perspectives on the Americas seems to prevail: marvellous sixteenth-century travel accounts were republished or included in compilatory volumes throughout the early modern period. Theodor De Bry and Matthäus Merian's famous collection of *Voyages*, published between 1590 and 1634, with its descriptions of exotic landscapes and biospheres as well as accounts of pagan customs and cannibalistic excesses, did not lose much of its popularity and was still read by Goethe, Jefferson, and their contemporaries.⁴ Parallel to literary and geographical accounts that heavily relied on 'othering' the non-European world and its inhabitants, a discourse of native American victimhood had existed at least since Bartolomé de las Casas's *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (1552). In the context of the anti-Hispanic 'Black Legend', a discourse that revolved around stereotypes of Spanish cruelty and tyranny, this work was influential as it allowed for comparisons between Spanish atrocities in Europe and the Americas.⁵ While such discourses of

³ On notions of newness and the often-proclaimed 'shock of discovery' see e.g. Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992); Susanna Burghartz, 'Alt, neu oder jung? Zur Neuheit der "Neuen Welt"', in *Die Wahrnehmung des Neuen in Antike und Renaissance*, ed. by Achatz von Müller and Jürgen von Ungern-Sternberg (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), pp. 182–200.

⁴ This collection consists of at least 186 publications in several languages, thus I cite the standard work on the series: Michiel van Groesen, *The Representations of the Overseas World in the De Bry Collection of Voyages (1590–1634)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), pp. 1–6; Michiel van Groesen, 'America Abridged: Matthaeus Merian, Johann Ludwig Gottfried, and the Apotheosis of the De Bry Collection of Voyages', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern History*, 42 (2011), 67–92 (pp. 85–89). On discourses of marvel and wonder in early modern German travel literature, such as the widely read texts of Hans Staden, Nikolaus Federmann, or Ulrich Schmidel, see Wolfgang Neuber, *Fremde Welt im europäischen Horizont: Zur Topik der deutschen Amerika-Reiseberichte der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: Schmidt, 1991); Christian Kiening, *Das wilde Subjekt: Kleine Poetik der neuen Welt* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006); Surekha Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human: New Worlds, Maps and Monsters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Anna Greve, *Die Konstruktion Amerikas: Bilderpolitik in den 'Grands Voyages' aus der Werkstatt De Bry* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004); Michaela Holdenried, *Künstliche Horizonte: Alterität in literarischen Repräsentationen Südamerikas* (Berlin: Schmidt, 2004).

⁵ The first German edition appeared only in 1597 but a Latin edition was published in Frankfurt

Hispanophobia had their origins in the Italian and German Renaissance, publications on Spain's increasing Atlantic dominance fuelled a new wave of anti-Hispanic propaganda.

In addition to these two modes of representing the Americas, another discursive framework emerged in the first half of the seventeenth century, a period that marked a shift towards an increasing geographical interconnectedness between Europe, the Americas, and Africa, and the development of what later historiography would call the 'Atlantic world'.⁶ Based on the triangular trade in bullion, textiles, sugar, and enslaved humans, transatlantic links went beyond merely economic and demographic exchanges. As some scholars have argued, they connected the three continents to such an extent that developments such as changing military alliances in West Africa could affect the course of warfare in Europe.⁷ The impact of this new Atlantic system on European power relations did not go unobserved by contemporary news publications and other media. Newspapers and also later editions of De Bry and Merian's collection of voyages, for example, did not just address the 'otherness' of the non-European world but in fact focused more on anti-Habsburg military expeditions in Central and South America. Protestant designs such as the Dutch attack on Portuguese Brazil in 1624, Jacques l'Hermite's raid on Callao in Peru, or the Dutch capture of the Spanish treasure fleet in 1628 were now widely covered in De Bry's *America* series or in biannual news chronicles.⁸ The present article explores how this process informed new literary discourses in Central Europe and how they transformed the geographical imagination of the Atlantic world. As the poetry of German poets such as Martin Opitz (1597–1639) and Friedrich von Logau (1605–1655) shows, sixteenth-century images of marvel and wonder played hardly any role in German literary discourses between 1620 and 1660. Instead, they were (at least temporarily) abandoned for a geographical vision in

in 1571. On the Black Legend and its use in anti-Spanish Protestant propaganda see Benjamin Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570–1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 96–111; William B. Maltby, 'The Black Legend', in *Encyclopedia of Latin American History and Culture*, ed. by Barbara A. Tenenbaum, 5 vols (New York: Scribner 1996), I, 346–48.

⁶ For a foundational text on Atlantic history as a historiographical approach see Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History, Concept and Contours* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).

⁷ See e.g. John K. Thornton, 'The Kingdom of Kongo and the Thirty Years' War', *Journal of World History*, 27 (2016), 189–213.

⁸ The Dutch struggle for Brazil is described in the 1627 and 1628 editions of *Continuatio Americae, Das ist: Fortsetzung der Historien von der Newen Welt/ oder Nidergängischen Indien/ waran es auff diese Zeit noch anhero ermangelt* (Frankfurt a.M.: Merian, 1627). The voyages of Jacques l'Hermite's Nassau Fleet are addressed in several editions of *Der dreyzehende Theil Der Orientalischen Indien: Darinnen beneben etlichen neuen/ gedenckwürdigen Schiffarthen und Reysen* (Frankfurt a.M.: Merian, 1628). Both the second Dutch attack on Brazil and the capture of the Spanish treasure fleet are described in *Vierzehender Theil Americanischer Historien: Inhaltend/ Erstlich/ Warhafftige Beschreibung etlicher West-Indianischer Landen* (Frankfurt a.M.: Merian, 1630).

which the Americas became part of a transoceanic system that was dominated by Europe and that forced other continents into its economic and political structures. Focusing on Opitz's poetry of the late 1620s and early 1630s and Logau's epigrams from the mid 1630s to 1652, I situate literary references to the Americas in the context of a media and news landscape during the Thirty Years War that connected Atlantic events to the political situation in Central Europe. In the context of the war in Germany, Central European perspectives on the Atlantic world were often characterized by militarized discourses about global geopolitical struggle.

A recurring theme in seventeenth-century political and news discourses was the annual silver shipments from the Americas and their potential impact on military developments on the European continent, particularly in Germany.⁹ In itself, this was not entirely new. Throughout the sixteenth century merchant newsletters had covered Spain's bullion imports and reflected on their potential effects on European politics and warfare.¹⁰ However, the reach of these earlier media was rather limited: sixteenth-century newsletters circulated in manuscript, and even professional news writers seldom had more than ten to fifteen subscribers.¹¹ In the seventeenth century, and increasingly from the outbreak of the Thirty Years War on, printed periodical newspapers presented information on Atlantic developments to much wider audiences and sold several hundred copies each week. News about the arriving Spanish treasure fleet would remain a regular part of the German news diet throughout the seventeenth century. Protestant newspapers in southern Germany in particular linked Atlantic events to the military situation at home. In the early 1620s, when the Palatinate was overrun by Spanish troops, news writers speculated on how long the Habsburgs would be able to finance their armies if the American fleet arrived late or fell prey to hostile ships, particularly after the Dutch opened another Atlantic battlefield in Portuguese Brazil in 1624.¹² In 1628 Habsburg dependence on American gold was again

⁹ On American bullion imports and their coverage in European newspapers see Michel Morineau, *Incroyables gazettes et fabuleux métaux: les retours des trésors américains d'après les gazettes hollandaises (XVI^e–XVIII^e siècles)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Johannes Müller, 'Globalizing the Thirty Years' War: Early German Newspapers and their Geopolitical Perspective on the Atlantic World', *German History*, 39 (forthcoming 2021).

¹⁰ Renate Pieper, *Die Vermittlung einer neuen Welt: Amerika im Nachrichtennetz des habsburgischen Imperiums, 1493–1598* (Mainz: Von Zabern, 2000), pp. 211–44.

¹¹ Zsuzsa Barbarics and Renate Pieper, 'Handwritten Newsletters as a Means of Communication in Early Modern Europe', in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006–13), III: *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700* (2007), 53–79 (p. 63).

¹² Johann Weyrich Rößlin, *Zeittungen*, 8 February 1623, fol. F2^v; 31 May 1623, fol. Y2^v; 28 June 1623, fol. Cc2^r (all reports in seventeenth-century newspapers are untitled and without indication of authorship). On the assumed direct impact of Brazil on the course of war in Germany see e.g. *Zeittungen*, 4 December 1624, fol. Ccc2^r. In 1624, 12% of all printed reports in Rößlin's paper contained information about war and trade in the Americas.

emphasized in the newspapers when the Dutch admiral Pieter Pietersz Heyn seized the entire treasure fleet in Cuba. Even though news from the Caribbean travelled slowly and irregularly, some biweekly southern German newspapers published front-page reports on Heyn's victory for months.¹³ Editors of such papers also reported on reactions to the immense loss of gold and silver and its effects on the war at home. As some reports suggest, the Habsburg shortage of capital was commented on all over Germany and Europe, and merchants from Amsterdam to Breslau (Wrocław) speculated on its impact on domestic politics and trade.¹⁴ Atlantic economy and geopolitics had now become part of public discourse and were thus incorporated into more local debates on politics and war.¹⁵

Reading Opitz's and Logau's poems in the context of such geopolitical perspectives sheds new light on the relevance of the Americas for Central European literature in the seventeenth century. While older scholarship on both authors has read these texts in the light of earlier literary models of marvellous encounter or has positioned them in the context of Baroque *vanitas* discourses, both interpretations have their limitations as they obscure more complex engagement with the changing world of that time.¹⁶ I will show that Opitz and Logau place the topic of imported American gold and silver in the contemporary political and economic contexts of the era. From this perspective, references to gold and silver do not primarily illustrate the transience of earthly riches. In the same vein and contrary to older interpretations, the lengthy passages on America and Asia in Opitz's *Laudes Martis* (1628) are no unnecessary detour from the central theme of war; instead, they address how European warfare had now acquired a new, global dimension. Indeed, older images of strange and marvellous worlds play hardly any role in the works of Opitz, Logau, or other German writers during the first half of the seventeenth century, and, as Wolfgang Neuber has rightly observed, references to South American cannibalism—a sixteenth-century commonplace—

¹³ See e.g. Lucas Schultes, *Continuation der Augsburger und Nürnberger Zeitung* (Öttingen), which covered the aftermath of Heyn's campaign from October 1628 through to March 1629.

¹⁴ *Continuation*, 19 January 1629, fol. B1^v.

¹⁵ See Müller, 'Globalizing the Thirty Years' War'.

¹⁶ Wolfgang Neuber, 'Ansichten von der Nachtseite der Kosmographie: Amerika in der deutschen Lyrik der Frühen Neuzeit (Sachs, Quad, Opitz, Logau, Gryphius, Hoffmannswaldau, Wernicke)', in *Von der Weltkarte zum Kuriositätenkabinett: Amerika im deutschen Humanismus und Barock*, ed. by Karl Kohut and Edith Jehlitschke (Frankfurt a.M.: Vervuert, 1995), pp. 44–57; Neuber, *Fremde Welt*, pp. 280–85; Andreas Klaffke, 'Es sey die alte Welt gefunden in der Neuen': *Amerika in der deutschen Lyrik der frühen Neuzeit* (Marburg: Tectum, 2000), pp. 53–69. Reducing the references to American gold to contemporary *vanitas* discourses is only possible at the cost of distorting the literal meaning of the texts, as the aforementioned example of Logau's poem *Das Gold auß der neuen Welt* shows. An alternative reading of American motifs as references to exotic alterity is also problematic, as these aspects are not highlighted in the texts, as both Neuber and Klaffke implicitly admit (Neuber, 'Ansichten von der Nachtseite', p. 51; Klaffke, 'Es sey die alte Welt' p. 68).

are virtually absent from this literature.¹⁷ Instead, Opitz's and Logau's poetry reflects a change in German discourses about the Americas that is also visible in other media. According to Christine Johnson, 'the years around 1580 were the end of the beginning' of German engagement with the 'New World' and made way for a perspective in which confessional and geopolitical struggles were the main focus.¹⁸ This martial discursive framework became particularly dominant during the Thirty Years War and overshadowed older marvellous images of the Americas.

The God of War in the Atlantic Ocean: Opitz and the 'Laudes Martis'

In 1628 Martin Opitz published a remarkable, and in many respects enigmatic, literary work, a eulogy to the god Mars in eight hundred and forty-eight lines, entitled *Laudes Martis* and dedicated to his new employer and patron, Karl Hannibal von Dohna.¹⁹ As a Silesian-born Protestant, Opitz now served a Catholic nobleman who had become notorious for his efforts to recatholicize Silesia after the Bohemian uprising that had started ten years earlier. The political contrast with Opitz's earlier career could not have been sharper: in 1619 and 1620 he had been active in the Reformed Heidelberg circles under the protection of Count Palatine Frederick V, champion of the revolting Protestant Estates of Bohemia. In the early 1620s several of his poems had an explicitly anti-Spanish, if not anti-Catholic, character: in his *Teutsche Poemata*, published in 1624, he lamented the devastation of the Palatinate by Spanish and Imperial troops and borrowed a number of motifs and slurs from contemporary Dutch pamphlet literature, such as the invective 'scheußliche Maranen' for Spaniards. In the poem *Ein Gebet/ daß Gott die Spanier widerumb vom Rheinstrom wolle treiben*. 1620 he implicitly aligned himself with the Dutch anti-Habsburg cause: praying that God would drive the Spaniards from the Rhine 'once again' ('widerumb') alluded to the 1574 liberation of the Dutch town of Leiden, also situated on the Rhine.²⁰ Parts of this anti-Spanish poem were also included in a volume that was written around 1621 but appeared only after Dohna's death in 1633, the *Trostgedichte in Widerwertigkeit deß Kriegs*, in which Opitz also referred to the transatlantic aspects of the Dutch Revolt against Habsburg Spain. As he made clear in the third book of the *Trostgedichte*, the sieges of Dutch cities such as Leiden and Haarlem had

¹⁷ Neuber, 'Ansichten von der Nachtseite', p. 51.

¹⁸ Christine Johnson, *The German Discovery of the World: Renaissance Encounters with the Strange and Marvelous* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008), p. 17.

¹⁹ In the following, I quote from the first edition: Martin Opitz, *Laudes Martis: Martini Opitii Poëma Germanicum* (Breslau: Müller, 1628).

²⁰ Martin Opitz, *Martini Opicii Teutsche Poëmata und Aristarchys Wieder die verachtung Teutscher Sprach: Item Verteutschung Danielis Heinsii Lobgesangs Jesu Christi, und Hymni in Bachum* (Straßburg: Zetzner, 1624), p. 164.

been directly financed with resources from the American parts of the Spanish Empire, and it was the silver and gold from Peru that had led to so much bloodshed in the Netherlands.²¹

With a fiercely anti-Protestant patron, it was clearly necessary for Opitz to approach the topic of war from another angle in *Laudes Martis*. Choosing a mythological framework in which he could present himself as a true *poeta doctus*, versed in classical literature and philosophy as well as in history and global geography, he traced the origins of the god of war from ancient Sparta to the contemporary world. In addition to a lengthy foreword and dedication in Latin, the first edition contained no fewer than fourteen pages of explanatory notes and references to the Graeco-Roman canon of learning. As in the *Trostgedichte*, Opitz situated his topic in a global setting by referring extensively to the European presence in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. Among later readers and even in modern scholarship, this strategy caused confusion as the poem did not live up to expectations of a stronger focus on the war in contemporary Germany. The lengthy geographical insertions and the mythological framework were sometimes regarded as a cumbersome strategy to avoid concrete references to the Thirty Years War.²² While Opitz's situation in 1628 and his service to Dohna made explicit comments on the course of the war indeed difficult, the satirical undertones of the poem were not lost on contemporaries.²³ As Barbara Becker-Cantarino has argued, Opitz inscribed the *Laudes Martis* into the tradition of the humanist encomium and used the form of this genre for a subtle critical reflection on the present political state in Silesia.²⁴ Yet framing the topic of war through the global context was not merely a poetic strategy to avoid delicate political and confessional questions; rather, it allowed Opitz to put domestic issues into a larger world-historical perspective: the poem thus presents the conflict in Europe as only one facet of a world in turmoil and part of a global sphere of war and violence.

Despite the mythological framing and imagery, Mars, the god of war, is also situated in a historical perspective. The first part of the poem addresses the question of the origins of Mars: 'Wo aber bist Du her?'²⁵ The answer

²¹ Martin Opitz, *Trost-Gedichte in Widerwertigkeit deß Krieges: in 4 Bücher abgetheilt und vor etzlichen Jahren von einem bekandten Poëten anderwärts geschrieben* (Breslau: Müller, 1633), III. 70: 'Durch alles dieses Blut, durch so viel tausend Cronen | Auß Peru her geholt, durch hundert Millionen, | Und hundert noch dazu [. . .]'.
²² Ludwig Geiger, *Mittheilungen aus Handschriften: Beiträge zur deutschen Literaturgeschichte*, (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1876), p. 4. For a brief discussion of this critique see Nicola Kaminiski, *Ex bello ars oder Ursprung der 'Deutschen Poeterey'* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2004), pp. 208–10.

²³ Rudolf Drux, *Martin Opitz und sein poetisches Regelsystem* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1976), p. 65. On Opitz's own characterization of the text as a 'Satire' see Geiger, *Mittheilungen*, p. 3.
²⁴ Barbara Becker-Cantarino, 'Satyra in nostri belli levitatem: Opitz' *Lob des Krieges Gottes Martis*', *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, 48 (1974), 291–317 (pp. 314–17).
²⁵ *Laudes Martis*, l. 41.

encompasses two dimensions: on a mythological level (*ex parentibus*), Mars descends from Juno and Jupiter, but on a geographical-historical level (*ex patria*), he comes from Sparta and makes a westward move through the history of Europe, and from there to the other continents.²⁶ The history and political geography of Europe itself are presented here as the result of military invasion and colonization—a process in which the continent is remapped as a whole:

Du machst die Welt zur Beute,
Durchwanderst Statt und Land/ verwechselst ihre Leute/
Und jagest auß und ein [. . .]

[. . .] So mußte der Breton
Durch unsrer Anglen Zwang auß seinem Albion;
So hat der Langobard Italien verheeret;
Der Francke Gallien in Franckreich umbgekehret;
Der Hunn Pannonien zu Hungern ihm gemacht;
Der Gohte Spanien in seine Hand gebracht.

(*Laudes Martis*, ll. 737–39, 743–48)

The historical transformations of Europe are characterized as a violent form of demographic ‘exchange’: ‘Du [. . .] verwechselst ihre Leute’. Entire populations (‘der Breton’) are driven out and forced to make way for new colonizers, who build new nations and empires on occupied territory.

It is hardly surprising that the imagery of transformation and exchange of populations serves as a topical transition to the European presence in Asia and the Americas. Once the violent ‘making of Europe’ is completed, the poem turns to the other continents where this process continues. At this point Opitz changes the narrative perspective: while the first seven hundred and twenty lines of the poem focus on Mars as a rather autonomous entity, now a first-person plural enters the stage, and the lyrical I and his addressees become themselves the agents of the war god. The impact of Mars on the future of Europe and the world is introduced with the question ‘Wo leytest Du uns hin?’ (l. 757).²⁷ In the following passages the god of war is identified as the genius who inspires and instructs shipbuilders and drives Europeans to other continents. Lines 751–57 depict the seafarers on their way through the Atlantic Ocean as Mars’s blind and submissive servants who are unable to determine their course on their own—it is the god of war himself who directs them around the Cape of Good Hope, to Asia, and westwards to the Caribbean. Retaining its mythological imagery, the poem turns to the histori-

²⁶ On the typical rhetorical commonplaces of the encomium and its use in Opitz’s work see Drux, *Martin Opitz*, pp. 67–75.

²⁷ In fact, Anglo-Saxon migration to the British Isles is already addressed in the first-person plural, and the imagery of colonization of Germanic people by ‘unsrer Anglen Zwang’ (l. 744) implies a connection to the continental Germanic people in Opitz’s time.

cal present and identifies Mars, and thus war, as the motor of history that determines the course of Europe and the world.

In the passages on the European conquest of the Americas Opitz again approaches his topic from the perspective of (violent) exchange and transformation. Instead of using discourses of marvellous encounter, his depiction of the 'New World' lacks the typical tropes of exotic newness. Even his brief mention of the sixteenth-century emblem of American otherworldliness, the cannibal, is immediately incorporated into the realm of European knowledge: as the poem states, Europeans ('we') know 'Brazil and its cannibals better than they know themselves' and their own country.²⁸ The South American continent is thus no longer an incomprehensible enigma but part of the familiar world. Addressing the first voyages to the Americas in the 1490s, Opitz states that Columbus had 'connected' the New World to the Old rather than referring to a discovery of America: 'Columb hat ihm verbunden/ Mit seiner neuen Welt die alte' (l. 785). Later editors of Opitz's work criticized this particular line for its lack of gravity: as Johann Jakob Bodmer and Johann Jakob Breitinger remarked in their 1755 edition of Opitz's *Lobgedichte*, the author should have pronounced the world-historical singularity of Columbus's discovery:

Wir haben vor Columb und nach Columb keinen Menschen, von welchem man eben dieses mit so vieler Wahrheit sagen könnte. Ich glaube dennoch, daß der Poet viel mehr auf die Grösse der Entdeckung hätte sehen sollen, und diese hätte er mit der bloßen Auslassung des relativen Vorsetzwörtgen Ihm in ihrer vollen Würde vor Augen legen können:

. Columbus hat verbunden,
Mit seiner Neuen Welt die Alte²⁹ [*sic*]

Even though Bodmer and Breitinger finally acknowledge that Opitz's portrayal of Columbus's discovery was still 'erhaben genug', their expectations of grandeur and sublimity can better be explained in the context of eighteenth-century aesthetic discourses.³⁰ Opitz's poem, by contrast, is less concerned with sublime notions of exploration and discovery and addresses the initial connection between Europe and America as the beginning of a new and expansive stage of European violence.³¹ The world-historical impact of

²⁸ 'Nun kennen wir viel besser | Das Land Brasilien und seine Menschenfresser, | Als sie sich eben selbst' (*Laudes Martis*, ll. 793–95).

²⁹ *Martin Opitzens von Boberfeld Lobgedichte*, ed. by Johann Jakob Bodmer and Johann Jakob Breitinger (Zurich: Orell, 1755), p. 414.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ While Opitz mentions that Columbus has found ('gefunden') the islands Jamaica, Puerto Rico ('Borick'), and Cuba, the verb *entdecken* is used only once in the poem and is immediately contrasted with the term *vermengen*. Addressing the voyage of Magellan from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, Opitz evokes the image of a transformative intermingling: 'Der kühne Magellan | Lieff weiter in die See, entdeckte seine Bahn | Die Nord und Süd vermengt' (*Laudes Martis*, ll. 791–93).

Columbus's voyage is primarily sought in its transformative aspects, which reshape both continents:

Du hast uns eingegeben
West-Indien, o Mars, wo andre Leute leben
Und andre Laster sind, gewonnen eine Welt,
Die unsre Sitten nimpt und gibet uns ihr Geld.
(*Laudes Martis*, ll. 777–80)

The participles 'eingegeben' and 'gewonnen' and the verbs 'nimpt' and 'gibet' are revealing in this context. They characterize the Atlantic crossing as a form of violent and forced exchange and transformation: Europe takes away America's riches and passes on its culture and customs—what these 'Sitten' are has already become clear in the earlier depictions of war in Europe. One of Mars's features is thus his transformative power, which continuously shapes and changes the course of world history.

Following the European course through the Atlantic, Opitz's poem explicitly describes America in the present situation, rather than from an ahistorical geographical perspective. Mexico and Peru are fully under European control and the last remote territories in Central America are now being transformed into farmland (ll. 795–96). The only historical challenge in the present is the conflict between the various European powers and their competition for territory in a continent that is now part of a shared contemporaneity. Lines 793–800 echo recent reports of South American exploration and military campaigns, such as Walter Raleigh's and Lawrence Keymis's Orinoco expeditions (1595, 1617–18) and Henry Hudson's attempt to find the North-West Passage (1610–11).³² References to such recent events do not present the Americas as a new and distant *terra incognita*, but as the stage on which Europeans realize their geopolitical ambitions. Even the last frontiers of the globe have become transparent and permeable, as Opitz's references to recent Arctic expeditions make clear. As he puts it, Europeans had now even navigated around 'das letzte Land der Erde' and no longer accepted the mythical 'Thule' as the most northern geographical point of reference. Based on recent reports that circulated in Germany and the Netherlands, Opitz assumed that the Northern passage from the Arctic Sea to the Northern Pacific had already been found. In fact, the North-East Passage was not crossed until 1879 and the North-West Passage even later—yet contemporary German media interpreted reports on Henry Hudson's third voyage as evidence of a successful passage to the Pacific. In 1614 the Oppenheim publishing house Hulsius, then led by Levinus Hulsius's widow Maria Ruting, had published an account of Hudson's third mission which indicated that his ships could not have been far from

³² The explanatory notes in the 1628 edition also refer to Willem Barentsz's expedition to Nova Zembla (*Laudes Martis*, p. 48).

Mexico.³³ Hulsius's edition of Hudson's voyage was reprinted in 1627, thus Opitz's references to the latest voyages to the remotest parts of the planet were in line with the most recent geographical knowledge available in Germany at this time. Underestimating the real geographical dimensions of Northern Canada and the Arctic, the poem presents the utmost ends of the globe as fully incorporated into the realm of European knowledge and control.

From Columbus's first landing in the Caribbean to the explorations of the American Arctic, where European voyagers wage 'war against winter itself' (l. 807), the sections on Asia and the Americas are topically organized around the theme of war and conflict. While Opitz avoids too explicit references to the overseas struggles between Habsburg and Protestant European forces, the ambiguous line '[d]urch Chili schönes Feld wird unser Fuß gespüret' most likely rang a bell with an informed audience in 1628. In 1624 the Dutch had tried to form an alliance with Chilean natives to launch an attack on Spanish Peru from the South American west coast. Despite the great distance between Europe and the Pacific, German newspapers did their best to follow the course of the Dutch 'Nassau Fleet'.³⁴ From a Dutch and German Reformed perspective, the Peruvian initiative promised a geopolitical shift in the power balance between Spain and its Protestant enemies, hopes that were encouraged by the successful capture of Bahia de todos los Santos in Portuguese Brazil in the same year.³⁵ In 1628 reports about l'Hermite's expedition were also included in the collection of voyages to which Opitz most likely referred in the appendix of *Laudes Martis*.³⁶ Opitz's ambiguous phrasing and his use of the passive voice ('wird unser Fuß gespüret') avoids any form of partiality in the global

³³ 'Mexico' could, of course, refer to the entire North American West Coast. See *Zwölffte Schiffahrt Oder Kurtze Beschreibung der Newen Schiffahrt gegen NordOsten/ uber die Amerische Inseln in Chinam und Japponiam/ von einem Engellender Heinrich Hudson newlich erfunden*, 2nd edn (Frankfurt a.M.: Hulsius, 1627), p. 18. As mentioned in the main text above, the first edition was published by Hulsius (then based in Oppenheim) in 1614. In the same year, an account of Hudson's third expedition was also included in Emanuel van Meeteren, *Historie der Nederlandschen ende Haerder Na-buren oorlogen* (The Hague: Jacobsz, 1614). A short note on Hudson's voyage had already appeared a year earlier in Johann Theodor De Bry's *Zehender Theil der Orientalischen Indien: begreifendt Eine kurtze Beschreibung der neuwen Schiffart gegen NordtOsten/ uber die Amerische Inseln in Chinam und Iapponiam, von einem Engelländer Henrich Hudson newlich erfunden* (Oppenheim: De Bry, 1613).

³⁴ On the European reception of this campaign see Benjamin Schmidt, 'Exotic Allies: The Dutch-Chilean Encounter and the (Failed) Conquest of America', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 52 (1999), 440–73. For references to this campaign in German newspapers see e.g. *Zeittungen*, 14 August 1624, fol. R1^v; 18 September 1624, fol. Pp3^v; 25 September 1625, fol. Qq1^v; 2 October 1624, fol. Rr3^f; 9 October 1624, fol. Ss2^v; 20 November 1624, fol. Aaa3^f; 27 November 1624, fol. Bbb4^{f-v}; 4 December 1624, fol. Ccc2^v.

³⁵ Reports of Dutch victories in Brazil appeared in Germany even before the news could possibly have reached Europe. See e.g. *Zeittungen*, 15 May 1624, fols V3^f, V4^v; 5 June 1624, fol. Y2^f. Frequent updates on the situation in Bahia appeared from September 1624 in Rösslin's and other newspapers.

³⁶ *Der dreyzehende Theil Der Orientalischen Indien* (n. 8 above). In the explanatory notes to *Laudes Martis* Opitz refers to 'beyden Indianische Historien' (*Laudes Martis*, p. 47). Early modern

conflict between the Dutch and the Spanish and refers only to the European impact on the South American subcontinent.

That European expansion is in itself inspired by the god of war is emphasized once again in the final summarizing passages of the poem: colonial goods such as gold, silver, spices, and wood are given to Europe by none other than Mars himself, but only at the cost of human life.³⁷ Yet the violent colonization of the American continent is nothing but the continuation of a historical process that started far earlier and is not fundamentally different from the long history of war in Europe. In a sardonic résumé, Opitz closes the passage on the Americas and Asia:

Wir haben einen Weg, den Jeder treten soll,
Der zeitlich, jener spat; ist's weit vom Vatterlande,
Wer fraget was darnach? In einem frembden Sande
Ist auch gut Todt zu seyn. Der Himmel lieget mir
So lang, so breit und hoch von dortan als von hier.

(*Laudes Martis*, ll. 832–36)

Echoing neo-Stoic discourses of mobility and cosmopolitanism, the lines '[i]n einem frembden Sande | Ist auch gut Todt zu seyn' contrast with the geographical equivalence of the entire terrestrial realm: the heavens look the very same to the lyrical self from all locations.³⁸ The overseas world is folded into a geographical continuum that transcends the differences between 'here' and 'there'. Addressing European expansion in the context of contemporary *vanitas* motifs relies on the underlying homogeneity between the continents, where Mars affects both individual and social life. Contrary to older criticism, the passages on the Americas are thus not unnecessary digressions from the topical centre of the poem.³⁹ Rather, they are an essential part of this work as they reflect how the entire globe has now become the scene of European warfare—not only Europe itself but also the Americas.

Logau and the Atlantic Transformation of Europe

The motif of transatlantic connectedness is even more explicitly addressed in Friedrich von Logau's epigrams. In 1654 he published three thousand of his poems with Breslau (Wrocław) publisher Kaspar Klotzmann.⁴⁰ The thematic

library and book fair catalogues often used this abbreviation to refer to De Bry's travel collections and it is unlikely that Opitz's note indicated any other 'Indian history' in 1628.

³⁷ 'Gold, Silber, Würtze, Holtz unnd alles kanst du geben, | Und wenn du viel uns nimbst, so nimbst du uns das Leben' (*Laudes Martis*, ll. 809–10).

³⁸ On neo-Stoic notions of cosmopolitanism see Denis Cosgrove, 'Globalism and Tolerance in Early Modern Geography', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 93 (2003), 852–70.

³⁹ Geiger, *Mittheilungen aus Handschriften*, p. 4.

⁴⁰ See n. 1 above. A smaller part of this collection had already appeared in 1638: Friedrich von Logau, *Erstes Hundert Teutscher Reimen-Sprüche Salomons von Golaw* (Breslau: Müller, 1638).

and topical range of this collection is enormously wide, and the epigrams touch on virtually all aspects of human life. In a satirical and moralistic tone, Logau addresses political, social, and religious issues as well as marriage and family life. Many of the epigrams are based on recent political, meteorological, or personal events, for example dry or wet summers, the execution of Charles I, or a fire in Logau's house. The structure and ordering principles behind the volume have long been a point of debate, and it is still disputed whether the poems are consistently ordered either chronologically or else by topic.⁴¹ The dynamics between universal themes and concrete historical events and situations, however, is a thread that runs through the compilation as a whole. In the context of the entire collection, references to the Americas make up only a small portion of the 1654 edition but they are composed around a coherent topical framework.⁴²

Similar to Opitz's *Laudes Martis*, the poems unfold a discourse of transcontinental connectedness. However, as the aforementioned example of his poem *Das Gold auß der neuen Welt* shows, Logau's approach to the Americas maintains a stronger focus on Europe itself. His topical use of American motifs to address European themes has sometimes led to the conclusion that references to the 'New World' served only as a rhetorical means to mirror Europe in the world beyond the Atlantic Ocean.⁴³ As Andreas Klaffke has argued, Logau used the anti-Spanish Black Legend to compare European and native American suffering.⁴⁴ Instead of support for '[a]rme Christen', the American treasures are used only for luxury, which Klaffke sees as a clear reference to the cardinal sin of *avaritia*.⁴⁵ However, Logau's poem not only criticizes

⁴¹ Ulrich Seelbach, 'Leben als Strukturgeber des Werks? Noch einmal zu einem chronologischen "Leitfaden" der Sinn-Getichte Logaus', in *Salomo in Schlesien*, ed. by Althaus and Heimann-Seelbach, pp. 275–303; Fabienne Malapert, *Friedrich von Logau (1605–1655): l'art de l'épigramme* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2002), pp. 314–20; Peter Hess, *Epigramm* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1989), p. 88.

⁴² Jantz and Neuber mention respectively only four and five of the poems as genuinely related to American topics: Harold Jantz, 'Amerika im deutschen Dichten und Denken', in *Deutsche Philologie im Aufriss*, ed. by Wolfgang Stammeler (Berlin: Schmidt, 1957), pp. 145–204; Neuber, 'Ansichten von der Nachtseite', pp. 48–49. However, references to the global circulation of goods, especially gold and silver, can be found in at least twelve poems. The term 'New World,' even if in a rather ambiguous sense, is mentioned in the aforementioned *Das Gold auß der neuen Welt* (*Sinn-Getichte*, III. 6. 62); *Bußfertige Welt* (I. 2. 79); *Die neue Welt* (II. 4. 41); *Nutz-Freundschaft* (III. 3. 28); *Falscheit* (*Zu-gabe*, poem 175). Global trade and migration as well as the discovery of new continents is a theme in *Wanderschaft der Leute und der Güter* (I. 3. 7) and *Die Theile der Welt* (II. 10. 70). Gold as a catalyst of war, sometimes identified as originating in the Americas, is addressed in *Gold ist bleich* (I. 4. 13); *Tausend göldene Jahre* (II. 4. 37); *Spanien* (III. 8. 87); *Krieges-Greiphen* (I. 2. 21); and *Die göldenen Soldaten* (I. 2. 41).

⁴³ Klaffke sees the references to America as a mere rhetorical 'Aufmacher' to talk about Europe ('*Es sey die alte Welt gefunden*', p. 69).

⁴⁴ This particular use of the Black Legend was common in anti-Spanish rhetoric during the Dutch Revolt. See Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad*, pp. 23, 90–98.

⁴⁵ Klaffke, '*Es sey die alte Welt gefunden*', p. 62.

greed and indifference to suffering Europeans; it also explicitly addresses the financing of military campaigns:

Denn das Gold der neuen Welt macht, daß alte Welt sehr narrt,
Jene macht wol gar, daß die gantz in ihrem Blute starrt:
Dann auff Prachten, dann auff Kriegen pflegt man allen Schatz zu wagen,
Arme Christen zu versorgen will die gantze Welt nichts tragen.

(*Sinn-Getichte*, III. 6. 62)

On syntactic and semantic levels, it is clear that the ‘world covered in blood’ is not the New but the Old World. America and the suffering of its native population are thus identified as the cause and financial source of European war and not just used to mirror the present state of Europe. While Wolfgang Neuber’s reading of this poem in the context of contemporary *vanitas* discourses is generally convincing, the evaluation of the American impact on Europe goes beyond the mere futility of the quest for American riches.⁴⁶ Rather, the poem is stringently centred on a concrete economic nexus: the continuous flow of money that is identified as the motor of war in Europe. The relationship between colonial violence and European warfare is thus not reflective but primarily causal.

Reading Logau’s epigrams in the context of geopolitical discourses in contemporary print and news media—rather than situating them in discourses of the Black Legend or reducing them to lamentations on earthly *vanitas*, as earlier scholarship has suggested—not only solves a number of interpretative problems on a syntactic and semantic level but also highlights their immediate connection to domestic and transnational politics. In many cases the references to colonial exploitation are obvious, for example in the epigram *Spanien* that depicts the Spanish monarchy as a suckling feeding on American gold and Asian riches (*Sinn-Getichte*, III. 8. 87). However, contextualizing the *Sinngedichte* in contemporary news discourses also allows for a better understanding of Logau’s topical use of gold and silver in poems without any explicit geographical references. The epigram *Gold ist bleich*, for example, does not directly mention the Americas but explicitly addresses the connection between gold and warfare:

Das Gold ist bleich auß Furcht; es mercket gantz Armeen
Die seiner Farbe nach durch Licht durch Finster gehen.

(*Sinn-Getichte*, II. 4. 37)

The paleness of gold is linked to the fate of armies marching through light and darkness, and precious metals are themselves the driving force behind war. In a similar way, the poem *Das Eisen* reflects on the relationship between gold and iron and their intrinsic connection to war and violence. While gold

⁴⁶ Neuber, ‘Ansichten von der Nachtseite’, p. 50; id., *Fremde Welt*, pp. 279–80.

cannot be obtained or extracted without iron—neither by mining nor by violent appropriation—it also requires violence to defend it against others: ‘Ohn Eisen künt nicht Gold/ Gold bleibt auch nicht ohn Eisen’ (*Sinn-Getichte*, I. 7. 21).

Similar to Opitz’s *Laudes Martis*, some of Logau’s poems also link Mars as the god of war to the quest for gold. In *Die göldenen Soldaten* (*Sinn-Getichte*, I. 2. 41) Mars is identified as the instance that transforms gold into destructive violence, especially against rural populations. The poem *Krieges-Greiphen* refers back to Pliny the Elder’s depiction of griffins digging up gold from the earth and reinterprets these mythical creatures as military forces in the historical world:

Man hat dem Plinius nicht gerne wollen glauben
Daß Greiphe sind/ die Gold auß tieffer Erde rauben;
Es zeuget dieses Mars, der brauchet solche Greiphen/
Die alle Welt vm Gold durchwühlen vnd durchstreiffen.
(*Sinn-Getichte*, I. 2. 21)

Pliny’s griffins are not only identified as Mars’s agents but also transferred from mythology to history: they are the armies that roam the globe in search of gold. The motif of digging and mining is again used in several of the epigrams that carry the title *Gold* and in which the discovery of mines is depicted as the direct cause of violence:

Weil das Gold liegt in der Erde/ gehn wir drüber mit den Füßen/
Wann es rauff künt/ kümte daß selbsten wir jhm vnten liegen müssen.
(*Sinn-Getichte*, III. 10. 94)

As long as gold remains unrecognized beneath the ground it does not affect human life. Once it is dug up it unfolds a force that humans cannot resist and that buries them under the same ground from which they extracted precious metals.⁴⁷

The *Sinngedichte* address this transformative power of gold and silver in both geographical and historical terms. The term ‘New World’ thus refers not just to the geographical Americas but also to a new age that results from the violent conflicts of the early modern period. In several of the poems Logau critically examines ambiguous notions of ‘newness’ of the American continent and suggests that the actual novelty is the transformation of both continents.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ The topic of mining and the impact of gold on human power relations is addressed in a similar way in two other epigrams with the same title (*Sinn-Getichte*, III. 5. 10; III. 5. 11).

⁴⁸ On the ambiguities of the concept ‘New World’ and its applications to other regions than the Americas see Marília dos Santos Lopes, ‘Außerordentliche und kuriose Denkwürdigkeit: Die Entdeckung der “Newen Welt/ so jetzt America genannt wirdt” in deutschen Schriften des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts’, in *Von der Weltkarte zum Kuriositätenkabinett*, ed. by Kohut and Jehlitschke, pp. 78–89.

As already discussed in relation to *Das Gold auß der neuen Welt*, the boundaries between the Old and the New World are rethought and reframed, a motif that is further continued in other epigrams. In *Die Neue Welt*, precisely what the term 'New World' actually refers to is even more ambiguous:

Weil der Krieg/ die alte Welt hat zerstöret vnd verheeret/
Werden neues Land/ Stadt/ Recht/ Brauch vnd Siten/ vns gewehret.
(*Sinn-Getichte*, II. 4. 41)

Klaffke has questioned whether the 'New World' in this epigram explicitly refers to the Americas and suggests that it rather signifies the radical transformation of European culture after the excessive destructions of early modern warfare.⁴⁹ Even though the above references to 'new land' and 'new cities' evoke a new dawn of European civilization across the Atlantic Ocean, the poem also explicitly addresses new laws, customs, and values and thus implies that the new dawn is in fact just a further phase of ongoing European history. Other epigrams use the term 'New World' only to indicate a new historical era, without any reference to the Americas. In the poem *Bußfertige Welt* the 'neue Welt' is not overtly identified as a different continent and can therefore also be understood as a new stage in history characterized by the transgression of old laws and values:

Die neue Welt ist from vnd frömer als die alte;
Sie darff nur acht Gebot die sie im Leben halte/
Denn/ Ehbruch/ Diebstal/ bleibt; man Hanet nur die Leute
Und macht was vns gefällt/ nach Krieges Art/ zur Beute.
(*Sinn-Getichte*, I. 2. 79)

The 'New World' is shaped by war to such an extent that two of the Ten Commandments have lost their meaning entirely: prohibiting theft and rape is obsolete, as these crimes have become an essential part of war itself. Sardonically, the poem remarks that this new world is actually more pious than the old one, as it violates only eight instead of all ten of the Commandments.

The term 'New World' is thus not restricted to the Americas themselves but rather encompasses the historical order that emerged after the continents around the Atlantic Ocean were integrated into a system of violent exchanges of goods and populations. The bloodshed associated with the European presence overseas is not limited to South America but has effects on Europe itself, as the flow of bullion is the source of military financing. The Atlantic world transforms the societies of both colonized and colonizers and brings about a degeneration of morals and even in the observance of divine commandments, as the poem *Bußfertige Welt* suggests. In another poem, *Die Theile der Welt*, Logau connects the colonization of the Americas to the political disintegration

⁴⁹ Klaffke, 'Es sey die alte Welt gefunden', pp. 56–57.

of European societies. The challenge that is posed by the 'fourth continent' is the threat to peace in Europe, which is divided by new geopolitical interests:

Viere möchten viere seyn, wenn nur ietzt nicht iedes Land
Sich in Theile so theilt auß, das formehr nichts gantzes stand.
(*Sinn-Getichte*, II. 10. 70)

The world-historical relevance of the European–American encounter is not its challenge to cosmographical models and traditions of learning but the resulting political transformation of both continents. Paradoxically, global integration goes hand in hand with internal political division, a development that undermines the stability of European societies. The newness of the 'New World' is not articulated in terms of a 'shock of discovery' but is addressed more as the emergence of new forms of transoceanic entanglement. Similar to Opitz's *Laudes Martis*, Logau's poems evoke the vision of an integrated Atlantic continuum, a system that connects Europe and the Americas and is intrinsically shaped by war and violence, both 'here' and 'there'.

Conclusion

References to the Americas in seventeenth-century German literature have often puzzled later readers who approached the texts with different expectations from those of a contemporary audience. As poetic engagements with the 'New World' included neither sublime notions of discovery nor earlier tropes of marvellous alterity, American themes in the seventeenth-century German literary canon were often overlooked or dismissed as mere decor that distracted the reader from other, more important themes. Rereading Opitz's and Logau's poetry in the context of seventeenth-century discourses on the Americas opens up a different perspective: the most prominent theme in these texts is not American newness or otherness but rather the rapid geopolitical integration of the transoceanic world into the sphere of European politics and economy. In Opitz's *Laudes Martis* the recent developments in the Atlantic world are depicted as the linear continuation of the violent processes that since classical antiquity had shaped Europe itself.⁵⁰ The course of European history had now taken a global turn, and Mars, the god of war, had violently dragged the other continents in the direction already taken by Europe far earlier.

In Opitz's *Trostgedichte* and in Logau's epigrams, another theme is addressed: the repercussions of the new Atlantic continuum on Europe itself. As both news reports and political commentaries asserted, silver and gold

⁵⁰ The notion of a long prehistory of Atlantic war and trade can also be found in some of Logau's texts. As he makes clear in the poem *Wanderschaft der Leute und der Güter* (*Sinn-Getichte*, I. 3. 52), new Atlantic forms of economic and demographic exchange have their roots in earlier European history and are nothing more than a continuation of earlier developments.

from the Americas provided the fuel for wars in Europe and the means to pay armies in Germany, the Low Countries, and Italy. In this context, the concept of a 'New World' is sometimes subject to semantic variation and used to indicate a new historical realm in which older traditions and morals lose their meaning. As Ayesha Ramachandran has put it, the contrast between worlds—'old and new, ancient and modern, imagined and real'—was constitutive to early modern European intellectual projects in order to make sense of new geographical and scientific discoveries.⁵¹ In the seventeenth century the conceptual polarity between the 'Old' and the 'New' Worlds did not exclusively concern geography but also notions of historical change. This ambiguity between geographical and historical difference provided a discursive space that was creatively explored by poets such as Opitz, Logau, and others. As Logau's play with semantic ambiguities reflects, Atlantic exchange had indeed created a 'New World', as the two continents were now both absorbed into a violent new order that stretched across both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. His poems' playful and intentionally confounding approach to the distinctions between Europe and the Americas posed a problem for generations of later readers but probably not for Logau's contemporaries, for whom the idea of a connection between inner-European wars and Atlantic exchange was familiar.

The vision of an interconnected Atlantic world based on patterns of violent exchange was perhaps more explicitly addressed in Opitz's and Logau poetry than in texts of other German or European contemporaries. Yet their texts are not the only examples of such discourses: notions of Atlantic interconnectedness are also present in the works of Andreas Gryphius, Daniel Caspar von Lohenstein, Christian Wernicke, or Quirinus Kuhlmann.⁵² Attempts to situate German literary engagements with the Americas during the Thirty Years War in a long-term perspective, however, suggest that the prominent themes of Opitz's and Logau's works lost their significance in the second half of the seventeenth century. In the course of the later seventeenth century new approaches to non-European geography emerged and began to dominate discourses about the 'New World.' In Germany and the Netherlands new forms of compilatory literature which amalgamated older and newer travel reports and geographical descriptions, as well as narrative texts and various literary genres, were popularized by authors and compilers such as Eberhard Werner Happel, Erasmus Francisci, and others.⁵³ Exoticized depictions of American

⁵¹ Ayesha Ramachandran, *The Worldmakers: Global Imagining in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2015), p. 6.

⁵² For an overview of early modern literary engagements with the Americas in Germany see Jantz, 'Amerika', p. 155 and Neuber, 'Ansichten von der Nachtseite', pp. 47–52. Jantz and Neuber, however, contextualize these authors' poems very differently.

⁵³ See e.g. Nicolas Detering, 'Entdeckung der Alten Welt: Zum Funktionsgewinn früher Ameri-

and Asian natives underwent a revival and again found their way into literary traditions, especially drama, where exotic visions of Asia became a popular theme. As Benjamin Schmidt has argued, these new forms of exoticism turned non-European artefacts and representations of the 'New World' into decorative commodities and consumer goods.⁵⁴ Even though the boundaries between such exoticist fashions and discourses of Atlantic connectedness cannot always be strictly separated, the primary impulse behind these two phenomena was different. While the former had its origin in a renewed interest in marvellous alterity, the latter was the result of the shocking discovery that Europe had created a globalized economic and geopolitical system that could not be limited to the world across the Atlantic Ocean but that also dramatically shaped and transformed European power relations at home.

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⁵⁴ Benjamin Schmidt, *Inventing Exoticism: Geography, Globalism, and Europe's Early Modern World* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 2016).