



**The function of imagery within an emblematic framework
in dramas by Gryphius and Vondel.**

A comparative study of techniques in two baroque dramatists.

**Thesis presented by
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Summary

The aim of this thesis is to continue the line of research investigating the influence of emblem literature on 17th century drama, of which A. Schöne has been the main exponent. Whereas he concerns himself chiefly with the influence of the structure of the emblem on the structure of the drama, this work pursues the enquiry one step further in seeking to establish whether such a structural 'framework' cannot perhaps be found in the dramatists' use of imagery. The literary context chosen for this investigation is two tragedies from the work of Andreas Gryphius (1616-1664) in Germany and two dramas from the work of Joost van den Vondel (1587-1679) in the Netherlands. In considering this topic all possible care has been taken to choose dramas of a comparable type, especially in view of the much debated influence which Vondel is said to have had on Gryphius, a precaution which enables one to touch cursorily upon this aspect too, in the course of studying Gryphius' and Vondel's techniques in the use of imagery. The four plays chosen are Gryphius, Leo Armenius (1650), and Papinian (1659); Vondel, Palamedes (1625), and Faëton (1663).

Chapter I serves as an introduction to research already done in the field of 'Emblematik', outlining the different concepts and terms related to it, in order to construct a framework of reference for our own research. The scope and limitations of this thesis can be more clearly delineated within

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such a framework, the more so as emblematic terminology is being used in a broad sense in the present work, adapted, however, to the needs of our own particular line of research. In chapter II, Gryphius' first drama, Leo Armenius, is considered as a drama written on the individual level, i.e. the central themes develop from one person, and their significance largely depends on this main character, Leo. The central themes are closely related to the imagery used by the dramatist. In the opening scenes it becomes apparent that a 'pictura'-framework, based on the central character, is constructed, and the imagery thematically recurring throughout the drama is based on this. The components of the 'pictura' are the lion and his (what will be shown to be) characteristic elements, blood and fire. These three thematic structural elements are first traced individually; but it becomes clear that the last two also occur in thematic unity at moments of great dramatic intensity. In this way a 'pattern' of imagery is constructed which strengthens the dramatic as well as the linguistic qualities of the drama. The characters are interrelated in a drama which could otherwise easily disintegrate dramatically because of the 'baroque' scope of its language.

Gryphius' last drama, Papinian, is dealt with in chapter III. The imagery in this drama is employed on a universal level, i.e. the dramatist is concerned not so much with the central character himself (who accordingly becomes more a stereo-

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type) as with universal values represented by that character.

Before considering the imagery in this drama, a further delineation of the scope of the thesis became necessary in order to explain the choice of Papinian rather than another of Gryphius' dramas. A comparison with Catharina von Georgien serves this function, besides also throwing further light on the nature of the imagery used in Papinian. The imagery, namely, reflects the enduring qualities of such values as truth and justice which can only be upheld in this evil world by men of steadfast and stoic character. In the opening scene this emblematic truth is expressed by means of the 'pictura' of a storm - both physical and metaphysical - in which 'Vanitas' as well as 'Glück' play their part. Physically Papinian is destroyed (his 'shipwreck'), yet metaphysically he conquers, as true virtues can never die. Tracing these aspects of the storm in the drama one finds again that the imagery serves the same purpose as in Leo Armenius. It must be observed, however, that the horizons of the imagery in Papinian are wider and cover more aspects than was possible on the individual level of the first drama.

In chapter IV the use of imagery in two of Vondel's dramas is investigated. Within the limitations of our thesis topic this necessarily takes the form of a comparison with Gryphius' technique. Consequently it becomes initially an enquiry into the question whether a similar structural foundation could be discovered for the imagery of Vondel's dramas as for that of Gryphius. The section on Palamedes

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primarily serves to fulfil this function in a comparison with Gryphius' drama Papinian. Once the fact has been established that Vondel does indeed use a different approach in the way he handles the imagery, we are free to study the function of Vondel's imagery more or less for its own sake. It becomes apparent that in spite of the fact that there is no 'framework' of imagery resting on the elements of a 'pictura' foundation, there is nevertheless a thematic use of imagery in Palamedes. To throw further light on Vondel's technique and to avoid creating the wrong impression that he wrote his dramas outside an emblematic framework (that all-embracing 17th century concept) we show that the contrary is true in a digression devoted to emblematic influences on Vondel's drama. This is followed by a discussion on an image of particularly wide application in Vondel's Palamedes, i.e. the imagery of seafaring.

The second part of this chapter is relatively straightforward, now that the principles of Vondel's technique have been established. We observe Vondel's dramatic development, also apparent in his use of the Reyen, and proceed with an analysis of the imagery in close connection with the plot on the basis of the central theme of the drama Faëton: the rise and fall of pride.

The closing remarks constitute a final comparison of Vondel and Gryphius. Here various aspects of the research are considered vis à vis the question as to the dramatic indivi-

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dualism of the two dramatists and the effect of their use
of imagery on the dramatic quality of their work.

STATEMENT:

This thesis is the original and hitherto unused work of the writer. No extraneous material has been made use of without acknowledgement.

Signed

Adelaide, June 1972.

Procedural Note:

For bibliographical references in footnotes (or rather end-notes) we have followed Schöne's practice of numbering each item of secondary literature in the bibliography (p.xxxvi ff.) and writing this number in brackets, followed by the page reference, thus (224), p. 69 f. References to works not included in this bibliography are given in full in the note.

FOREWORD

FOREWORD.

The literary situation today is such that there are two quite distinct fields of German and Dutch literature. In order, therefore, to achieve a 'reunification' of the two it was necessary to go back to the 17th century - an age when cross-currents of literary tradition were actively and uninhibitedly influencing each other. And for the purpose of this thesis the choice automatically fell on two of the greatest poet-dramatists in German and Dutch literature of the 17th century, Gryphius and Vondel. Both were recognized by their contemporaries as great, if not the greatest, poets of their time. Thus Gryphius lectured at the University of Leiden during his stay in Holland, was known at several of the European courts, and later obtained the position of Syndic in the town of Glogau. Vondel dedicated his life entirely to literature and was a well known figure in the literary circle meeting at the Muider castle near Amsterdam. Vossius said of him: 'Scribis aeternitati' (Brandt (83), p. 36), while Petrus Francius gave Vondel the well known title 'Princeps Poetarum' - 'Vorst der Dichteren' (Brandt (83), p. 59).

Both were men of their age, also in their creative dramatic works. Yet within the framework of the traditions and conventions of the 17th century they were individualists with their own (dramatic) 'Weltanschauung'. But both poets would naturally accept certain basic presuppositions such as, for

instance, the dictum: 'Ut pictura poesis', or as Vondel expressed this at the painters' banquet of 1653 where he was crowned with laurels: "Een schildery (is) een stomme Poëzy, ende Poëzy een spreekende schildery." (Brandt (83), p. 45).

Another reason for turning to the 17th century was of a rather different nature, being of personal interest rather than directly related to the research topic - the striking parallels between that age and our own. In his comparison of past and present, Boerwinkel traces the similarities back even further to the change of the Middle Ages to the Renaissance and Reformation (Inclusief denken. Een andere tijd vraagt een ander denken, Hilversum, 1970, p. 9 ff.). Joos refers to "eine Beziehung unseres Jahrhunderts zu dem 17." and comments:

Traten im Expressionismus die formalen Übereinstimmungen besonders in den Vordergrund, so hat man nach dem 2. Weltkrieg die ähnliche 'Seelenlage' festgestellt."

But (speaking of Gryphius):

Das unterscheidet ihn von der Moderne: das Schwinden zeigt nicht ein Absolutum an, das sich als Sinnlosigkeit enthüllt, sondern bezieht sich auf eine andere Welt, die uns Hoffnung gibt." (Joos (30), p. 62 f. Cf. also the various footnote references.)

New technical developments in our post-war era have 'opened up' the universe which was 'established' by the discoveries of the 17th century. As Carl Friedrich puts it: "There grew up after 1600 a sense of a great mission", comparable to the spirit of space exploration in our time. Friedrich continues: "The excitement of the new discoveries swept all

before it. Perhaps nowhere was the spirit of the baroque, of the new sense of power more violently at work than in these scientists" (i.e. Bacon, Galileo, Kepler). (Friedrich (246), p. 109). A reflection of this spirit, however, is certainly to be found in the works of art and literature in this 'Age of the Baroque'.

In this thesis we shall leave out of consideration that 'andere Welt' referred to by Joos, even though the 'Jenseits' has a prominent place in the works of both Gryphius and Vondel - in this respect too they were kindred spirits. The scope of this work leads us to limit it to the 'Diesseits' aspect, and the dramas dealt with have been chosen with this aim in mind. (For a further delineation of these concepts see the comparison of Papinian and Catharina von Georgien, p. 100 ff. below.)

This procedure has enabled us to deal with all the dramas under discussion on an equal footing, thus avoiding the unnecessary difficulty of having to take a transcendental dimension into account in studying the imagery of one drama, while not being able to do so in the analysis of another with which it is being compared and contrasted.

The study of techniques in the use of imagery by Gryphius and Vondel has therefore been limited to dramas of strictly comparable type containing characters of like disposition.

In an analysis of this kind some repetition seems inevi-

table. As one aspect of the fundamental imagery structure under consideration is traced throughout the whole drama, the treatment of the next aspect must at times include in part what the first has already referred to. Thus, for example, in Leo A. the 'lion' in the 'emblem' on which the thematic imagery is founded is marked by the characteristics of blood and fire. These two structural lines can only be followed by considering the situations in which the lion finds himself, which of course are the same for both aspects. Several quotations therefore recur on various occasions. In the search for structural parallels in the imagery of Vondel's dramas a wider ranging approach became necessary because a basis for such structures could not be discovered in the opening scenes of the first act; in this respect Vondel is quite unlike Gryphius. Thus when analysing Palamedes we attempted to follow the same procedure as that used in the section on Papinian and the entire first act had to be analysed before one could justifiably draw the above conclusion - i.e. that the structural foundation is lacking in Vondel's use of imagery. For this reason the section which deals with Palamedes became slightly longer than intended - and perhaps longer than desirable. But once the principles of Vondel's technique had been established the analysis of Faëton could be accomplished in a more straightforward manner and on a more restricted basis. This drama makes clear that Vondel did not need a structure of imagery with a unifying function like that seen in Gryphius' dramas. Vondel's dramatic de-

velopment took place independent of his use of imagery.

A few words of explanation about the terminology used in this thesis may be in place here. In view of the fact that the subject matter of the work concerns Germanic rather than English literature we decided to use the term 'Emblematik' in preference to 'emblematology' which seems to be rather vague and general concept. The former has been given a more definite meaning through such studies as that of Heckscher and Wirth who point out that because of the research done in this field 'Emblematik' has "heute dieselbe Bedeutung wie im 17. und 18 Jh." (213), col. 103. They go on to say that the term refers to "alle aus Wort und Bild zusammengesetzten Kunstformen, mithin sämtliche im Emblembuch vorkommende Spielarten bildlich-literärer Gestaltungen." For this reason it is therefore "nicht unmittelbar von dem inhaltlich engeren Sachbegriff Emblem herzuleiten." This conclusion has been developed especially by Schöne (224) in connection with the genre of the drama in the 17th century.

We follow Schöne in the use of Latin technical terms to refer to the several elements of the emblem as explained chapter I below; thus 'inscriptio', 'pictura' (plural: 'picturae') and 'subscriptio' are self-explanatory terms once their original use is understood.

We use 'Rey(en)', rather than 'chorus', because the former is used both in German and Dutch dramas of the 17th century,

while the latter is more general, still in use today, and does not necessarily refer to baroque drama.

Finally, to avoid any possible confusion, the German word 'Sentenz' has been used instead of the ambiguous term 'sentence'. All these terms appear in the work without quotation marks.

Quotations from the dramatic works are followed immediately by the reference to the work, the big Roman numeral referring to the act, the small Roman numeral (only where necessary) to the scene and the Arabic numeral to the line number, thus II, iv, 123; or more often II, 123.

The individual volume numbers from the collected works in which the dramas appear are given in the bibliography at the end of the work (p. xxxv.). They are therefore not repeated each time a particular drama is cited.

Finally, I wish to thank the University of Adelaide for the support given through the Commonwealth Postgraduate Award and the University Research Grant, as well as the Barr Smith Library of this University for all the assistance given.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction.



CHAPTER I

Introduction

The aim of the research of which this thesis is the result was originally to establish the relationship between the work of two contemporary 17th century dramatists, Joost von den Vondel (1587 - 1679) in the Netherlands, and Andreas Gryphius (1616 - 1664) in Germany, more precisely Silesia. The intention was to study the influence which the former exerted on the latter, and the way in which this becomes apparent in the dramas of Gryphius. In the course of research, however, the direction of the study changed because the general aspects of Vondel's influence on Gryphius were found to have been exhaustively covered in detailed treatment by a number of scholars¹. Accordingly the course of studies was gradually directed towards a consideration of emblematic influences on 17th century drama in general², and on Vondel's and Gryphius' works in particular. Most of the important aspects of this field of research have already been extensively dealt with³, but a question which in my opinion remains unanswered is that about the relationship, if any, of Emblematic and the use of imagery in the dramas of Vondel and Gryphius. In treating this aspect I have therefore attempted to come to grips with the problem at a most basic level of baroque dramatic expression.

A few introductory remarks will be necessary to clear the ground for an easier understanding of the topic under discussion in the present work, though little can be added to general research in Emblematic after such classic studies as Schöne's¹. The 17th century may be called the "Age of Emblematic"², and an astounding wealth of information about the baroque era may be gathered from a study of the emblematic tradition. There was virtually no contemporary topic that was not dealt with by the emblem writers of the day³. People at that time seem to have developed an emblematic frame of mind; everything was made to fit into this particular pattern of conceptual thinking.

Development of Emblematic.

In order to comprehend the way in which Emblematic assumed such wide significance in Europe of the 17th century we must briefly retrace our steps to the beginnings of this tradition⁴. Only then shall we be able to understand how it penetrated all aspects of life, and especially literature⁵, including drama and dramatic form. Apart from this a rough outline will be necessary to convey the meaning of emblematic terms used in the analyses set out in the following chapters.

As early as 1687 Bohuslaus Balbinus is reported to have said⁶: "Emblematum Pater et Princeps est Alciatus". However, this does not mean that before Andrea Alciati's book Emblematum liber was published in Augsburg, in 1531, nothing else

existed in the way of emblem-like illustrations preparing the way for a new tradition - one which gathered various threads together to create a new form which was to capture men's imagination throughout Europe. The detailed analysis, by Heckscher und Wirth¹, of forms which preceded that of the emblem proper indicates that precisely the opposite was the case.

Not wishing to repeat the work already done in this field by several scholars, I shall let the simple observation suffice that a firm basis for the new genre obviously existed already in mediaeval allegory and symbolism², reflected so clearly in the tradition of typological exegesis of mediaeval theology. According to this system all created things are to be seen as mirror images³ which reflect a divine meaning that requires interpretation. Theology accordingly attempted to discover "die von Gott in die Dinge gelegte Bedeutung, ihren auf die göttliche Sinnmitte hingeorordneten heilsgeschichtlichen Bezug"⁴. At this point patristic and scholastic influences⁵ also become clearly discernible. These are the source of the fourfold interpretation found in mediaeval exegesis, explaining the *sensus litteralis*, the *sensus allegoricus*, the *sensus tropologicus* and the *sensus analogicus*; the last three being subdivisions of the *sensus spiritualis*. As Schöne remarks⁶: "Vor allem das Interesse am *sensus tropologicus* scheint in der Weltauffassung und Weltauslegung der Emblematischer fortzuleben."

Directly related to these beginnings of Emblematic are the attempts by 16th and 17th century scholars to trace the origins of their 'science' of Emblematic back to Greek and Roman antiquity, as well as the hieroglyphic inscriptions found in Egypt¹. The latter source clearly has connections with the secret meanings and riddle elements of esoteric emblems whose meanings are obscure to all but the 'initiated' few.

Carried to an extreme, Emblematic was claimed by some to have been instituted by God himself at the time of creation. As an undeniable 'proof' of this claim the Genesis record relating the fact of the 'tree of Life' and the 'tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil' in the Garden of Eden² was quoted as evidence.

The most direct stimulus for the new form, however, came from the French nobility through the custom of expressing one's station or goal in life by means of an 'impresa'³ - an early form established by Paolo Giovio⁴.

The Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des 16. und 17. Jhs.⁵ briefly summarizes the effects of this direct influence as follows:

Formale und motivische Anregungen hat die Emblematic vor allem von der ritterlichen Abzeichenmode der Impresen empfangen, die sich gegen Ende des 14. Jhs. in Burgund und Frankreich entwickelte und seit der französischen Besetzung Mailands⁶ (1499) in Italien Fuß gefaßt hatte, vom Adel bald auch auf Patrizier und Gelehrten übergegangen war.

Giovio lists five principles⁷ which govern the form of the impresa and the relationship of the inscriptio to the pic-

tura elements. They justify completely Henkel and Schöne's conclusion in that they are very similar to the rules applied to the emblem and widely debated at the time. Judging by these standards the *impresa* could in a sense be called an emblem without a *subscriptio*¹. But just because there was a difference, not only in the form but, as we shall see, also in the intent of the new concept, the emblem as conceived by Alciati became a genre in its own right.

In order to clarify what we mean by the technical terms just mentioned we shall now briefly look at what constitutes an emblem². The pictorial part consists of a depiction of almost anything found in our culture in the course of western history up to the 17th century, ranging, for example from simply a plant or an animal to complex situations. The subject can vary therefore from depictions of everyday life in the 16th and 17th century to mythological, biblical or historical figures or situations³. Thus Balbinus asserts: 'Nulla res est sub Sole, quae materiam Emblematis dare non possit'⁴. This part is the '*pictura*' (Icon, *imago* or also *symbolon*) which creates the visual⁵ emblematic centre of interest which in turn contains the '*moral*' or '*message*' that needs to be explained and interpreted - just as mediaeval theology had to interpret reality⁶.

The moral is contained in a condensed '*codified*' form in the '*inscriptio*' (*Motto*, *lemma*) which often consists of a

proverbial saying or a quotation from the classical authors of antiquity or the Bible¹. The enigmatic inscriptio, placed over the pictura, directs one's thoughts to considering the validity of a general moral, social or theological truth expressed in the pictura. The particular object or situation depicted is shown by the inscriptio to contain a universal truth assertion². In the impresa this was not necessarily the case because the inscriptio often expressed simply the owner's world view or his goal in life, which was depicted in the pictura in accordance with Giovio's rule, "nicht so dunkel, daß eine Sibylle zur Erklärung nötig; doch auch nicht so klar, daß jeder Plebejer sie verstehen kann."³ This concept changed completely when Alciati added a third element, that of the 'subscriptio'. As Henkel und Schöne put it: "Erst wenn Alciatus unter die Chiffren der hieroglyphischen Bilder seine dechiffrierenden Epigramme rückt, entsteht der Emblematum liber."⁴ For the emblem to make plain its universal intent such an addition was necessary to interpret for the whole of mankind what before had only been given to a small group of the elite, the 'initiated' to understand, either belonging to the world of nobility or that of learning. In the impresa the inscriptio sometimes merely gives a description of what is depicted in the pictura. More often, however, the pictura provides the basis for a device or short 'sentence' which states a personal aim or characterization. The pictura of an emblem, on the other hand, is dependent for its interpretation on the sub-

scriptio, usually given in the form of an epigram varying in length. The subscriptio was on no account to be just a description of the depiction. Thus in order to be significant it depends on the pictura. The three constituent parts of the emblem are therefore interdependent.¹ The function of these parts is not fully understood when viewed simply as a combination² of the inscriptio and the pictura to provide a mysterious riddle, for which the solution is prepared in the subscriptio. Schöne gives the essence of the emblematic form when he summarizes the problem as follows:

Die Doppelfunktion des Abbildens und Auslegens, Darstellens und Deutens, welche die freiteilige Bauform des Emblems übernimmt, beruht darauf, daß das Abgebildete mehr bedeutet, als es darstellt. Die res picta (die significatio) besitzt verweisende Kraft, ist res significans.³

Directly related to this characterization of the interrelated function of the different parts is the qualification that

für den Idealtypus entspricht der potentiellen Faktizität der res picta eine ideelle Priorität der pictura gegenüber der subscriptio in dem Sinne, daß die Bedeutung des Emblems, die Lebensweisheit, Verhaltensregel, Morallehre, die es enthält, nicht willkürlich erfunden, sondern - sei sie auch vorgegeben - als eine der res significans innewohnende aufgefunden und entdeckt wird.⁴

The pictura and the subscriptio together point therefore to a general universally valid truth contained in the things or situations described. The implications of this for the drama will be self-evident when seen in the light of the discussion about Schöne's work below⁵.

In the process of developing the *impresa* to a more sophisti-

cated new genre of the emblem, Alciati had created a concept which drew together a great number of literary and artistic traditions:

Was aus einer solchen Verbindung von Renaissance-Hieroglyphe und griechischem Epigramm aber entsteht, ist mehr als die bloße Summe seiner Teile: mit dem Emblem gesellt sich eine neue Gattung zu den älteren Formen und Vorbildern der Verbindung von Bild und Schrift, den mit Tituli versehenen frühchristlichen und mittelalterlichen Wandmalerei etwa, den Heilsspiegeln, Totentänzen, Armenbibeln, oder Sprichwortillustrationen und Lehrbildern nach Art des Brant'schen Narrenschiffs und der Murner'schen Schelmenzunft, den aus Bildern und Wahlsprüchen zusammengesetzten Darstellungen der Heraldik, der Devisen- und Impresenkunst.¹

In the emblem-form Alciati and the other emblem writers had developed a literary form which was to prove uniquely suited to the needs of the 17th century mind.² Moreover, the way in which the emblem tradition has affected 17th century Europe may be seen in the development of 17th century drama³. The form of the baroque 'Kunstdrama'⁴ has been shown to have been greatly influenced by the dramatists' emblematic frame of mind. Close analyses of these dramas have shown that the structure of Gryphius' historical dramas⁵, for example, depends on the emblematic concept. In the theatre itself the production of these dramas were envisaged as putting a 'live' emblem on stage⁶ - i.e. what Schöne calls "der pictura-Charakter des Barocktheaters".

The form of the emblem was a topic of intense debate in the 16th century⁷. It was discussed with a seriousness that can only be understood⁸ when seen against the background of beliefs about the possibility of the revelation of divine

truth. By means of a 'code' God's revelation in the universe could be deciphered and interpreted - hieroglyphs were an inspiring example to scholars. Closely related to this fascination for the symbolic mode was the idea, derived from the Christian faith especially, of the revelation of truth not only through nature but more especially through the inspired word, which in its absolute form assumed the nature of a person, Christ, who was seen as the 'living Word'¹. But to this 'simple' apostolic view had been added the heritage of a variety of traditions ranging from early attempts at a compromise between Christianity and Greek philosophers, the writings of the church fathers, scholastic and humanistic influences², and theories of rhetoric and dramatization³. The sum of these may be traced in one shape or another in the new form of the 17th century 'Kunstdrama', the first German example of which was Gryphius' 'Tyranndrama', Leo Armenius (first published, 1650).⁴

Within the scope of this work it is not necessary to go into the results of research done in the field of Emblematik as such. Suffice it to say that since Henri Stegemeier's⁵ short but excellent review of the research situation in 1946, most of the questions posed by him as still unanswered have been dealt with. The lack of bibliographical information was overcome first of all by Mario Praz in his work of fundamental importance, the *Bibliography of Emblem Books*;⁶ in two volumes he gives a history and analysis of the development of the

emblem and as complete a bibliography as possible. Herder's comment that "die Geschichte dieser Zeit und dieses Geschmacks liegt noch sehr im Dunkeln"¹, is no longer true after the revival of interest in the baroque² approximately from 1920 on and again after 1950 and research carried out by Heckscher and Wirth³, Henkel and Schöne⁴; above all by Schöne when he reinterprets 'Emblematik und Drama im Zeitalter des Barock'.⁵ The evidence presented in the bibliographical works show the tremendous spread of the influence of Emblematik in the 16th and 17th centuries; from Italy⁶ to Switzerland, Germany, France and Spain; through emblem books reprinted in Antwerp⁷ Dutch literature is influenced, and from the Low Countries the genre reaches England. As each country is 'conquered' by the fashion of this mode, they in turn enrich the genre with their own cultural contributions⁸. Hundreds of authors produced thousands of editions of emblem books⁹ which found their way all through Europe from the beginning of the 16th until well into the 18th century¹⁰.

Vorherrschender Gebrauch des Lateinischen vor allem in der früheren, polyglotte Texte im der späteren tragen dazu bei, der Emblematik den Charakter einer gemeineuropäischen Erscheinung zu geben.¹¹

Albrecht Schöne goes furthest in his analysis in that he shows why and how the emblematic form was employed in 17th century drama the way it was at the time. He explains the underlying philosophy of the emblematic mode and its appeal to 17th century man's way of thinking. For this

reason his work opens up new perspectives which demand a reinterpretation of baroque literature in general and 17th century drama in particular. The ideal structure typical of the emblem is shown by Schöne to be a fundamental aspect of the language and form of the 'Kunstdramen' of Lohenstein, Gryphius, Hallmann und Haugwitz in Silesia¹. From the beginning, German dramas in the 17th century displayed this characteristic emblematic structure². This does not mean, however, that all emblematic word combinations, phrases and Sentenzen refer directly to a given emblem known to the dramatist. The purpose of this thesis, moreover, is not to trace all likely emblematic references back to their probable source³. Similarly it is not Schöne's intention to show that every emblematic reference should point to a particular concrete example. But rather:

Sie erleichtern lediglich durch die motivische Entsprechung eine Einsicht in die strukturelle Analogie, die allein hier bedeutsam ist. Alle in diesem Sinn 'emblematischen' Komposita wären grundsätzlich übersetzbar in wirkliche Embleme.⁴

In this sense we may consequently speak of the "Genitivus emblematicus"⁵, of the "zweigliedrigen syndetischen Substantivreihungen" as "emblematisches Kompositum"⁶. In these constructions descriptive (bildliche) words are joined to general, abstract ideas (Begriffen) which "dem emblematischen Formprinzip entsprechen"⁷. Schöne is most emphatic about this point and continues to develop it to show that what is true of these small language units, "gilt in gleicher Weise für die strukturelle Eigenart seiner (i.e. the dramatic work)

größeren Bauformen"¹. He shows convincingly that this is also true of Sentenzen when used in certain ways², of scenes which display the emblematic "Wechselspiel von Darstellung und Deutung"³; and, on an even larger scale, of the structure of complete "Abhandlungen und Reyen" which show quite clearly "eine strukturelle Analogie" of the two levels of the emblem⁴.

Yet another aspect of the emblematic drama must be considered, though in the context of this work it may be dealt with very briefly. I refer to the so-called 'stille Vorstellungen'⁵ - the equivalent of the 'dub show' in Elizabethan drama. In Gryphius' work these are still limited to dreams and visions⁶, depicted independently on the 'inneren Schauplatz' at the back of the stage⁷. Somewhat later Hallmann makes a more effective use of the 'scena muta' (1669 - 1673). It is interesting to note that a line of development may be traced from the mediaeval 'moralities' which in turn were closely related to the 'vertooningen'⁸ of the Dutch Rederijkers. These were later introduced into Dutch baroque drama by Jan Vos. The Jesuits also made effective use of the device in their stage productions. And from these two sources the German baroque dramatist obtained this particular form.

We must also realize the significance of the 'Doppeltitel'. As Schöne points out, the word 'order' in the double title

signifies an example, thus: "Catharina als Beispiel bewährter Beständigkeit"¹. Schöne points out that the dramatic action in its totality, as an example derived from history² and presented as such on the stage, becomes a "dramatisches pictura und ihre significatio bezeichnet der Doppeltitel; er spiegelt, er formuliert die emblematische Struktur des Trauerspiels"³. Thus the simple emblematic combination of two words, presenting the concrete 'res picta' and the abstract 'res significans'⁴, with which Schöne began his discussion, is now seen to be all-embracing in its application to the title of the drama itself.

The basic principles given by Schöne in a broad fundamental outline are supplemented by such close analyses of Gryphius' historical dramas as Roose's The Sign of Man⁵. This study of form, in limiting itself to one baroque dramatist, is an analysis in depth of the problems involved when Schöne's "emblematisches Formprinzip" is applied in detail. In brief, Roose explores the baroque attitudes which underly the emblematic approach to life and literature in the 17th century, and reveals the historical and social causes for these attitudes. This study of the history, the form and the function of the emblem yields a clearly defined picture of the position of the emblem in the field of literary imagery. The emblem is distinguished from the symbol and shown to belong to the class of signs which "express the universal to the reader". The relationship of the emblem to

other forms of imagery¹ such as the metaphor, simile, and parable is elucidated, while allegory is shown to have emblematic characteristics. At least this follows from the fact that Roose assigns a special place to allegory² because it "combines symbol and sign by the interaction of symbolic figures in a parabolic event"³. Thus the emblematic "Formprinzip" which Schöne has established as the fundamental principle governing the structure of baroque drama in general, is shown by Roose to rest on formal literary criteria.

These preliminary studies have cleared the way for finding an answer to the question whether Gryphius' dramas should be interpreted in terms of allegory⁴ or in terms of sequences of emblems. Roose's study leaves no doubt that the correct answer lies in an interpretation in terms of the latter. In his final chapter he does exactly this, dealing with all the important aspects of dramatic form employed by Gryphius as well as with the stage and the character.

It seems possible to view from two different angles the fact that the form of the baroque 'Kunstdrama' has been derived from emblematic origins. On the one hand one could see the emblematic mode as having been superimposed on existing dramatic structures and conventions, like those found in the Latin schooldramas. The dramatist accepts the new concepts as suited to his purposes and accordingly adopts the emblema-

tic theatrical approach to make his 'point' clear to the audience¹. On the other hand it is interesting to speculate on another theoretically possible development which could have arisen from within the emblematic tradition itself. Although the original convention stipulated that "jedes Sinnbild sol bestehen in Figuren und etlichen beygeschriebenen Worten" (Harsdörffer²), the strict application of the emblematic rules tended to be disregarded as time went by. As early as 1643 a Dutch collection of emblems, written by Cornelius Udemans, was published without picturae³. Admittedly the author feels that the lack is a shortcoming, because he makes a point of apologetically mentioning the fact. In such a case, however, the subscriptio must of necessity have been partly descriptive and partly interpretative. Besides, the same pictura would often be used by the same author for several subscriptios giving interpretations on moral, social and religious levels, as in the work of Jacob Cats⁴; or ambitious rival authors would reinterpret a given pictura. The tendency to dispense with the pictura became more marked later, when emblems were used for political religious or political pamphlets. The epigrammatic subscriptio would be expanded into a long prose passage and in due course the picture would be assigned an illustrative function in the initial capital letter or disappear altogether. There seems no reason why this process could not result in an author writing an emblematic drama fulfilling the function of the original epigrammatic subscriptio. The

point I wish to make is that there could be far more emblematic design in the structure of a drama than meets the eye at first sight. Thus a drama like Gryphius' Catharina von Georgien, for example, may be seen as presenting in its totality an emblematic pictura with its meaning. This is born out by the fact that in several instances Gryphius' dramas are preceded by a pictura frontispiece¹ or a descriptive pictura-monologue² which serves the same purpose. For this reason Schöne's comment in connection with the 'Doppeltitel' is significant³:

So hat Gryphius selbst es am Beginn seiner Vorrede an den Leser formuliert: "Catharine tritt nunmehr auff den Schauplatz unsers Vaterlandes/ und stellet dir dar in ihrem Leib' und Leiden ein in diser Zeit kaum erhörtes Beysill unaussprechlicher Beständigkeit." Was bei den Emblematikern der kleine Holzschnitt mit dem Amboß... bedeutet, stellt bei Gryphius das große Schaugerüst der Bühne an einen Exempel aus der Geschichte des 17. Jhs.... dar. Diese dramatische pictura und ihre significatio bezeichnet der Doppeltitel; er spiegelt, er formuliert die emblematische Struktur des Trauerspiels.

One basic underlying factor which helps to explain the all-pervading influence of the emblematic mode in 17th century drama may be said to be the search for reality⁴ in a world in which old values were crumbling because of the new Cartesian philosophy and the new science of empiricism, of which Gryphius was well aware⁵. In Emblematik a concrete fact or situation is taken as the starting point in an argument which sets out to prove the validity of a universal truth statement. It is, therefore, an attempt, more or less consciously, to recreate a 'solid' universe with

those 'fixed' values that were being undermined in an age of reason.

The question now arises, how does the imagery used by the dramatist function within an emblematic framework of the drama such as we have outlined above on the basis of Schöne's conclusions? How is the attempt at creating an emblematic dramatic structure reflected in the use of imagery in the dramas of Gryphius and Vondel? In the light of historical background information¹ about the 17th century situation in which the dramatists found themselves, one could maintain that the need to secure his unstable world was greater for Gryphius in war-torn Germany than for Vondel in the Netherlands. If the dramatist is at such great pains to create an emblematic structure of form, it seems a reasonable assumption that in the use of imagery we might discern a similar purpose.

Returning briefly, in conclusion, to the question as to how far Vondel influenced Gryphius directly, I should say that this may be debated ad infinitum as long as this 'influence'² is substantiated by linguistic 'proofs' - word here, and a phrase there - or by simple thematic or structural parallels. No doubt many of these arguments are valid, but they add little to the matter of determining exactly in what way the dramatist has adapted and used his examples for his own dramatic purposes, thus giving proof of his creative indi-

viduality¹. One must realize that in the 17th century originality was not so much judged by the material used, as by the way in which it was used. All 17th century dramatists drew on a common heritage, comprehended or misunderstood as the case may be². Poets would even compile collections of quotations for their own use and this would not be considered plagiarism. Thus the question whether Gryphius was a great dramatist in his own right remains to be answered even after the 'influence' von Vondel has been firmly established³. In his 'Vorwort' to Leo Armenius, his first 'original' drama (dated 1 Nov. 1646 - first published 1650), Gryphius maintains emphatically that Leo Armenius "welcher er nicht von dem Sophocles oder dem Seneca aufgesetzt / doch unser ist."

Ein ander mag von der Außländer Erfindungen den
Nahmen wegweisen und den seinen darvor machen:
Wir schliessen mit denen Worten / die jener weit
berühmte und lobwürdigste Welche Poet über seinen
vördergiebel geschrieben:

Das Hauß ist zwar nicht groß: doch kennt es mich allein:
Es kostet frembde nichts: es ist nur rein und mein.⁴

Vondel is not mentioned, nor is the English Jesuit Joseph Simons who lived in Rome where Gryphius became acquainted with his Latin drama about the same material. Flemming explains that Gryphius wrote about the same subject "in anderer Auffassung und eigener Darstellung", thus producing two "konkurrierende Fassungen"⁵. As for Seneca's or Vondel's influence, Flemming points out:⁶

Jedoch kopiert er weder schülerhaft den einen, noch entlehnt er eklektisch aus beiden; bemerkenswerterweise fehlen wärtliche Übereinstimmungen völlig. Vielmehr strebt diese erste deutsche Originaltragödie verehrten Vorbildern dankbar für Anregungen doch selbständig nach.

The way in which Gryphius worked is clearly indicated in this observation. The conclusion in Flemming's section on Catharina von Georgien, but equally valid for Gryphius' other dramas, is that "alle Anregungen werden daher einheitlich umgeschmolzen und treten in neuer Form auf, an rechter Stelle als echte und notwendige Glieder eines neuen Ganzen".¹ For these reasons we accept Flemming's final statement regarding this matter:²

Daß in der Geburtsstunde des deutschen Kunstdramas nicht etwa sklavische Abhängigkeit von der Antike vorherrscht, sondern die niederländischen Beziehungen überwiegen, Corneille sogar ausgesprochen kritisch beiseite geschoben wird, verdient positive Würdigung. Allein Vondel war Gryphius von allen Zeitgenossen geistesverwandt; so wurde er ihrer jungen Dramatik zum helfenden Paten, nicht zum tyrannischen Stockmeister.

The final word on this topic has been spoken by van Ingen³ who reaches much the same conclusion about Gryphius' ability to use inspiring examples "zelfstandig en in overeenstemming met zijn aard en zijn artistieke bedoelingen." He goes a step further than Flemming, however, when he justifiably states that⁴

Een vergelijking van Gryphius en Vondel is slechts vruchtbaar tegen de achtergrond van hun geestverwantschap, al gingen zij in hun dramatische kunst tenslotte gescheiden wegen. Overzien wij het waarlijk niet onbeduidende literaire leven van de 17e eeuw als geheel, dan rijzen toch beide giganten als eenzame toppen uit hun tijd op, eenzaam op de ongekende hoogte waartoe zij als dichter en denker

gestegen zijn. Wat men Vondels "geheim" genoemd heeft, wordt slechts gedeeld door de syndicus uit Glogau.

This seems to be the crux of the matter. When one considers the atmosphere conveyed by the dramas of these two great dramatists one is struck not by the similarities and parallels, but by the differences. Kindred spirits may use similar material to create their works, but each moulds it in his own way. This also becomes clear when one turns to the use of imagery in the dramas of Gryphius and Vondel. Keeping these facts in mind it may be easier to grasp the patterns of imagery, or the lack of them, which emerge from an analysis of the dramatists' techniques in the use of imagery in their work. By pointing out how the dramas of Vondel and Gryphius differ in this respect I hope this thesis will throw further light on the creative individuality of these two dramatists, each working in accordance with his own artistic constitution.

CHAPTER II

Leo Armenius.

Thematic use of imagery on
an individual level.

Leo Armenius

The first two words of the drama, placed first in a deliberately emphatic construction of a 'Häufung' of subjects, which causes a mounting tension before release is found in the verb, convey the grim atmosphere of the whole tragedy in the dark sounding image of shed blood - "Das Blut...". Blood is flowing to no good purpose: this reality in human history makes its threatening presence felt again and again in Gryphius' work, and occurs like a 'Leitmotiv' throughout this tragedy. The 'vanity' of bloodshed caused by human activities in history is made especially clear in Leo Armenius because the martyr element hardly exists in this drama, if at all; if it does, it is superimposed on the main character rather than an intrinsic part of it.¹ Rather than show blood flowing for a martyr's cause Gryphius makes a thematic use of the bloodshed pictura, primarily to reveal the vanity of the struggle for power in secular history². In later dramas the emphasis seems to change - the political aspect of power-seeking by the individual becomes of secondary importance and the lasting qualities of the martyr are presented all the more powerfully by the contrast of the secular and the sacred.

The first scene presents a pictura of secular power in a court ruled by a tyrant³, and the foreboding atmosphere of an approaching coup d'etat can be felt almost tangibly.

The pictura is expressed in a concrete way through the dramatist's language - a language which not only consists of abstract descriptions but also of imagery enabling the audience (reader) to 'feel' the elements which together constitute the pictura of the particular scene. Thus in Michael's opening monologue Gryphius gives an exposition in terms of abstract qualities. We hear of

Deß Fürsten grimmer Sinn / die zwytracht in den Stat/
Die zäncksucht in der Kirch' / und untrew' in dem Rath/
Die Unruh' auf der Burg /... (I, 5ff.)

and we are told that 'das sorgenvolle Leben' (I, 3) is made impossible "Nun jeder über uns schier wil Tyrannen seyn" (I, 18). But the abstract significance of these expressions are 'realized' in a concrete image such as:

(Leo) der sich im blut der Unterthanen wäscht
Und seinen geldtdurst stets mit unsern gütern lescht.
(I, 21f)

Here the elements of blood and goods are tangible and form a concrete presentation of abstract evils. The corrupt conditions at the court make the 'hof' nothing less than 'eine Mördergruben'¹.

The opening descriptive pictura consisting of the first exchange between Michael and 'der von Crambe' is completed by a subscriptio spoken by Crambe, whose reply is really a small monologue, depicting the concept 'Printz' and all his courtly attributes as 'eine leere pracht' (I, 45), dependent on the subordinates' protection and support. A climax is reached in the concluding Sentenz:

two qualities of 'List' and 'Macht', by the way, are characteristics which according to an old emblematic tradition every wise king should possess.¹ They are here turned into evil vices befitting the tyrant through the adjectives 'grimm' and 'toll'.

This speech also ends with a subscriptio containing emblematic imagery. After some so-called 'emblematic exclamations'² the conclusion follows:

Mein leben mag vergehn!
Kan nur mein fuß zuvor auff deinem Kopffe stehn
Du Bluthund. Du Tyrann / kan ich den frevel rechen!
So mag mich auf dem platz ein schneller spieß erstechen.
(I. 69 ff.)

In this way Leo is also connected to the source of all evil, as Gryphius would have learnt from his Bible. The image of placing one's foot on the enemy's head has a clear biblical implication of the Evil One being destroyed by the coming Messiah³. The rebel thus identifies Leo with Satan while he and his companions are by implication the deliverers of the oppressed people.

Finally the 2. Verschworene, the last character taking part in the dialogue of this scene, paints a picture of coming events and predicts that:

Der zwingel-landt (muß)
Eh' alß noch jemand denckt/dem Schwerdt zur beutte falle.
(I, 79 f.)

Thus besides blood and fire, the instrument of death, the sword, has now also been brought to the fore as an agent of doom. But Michael wants to cut this talking short - he wants action: "Was hat die red' auff sich" (I, 81). However,

Man kan der Sonnen lauff/der Sternen schnelles wesen/
Der Kräuter eigenschafft auf tausend blättern lesen...
Und was ein Mensch erdacht/wird in Papier verwahrt/
Was mehr noch/wie man kan/diss was verborgen wissen/
Und wie und wenn ein Mensch sein Leben werde schliessen.
(I. 91 ff.)

We may presume that Gryphius meant this seriously, also in view of his own opinions about astrology¹. The 2. Verschworene has:

Ein unbekanntes werck voll Malerey durchsucht.
In welchem/wie man meynt/was jeder Fürst getrieben/
Der diesen Thron besaß durch zeichen auffgeschrieben:
Wie lange dieses Reich werd' in der blüthe stehn:
Wie künftig jeder Printz werd' auff und unter gehn.
Man lernt auß dem die Angst/die Bürde die uns drücket/
Das mittel das die noth/in der wir fest/entstricket.
Der Löw verwichner zeit bekräftigt was man glaubt/
Die Jahre weisen den/der alles würgt und raubt.
(I. 98 ff)

Obviously this is a reference to Gryphius' "zimblich Buch voll frembder Gemälde"² which he mentions in his foreword and which, very likely, was an emblembook³. The speaker draws on the parallel of Leo's name and the lion mentioned above, and he claims that this is confirmed in the book:

Ein ebenbild deß Löwen/
Der mit entbrantem Muth und Klawen scheint zudräwen
(I. 107 f.)

The elements of fire and blood, referred to earlier, recur here with greater force because of the 'recognition' on the part of the audience⁴:

Die hellen Augen brennen
Erhitzt von tollem Zorn/die Leffz' ist kaum zu kennen
Für Schaum und frischem Blut/das auff die erden rint/
In dem er biß auff biß und mord auff mord begint.
(I. 111 ff.)

The tension of the description increases as the 2. Verschworene continues his description and points to future develop-

ments in the tragedy. He also mentions the way in which this is going to take place, and certain characteristics of the imagery here provide the elements for the 'recognition thrill' later when the imagery is 'realized' in the closing scenes of the drama. We are told of a "purpur rothes Creutz" on the back of the lion. These conventional descriptive words again remind us of blood, this time connected with the Christian religion, as "das Creutz ist Christus zeichen" (I. 119). Furthermore the prophetic pictura shows how through the red cross

ein Jäger stecket

Mit mehr denn schneller Hand ein scharff geschliffen Schwerdt/
Das durch haut fleisch und bein biß in das hertze fährt.
(I. 116 ff.)

The last two lines which follow immediately on this are an explanatory subscriptio to the emblematic pictura:

Jhr kennt das rawe thier: das Creutz ist Christus zeichen:
Ehr sein geburtstag hin/wird dieser Löw erbleichen.
(I. 119 f.)

The rebels are all presumed to know whom the lion represents, the cross simply connects with Christ and the obvious conclusion which according to the 2. Verschworene must follow from these 'facts' is that before Christmas Day is over Leo will be dead.

Apart from the imagery used it is important to see that here we have an exact forecast of what is going to happen - this pictura sets the stage for all that is going to follow. This might incline us to think that everything is predeter-
mined in the drama, which impression we also get in Papi-

nianus but even more strongly.¹ Yet the fact that everything is fitted within a framework of a predetermined 'Weltanschauung' in Gryphius' dramas clearly does not predetermine how the characters will act. This is easier to observe in Leo Armenius where the prophetic element is kept on a human, individual level and not, as in Papinianus, in a universal super-human sphere. We should, however, view the metaphysical framework of Papinianus in the same light as we do this episode in Leo Armenius. It is only because we know how the tragedy will end, that we can take this seriously as a forecast of the coming events. The characters concerned do not know the outcome, while the prophecy in Papinianus, of course, passes unnoticed by the human characters, and for a time they even believe the reverse is true when fate seems to be against them. Even Michael, who here immediately responds: "Ich will der Jäger sein" (I. 121), has to fear for his life after he has been condemned and imprisoned. He and his supporters have entirely forgotten, or at least completely overlook, this encouraging prophesy and would at the most be thinking of it with a bitter smile as a false forecast, or a wrong interpretation on their part.

Apart from his initial response Michael also passes over it because he realizes the need for action - the characters' own responsibility and their need to act have not been suspended by the framework within which the total event has been placed. It is up to them to realize their plans. Thus Michael

urges his followers on with a 'Häufung' of subordinate clauses; whoever is on his side, and whoever does this and that... - and here the action sets in:

der steh' in dieser zeit
Mit Rath und händen bey/und helff auff mittel spüren
Den anschlag ohn verzug und argwohn außzuführen.
(I. 126 ff.)

The others immediately agree and they swear an oath on the sword: "Deß Fürsten grimme Macht in leichtem staub zu kehren."
(I. 132) - a very well known 'vanitas' image for 17th century spectators.

Let us now consider how Gryphius makes use of the three components of the emblematic pictura discusses above - the image of the lion, blood and fire.

We observe that whereas Leo is given other attributes besides those of the lion - e.g. 'Bluthund', I. 71, and 'der geschwinde Falck der Tauben jagt', III, 348 - the image of the lion is given only to the emperor and no one else. This image of the lion is given to Leo even by implication, where Gryphius uses the pars-pro-toto approach and lets the connotations do the rest. Thus we see Michael speaking to Exaboliu in an attempt to persuade him of the emperor's unlawful procedures and his evil intentions which will rob the individual of his personal freedom - "Wo ist die Freyheit hin?" (I. 286). He paints a picture of the present situation, the pictura qualities of which are all the more evident as he exclaims in the middle of it:

Ich spey mich selber an/
Daß ich diß krumme spiel so lange schawen kan.
(I. 289 f.)

The first line of this exclamation is itself based on an old emblem, thus yielding an emblematic pictura within a pictura description. Note how for the remainder this pictura is composed of factual language stating the conditions at the court under Leo's rule, except in one instance, when the reference is a personal one to Leo's bloody, 'animalistic' deeds. Michael states that the emperor

stets die Klaw'n im Blut der Bizantiner färbt.
(I. 298)

The reference is clear enough for us to see the picture of the lion depicted in the "unbekannten Werck voll Malerey" (I. 98).

The next instance where we meet the image of the lion is in a monologue by Leo (II. iv), in which he considers the position of the enemy and that of his own party. The preceding scenes saw the arrest and trial of Michael. Now he is condemned, but he has been granted "nur ein kurtze Zeit!... daß ich zu guter letzt an meine Kinder schreibe: und lehre/durch papier/wo ich/jhr Vater bleibe..." (II. 365 ff.) - a fatal decision because it allowed Leo's wife time to plead for further postponement of the execution till after Christmas. As the III. Richter warns: "In einem Augenblick schafft offft die boßheit rath" (II. 374). The emperor does not stop to consider this, and instead finds comfort and pleasure in reflecting on the situation as it is with the threat of Michael's

presence removed. All this is contained in that first emblematic 'key-word'¹ with which the monologue begins -

'Diß':

Diß ists was Wir und Er so lange zeit gesucht!
Jtzt fühlt sein geist was uns sein frecher mund gefluchet!
(II. 39i f.)

The situation is an obviously emblematic one, because the pictura of the action thus far in the scenes just described leads Leo to exhort the audience:

Hier spiegelt euch/die jhr zu dienen seyden geboren;
Und den der herrschen sol/wol't leiten bey den ohren.
(II. 4o3 f.)

The foregoing action is then concentrated in a concrete form for the audience by means of an emblem² in which Leo identifies himself with a lion:

Verwegenheit greiff't oft dem Löwen in die har/
Doch wenn sie sicher wird/und jhn nun ganz und gar
Vor einen Hasen schätzt/läst er die scharffen klawen
Den auffgesperr'ten schlund/die harrten zähne schawen.
Und reiß't was auf jhn tratt!
(II. 4o5 ff.)

The parallel is made quite clear, and the general description of an emblem is made to apply exactly to the present situation. What is emphasized about the lion's characteristics are the destructive, bloodthirsty features, and in this way Leo himself indirectly, through the use of this emblem, confirms the accusations of his enemies which one might be inclined to take less seriously at first, simply because they are made by his enemies. Now Gryphius, instead of 'neutralizing' those earlier impressions by depicting more likeable character traits, uses this thematic technique in

the imagery to reinforce the early impressions by emblematic means. Leo uses elements in his pictura which we have met before, when reference was made to "der Löw entbrant" (I. 53), "mit entbrantem Muth und Klawen..." (I. 108) and "das haar fleugt umb den kopff" (I. 110)!

When later Theodosia and Leo talk about the situation in the realm the emperor's wife pleads for postponement of Michael's execution out of practical and, more so, religious considerations. But Leo strongly opposes her in the form of the emblematic argument¹ - the two strands of the dialogue grow visibly apart. At first the reply is given to counter the point just made, in the typically stichomythical manner. The climax of this 'duel' is reached when both speakers use a series of images which no longer form one unified argument depicted in a single pictura, but rather each image is an argument in itself and confirms the speaker's viewpoint in its own way. The answering series of images no longer attempts to gainsay each of the previously mentioned comparisons in order to win the argument 'on points'. Furthermore, in Leo's reply two of the three images used by Theodosia are repeated and affirmed, not contradicted, thus using a different technique of affirming what the previous speaker asserted only in order to state all the more emphatically that whatever may be the case, the one essential point around which the whole argument revolves is not the case. In other words, there is a complete break of

communication between the speakers at this stage; and indeed soon after this the conversation is broken off: Leo - "Mein Licht! nicht mehr! ..." Theod. - "Er laufft ergrimmt von hinnen" (II. 503, 511).

It is more than a coincidence that at the climax of this argument both Theodosia and Leo use the imagery of even the lion being tamed! Some of the other images also link up with earlier references in the drama. It seems that in her choice of images Theodosia deliberately depicts animals which we have met before as representing the two arch-enemies, Michael and Leo:

Man kan die Schlange selbst durch gütte so bewegen/
Daß sie die grause gifft pfllegt von sich abzulegen.
(II. 471 f.)

We are reminded of the emblematic exclamation of Leo earlier, comparing Michael to the proverbial snake in the bosom¹:

Hat uns die kalte Schlang/die jetzund sticht/betrogen.
Jst dieser Basilisc' an unsrer Brust erzogen.
(I. 147 f.)

This is immediately followed by the lion pictura which has been applied to - and confirmed by - Leo. I think we are justified in extending the line of argument further her thus taking Theodosia's words as an indication to Leo that she is still hoping he will change his mind and act like "der linde Mensch" showing so much "gütte" that the "kalte Schlang" will, in spite of its nature, be persuaded "die grause gifft... von sich abzulegen."

Der wilden hölen zucht/der strengen Löwen art/...
Legt/wenn der linde Mensch es nicht zu rawe handelt/
Die grimmg' unart ab/und wird in zahm verwandelt.
(II. 473 ff.)

Leo quietly admits this and then adds the series of images of what else is also possible: "Man kann/waß noch viel mehr/...". Actually, what Leo than grants as being possible is a series of what I shall call 'anti-reality' images, i.e. images which are usually employed in comparisons to show the utter impossibility of the assertion in question ever coming true¹. The images used here, however, are not quite impossible, as Leo points out. But the argumentative technique used here relies on the fact that Leo's anti-reality images are normally not possible, yet they may become true under very special circumstances as the result of a great feat by man, who through technical developments is now able to achieve what would ordinarily have been impossible. Thus it is not normal for the lion to deny its nature, ignore or even put off "die grimme unart" and be "in zahm verwandelt". It can only be done under special circumstances and may then be considered a great feat on the part of the person who managed it. When we come to Leo's answer we see now that the fact that he so readily admits these things to be possible only helps to lay a far greater emphasis on the one thing that, even under special conditions, would never be possible to achieve:

nur dis ist unerhört/
Die kunst verkenn't sich hier; kein wissen hat gelehrt
Wie ein verstockter geist den hochmuth auffgeblasen/
Und Kronen sucht verhetz't/zu heilen von dem rasen.
(II. 485 ff.)

The tragic dramatic irony of this convinced reply of Leo's is that he is so utterly right! What the imagery depicts presently, will become true later. Michael continues to plot to the end, i.e. Leo's end. And the Lion, the 'blut begierig Thier', is persuaded "daß es spiel und nieder knie vor dir", as Leo has just put it (II. 477 ff.). Leo cannot resist the power of 'der linde Mensch', his wife, and decides to give in to her request after all, "daß Er das strenge Recht nicht auf das fest außführ." (II. 520); and thus the lion 'wird in zahm verwandelt' (II. 476)¹. Thus Theodosia brings about the turning point in the tragedy - her own doom and Leo's downfall and death are the consequences.

When the image of the lion is used again the rebels are still in the depths of despair, in spite of the reassuring prophecy earlier. One of them complains:

So schnell als uns der mund/so langsam sind die hände:
Der anfang brenn't und glüet/das mittel mit dem ende
Verkehrt die kält' in Eys. (IV. 175 ff.)

This accusation is promptly countered by the 4. Verschworene, who takes up this comparison and transfers it to the world of hunting. In a concrete way he wants to make it quite clear to his audience through this alternative pictura that even though Michael had claimed: "Ich will der Jäger seyn" (I. 121), for the time being it is better not to entertain such hunting ideas. They are simply not in the position to do so without running great risks:

Wer/wo kein Vortheil ist ein grimmes Thier verletzt:
Gleicht dem/der ohne Pfeyl und Hunde Lewen hetzet.
(IV. 187 f.)

Out of these two standpoints develops a stichomythical argument defending the pros and cons of either attitude. This leads to a violent quarrel between the two speakers who draw their swords and have to be parted with the stern reprimand:

diß tolle rasen bricht
Den festen Bund entzwey/diß wütten wird entdecken
Was wir mit so viel list und eyden kaum verstecken
... Kan Leo mehr begehren
Alß daß wir unser Schwerd auf uns're Hertzen kehren.
(IV. 202 ff., 211 f.)

The theme of the lion killed by "ein scharff geschliffen schwert/das ... biß in das hertze fährt" (I. 117 f.), introduced in the prophetic pictura at the beginning of the drama, is here taken up again, but as a grim warning. Gryphius has the speaker deliberately reverse the original situation, to which he refers in the following words of advice and exhortation by the same speaker:

stoßt das behertzte Schwerd
In deß Tyrannen brust der ewren todt begehrt.
(IV. 205 f.)

In the next scene the rebels are united again through their common fear of a messenger. But von Crambe reassures them once more. Yet their fear was not entirely unfounded and they are more closely knit together still when Theoctist's message from the imprisoned Michael has been read out. It reveals Michael as a harsh 'friend' and a tyrant-to-be, who does not hesitate to use blackmail as a method to gain his liberty:

Durch euch kom' ich/und jhr durch mich/in höchste noth:
Find't mich der morgen hier/ so trifft euch Pein und todt.
(IV. 269 f.)

In this desperate situation the rebels are forced to devise a plan of rescue before the night is over. Which method can best be used? One reasons that if Theoctist could leave the castle unseen someone should be able to enter it too. But what can one man do; could he achieve as much as an army? Another affirms that this indeed is possible and illustrates his answer by means of an emblem expressing 'false friendship': "Ja freylich wenn man sich in Fuchßfell muß verkleiden" (IV. 279). In other words, present yourself as a friend, but as the original emblem says:¹ 'Animi sub vulpe latentés' (der Sinn ist unter dem Fuchsfell verborgen). The pictura depicts a man wearing a fox's fur, extending his right hand for a handshake, but holding his fox's tail with his left hand.

But then von Crambe interrupts with a striking wordplay on another animal image which emphatically points out that planning in this way they are on the wrong track because:

Es gilt die Lewen haut.
(IV. 280)

By means of this blunt, short but dramatically powerful statement he directs their attention back to the main issue. In a few more words von Crambe shows that the other 'fox' method is far too round-about, while through the lion parallel he also reproduces the complete connotation of the central issue of the plot - i.e. the tyrant must be killed. The Leitmotiv-like qualities of Gryphius' imagery are becoming

more evident as the drama progresses. It is not surprising, therefore, that in response to the plan finally adopted the 5. Verschworene, still under the impact of von Crambe's words, refers to Leo as

Das ungeheure Thier.
(IV. 309)

When at last the plan has been worked out in detail and the rebels are mustering their courage by speeches full of rhetorical pathos, we are suddenly confronted again with a pictura and turn of phrase remarkably similar to that found in Act I, scene 1 - the prophetic emblem. The theatrical force of the following words and actions (fulfilling one of the functions of the emblematic style of Gryphius' language) may be felt fully, not only because of the emblematic opening keyword 'Dis' and the 'Schaw-Spil' language, but all the more so because of the 'recognition' produced by the old theme: the lion's heart will be pierced by the sword. Note how von Crambe has ominously replaced Michael in the position of 'Jäger', as a hint of the eternal circle of history ever repeating itself:

Die schwert/das ich anietzt mit dieser Hand entdecke:
Sol zeugen wer ich sey. Wo ich den Stahl nicht stecke
Dem Lewen in die Brust: so fahr er durch mein Hertz.
(IV. 343 ff.)

It is the same 'recognition thrill' which we feel at the end of the tragedy. Leo has gone to church to celebrate Christmas, when suddenly he is attacked by his enemies who have disguised themselves as priests. His sword is "als eyß zersprungen", he is surrounded by his enemies and the

guards are far away. The description of Leo in this position is a pictura of courageous steadfastness: "doch stund er unverzagt" (V. 135, 137). He is depicted not like a rock in the ocean or a pillar (images which we could equally expect to illustrate this quality¹), but rather:

Alß ein erhitzter Löw/der/wenn die strenge jagt
Jhm alle weg' abstrickt/mit aufgespantem Rachen
Jtzt Hund/jtzt Jäger schreckt/und sucht sich frey zu machen.
(V. 138 ff.)

It is the same lion as the one depicted in the old "unbekanntes werck voll Malerey". And the 'Jäger' has caught up with him².

As far as the action is concerned, the drama really ends after Act V, scene 1. Leo is dead and Theodosia has prepared herself for the same fate: "Thue auff! Man muß den Tod in dem er ankômmt/grüssen." (V. 220). What follows is a political argument between Theodosia and the rebels about the Right of Rebellion - "denn wer nicht schlegt Tyrannen: wird geschlagen!" (V. 248) - and the Divine Right of Kings - "Ein Fürst fällt dem allein/der in den Wolcken wacht" (V. 286)³. To Theodosia the accusations of the rebels are slander of the dead: "Man lästert den/der liegt" (V. 265). In the imagery she uses she shows that to her Leo is still the lion he was when still alive, to be respected and honoured:

So wird ein todter Löw' offft von der Mauß bekriegt.
(V. 266)

The pictura speaks for itself and belongs to the emblematic tradition of illustrating cowardice by small or easily scared

animals (mice or hares) biting and sniffing at the body of a dead lion¹. These dishonourable aspects are passed over lightly by the murderers; they triumph in the fact that it is at last a dead lion:

Der Löwe/dem diß Schwerdt das leben abgekürtzet!
(V. 267)

Thus even after Leo's death the image of the lion is consistently carried through to the end of the tragedy.

There are two more references which use lion imagery both referring to Leo, thus bearing out the above conclusion. When Theodosia pleads with the rebels to be put to death like her husband, her pleas are ignored and she is pushed aside by the 1. Verschworene with the words of an emblematic image which connects with Theodosia's pictura mentioned above:

Nach dem die Helden faust den Löwen hingericht
Vor dem die Welt erbeb't/Ach't man die hünde nicht.
(V. 309)

Gryphius effectively expresses the thoughts behind the words by means of his imagery. Theodosia as 'hund' can be safely ignored, a nuisance at the most but never dangerous. Yet indirectly the rebel still pays tribute to the dead emperor in that he adds after 'Löwen' the words "vor dem die Welt erbeb't." As the tragedy draws to a close there is, as at the beginning, a lion reference which shows that the process of the struggle for vain earthly power has come full circle. The prediction that the lion would be killed by the sword

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before Christmas Day is over has come true.

We see his successor Michael, and in his shadow von Crambe,
ready

den Stuel ... zu betreten/
Auß dem der Löw gestürtzt.

(V. 340 f.)

BLOOD and FIRE

We have seen that Gryphius has provided a metaphysical framework for the dramatic action of his tragedy by means of a prophetic emblem with supernatural connotations. The forecast of the death of the lion in the pictura, and the parallels to this forecast in the imagery used by the dramatist, show that because of its emblematic implications Gryphius' language is more than purely descriptive. It indicates a closer identification of the characters¹ with those of their main characteristics or dominant features which the dramatist presents as having universal validity. We noted that the dominant features of the lion in the emblem (I. 107 ff.) were blood and fire. How are these characteristics used in the imagery of this drama? Let us consider first the element of blood, although, admittedly, it is hard at times to keep these elements entirely separate.

BLOOD used as a thematic structural element of imagery

It is striking that the tragedy begins with the mention of blood.² This, together with the subtitle 'Fürsten-Mord', leaves little doubt about the true nature of the topic with which the drama deals. The coming events are marked by bloodshed. Blood is made to flow by regicides who claim to be taking revenge for all the blood that was shed by the tyrant they set out to murder. The murder is necessary for the common good; if they do not kill the emperor he will execute them. The

rebels claim that they have risked their blood for the throne in vain:

(Mich.) Das Blut/das jhr umbsonst für Thron und Cron gewagt/
(I. 1)

This is one of the many reasons why Michael feels compelled to plot against the emperor, to obtain his rightful due and because:

Daß Reich und Land und Statt/so wil zu grunde gehen
Weil Leo sich in blut der Unterthanen wäscht...
(I. 20)

Thus another strand of imagery is being woven into a complete pattern, in accordance with the picture of a blood-thirsty tyrant. After a general description of the bad conditions in the realm in which no names are mentioned ("Nun jeder über unß schier wil Tyranne seyn", I. 18), Leo's name is suddenly introduced and in the same line connected with the blood that flowed for no good purpose, mentioned in the first line. Not surprisingly then, later in the conversation, the emperor is referred to by the 1. Verschworene as "Bluthund" (I. 71). This occurs at the end of his speech where he breaks into ecstatic exclamations ("Brich an gewünschter tag...!", I. 67 ff.) which constitute the subscriptio for the pictura of horrible crimes committed by Leo in his bid for the throne. The speaker resolves to conquer this tyrant even if it costs him his life. But blood does not always have a bad connotation. The concept of shed blood is also connected with the ideas of patriotism, honour and victory, when the speaker talks about his own blood or can identify himself with the person whose blood or bloodshed he is referring to. Thus the 2. Verschworene

mentions that in the palace library there are "manch altes Pergament" which:

Stelt uns die Helden vor ...
Die vor das Vaterland jhr Leben auffgesetzt
Und mit der Feinde Blut das stoltze Schwerdt genetzt.
(I. 85 ff.)

The above-mentioned ideas are expressed through the adjectival imagery which conveys the facts in an emphatic way by connecting in one line "der Feinde Blut" with "das stoltze Schwerdt". And again at the end of the plotting scene, Michael refers to his own blood, this time in the sense of a life-sustaining element:

Ich schwere Leib und blut
Zu wagen für das Reich/und das gemeine Gutt.
(I. 129 f.)

The notion of blood as an element of life forms a sharp contrast with the next reference to Michael's blood, because here the words are spoken by one of his enemies. Exabolius wants to see justice done in the correct legal way of trial and condemnation; but he agrees that Michael, indeed, is worthy of nothing but death. And here the element of blood is immediately connected with the idea of death:

Ich steh'es gerne zu/daß sein verletzt gewissen
Durch nichts als blut und todt mög alle gewel büssen.
(I. 227 f.)

The same Exabolius tries to dissuade Michael from further plotting in the scene which follows. Michael, not realizing that Exabolius has been sent by Leo himself to see if there is any chance of persuading the rebel, incriminates himself badly, and Exabolius warns him:

Mein freundt! der freye Mund bringt dich in höchste noth
Wo fern uns jemand hört/so bist du lebend todt.
(I. 281 f.)

But Michael refuses to give heed and instead bursts into a tirade against the emperor. Again there is the direct reference to Leo as a beast of prey. Without specifically stating that he is referring to a lion, the way in which Michael speaks about Leo, who

stets die Klaw'n im blut der Bizantiner färbt
(I. 298)

makes it quite clear that the imagery here links up with the "ebenbild deß Löwen" in the emblem book described by the 2. Verschworene earlier - "Der mit ... Klawen scheint zudräwen/" (I. 108). Exabolius attempts to convince Michael that what he claims will result in "das ende solcher noth", will only turn out to be "der anfang newer pein" (I. 305). Blood is only one item among many miseries that would result from a rebellion:

Du suchst was man durch blut/durch würgen und verheeren
Und flam' und todt kaum find't/es geh die stoltze Ruh
Der sich'ren Länder ein!
(I. 312 ff.)

In the same way the image of blood is used again a little later to denote the terrors of nightly visions which plague those in high places. What has been on the mind during the day reappears at night,

Und schreckt jhn bald mit Blut: bald mit gestürtztem Throne:
Mit brand/mit ach und todt und hingeraubter Crone.
(I. 395 f.)

But Michael cannot be convinced: at the end of the dialogue, in his hybris, he exalts in his power and might - "Vor mir

erschrickt die Welt/Die ewig stetter frost in eyß gefangen
helt." (I. 457 f.). In the last lines of the scene he really
lays bare his true intentions:

Mein leben ist sein (Leo's) Heil/mein drewen seine bar.
Sein Zepter/Kron und blutt beruht auff diesem degen/
Der mächtig seine Leich ins kalte grab zu legen/
Der/nun er ein Tyran und schwartzen argwons voll
Jhm durch den grimmen brun der adern dringen soll.
(I. 467 ff.)

We may safely conclude from this passage and the others quoted from act I that the imagery of blood is being used by the dramatist to indicate the moments of great importance in the lives of the characters in the drama. They are moments of life and death! Thus when Gryphius uses an image of blood he has arrived at a place of central importance in that particular description or in the development of the action in general. In this respect I maintain that Gryphius' thematic use of imagery fulfills a structural function in his dramas similar to that of the Sentenz regarding which Schöne has concluded: "So läßt er den tragenden Pfeiler sichtbar hervortreten."¹ The imagery touches the heart of the matter. Thus we see here that what is enumerated as being of the greatest importance to Leo includes not only the 'Zepter' and the 'Cron', but also his 'blutt' because that concerns life itself. It leads directly to "den grimmen brun der adern" through which Michael swears he will thrust his sword. This resolution is again a clear echo of the happening depicted in the prophetic emblem, where "ein scharff geschliffen schwert/... biß in das hertze fährt." (I. 117 f.). Blood is naturally closely connected with the concept of the Self. This also explains why, human nature

being what it is, one cause of rebellion, as Exabolius states, is that:

Viel können frembde leiden/
Mehr/nur jhr eigen blutt!

(I. 336 f.)

When Michael addresses the soldiers who have arrested him he also appeals to their emotions by describing himself as the guardian of what is most vital to them:

Wolt Jhr in fessel spannen
Den der für ewer blutt und freyheit hat gewacht!
(I. 480)

But it is to no avail.

Just as Michael is introduced in the first act through a monologue, the second act introduces Emperor Leo also in a monologue. Thematically the two are related as well. Leo also refers to blood and wounds, but with a difference - he speaks about his own wounds, and we have seen¹ that in such a case the element of blood is connected with the concept of honour:

Da wir mit blut besprütz't/vol ruhms-verdienter wunden.
(II. 11)

The monologue is really the opening speech of a dialogue in the scene of Michael's trial. It develops into a dialogue between the two antagonists, and it is interesting to note that there is an exchange in the course of this dialogue in which both Leo and Michael refer to blood. In the course of the trial as such this exchange is not important. This is evident from the words of the II. Richter which immediately follow: "Diß dient' der sachen nicht/ ..." (II. 163). Be-

sides it is not one of the judges who takes up Michael's answer with its imagery of blood, but Leo. Actually the ten lines seem superfluous and could be left out without affecting the judicial questioning. But in this short dramatic interlude in the trial scene the blood imagery as used by Michael and Leo, both of whom seem to sense its importance, comes together in a direct confrontation. One should note that this imagery seems to be limited in its application to the two central characters. In his defence Michael points out:

Man hat mit frembder schuld die feste trew beschwert.
(II. 154)

Hearing this Leo can no longer contain himself and exclaims:

O recht verkehrter trew: wo ist die trew geblieben!
Mich. Mein blut hat diese trew' ins buch der Zeit geschrieben.
Leo. Dein Blut das jeden tag nach unserm blute tracht.
Mich. Mein blut das so viel jahr hat für dein blut gewacht.
Leo. Gewacht nach meinem tod. Mich. den ich für dich zu tragen
War willig je und je. Leo. Nicht eins ist thun und sagen.
Mich. Jch sagts und thats als ich mein blut vor dich vergoß.
Leo. auß noth/auß eignen Ruhm. Mich. das vor den deinen floß.
II. Richter. Diß dient' der sachen nicht/...
(II. 155 ff.)

The image of blood writing down the faithfulness of its owner in the 'book of time' shows the dramatic technique within the language of Gryphius' tragedy. The imagery itself is actively engaged in a dramatic function of its own. Something written by someone with his own blood would bear sufficient witness to the faithfulness of the person in question. How much more so when this blood itself is in turn personified¹ and writes a declaration of faithfulness. This is followed by the two-line exchange in each of which the word blood occurs twice. The language is beautifully balanced as far as both the sound

and the rhythm are concerned:

Mein blut ...
Dein blut ... userm blute ...
Mein blut ... dein blut ...
... mein blut ...

In the same scene the theme of blood occurs again after the judges have deliberated and are about to reach a decision.

The IX. Richter concludes:

Mit kurtzem; was jhr thut/
Thut bald. anfänglich läscht/vielmehr ein tropffe blut
Denn eine fluth zu letzt.

(II. 305 ff.)

The imagery speaks for itself. The judge simply shows by using the two words 'tropffe' and 'fluth' that if Michael is not put to death, the rebellion, which would otherwise have been quelled, would break out in full fury and cost 'streams of blood'. In other words, it is better that one man dies than countless people perish in a revolt¹. Leo is reluctant, as God knows (he claims), to pass the sentence of the stake; but he must:

Doch jhr: diß Reich! das Recht: und unser blut und leben/
Die zwingen unß ...

(II. 323 f.)

Leo sees this whole episode in the emblematic way the dramatist intended. This becomes clear from the closing line of this scene, a Sentenz spoken by the emperor: "O Wechsel dieser zeit! verkehrte pracht in pein!" (II. 326). Little does he realize the dramatic irony of his words. Again the self is identified with the element of blood and closely connected to life.

This identification recurs in the next scene; but now it is Michael who uses it as the basis of his last appeal to give him time to write to his children at least, or, "Wofern dein hoher zorn/nicht wil daß es gescheh' Daß ich die süsse schar vor meinem ende seh." (II. 369 f.). Michael appeals to the emperor's inmost self and his deepest feelings of parental love:

Wo Liebe/die Natur in ewrem blut erweck't/
Wo wahre Vatern treu euch jemals angesteckt:
Mein fürst! wofern du denckst den schönen tag zu schawen
An welchem du die Kron wirst deinem Sohne trawen:
So weig're deinem Knecht/die jüngste bitte nicht.
(II. 377 ff.)

Leo is moved to grant the request for 'nur eine kurtze zeit'. But in granting it he analyses in the same speech the intentions of Michael's heart and pictures the possible results of this short postponement of the execution, exactly as they will come about. It seems that seeing he is blind, and hearing he is deaf!

The image of blood can be traced throughout the drama like a 'Leitmotiv'. In the next dialogue between Leo and his wife Theodosia it is worked out even more fully as an integral part of the dialogue. Incidentally, it is interesting that in this scene Michael's name is not mentioned by either husband or wife; a good psychological point, dramatically speaking. But by means of the language, and more especially the imagery, it is made very clear by implication that they must be referring to him. After the introductory exchanges (II. 424-427) Theodosia introduces the topic of her real concern:

Ach leider! ist nunmehr nicht bluts genung vergossen?
(II. 428)

As we have observed before, the image of blood usually concerns a central issue in this drama. Here, too, it is not just a general statement, but the image of flowing blood refers directly to the impending execution of Michael. Leo realizes this immediately as is made clear by his answer:

Nicht bluts genung/wenn man nach unserm blute tracht
(II. 429)

Theodosia continues with the image of shed blood and carries it a step further, showing the results of such bloodshed:

Durch blut wird unser Thron befleckt und glatt gemacht
(II. 430)

But Leo always has his reply ready - "So trägt ein frembder schew denselben zubesteigen", (II. 431) - and as we shall see¹, the imagery he uses in the following lines brings together the two themes of blood and fire in one pictura.

The sixth scene in this act contains the important speech in which Michael takes leave of life. However, the scene closes with a statement by Leo in answer to Theodosia's request for postponement of the execution - a statement which, immediately following upon the speech of Michael, throws an aura of dramatic irony over this speech in that it indicates the real turning-point of the tragedy unbeknown to Michael. Here the two lines of fate cross as it were. But only Leo really senses the impending doom which will be the result of his action:

Es sey denn/wie du wilt
Princessin! aber/ach' daß hier kein warnen gilt.
Du wirst die stunde noch/du wirst die gunst verfluchen
Und schelten was wir thun/auf dein so hoch ersuchen.
(II. 589 ff.)

Michael has no such prophetic insights about the direct results of his own actions. But he does speak of the future and his revenge that is contained in it. And again in his metaphysical allusions the two themes in the imagery come together¹ - the elements of blood and fire will both play a role in future developments, as there will:

Ein rächer auff erstehn/und eine Seel erscheinen...
Die mir mit Fürsten blut so eine grabschrift setze:
Die auch die ewigkeit in künfftig nicht verletze.
(II. 580, 587 f.)

In the epigrammatic last two lines Michael sums up what will be the ultimate results of what one might almost call his 'reincarnation'. The element of blood is used to denote imperishable qualities. Just as imperishable as the 'grabschrift' will be the certainty of Leo's fate. These reflections are confirmed by Leo's own premonitions.

The emperor's forbodings continue to plague him. The two lines of action have crossed and in the next act Gryphius shows that even if to all appearances nothing has changed, and even though the reality of the moment would never cause one to suspect that the roles have been reversed, in fact the way in which the two main characters behave confirms that such is really the case. The change beneath the surface prepares the way for a change in the action. In the psychologically convincing portrayals of the emperor and his arch-enemy

the dramatist makes clear that spiritually Leo is by far the weaker of the two. The ghost vision and the actions that follow are clear evidence of this fact. It is borne out further by the antithetical language used by Leo in his description of Michael in prison - "Der in den ketten herrsch't/..." (III. 212). This leitmotiv of the ruler as slave and the slave as ruler is of ironic significance throughout the drama. Michael has already conquered and dares to claim: "Die zeit ist recht für mich/hier kan man mittel finden..." (III. 366); while Leo is convinced that: "diß ist die letz'te nacht Die unß der Himmel gönn't" (III. 265 f.). Act III being thus devided in two distinct sections, each dealing in turn with the protagonist and his antagonist as each is concerned entirely with his own fate, makes it all the more obvious that the conflict in this act is concentrated within the two characters themselves as a conflict of psychological forces. Neither of the characters gives much thought to the other, each has his own fate to contend with. This is the reason why there is no great use of imagery dealing with the enemy's blood. Neither Leo nor Michael ever mentions blood in this act. There is only one instance of blood imagery and this occurs in the speech by 'Tarasij Geist'. Here the ghost speaks on behalf of other enemies whom Leo has banished, imprisoned or put to death in the past when he rebelled against the throne himself. The blood of his victims accuses him before God:

der der in felßen sitz't
Durch dein befehl verjagt/der in metallén schwitz't
Und auß dem mittelpunct der Erden durch die Himmel
Mit seufftzenreichem Ach! und winselndem getümmel
Gott an das Hertze dringt/das nimmer stille blutt
So ewig zetter rufft/das du gleich schlechter flutt/
Der Amphitrit' geschätzt und ohne schuld vergossen...
(III. 73 ff.)

The fourth act is entirely taken up by the plotting of the rebels. The line of Michael's fate continues to ascend and as it goes up Leo's automatically goes down. It is therefore not necessary to show the emperor's decline in great detail because it is implied in the ascent of his enemy. Like the previous act this one is rather short too. The conflict again is not an open one between the two parties but is expressed through one side only. The imagery again bears this out. Apart from the incantation by Jamblichus in which the references to blood are quite unconnected and incidental, there are only two other instances. The one links the two themes of blood and fire and will therefore be considered later, the other is of a secondary nature as it occurs in the quarrel between Von Crambe and the 4. Verschworene. The former levels the accusation:

Da als der Lew' auf blutt/und mord/und würgen drang
War kein behertzter Held der Jhm entgegen sprang.
(IV. 185 f.)

The main element in this image is undoubtedly the lion and this has already been discussed. The lion's appetite for blood is self-explanatory.

In the final act the two fates are drawn together again and the imagery becomes concrete reality. Blood is shed by the rebels

and the sword pictured in the prophetic emblem as piercing the 'purpur rothes Creutz' on the back of the lion now pierces Leo 'biß in das hertze' (I. 116, 118). The reference to the cross is explained by what takes place in this act and even gains in significance. In the first act it was interpreted simply as referring to Christ's feast. Now the cross grasped by Leo as he faces death is said to be part of the original one on which Christ died. Gryphius mentions this in his foreword to the drama and offers an explanation, but not a complete one, I think. He writes:¹

Daß der sterbende Keyser/bey vor Augen schwebender todes gefahr ein creutz ergriffen ist unlaugbar: daß es aber eben dasselbe gewesen/an welchem unser Erlöser sich geopffert/saget der Geschichtsschreiber nicht/ja vielmehr wenn man seine Wort ansiehet/ das widerspiel; gleichwol aber/weil damals die übrigen stücker deß grossen Söhn-Altars oder (wie die Griechen reden) die heiligen Höltzer/zu Constanti-nopel verwahret worden: haben wir der Dichtkunst/an selbigen sich zu machen/nach gegeben/die sonst auff diesem Schawplatz jhr wenig freyheit nehmen dürffen."

As dramatist Gryphius has therefore taken poetic licence to make the cross poetically more effective. Because this fact as such has nothing to do with the plot of the tragedy it must have a bearing on the language and the imagery of the drama. Gryphius decided to make a special point of this in his play. The cross, portrayed in the old emblem book as 'Christus zeichen' (I. 119), is now realized as dramatically as possible. The cross as an abstract sign becomes "das Holtz .../an welchem der gehangen Der sterbend unß erlöst/ den Baum an dem die Welt Von jhrer angst befrey't ..." (V. 144 ff.). Rather than see this episode as an indica-

tion that Gryphius intended to portray Leo as a martyr, I think we should limit ourselves to the facts given; they show the contrast between the sinner and the saviour, the tyrant and the liberator, and the significance of their deaths. Leo's death meant doom till at the last moment he repents and accepts the offer of salvation by Christ, "der sterbend unß erlöst." This view also allows the dramatist great possibilities as far as the imagery is concerned. The theme of blood gains in significance because of Gryphius' taking a "wenig freyheit". The bloodshed of the original prophesy has become directly connected with the blood shed by Christ and Leo's blood, when at the murder:

das warme blutt auß glied und adern sprang/
(V. 142)

Finally, the colour red is obviously associated with blood. This may be seen from Theodosia's words when she takes leave of life for the second time: "Du Purpur roth von blutt: wir scheiden hin/Ade/" (V. 330). Thus the same description of the colour of the 'purpur rothes Creutz' on the lion's back in the emblem recurs here.

When we keep in mind all these cross-references and connections the whole connotation of the imagery of flowing blood in this last act becomes apparent. Take for instance Leo's appeal to the murderers:

denckt/rufft er/an das Leben/
Das sich für ewer Seel an dieser Last gegeben.
Befleckt deß Herren Blut/das diesen stam gefärbt.
Mit Sünder blut doch nicht. Hab ich so viel verkärbt/

So schont umb dessen Angst/den dieser stock getragen/
An JESUS Söhn-Altar die grimme Faust zu schlagen/
(V. 147 ff.)

One can imagine that the implied profanity of mingling the Lord's blood on the cross with the emperor's blood would startle the regicides. And once they stop to think they might even restrain themselves, realizing that the crime they are about to commit means a crime against God himself. Leo's words almost do have this consequence: "Sie starreten auff diß wortt/wie wenn ein Feiß abfällt; Und der erzörnten Bach/den stolzen gang aufhält ..." (V. 153 ff.). But the flood rises and eventually rushes over the obstacle; the 'harte Crambonit' renews the attack, and while Leo kisses the cross he is killed on the altar by the rebels, his body falling over the cross.

Not only does the language in the report of Leo's death convey the dramatically powerful pause by means of the imagery used to illustrate the effect of the emperor's words, but here the language itself actually takes on the function of the pause which would have occurred at the time when the action described took place. Gryphius really writes literally a 'word-drama' - he no longer gives us simply a descriptive report of the events but makes the language reproduce the action with its dramatic moment.

For the dramatic effects he achieves Gryphius would (in spite of the historical data) have been amply justified in

identifying the cross seized by the emperor with that on which Jesus died because he could not have thus intensified the language and the imagery of this situation without the religious connotation. This is carried even a step further when the messenger reports that the rebels' deed did result in the sacrilegious consequences mentioned in Leo's appeal:

Ich hab es selbst gesehn/ ...
wie Jesus letzte gaben/
Sein thewres fleisch und blutt/die matte Seelen laben/
Die ein verschmachtet Hertz in letzter Angst erfrischt:
Mit Keyserlichem Blutt/(O grewell) sind vermischet.
(V. 164 ff.)

On the basis of these words one could almost plead for a case of Leo Armenius as a martyr's tragedy, as has been done.¹ What speaks against this, however, is that, unlike any martyr in the strict religious sense, Leo does not glory in the parallels of his death with the death of Christ. His language is not a stoic-religious martyr's language such as that used e.g. by Catharina von Georgien². The simple fact is that the ruthless tyrant dies as a converted Christian believer, who realizes that his blood is 'Sünder blut', not worthy of being mingled with "deß Herren Blut." Yet, in his death the emperor is found worthy of this, and symbolically he thus truly celebrates 'communion' at Christmas. In passing, it is perhaps worth noting that after her first farewell Theodosia reappears twice, in the second and third scenes. In both scenes she defends the reputation of the dead emperor and uses the old arguments of the Divine Right of Kings to defend his rightful position and legal claims to the throne. Thus a religious-political discourse de-

velops with the rebels who maintain the Right of Rebellion, a theory often discussed in the northern Netherlands during their struggle for independence against the Spanish. The same theme occurs in Gryphius' tragedy Carolus Stuardus and must therefore have been a political issue with which the dramatist was intensely preoccupied. Except for the fact that we see Michael ascend the throne in Leo's stead, there is little in these scenes that adds to the dramatic development of the tragedy. But the contents of the several discourses do continue the themes of the tragedy and in this way the last two scenes form a united whole with the rest of the drama. Incidentally, note for instance that Michael ascends the throne still bound in fetters to prove that: "Er liegt denn der mich stieß/ich Herrsch' in diesen Ketten" (V. 339). Thus he gives a concrete realization of the numerous picturae in the imagery based on that very theme of the prisoner ruling in chains and the 'free' emperor powerless in his court like an imprisoned slave!

The blood theme also recurs in the discussion about the clashing fates of Leo and Michael. The 1. Verschworene observes that at last the tyrant whose throne was founded on blood is dead:

Das demand feste Joch der grausen Tyranny
Die felsen schwere Last der rawen Henckerey
Der Zepter von Metall/der Thron auff blutt gesetzt/...
Jst durch unß/ob wol späth/doch entlich/abgethan.
(V. 221 ff.)

Theodosia, of course, counters this with an attempt to prove

the opposite. She does this with a recapitulation of the circumstances of Leo's death, and in doing so she emphasizes the aspect of flowing blood. By an appeal to the innocent blood of Christ she 'proves' that under these present circumstances Leo could not have been guilty of any crimes:

Jhr habt die grosse zeit/
In der sich GOTT uns gab/mit Fürsten mord' entweyet;
Und in den heiligen orth/der schuldige befreyet
Unschuldig blutt gesprützt: wer jtzund zweifeln kan
Ob jhr noch Christen seyde; Schaw in dem Tempel an
Den gantz zustückten Leib der auf dem Creutze lieget.
An welchen JESUS hat der Höllen obgesieget:
Deß HERREN wares Fleisch: das jhr mit blutt besprenget/
Sein blutt/das jhr mit blutt deß Keyzers habt vermenget.

(V. 274 ff.)

The argument does not convince the rebels and the 2. Verschworene drily answers: "Es liegt nicht dran; wie/wenn/und wo man bösen stew're" (V. 283). When Theodosia continues to make insulting accusations the 1. Verschworene, threatening her, uses the element of blood in the sense we have noted before¹ of something central and vital to a person - i.e. the Self, here placed in a position between life and death:

Dein leben/blutt/und tod beruht in diesen händen:

(V. 295)

But when Theodosia responds with a challenge to kill herself with the same sword used to murder Leo, she is told that her blood is inferior:

Auch sol kein Frawen blutt/den schönen stahl beflecken.
Den ins Tyrannen brust die wehrte Nacht fand stecken.

(V. 311 f.)

At the end of the drama Gryphius makes clear through the recurrence of familiar blood imagery that the vicious

circle of the struggle for power and might in secular history has come full circle. Michael is now in the much coveted position of emperor, but he had to shed blood in order to achieve this. He is still so inexperienced that he dares to claim:

"Das Recht ist vor das Volck/auf Fürsten schleifft man degen."

(V. 379). He does not seem to realize that thus he is undermining his own position. Theodosia is quick to point this out in her answer and also hurls his own accusations against Leo back at him:

Die (i.e. the people) werden über dich zu letzt auch
Urthel hegen.
Besteig mit diesem wunsch den oft gesuchten Thron/
Nimb die/durch list und blutt/und mord/erworb'ne Kron
Unß ist der hoff bekandt/das unrecht der Palläste:
(V. 380 ff.)

For Theodosia the court is hardly more than "eine Mördergruben" (I. 23) and she knows that Leo did indeed shed blood to secure his position¹. But she argues that Michael went about the matter in exactly the same way as Leo had done.

And Gryphius implies that what she says is right; the process of history is a never ending series of crimes when it comes to obtaining and losing positions of power. By granting favours to present friends the tyrant is creating his future enemies and executioners.

Erheb die neben dich/so unser blutt gefärbet/
Die grösser Ehr und glück durch unsern fall geerbet...
Und wetz' ein Schwert das dir noch wird die brust durch-
(V. 387 ff.) stechen.

Michael replies: "Du weist was künfftig ist/doch nicht dein eigne noth." (V. 393). - Significant words which imply that it is not unlikely that blood will flow again. The ghost of

Tarasius has revealed that innocent blood accused Leo¹ and "gibt der getrotzten Rache Das Mordschwert in die Faust;" (III. 83). This may also be said of the new tyrant who has taken his place. His reign, too, begins with shedding of blood and there are indications that more is to follow. As Theodosia speaks the corpse of her husband is dragged in, and she gives a detailed description of it. Thus, blood is introduced again in the last scene of the drama as an accusing force calling for revenge. This pictura quality of the description is emphasized by the opening exclamation:

schaw! sein nicht-schuldig blutt
Gereitzt durch unser angst/sprützt eine neue flutt
Durch alle wunden vor! sein blutt rufft embsich rache!
Ob seine Lippe stum. Sein blutt thut ew'rer sache
Mordgierig unrecht dar! (V. 429 ff.)

The next moment she sees Leo alive and well, and it becomes obvious that "der schmerz hat sie bezwungen!" (V. 443). Michael takes charge of the situation and issues orders for the security of the realm. The wheel of Fate has turned full circle. Michael begins as Leo began, and his followers respond accordingly:

Jch bin/der was unß feind/verdrück' und freund erhebe:
Versichert euch diß fest. (Die Verschworne alle)
Der Keyser hersch' und lebe:
(V. 455 f.)

FIRE used as a thematic structural element of imagery

Traditionally the planet sun and the element of fire have been attributed to the lion. Besides blood, the second dominant characteristic of the lion given by Gryphius is fire. In the first scene of the tragedy the emperor is mentioned by his Christian name in the first speech by Michael. But once the tyrant has thus been identified, the very next reference to Leo in the response by the 1. Verschworene is in terms of the emperor's representative emblematic animal, the lion. And it is not just a lion, but in this description of how Leo came to power, the lion is immediately associated with the destructive forces of the element of fire:

Der trawte Michael (i.e. previous emperor)/must alß der
Löw entbrant
Und jhn mit grimmer list und toller macht anrant/
Ablegen Stab und Cron. (I. 53)

What seems at first to be a mere play on words becomes more specified and concrete when, in the very same scene, we are referred to the Lion-emblem which embodies all the main features used by the rebels to present a picture of the emperor to the audience. A lion is introduced to us and described in some detail, bathing in blood, as we have seen, and breathing fire:

ja das gemälde rufft
Von seiner grausen arth/die hellen Augen brennen
Erhitzt von tollem Zorn/ ... (I. 110 ff.)

We have already seen¹ that this pictura of the lion is given within the context of a hunting scene, with Michael laying claim to the role of the hunter: "Ich will der Jäger seyn"

(I. 121). When the roles of the hunter and the hunted have in the end been reversed, the hunting pictura recurs as the fulfillment of the emblem-prophecy in the first scene. The lion has retained his fire to the end as is shown in the following depiction:

doch stund er unverzagt
Alß ein erhitzter Löw/der/wenn die strenge jagt
Jhm alle weg' abstrickt/mit auffgespannten Rachen
Jtzt Hund/jtzt Jäger schreckt/und sucht sich frey zu machen.
(V. 137 ff.)

It is clear, of course, that the imagery used by Gryphius not only adds force to the language, decorating it as a rhetorical device, but also has an emotional content as the images indicate character traits of the persons to whom they refer. We may note in passing here that in contrast to the fire image applied to Leo, the image used for Michael at one point is that of a cold snake: "Hat uns die kalte Schlang/ die jetzund sticht/betrogen." (I. 147). This emotional content also becomes apparent when emotions as such are revealed in terms of imagery. We see this for instance in the dialogue between Leo and his two advisors, when in a monologue section the emperor ponders over the (thematic) question: "was ist ein Printz doch mehr alß ein gekrönter Knecht..." (I. 153). The hypocrisy of a man in his position is mentioned, and the emotions of anger and jealousy are referred to in terms of fire:

Man muß/wie sehr das Hertz von zorn und eyver bren't/
In worten sittsam seyn/und den/der Regiment
Und Cron mit füßen tritt/zu Ehrenämptern heben;
(I. 165 ff.)

And in the same dialogue Leo says, speaking of Michael:

Die übergrosse gunst/die wir ihm oft erzeugt/
Der Marmor harte Muth den kein ermahnen neigt/
Erhitzen unsern zorn. Unß jammert seiner stärke.
Doch unser geist ergrimmt/... (I. 197 ff.)

The tense relationship between the rebels and the emperor is a source of concern for Leo's advisor Nicander who tries to urge the emperor and his faithful supporters to secure the realm quickly and execute Michael. "Die Ertzverräther wachen/
Wir schlaffen sicher ein. Sie suchen unsren todt Wir sorgen vor jhr glück/..." (I. 216 f.). To add more force to his words he expresses the situation in terms of imagery depicting a *pictura*:

Der Kayser ist zu linde
Und schertzt mit seinem heil: wer/wenn die rawen winde
Sich lägern umb die glutt/den flammen zu will sehn
Biß daß es umb sein dach und gantzes hauß geschehn/
Rufft leider nur umbsonst/wenn Maur und pfeiler krachen/
Und stein und Marmor fällt. (I. 211 ff.)

Leo is not just playing with his own safety - he is playing with fire! This is the message which the emblematic *pictura* presents here in such a concrete fashion. The emperor knows this too, and later in fact uses these very words, directed in dramatic irony against his adversary¹.

When Exabolius tries to persuade Michael to give up his plans he continues along the same lines as Leo before him. Again we get a description of the false appearances of court life and the element of fire is again associated with an emotion indicating a negative destructive quality:

Wenn man mit gläsern schantzt bey vollen Nacht Pancketen/
Zerschmeltzt (er) vor heisser angst/wenn die Trompet erwacht
(I. 331 ff.)

The person in power being consumed by anxiety and fears is another idea often repeated in 17th century literature where it is compared to the happy, rough but care-free country life of the peasant.¹

At the end of the first act we learn that not only Leo has played with fire but Michael as well. This is made clear in the Reyen. True to one aspect of their function, the Rey-en are reflecting on the causes of, and the lessons to be learnt from the happenings in the preceding act. If we consider the downfall of Michael as the pictura depicted in this act, then the Rey-en may be seen as the subscriptio of the emblematic presentation of this main event. There is a moral to the happenings presented on the stage², and the audience is addressed: "Lernt/die jhr lebt/den zaum in ewre Lippen legen! ..." (I. 541); a biblical image also found in the book of James³ where other images also used by Gryphius may be found:

Die Zung ist dieses Schwerdt
So schützet und verletzt.
Die flamme so verzehrt
Und eben wol ergetzt.

(I. 545 ff.)

The struggle for power continues even after Michael has been imprisoned because with a clever dramatic move Gryphius takes the tragedy a step further, yet retains the same tension around the ultimate outcome. He alters the question from: is Michael really a rebel and should he be arrested? to: must Michael be executed, and if so, with or without public

trial, now or later? Then Gryphius shows the forces which are still at work, each attempting to solve the various questions to their own advantage. As the fates of the two antagonists thus continue in the balance, constantly interacting, we shall see that the thematic use of the fire element in the language continues with the same intensity¹.

In the third act², where the fates of Leo and Michael permit a momentary pause before the action takes a definite turn, the two parties are isolated and more concerned with themselves than with each other. There is not enough interaction, one could say, to make sparks leap across. Consequently the use of fire-imagery decreases and becomes less powerful.

In the first scene of the second act Leo opens the dialogue in monologue form. Only after the first 75 lines does he address his enemy. In the reflection before this the emperor uses several emblematic images to make his position, and that of his enemies, clear to the audience. Some of the other images are employed to reinforce this main one. They are used within the framework of the element of fire. The interaction between the emperor and his enemies is expressed in terms of the effects they have on "die erste flamm!". From the beginning, Leo exclaims, he has experienced 'neyd' in proportion to his 'vol ruhms-verdienter wunden!', because his enemy "erschrack ob unsern siegen... Und ... verkleinerte die schlacht Die Palm' und Lorberkrantz' auff dieses Haupt ge-

bracht." (II. 11 ff.) Then instead of elaborating on the images of 'Palm' und 'Lorberkrantz', to which Leo refers again only indirectly a little later¹, the dramatist takes up a different image of fire to express the facts just mentioned in a concrete emblematic pictura:

So wird die erste flamm'/eh'r sie sich kan erheben/
Mit dunckel vollem dunst und schwartzen Rauch umbgeben.
Biß sie sich selbst erhitz't und in die bäwme macht/
Daß der noch grüne wald in liechtem fewr! erkracht.
Doch wie der scharffe Nord/die glut mit tollem rasen/
In dem er dämpffen wil/pflegt stärker aufzublasen/
Wie ein großmütig Pferd/wenn es den streich empfindt
Durch sand und schrancken renn't: so hat der strenge windt
Der mißgunst/unß so fern; (trotz dem es leid!) getrieben/
Biß unter diesem Fuß² sind feind' und freunde blieben.
(II. 19 ff.)

In the light of Leo comparing himself to a flame the remark made by Theodosia at the end of the drama, when in self-reproach she hurls accusations at the new emperor Michael, is all the more significant:

doch haben wir erweist
So viel/das wer nur ist/mit recht unß grausamb heist.
In dem/wir dir so weit die Zügel lassen schissen
Und auß der flamme dich/die du verdient gerissen!
(V. 361 ff.)

Theodosia literally and figuratively rescued Michael from death in the flames. She pleads with her husband until he gives in to her request that the rebel will not be executed by being burnt at the stake until after the feast, thus giving Michael time to organise his escape.

In the course of the drama we see how Leo, the lion "erhitzt von tollem Zorn" (I. 112), undergoes the same development as the 'erste flamm', the heat gradually growing in intensity till the smoke clears and the issue becomes quite clear -

'Michael's death or mine'. But by a stroke of fate - Leo's own wife is instrumental in saving Michael's life - the flame at its height is cut down nevertheless and extinguished. Titan, the sun-god of fire at first seems to be favouring the emperor, and like a god Leo decides: "Es muß gedonnert seyn/
Nun jhn kein plitzen schreckt:" (I. 201 f.). The effects of the 'streng windt der mißgunst' on the flames of Leo's hot-tempered personality are bound to have results. The emperor's anger is roused to such an extent that he agrees to sign Michael's death warrant. Leo expects this rebel to be just one of the many who have to be put out of the way.

When finally the monologue gives way to the dialogue, with Leo addressing Michael about the fate he is to suffer, the imagery of fire becomes a reality. But even as a reality¹, it serves an emblematic purpose: "Man sol der grossen welt ein neues schawspiel weisen/
Wie hart' verletzte gunst/und oft vergeb'ne schuld Und eingewig'te rach und hochgepochte huld/
Wenn rechte zeit einbricht/erschütter' und zubreche!" (II. 92 ff.). This is obviously the subscriptio to the pictura of the events described in the speech as a whole, and more specifically to the final decision in the last few lines where the punishment is pronounced:

wolan dann! ...

Weil die Pest
Durch linde Mittel sich nicht von dir treiben läst/
Weil wolthat dich verderbt/so fühle brand und eisen/
(II. 87 ff.)

The reality of fire as a concrete counterpart to the emble-

matic imagery is presented in greater detail at the next occurrence of the element of fire. At the end of the second scene Leo and the judges deliberate on the official sentence, which the emperor had unofficially pronounced in the previous scene. As the judges reach their decision, the rhythm of the language changes to reach a climax in an incantation, with all agreeing that the stake is the only suitable means of execution. The emblematic significance of the words shows that the death sentence with its *Sentenzen* is meant to teach the audience a lesson:

I. Richter. Ich stim' es. II.R. Ich. III.wir alle.
IV. und wir. V. Wer sich zu hoch erheben wil der falle.
VII. Setzt jhm den Holtzstoß auff. VIII. Dem Morder.
IX. Plötzlich. VI. bald.
I. Er brenn' und seine pracht/die rasende gewalt
Vergeh' in Asch'. II. Er brenn'. III. Er brenn'. IV. Er
brenn' und schwinde!
V. Und werd' ein dampff der lufft und gauckelspiel der winde.
(II. 307 ff.)

Later Michael will take up the emblematic imagery contained in this passage and, giving it an ironical twist, apply it to himself!¹ The various images here all deal with the element of fire, even the pictura of the man who wants to rise too high and as a consequence falls - this is a direct reference to the well known legend of Icarus who was destroyed by fire, i.e., by the heat of the sun². The abstract idea of 'Pracht' being turned into ashes and Michael becoming a vapour and plaything of the winds again draws on the traditional store of 17th century emblematic imagery expressing an extreme in vanity, typical of Gryphius' *Weltanschauung*.³

Whatever his feelings towards Michael, feigned or real, Leo accepts this sentence as the only way out, as his conclusion shows. He ends with two emblematic exclamations which emphasize again the emblematic significance of the foregoing events:

Wie scharff sein herber todt unß Hertz und Seel außzehr'
Doch jhr: diß Reich! das Recht: und unser blut und Leben/
Die zwingen unß den Mann den flammen hin zu geben.
Richter. das Urtheil ist gestell't! rufft den beklagten ein!
Leo. O wechsel dieser zeit! verkehrte pracht in pein!
(II. 322 ff.)

When Michael hears the sentence he submits to it after first attempting in vain to put up a defence. But he does continue to plead for a short postponement to say goodbye to his children. The emperor recognizes the threatening element contained in this request and he compares it to the danger of a smouldering fire which outwardly shows no signs of flaring up, but ultimately will do so. Here we have the real turning point in the drama because if Leo had resolutely refused this favour and insisted on the rebel's immediate execution, then Theodosia's pleading would have come too late. But Leo grants Michael his "kurtze zeit" (II. 365), and his wife's request later acts as catalyst for the developments which have their beginnings here, in the hidden fire of revenge:

Leo. Us ist nicht unbekand was dein gemütte dicht!
Die straffe wird geschwecht durch aufschub/weil die Rache
Als schlummernd sich verweil't/sucht eine böse sache
Hier vorbitt/Anhang dort: und steckt mehr Hertzen an;
Als man mit linder gütt und schärfffe heilen kan.
(II. 382 ff.)

The fourth scene of this second act reveals the emblematic meaning of the downfall of Michael in a monologue by Leo.

The first word indicates this, as it clearly refers back to what has happened so far: "Diß ist's was Wir und Er so lange zeit gesucht! ..." (II. 391 ff.). The audience is also told: "Hier spiegelt euch/die jhr zu dienen seyde gebohren; Und den der herrschen sol/wol't leiten bey den ohren." (II. 403 f.). The thirty-four lines of the monologue are full of well known baroque emblematic imagery. The theme of Fürst/Knecht recurs, and Leo is satisfied that finally the parts have been correctly divided in this respect. He uses in addition the familiar shipping images of shipwreck and safe arrival: "Jtzt sinckt sein Kahn zu grund/und Leo find't den Haven!" (II. 400)¹. Drawing his conclusion, the emperor again uses an image expressing the core of what has happened to Michael. This is seen as a reflection on the stage of a general truth applying universally in the world:

Unß hat die zeit gelehr't
Daß der betrogen wird/der nicht mehr siht als hört.
Und daß kein schawspiel sey so schön im rund der Erden:
Alß wenn/was mit der glutt gespiel't/muß Aschen werden/
(II. 421 ff.)

The irony of the last line becomes fully apparent only at the end of the tragedy. The fact is that without realizing it Leo himself lives under the validity of the universal truth which he has just stated in the above Sentenz. He has played with fire² by granting his arch-enemy temporary reprieve and allowing Theodosia to persuade him to grant a further extension. Ironically, he observes the possibility of extinguishing the fire in the dialogue with Theodosia when she intervenes on Michael's behalf. It is one of the possibilities admitted

by Leo only to add force to the truth of the one final conclusion¹:

Man dämpfft der flammen macht/man segelt gegen wind/...
Diß kan man und noch mehr/nur dis ist unerhört/ ...
(II. 485 ff.)

viz., the possibility of changing a person like Michael.

But Leo uses it as an example only. He is still convinced of the rapidly approaching doom of his enemy. For him Christmas Day will be a feast day not because of the Saviour's birth, but because it heralds Michael's death:

Theod. Bedenckt den hohen tag der alle welt erfrewt.
Leo. Und mich/wenn nun der wind deß feindes asch' umbstrewt/
Theod. Stöß't jhr den Holtzstoß auff/nun JESUS wird gebohren!
Leo. Dem/der auff JESUS Kirch' und glieder sich verschworen.
Theod. Wol't jhr mit mord befleckt zu JESUS taffel gehn?
Leo. Man richtet feinde hin die bey Altären stehn.
(II. 497 ff.)

Note the recurrence of the image of Michael's remains becoming a plaything of the wind, used earlier by the judges². In the last line we hear again the note of dramatic irony. It sounds more strongly in this drama than in any of the other tragedies by Gryphius discussed here because this drama is the only one which is not a martyr-tragedy. The political 'martyr', Papinian, and the martyr in the strict religious sense³, Catharina, are resigned to their fates and do not try to escape death, but Leo is engaged in a struggle for life or death to the very end, and he is not prepared to admit defeat. For this reason dramatic irony in the full sense of the word, as we see it above, is possible. Catharina's interpreting reality in terms of her own preparedness to meet her death is irony of a gentler sort.

In the sixth and final scene of this act the fire imagery flares up with renewed intensity, as Michael makes a final attempt to come to terms with his fate. Although more persons take part in this scene we have in effect a monologue by Michael, while there is no exchange of any real dialogue at all. The Trabanten announce that it is time for Michael to go, but first allow him to recite a sixty-line speech with only one interruption, before telling him to move aside because the emperor and the empress are coming. In the one speech by Leo which is thus introduced we hear him make the concession to his wife for which she has been pleading. "Aber/ach' daß hier kein warnen gilt", he says resignedly, adding the warning: "Du wirst die stunde noch/du wirst die gunst verfluchen Und schelten was wir thun/auf dein so hoch ersuchen." (II. 590 ff.)

The truth of these prophetic words is underlined by the powerful imagery in Michael's speech. It is full of a dynamic, threatening foreboding - even after Michael's death Leo would have no way of escape from ultimate doom. This speech is the counterpart of Leo's monologue at the beginning of the act. Here a pictura of the fate of an emperor is depicted in order to teach everyone an emblematic lesson. The audience is accordingly told to: "komm' und schaw' uns an!" (II. 8). The figurative conclusion that "nie hat uns verletzt Der blitz zaghafter furcht" (II. 36 f.) finds its parallel in Michael's wish:

Ach! daß der lichte pfeyl der donner mich verbrandt!
Alß ich/da noch ein Kind/von Hause ward gerissen!
(II. 538 f.).

But Michael means it literally! The foundation of this speech is to be found in the image of fire. On the basis of this foundation the condemned rebel constructs a monologue in which he overcomes the physical reality of the stake, the fire of his execution. He does this by taking just this element, eliminating its immediate destructive qualities and creating out of this a vision of a glorious future and of a furious, raging revenge. Michael achieves this, as we shall see, by means of an emblematic approach to the reality with which he is confronted. After an introduction in which friends, titles, human love and faithfulness are laid bare as vanity, not to be relied upon (as he did), Michael states the reason for finding himself in the present predicament. It is the old grudge, on the grounds of which he was arrested:

der/den: die faust gesetzt
Auff Constantinus Thron. setz't mich auf diesen stoß/
Der Fürst vor den mein blut auß allen adern floß
Schenckt mir diß holtz zu lohn! wie hoch bin ich gestiegen/
Daß auch die aschen selbst wird durch die lüffte fliegen!
(II. 532 ff.)

This is the first attempt to overcome harsh reality. The pictura of the reward of a burning stake is transformed by an ironic scriptura. In spite of, or rather, because of the stake he will rise to great heights. But unfortunately only his ashes in the sky will be the 'concrete' evidence of his rise to fame. Later Michael returns to the same theme and elaborates upon it - but not before first experiencing a

relapse into weakness, wishing for an easier death and holding up his fate as an example to the audience, as Leo did earlier:

Wol an dann! kom't und lehrt
Jhr die jhr Fürsten hoch/und gleich den Göttern ehrt/
Die jhr durch Herren gunst wol't in den Himmel steigen/
Wie bald sich unser Ruhmb muß in die aschen neigen.
(II. 549 ff.)

The last line clearly shows by contrast how ironically the rising of his fame was meant. As the moment of weakness passes, irony again wins the upper hand and Michael makes another ironic application, using the concrete facts to teach an emblematic lesson - this time in the context of the execution fire awaiting the speaker. He employs an element which as such is often used in the 17th century as the emblematic expression of the idea of Vanitas¹, viz., smoke in antithesis to the verb 'steigen'. Yet, paradoxically, this is still the correct verb to use in the context. The paradox of the pictura then illustrates the following point:

Wir steigen/alß ein Mensch dem man den Halß abspricht/
Auff den gespitzten pfaal der seinen Leib durch sticht.
Wir steigen alß ein Rauch/der in der Luft verschwindet:
Wir steigen nach dem fall/und wer die höhe findet.
Find't was jhn stürzten kan. Trab.die weißheit lehrt der
Todt!
Mich. Was mich mein Holtzstoß lehrt, das lehr'euch meine
noth!
Wer steht kan untergeh! Ich wil mich selbst entkleiden.
(II. 553 ff.)

At this point where the rebel is resigned to his fate and has accepted it like a true stoic, he receives the strength to transcend the reality of his approaching death². This acceptance of the lesson expressed in the last emblematic exclamation is shown subtly but effectively in the second

half of the last line of the above quotation. Michael takes off the garments he has worn as commander-in-chief of the armies of Leo's realm. There is an interesting parallel to this symbolic act in a later tragedy, when Gryphius describes the King's preparations for his execution in Carolus Stuardus. We cannot go into that here, but we can see that there too this action leads to the King transcending his earthly fate and accepting his death at the hand of regicides¹.

The transcending function of this monologue becomes clearer when Michael makes a new beginning with a resolution: "Last unß denn unverzagt deß himmels schluß erleiden!" (II. 560). He then says farewell to the sun and the earth and finally calls upon the spirits "die die Rach' jhr hat zu dienst' erkießt" (II. 569). It was noted above² that Michael uses an emblematic approach to overcome reality. We can now see the emblematic element connected again to the imagery of fire. The fire of revenge inspires Michael in his appeal to the spirits of retaliation, whom he challenges:

So tag ich euch hervor/auß ewrer Martter höll/
Wo nichts denn Brand' und auch/gönn't der betrübtten Seel
Was nicht zu wegern ist/es müße meine schmerzen
Betrawren der sie schafft/und mit erschrecktem Hertzen
Den suchen den er bren't. (II. 573 ff.)

His inspiration carries him further still. He sees a mental pictura of this revenge accomplished in the near future by himself even after his death. The only way in which this is possible is by means of some kind of reincarnation - Michael

inspiring someone else to achieve for him what he himself had been unable to do. In the emblematic tradition these ideas of reincarnation and death in the flames are united in the one wellknown emblem of the Phoenix¹. According to the legend, this mythical bird rejuvenated itself through the consuming flames of a fire, or reincarnated itself in the form of a younger Phoenix arising out of the ashes of the fire in which the old bird had met its death. This is doubtless the emblem which Gryphius has in mind when Michael works out these ideas in this monologue. He applies them to his situation, but transcending it as we can see in the last two lines of the following quotation, mentioned earlier in connection with the imagery of blood² - equally an element inseparably connected with the kind of revenge envisaged by Michael:

Es müsse meine glutt/
Entzünden seine Burg/es muß auß meinem blutt/
Auß dieser glieder asch'/auß den verbranten beinen/
Ein rächer auff erstehn/und eine Seel erscheinen
Die voll von meinem muth/bewehrt mit meiner hand
Gesterck't mit meiner krafft/in den noch lichten brand
Der mich verzehren muß/mit steifen backen blase/
Die mit der flamme tob/und mit den funcken rase/
Nicht anders/alß dafern die schwefel-lichte macht
Durch Wolck und schlösser bricht; der schwere donner kracht.
Die mir mit Fürsten blut so eine grabschrift setze:
Die auch die ewigkeit in künfftig nicht verletze.
(II. 577 ff.)

Here we see how Michael is able to transcend his actual grim circumstances. He has already gone through the consuming flames of the stake, as it were, by means of the imagery and language used in the monologue. He lives in a new reality which he has created in this way - one in which the emperor,

his executioner, will have been executed; one which even eternity itself will be unable to erase.

As was mentioned before¹, the use of thematic imagery occurs less frequently and becomes less powerful in the third act. We have seen how in the second act both Leo and Michael 'establish' themselves by means of comparisons with blood and fire. The conclusion in both cases is that just as fire has consumed the obstacles in its way, so will the enemy be overcome. And the seal of blood is set upon it. This conviction has weakened considerably in the third act in which the action 'settles down' to a level where both parties come to realize the true nature of their position. The situation can no longer be depicted in terms of black and white. The roles of protagonist and antagonist, never really sharply defined, now become even more blurred. It is not even clear that Leo was ever really 'destined' to be emperor. How else can one explain the ironic contrast in Leo's monologue between his "kummerreiches leben" as a ruler and the depiction of him "der nur die wälder kenn't"; this is emphasized by the third stanza of the 'Chor' which immediately follows: "Die kleine welt/das grosse Bizantz liegt in stolzer Ruh. in dem sein keyser wacht. Der grosse Printz/der für uns kriegt und siegt Und gantz zubricht der harten Persen macht." (III. 41 ff.). It does not even seem sure that Leo has not been acting against the purposes of God, who as a punishment will destroy him:

wer Gott in streit außtag't/
Wird asch/und staub/und dunst/und rauch/und wind.
(III. 63 ff.)

Is Gryphius questioning the Divine Right of Kings? The instability of his position seems to emphasize the questionable nature of Leo's kingship. This impression is reinforced by his vision of Tarasius' ghost in the second scene. This spirit brings to light his past crimes and warns him of approaching doom. Thus not only the chorus indicates that Leo's fate is to be brought to a tragic end by God himself, but the spirit from the underworld predicts the same thing in different words. These words emphasize the close connection between fire and God's thunderbolts - or those of Zeus. So far references to thunder and lightning have been deliberately left out in order to limit the scope of this chapter and because it was thematically possible to do so. Here, however, the two themes are brought together through the striking similarity of the thought expressed; and because it helps to throw additional light on the 'supra-actional' aspect of divine influence on the fate of man we must mention it here.

In this third act we see a gradual shift of emphasis. The role of Leo as ruler, as God-appointed emperor who will not be moved by subversive activities, and that of Michael as the rebel, a plotter against the emperor and therefore (as Theodosia implies) against God himself - these roles are reversed. The question is no longer whether Michael can be

at all justified in attempting to murder the emperor, but whether Leo can really lay claim to divine protection, simply because he has managed to become emperor (as Michael will after him). Leo has claimed earlier that he had never been afflicted with the paralysing emotion of fear:

doch unß hat nie verletzt
Der blitz zaghaffter furcht. (II. 36 f.)

If we take this in the traditional emblematic connotation, keeping in mind the emblem of the royal laurel (tree) which cannot be harmed by any thunderbolt¹, then the pronouncement by the ghost of Tarasius shows this self-assured statement to have been vain presumption on the part of Leo:

Kein schloß/kein schild/kein schwerd/kein tempel/kein Altar
Schütz't/wenn Gott blitzen will! (III. 86 f.)

In God's sight the emperor is no better off than the rebellious servant. We are reminded of the words spoken by Michael in his self-defence before Leo and the judges:

Dein Knecht ...
Eh' jhn deß Himmels zorn mit schweren Ungewittern
So grausamb überfiel/sinckt vor dir auf die Knie/
(II. 358 ff.)

But Leo is threatened by a figurative divine fire as much as Michael faces real flames of the pyre.

Emperor Leo is aware of this 'revolution'. He senses that his vision means more than a mere 'dream' as his friends try to tell him. As far as he is concerned, "Wir schaw'n den geist noch für unß stehen Wir schawen unser Reich vergehen" (III. 123 f.). For him the certainty of the sentence: execution by burning, is changed into a paradoxical question, - paradoxical

in view of the development of the action thus far:

Steht uns're zeit in dessen händen
Der in der glutt die zeit sol enden?
(III. 139 f.)

Contrary to all expectations in the first two acts, we shall see that in the course of the last two this central question has to be answered in the affirmative. Even the realization that he must do something and the resolution which follows are felt by Leo himself to be nothing but vanity and empty words. The lion, 'erhitzt von tollem Zorn' (I. 112), tries to stir up this blaze in vain:

Wo wir/nicht/ehr die zeit den dritten tag verliere/
Den Mörder und sein Volck Und anhang und jhr Hauss/
Erhitzt't durch heil'ge rach/verkehrt in staub und grauß:...
So müssen wir verjagt/verhöhn't/verspey't/verlacht...
Wie dencken wir so weit! diß ist die letz'te nacht
Die unß der Himmel gönn't. (III. 256 ff.)

The third act ends with the scene in which Michael and Papias are desperately planning ways of escape because they have realized that the emperor came to inspect in person and must have discovered Papias' treason. Unlike Leo, Michael does not despair but calmly observes: "Jch spür' es ist mit uns nunmehr aufs höchste kommen!" (III. 304). The climatic character of the act is underlined by the imprisoned Michael who states with what seems to be complete certainty that he will overcome his fate: "Die zeit ist recht für mich/ hier kan man mittel finden Durch Wach' und Thor zugehn." (III. 366 f.). He obviously is as convinced of this as Leo is about his approaching end. The tone which Michael adopts here takes the edge off the flames threatening to consume him which he later mentions. The 'either-or' stated by Leo

above finds its parallel in another 'either-or' spoken by Michael and also beginning with 'wo...', followed by a number of one-line picturae describing the situation from which he must be rescued if he is to stay alive:

wo ich auß dieser Ketten/
Auß dieser Pein die mich will in den Abgrund treten...
Von diesem Sturm der sich umb meinen Kahn erreget/
Und donner/der umb mich mit liechten blitzten schläget
Errettet/dieses Loch deß Kerckers lassen sol:
So ist mein Leben dein (Papias')/so geh' es beyden wol....
Dafern die flamme dann mich gantz verzehren wil:
So hab' ich doch versucht was möglich und du viel.
(III. 377 ff.)

If we see this reference to the flames in the light of Michael's earlier emblematic threat of a spiritual reincarnation, then the conditional in this speech assumes another significance. And in a symbolical way Michael does go through the gates of death, only to regain life in a more glorious form.

The action of the fourth act does not really begin to develop until the first two scenes in which the two 'Zusammengeschworenen' on their way to von Crambe discuss the pros and cons of foretelling the future by means of raising the spirits. One of them actually intends to consult the seer Jamblichus and does so in the second scene. The speeches in the ritual of incantation to raise a spirit from the underworld may safely be disregarded without affecting the tragedy or its structure of imagery.

In scene three we meet von Crambe and the other rebels

encouraging each other and planning the coup d'etat which has suffered such a severe setback with the arrest of their leader. Von Crambe accuses the others of having lost courage, and in strong language he illustrates how 'brave' they were, "wenn unß das glück mit süßem mund' anlacht" (IV. 161).

They felt so exuberant that:

Denn muß der grund der Erden
Erzittern unter unß und schier zu aschen werden.
(IV. 163 f.)

Is this an accidental reference to fire in a whole series of exaggerated picturae which serve only as 'Schmuck' and to add force to the conclusion? At first sight one would be inclined to think so. But looking at what follows in this scene it would be more correct to say that this is the first of a number of thematic references to the heat of flames of fire. As contrast to the smile of Fortuna von Crambe uses another pictura; Michael's supporters have felt the threat of the consuming fire:

Doch wenn die lüfft erhitzen
Und dicker wolcken nacht unß wil zu lichte blitzen.
Weiß niemand wo wir sind/der grosse mutt vergeht
Alß schnee/wenn Titan nun des Wieders horn erhöh't
(IV. 171 ff.)

Then in von Crambe's conclusion this last pictura of melting snow is reversed. Thus without saying it in so many words, Gryphius, by means of precisely the pictura elements in this speech, changes the subject of the argument from an initial blazing enthusiasm to a fading courage:

So schnell als uns der mund/so langsam sind die hände:
Der anfang brenn't und glüet/das mittel mit dem ende
Verkehrt die kält' in Eys. (IV. 175 ff.)

In the next and final scene of this fourth act the plan for the coup has found general approval and in the closing speeches von Crambe and some of the Verschworene express their determination to bring the matter to a successful conclusion in language of typically baroque pathos. The last two speeches seem to be a recapitulation and an elaboration of the imagery which occurred earlier in this act. This time the images are put in the form of anti-reality hyperboles, thus combining the opposite elements of separate images used before:

3. Verschw. Versichert euch dis fest/daß jder willig geh'
Wohin diß werck unß rufft/ehr wird die glutt in schnee.
Die flamm' in gläsern eyß/das Meer in graß sich wandeln.
Eh' einer wird verzagt/bey diesem anschlag/handeln.
(IV. 353 ff.)

Before ordering the others to follow him to the room where they will find their disguise of priests' robes von Crambe rounds off the encouraging pathos by appealing to an emblem dealing with fire too. He then applies this to his fellow-rebels, as follows:

v. Crambe. Gold wird durch glutt/ein Held durch angst
und ach bewehrt
Wer furchtsamb: leb' in noth: wer muttig: zuck' ein schwerdt.
(IV. 357 f.)

We have now come to the 'Reyen' concluding the fourth act, i.e., the last interpretation of a metaphysical nature superimposed on the dramatic action upon which it comments. In it Gryphius concerns himself with what could be considered the central spiritual event in the tragedy: the birth of Christ. These reflections only indirectly concern the development of

theme of Herr und Knecht has occurred throughout the drama. Gryphius was obviously acquainted with this theme in the Bible where it reaches a climax on which he has based the above lines - Christ the LORD becoming the 'suffering servant' as he is called in the Old Testament¹. This religious aspect of Gryphius' works, which is always present, helps one to understand how misguided the tragic 'heroes' in the drama are, and explains why the dramatist concludes the 'Reyen' with an appeal, revealing his own attitude and wish that the audience may learn from his portrayal of a dark world of strife:

dieses Kind verley uns allen
Daß wir wollen seinen willen/daß wir jhm stets wol gefallen.
(IV. 403 f.)

The two contrasting worlds of the last chorus may be seen for a moment side by side in the last act, before the darkness of the world of power-politics closes in again. Theodosia introduces a "grawen volle nacht! ... Betrübte Finsternis!" (V. 1 f.). She has had a dream indicating "nichts als rawe bitterkeiten" (V. 4). And hardly has she described the details when there is the cry: "Mord! mord!...". But into the messenger's description of the horrors of the murder-night enters that other world, in which fire does not damage² but edifies in the quiet moments of the celebration of the sacrament at Christmas:

Die Andacht ließ sich spüren
Mit heilig heisser brunst/und steckte Hertz und nieren
Mit keuschen flammen an ... (V. 75 ff.)

But the experience of the messenger soon changed to one in which the fire of revolution was about to consume him:

Wie wenn der helle Blitz in hohe Tannen fährt
Und äste/stam' und strump in liechte glutt verkehrt/
Ein müder wandersmann bey so geschwindem krachen:
Nicht anders meynt/als daß er schon dem todt im Rachen.
(V. 89 ff.)

In her response Theodosia takes up this imagery. The mention of 'hohe Tannen' would in the emblematic tradition of the day have naturally led to reflection about persons in high positions who are struck down by the storm, while the low bushes are spared.¹ Theodosia therefore draws the right conclusion, emblematically as well as in reality, when she exclaims:

Das Wetter schlägt nach jhm! was sag ich? ach er liegt!
Der tollen feinde list hat über uns gesiegt!
Hat unser linde-seyn die heisse flam entzündet?
In der was wir gehabt/gesehn/gewündscht/verschwindet.
(V. 101 ff.)

The second-last line contains the paradox which may well have contributed to Theodosia's final madness.

In his last stand before the altar² Leo is 'unverzagt' and he is still identified with the element of fire and the lion:

Alß ein erhitzter Löw/ ... (V. 138)

He may have been wavering in the course of the drama, but in the end he does not lack the courage to fight back. We shall briefly consider the passage again later³ because of the unity of the elements of blood and fire expressed in it. After the news of her husband's death Theodosia wishes for the same fate. She expresses this by drawing on the same fire-imagery used in the description of Leo's death:

Du schwefellichte brunst der Donnerharten flammen/
Schlag loß! schlag über sie! schlag über unß zusammen.
(V. 171 f.)

The 'schwefellicht' and 'donnerhart' clearly refer to the 'helle Blitz' which had struck down Leo.

The fact that in the emblematic tradition it was possible to use the same pictura with different applications, each one suiting the speaker, is shown in this drama by the priest's and von Crambe's use of the 'gold purified in the fire' Emblem. The priest applies it to Theodosia as a child of God, who in his incomprehensible love tests even those who believe:

Er prüft in heisser angst als gold/die/die er liebt.
(V. 201)

The wording of this line is different from that spoken by von Crambe:

Gold wird durch glutt/ein Held durch angst und auch bewehrt.
(IV. 357)

Thus von Crambe states two facts and in doing so draws a comparison between them, while the priest takes the abstract quality of 'angst' and by adding the adjective 'heiss' is able to 'absorb', as it were, the emblematic comparison. But both express the same emblematic truth.

The third scene of the last act demonstrates that the wishful pictura of Michael's spirit rising from the ashes¹ has come more than true. He has come through the fire not only spiritually but physically as well. This is how he sees it himself, too, when he thanks his followers:

Jhr geb't/den mir an jtzit licht/freyheit/Seel und Leben!
Jhr gebt den mir mich selbst: was werd ich wider geben;
Jch der auß tod und grufft und angestecktem brand/

Und was mehr schrecklich ist/aus deß Tyrannen hand
Durch ewre trew erlöß't den grossen Thron besteige:
(V. 331 ff.)

And in describing the excellence of the rebels' character,
Michael uses an extreme image in referring to overcoming
the destructive consequences of fire:

Ja wenn der Kreis der Erden
In flammen nun vergeht: Wird ewre treffligkeit/
Bekrönt mit stetter Ehr. Verlachen tod und zeit.
(V. 352 ff.)

Analysing this in greater detail, it is an extreme image not only because there is the connotation of imperishability - reminding us of the imperishable phoenix in emblematic tradition, but also because of the composition of the image itself. Even before the emblem entered the field of literature the circle or ring represented time or eternity in Egyptian hieroglyphs, for instance; hence the concept of the snake biting its own tail, forming a ring. We could say then that in these three lines there is an emphatic duplication, lending far greater force to the expression. The rebels' 'treffligkeit', it is said, will 'verlachen tod und zeit'. But: it will do this when even the 'circle of the earth', a term adding the significance of everlasting time to the mere existence of the earth at the present moment, is perishing in flames, i.e., undergoing the process of death through fire, which is a biblical idea about the end of the world¹. It is therefore really a contradiction in terms to say that precisely at that time a certain quality will make mockery of 'tod und zeit'. In other words, we can here again speak of an 'anti-reality' emblematic pictura.

Theodosia thinks in the same figurative way as Michael because she also speaks in terms of the enemy having been torn from the flames. And what is worse, she herself has done it! Anyone who calls her 'grausamb' is right;

In dem/wir dir so weit die Zügel lassen schissen/
Und auß der flamme dich/die du verdient gerissen!
(V. 363 ff.)

This observation results in an exchange of proverbial expressions along the line of the emblematic biblical idea of: "So fält/wer gruben macht/für ander selbst hineyn." (V. 369)¹. This is the lesson which Michael draws from his experience. But Theodosia has learnt: "wie nahe höh' und fall beysammen steh/Wie wenig zwischen Stuel und Kercker/zeit vergeh." (V. 417 f.). With a dead emperor-husband to confirm this, the lesson is too much for her and finally leads to her insanity.

FIRE and BLOOD in thematic unity

Having separately traced Gryphius' use of the elements of blood and fire in the language and imagery of this tragedy, we now face the question whether these elements have been used in combination at all or whether they are two unconnected themes, merely occurring as the two dominant aspects of the lion depicted in the emblem book in act I.

We have already seen that the forecast of the original emblem has come true at the end of the tragedy. At the moment of its realization the elements of the prophetic emblem recur, though with slight variations. There is the 'erhitzter Löw' and there is the blood which flows, the lion's own, "dem nun das warme blutt auß glied und adern sprang/" (V. 142). In between these two parallels, however, the two elements occur several times in close combination. The combinations seem to occur at moments of central importance in the action of the tragedy.

Such a moment has arrived in the fifth scene of the second act, where Theodosia attempts to persuade the emperor to postpone the execution. When she argues that blood will be a blemish on the throne and make it slippery, i.e. insecure, and finally even the ground around it will be soaked with blood, Leo answers that for this reason the punishment is

all the more appropriate because:

Die nässe trucknet man mit flam' und aschen aus.
(II. 433)

This answer only underlines the certainty with which the execution will be carried out. But for Theodosia it provides the cue for one of her many prophetic statements:

Die leichtlich unser Hauß verkehrt in staub uñ graus.
(II. 434)

There is another moment of great significance when Michael swears his last revenge - as it happens, also a prophesy which will come to pass. Michael's adjuration:

es muß auß meinem blutt/
Auß dieser glieder asch'/auß den verbranten beinen/
Ein rächer auff erstehn/... (II. 578 ff.),

shows that the burning and bloodshed are not without consequences for the tyrant who orders them; first Leo and by implication Michael himself later.

In the third act no combinations of the two elements to form a thematic unity can be expected, for reasons mentioned before¹. But in the next act the antagonists become involved again in the fate of their opponents. The rebels discuss how they are to bring about Michael's liberation and Leo's downfall. When a quarrel threatens to break out the 2. Verschworene tries to avert the disaster by directing their attention to the real issue again. He brings his exhortation to a climax with the final appeal:

Gebt meinem Rath gehör/und löscht mit erstem tage/
Mit unsers feindes blutt die heissen flammen aus/
(IV. 220 f.)

The importance of this moment is felt by the speaker: "Wenn wir unß selbst verletzen: So ist es Michael umb deinen Halß gethan: ..." (IV. 208 ff.), but it is hard to say whether this warning or the arrival of Michael's messenger makes the quarrellers forget their contention.

In a variation of the above pictura in which flames are extinguished with blood, Gryphius shows the fire of God's wrath being put out by tears in the last Reyen:

Jungfr. Der schatten nimbt ein end/
Die alte Prophecey wird durch diß Kind (Jesus) erfüllet
Durch seine Thränen wird der Hellen glutt gestillet.
(IV. 391 ff.)

The change from blood to tears seems striking because Gryphius could equally well have used the blood of Christ¹ "der sterbend unß erlöst" (V. 145). But here the dramatist obviously wanted to limit himself in the Reyen to the event of Christ's birth, and within this context it is only appropriate to speak of the tears of the babe "der ... Sich in das Thränenthal begeben/" (IV. 366). However, Gryphius most certainly intends to draw a parallel between the way in which 'power-politics' wants to quench flames with the enemy's blood, and the way Christ does it by giving himself. The reconciling function of Christ's blood is clearly brought out in Leo's dying remarks. Even this hardened tyrant dies reconciled to God, kissing the bloodstained cross.

The words of the second rebel's advice recur in the next and final act of the tragedy. After her husband has been murdered Theodosia claims that Leo will be alive as long as she is: "Er lebt in dieser Brust". (V. 188). If the only way to extinguish Leo's blaze is through making blood flow, then they will also have to kill all those through whom Leo still lives on, and most of all his wife¹. Theodosia therefore invites the regicides to kill her:

Und kühl't den heissen mutt
Die hell-entbrandte rach'/in dieser adern blutt.
(V. 185 f.)

Thus the dramatist continues consistently to use the fire-blood combination constructing a thematic structure of imagery throughout the drama. The empress is fully prepared to die, but the rebels decide to inflict a greater torture on her by letting her stay alive. Michael also sees no gain in her death and refuses to execute her "die mir/so alß sie rühmbt/das leben hat geschenckt" (V. 406) - a policy of "Barmhertzig grausamb seyn!" (V. 317). The thought of not being reunited with her husband in death is too much for Theodosia and she goes insane with grief.

In the final interplay of secular and sacred history in the last Reyen, Gryphius makes clear that the only way to make sense of the vain course of human history is to view it 'sub specie aeternitatis', i.e., as 'Heilsgeschichte'.²

The metaphysical interpretation of the action in the last

Reyen would indicate that to elucidate this was one of Gryphius' main aims.

In this way the imagery of the drama, though based on the experiences of one tyrant (and thus limited to an individual level only) breaks through the personal themes in the Reyen. The dramatist extends the structure of the imagery, especially in the last Reyen, to make clear the implications of the action for the whole course of human history in the light of a divine purpose. This makes Leo A. more profound than Papinianus, the other drama we have selected. In this drama the action does not take place on the individual level, but the hero represents universal values. It is also Gryph's last drama, but this was not the reason for choosing it. As stated before¹, Papinian is Gryphius' only other drama which, in spite of its universal intent, remains within the 'Diesseits', to which this thesis is limited. The question to be answered is whether in this drama of universal scope Gryphius continues to employ the same thematic, structural technique in his use of the imagery as in the more limited scope of Leo A.. This will be dealt with in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

Papinianus.

Thematic use of imagery on
a universal level.

PAPINIANUS - Thematic use of imagery on a universal level.

INTRODUCTION

Having therefore traced certain thematic lines in the imagery of Leo Armenius, let us now turn to Gryphius' drama Papinianus. This, according to Hugh Powell¹, "ist nicht nur die während seiner Lebenszeit zuletzt veröffentlichte Tragödie von Gryphius; es ist das reifste der erhaltenen Trauerspiele." In this drama too we can discover recurring themes in the imagery, similar to those in Leo Armenius. In fact, this is also the case in Gryphius other dramas, e.g. Catharina von Georgien. These dramas do not just depend on the dramatic action for their structure but also on Gryphius' 'Sprachkunst'. The unity in the language is determined by the thematic repetition of certain expressions and phrases which in turn consist of certain basic images which in this way form a 'pattern' or 'framework', in which the language, and therefore also the dramatic action, are interwoven.

In Leo Armenius the poet employs as his primary image or 'pictura' the 'emblem' of the lion which has a 'prophetic' nature² and a direct personal application to the main character (clearly indicated by the link between the lion and the name 'Leo'). Thus Gryphius gives this image a double function, that of providing the elements which form the

basis of his thematic use of imagery, and that of containing the prophetic, metaphysical foundation of the dramatic action which follows. The primary images in Papinianus (and Catharina) have this latter function too, but the metaphysical (transcendental) character of the Leo-emblem is contained in the main characters of these dramas and in their attitude vis à vis the 'world' in which they must live, and die. For this attitude is determined by their relationship with what Papinianus calls "das höchste Gut" (I. 356). In the case of Catharina this is her relationship to God, more specifically to Christ as her Bridegroom, while in the case of Papinian, a 'heathen', this is determined by the voice of his conscience producing his convictions concerning 'Justice'; for him justice is not just an abstract ideal but a motivating force for certain actions. Such attitudes in a sinful world are in themselves enough to determine the line of action which in both cases leads to a 'martyr's death'.

The fact that Leo's death is not predetermined by his personality as such, or by his convictions, could be a confirmation of the opinion that he is not a martyr. This could be worked out in greater detail, beginning with a definition of 'martyr' that means more than just 'dying at the hands of murderers'. The person should at least be dying for his convictions; I would go even further and stipulate that only someone who dies for religious convictions with a transcendental significance can be called a martyr in the strict sense of the word¹. This would include Catharina von G. (and

Carolus Stuardus) but exclude Papinian because although he believes in universal values of Truth and Justice¹, he does not see beyond the horizon of this universe; his convictions do not transcend this present reality. Yet they differ from Leo's in so far as they have a universal significance while Leo's beliefs were based purely on self-interest and therefore limited to an ego-centric existence. Leo dies at the hands of a man who has exactly the same convictions - the natural consequence of one tyrant having to give way to another. Papinian therefore comes much closer to being a martyr than Leo. But examining the attitudes of Papinian and Catharina we see that the former remains 'dies-seitsgebunden', whereas the latter transcends this 'world and the lust thereof' in the conviction that 'he that doeth the will of God abideth forever'².

Before determining the fundamentally important groups of imagery chosen by Gryphius to build up a structural 'pattern', such as we have outlined in the previous chapter, let us first look more closely at the respective attitudes of Catharina and Papinianus. This will enable us to mark out the area of study relevant to this present chapter. This is best done by comparing the two. Both do indeed die a martyr's death in the wider sense of the term, i.e., their convictions are not merely earthly but, as noted earlier, closely connected with the "höchste Gut". Yet there is a difference between them. Catharina is confirmed in her attitude by her Christian faith



which turns her away from this world and towards a new world, in which she will be glorified as the bride of Christ in whose footsteps she walks until death leads her to this new-world reality. Compared with this we see Papinian who, even as an idealist, has both feet firmly planted on the ground. His attitude is determined by the fact that he wants to see his ideal realized in the world here and now. When this ideal of Justice cannot be realized without having to die for it, he prefers death to violating his conscience. Papinian wants to have his new world here, and his stoic attitude is not directed towards a 'Jenseits', like Catharina's. For this reason the emphasis in Papinianus lies on 'Beständigkeit' in the face of death. In Catharina on the other hand, the emphasis is on overcoming the vanity of this earthly existence; and this is most strongly expressed by her 'Beständigkeit' through death, which - as she knows in the certainty of her faith - leads to Life eternal.

When we now relate the underlying motives of these attitudes to the language and the imagery used in the language, images of a certain type automatically present themselves to us. In Catharina this is the 'vanitas'-image, together with the transcendental transposition of its elements into those of Christ's suffering, e.g., the crown of thorns. Just as in Leo Gryphius introduces the framework by means of the lion-emblem early in the first act, so here too, the pictura containing the characteristic imagery is introduced quite early.

Immediately following the traditional opening monologue by Catharina we find the conversation with Salome, her maid, who sees the 'Rosenzweige' she has just brought in as "die neuen Sommers Zeichen" (I. 298). However, she sees them only in a purely earthly dimension, while Catharina herself adds the extra emblematic dimension:

O Blumen welchen wir in Warheit zu vergleichen!...
Die edlen Rosen leben
So kurtze Zeit/und sind mit Dornen doch umbgeben
(I. 302 ff.)

The comparison of the roses to her own situation is further worked out in the traditional emblematic allegorical manner; every detail of the pictura is observed¹ closely and transposed. Thus the drops of dew, for example, are seen as Catharina's tears, the 'nichts werthen Aeste' with thorns become "die kummervolle Sor'" - in short, this world and all its vanity becomes the "Schauplatz der Sterblichkeit" (I.81). As in biblical imagery², the flower fades and perishes in the course of a day. In this way the image coincides with the dramatic unity of time adhered to by Gryphius in this tragedy. This seems to emphasize the structural function of the imagery. The vanitas-theme which is expressed in above mentioned pictura appears frequently in this drama. Significantly Gryphius begins the drama with words spoken by the personified 'Ewigkeit':

O DJE Ihr auff der kummerreichen Welt
Verschrenckt mit Weh' und Ach und durren Todtenbeinen
Mich sucht wo alles bricht und felt
Wo sich Eu'r ichts/in nichts verkehrt/und eure Lust
in herbes Weinen!
(I. 1ff.)

These lines and the following verses form the scriptura of the pictura stage-setting described at the beginning of the first act as consisting of 'Schauplatz', 'Himmel' and 'Helle'. As a whole it is, as it were, a life-size 17th century vanitas painting become 'real'¹. Catharina is the only person in the tragedy who transcends this 'Vergänglichkeit'; she sees this world for what it is and longs for a better, supernatural one. The subtitle of the drama is: "Oder Bewehrte Beständigkeit", and this steadfastness is made possible through Catharina's rock-like faith through death, as noted above². This becomes evident in the words of the 'Gefangene Jungfrauen', who (partly) identify with their queen:

Da wir Rosen gleich erbleichen
Durch der Sonnen Glut verbrand...
Doch durch dein auff Gott-vertrauen
Dir die Ehren-Cron erwürbst ...
(I. 859 ff.)³

These verses also point to the line of thematic imagery traced in the previous chapter. There we saw as one of the main thematic elements the image of consuming fire⁴ which recurs in the above quoted verses.

One need not be surprised at this when one remembers that the important vanitas elements of smoke and ashes are naturally linked with fire which here causes the flowers to perish. In his other dramas, therefore, Gryphius makes use of this conventional baroque imagery as well. For the purpose of the present work, however, we are selecting a certain type of imagery because we are trying to trace the way

in which this imagery is used within a fixed emblematic framework determined by the primary pictura. This pictura functions as a fundamental leitmotif, one might say, of the theme of the drama. Other imagery is not for that reason excluded by the dramatist; it too plays an important role in the language. We find an extension of the image in that other tyrant, Chach Abas, who is, like Leo, "in tollem Zorn entbrand" (I. 472). Here not only anger is implied but also what Gryphius calls in Cardenio und Celinde¹ "eine rasende/tolle und verzweiffelnde Liebe" - "ein jnnerlicher Brand hat unser Marck verzehret" says Abas (II. 38). An additional aspect is thus given to the original image found in Leo. This fire with its dual nature finally consumes Catharina. Thus outside the framework of imagery which we are considering another line of imagery develops in the drama, entering the framework in its destructive role only at the very end. This gives rise to similar images as those found in Leo, e.g., extinguishing the fire with blood (and tears), and Catharina's resurrection from the ashes. Abas finds no rest, and when he cannot have his way, "entbrand sein Griff als Glut der Hellen" (II. 394). But Catharina's 'Beständigkeit' can go through this hell, "den Kampf vollenden Und in die Ruh eingehn" (IV. 250).

It is here that the central position of the rose-emblem becomes evident, when Catharina herself at the end of her life

observes: "Jtzt wird der Traum erfüllet..." (IV. 353). She proceeds to apply the transposed details of the emblem to her own life: "Wir haben von der Cron nur Dornen zu Gewinn!" (IV. 356). Life has been a 'Vanitas-Erlebnis' for her. For this reason she longs for death - "Wer wündtschte nicht den Tod.../" (IV. 51) - because only through death does she find eternal Life.

In Papinianus, too, repeated mention is made of death, which often in personified form, is a focal point of the 17th century 'Weltanschauung'. However, the nature of Papinian's longing for death is of a different kind from that of Catharina's. As stated earlier, the stoic attitude of Papinian is not so much directed towards a life in the hereafter as towards the maintenance of Truth and Justice in this world; and added to this is the knowledge that he can "durch kurtze Qual unendlich Lob (not 'Leben') erwerben" (IV. 236). Although this impersonalized 'hope' for the future is thus radically different from Catharina's, Papinian's longing for death is no less sincere and becomes stronger as the action develops. In the first act he says:

Ich scheue keinen Tod ... (I. 53)

In the third act death already means,

Das Ende meiner Pein und hartgespannten Noth
(III. 572)

In the fourth act Papinian's son utters the words, so full of meaning especially for Gryphius' own times¹:

Wer die Welt in dieser Zeit betrat/
Ward eh' als er halb gelebt deß müden Lebens satt
(IV. 249 f.)

These words are partly repeated by Papinian himself in the
5th act:

Ich bin deß Lebens satt! (V. 229)

And his final conclusion regarding death is:

Jsts tödlich/daß Jch nichts thu wider mein Gewissen/...
so wüntsch ICH mit verlangen/
Den höchst-gelibten Tod. (V. 223, 228 f.)

He still clings firmly to his original convictions; as is
typical of Gryphius' heroes, Papinian does not change and as
a result the characterization of the hero of the drama is
rather static in the presently accepted sense.¹

Papinian's more limited attitude, compared with Catharina's,
causes the imagery in this drama to remain on a different
level from that in Catharina. In contrast to Catharina we
see in Papinian much more the element of stoic resignation,
of yielding to destiny. He believes Fate determines his
course, and this again may be traced back to his different
expectations for the future. For this reason there are a
great number of 'Beständigkeits'-images in which 'Constantia'
plays an important part. In the very first monologue spoken
by Papinian there is a revelation in a 'prophetic' vision
that the end is near (I. 65). As in the other tragedies
Gryphius first states the predetermined conclusion (I.53 ff.)
and then proceeds to develop the action towards this end.

Papinian's intuitive knowledge demands 'Beständigkeit'. The stoic resignation to his fate does not exclude the importance of 'constantia'; it is a courageous, steadfast resignation. This philosophy also penetrated the thought and Emblematic of the 17th century. And it is on this basis¹ that Gryphius constructs his framework of primary imagery in Papinianus. Closely connected with Papinian's attitude is the 'lesson' which he experiences, that:

Wer über alle steigt/ ...
Ach! aber! ach wie leicht nimt jhn der Schwindel ein...
Daß er durch gähen Fall wird ehr man denckt zu nichte.
(I. 1, 10, 12)

From the above discussion it may be seen that a clear line of distinction can be drawn between Catharina and Papinianus. In both the 'vanitas' element is prominent and is encountered with 'Beständigkeit'. However, for Papinian the emphasis lies on 'constantia' in this life - it does not transcend this and has no supernatural roots. With Catharina this is different; here, too, we see 'constantia', but it is derived from the resources of faith in a Life after this life². Only when seen in this light can we understand her 'Sterbensfreude', i.e., in the light of the idea that real life can only commence with death³. Only against this background does the 'vanitas' element gain a deeper significance and only thus can one see the imagery to have been derived from a transcendental 'Jenseits'. In Papinianus, on the other hand, this is limited to the 'Diesseits', even if it is a 'Diesseits' of a universal

application. By now it will be clear that in order to remain within the limits of this thesis (as outlined in the foreword)¹ the following study must be restricted to a detailed analysis of Papinianus alone.

Foundation for the Framework of Imagery

In the opening monologue Papinian begins with the above-mentioned lesson² that those who rise will fall (I. 1, 10, 12). The resignation to his fate and his 'constantia' in this 'vanitas'-world are based on this realization. He asks:

Was ist's Papinian daß du die Spitz erreicht?...
Wenn eben diß die Klipp' an der dein Schiff wird brechen!
(I. 21, 31)

Here we have the emblematic pictura of being fatally shipwrecked, an image used repeatedly, especially in the last act where Papinian's shipwreck actually takes place.

The thematic imagery in Papinianus is outlined in the course of the whole opening monologue, and not concentrated in one specific emblem or pictura, as in Leo Armenius for instance³.

The exposition in this monologue is, as it were, framed in emblematic picturae which then provide the basic themes for further imagery in the course of the dramatic action. Thus the first emblematic 'point' which Papinian makes is that of the old traditional moral that the spectacular rise of the great and powerful precedes their sudden and fatal fall.

This theme entered Emblematik from biblical and mythological traditions.

Even within the framework of this rise-fall-pictura the dramatist 'suspends' other picturae depicting the 'vanitas' element in all that happens between standing on the peak of one's might and the "gähen Fall" which follows. Papinian describes how from "der stolzen Höh der reichen Ehre" he witnesses:

Wie unter jhm ein Reich in lichten Flamme krache/
Wie dort der Wellen Schaum sich in die Felder mache/
Und hier der Himmel Zorn mit Blitz und Kanll vermischt
In Thürm und Tempel fahr/und was die Nacht erfrischt
Der heisse Tag verbrenn'/und seine Sieges-Zeichen
Siht hier und dar verschränckt mit vielmal tausend Leichen;
(I. 3 ff.)

The exposition continues with a second emblematic 'frame' based on the idea of 'das Zerbrechliche' of the world. This is exemplified by the destruction of an element which usually symbolizes the immovable - the rock. This is an ancient concept, also found in the biblical parable of the wise man who built his house upon the rock. The impact of the image being used in 'reverse' here is felt all the more if one remembers that Gryphius himself also used the rock to denote the 'constantia' of Carolus Stuardus¹. In this case, however, it is used as what was earlier called an 'anti-reality' image:²

Wie leichte (!) bricht der Fels auff dem er stand gefast/
Und reist jhn mit sich ab! (I. 13)³

Two interruptions follow which again expand the theme, first with a question and later with an exclamation.

Was ists Papinian daß du die Spitz erreicht? ...
Wenn eben diß die Klipp' an der dein Schiff wird brechen!
(I. 21, 31)

The 'Spitz' thus refers to the quality more commonly attributed to the rock, i.e., the solid immovable mass on which life's ship is said to founder. The monologue seems to be spoken in anticipation of a storm:

Mir ahnts! es will sich wittern
(I. 48)

The storm has been gathering throughout the monologue in the imagery used by Papinian to describe his perilous situation. Thus after the pictura of the crumbling of the "Fels in Staub und Dampf" (I. 16), Papinian continues:

Bald saust der rauhe Nord/und steht er dem zu fest
So bringt der faule Sud die ungeheure Pest
Die man Verläumdung heist! (I. 17 ff.)

After the realization that he is about to be shipwrecked, Papinian recognizes that he himself is also to blame for helping to create the conditions which give rise to a storm.

Jst Tugend mein Verweiß/die als sie durch die Nacht
Mit hellen Strahlen drang und sich durchläuchtig macht/
Viel Nebel hat erweckt die sich in Dünste theilen
Und umb und neben mich als Donner-Wolcken eilen
Von harten Knallen schwer und schwanger mit der Noth
Erhitzt durch rote Glut gestärckt mit Ach und Tod.
(I. 33 ff.)

This pictura is the third part of the frame of imagery in the opening exposition which is followed by a more general reflection on the situation; and the causes which gave rise to it. The pictura of the storm closes with a description of the disasters which are to result from it - a true

'Jammer-Spiel'. Beginning with the words 'Jch schaw' it is a typical emblematic vision which functions as scriptura of the first section of the monologue:

Jch schaw deß Brudern Faust im brüderlichen Haar
Die grosse Stadt in noth/die Länder in gefahr/
Die Flott in lichtem brand/den hohen Thron zustücket/
Und mich durch eines Fall (doch ohne Schuld) erdrücket.
(I. 49 ff.)

The general reflection which follows is important because it gives us greater insight into Papinian's 'Weltanschauung' and motives, but being part of the scriptura it is not 'supported' by a framework of imagery. We shall therefore look at it briefly for the sake of the contents rather than any structural significance.

Papinian goes back to the above mentioned 'Noth und Tod':

Doch klag ich Rom/nicht mich/ich scheue keinen Tod
Den mir von langer Hand die Eisen-feste Noth
An diese Seiten gab/man ließ vor vielen Zeiten
Zu meinem Untergang den Werckzeug zu bereiten.
(I. 53 ff.)

We are told that:

Verläumdung schliff das Beil/das durch den Hals wird gehn
Wenn mir der heisse Neid wird über Haupte stehn.
(I. 57 f.)

Note Gryphius! use of personifications for greater emphasis - a technique¹ typical of the 17th century drama which is found repeatedly in the work of both Gryphius and Vondel. Papinian points out that "unredliche Gemütter" have been spreading false rumours, lies which have "meinen Ruhm verletzt Der nach mir leben wird" (a poor concept of 'after-life' when compared with Catharina's convictions). The cause for this

is Papinian's "offen Hertz, ... Das gar nicht schmeicheln kan und Falschheit nie gelibt/" (I. 73 ff.). Secondly there is a clash of ideas concerning "das heilige Recht". Papinian has always refused to persecute the members of the new Christian movement, let alone put them to death without a fair trial:

welch Recht spricht billich das?
Jst diß ein neues Recht: So sey diß Recht verflucht!
(I. 97 f.)

A third accusation by his enemies is:

daß ich der Fürsten rasen
Und grimme Zweytracht stärck' und Flammen helff' auffblasen/
Die ich mit meinem Blut zu dämpffen willig bin.
(I. 99 ff.)

The image of extinguishing flames with blood is an image well-known from Leo Armenius¹ where it is part of a theme. We are then told about an even more serious charge: Papinian is suspected of plotting against the emperors to obtain the throne. He denies it flatly, as he does all other charges, and asks how this could possibly be: "Kan diß mein' Einsamkeit? Kan diß der Freunde Flucht?" (I. 122). Like all truly great persons Papinian has to make his stand alone. As proof of his innocence he asks us to look at what he has really done in the past for the state and the people. But he who has "der Völcker Sturm gestillt" (I. 138), and whose life has been one of pure self-sacrifice cannot escape the storm which threatens his own existence!

The general reflection, and at the same time the monologue

as a whole, concludes with a number of emblematic observations. A pictura is followed by two Sentenzen which serve as subscriptio to the preceding exposition. Papinian makes clear here that because of the very nature of his position in the world and his attitude towards it he will not be able to escape the downfall 'fate' has in store for him. The inevitability of this coming to pass is emphasized by his use of emblematic imagery, an essential feature of which is that it expresses universal truth. Papinian exclaims:

was könt ich anders hoffen!
Ein Schatten-reicher Baum wird von dem Himmel troffen:
Ein Strauch steht unversehrt. Wer die gemeine Noth...
Zu lindern sich bemüht; sucht nichts als eigenen Tod.
Wer sich für alle wagt/wird auch nicht einen finden/
Auff dessen rechte Trew er könn in schiffbruch gründen.
(I. 151 ff.)

The emblem contrasting the tall tree and the lowly bush is a well-known one and occurs elsewhere in Gryphius' work.¹ But it is interesting to note that the imagery has been adapted to suit Papinian's situation; the usual emphasis on the height of the tree (still found in the Dutch proverb: 'Hoge bomen vangen veel wind') has been replaced by emphasis on its protective qualities - it provides relief from the burning heat of the sun. An image referring to the original emblem may be found in Leo Armenius where it is more warranted by the situation as Leo reflects on his position and envies him "der nur die wälder kenn't" (L.A., III. 13):

So bleibt ein grüner strauch von blitzten unverletz't
Wenn der erhitz'te grim in hohe Cedern setz't
Und äst und stam zuschlegt/wenn sich die wind' erheben
Und zeichen jhrer kräfte/an langen Eychen geben
(L.A. III. 21 ff.)²

The use of emblems in imagery does not therefore exclude variations to suit the dramatist's purposes. Later Laetus mentions the same image but refers to what in his case are more appropriately called the "höchsten Eichen"¹. The emblem effectively expresses a universal truth - that persons in high places are far more likely to suffer when circumstances change than lowly people in humble positions - yet at the same time it applies in particular to Papinian; all the more emphatically because the universal idea is centred on the individual: this is subtly indicated by the change of 'hoher' in general practice to 'Schatten-reicher' in Papinian's case.

The exposition of the opening monologue is therefore rounded off as it was begun, with emblematic imagery. The framework closes with the leitmotif introduced earlier by Papinian, i.e., his 'schiffbruch' in an inconstant, ever-changing world, without a single friend to come to his aid.

The facts of "mein' Einsamkeit" and "der Freunde Flucht" (I. 122) have been mentioned by Papinian before, and they indicate another reason why his death is inevitable. As the only righteous person in a courtly world of intrigue and murder, similar to that in Leo Armenius, he stands isolated and his unyielding nature necessarily invites destruction because he cannot compromise and 'adapt' himself to new circumstances. The general truth of the closing Sentenzen thus again apply, as they are meant to, to the speaker him-

self in particular - Papinian indeed "sucht nichts als eigenen Tod" (I. 154), even though when he uses these words he does not have this precise point in mind.¹

As in Leo Armenius, we have been given a 'preview' of the dramatic action and the consequences of certain deeds from an outside metaphysical vantage point. In the given situation, we are told, Papinian's death is a foregone conclusion, determined by 'Eisen-feste Noth'. But what in Leo was made clear in one concentrated presentation of an emblematic pictura, is here spread over the whole opening monologue. The reason for this, in my opinion, is that while Leo Armenius is limited to an individual level and thus more easily identified with the futuristic presentation of a single compact pictura, Papinian concerns itself with values on a higher universal level and the ideas expressed are contained in a number of emblematic images, each throwing a different light on various aspects of the basic theme. From a dramatic point of view the opening scenes in these dramas are not essential to the action and the development of the plot. In this regard they are like the Reyen; essential to the interpretation of the tragedy, but not of direct dramatic significance. In fact, from a 20th century point of view the dramatic action would benefit from omitting altogether these scenes and Reyen on the metaphysical level. Only the second scene gives the impression of the drama proper finally commencing; this impression is reinforced by the livelier

style of the dialogue. The tension builds up more quickly and the retrospective disclosure is quite sufficient to give the audience insight into the dramatic action, without the aid of earlier revelations.

'VANITAS' and 'GLÜCK'

The above considerations demonstrate once more¹ that 17th century drama must be seen in a different light from that of today. Gryphius interprets his own work within the drama 'sub specie aeternitatis'. This explains the importance of the 'metaphysical' sections in Gryphius' dramas, which, if seen in this way put earthly events in the proper perspective of 'sic transit gloria mundi'. And this again explains the attitude taken by Papinian and the consequences of this in a world under the dominion of Vanitas. In order to understand Papinian's 'Beständigkeit' more fully it is necessary to consider the aspects of 'Vanitas' and 'Glück' in some detail because as we shall see², each influences the 'storm' in Papinian's life.

The basic emblematic imagery in the opening monologue which, as we saw, had the function of 'framing' the views expressed there, is now expanded to play a structural role in the drama as a whole. The main themes expressed in the opening monologue recur, linked to the imagery framework throughout the drama, as we shall see in a more detailed analysis.

Papinian makes his stand in this world dominated by Vanitas, this being the proper name given to a personified force of which baroque dramatists were made constantly aware, especially in Germany where destruction and death left behind by the Thrity Years War were perhaps most severe. Throughout the dramas of Gryphius we are reminded of "das strenge Recht desß schnellen Lebens" (V. 53):

Was sterblich: Schwebet schlecht
Auff lauter Ebb und Flutt. Was uns pflag groß zu machen/
Was vor der Welt uns zirt; das sind geborgte Sachen.
(V. 54 ff.)

Matters which seem to be important are nothing but "Nebel/
Dunst und Dampff" (I. 300), and even "deß Fürsten Leib ver-
kehrt in Staub und Erden" (I. 184). It is difficult to say
whether this world's 'Vergänglichkeit' made 17th century
man feel sorry for himself or whether the constant refe-
rences to it was partly convention and partly meant as an
encouragement to stand fast. There are clearly elements of
all three, but in Papinianus the latter certainly predomi-
nates. The vanitas world-view easily leads to ready acceptance
of loss of wealth and status with a stoic attitude of 'Be-
ständigkeit' because after all: "Wind/Schatten/Rauch und
Sprew ist aller Menschen Pracht" (V. 270). Papinian realizes
all the time that there are 'higher' things which give life
a true value and significance:

Meynt Jhr daß dise Schmach wofern es Schmach zu nennen/
Die kräncke/die/was Ehr und wahre Hoheit kennen.
Nein! warlich! Stand und Ambt und Gold ist flüchtig Gut.
Was niemand raubt das ists! ein unbewegter Mut.
(IV. 351 ff.)

This shows a true two-dimensional view of the world and what it has to offer¹. But the vanitas element is also recognized by those who exist in only one dimension, who live only for the moment and what may be obtained by whatever means here and now. Thus Julia the queen mother acknowledges it, but only after 'Fate' has struck a severe blow; her son Geta is killed by his half-brother and co-emperor Bassian. She then exclaims:

Reich/Cron und Sohn ist hin! und was nicht hin/vergeht.
(II. 462)

With her horizon limited to this world she expects everything from her connections with the throne. But:

Furcht/Kummer/Noth/Verdruß/
Neid/Argwohn/falsche Freund/Zanck/zagen/nichtig hoffen;
Jst was wir in dem Thron statt wahrer Schätz! antreffen.

....

Was über Cron und Thron (i.e. Geta) ligt hir zerschellt/
zerstückt/
Zerschmettert und zerstäubt! (II. 426 ff.)

However, this mood lasts only for a moment and she is soon persuaded to aim at the new conquests in revenge for her son's death and for the advancement of her own power. She quickly recovers, whereas Papinian who also loses his son, but who is not a child of Julia's 'world', resigns to his loss in true stoic 'Unerschütterlichkeit'. The world of the 17th century is seen not only 'sub specie aeternitatis' (from a Christian point of view), but also 'sub specie vanitatis' (from a secular viewpoint); and the effects of vanitas on the changeable nature of everything 'earthly' may be more easily understood when it is remembered that

these must be viewed 'sub specie Fortunae'. The influence of this belief in the power of the goddess Fortuna (or 'Glück', or 'Gelegenheit')¹ on the mind of 17th century man must not be underestimated - it was all-pervading, and had its roots in a tradition going back to antiquity². Fortuna rules the world both for good and for bad. Even in the Christian era the church could not eradicate this faith; attempts were made to 'Christianize' Fortuna and instead speak of God's Providence. But in the Roman setting of Papinianus Gryphius was not obliged to do so and for this reason 'Glück' plays a prominent role.

We saw before³ that Papinian calls everything which makes one famous or great "geborgte Sachen". This expression cannot be explained in the light of biblical tradition, as becomes clear when Papinian places the same words in a more detailed context:

Deß Vatern grosser Stand
Verfiel auff einen Tag. Das Glück das nur auff Pfand
Uns seine Schätze leiht; holt Zins und Haupt-Gut wieder
Wenn niemand sichs versieht.

(I. 349 ff.)

The only comfort in this situation is that:

Wer sich nur kan verwahren
Wenn alles sincken wil/erhält das höchste Gut.
(I. 356 ff.)

A pars-pro-toto reference to Fortuna's wheel, one of her best-known attributes, often replaced by a ball on which she stands, makes the 17th century awareness of the tran-

science of the world very clear:

Jst jemand der nicht weiß was Zepter und Paläste/
Der komm' und blick uns an! Wir sitzen Demant-feste/
Umbringt mit glantzem Stahl; verwahrt mit Tausend Wehrê
Umbschrenckt mit strenger Macht/beschützt mit Tausend Heeren/
Biß sich das schnelle Rad' umbwendet
Und ein schneller Augenblick
Die Herrlikeit in nichts: Die Cron in Band und Strick
Die Ehr' in Schmach/die Lust in tiffste Schmerzen endet.
(II. 333 ff.)

Julia who uttered the above lines is later in the same scene
addressed by one of her servants who assures her that:

Das Glück beut Jhr die Rach mit Rom und Zepter an.
(II. 485)

She believes that too, and on this conviction she bases her
further actions. In planning her revenge Julia lives up to
the threat uttered by her stepson Bassian that:

Fürstinnen die das Glück auff steile Throne setzt;
Schreibt man ein hörter Recht!
(II. 210)

Finally, the forces of 'Glück' are also spoken of in con-
nection with the elements of nature, especially when these
prove to be an obstacle. In the last act of Papinianus when
disaster strikes, the father of Papinian mourns his son's
death and addresses possible rescuers:

Jhr die Jhr uns/die wir verteufft in Unglücks-Wellen/
Noch Hand und Armen reicht/...
(V. 368 f.)

Papinian too refers to a 'storm of fortune' when he en-
courages and exhorts his son who is about to be led to his
death:

Der grimme Zufall raubet/
Mein Sohn/dir Jahr und Stand/und was die Erden schätzt;
Doch schenckt Er was kein Beil noch Sturm deß Glücks
verletzt.

Mein Sohn! stirb unverzagt! diß Leben ist ein krigen/
Voll Angst/ein solcher Tod: das allerhöchste sigen.
(V. 260 ff.)

This speech could be regarded as a summary of Papinian's views combining the aspects of 'Vanitas', 'Glück' und 'Beständigkeit'.

The Storm: Its Metaphysical Aspect

We have seen in discussing the opening monologue¹ that Papinian was prepared for this to happen: there were the disintegration of the rock into 'Staub und Dampf' (vanitas); ill winds, 'der rauhe Nord' and 'der faule Sud'; and the gathering of the storm clouds to which he himself has contributed because of the nature of his being and attitudes. His 'other-worldliness' in a world of immoral court-intrigue have given rise to 'Donner-Wolcken' which are full of 'Noth' and 'Tod' (I. 35 ff.). The imagery of this emblematic storm occurs thematically time and again. It supports the development of the action by reminding the audience every time it occurs of what is in store for Papinian, to the point where his fate becomes irreversible. Even in the closing pictura of the opening scene Papinian repeats the idea when he shows by the universal laws of 'emblematic logic', as one might call it, that in his position he necessarily "wird von dem Himmel troffen..." (I. 152). He draws the conclusion:

Wer die gemeine Noth
Zu lindern sich bemüht; sucht nichts als eigenen Tod.
(I. 153 f.)

Papinian's 'Hofe-Junckern' in the Reyen at the end of the first act contrast their master's situation at the court with that of a man of humble station who "lebt vor sich jhm selbst zu gut Bebaut das Land mit gleichem Mut/" (I. 421 f.). Such a man "der nicht nach ... Hohen Aemptern steht" (I. 377), lives contentedly in "der stillen Ruh" and knows nothing of the hatred, envy and

innern Hertzensleid/
Das in Palästen wohnt und dem die Jahre kürzt
Der oft von höchster Höh in tieffsten Abgrund stürzt.
(I. 403 ff.)

We are reminded of Papinian's prophetic pictura: "bald wird der Gipffel Last Dem Abgrund selbst zu schwer/..." (I. 14 f.). Such a simple soul is mighty in his simplicity as he can exist in a state of undisturbed tranquillity "und was die Reich empört und Throne stürzen kan Das siht er unverzagt gleich einem Schaw-Spiel an" (I. 425 ff.). This depicts quite a contrast with Papinian's environment. The emphasis on the difference between these two worlds reaches a climax with a reminder of the 'storm of fate' which threatens Papinian; the Reyen maintain about the man who is 'niedrig':

Erfindet sich in sich und was noch mehr/die Noth
Liegt unter seinem Fuß/er pocht den grimmen Tod.
(I. 431 f.)

His will be a peaceful fate, as the language of the following lines indicates:

Sein Hertz ist heilger Götter voll/
Und wenn er hier gesegnet soll
Und jhn das Alter rufft zur Ruh;
Schleust er gar sanfft die Augen zu.
(I. 433)

The Reyen then close with a heart-searching question based on the moral expressed in the emblem used in the closing lines of Papinian's opening monologue; that the tall tree is struck by the lightning while the low bush remains untouched:

Wie daß uns denn was hoch/doch für und für verletzt
Vor dem was niedrig ist und stets erquickt/ergetzt?
(I. 437 f.)

After the four short scenes of the first act Papinian disappears from the dramatic action altogether, and does not reappear till the sixth scene of the third act. This absence of the hero from the scene may give rise to a seemingly justified criticism of Gryphius' dramatic technique. But in spite of his physical absence Gryphius never lets the hero out of his sight. His presence can still be 'felt' because his personality and views have pervaded his surroundings to such an extent that one is constantly made aware of the fact that Papinian's standards are used as the basis for comparison. He has, as he himself realizes, "durch sein Vorbild/Rath und Stadt und Heer beweget" (I. 212). Besides this we have been told by the Reyen, speaking on the metaphysical level, that Papinian is the hub around which the empire really revolves and that his death has been purposed "vor vielen Zeiten" (I. 55), using Papinian's words, to destroy that empire and punish emperor Bassian, Thus 'Gerechtigkeit' in the 'Reyen der Rasereyen' after act two pronounces the following judgement:

Das grosse Rom erstarrt/ob seinem Bassian
Sein Bruder fil durch Jhn, fallt jhr den Mörder an.
Er tödte was Jhn trib diß Schand-Stück zu begehen.
Er todte was Jhm trew/durch den sein Reich kan stehen.
(II. 57¹ ff.)

This means that Bassian is going to kill Laetus, the intriguing courtier who incited him to murder his brother Geta, and destroy the pillar on which his realm rests, i.e., Papinian. The irony of the situation is that the emperor believes he has lost his 'pillar of strength' when Papinian refuses to comply with his request. He himself destroys his strongest support by insisting that Papinian write a speech condoning the 'accident' which led to Geta's death and 'explaining' the reasons why this had come about. Papinian cannot violate his conscience:

Deß strengen Himmels Gabe
Ist diß was in uns wacht/das jhr Gewissen heist;
Das uns von innen warnt/und nagt/und reizt/und beist.
(I. 224 ff.)

Bassian will not accept this and complains:

Schaw auff ein bebend Hertz/das sich verlassen siht/...
Die Säul auff die wir uns geleht: Zerspringt/zerbricht!
(IV. 5, 10)

It is irononic that the emperor cannot see that his subsequent attempt to save the empire by the removal of Papinian will be the very cause of its ruin. On both occasions the emperor makes a paradoxical mistake.

The silent conflict between Papinian's views and the ideas of Bassian, largely inspired by Laetus, is felt even during the absence of Papinian himself. He is mentioned in the

course of discussions as a suggested means of support or as an obstacle. The imagery plays an important role because the storm in the face of which Papinian must stand firm continues to gather in his absence. This is borne out by the imagery of 'Donner-Wolcken' which threaten 'Noth' and 'Tod'. In the second act we are present at the talk between Bassian and Laetus who incites the emperor to murder his brother. The former objects: "Wenn nur Papinian mit steter Trew uns fest" (II. 90). But he has always been faithful in the past, and Bassian wonders: "Solte diser Mann sein Hertz auch ändern können?" (II. 92). The lines containing Laetus' answer and the emperor's reply in return end with the threatening rhyme-words that carry the connotation of the brewing storm:

Leo. Man nenne keinen nicht beständig biß er tod.
Bass. Wir haben seine Trew geprüft in grimster Noht.
(II. 93 f.)

Again irony creeps into the argument when Bassian thinks he can further prove Papinian's faithfulness by referring to his counsellor's 'Gewissen', and he assures Laetus: "Wanckt er/so ist vor dich sein Ehren-Stand erkist." (II. 102).

This promise encourages Laetus, who in the next scene instigates the immediate murder of Geta. The simple fact of being sent a request from his brother to sign a document is so cunningly played upon by Laetus that in Bassian's mind it becomes evidence of a plot against his life. This idea is reinforced by Laetus' use of emblematic imagery which provides a striking parallel¹ to Papinian's storm-emblem:

Es gilt den höchsten Eichen
Wenn Boreas¹ ergrüht auß seinen Klippen reist/
Und den entdeckten Stamm zerschmettert und zermeist/
(II. 148 ff.)

The storm which threatens the innocent Papinian is now also seen to be affecting the lives of king and courtiers as Laetus forecasts:

Wenn umb den Apenin die Wolcken sich bewegen;
Erklingt die schwarze Lufft von hellen Donner-Schlägen.
Bassian. Wer hilfft? Wer rettet uns auß der verwirrten Noht?
Laetus. Man rettet gantze Reich durch eines Menschen Tod.
(II. 151 ff.)

The last Sentenz has an ominous ring because it points to a sacrificial death. It has a biblical parallel in that the same words were spoken by the Jewish high-priests to justify Christ's death. But as a Sentenz it also has the force of a universal truth statement. Although here it obviously refers to Geta, it becomes all the more ominous because it is applicable to anyone. This is shown clearly in the ironic fact that the pronouncement is made by the very person who in the next act falls a victim to his own intrigues; Laetus also dies with a view to preserve the empire - from Julia's point of view, as the royal astrologer points out to her: "Das Glück beut Jhr die Rach mit Rom und Zepter an." (II. 485).

In the Reyen of this act Papinianus is exhorted by Themis herself not to be daunted by any storm which may threaten him:

Du steh Papnian!
Sih kein bedräuen an!
Erschrickt vor keinem tödten!

Durch das gezuckte Beil;
Erlangst du Ruhm und Heil/
Und weichst den grimmen Nöthen.

(II. 535 ff.)

Again the elements shown by Papinian in his opening monologue to be integral parts of the 'Donner-Wolcken' function as a pair of rhyme words, but the imagery in the present context conveys a reassuring note that Papinian will be able to stand firm, 'Gerechtigkeit' herself lending him support. Papinian does indeed stand firm. He does not compromise and turns down tempting offers of help. It drives one of the courtiers, who tries to persuade Papinian, to despair and he exclaims:

Ach Götter! werther Freund! Er ringt nach seinem Tod.
Pap. Wer vor die Warheit stirbt; pocht aller Zeiten Noth.
(III. 471 f.)

Papinian is unable to convince the others, "daß mein Gewissen nicht sich von Mir lasse zwingen". (III. 506). Again Cleander exclaims:

Ach grosser Geist! Jch seh' ein grimmig Ungewitter!
(III. 513)

The simple answer is: "Ein herrlich Tod is süß'/ein schimpfflich Leben bitter." (III. 514).

A similar stoic attitude to death is seen in Papinian's 'profane' parallel¹, Laetus, who has been overtaken by a storm of revenge and is about to die at the hands of the former empress Julia. This parallel may be seen more clearly when considered in the light of a remarkable parallel in the usage of imagery achieved by Gryphius portraying the origins

of figurative storms. Earlier Laetus tries to convince emperor Bassian that: "Der ruht nicht der so eng' auff einem Thron muß sitzen." (II. 7); i.e., Geta has to make room. When Bassian still objects by introducing abstract imagery to weaken the serious nature of the so-called threat his evil counsellor immediately goes back to the source of the abstraction and thus directs the emperor's attention to the real issue. Bassian's objection and Laetus' answer reveal the pragmatic, empirical attitude of the speakers:

Bass. Nicht jede Wolcke dräut mit Blitz und Donner-Schlägen.
Laetus. Was Blitz und Donner schafft dämpfft auß der Erde vor.
(II. 12 f.)

Laetus is a realist, and as a result can see only 'natural' causes and effects - his storm 'dämpfft auß der Erden vor'. He is right, of course; realists always are. But for this very reason he lacks that extra dimension which gives Papinian his insight into the true nature of the world, and the causes of the formation of 'thunderclouds'. For the same reason Laetus is taken by surprise when death comes, while Papinian is prepared for it from the beginning because he knows, the world being as it is, that 'Donner-Wolcken' must arise from the very nature of his 'Tugend' which "mit hellen Strahlen... viel Nebel hat erweckt" (I. 33 ff.)¹. He is a 'weltfremder' realist.

Parallel to Cleander's forecast of a 'grimmig Ungewitter' for Papinian in the near future, the empress Julia informs that:

Der Donner der uns traff hat auff dich loß geschlagen.
(III. 546)

He replies courageously:

Ich poche Tod und dich. Der Leib/die Brust ist dein/
Nicht mein behertzter Geist/ ...
Kom! Laetus den du suchst; gewehrt sich unverzagt.
(III. 552 ff.)

Mockingly Julia asks:

Begehrst du denn den Tod?
Laetus. Das Ende meiner Pein und hart-gespannten Noth.
(III. 571 f.)

Thus he mirrors Papinian on a much lower level; he dies in the same way with the same attitude to death, but for very different reasons and ideals.

The words 'Noth' and 'Tod' occur two more times in this combination, in act four and in the Reyen following this act. The irreversible has taken place, the storm has finally overtaken Papinian and his family. Before he dies an officer arrives to collect the symbols of Papinians's office, 'Dolch und Zirath' (IV. 319) and thus "entsetzt Jhn seiner Würde" (IV. 315). Papinian responds:

Die acht ich (glaubt es fest) vor eine schwere Bürde.
Weg/weg bemühtes Amt. Weg du verblendend Ehr.
Du leichte Handvoll Dunst! Jch kenne dich nicht mehr.
(IV. 316 ff.)

Further "der Fürsten Bilder" have to be surrendered, which again does not upset Papinian because "der Heiligen Themis Bild ist einig meine Ruh/" (IV. 330). Drily he comments:

was sind die Bilder noth/
Die nun zu ändern sind nach eines Fürsten Tod?
(IV. 333 f.)

One feels at this stage that it is no longer possible for his friends or relatives to reach Papinian; nothing is going to alter his attitude or change his convictions. Papinian has become indifferent to this troubled earthly existence and lives for his ideals alone. He himself realizes this too, when he says: "Papinian wird loß! nun hat Er auß gewacht!" (IV. 326). That this is so may be seen even more clearly in the next scene where army officers offer Papinian their support in a plot to overthrow Bassian. Judging by his reply Papinian could at this stage well be called a 'secular saint'¹ who has, as it were, left the 'world' behind him:

Setzt uns nicht ferner zu. Die Seele wird Erschreckt
Ich bin durch Eure Wort und Ansprach hart befleckt.
Ein reines Hertz hat Schew an solche That zu dencken
Fahrt woll!

(IV. 421 ff.)

In the light of this 'withdrawal' by Papinian it is not surprising to see that in the Reyen at the end of this act the storm theme is transferred from Papinian to a more appropriate character, his opponent, emperor Bassian² who is finally overcome by the ragings of "ein rasend toll Gewissen" (V. 364). This has been foretold by Tisiphone, one of the Furies:

Er rase Sinnen-loß so wie die Klinge zischt
Jhm sey zu mehrer Pein
Und ewig-steter Angst was sein Gemüt erfrischt
Er sinckt in Laster ein
Und auß Laster in mehr Noth
Und fühle sich stets lebend-tod.

(IV. 467 ff.)

From this metaphysical 'storm' between virtue and vice Papinian emerges as the victor.

This becomes obvious when one considers a passage in the fourth act which is central to the proper understanding of Papinian's 'Weltanschauung'. This speech spoken by Papinian is also derived from the emblematic use of storm imagery, the truth of which is undeniable for such a person with his convictions, based on the abstract ideas of a metaphysical vision. Plautia, his wife, exclaims with a pathos typical¹ of baroque drama:

O stets gewisse Furcht! wo steh/wo fall Jch hin!
Nun mir mein Heil entfällt! Nun Jch verlassen bin!
Nun Jch! wo find Jch Wort ein Elend außzusprechen/
Das unaußsprechlich ist? ...

(IV. 197 ff.)

She continues, however, with a long monologue² describing her state in which she appeals to the audience ('Schaut wie ...') to take note of her 'Schaw-Spiel', reflects on the past and how much better things could have been, and finally addresses her son who will be executed if Papinian does not yield to the emperor. She rounds off the speech with an exclamation which provides the only link with Papinian's reply. She concludes:

Man gibt vor Lorbern dir schon den Cypressen Krantz/
O nie erhörter Fall! O unverhofftes hoffen!
Wird denn die Tugend nur durch solchen Blitz getroffen?
(IV. 226 ff.)

Papinian continues the 'dialogue' with an answering monologue, to which the son in turn adds his own monologue. Only then does the dialogue proper begin.

In his reply Papinian seizes on the emblematic significance of the imagery in the last three lines quoted above. He con-

nects the 'Lorbern' with the 'Tugend' and the 'Blitz'. The laurel tree in Emblematic, as we noted earlier¹, signified an element in nature which could not be harmed by lightning. Hence the emperors at Rome and other 'favourites' of the gods wore laurel wreaths in order to ward off Fate. If one were to say figuratively that the laurel had been destroyed by lightning, then emblematically speaking this becomes an 'anti-reality' image deliberately used to emphasize the enormity of the disaster that has struck. In her closing lines Plautia mentions 'Tugend' being struck 'durch solchen Blitz', but Papinian takes up this reference and reveals it in the true meaning of its emblematic significance. The 'Tugend', as far as he is concerned, has the same nature² as the laurel just mentioned. He can therefore counter Plautia's bitter complaint with the emblematic truth that confirms his convictions, as expressed in his answer:

Getroffen/nicht versehrt! getroffen/nicht verletzt!
Getroffen/nicht zermalmt! daß Himmels schicken setzt
Nicht schlaffen Seelen zu. Wer mutig zu bestehen
Den heist daß Höchsten Schluß auff solchen Kampffplatz
gehen.

Wer hier beständig steht; trotz Fleisch und Fall und Zeit.
Vermählt noch in der Welt sich mit der Ewigkeit/³
Und höhnt den Acheron.

(IV. 229 ff.)

Then follows a personal reflection, as in Plautia's speech.

Papinian continues:

Mein Hertz es heist nicht sterben!
Wenn wir durch kurtze Qual unendlich Lob erwerben;
Das nach uns weil die Erd' auff jhren Stützen ligt/
Tod/Grufft und Holtz-Stoß pocht/und über alle sigt
Die zwar auff Blut und Leib/nicht auff die Seelen wütten:
Wer kennt den starcken Geist? Wer unverletzte Sitten?
Wenn Sie nicht grimme Noth/nicht grauser Feinde Schwerdt/

Nicht Laster-Zungen Gifft/nicht Gall und Glutt bewehrt/
Du selbst erquicke dich/da durch ein scharff betruben
Die Gotter deine Trew und hohe Tugend uben.
(IV. 235 ff.)

This is a different conclusion from the one reached by Plautia that the 'Gotter' are destroying Papinian's 'Tugend' like a tree is destroyed by lightning. But even according to Papinian himself this only applies to the qualities of the soul; as we shall see, 'Blut und Leib' are destroyed by the storm. The knowledge that the (stoic) qualities of the soul are indestructible encourages him and enables him to encourage the other members of his family. He tells his wife that instead of losing anything she will "Gewinnen durch Geduld/was dich wird ewig ziren." (IV. 260). In this way her "uber-menschlich Angst" will not overcome her because such fear "auff Erden Gottlich machet" (IV. 279)¹. Papinian is assured of "steter nach-Ruhm" (IV. 281) and by his death triumphantly shows: "Da Jch die Nahmen/gro/Furst/glucklich/jtzt verlacht Weil de Gerechten mich und Treuen herrlich macht" (IV. 429 f.). Similar arguments expressing final victory are used by Papinian to counter his father and mother. Again we hear that "Geduld und Tugend kan ein ewig Grabmal stifften..."², and "Der zagt vor keiner Angst der Recht und Gotter libt." (V. 143, 154).

As mentioned above, however, there is also a 'physical' storm in which the body of Papinian suffers 'shipwreck' and is destroyed together with his son. Once it has become plain that Papinian's 'Tugend' cannot be defeated, not even

by an emperor and intriguing court officials who adhere to such different ideals and adopt such different attitudes to in their attempts to achieve their goals, this aspect of the storm is no longer pursued by the dramatist. In act five there are no more references to the threat of the combined metaphysical forces of 'Noth' and 'Tod' which Papinian says "umb und neben mich als Donner-Wolcken eilen" (I. 36). In this last act Papinian, the victor in the spirit¹, is destroyed in the body. We shall not turn to the imagery-structure used by the dramatist to depict this other aspect of the storm in Papinian's life.

The Storm: its physical aspects

In Papinian's opening monologue this more realistic side of the storm phenomenon has already been mentioned. "Der rauhe Nord" (I. 17) does all it can to dislodge the "Fels auff dem er (Papinian) stand gefast/" (I. 13); and before long:

wird der Gipffel Last
Dem Abgrund selbst zu schwer/daß Berg und Thal erzittert/
Und sich in Staub und Dampf in weite Brüche splittert;
(I. 14 ff.)

We have seen that the 'Spitz' of power and fame which Papinian has achieved will become "die Klipp' an der dein Schiff wird brechen!" (I. 31). Papinian has also made clear by the use of emblematic imagery that in his position he is bound to become the primary target for any 'Donner-schwangern Blitzen' (II. 308) flashing from the gathering storm clouds in the court at Rome. In his lonely greatness he cannot es-

cape, but this does not mean that he cannot stand fast.

This is where the courtier Cleander miscalculates the effects of the storm on Papinian:

Wer sich so einsam siht/bebt wenn die Lufft sich regt/
Mehr wenn der Götter Gott auff Eich' und Felsen schlägt.
(IV. 93 f.)

Note that the imagery here in act four indirectly refers back to the emblem used by Papinian in act one of the lightning striking the oak tree, but not the lowly bush. The god mentioned is obviously Zeus, the most important Greek god, equivalent to the Roman god Jupiter, whose weapons are thunder and lightning, here said to strike "Eich' und Felsen". This would be enough to subdue anyone, Cleander presupposes. But the courtier is wrong because Papinian's attitude to the storms of life is different; he expresses it as follows:

Wer wachend umb sich schaut/beobacht was geschehn/
Und spürt wie hoch die Lufft von Donner-Wolcken schwanger;
Schleust leichtlich das die Glut erhitzt auff Hof und Anger.
Und bergt sich wo er kan. Wer auff der Wache steht;
Muß stehn/ob schon der Strahl jhm durch die Adern geht/
Solt auch auff jhn allein sich gleich der Blitz erheben.
(I. 366 ff.)

Thus Papinian is willing to sacrifice himself for the common good. Here we see the contrast between the person who, like Cleander and Laetus, "wachend umb sich schaut" and hurries for cover when things become too rough even sacrificing another person's life in the process, and the solitary hero who simply "auff der Wache steht" - two entirely different concepts. And as is also the case here, the former type can hardly believe that the latter can be serious about the stand he has taken; even if this stand is accepted, it is for the

wrong reasons. Thus the emperors's mother Julia is on the verge of emotional 'shipwreck' in the beginning of the drama because:

der Klang vergällter Lippen/
Der Herten Wanckelmut sind leider harte Klippen/
An welchen Redlikeit gar offft zu scheitern fährt.
(I. 163 ff.)

In this predicament she seeks the reassurance of Papinian's support. Only through him does she feel able to face the world of the "Hof mit so viel Seuchen" (I. 169).¹ Her servant tells Papinian that he must realize:

daß sie auff jhn all jhr Vertrauen setze/
Und weil er sicher steht/ sich unvergänglich schätze.
(I. 167 f.)

The irony, of course, lies in the fact that Julia, living in such a completely different 'world' spiritually speaking, cannot perceive that just because Papinian stands firm he will come to fall and not be a support at all. Papinian knows this, but his 'constantia' enables him to face this paradoxical reality.

The Rise (or at times just Stand)/Fall antithesis is therefore part of the imagery framework² as previously established in the prophetic vision of the opening monologue:

Mir ahnts! es will sich wittern
Jch schaw deß Bruders Faust ...
Und mich durch eines Fall (doch ohne Schuld) erdrücket.
(I. 48 ff.)

This aspect, like all other aspects of the storm, is closely connected with the character trait of 'Beständigkeit' which enables Papinian to accept his fall caused by the storm and

to suffer physically and thus attain the highest goal:

Wer sich nur kan verwehren
Wenn alles sincken wil/erhält das höchste Gut.
(I. 356 f.)

What this 'höchste Gut' consists of is never really made very clear. But it is obviously not the transcendental kind, like that found in Catharina von G.¹. Papinian's concern is more earthbound; he lives for Justice in this world and for "meinen Ruhm...Der nach mir leben wird" (I. 60 f.). This consideration seems to play a big part also in such stoic utterances of 'Beständigkeit' as that spoken by Papinian when 'der Käyserin Cämmerer' conveys the first foreboding message:

Vielleicht wird (wenn ich hin) noch jemand frey von Neid/
Erwegen; wer ich war/wie ich der Zeiten Leid/
Großmütig überwand/und was mir angetragen/
Ja Schrecken/Furcht und Ach/hab aus der acht geschlagen/...
Und daß mir Redlikeit nie auß der Brust zu rücken;
Ob schon der Zangen Griff mich riss' in tausend Stücken.
(I. 329 ff.)

From the beginning Papinian realizes, even apart from his metaphysical insight shown in the first scene of act one, that one who has climbed so high must always take into account the possibility of a sudden fall:

Daß mich Sever erhub/und an die Seite setzt/
Und (in dem mancher sich durch rauhen Fall verletzt)
Als mit der Faust erhilt; muß ich mit ruhm erkennen
(I. 189 ff.)

The threatening 'Abgrund' is always there behind the action of the drama, from the first mention of it in the opening monologue where 'der Gipffel Last' is shown to be no longer able to support itself and crashes down. The Reyen after act I relate this image to the dramatic action by applying

it to the high court official,

Der offft von höchster Höh in tieffsten Abgrund stürztzt.
(I. 408)

But not only Papinian is threatened by the 'Abgrund'. The phenomenon which he knows will destroy him physically is by way of contrast felt by emperor Bassian, too, as a metaphysical force which brings about spiritual ruin in so far as one crime inevitably leads to the next till all good qualities have been destroyed. Bassian feels 'forced' to continue along the chosen path "Weil Stat und Noth uns zwingt/umb Rache zu verhüten:" (III. 27). This is pictured in his reflection:

Wer sind wir und wohin ist unser Ruhm verschwunden!...
Kan wer gefrevelt hat nicht in dem fallen stehn?
Ach nein! wer einmal schon berg'-ab ins lauffen kommen;
Wird wider will' und macht vom rennen hingenommen/
Biß daß Er über Hals in tiffe Thäler stürztzt/
Und in Morast und Sumpff deß Lebens Zil verkürtzt.
(III. 3, 18 ff.)

This argument leads to the decision to kill Laetus, a second murder thus accelerating his plunge into the abyss. The reality of this metaphysical concept is experienced by Bassian personally in an almost physical way once it is too late to repent after the execution of Papinian:

Wie wird uns! ... ach wer springet
Mit Fackeln umb uns umb?...
Wie? Bricht der Grund entzwey?
Wer bläst das Streit-Horn! ach! wir spüren was es sey;
Wie wir durch Beil und Stahl zu wütten sind geflissen
So wüttet in uns selbst ein rasend toll Gewissen.
(V. 357 ff.)

To him and his like the Reyen address themselves after act three: "Verjrr'te Seelen ...".

An ironic contrast based on the Rise/Fall theme may be seen in the case of the intriguing courtier, Laetus, who admits to his confederate, Sabinus: "Wahr ists! wir sind numehr dem Thron umb so vil näher." (III. 219). Sabinus had just observed that in view of Geta's death:

Der Antoninen Haus/bricht von sich selbst entzwey.
Der trotze Bassian wird zwar deß Brudern frey;
Doch schwächt er seine Macht/und hat die Seit' entblösset/
Für jeden/der auff Jhn mit frischer faust loß stösset.
Er steht auff seinem Fall ... (III. 213 ff.)

The next step is to gain Julia's favour by avenging her real son's death and assassinating her stepson, thus opening the way to the throne even further;

Jch sehe weiter nicht/wer so vil hindern kan.
Laet. Jch einen! der zu trew! Sab. Wer ists?
Laet. Papinian! (III. 245 ff.)

The rhythm of the language concentrates one's attention on the name of Papinian, the one all-important person on whom the affairs of state rest. Laetus realizes that Papinian is in a very difficult position. The audience (or the reader) now sees that Papinian is caught in a most awkward situation because emperor Bassian also observed in the foregoing scene:

Hir dint Papinian, Das wunder unsrer Zeit
(III. 209 f.),

The hero is caught between two antagonistic actions in a hostile world, each directed at making use of him or destroying him. The storm is in fact converging from two directions. The imagery is significant when Laetus orders his confidant:

Geh' eilends und ergründ' höchst-klagend sein Gemüt.
Merck auff/was er vor Wort in erstem Sturm' außschüt.
(III, 269 f.)

The situation-irony, of course, lies in the fact that whereas Laetus still expresses firm confidence in his 'Rise', the audience knows from the preceding scenes that this is completely unfounded¹. Julia² has lulled Bassian's suspicions and secured his permission to have Laetus tortured to death, rather than invite him to commit suicide. Thus, thanks to the insight and wisdom of her 'Sternseher' Thrasullus, Julia safeguards herself from a downfall at Bassian's hands. In her case, too, stoic 'Beständigkeit' enables her to do so, and paradoxically her 'fall' becomes a 'rise':

Ein unverzagt Gemüt steht wenn der Himmel fällt/
Und steigt im untergang/und trotz die grosse Welt.
So/ob die Mutter zwar verleurt was Sie geboren:
Hat Julie doch nichts bey der Verlust verloren.
(III. 121 ff.)

The Sentenz in the first two lines is based on the universal truth of several emblems, which are equally, if not more applicable to Papinian. We shall therefore refer back to this episode later when discussing the same ideas as they occur in the context of Papinian's struggle³.

Bassian is convinced by his stepmother's feigned fortitude with which she faces the 'Donnerschlag' in her life. The storm around her is none the less only too real. Her counsellor realizes this all too well when he first approaches her in order "durch Red' und Gegenwart zu hindern ihr gewein"
(II. 413):

Durchläuchtigst ich bekennt: es ist was frech gewaget
Daß Jch mich untersteh/Sie/die die Welt beklaget/
Daß Jch mich untersteh/weil noch der Donnerschlag
Der disen Augenblick auff Jhren haaren lag/
Durch alle Zimmer kracht ...

(II. 407 ff.)

Julia is in a state of utter despair and feels she can go no further now that her son is dead:

Doch numehr hats ein End'/ein Wetter hat geschadet
So hefftig: Daß kein Sturm uns mehr verletzen kan!

(II. 420 f.)

Subsequent events disprove this and she is able to guide her stormskillfully in the direction of the treacherous Laetus after Thrasullus has managed to persuade her that:

Jhr blüht ein grösser Glück/wo Sie den Sturm kan meiden.
(II. 471)

He shows her the danger of revealing her desire for revenge by grieving too much for the dead emperor-son and neglecting the emperor-stepson who claims the murder is something "Was wir gezwungen thun/und uns nicht minder reut/" (III. 26).

The danger is again expressed in terms of storm imagery:

Julia. Und haben wir noch was nach disem Leib zu leiden!
Thrasul. Ja wol! die Wolck ist noch mit einem Stral gefast.
Jul. Was dräut der Himmel denn vor eine neue Last?
Thras. Er dräut Jhr Ach und Tod wo Sie den Schmerz läst

blicken.
(II. 472 ff.)

Julia is clever enough to realize that this warning is quite justified and therefore follows Thrasullus' advice. In this way the 'Stral' is diverted and within a short space of time fatally strikes Laetus.

Bassian is so overwhelmed by his stepmother's attitude of 'concern' for his welfare that he is willing to do whatever she asks of him. He agrees, of course, that the real reason for Geta's death is Laetus' scheming. He now also sees that he himself could equally well fall at the hands of his ambitious henchman; as Julia had hinted earlier: "Daß ob er jtzzt nicht sihet/Was Laetus vor jhn spinnt/..." (III. 156 f.).

And Bassian exclaims:

Ach leider! grosse Fraw! du hast den Zweck getroffen!
Ohn Laetus reitzen war der Unfall nicht zu hoffen!
Ach freilich! Laetus ists! der zu dem Stück uns trib.
(III. 151 ff.)

The connotation of 'getroffen' in the first line seems to suggest a reference to the striking of a thunderbolt. Here it has an ironical ambiguity in that Bassian does not realize that not only Laetus but he himself has also been 'getroffen'. But Laetus has been struck in the sense of lightning striking in a storm. It is precisely in this sense that Laetus experiences his downfall which is the direct result of the way in which Julia faces her storm. Laetus is taken by surprise:

Wie? Was Geschenck ist diß! Mir? Dolchen? Strang? und Gifft?
Bin Jchs den diser Blitz deß Bruder-Mörders trifft?
Wie? Mir! vor Rath und Dinst? Wie? Soll mein Blutvergissen
Beschönen deine Feil? entladen dein Gewissen?
(III. 291 ff.)

He had expected great difficulties in achieving the peak of his power and influence.

Doch muß man vor sich sehn/je höher Berg'/je gäher.
Wir haben sonder Ruhm nicht kleinen Ruhm erjagt:
In dem durch alle Fäll/Hertz/Leid und Blut gewagt.
Der Scheitel ist uns schir mit Silber-Haar bedeckt.
(III. 220 ff.)

After all those years he was almost there, and now suddenly the fall. Laetus' reaction to it is an interesting parallel to that of Papinian¹. But as 'martyr' for the ideals of justice and virtue Papinian has a far nobler and more dignified attitude than Laetus. The latter, realizing and admitting his guilt - "Wahr ists! ach Jch verdin/Gifft leider! Strang und Dolch! (III. 295 f.) - unwillingly resigns himself to what fate has in store for him; he has no choice anyway. Papinian does have a choice, but prefers to die rather than violate his conscience; his death is a sacrificial one for his ideals. He is ready from the beginning while Laetus is taken by surprise and then stoically makes the best of it by persuading himself:

Bezeuge mit dem Tod daß Rom nicht deiner werth/...
Was/weil es dar/verlacht; wird/wenn es hin begehrt.
Bezeuge mit dem Tod daß dich nichts trotzen könne;
Gesetzt daß Bassian dir auch das Leben gönne!
Bezeuge mit dem Tod daß der kein Leben acht'
Der ewig überherrt schmacht' unter frembder Macht.
(III. 323 ff.)

These thinly veiled arguments show quite a different personality from that revealed by the courageous parries with which Papinian encounters the thrusts of his opponents in various stichomythical dialogues, each one of which brings his death closer. Thus Laetus faces death with a kind of second rate 'Beständigkeit' which exists on a lower level than Papinian's and must therefore be distinguished from the latter's. This becomes even more evident in the light of Laetus' resignation expressed in further reflections on his downfall. He

seems to have given up all hope:

Stirb Laetus! stirb! weil nichts vor dich zu hoffen steht:
Weil vorsatz/Anschlag/Ehr und Stand zurücke geht.
Entzeuch den Greueln dich und den verfluchten Zeiten/
Die Helden in die Band und feig' auff Throne leiten.
(III. 319 ff.)

In spite of this sentiment his evil nature cannot help asserting itself and he resolves that if he has to perish he will in doing so bring about the greatest possible harm to all concerned:

Nein! Laetus ist behertzt noch höher' zu erdrücken/
In dem Er niderfällt! und alles hin zu rucken/
Was uns zu stürzten sucht!...
Mit kurtzem/Laetus muß nur stürzten/oder fallen!
(III. 333 ff., 354)

However, this is not possible because the 'Hauptmañ' has orders that no one is to see Laetus before he has obeyed the suicide order.

In contrast to Papinian he tries to play for time, and as a strange parallel to Papinian he, of all persons, also appeals to 'das Recht' (III. 370) which he has always despised and violated. In answer to the question what his crime may have been, he is ironically advised by the 'Hauptmañ': "Er frage sein Gewissen" (III. 378), as though he still has one. He dies because from the beginning he has violated his conscience. Papinian dies because from the beginning he has refused to violate it.

But just in time the suicide order is suspended by Bassian and Laetus is delivered into the hands of Julia. Only as he realizes the full implications of this does he really ex-

perience his downfall:

In Grund gestürztes Haus!
Durchauß gefällter Mensch! Soll Julie jhr wütten
Und rasend-tollen Mut auff dises Haupt außschütten?
(III. 393 ff.)

At the breaking of this storm Laetus sees his own fall as an emblematic 'exemplum' from which everyone can learn: "Schaut die jhr nach Stand und Würden steht; ..." (III. 400), and later: "Es zeuge wer es siht! daß Jch mehr Qual zu tragen..." (III. 613). Paradoxically he asks:

Bin ich durch so vil Schweiß zu disem Fall erhöht?
(III. 406)

The scene concludes with lines of more 'stoic' selfpersuasion which almost takes on the character of self-hypnosis in order to be able to bear the physical sufferings in store for him. Julia has managed to deflect the storm which threatened her. When Laetus is led into her presence she therefore rightly exclaims:

Der Donner der uns traff hat auff dich loß geschlagen.
Du siht dein letztes Zil und kanst gar leicht verstehen;
Wie bluttig dir noch heut der Tag werd' untergehn;
(III. 546 ff.)

The end is there. What Laetus anticipated as a rise to the very peak of power, founders in the fatal encounter with Julia and ends as a shipwreck:

Jtzt schwebst du Segel-loß! jtzt splittert Mast und Schiff/
Das leider was zu früh' auff unser Angst außliff.
(III. 543 f.)

Laetus' end reminds one of Papinian's death approaching behind the scenes, which is also repeatedly expressed in terms of shipwreck¹. The first victim of the storm is soon to be

followed by others.

The Reyen which follow the third act explain the higher significance of the Laetus episode. The 'Hofe-Leute' speak with reference to both Bassian and Laetus. In connection with the former they answer the old question why every crime is not punished immediately for all to see. Implied in this is another question: why should Laetus die for his crime but not Bassian? The reply is expressed once again in terms of storm-elements which are most suited to describe the reaction caused by what "die ernste Rach' erblickt" (III. 654). In the case of Bassian:

Wahr ists! der schnelle Blitz bricht stracks nicht
durch die Lüffte/
Wenn man mit Mord und Giffte
Nach Cron und Zepter ringt/
Wenn man/was recht/verdringt/
Wenn man mit falschem Rath
Befördert eine That
Ob der der Himmel-Baw muß zittern und erkrachen/
Astree kennt das Zil/
Wenn sie (O Trauer-Spil!)
Sich soll mit Donner-Knall und Sturm zur Rach' auffmachê.
(III. 657 ff.)

In the meantime the emperor will never have peace of mind, being tortured by his conscience day and night - "Die süsse Nacht...Hab Jhm schon Netz und Garn gestricket" (III. 673 f.), as many an old emblem expresses it.¹

But in the case of Laetus' Rise and Fall it is a matter not only of being justly punished but of becoming an emblematic 'exemplum' which "auff dem Schaw-Gerüst soll aller Welt darstellen" (III. 685):

Wenn bey der Sonnen steht
Den Laster hat erhöht
Muß jhn die Straffe doch in tiffste Noth verfällen.
(III. 686 ff.)

The dramatist continues with imagery of figurative weather conditions to point out that with all the scheming:

Doch pflegt das Wetter oft in frische That zu Schlagen/
(III. 689)

And thus the emblematic truth is exemplified in Laetus that:

Wer andern Netz auffstellt
Verwirrt sich und verfällt
Oft in die selbte Klufft/die er hiß frembden graben.
(III. 693 ff.)

The picturae expressing this universal truth date back to such ancient traditions as those found in O.T. writings from which Gryphius may well have taken them directly, as he did the Christian thought conveyed in the last Sentenz of the Reyen which condenses the moral of the whole Reyen in two lines:

Die hir das Recht erwischt die strafft es kurtze Zeit;
Dort quält die ewig' Ewigkeit.
(III. 709 f.)

The concept of 'Ewigkeit' also has great significance for Papinian who represents lasting values which are worth sacrificing one's life for. Gryphius tells us that, in accordance with the classic requirement of 'Unity of Time', the action of the drama "beginnet mit dem Anbruch deß Tages/ wehret durch den Tag/und endet sich mit Anfang der Nacht."¹ Thus in the course of one day Papinian experiences his total downfall from the 'Spitz' of power and glory. He therefore

rightly considers this day to be the most important one
in his life - a day granted to him by Eternity herself:

Heut ist der grosse Tag
Den wer uns trew und huld/mit Lust bejauchen mag.
Der Tag ists welcher dich zu einer Mutter machet/
Deß Sohnes/der den Trotz der rauhen Macht verlachtet/
Deß Sohnes der vor stand/und Gold/Gewissen schätzt/
Und vor das Heilige Recht/den reinen Leib auffsetzt.
Diß ist der Tag der mir die Ewigkeit bescheret.
(V. 61 ff.)¹

Papinian's mother Eugenia cannot accept this in her grief.
She is unable to share Papinian's paradoxical view of his
'Fall' because she can only see the dark abyss:

die das gekränckte Leben
Nach so vil rauer Qual dem Abgrund übergeben?
In welchem Ehr und Ruhm und Stand und Glück versinckt/
Und unser hoffen selbst in tiffster Schmach ertrinckt.
(V. 39 ff.)

But her son can see beyond a Fall into the 'Abgrund' (I. 15).
His rejoinder to a courtier who tries to warn him of the
danger is addressed to his mother as well:

Man red uns nicht mehr ein/und ob es wol gemeynt/
Taug doch die Meynung nichts! wer meinen Fall beweint
Siht nicht wie noch Jch sey durch disen Fall gestigen/
(V. 33 ff.)

Furthermore, Papinian not only views the Rise/Fall phenome-
non in this rather one-sided idealistic way. In his own way
he is also a realist, for as a statesman he has to be well
acquainted with the ways of the 'world'. For this reason he
realizes all the more clearly why he is falling victim to
its intrigues:

Wer nur dem Wechsel fluchet/
Und bloß die Hoheit libt/die auff- und untergeht:...
Der kennt das strenge Recht
Deß schnellen Lebens nicht. Was sterblich: Schwebet schlecht
Auff lauter Ebb und Flutt.
(V. 48 f., 53 ff.)

Papinian shows the 'hoheit' to be part of the 'vanitas'-
world through an elaboration of imagery depicting the Rise/
Fall concept: life is,

Nicht anders als Dian, die jtz in Flammen steht/
Bald aber zanckicht wird/und ehe sie sich theilet
Schon vor der Sonn erblast/und in jhr dunckel eilet/
In dem Sie gantz verschwindt:

(V. 50 ff.)

The darkness of the abyss is an inevitable part of some
people's lives. Yet for Papinian his 'fall' means the
attainment of "die herrlichst Ehre" (V. 70), and his son's
death - "der meine blühend Ehr ergetzt durch disen Preis"
(V. 289) - only causes "den durchlauchten Glantz" (V. 294)
to shine more brightly. In imagery typical of Gryphius'
antithetical baroque 'Weltanschauung' Papinian expresses
as his view of death the opinion, "daß ein durchlauchter Tag
uns reiss' auß langer Nacht." (V. 334). Papinian's son speaks
similarly on his father's behalf as much as his own, when he
is about to die for the same 'reine Tugend' (V. 170) as his
father's:

Mir wird der schöne Tod zu einem hellen Licht;
Das als ein schimmernd Stern wird durch die Nach-Welt
stralen/
So lang als Phoebe soll die braunen Wolcken mahlen.
(V. 246 ff.)

The realization of the laws of life has given Papinian under-
standing concerning the inevitability of death. And this in
turn gives him the necessary 'Beständigkeit' which finally
leads to his longing for death¹. Thus he responds in terms
of death at the earliest hint from Bassian that he is about

to fall:

Doch glaub': es ist von dir zu deinem Fall gewagt.
Pap. Könt Jch deß Käysers Ruhm durch meinen Tod erwerben:
Könt Jch vor seinen Fall und disen Unfall sterben.
So wär es meine Lust.

(IV. 150 ff.)

And a little later he declares:

Jsts tödlich/daß Jch nichts thu wider mein Gewissen/
... so wüntsch Jch mit verlangen
Den höchst-gelibten Tod.

(V. 223, 228 f.)

The son expresses the same view of death as his father to
whom the words could also directly apply:

Es ist ein Mensch geboren!
Und als ein Mensch dem Tod in der Geburt erkoren/
Geboren in die Welt! doch von Papinian!
Geboren/wo man nur durch Tugend leben kan!
Erkoren von dem Tod als mich die Welt empfangen!
Erkoren von dem Tod der stets mir nachgegangen!
Noch an der Mutter Brust!

(V. 239 ff.)

They feel that they have been 'predestined' to die and this
knowledge gives them courage because it gives a purpose to
life and a cause for death:

Pap. Wir sind gehorsam! Fürst! ein unerschreckter Geist/
Thut willig: was uns nur das Heilge Recht erlaubet.

(V. 258 f.)

Papinian is aware that he has been placed in this world to
set an example. His former 'rise' only took place to give a
greater force to his exemplary stand in the face of the
storm:

Doch diser Glantz der Ehr
Die Staffel/diser Stand/zwingt mich je mehr und mehr
Zu sehn warumb ich sey auff diser Ort gesetzt.

(IV. 133 ff.)

In other words, he is beginning to see himself as a character

placed in the 'Theatrum mundi' by super-natural forces beyond his control in order to play his part. This concept, such a predominant one in the 17th century¹ is again expressed by Papinian as he prepares for his execution and takes off his cloak²:

Nemt Kleid und Mantel hin! wenn sich das Schaw-Spil endet/
Wird der geborgte Schmuck/wohin er soll/gesendet.

(V. 335 f.)

The other characters are also aware of the emblematic function of their experiences. This usually becomes evident through the use of 'key'-words exhorting others to watch and learn³ to apply the universal truth of the 'moral' portrayed on the stage to themselves. Thus Eugenia, overcome by grief at the deaths of her son and grandson, exclaims:

Schaut an mir schaut und lernt was wir zu hoffen haben!
Auff einmal soll Jch Kind und Kindes-Kind vergraben.

(V. 499 f.)

Throughout Gryphius' dramas the characters, good and bad alike, make such appeals to the audience⁴, always introduced by words indicating sensory experiences like seeing, hearing, feeling, i.e., words from which one can learn something for one's own life. In this way Papinian functions as an emblem illustrating the lesson that earthly glory is vanity and only leads to downfall, that in this downfall only 'Beständigkeit' can help one in the face of death, and that death is not a shameful end if suffered for the sake of 'Tugend'. Thus Papinian dies as "ein rein Sün-opffer" (V. 318) and can therefore triumphantly claim: "Diß ist

der höchste Sig/daß mein Gewissen rein" (V. 266). For this moral victory he is prepared to fall into the 'Abgrund' prepared for him by Bassian, and not stop short in the way his father suggests as an honourable way out:

Schön ists/mit einem Wort/den Geist vors Recht hingeben/
Doch schöner Recht und Reich erretten durch sein Leben.
Wer vor die Tugend fällt: thut wol. Der noch vilmehr
Der vor die Tugend steht.

(V. 87 ff.)

The complete misunderstanding between the two opposing worlds of Papinian and the court does not allow true communication¹. This becomes apparent time and again in statements made by characters who belong to the court which take on an ironic significance because we can see how the words, if spoken by Papinian, would have had the opposite meaning and consequences. Thus, for instance, both Bassian and Julia rely on Papinian's support because he is so 'steadfast'. Now it seems that there is also a breakdown of communication within Papinian's family circle. His father does not understand that for Papinian 'to stand' "vor die Tugend" means 'to fall' for it as well, if he is to be consistent. His wife Plautia is not in full agreement with Papinian either. She fears the threats of Bassian, and Papinian has to encourage her, wishing her 'Beständigkeit' (IV. 273). The contrast between their views is reinforced by the way in which imagery is used by the characters. As the dialogue continues it develops a completely emblematic climax. Plautia admits:

Wir kämpffen aber ach! der Feind drückt was zu schwer,
(IV. 286)

Papinian replies with a Sentenz depicting an emblematic pictura. The universal validity of such an answer can only be countered by another truth just as valid, i.e., another emblematic statement, and so on until Papinian breaks off the conversation. The weight of the oppressors felt by Plautia leads to Papinian's use of an emblem:

Die edle Palme wächst je mehr man sie beschweret.
Plaut. Die zarte Perle wird durch scharffen Wein verzehret.
Pap. Ein reiner Demant bleibt: die stoltze Klippe steht.
Ob Amfitriten Schaum gleich über Gipffel geht
Nur Mut/last Antonin, Trotz/Griff und rasen wagen!
Wir können diß und mehr behertzt und freudig tragen.
(IV. 287 ff.)

We saw earlier that Julia's utterances of 'Beständigkeit' were also based on these emblematic ideas¹, but referring to them only indirectly. Picturae of both the weighted palm tree and the rock in the ocean are depicted in Gryphius' Carolus Stuardus² - the palm tree with weights suspended from the branches has the inscription: 'Crescit Sub Pondere Virtus', while the rock in the midst of violent waves³ has the subscriptio: 'Immota Triumphans' - and both could equally well apply to Papinian.

In his collection of emblems, 1611, Rollenhagen had depicted the rock in the waves together with the diamond⁴, as they occur in Papinian's speech. The diamond is meant "als Sinnbild unüberwindlicher Härte und unerschütterlicher Beständigkeit." One could not deny that these truths apply to Papinian, but only in respect to the metaphysical storm in which he stands firm and conquers; physically he must perish together with his son. This causes Bassian to exclaim in

triumph:

Der Sturm riß deinen Staß mit Ast und Wurtzel auß.
(V. 273)

But Papinian also experiences a triumph of a different kind:

Vor zweiffelt Jch; nun hab ich ein beständig Haus.
(V. 274)

Real communication between these two worlds is impossible.

In spite of Papinian's triumphant tone throughout the drama,
the fact is that:

Der Käyser blitz' auff mich/mißbrauch' erhitzter Macht/
Und suche meinen Fall/doch will Jch treue sterben.
(V. 18 ff.)

The courtier Macrinus uses the same imagery and advises to
give in to the emperor a little:

Papinian versteht daß Antonin erhitzt
Und zorning über Jhn als ungehorsam blitzet:
Kan man dem Käyser denn nicht was zu Willen seyn?
(IV. 303 ff.)

Papinian's father gives the same advice by means of different
imagery which is derived from the world of seafaring. We
shall now analyze the dramatic action in terms of this theme
of imagery, as yet another aspect of the emblematic frame-
work established in the opening scene of act I.

In the opening monologue we saw that the rock was made to
serve a double function¹. On the one hand it represented
the seemingly immovable peak of power and influence; on
the other hand it was also the cause for the downfall into
ruin and destruction. Thus paradoxically, it is exactly the

symbol of 'Beständigkeit', the rock, which becomes¹:

die Klipp' and der dein Schiff wird brechen!
(I. 31)

And in this situation Papinian finds himself utterly alone,
without a single friend at the court,

Auff dessen rechte Trew er könn in schiffbruch gründen.²
(I. 156)

As 'shipwreck' indicates coming to a violent end, it is understandable that most of this imagery occurs after the third act in which the action develops into a course leading to the inevitable end. Again, Papinian is not the only character to whom this imagery is applied. Parallels are drawn to other characters³ who also try to make the best of life's journey on the ocean of time, each in his own way, as some of their comments show. Thus Julia, when accused of favouring her son Geta, hyperbolically adjures that first certain 'facts' (depicted in a number of anti-reality picturae) would have to be true before one could possibly claim:

daß man nicht
Nach seiner (Bassian's) Wolfahrt Mast und Lauff und
Ruder richt/
(II. 193 f.)

But as we have seen⁴ the ex-empress is a first class actress, concerned only with lulling the emperor's suspicions in order to achieve her own ends which do not stop short of the throne. However, she is not always equally confident and seeks the support of Papinian (for the wrong reasons, as we observed earlier). The only form of 'shipwreck' which she suffers is an emotional, mental one when "die ungewissen

Der Segel-lose Kahn der an dem Strande spilt:
Laufft Furcht und Anstoß frey/wo er nicht Klippen fühlt/
Nicht Felsen/Sturm und Sand. Soll man ein Last-Schiff
führen;

So muß man nicht stets nach Wind und Nord-Stern spüren.
Man muß (wo Seichten sind) wo steilen Höhen stehn:
Wo umb die Vorgebirg' erhitzte Wellen gehn
Wo Teuffen/wo die See wil keinen Bleywurff kennen/
Wenn stete Schläg' auff Schläg jtz Brei und Kiel zutrennen
Oftt weichen von dem Strich' auff den der Botsmann siht
Wenn nicht der tolle Nord sich umb die Segel müht/
Man fährt oft seitwärts ab/auch öffter gar zurücke.
So wird der Port erreicht mit Vortheil/Ruhm und Glücke/
(IV. 25 ff.)

On the basis of this argument Bassian expects to get support from Papinian. It is a perfectly valid argument in itself but used here to disguise his own unjustifiable breach of 'Tugend' and 'Recht'. Yet he is surprised that his counsellor "steht uns doch nicht bey. Warumb?" (IV. 37). He looks for an explanation not in his own conduct but in a possible desire for revenge nursed by Plautia on account of her sister's and father's downfall in the past:

So gehts! der Frauen Mund zubricht auff einen Tag
Mehr denn die greise Zeit mit Müh' auffsetzen mag.
(IV. 69 f.)

But this is gainsaid by his advisor Cleander, who thinks it highly unlikely that Papinian would be "gesteifft durch Weiber Rath/" (IV. 77), or that Plautia would be foolish enough to risk her husband's life, her only support and last refuge in the storm:

Vilmehr wird Plautie mit ernstem Fleiß sich mühen:
Daß jhr kein Unfall mög anjtz das Bret entziehen/
Das in dem Schiffbruch Jhr noch einig überblib/
Als Jhrer Schwester Schiff an steile Klippen trib/
Als der den Sie gebar/nachdem er so gestigen:
Sich augenblicklich Fand for aller Füßen ligen.
(IV. 79 ff.)

This brings the conversation to Papinian's son, for whose sake Plautia might nurse ambitious plans. This sounds more feasible and as the next step of his descent into crime Bassian feels he must put Papinian's son to death, just as later he 'has to' have Papinian himself executed. The storm is therefore really beginning to break. Plautia rightly fears the worst with a vision of the

gar zu nahe Klufft/in die du wirst versincken/
Deß Vatern Unschuld muß ins Käysers Grifß ertrinken!
(IV. 223 f.)

Note that in this instance she does not speak of being burnt in the emperor's fury but rather of drowning. Gryphius uses the phrase consistent with the 'shipwreck' theme.

Not only Plautia, but also the world at large recognizes the straits in which Papinian and his relatives now find themselves. The army officers approach him with the honest intention of overthrowing Bassian and making Papinian emperor in his stead. But Papinian remains "doch meinem Käyser trew" (IV. 428), causing the 'Hauptleute' to marvel: "O Blum der Tapfferkeit! O Sonn und Ruhm der Weisen!" (IV. 431). Then they sum up the situation as they see it:

O daß du minder fromm/
Und mehr verwegen! ach! wie würde diser Strom
Der dein bestürmtes Schiff/wil in den Abgrund neigen
In einem Augenblick sich theilen und verseigen!
O daß du minder fromm! wie stünd es Antonin!
Und mehr verwegen! ach! der Mörder wär jtz hin!
O daß du minder fromm! und etwas mehr verwegen!
Wie wolten wir die Gifft von Rom und Reich außfegen!
(IV. 431 ff.)

It is just as well for Bassian that, as he puts it, "der hohe Geist besteht!" (IV. 187). Little does he realize

that this ultimately means his own survival as emperor. For if he had been able to devise means "krafte welcher wo er nicht zu zwingen doch zu lencken (ist)" (IV. 187), Papinian would have lived and just as likely have been persuaded by the 'Hauptleute' to seize the throne. Now, however, Bassian feels justified in having Papinian put to death.

A close parallel to the emperor's argument is found in the reasoning of Papinian's father Hostilius. Only in this case it is not an emperor's attempt to justify an evil course of action, but a father's loving concern to persuade his son to desist from steering a course which will lead to destruction. Papinian correctly observes: "Genug! ich merck' es schon Die Väterliche Lieb und Neigung zu dem Sohn Bringt diese Meynung vor ... Hostilius versteht daß sein Papinian Woll sterben: Aber nicht dem Mörder schmeicheln kan." (V. 113 ff.). The necessity of death has become a longing for death¹. The lack of communication between father and son still exists and remains to the end, even though both employ the same imagery to emphasize their 'point'. In fact this similarity of language rather stresses the contrast in their attitude. It may also indicate how both in a sense are right. The father urges:

Wenn AEolus zu sehr
Sich gegen Segel setzt/und die getrotzte Wellen
Mit schlägen/Schaum und Sand das müde Schiff zuschällen:
Gibt man den Winden nach/und rudert wie man kan/
Nicht keine Strich' in acht/fährt rück- auch seitwärts an/
Biß sich der Sturm geschwächt; denn eilt man einzubringen
Was vor auß Noth versäumt. So muß die Fahrt gelingen!

So bringt man Schiff und Gutt an das gewünschte Land/
Wer hir sich widersetzt und durch das freche Band
Der tolln Klippen rennt: muß samt dem Mast Versincken.
Es ist/ich geb es nach/schwer/grimmer Fürsten wincken
Stets zu Gebote stehn/doch kan ein grosser Geist
Durch Sanfftmüt/offt/die Macht die alles trotz und reist!
Entwehren: Daß Sie sich als ein Gewitter lindert.
Man geb umb etwas nach...

(V. 90 ff.)

In reply Papinian agrees with what his father has just said, and in his answer he applies the various techniques outlined above for outliving the storm to his actual practice:

Man muß je Fürsten was zuweilen übersehen!
Nicht stets entgegen gehn/bemänteln was geschehen/
Verdecken manche Feil/erinnern wenn es Zeit/
Anzeigen wo gejrr't: Und mit Bescheidenheit.

(V. 119 ff.)

But then he continues with stating why in this case it is impossible for him to adopt these procedures. This argument creates a major difficulty when we try to accept Papinian's attitude and behaviour because the final reason given seems rather trivial and 'forced'; especially as the clinching argument in a matter of life and death:

Wenn aber solch ein Stück ob dem die Welt erzittert/
Ob dem was nah und fern bestürzt/und höchst erbittert/
So sonder Schew verübt/stehts keiner Seelen frey;
Daß Sie so schnödes Werck vor schön' und recht außschrey.
Hir fordert mich der Fürst! wie könt Jch doch entweichen?
Er steht nach meinem Ruhm...

(V. 123 ff.)

The true transcendental attitude of Catharina von Georgien, for example, has a great deal more depth and significance when compared with the pseudo-transcendental one displayed by Papinian. Basically he is more concerned about himself and his reputation, self-centred in his search for honour after death in order to be remembered by posterity for his

steadfastness and endurance. Papinian has used the same argument before and it was turned against him by Cleander, who at the time tried to persuade Papinian to give in to the emperor. The courtier points out that it has happened before:

Britannicus verfil durch seines Brudern Träncke/

Pap. Nicht durch entblösten Stahl/nur durch bedeckte Räncke.

Cl. Kein Unterscheid/ob Dolch/ob Gifft/die Rach außführ.

Pap. Ja dem/dem alles gleich; weit anders ists bei mir.

Cl. So schleust Papinian, das Gifft nur vor zu suchen.

Pap. Papinian muß Gifft und Bruder-Mord verfluchen.

Cl. Was ists denn das Er an dem Nero werther schätzt?

Pap. Daß Nero in der That sich ob der that entsetzt.

Cl. Er hiß den Gifft-kehl selbst dem Bruder übergeben.

Pap. Damit es schien' es brächt Jhn strenge Seuch' umbs
Leben.

(III. 449 ff.)

Thus reduced to fundamental issues the argument put forward by Papinian appears extremely trivial and serves as an excuse rather than a reason. In the light of this argument Catharina's reason for facing death with 'Beständigkeit' is more profound by far and more genuine. In Papinian's case Cleander can only admit that "der unbewegte Geist" (IV. 13) cannot be moved by any argument; the "stets bestürmter Geist" (IV. 373) stands firm like a rock in the waves. Because of this kind of stoic 'constantia' Papinian's character loses the touch of compassion, or even plain consideration for his closest relatives. What he means to his mother ("Ach was verlir Jch nicht! O Stab der müden Jahre!" V. 135) and to his father ("O letzter Trost! O Ruhm! O Schutz der grauen Haare!" V. 136) he disregards. He becomes a wooden allegorical figure, the impersonal embodiment¹ of abstract ideals

and virtues:

Nein! Nein! es koste Stand/es koste was es will!
Mein Vater! wer verleurt; gewinnt auff disem Spil.
(V. 133 ff.)

The question arises whether Papinian is not really taking the easy way out of the approaching dangers of the storm by adopting such a firm attitude that he is forced into what he knows is a suicidal course for the sake of posthumous fame. This idea is contained in his own words of encouragement to his aged parents whom he 'consoles' with the thought that for them it should not be too hard because they have almost reached the end of life's journey anyway:

Eur beyder Lebens-Schiff/eilt an das libe Land/
Und darff nicht vilmehr dinst. Vergönnt daß Jch die Hand/
(Weil es deß Himmels Schluß) dem Ruder was entzihe:
Vergönnt daß Ich dem Sturm der ankömt/schnell entflihe.
(V. 137 ff.)

Hostilius takes up this imagery in his response. He is so overwhelmed that he cannot find coherent words for an answer, but only a series of exclamations typical of the pathos of such situations in 17th century drama. They are based on the foregoing pictura:

O Dinst! O Schiff! O Sturm! O Schiffbruch an dem Land!
(V. 141)

Gryphius makes use of the same thematic imagery but in keeping with the emotions felt by Hostilius and to convey the father's despair the dramatist introduces a small but significant change in the image used by Papinian. For Hostilius it is not a matter of arriving 'an das libe Land'

but of a 'Schiffbruch an dem Land!'

An interesting feature of baroque style is seen at its best when 'words fail' a character to express his emotions and yet he does so by means of the technique just illustrated by Hostilius. Only once in this, his last drama does Gryphius allow his character to 'break down' in expressing grief through language. Thus in contrast to her father-in-law who says he dies, but does not, the "bestürmte Plautie" (V. 453 f.) "gebricht Das Weinen mit der Red'" (V. 453 f.). She literally 'erstarrt' at the news of Papinian's death and has not words to express her grief. The 'Reyen der Frauen' describe the way in which she 'says' farewell to her beloved dead through mimetic actions. She does not speak another word for the remainder of the drama. The storm has struck her down; "Sie sinckt zu Jhres Liebsten Füßen... Sie ligt gantz Athem-los!" (V. 529, 532). This is quite different and far more moving than the reactions of Hostilius whose last words express the wish "die Reden anzuhören/Wormit Papinian die schöne Thaten schloß Mit welchen er sein Blut vor Fürst und Recht vergoß". (V. 526 ff.)

Even after Papinian's death the storm is not over yet. He is still threatened by Bassian's anger which "scheint gantz in rasen sich zu wandeln" (V. 513). Others suspected by the emperor are reported to have been murdered as well and their corpses are being dragged through the streets. This shame

also threatens to overtake Papinian; or, as his father expresses it, again using imagery within the storm-framework:

O! kan ein Scheffel-Pfeil auff schon entleibte blitzen!
Kan sich die freche Glutt auff todter Asch erhitzen!
Welch Nord reist Wurtzeln auß? Wenn er den Stamm zubrach
(V. 521 ff.)

The last image of the tree in the storm brings us to our final considerations about the various aspects of the imagery framework in this drama. We have considered the emblematic *pictura* of the tree attacked by the north wind before¹. As we saw, it had several applications. The tall oak is struck down because of its very nature, while the lowly bush escapes unharmed. But according to ancient tradition the laurel tree is said to be invulnerable when lightning strikes.² It therefore often represents 'Tugend' in emblem books.

The last image in the above quotation reminds us of another emblem which deals with the effects of the storm on the tree. The fully grown tree breaks rather than bends, while the reed bends giving way to the blast for the moment and straightening up again as soon as the storm is over.³ In the quotation the reeds are not mentioned, but the alternative 'bend or break' is clearly implied by Cleander and Papinian's father when they advise Papinian to give way to the emperor.⁴ By now, however, only the broken tree is left, and the question is asked if the storm will go to the extreme of tearing out the roots as well, i.e. taking Papinian's remains to be defiled and dragged through the streets.

The emblematic image is not confined to Papinian. In his position as emperor Bassian is just as likely to be struck down; he is warned:

Es gilt den höchsten Eichen
Wenn Boreas ergrimt auß seinen Klippen reist/
Und den entdeckten Stam zerschmettert und zerschmeist/
(II. 148 ff.)

The same implication gives Julia's emblematic exclamation after the murder of her son Geta its full impact and meaning:

Götter! schaut Jhr dises an!
Schaut Jhr und mögt ruhig sitzen?
Jst kein Stral der treffen kan?
Waffnet Jhr Euch nur umbsonst mit den Donner-schwangern
Blitzen/
Oder tragt Jhr Eure Pfeil' auff die Lasterlosen Eichen?
Oder kan diß Mord-Geschrey nicht an Eur Gehöre reichen?
(II. 305 ff.)

Note that the force of the reproach is here derived from the fact that Julia purposely limits the emblematic (i.e. normally intended as universal) truth to the particular figurative instance depicted in the emblematic pictura. Thus she denies that there is an emblematic meaning in the pictura, but only a literal one as far as she can see.

Finally let us recall the personal variation introduced by Gryphius in the tree emblem towards the end of Papinian's opening monologue, the individual touch in the change from 'hoher' to 'Schatten-reicher Baum' which is struck by lightning¹. This idea returns in the last scene of the drama. The Reyen question the possibility of lightning striking the laurel in a dialogue with Eugenia and Hostilius after the news of Papinian's execution. The women emphasize the

'impossible'-connotation by referring to the event as an anti-reality happening. They exclaim:

Welch Höllen-donner hat den Lorber-baum zuschlagen?
Baum unter dessen Zweig man Schutz und Ruhe fand.
(V. 476 f.)

Again there is the direct application of the emblem to Papinian, combining the universality of the emblem and the personal characteristic of the individual for added emphasis. The protective laurel tree has been struck by lightning none the less. The seemingly impossible has happened; hence the anti-reality nature of the exclamations by the Reyen not only after Papinian's death but also after Geta's - both innocent victims in the violent storm of Bassian's fear, jealousy and anger. Schöne comments about the Reyen¹:

Beide Male sucht der Chor sich dem Diktat des Tatsächlichen zu widersetzen und weicht in den Fragesatz aus. Beide Male greift der Fragesatz zum emblematischen Gleichnis, das hier doch eben nicht mehr gilt. Aber noch wo es aufgehoben ist durch den Bühnenvorgang, gerade indem es aufgehoben wird, legt es sein Zeugnis ab über die verwirrte, aus den emblematischen Fugen geratene Welt. Das widerlegte Emblem verkündet die Ungeheuerlichkeit, das ganz und gar Unfaßliche dessen, was hier geschehen ist.

The 'Ungeheuerlichkeit' of the action depicted on the stage like the pictura in an emblem will be understood to its fullest extent when seen in the perspective of the closing lines of the drama, spoken by the Reyen. At the same time these lines highlight the emblematic nature of the figure of Papinian. He is not just a character who perishes in the struggle for truth, justice and virtue, but he has become

the embodiment of these qualities¹; hence the depiction of the laurel tree in the last pictura, as the symbol of 'Tugend' perishing in the storm of life. The Reyen conclude:

Wir folgen doch nicht dir O Held zu deiner Grufft
Nicht dir den Ewigkeit in jhre Festen rufft!
Wir folgen grosser Mann höchst-klagend und gedencken
Das Recht mit deiner Leich und Sohn ins Grab zu sencken.
(V. 539 ff.)

Conclusions

Before we turn to the work of Joost van den Vondel let us briefly draw some conclusions from the analysis thus far, in order to clarify the comparison of Vondel with Gryphius. In both Leo Armenius and Papinianus Gryphius uses plain comparisons as well as metaphors based on the deeper significance of emblems, not only to embellish and decorate, but also for didactic reasons, to drive home the moral truth of the argument with greater force. The imagery is also used to fulfill a definite function in the structure of his dramas. This function assists in binding the drama more closely together, so that scenes which at first glance seem to have little bearing on the fate of the hero, are seen to be thematically related. Through this 'imagery kinship' they become inseparably connected with the drama as a whole. The parallels, in fact, often add extra dimensions to the plot of the drama by opening up new perspectives. Thus the absence of Papinian, for instance, is not detrimental to the development of the plot because through the thematic lines in the imagery his presence is 'felt' continuously. Leo's and Papinian's fates are illuminated by the parallels in imagery themes used by their opponents.

As pointed out before¹⁾, the structural use of thematic imagery does not exclude imagery used decoratively and for artistic reinforcement. Thus 'thematic' imagery from

Leo Armenius recurs in Papinianus as non-thematic. But the functional use of certain themes becomes possible only when the themes are based on a 'framework' of imagery. It is in connection with the concept of this 'framework' that we have introduced the emblematic elements.

We have already considered¹⁾ how the emblem came into being. First created by Andrea Alciati (1531) it developed and eventually came to dominate 17th century conceptual thinking in all aspects of life. It has been shown²⁾ that baroque theatre was emblematic and that the structure of the dramatic language, from the smallest units to whole acts, was also emblematic. Our next step was to show that the use of imagery in Gryphius' dramas is based on the emblematic structure as well. And, indeed, it seems that the themes used by this dramatist have their foundation in an emblematic approach. In Leo A. the pictura which lays the foundation for thematic imagery is worked out on an individual level, i.e., it depends entirely on the one individual whose name even reflects the direct connection with the thematic aspects of the imagery. The moral 'point' of the drama, always intended to have universal application, is made by implication.

In contrast to this, the scope widens in Pap. The qualities portrayed are more abstract and for this reason the central character representing them is less concrete. In Leo A. only the specific tyrant of that name fulfills the conditions on which the development of the drama depends. But Papinian is

a universal 'type' of the stoic sufferer, enduring wrong for the sake of justice and a pure conscience. He could easily be replaced (by his son, for instance) and the didactic 'point' could still be made in much the same way and by means of the same thematic imagery - it no longer depends on the person as such. For this reason Leo is the more colourful character and a more 'dramatic' person.

That the thematic imagery is dealt with by the dramatist on two 'levels' - the individual and the universal - is born out also by the fact that the former rests on the limited foundation of a single pictura (the 'Lion-emblem'), while the latter is constructed from several picturae used by Papinian in the course of his opening monologue¹⁾.

The basis for the imagery in both Leo A. and Papinianus is laid 'outside' the actual drama, i.e., an emblematic pictura is created by a character whose reflections in the prelude outline the theme to be expounded in the drama proper. These reflections have no immediate relevance to the development of the plot but fulfill the function of prophetic forecasts. They are best left out of consideration if one is to appreciate dramatic tension from a 20th century point of view. But in 17th century drama the didactic purpose expressed in these reflections, and also in the Reyen, was one of the major considerations. Thus the opening pictura has a great significance in outlining the moral 'lesson' of the tragedy. This depiction of abstract truth in the tan-

gible form of an emblematic pictura provides the foundation on which the imagery in the drama proper, directly connected with the 'theme' expressed in the pictura, is constructed. In this way an emblematic framework is established within the drama itself - the happenings of the dramatic action comment on the theme; in other words, the drama becomes one great 'scriptura' to the emblematic pictura of the thematic imagery.

The question which now remains to be answered is whether this could also be said of Vondel's dramas. Are there similar 'patterns' of imagery in the work of Gryphius' Dutch contemporary, whose work he knew so well? How does the creative individuality of these two great representatives of 17th century drama compare in this respect? The analysis of two of Vondel's dramas in the next chapter sets out to answer these questions.

CHAPTER IV

Vondel's use of imagery in
Palamedes and Faëton.

Introduction

In examining two dramas by Vondel our aim is therefore to discover whether the same or quite different principles are at work in his use of imagery as those we found in the analysis of Gryphius' dramas. We reached the conclusion before¹ that whatever influence Vondel may have had on Gryphius, this is of little real importance for the essence of the latter's dramatic genius. The claim made in the 'Vorwort' of Leo Armenius holds true for his dramatic technique and use of language in the other dramas too.

Let us now see if the same can be said for another aspect of language which is also an integral part of the drama - the imagery and the way it is used. Perhaps the 'Geistesverwandtschaft' which constitutes the real relationship between the two contemporary dramatists, expresses itself more clearly in this aspect of their dramas. For this aspect - the use of imagery - reveals as much, if not more than the other elements mentioned above, the spiritual state of mind of the dramatist and his awareness of the universe and the world. In short, it reveals the metaphysical aspects of his dramatic 'Weltanschauung'. To determine whether this is so let us turn to Vondel's Palamedes (1625) and Faëton (1663) for a more detailed analysis.

The first of these dramas was written in the second period of Vondel's creative life¹. Thus we avoid the early 'Rederijkersdramas', written when Vondel was relatively young from the creative point of view, Pascha... (1610) and Hierusalem Verwoest... (1620). He wrote these at the age of 23 and 33 respectively. The style of these dramas is largely imitative and qua form and content can be said to belong to the tradition of the Moralities². In the second period, from 1625 to 1637, Vondel turns to the classic traditions of the Latin tragedies of Seneca, several of which he also translated. The first drama we have chosen is the first original drama written in the first fully developed and independent creative period of Vondel's life. It must be realized, however, that this drama does not yet represent the fully developed dramatic genius of the Dutch 'Prins der dichters'. In this respect he differs from Gryphius who was artistically more mature at the time of writing his first drama in the German language, Leo Armenius. Verhagen rightly complains³ that the more generally known drama Gysbreght van Aemstel⁴ (1637), which is only the second original drama written by Vondel, is still often taken as the measure of his dramatic talents - unjustly so when one considers that the dramatist's development was very slow and depended on his own inner progress⁵, so that only at the age of 50 did he write his second drama. The following two creative periods, 1639 - 1648 and 1654 - 1664, reveal the greatest powers of Vondel as dramatist, especially the

latter between the 67th and 77th years of his life. There are no more translations in these years and Vondel writes quite independently after the translation of Sophocles' Electra in 1639. The discovery of Greek drama is the turning point in his dramatic career; as Verhagen puts it:¹

(Vondel's) meesterschap zal zich eerst ten volle gaan openbaren op het ogenblik, dat Vondel bezeten wordt door een innerlijke aandrift, motieven uit te werken, die uit psychologisch oogpunt veel interessanter worden dan een vermoorde staatsman of een verbrande stad, en gedaante gaat geven aan de schimmige persoonlijkheden, die zich tot nu toe hadden weten schuil te houden in de duistere krochten zijner ziel. Zijn artistieke intuïtie wijst hem de weg naar het lichtende voorbeeld, dat hem tot de voltoering van deze taak eerst ten volle zal kunnen initieeren: Sophokles. Van hem leert hij de groote waarde van den strakken, evenwichtigen houw en de intensieve concentratie in de uitbeelding van gemoedsimpulsen, het oerbeeld der waarachtige tragedie, waarvan Seneca's barokke, declamatorische rhetorik toch slechts een decadentie betekent.

This could perhaps partly explain why Gryphius did not translate Gysbreght van Aemstel, but turned to Gebroeders instead, a drama from the third period, written in 1640.

The second drama chosen for analysis should compensate for the deficiencies of the first because it was written towards the end of the period of Vondel's greatest dramatic powers. We have chosen Faëton, rather than the very last original drama, Noah (1667), because this thesis avowedly limits itself to works which exclude the third dimension, that of a transcendental vision of the Christian afterlife which raises the drama to a higher level than is usual in other 'secular' tragedies. Besides this, there are some

interesting parallels in Faeton and Leo Armenius, even though the action takes place in quite a different 'world'. The reality of the mythological world of Faeton, however, is no less applicable to man's situation than the courtly-political circle in which Leo moves.

We have seen that in Gryphius' dramas the language itself also contributes to the making of the drama because the thematic use of imagery connects the individual scenes and creates a sense of movement and interaction in a rather static plot. In Leo Armenius there are the rising and falling lines of the fates of the main characters which cross each other and lead to a complete reversal of the original situation.

In Vondel's Palamedes there is only the continuously falling line of action as the hero is dragged to his doom. A rather weak attempt is made to rescue Palamedes, but this is so easily countered that it fails to make any impact at all. Perhaps a comparison with Gryphius' Papinianus is more in place because it treats similar themes¹. Papinian, too, is condemned from the beginning and the rescue attempts by the empress and the army officers are failures. Yet in spite of this, Gryphius creates greater tension in that his hero is made to face a dilemma, and there is always the possibility that, if only he gave in on the one point, he would be safe. Besides this there are the counter-actions which portray

Wat dorperheyd is dit, onedele gebeente?
Wat bitse nijd verteert het merch in uw gegeente?
Wat dolheyd u vervoert? dat ghy uwe heeren hoont?
En met so valsch een' munt uw' trouste vaders loont?
Koomt reuckeloose schaer, treed voort, ick ben te vrede
Te dingen, om 't geschil, ter vierschaer van de rede:

(I. 7 ff)

This is followed by some five accusations levelled against Palamedes and his defence. He addresses a short prayer to Apollo who is witness to Palamedes' innocence and comes to the final conclusion that this treatment, then, is to be the reward for so many years of service to his country.

It should be remembered at this stage that the drama was written as a reaction to the execution of the Dutch statesman Johan van Oldenbarneveld by the supporters of Prince Maurits of Orange Nassau. At the time religious quarrels were carried on by different factions in the Northern Netherlands, which helped to confuse the issues and made the situation more complicated. The drama is full of allusions to contemporary events, and the most innocent looking classical references usually have a parallel in events of the day. This made the tragedy more actual in its own day, but a knowledge of these parallels is not really required to appreciate the dramatic development within the single classical framework of reference. It was very common at the time to write dramas that referred extensively to ancient legends and events of antiquity, not to create a deliberate ambiguity, as Vondel does here but merely for the sake of 'learning'¹ and embellishment of the language. But, as

just mentioned, this was not the primary purpose in this drama, which was written to expose the enemies of van Oldenbarneveld by means of a classical parallel.

One accusation against him is that Palamedes wanted to avoid war because he secretly favoured the enemy in Troy. He explains his preference for peace treaties by means of traditional mythological imagery:

en wie ontkend wat plaegen,
Bellone met sich sleept, met droeve nederlaegen,
Gevaerlijck voor 't gemeen: wiens welvaert men met druck,
En angst siet hangen in de weeghschael van 't geluck.
(I. 27 ff.)

There are two personifications¹ here, the first one of war and the second one referring to one of three different depictions of the goddess Fortuna². This shows that Vondel was apparently acquainted with the depiction of Fortuna in the "Zinneprent ter Eere van Frederik Hendrik na de verovering van 's Hertogenbosch en Wezel"³. Here she is shown blindfolded with a lock of hair flowing from the forehead, standing on a sphere and holding scales in her right hand; the imperial and papal crowns and a scepter are found to be lighter than just a sword entwined by an olive branch, the latter indicating the use of the sword for establishing peace⁴. In the same print there is the figure of blindfolded Justice, crowned with a laurel wreath and holding a sword in one hand and empty scales in the other. This is also referred to by Palamedes in his defence as he resolutely faces the accusation that he has shown favours to some

but not to others:

Ick handhaef yeders recht, en pas op niemands blaffen.
Elcx vryheyd is de mijn': die weegh ick in een' schael:
Wie hier wt vreesse deyst, ick sta gelijk een pael.
Dreygt Palamedes vry te moorden, en te priemen,
Hy blijft de selve man, al sneed ghy hem aen riemen:
En draegt sich na sijn' plicht getrou, oprecht, en kuysch:
Men soecke hem waer men wil, hier leyd d' Euboeer t' huys.
(I. 84 ff.)

Here the image of weighing is not used to indicate the elements of chance - up or down, whichever Fate decides - but rather the element of precision. Thus we may conclude that here the scales of Justice are referred to, which was also a wellknown figure in the emblematic tradition.¹ The imagery used by Vondel is thus quite conventional. This is also the case with the image he uses for the language of defamation by slanderous tongues which reminds one of Gryphius' comments about the tongue in Leo Armenius:

Doen Calches op hen smaelde, en wtspoogh vier en vlam,
(I. 77)

The last four lines of the next to last quote show how the speaker distances himself from his role and by means of the emblematic pictura of the pillar applies the subscriptio to himself in order to prove his stoic steadfastness. His 'constantia' is also expressed in the passage relating Palamedes' dream which worries him, "schoon ick niet op d' ydelheden Van spoock, of droomen pas" (I. 151 f.). There is also the fact that:

De wichelaers my niet als ongelucken spellen:
Doch een' manhafte siel moet dit ter sijden stellen.
(I. 155 f.)

In the past he has been a pillar of the realm; he has:

Met wijsheyd, raed, en daed 't bouvalligh rijck gestut:
De stormen afgeweert, en op mijn' borst geschut...
en 't Land herstelt in vayligheyd:
(I. 117 ff.)

When Palamedes addresses his father, Nauplios king of Euboea the stoicism displayed is of the same kind as that of Papinian's son¹:

Heer vader, die my erft den segen van uw' kroon,
Het ga met my soo 't wil: ick blijf uw echte soon
Van bloed, en van gemoed, en sal u niet ontaerden
In vroomigheyd, in trou, in 't midden van de swaerden,
In 't midden van de nijd, en lasteringen: daer
Mijn goede naem, en faem me word bedruckt soo swaer.
(I. 157 ff.)

Palamedes knows that he is innocent and his conscience is "ongekreuckt". Thus he can conclude this monologue with a biblical image, which seems to indicate that Palamedes is a 'martyr', in the same limited sense as Papinian, in the cause of Righteousness and Justice.

Ick weet waer op ick steun. Mijn ongekreuckt geweten
En is niets quaeds bewust, noch heeft sich noyt vergeten
Aen eenigh schendigh feyt: en soo ick daerom ly,
Soo wasch' mijn edel bloed eens anders schelmery.
(I. 163 ff.)

The Reyen which follow review the situation and sum up the arguments discussed by Palamedes in detail. They contain only a few unconnected images. The Reyen use the dialogue form as they are composed of the followers of Palamedes on the one hand, and those of his principal opponent Ulysses on the other. The former describes their situation in terms of a pathetic fallacy, depicted by the surrounding natural gloom as:

den Hemel starloos treurt,
En telt de sleepende uren.
De naere lucht nu schreyt en sucht.
Hoe lange sal het duuren?

De middernacht herhaelt haer scha
Met dick're duysternissen:
Slaghregens decken Cynthia:
Dies wy haer aenschijn missen.

(I. 169 ff.)

Palamedes' opponents grudgingly predict his success in ending the war, but at the same time insinuate treason and murder through a crude farming image of spreading manure on the field:

d' Euboeër afkomst sal met dwang
Mars teugelen ten lesten:
Maer niet met Trojens ondergang,
En 't storten van dees' vesten:
Maer met dese Aerd, door Hectors swaerd,
Van lijcken vet te mesten.

(I. 179 ff.)

The Rey of Euboeërs ignores this accusation and simply reply with a personification as their conclusion:

Dus tracht de niyd sijn' Faem van spijt,
Veel' logens op te dichten.

(I. 189 f.)

The Ithakoisen continue their accusations, but are told that only he,

wiens tong van Nectar dout,
En draeght vergift inwendigh,
Word eer dees' schalckheyd toevertrout,
(I. 197 ff.)

This refers to one of their own leaders who had slandered Palamedes most of all:

Die hof, en sael, met logentael
Stoffeeren kan behendigh.

(I. 201 f.)

The first figure of speech reminds one of the emblematic moral connected with the pictura of the bee or the spider, who also extract honey and therefore have 'honed tongues', but before long this turns to poison so that their sting or bite can be deadly. A character like this, then, is said to be able to 'furnish' all the chambers of the court with items from his poisonous tongue. Thus the imagery here accurately depicts the qualities intended, and the emblematic nature of the imagery reinforces the 'point'.

Palamedes' enemies also accuse him of fleeing from battle, using the image:

Doen hy den dood den rugge bood,
Met wiecken aen sijne hielen.
(I. 225 f.)

Again a personification gives the language greater impact. The second image of winged feet to emphasize speed is well-known from emblematic depictions of the god Mercury, Jupiter's messenger, and the goddess Fortuna.

The argument continues to and fro, and the Ithakaisen glory in the past defeat of Palamedes' father:

Heeft niet de vader Nauplius
Voor Princen moeten wijcken?
En tot zijn heyl, de vlag, en 't seyl
Voor mindre moeten strijcken?
(I. 247 ff.)

The image from the familiar world of seafaring adds to the sense of humiliation and utter defeat.

An everyday aspect of agricultural life is again employed to counter the accusation that Palamedes receives gifts as

bribes. The charge is turned against the opponents with an image of degradation; their greed is said to be stamped on them like the branding mark on animals:

Verdient hy een brandteecken, die
Tot onses staets verkleenen,
Ich meest verrijckt met giften sie:
Merck desen niet, maer genen:
Wiens goudsucht boos, en Goddeloos,
Vind sijns gelijk' niet eenen.
(I. 262 ff.)

The evil character of Ulysses against whom this was directed, is further emphasized by the depiction of a perilous situation in the world of nature:

Steyl Neritos vol klippen heeft
Noyt woester dier ontfangen
Als hy, die schelms en onbeleeft
Betrout sijn' slimme gangen:
Die lieft, en stout sijn' verw behout,
Schoon hy 'r in word gevangen.
(I. 269 ff.)

In the final exchange the followers of Ulysses defend their lord against this last charge and draw the Sentenz-like conclusion:

Maer wie den helm voert als een schelm,
Dat sal de tyd ons leeren.
(I. 279 f.)

The Eubeërs consequently fear the worst for their innocent master and dread the approach of day. They ask the sun, "o blonde Phoebus!", never to appear on the horizon, thus denying the ungrateful Greeks the light of day. They seem to have given up in despair, and introducing the characters for the next act they ask:

Waer vlieden wy? wat Rasery
Koomt wt den afgrond klimmen?
(I. 285 f.)

We have now covered the first act and the Reyen that follow. At this point a brief review of the material is necessary and some questions must be asked. How does Vondel's treatment of his subject matter compare with that of Gryphius in the opening monologue of Papinianus, a drama which deals with similar ideas and themes? One striking difference is that Vondel has only a few introductory verses (6 lines) and moves into the expository section of the monologue without delay. Thus the approach is the same but the technique differs. Vondel does not build up an introduction 'outside' the drama out of various thematic elements in the language, but almost immediately begins his dramatic action - in so far as one can speak of 'action' in a monologue. Gryphius uses his language more specifically for the sake of artistic affect, besides establishing a linguistic structure as the framework for his dramatic imagery. Thus the opening pictura-section of Papinian's monologue takes up some 55 lines, before the hero begins the exposition as he reflects on the immediate past. This is followed by a scriptura for the emblematic depictions of his fate which is worked out in greater detail in the drama itself¹. From the very nature of the emblematic picturae one can draw conclusions about the further development of the tragedy and the ultimate outcome. As expressions of universal validity they allow no way out for Papinian.

Vondel has constructed no such basic picturae-foundation for a framework of imagery within the drama. Yet he deals with the same themes - Palamedes is a righteous man who stoically and courageously faces his enemies in the hour of death. He, too, pleads a clear conscience and virtues like 'vroomheyd'. So it is not surprising to find the same kind of imagery as in Papinian. For example, Palamedes also speaks of a storm, with the difference that this does not refer to personal troubles which threaten to destroy him, but rather to matters of state - he bears the brunt of this storm to protect his country from these dangers. This is only one of several aspects of the storm which we have considered in Papinian. It seems unlikely that a continuous theme of imagery will emerge from the monologue with any of the images considered thus far as the fundamental framework pictura. We shall be looking for some such fundamental framework throughout the rest of the drama. The question we want to consider at the same time, however, is whether the imagery that is used throws any more light (as it does in Gryphius) on the interaction of the various main characters in the drama.

Before we examine the imagery in the rest of Vondel's drama, we shall first take a brief look at the Reyen in Gryphius' Papinianus and see how these compare with the Reyen in Palamedes. Before the Reyen I in Papinianus Gryphius has another scene divided into three short sections which intro-

duce us to the dramatic action at the present time - the monologue before it was mainly concerned with outlining the accusations levelled against Papinian in the immediate past. The second part of the first act opens up the background of the court, of the underhand scheming and plotting that is perpetrated there when a representative of the mother-empress visits Papinian with proposals to strengthen her position. This event and the subsequent discussion with Plautia naturally lead up to the Reyen. Here Gryphius presents the abstract theme implicit in the foregoing action and asks the fundamental question arising from the comparison of courtly life, in the bad sense, with the simple, homely and care-free existence of the humble person:

Wie daß uns denn was hoch/doch für und für verletzt
Vor dem was niedrig ist und stets erquickt/ergetzt?

(I. 437 f.)

Other Reyen are used to present 'other-worldly' characters such as the 'Rasereyen' and the ghost of Severus (II and IV). They reveal the forces at work in future developments which are the action of the drama itself. In Reyen III, as in Reyen I, the 'hofe-Leute' speak again, and again comment on the events which have just taken place concluding with the moral lesson:

Die hir das Recht erwischt die strafft es kurtze Zeit;
Dort quält die ewig' Ewigkeit.

(III. 709 f.)

Gryphius therefore has a definite artistic design in his use of the Reyen as they emerge from the action and comment upon

it, or emerge out of another, supernatural realm influencing the action which follows and predicting ultimate consequences. The abstract nature of the latter type is reinforced by the dramatist's concrete visualization of supernatural reality through an emblematic depiction on stage using the action to 'illustrate' the 'point'. Thus, for example, especially in *Reyen IV*:

Käyser Bassianus erscheint auff einem Stul schlaffend
von etlichen geflügelten Geistern wird ein Amboß
mit Hämmern auff den Schaw-Platz bracht/auff
welchem die Rasereyen einen Dolch schmiden.¹

The *Reyen* after the first act in Vondel's *Palamedes* do not linger on any one theme, although this does occur in later *Reyen*. Instead they fulfill the function which in Gryphius' drama was carried out by the additional scenes after the opening monologue, i.e., they move into the action of the immediate present. The opposing *Reyen* make public the accusations which Palamedes was considering for himself in his monologue. The *Reyen* go into greater detail, viewing the case from other angles and thus throwing more light on the issues involved. It is unfortunate that this technique inevitably leads to unnecessary repetition. But so far Vondel's immediate concern seems to be the development of the action - there is no time for abstract reflections yet. Let us also take a brief look at the way the other *Reyen* are made to function after the next four acts. Strangely enough there is also one after act five, i.e., after the dramatic action

has formally come to a conclusion. Vondel prolongs the drama by transferring the final scene to the enemy court of the Trojans who also rejoice over Palamedes' death.

In the second Rey the Peloponnesers and the Ithakoisen are led by Eurypilus, the servant of the ambitious chief-priest Calches, all enemies of Palamedes. They take up the old accusation that he was bribed to betray his allies. This Rey follows naturally from the second half of the second act in which Ulysses discussed the plot against Palamedes' life with his fellow-officer Diomedes. It is interesting to note that in the first part of this act Vondel introduces the world of the supernatural into the action itself, rather than in the Rey, as Gryphius prefers (except for occasional appearances of ghosts to characters within the action of the drama). In Vondel's tragedy it is harder to separate the 'factual' historical from the mythological aspects of his dramas¹. Greek history itself goes back to mythology, and in the drama, too, Palamedes is the grandson of the god Neptune, while Atreus, the father of the antagonists Agamemnon and Menelaos, was the son of Pelops who in turn was the son of the well-known mythological figure Tantalos. The characters in the drama also appeal to these mighty ancestors for help and protection: "...op datter door uw oordeel Noch blijck', dat Godensaed heeft boven andre voordeel." (V. 143 f.). Thus it is not so strange to have the supernatural powers take part in the action, while in the Reyen it becomes a very natural part of the whole, as, for example, when a priest

leads the Reyen in what becomes a religious ritual for obtaining the support of the gods against Palamedes.

The Rey after the third act, in which the action reaches a climax through the army council's summons of Palamedes to stand trial for treason, is devoted to the followers of Palamedes. The theme in this case is the same as Reyen I in Gryphius' Papinianus¹, i.e., the contrast between the simple peasant who is his own master and the lord in a high position who has become a slave of the system. Similar ideas are expressed even in much the same words, such as the thought that: "...Dolch und Bley; Lurt hinter der Tappezerey." (Pap. II. 417 f.). No doubt ideas like this were all part of the common heritage from the tradition of (in this case) the 'Tyrannendrama' which goes back to classical antiquity². As slave to the state he serves, Palamedes is meeting a slave's fate which only Neptune can prevent. In the course of act four the Reyen of Palamedes' enemies enter the dialogue as the voice of the people and pronounce Palamedes' death sentence. But the Reyen at the end of this act consist of the followers of Palamedes lamenting his death and forecasting that the people will realize their fatal mistake only when it is too late.

As already mentioned, there is also a Rey after the fifth act. The 'Trojaensche Maeghden' express their joy at the fact that:

Stads grootste vyand voor de poort
Leyd van sijn eygen volck vermoord.
(V. 499 f.)

Thus Vondel does not attempt to use the Reyen as a revelation of supernatural forces at work in the drama, given from a metaphysical vantage point. We learn in the second Reyen that the goddess of the underworld, Hecate, and the allpowerful goddess of fate, Fortuna, have granted their approval and support; but this in no way influences the further dramatic development in the sense that the audience can tell: now we see prophecy in the process of coming true, as in Leo Arminius and Papinian¹. Rather than divide the Reyen between the 'natural' comment on the dramatic action by characters connected with the drama, and the 'supernatural' elements behind the scenes of the drama, as Gryphius does, Vondel prefers to divide the Reyen equally between the enemies and the followers of Palamedes. Thus Reyen I discuss the pros and the cons in dialogue form, II is given to the enemy, III and IV are both taken by the Euboeërs and the last one by the Trojan enemies. The metaphysical 'framework' within which Gryphius' tragedies develop is lacking in Vondel's drama. Vondel concentrates simply on developing the action of the plot and decorates it with references to the mythological past which weigh down the Reyen with superfluous detailed accounts about the gods and their deeds. The only prophetic comment on the approaching death of Palamedes is contained in the first half of the second act. Here the 'Raserey' spurs on the spirit of Sisyphus, the grandfather of Ulysses, condemned to the task of continuously rolling a rock up a mountain in the underworld. This spirit is made to enter the dramatic action to infuse the

actual plans for Palamedes' death into the mind of Ulysses:

Wiens schalckheyd hapert, om bedriegelijck, en vals,
Den soon van Nauplius te brengen om den hals.
(II. 104 f.)

Thus the spirit supplements a deficiency in one of the main characters to enable him to carry out his plans. The 'Raserey' Megeer wants this because she delights in the chaos of wars and disasters that will result from Palamedes' death. The metaphysical element in this case therefore has become a part of the action. The 'Raserey' schemes for her own purposes; she fulfills a functional role in the drama, whereas the 'Reyen der Themis und der Rasereyen' in Papinian come from outside the action - "Auß den Wolcken" and "auß der Erden hervor"¹ - and remain outside it, fulfilling an explanatory, interpretive function. Future developments are forecast and said to be effected by the 'Rasereyen', and we therefore assume them to be behind the action of the drama but they are never really part of the action. Vondel's concern in the use of the 'Raserey' and the spirit is to present them as acceptable figures in the context of the dramatic action on stage. In Gryphius' drama they function more like a supporting metaphysical framework which binds the various aspects of the action together by throwing an explanatory light on the real causes of the action. Thus besides the structural support given to the drama by Gryphius' use of a concrete pattern of thematic imagery, there is also the abstract supernatural 'system' which is kept apart from the dramatic action while remaining an integral part of it.² The only time that this

realm moves into the world of the drama is on those occasions when a spirit appears to one of the characters. Even then it is quite clear that this is an element from outside which never prevents the action from running its 'natural' course to the end. Vondel does not keep the two apart but lets them merge so that the natural and the supernatural are both parts of the dramatic development.

As we just noted¹, an occurrence of the supernatural within the action of the drama may be found in the first part of act two. Let us now take a closer look at this scene and the rest of the drama, analysing it with a special view to discovering the function of Vondel's use of imagery.

The 'Raserey' Megeer has been driving Sisyphus' ghost along the road from the underworld to the scene of the drama. He is tired of coming up from below and plaintively asks Megeer in 'unpoetic' everyday language:

Waer ben ick? in wat nacht? Megeere die my jaeght,
Nachtmerri, oude kol: hoe hebt ghy ons geplaeght,
Met uw' bebloede sweep en peckstock onderwegen,
Eer ick een' doorgang heb, na'et boventolck gekregen.
(II. 3 ff.)

He describes her to her face as:

Wanschepfel, die geen' grijns behoeft, noch' kunt ontwarren
Uw' pruyck, die groulijck krielt van swarte slangen, sehg,
Waer dwael ick? op wat spoor?
(II. 10 ff.)

Megeer explains the situation to him and tells him about Paris capturing Helen which is the reason for the presence of the Greeks around Troy and the victims of the war;

Die bleecke schimmen, die ons treurigh tegen quamen,
Besprenckelt van veel bloeds, gehouwen, en gekapt,
Mishandelt, en mismaeckt, gesengt, gequetst, gekrabt.
(II. 26 ff.)

Quite in keeping with 17th century tradition Vondel delights in using vivid language to depict a scene. The 'Häufung' of adjectival past participle in the last quotation is just one of many instances. Sisyphus continues in this vein as he reveals the part the 'Rasereyen' play in the battles between the Greeks and the Trojans - they caused the whole of Asia to be stirred "om een' lichte vrou" (II. 50):

Euménides, welaen, recht yligh overend
Uw slingerslangigh hayr, en brand, en blaect, en schend,
En schuymbeckt, raest, en moord: daer sietmen 't leger
krielen:
Daer laedmen Charons schuyt, tot sinckens toe, met sielen:
Het isser drock aen 't veer. (II. 51 ff.)

Usually the descriptions conform with well known facts about antiquity. Thus the Furies' hair consisting of snakes is included as a matter of course. Palamedes uses this image later when he pleads not guilty to the charges, for he exclaims to reinforce his argument that if he were a traitor his "hayr moet als Megeer van swarte slangen krielen:..." (III. 568). Here the image has acquired the individual touch of the dramatist who uses it for the special purpose of constructing an anti-reality argument. The last sentence of the above quotation seems to be a typical Vondel-statement. The dry observation that it is busy at the ferry transports the reader from the scene in the underworld to another place, not unlike the Amsterdam port in Vondel's day, bustling with mercantile

activity. The simplicity of the language contrasts sharply with that used in the further description of the battlefield covered with blood and spilled brains. But this again concludes with a commonplace observation that:

... het isser slibberglad.
(II. 60)

This is followed by a question typical of the vanitas-awareness of the age of Vondel and Gryphius; and Gryphius who experienced this more in his own life than his Dutch contemporary¹ could have written it:²

Soo Dochters van de nacht, maer als ghy hier met lijcken
De stroomen hebt gedamt, en d' overzeesche rijcken
Tot puyn, en gruys verplet, en wt hunn' plaets beweeght,
Den adeldom, en 't puyck der vorsten wtgeveeght:
Sal dan de wraeck vernoeght, doo 't bloed soo veeler helden,
Het woeden staecken?
(II. 61 ff.)

The answer to this last question is No. Megeer finally tells Sisyphus of her plans: after the middle-east (Asien), Europe's turn will come to suffer under the plagues of war and disasters. The Greeks (in Vondel's drama = the Dutch) are grimly warned:

Wy koomen, om den wegh tot uwen ondergang
Te baenen, swanger van voordachte schellemstukken,
En hechten Argos ramp aen Trojens ongelucken.
(II. 68 ff.)

The ways and means "om te rockenen dit quaed" (II. 17), the Furies find in:

Den Phoenix, daer hun heyl en segen in bestaet,
Te helpen aen d' een sy': op datse met sijn sterven
Dock sijn' manhaftigheyd, en raed, en wysheyd derven,
En voeren borgerkrijch om sijn onschuldigh bloed.
(II. 72 ff.)

The final emblematic key-word then introduces a full pictura description of the future developments in the Greek camp.

Unimportant for the drama as such, it does place the events of the tragedy in a wider context, showing how evil produces more evil in a never ending process of war and misery.

Vondel's language conveys his close acquaintance with the scene of war - one need only think of the Thirty Years' War which raged in Europe at the time, as well as the Eighty Years' War of Independence of the Netherlands against Spain; both came to a conclusion with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648:

Hier wordmen vlam gewaer: daer hoortmen een rumoer
Van steden tegens steên, van vlooten tegens vlooten,
D' een' ramp wt d' andre wast. Wat wordter bloeds vergooten.
(II. 80 ff.)

At the end of this scene, after Sisyphus has 'inspired' his grandson Ulysses and made him aware of the best way in which to have Palamedes condemned and executed, the two shades return to the realm of the dead. This is once again expressed in terms of figurative language:

Soo is het reysens tyd. Gedoemde siel ga schuyt:
Duyck in den donckren poel, en noyt beschenen kuyt.
De nacht is op sijn droefste, en Phebe wijckt de spoocken.
... Gaep aerdrijck, en al heel
Verswelgtse, die ghy t'hans gebraeck hebt uyt uw' keel.
(II. 116 ff.)

The background of the action has now been drawn and the stage is set for the tragic development of the drama with the result a foregone conclusion.

We have seen by now that the material available to Vondel and Gryphius, including the imagery and other descriptive techniques, comes from a common source. What they do not have in common seems to be the way in which these means are

used. Vondel's imagery does not rest on the foundation of a pictura which is constructed beforehand as a framework of reference for the leitmotif-like series of images based on it.

Gryphius' dramatic language, on the other hand, becomes an end in itself. He uses it to create an edifice which exists artistically in its own right. Vondel is more interested in the language for its direct dramatic function. He uses imagery in isolated descriptions to give such descriptions greater dramatic impact. Thus in the above depiction of war the powers of evil are shown more effectively through the imagery which conveys the treacherous undercurrent of the events that take place. This difference in the two dramatists' approach may be seen, for example, in the way in which Megeer called Palamedes "den Phoenix". The image is used quite arbitrarily it seems, to describe the character more vividly. It does not have any direct application to the dramatic situation at all. In Leo Armenius Gryphius makes use of the same idea¹, but he does not even mention the word 'Phoenix'. In the context of the drama's imagery-framework, however, the image arises logically from the theme of 'fire' and the eventual outcome of the plot. In Vondel's case the image is used only loosely as a title bestowed on Palamedes by another character who is aware of his importance for the realm. But no explanation is given of how this could apply in this instance. Only indirectly do we hear from Palamedes' grandfather, the god Neptune, at the end of the drama that:

Sijn' dood so onverdient, als staet, en landbederflijck,
Roept wraeck, en maect sijn' naem roemruchtbaer, en
onsterfelijck.
(V. 147 f.)

And only at this late point in the tragedy does Vondel give a pictura description of the central event in the drama. In fact, Neptune exactly describes the title-print of Vondel's Palamedes¹, which gives the drama a greater emblematic significance. The subscriptio to the print reads:

Het ongediert begrimt met open muijl, en pooten
Manhafte onnooselheijd, in 't beestenperck verstooten:
Noch swichtse niet, hoe seer de boosheijd brult, en tiert:
Maer spreeckt voor 't heijligh recht: dies Themis haer
lauriert.

The inscriptio of this emblem may be assumed to be the same as the title of the drama, viz., 'Palamedes oft Vermoorde Onnooselheyd'. Now, finally, in the last act this emblem receives its application within the framework of the dramatic action, in Neptune's answer to his other grandson Oates. The description is introduced with the emblematically significant words: "Alreede sie ick ..." (V. 161), which would make the following verses a pictura even without the illustration in the 'Voorrede'. This verbal pictura again receives a subscriptio, different from the one given with the original print; after a 19 line description of what we see in the print follows a conclusion:

Soo leeft sijn' faem de jaeren
En eeuwen door in spyt der vadermoordenaeren:
Die Phoenix sijner tyd: en hoe de nyd meer bast,
Hoe minder hy vertsaeght, hoe hooger dat hy wast.
(V 179 ff.)

Thus the Phoenix image is again used as little more than a title, given to Palamedes because the element of everlasting fame provides a connection with it. But the significance of the mythological 'fact' that this bird achieves everlasting life in renewed form by first perishing in the flames and then rising from its ashes, is ignored by the dramatist.¹ Instead he uses a quite different emblem for the final conclusion - that of the dog (nyd) barking in powerless fury at the moon (here: Palamedes' 'onnooselheyd') which is unperturbed and steadily rises higher and higher². The emblematic nature of the speech is emphasized by the fact that earlier in this same act a similar description of Palamedes is given by a messenger who immediately proceeds to give the allegorical explanation of the true significance of the persons involved:

Hy met sijn dienaers hulp, getroost, en wel te moe,
Bereyde sich ter dood, en tot de middel toe,
Ten halven lyve naeck, in 't wterst van sijn lyden,
Sijn' lijfknecht oorlof gaf, die treurigh trad ter syden,
Na d' alderjongsten dienst. Daer stond de Deughd geciert
Met waere onnooselheyd, van 't leelijck ongediert
Begrenen en begrimt...

(V. 93 ff.)

This personification is in itself not an emblematic construction because it simply occurs in the detailed description of Palamedes' end. It is not set apart by a concluding moral Sentenz by way of subscriptio, and therefore serves more as allegorical embellishment. For the messenger describes "'t leelijck ongediert" attacking Palamedes and the action continues without further interruptions. However, it does take

up the theme of Palamedes' innocence from the original title-print subscriptio and thus reinforces our contention that 'vermoorde onnooselheyd' may be taken as inscriptio of this emblematic representation of the drama¹. (see p. 195)

We see then that the central emblem of the drama is used by Vondel not so much as a basis for a framework of thematic imagery, but simply as an instance of making a dramatically powerful 'point' at the end of the tragedy. This seems to be Vondel's main reason for using emblematic imagery at all. Another example of this occurs when Ulysses discusses his plans with Diomedes and uses imagery in order to reinforce his argument. To the objection that the chief leader, Agamemnon, might not give his full support, Ulysses replies with an emblematic image which is also used by Gryphius in Papinian:²

De weereld geensins lyd twee schitterende sonnen:
Soo duld geene heerschappy twee hoofden in een rijck:
Geen vorst sijn' wederga: geen koning sijns gelijck.
(II. 227 ff.)

Thematic use of imagery in Palamedes.

What has just been said does not mean that there are no themes in the imagery of Vondel's dramas. On the contrary, as may be expected after what we have seen so far, there are themes very similar to those found in Gryphius' dramas, even though these are not based on a structural foundation. Yet the two dramatists have a different approach to the way they use imagery. Without a fixed framework governing the

imagery of the central themes, as we saw in Gryphius, it is difficult to consider Vondel's use of imagery without going into too much detail. The discussion could be carried on indefinitely because no limits have been clearly outlined; the initial pictura-structure is lacking. For this reason let us select a number of themes of central importance to the 'message' of the drama to analyse the way in which Vondel uses imagery.

One of the outstanding qualities of Palamedes' character is his 'Beständigkeit', marked by the same stoic element as that of most 17th century tragic heroes. Thus Palamedes "blijft de selve man" (I. 88) even in the face of death. His stoic "het ga met my soo 't wil"-attitude (I. 158) is possible only because of the firm conviction that he is in the right:

Ick steun op mijn gemoed, en op mijn' goede saecke.
Ick stap mijn' dood te moet: sy streck' 't gemeen tot baet,
Als ick mijn bloed vergiet ten offer voor den staet.
(III. 445 ff.)

Earlier in this monologue, spoken before the trial, we are informed about the "vroom gemoed" and the "edel hart" (III. 328, 330) that determine his course of action. His blood to be used for washing other persons' crimes (I. 166), has now been given a sacrificial quality. Throughout his life Palamedes was determined "onbesweecken... voor 't hayligh recht te spreeken" (V. 75 f.). The dark forces that are at work to destroy Palamedes are described by him at the beginning of this monologue:

O Nacht, wiens doncker kleet beschaduw't alle menschen,
Soo wel die heerlijck sijn, als die om noodruft wenschen:
Wat boosheyd dectghe doch met dicke duysternis?
Wiens laegen of bedrogh uw' naerheyd gunstigh is?
(III. 320 ff.)

These forces would be enough to compel anyone to keep quiet, including Palamedes, if it were not for "gewetens scharpe dwang" (III. 378) which leaves him no choice but to speak "suyvre waerheyd" (III. 349) and to resolve: "'t Is beter dat ick lij, dan dat ick mijne sege Met burgermoord bevleck." (III. 357 f.). Then Palamedes encourages himself by means of an emblematic truth expressed in the well known palmtree emblem, also found in Gryph's Papinian¹:

Maer beur uw voorhoofd op, en toon dat waere deughd',
Als d' eedle pallembloom, geen' last te draegen weygert,
En tegens 't swaer gewicht de lasteringen steygert.
(III. 339 ff.)

Associated with this image is Palamedes' final resolution to "wtstaen met geduld, het sy oock wat het sy." (III. 442). The same stoic patience as we have seen in Papinian is again referred to later by the messenger reporting Palamedes' death, when he exhorts the relatives "om door geduld dat onheyl te verwinnen" (V. 132).

Palamedes' statement "ich sta gelijk een pael" (I. 86) is later taken up by his faithful follower, Nestor, who gives him the emblematic name of 'pillar of the realm! Note, however, that the title is bestowed on Palamedes in a negative context. In act IV the dramatic action has developed to the point where positive values have been overcome by the destructive elements at work in the tragedy. Immediately after

Palamedes' doom has been pronounced by the majority of the judges and the "goe' gemeent" (IV. 324), Nestor realizes that the wheel of Fortune, which plays such an important part in the Reyen after act III, has taken an irreversible turn for Palamedes and he describes the consequences in terms of a 'vanitas' pictura:

Argivische landou, mijne oogen sien den roock
Opgaen van uwen brand, ...
... , en niemand tracht te blusschen
Het vier, dat in sijne asch vast smeult, en heymlijck
smoockt, ...
Men sloopt, men slecht 'et al op dese onsalige uur:
Men velt geswind ter neêr, wat langsaem is geklommen.
Gaet Griecken ruckt om veer die suyl der vorstendommen,
Den Atlas, die 't gebied met sijne schouders schraecht,
En onverwickelijck dat groot gevaerte draecht: ...
(IV. 335 ff., 343 ff.)

Thus the Reyen of Palamedes' enemies at the conclusion of act II are proved right and their confidence in the inexorable powers of Fortuna¹ is justified:

O kragt die niet en syt t' ontvlieden:
Geweld dat tusschen uwe knieen
Beklemt de diamanten spil:
Daer 't al op drayet na uwen wil.
(II. 381 ff.)

The 'suyl der vorstendommen' which has been destroyed could not stand up to the force of Fate, who herself is addressed as:

Suyl, die self'
Draecht onbeswaert dat swaer gewelf (der weereld).
(II. 391 f.)

The vanity-theme has occurred before when the destructive activities of the 'Rasereyen' were described². Very similar terminology is used in the following scene in which Ulysses,

obviously influenced by the advice Sisyphus conveyed to him in a dream, reports the final answer Agamemnon gives to

Palamedes:

d' Atryden sullen u vermorselen tot gruys,
Of ghy sult hen tot stof verdelgen met hun huys.
(II. 156 f.)

The paradox of "twee schitterende sonnen" is the reason why king Agamemnon lends support to Ulysses' schemes; as the latter observes: "Ick ben het niet alleen, de grootste sijn in 't spel" (II. 165). But as far as Palamedes himself is concerned, he is convinced that the lies which presently triumph over his innocence will finally be revealed as vanity:

De Goden sullen tot gerechtigheyd bewogen
De klaere waerheyd eens doen blincken, als de logen.
Van d' Ithakois gesmeed, von Calches tong gevijlt,
Gelijck een damp verstuyft, en als een roock verijlt.
(III. 392 ff.)

It is ironic that in his trial Palamedes is accused by precisely these enemies, whose victorious lies can only be explained when seen in the light of their selfish, vain struggle for worldly power. The vanity of this world has them in its grasp, yet they 'prove' Palamedes' treason on the evidence of:

't goud tot ons bederf beschoren:
Wiens glans het oogh verblinde, en schendigh kost bekooren
De vaeckbeproofde trou, tot soo vervloecht een feyt,
(III. 610 ff.)

And with a masterly psychological touch Vondel has Ulysses exclaim: "Ach! dat een' grootse siel sich selve dus vergeet."
(III. 617)¹. While Agamemnon adds significantly:

We are just told that Palamedes walked to the place of his execution with courageous bearings and "met voegelijck gebaer" (V. 30). This phrase in itself points to the theatrical quality of the scene of Palamedes' death. And here indeed the whole concept of the world as a stage and every man playing the part given to him by God, is brought to bear on the way in which Vondel depicts the scene. The place of execution itself is a hill at the foot of a mountain, so that the hillock becomes the stage with the mountain serving as grandstand. A temple, now a ruin, stands at the top of the mountain,

die schuyn
Groeyt als een schoutooneel:
(V. 33 f.)

The mountain side is soon covered with people,

daer de bergh een open wtsicht heeft
Op desen heuveltop: (V. 54 f.)

The description of the different kinds of people in the audience and their reactions to Palamedes' death is preceded by a short exclamation which seems typical of Vondel's descriptive passages¹:

Wat isser een gewoel!
Een yeder heeft zijn wit: dees draecht sich stil, en koel
In 't weereeldlijck beloop, noch' weet wat hy sal wenschen,
En om te kijcken volght slechts 't spoor van andre menschen:
Die braeckt zijn' gal, en scharpt zijn' tong gelijk een
pyl, ...
En dorst na 'et edel bloed: een ander ...
Sich intoomt, en met rou het treurspel komt bekijcken,
En 't voorspel tot bederf der Europeesche rijcken:
Een eenigh swyger weeght de wereld in een' schael,
's Volx sotterny belacht, en treurt om 's lyders quael.
(V. 57 ff.)

The last two lines of this pictura, incidentally, could well refer to the dramatist himself²; Vondel has been described as

a quiet, serious man, though not lacking a delicate sense of humour.

The crowd behaves as though it is in a theatre and they "een schouspel maeckte van den Phrygiaenschen Hayligh" (V. 48).

The people applaud when Palamedes approaches the 'stage'.

He turns his "staetigh aensicht" (V. 75) to the audience on the mountainside, who are still wondering whether mercy will intervene. The pictura of the 'schoutooneel' is now complete.

All its elements have been described and the audience has been prepared for a subscriptio to follow, as it does. The messenger reports Palamedes' final words:

O mannen, seyde hy, of uwe heusheyde noyt geloofde
Al 't geen de valscheyd heeft van landverraed erdicht,
Dat was mijns harten wensch. 'K heb volgens mynen plicht
Gants vroom, en ongeveynst, en opentlijck gehandelt,
En sterf een oprecht Grieck, gelijk ick heb gewandelt.
(V. 84 ff.)

During the messenger's description the action has come to a standstill and remains so until the pictura has reached its completion. The report now continues with a description of the action. The priests groan with horror at the words uttered by Palamedes; Palamedes himself prepares for his execution; and the people:

nu veraerd in luyperden, en tygers,
Van reedlijckheyde ontkleed, beseten van de wraeck,
En felste Rasery, beving een graeger smaeck
Na 'et Goddelijcke bloed.
(V. 100 ff.)

The analogy with the 'wild beasts' (also depicted in the frontispiece) is continued in the further description of the

action, as the plebs seize "de grouwelijcke beuls, en duyvels steenen ... , En blixenden met maght op desen vroomen vorst." (V. 108 f.). The messenger concludes with a gruesome report about some of the people, insane with fury and hatred, scrabbling among the rocks and dipping cloth in Palamedes' blood, and having wrung them out in wine, "soopen 't op met vloecken" (V. 128). Thus the figure of speech: "Gelijck als Bacchus rey ging raesende te keer ..." (V. 118), becomes the actual situation¹.

The 'schouspel' within the play comes to an end with the messenger's report. We do not witness the death of Palamedes but are informed about it by a third person whose descriptions take on the dimension of another indirect dramatic 'action'.

The direct action is resumed when Oates addresses his grandfather Neptune after he has heard all the details of his brother's death.

Neptune's reply seems to function as a kind of 'deus ex machina' in that it covers the future developments of the Greek nation as we know it from ancient history and mythology. We need only hear the names of Clytemnaestry, Cassandra, Electra and Orestes to get some idea of the punishments outlined by Neptune. A special fate is reserved for Ulysses; he must wander for many years before he can finally reach his home. There he dies; this fact "bluscht Neptunus toorn" (V. 410). This speech of 265 lines does nothing to alter the

course of the drama and therefore serves little dramatic purpose. The only contribution it makes is the moral point:

Dat leert na haylich bloed van Godenkinders dorsten
Tot in het darde lit ...

(V. 339)

It may also be seen from this episode that Vondel's dramatic structure is still rather unnecessarily extended in his first original drama. Neptune's speech is only indirectly related to the plot and introduced more for the sake of displaying the dramatist's knowledge of antiquity¹ than of giving the action a greater dramatic impact, or even of making the point just mentioned. In fact, all action comes to a standstill while Neptune speaks. The drama is then rather abruptly concluded with an exchange between Priam and Hecuba who express their good fortune at the Greeks' killing their own leader. The king of Troy wants the city and the court to celebrate. This is done in the drama by means of the unusual procedure of adding a "Rey van Trojaensche Maeghden" after the fifth act². The irony of the reason why they are celebrating is highlighted by these additional Reyen - Troy's most dangerous enemy has been killed by his own people. The Reyen triumphantly underline this fact in their song of praise to Minerva:

Stads grootste vyand voor de poort
Leyd van sijn eygen volck vermoord.
(V. 499 f.)

So far we have considered certain aspects of the character of Palamedes and seen the way in which imagery was used to

show Palamedes' stoicism and 'Beständigkeit'. It became evident that on this personal level Vondel does not use his imagery along thematic lines. Let us therefore consider another theme capable of wider application and frequently used by dramatists of the 17th century to illustrate a significant dramatic moment by imagery; that is, the theme of seafaring.

Vondel, like Gryphius, wants to emphasize certain aspects of the dramatic action. He does this by creating a pause in the course of the drama and constructing a more or less extensive 'tableau', as it were, which makes the didactic point. Full use is made of emblematic structures¹, as found also in Gryphius's dramas², but Vondel apparently does not consider the thematic approach to imagery useful for dramatic purposes. This aspect of linguistic artistry in the drama is characteristic of Gryphius, while Vondel concentrates in a more straightforward manner on the dramatic action as such.

In Gryphius' work we noticed that the thematic use of storm and shipwreck images provides a connection between various characters, even when in the context of the drama they are diametrically opposed, e.g., Papinian and Laetus. Let us move, then, from a personal level of imagery as shown in the 'Beständigkeit' of Vondel's Palamedes to a more general one to see if character relationships may be traced in Vondel's drama on this basis. Vondel also uses seafaring language in which storm and shipwreck play a prominent part. Are similar

images to those in Gryphius' dramas used to 'illustrate' similar situations in which the different characters find themselves in the dramatic action?

Already in the first act we see that Palamedes is aware of the existence of storms in his life. But they are storms which threaten the realm rather than Palamedes personally. Yet they have a personal effect on the hero in his position as a leading statesman in Greece. He protects his country by voluntarily facing the dangers. Thus in the past he has:

De stormen afgeweert, en op mijn' borst geschut:
(I. 118)

Evidently he has not been aware of storms gathering against him within his own country till it was too late.

In the Reyen of the same act, the Eubeërs are scornfully reminded by the Ithakoisen that there is no reason for being proud of their lord, Palamedes; he is no better than his father who was often defeated by foes weaker than he. To express this the dramatist makes use of contemporary customs in naval warfare by which the weaker captain acknowledged defeat:

Heeft niet de vader Nauplius
Voor Princen moeten wijcken?
En tot zijn heyl, de vlag, en 't seyl
Voor mindre moeten strijcken?
(I. 247 ff.)

Another seafaring reference is found in the next act when Ulysses overrules Diomedes' objection that Achilles and Ajax are powerful and will do all they can to save Palamedes "door

's grysen Nestors tong" (II. 215). Ulysses is confident that Agamemnon, the general of the combined armies, will be strong enough to control Nestor:

Dit acht ick heel gering.
De veldheer is de siel, en stuurman van 't geding.
(II. 216 f.)

In much the same way the goddess Fortuna ("de nood", II. 379) is addressed as:

Houvast en ancker van 't gesticht
Der weereid, die in tegenwicht
D' hoofdstoffen houd ...
(II. 389 ff.)

In the last two cases the connection with the nautical theme is slight. The image is considered complementary to the agent rather than as an essential feature of his character or experience. Thus the anchor image is used for denoting the ideas of security and a firm hold, rather than in its significance for a ship, while a parallel is drawn to Fortuna's role in the world. Compare with this, for instance, images in the conclusion of the Reyen III where the Eubeërs point out that Palamedes is threatened by all the dangers previously outlined in the same Rey. In the comparison of the pleasures and troubles experienced by the "burgerboer" and the statesman respectively, the side of the pleasures comes down heavily in favour of the former, and of the troubles in favour of the latter. This is applied to Palamedes in terms of seafaring imagery:

Door soo veel' klippen en gevaers,
Door 't onweer, dat de wichelaers
Met lastertongen wecken stedes,
Drijft d' afgesloofde Palamedes.

Sijn' schipbreuck sietmen te gemoet:
Ten sy Neptuyn sijn wettigh bloed
Verschoone, en, aengebeen om bystand,
De zee besadigh met den drytand.
(III. 735 ff.)

A difficulty which we shall meet again later is that in respect of Neptune 'fact' and 'fiction' begin to intermingle in the action of the drama¹: the god who is said to rule the waves and who is also the grandfather of Palamedes is called upon to save his descendant by calming the actual waves of the figurative storm! In fact, the storm is caused by the priests (wichelaers) of Jupiter. They stir the people with religious fanaticism because they feel Palamedes is too critical of their activities and does not recognize their position as infallible interpreters of 'God's will':

Wy staen met Goden in onbreeckelijck verbond.
Al wie ons wederspreeckt, die wederspreeckt Gods mond.
Wy sijn afdrucksels Gods, ...
Wat weereltlijcke maght ons stout derf tegenwroeten,
Diens setel sijght, en staet op waggelende voeten.
Ons' wencken blixems sijn' en donders yeder woord.
Wy sijn een muur om 't rujck, de sleutels van stads poort...
(III. 270 f., 276 ff.)

But the reference to storm-elements here is derived from the characteristics of the god Jupiter whom they serve. The thunder and lightning hardly refer to the theme of a storm at sea, the development of which may be traced throughout the drama, reaching its climax in the shipwreck of the victim-hero. Palamedes himself uses the same phrases in the stoic monologue before the trial scene, obviously referring to the effects of deceitful and slanderous tongues. Evidently the imagery appealed to Vondel as representative of the power of

evil tongues:

Ick was alree gebroght in veeler hoplien haet:
Men sagh nocht hoorde niet als blixemen, en dondren:
Men mompelde van moord, bloedstortingen, en plondren...
(III. 415 ff.)

In the trial scene which follows it seems that Palamedes is thinking of his fate in terms of a disaster at sea. At least he refers to his innocence as follows:

Myne onschuld 't hoofd sal heffen
Ten goven wt, ofschoon haer lasterbuyen treffen.
(III. 491 f.)

This seems to refer to the end of the drama where Neptune really appears (and the same problem mentioned above¹ recurs). We read a very similar turn of phrase in Vondel's brief summary of the final scene²:

Oates, de jonger soon van Nauplius, met rou getroffen,
door 't verhael van het deerlijck ombrengen sijns broe-
ders, valt klaghtigh aen Neptuyn den Zeegod: die, het
hooft ten golven wtsteekende, hem vertroost met de
eere die het onschuldige lijck volgen sal...

The question arises whether we can speak of imagery when what is first thought to be figurative becomes in the final analysis actual fact.

In the same speech Palamedes again uses thunder to refer to the effects of language:

dees' beschuldiging, die in myne ooren dondert.
(III. 488)

The 'thematic' line of seafaring imagery is discontinued in the fourth act, except for one reference to the tides by Oates. Here the image is not used to indicate outside activity causing stormy conditions, but it draws a parallel to

emotions in Oates' heart:

Hoe vrees en hoop in my nu ebben, nu weer vloeyen.
(IV. 10)

The image as such has therefore nothing to do with the disasters which surround Palamedes. In the fifth act yet another image with reference to an aspect of thunderstorms occurs when the messenger tells Oates about the events leading to Palamedes' execution. The crowd has been inflamed with fury and a deadly hatred which "wt hunn' dreygende oogen branden: Die gloeyden vreesselijck, gelijk als koolen viers." (V. 104 f.). From the surrounding ruins of the temple on the mountain the people,

De grouwelijcke beuls, en duyvels steenen grepen,
En blixemden met maght op desen vroomen vorst.
(V. 108 f.)

The image is brief, and even though this scene contains the climax of the tempest there is no 'baroque' elaboration which could connect it to the Palamedes' 'shipwreck' referred to earlier by the Rey of Eubeors (III. 735 ff.). Apparently, because of the very nature of the dramatic action, Vondel sees no need for thematic reflection of past events or prophetic statements in the imagery. Possibly he feels that this may retard the action, and the 'dramatist' triumphs thus over the 'poet', if one could make this distinction in the case of Vondel.

All further nautical language and imagery are contained in the last speech of Neptune in which he outlines the future

vivid description in dynamic language it lacks the deeper significance of the extra dimension which always results from the use of comparisons. Thus in order to stay within the limit of our thesis topic we shall have to leave this depiction of a 'real' shipwreck out of consideration.

In conclusion we may say that, in keeping with a tradition going back to antiquity¹, Vondel aptly uses the shipwreck image in only one instance in this drama² to describe the course which Palamedes has taken and the destiny which Fate has in store for him. This does not mean, however, that a storm rages through the drama and makes itself 'felt'³ through the use of imagery. We noticed in Gryphius' Papinian that even in Papinian's absence one could 'feel' the ever-present threat of the tempest which would destroy him. This was achieved by Gryphius' skillful use of thematic imagery. The leitmotiv, moreover, also occurred in the parts of other characters⁴, thus fulfilling a unifying function in the structure and language of the drama. Besides being thematic, the imagery in Papinian in turn rests on a pictura framework which prepares us for the further development of the theme. This structural principle is not present in Vondel's Palamedes. The pictura of the title print concentrates entirely on the personal character traits of Palamedes. The recurrence of this depiction as verbal pictura within the play does nothing to widen the scope of possible interpretations of the drama by means of themes of imagery. The messenger in act five sees

Palamedes as "de Deughd geciert Met waere onnooselheyd" (V. 97 f.), while Neptune, too, comments on his "deughden, onnooselheyd, en fiere moed" (V. 167, 170, 174). In the end allegorical 'wild animals' threaten him, not the storm which should be causing the shipwreck forecast in Rey III (III. 735 ff.).

In the above analysis it can be seen that there is no interrelation between the separate instances of storm or shipping imagery as used by different characters. They remain isolated instances, connected only by what is said, not by the way in which it is applied to characters in their particular situation within the dramatic context. For this reason, it would seem, the images are kept short, to the point, and in simple constructions, e.g., "ons' wencken blixems sijn' en donders yeder woord" (III. 278), or the chiasmus - a figure of speech not yet found in Gryphius' dramas¹ - as follows: "Men sagh nocht hoorde niet als blixemen, en dondren:" (III. 416). We may deduce from this that evidently the figures of speech were used merely to intensify the expression, but they are not intended to interlink, as cross-references within a thematic framework. Rather they are instances of a linguistic technique, used to make a bigger momentary dramatic impact on the audience. Thus the other characters' relationship to Palamedes lacks the extra dimension of the imagery portraying their reaction to a central omni-present storm in the plot, as we saw in Gryphius' Papinian. This creates

a certain 'looseness' between the characters in Palamedes who, apart from Ulysses, seem to have little or no life of their own. In spite of the fact that Gryphius' drama is much longer the characters stand in a much closer relationship to each other because everyone of the main persons is 'involved' in the plot, as their use of (or Gryphius' use) of the imagery shows. But because this is the result of an artistic contrivance it does not necessarily make Gryphius' plays better dramas. Quite possibly Vondel's plays work better as plays - in our modern sense - than Gryphius' dramas, because of Vondel's greater dramatic awareness. The analysis of a second drama by Vondel in the next section may throw further light on this.

The use of imagery in Vondel's Faëton.

Thirty-eight years after Palamedes, at the peak of his dramatic powers, Vondel wrote another drama which does not take into consideration the transcendental dimension of the Christian world-view. This drama is therefore ideally suited to serve as a further comparison with Gryphius' dramas of the same kind. In Faëton of reuckeloze stoutheit, 1663, there are thematic similarities with Leo Armenius, although Vondel derives his material from the realm of mythology, while Gryphius turns to history for his plot. But bearing in mind the aims of baroque dramatists and their didactic purpose in writing tragedies, one will realize that the sources of the material are of relatively little importance for the way

in which the dramatist presents his version of it. In his foreword Vondel, as much as Gryphius in his, draws on 'historical' sources too, from which the myth is said to have originated. He claims not to be inventing the story but rather to be poetically elaborating on given facts in the way a dramatist should, according to the dictum of the holy patriarch Lactantius:¹

Dichters verzierden geene geschiedenissen, maer overbloemden de geschiedenissen met eene zekere verwe: naerdien een dichters ampt hier in vereischt waerachtige geschiedenissen, in een andere gedaente van ter zijde, met eenigh voeghelijck cieraet over te voeren:

Besides this explanation the old dramatist also draws on the "Natuurkundigen, ... Staetkundigen en zedevormers" to defend the fact "dat my luste treurtooneelwujs te bespiegelen dit voorbeelt van Faëton, waerin de bovengemelde dryderhande kennis (der geschiedenissen, natuur, en zeden) uitschijnt."²

Vondel himself realizes that he has developed, dramatically speaking, and he indicates that this drama is a mature work when he writes:³

Wat nu deze de tooneelwijze belangt, dit treurspel is niet eenvouwich en doorgaens eenen zelve toon van droefheit houdende, maer ingewickelt, dat is ongelijck van toon. Blyschap en droefheit steecken op elckandere af. De hærtstoghten liefde en gram-schap, hoop en wanhoop, woelen en barnen heftigh door d' onderlinge bloetverwantschap van ouderen en kinderen, den noot by hemel, aarde en zee geleden, en de schrickelijcke overgangk van geluck in ongeluck, maghtigh onverzetbaere gemoeden schrick en medoogen in te boezemen.

Vondel was well acquainted with the theories and theatrical conventions of his day. In this respect he drew, together with

all other 17th century dramatists, on a common classical heritage which is still found in Lessing's theoretical work¹. Let us examine now whether Vondel's use of metaphorical language has changed and developed in this mature drama of 'staetveranderinge'. Has the way in which he deals with imagery and its bearing on the dramatic structure altered in any way to approach that of Gryphius? After his translation of Sophocles' Elektra, 1639, which marks a turning point in his career, Vondel was aware that a change in style was imperative. In the dedication of the translated work he expresses the thrill of his discovery of the true classical style²:

Hoe men den zinnen hier dieper doordringt, hoe zich meer wonderen openbaeren, en 't elckens yet anders, en 't geen men te voren over 't hoofd zagh. Walgelijcke opgeblaezenheid, waer van Grieken en Latynen hoe aelouder, hoe vryer zijn, heeft hier nergens plaets; oock geen wispeltuurgheid van stijl, en de tooneeldichter is overal zich zelve gelijk, en geeft te kennen dat 'er een veldheer insteeckt. Toestel en redenen zijn gepast naer de personagien, elck naer den eisch levendigh uitgebeelt.

This new insight results in a marked change of style; the generally overburdened 'baroque' elements are 'deflated', as it were. There is a general 'tightening up' of the structure, and extensive digressions are avoided. Thus there are no seemingly endless speeches like that in Palamedes spoken by Neptune in a section which is still supposed to be a 'dialogue'. The style, swollen with 'learning' and mythology in Palamedes, has been simplified and made more coherent. For this reason the Reyen are more straightforwardly related

to the dramatic action and thus made an intrinsic part of the drama as a whole - in sharp contrast, for instance to the Rey in Palamedes, IV 354 ff. In this Rey Vondel introduces the labours of Hercules in ten stanzas as a parallel to "so steyl een pad, so wilde en woeste een' baen" (IV. 357), i.e., the path along which Palamedes' 'befaemde deugdhe' (sic) is made to travel; and in four concluding stanzas he applies the moral taught by a comparison with Palamedes' situation. Only the first three and the last four stanzas are directly connected with the dramatic happenings. Thus almost two thirds of the Rey is devoted to constructing a learned frame of mythological cross-reference, simply for the sake of embellishing the action of the drama and impressing the audience. This is no longer the case in Faëton.

In the later drama the four Reyen are all drawn into the structure of the work as a whole. This is achieved by a technique which is closely connected with one of the three classical 'unities' - the unity of time. This device, which often limited the dramatist severely, could be used advantageously in Faëton because this drama deals with the journey taken by the sun-god in the course of a day. The work therefore conveniently "begint met den opgangk, en endight met den ondergangk, en de lijckstaetsie van Faëton".¹ This fact gives the drama a sense of urgency, especially towards the end where the disaster assumes proportions of worldwide consequences and the council of the gods seeks a solution. At first they

still hope to be able to spare the reckless young man, but in the end they are forced to take his life. Within this time-structure the Reyen are introduced as 'Rey van Uuren'. As the hours go by they are called upon to comment on what is happening, to plead for mercy on behalf of Faëton and to philosophize on the nature of their own being. This approach puts the events in the tragedy in a universal perspective far more effectively than the mythological allusions in Palamedes could ever hope to do. The commentary reveals the serious implications of Faëton's undertaking - besides playing with fire¹ he plays with Time as well; a serious matter because:

Wat dwaelt, of nimmer dwaelt,
Dit uurwerck magh niet doolen.
Geen zonnwijzer faelt
In 't mercken van zijn streecken.
Al hoort men klock noch klanck,
Ons stomme tongen spreecken,
En roepen: gaet uw' gangk.
Verzuimt geene oogenblicken.
Het leven rent voorby.
O menschen, kostge wicken
En weegen uw gety,
Dat nimmer weër zal keeren,
Gy zoudt den tijdt waerdeeren.

(III. 235 ff.)

When Faëton loses control of the sun-chariot and the horses are about to go off course, he not only endangers his own life but risks disturbing the 'clockwork' of the whole universe². The balance of nature has been upset and life on earth is threatened with fiery extinction.

Hier gelt geen lang beraet. De weereit hangt beklemt.
(IV. 369)

Febus' rash promise³ to his son to grant him anything he desires results in a dilemma which has to be resolved by Jupiter

himself before it is too late. His authority depends upon it:

Wat raet? ons rijxkroon hangt aen eene paerdehoef:...
Hoe sluit dit? zal men, om een' eenigen te spaeren,
Het al bederven, en de weerelt zien vergaen?...
Hy (Faëton) tuimelt om en weër, en over hals en hoofd.
De zonnwagen moet en is alreede aen 't storten.
Het waer u nutter hem de vleugels snel te korten,
En door een korte doot te helpen uit dees pijn.
Dan langer 't leven uit te zetten, of den schijn
Van 't leven: want dit kan geen' naem van leven draegen.
(IV. 322, 330 ff.)

Faëton's hybris must be punished with death. As a mortal he had no right to ask for permission to drive the sun-chariot, usurping his father's divine privileges simply in order to prove that he is the son of a god. In this way he wants to counter slanderous accusations that he was illegitimate. It is the same old story of the rapid rise which precedes the downfall. The importance of this theme in a drama based on the given mythological story will be readily apparent. We shall therefore deal with the dramatic imagery in the light of the motto: Pride comes before the fall.

In contrast to Balbus' experience in Leo Armenius the rising of Faëton is not just a dramatic happening visible on stage. His ascent in his father's chariot is accompanied, if not preceded, by a rising of spiritual pride within his heart. This can be traced from the beginning when immediately after telling her children the secret of their descent, Klymene adds a warning which sounds a note of foreboding. It applies especially to her son Faëton.

Och kinders, 'k wenschte dat u 's rechten vaders kennis
Tot eeuwich heil gedye, en niet tot schade en schennis.

Verheft uw hart niet. Schuwt de hovaerdy vooral.
Vermy vermeetenheit, die menigh broght ten val.
(I. 62 ff.)

To reinforce the impact of this warning an image is added which has been taken from the animal world in a traditional emblematic way and would be recognized by the audience as conveying a general truth:

Het past den paeu uit trots den staert om hoogh te steecken:
Maer naulijx heeft hy op zijn voeten neêrgekeecken,
Of al de moedt zijght neêr, zoo hoogh de staert eerst rees.
(I. 66 ff.)

In retrospect the reasons for telling her children the truth do not seem well-founded because of the dangers which a knowledge of the truth entails. She anticipates her son's reaction when she says:

Is Godt uw vader? 'k ben uw moeder. Och ick vrees.
Wat ging my over dat ick u den vader melde?
Schoon bastert Epafus u bastertkinders schelde,
En vondelingen, by den wegh geraept in 't slijck;
Het waer veel nutter did verwijt en ongelijck
Te lijden, dan bezorgt te vreezen en beseffen
Datge op dien hoogen stam verwaent u moght verheffen,
En met uw lijfsgevaer een reuckloos stuck bestaen,
Dat, duizenden om een, ten erghste moght beslaen.
(I. 69 ff.)

She concludes her reflection with a few Sentenz-like questions and observations:

Helaes, mijn kinders, och had moeders mont gezwegen!
Wat baet de kennis van een waerheit, die geen' zegen
Maer vloecken naer zich sleept? de hemel zy uw stut.
De waerheit is wel goet, doch elck niet even nut.
De vader Febus wil u met zijn licht geleien.
(I. 78 ff.)

We have quoted Klymene's speech rather extensively because it is of central importance in expressing the main theme of the drama. It gives an exact forecast of future developments,

even though this is done through the negative wish that this may not come to pass. In this respect the 'prophecy' differs from those found in Gryphius' Leo Armenius and Papinianus. In these dramas the lion-emblem and the monologue respectively state the final outcome of the tragedies in a positive way. The fact that in Faëton future expectations are expressed in a negative wish leaves the final outcome open and still allows for several possibilities in further developments. Because of this the speech is not so much 'prophetic' as apprehensive and foreboding; Klymene outlines the action of the plot almost in spite of herself. Gryphius deliberately set out to have one of his characters speak 'ex cathedra', as it were temporarily moving him outside the action in order to be able to give a 'superimposed' outline of the plot on a higher level. This is a part of the structure of Gryph's dramas; as we have seen, this refers not only to the dramatic structure, but to the linguistic structure of the imagery as well. The imagery themes are based on the prophetic picturae which are depicted in these forecasts. The question arises whether Vondel perhaps turns to a similar technique in this later drama with its more rigorously constructed plot. This is the question that has to be borne in mind as we consider the imagery in the light of the theme of 'rise and fall', so clearly indicated in Klymene's words.

Faëton's motives, not unlike Michael's ambitions in Leo Armenius, stem from hybris - a desire to be like the gods.

He hears that he is the son of:

De vader, die het licht aen al de weerelt deelt,
En schenckt, ...

Zoo waer als ick de zon aenschou,
Die alle dingen ziet: ick (Klymene) zweere u by die
straelen,
Waerby de levenden hunn' geest en adem haelen:
(I. 44 f., 41 ff.)

And he responds with language clearly indicating his 'rise'
to the heights of hybris:

Nu leve en zweve ick in mijn eigen element.
Schip moedt, ô Faëton: gy stijght in 's hemels daecken.
De bergen zincken in 't verschiet. Mijn voeten raecken
Geene aerde, ô zonnebloem, ô zonetelgh, schep moedt!
Gy sproot uit hemelsch zaet, met een uit sterflijck bloet.
(I. 49 ff.)

Pride has caught hold of the youth and presumptuously he reveals his desires to climb to the highest possible position. Thus he anticipates the later action when his father has to concede to Faëton's request because of his rash promise. Faëton even dares to call his own the element given to his father alone to guide and control. His mother instantly recognizes the dangers inherent in her son's attitude. The image of the peacock thus has a direct application as she depicts it swelling with pride, but losing confidence as soon as it looks down from its puffed up 'height' at its own feet. The anticipation of the future action becomes more apparent in the answers of Faëton's sisters and the young man himself:

Moeder, laet
Ons heldre blyschap niet benevelt van uw traenen.
Dees kennis zal uw' zoon den wegh ten hemel baenen,
Langs vaders heirbaen, op het lang bereden spoor.

Faëton.

Dat's recht. Nu groeit mijn hart. De vader reedtme voor.
Zou een rechtschape telgh van haeren stam veraerden?
Nu schuwe ick d' aerde om laegh, en volgh de zonnepaerden.
Zy voeren my zoo hoogh, dat Epafus zich schaem',
Als hy den aerdboom hoort gewaegen van mijn' naem.
Brengh lauberblaen. Bekranst mijn hoofd met vaders lover.
(I. 89 ff.)

Thus, without proper justification, the son appropriates his father's rights and divine privileges, and he cannot wait to seize Febus' responsibilities as well. The father's reactions to Faëton's actions stand in sharp contrast to this. He implores Jupiter to be permitted to die a vicarious death for his son, or otherwise be allowed to perish with his son. However, this will only be possible if he, as a god invested with divine immortality, assumes human nature; otherwise his wish "den donderkloot op dezen borst te stuiten." (IV. 392), will prove impracticable. Therefore he pleads:

O vader Jupiter, 't believe uw majesteit
My aen te trecken een natuur van sterflijckheit,
En zoon en vader met uw' donderkloot te schieten:
Want dus te leven, zou een godtheit zelf verdrieten.
(IV. 349 ff.)

But Febus' moving humility cannot counteract his son's hybris. The latter ignores his mother's final words of warning and advice:

Genaeckt ootmoedigh: want Godts majesteit is teêr,
En lijt geen' schimp noch hoon ...
(I. 150 f.)

Faëton continues along what he presumes to be his upward path. In the second act his father rashly swears to grant him any wish he cares to make, and feels bound to keep his promise when his son promptly desires:

Heer vader, gumme en laetme op uwen wagen steigeren,
En eenen encklen dagh uw paerden voeren om

brother's intentions of following "de zonnepaerden. Zy voeren my zoo hoogh..." (I. 95 f.). He is not to be dissuaded:

Het lustme, 't vall' hoe 't vall', het vaderlijcke spoor,
Het gouden zonnespoor te volgen...
(II. 168 f.)

His father's description of the dangers along the way, which leads through godless regions, "door gedierte en on-dier heen" (II. 212)¹, does not impress Faëton; nor do his mother's predictions of doom.

It is interesting to note at this point that Vondel tightens the structure of the drama by introducing at this comparatively early stage certain phrases which foreshadow Faëton's downfall, even before the rising course of the action has begun. One such statement of dramatic irony is the answer Klymene gives to her son's assertion that:

'K wil vaders, moeders en der zustren eer verheffen.
(II. 161)

She replies:

En komt het ongeluck uw hoofd, mijn kroon, te treffen,
Zoo stortge met uw hoofd voorover in het slijck.
(II. 162 f.)

Even when Febus himself drives the chariot his "hart in 't lichaem beeft...Wanneer ick neêrzie naer den aerdtboôm en de baren" (II. 193 f.). He is experienced and yet as he embarks on the setting course of the sun towards the sea in the west,

Tethys (the sea), vol verlangen,
Gewoon my 's avonts in hear' open schoot t'ontfangen,
Bestorf, uit vreeze dat ick niet met paert en wiel
Voorover nederplompte, en in haer golven viel.
(II. 197 ff.)

The audience knows that this fear will be perfectly justified when Faëton takes his turn at guiding the horses. The fact that this fate will be in store for the reckless youth is underlined once more in the final speech of this act. The irony of the words is all the more dramatic when one realizes that they are spoken by Faëton himself. There is grim foreboding in the mention of a burial, the black humour of which is emphasized by the use of the word 'vrolijck':

Heer vader, met verlof, 'k bedancke u. Gy verplichte
My eeuwich door dien raet. Dit eenige is mijn beê:
Zent mijn vrou moder, en haer schoone dochters mē
Al sluimerende in een wolck, naer Padus. Dat's mijn haven.
Daer leght het vrolijck hart van Faëton begraven.
(II. 286 ff.)

The 'Rey van Uuren' which follows is a commentary on the true motives of Faëton, discussed under the general theme of the contrast between filial and parental love. The son's earlier assertion that he is concerned only for his parents' and sisters' honours is shown to be false:

Doch 't was om zijnen vader niet,
Maer om genot van hem te trecken,
En schande met deze eer te decken,
Het eenigh wit, dat hy beschiet.
(II. 311 ff.)

The Rey also anticipates in conclusion Faëton's fatal end:

Hy treet zijn vaders hart met hoeven.
Hoe menigh sneuvelde onder 't proeven!
(II. 347 f.)

In the meantime Faëton has started on his perilous journey. But the brief rising action, about which we learn only through reports, is offset by the dramatic action taking place on earth. Klymene, Febus and the Zonnelingen discuss the situ-

Genade, ô Febus, och wie zal mijn hart ontlasten?
Nu zorge ick Faëton quam uwe zon te na.
(III. 103 f.)

The reply explains why Febus was not aware of the parallel. He (still rather naively) thinks that his permission is a good enough justification for Faëton's hybris being allowed to go unchecked:

Hy steegh met mijn verlof te wagen. Wort 'er scha
Geleden op dien toght, my past dat ick 't verdaedigh.
(III. 105 f.)

Little does he realize that the extent of the disaster will prove to be beyond his control. Immediately after his words of reassurance he is called to account by Juno because already Faëton has lost control:

Een watervloet verdelghde en dompelde alle landen:
Nu staet een viervloet elck te vreezen dezen dagh...
Een droeve wagenbreuck! noit schipbreuck viel zoo droef.
(III. 203 f., 201)

It is interesting that the imagery of the world of seafaring is so prevalent in the thought and the poetic diction of the age that the mention of 'wagenbreuck' immediately suggests to Vondel the parallel of 'schipbreuck', which he then uses as an analogy. The similarity of Faëton's journey to the passage of a ship is suggested on several occasions, and in one instance the comparison is worked out in detail.¹ As we shall see, the Rey also uses the shipping image to illustrate the fatal course of pride.²

With the sharp eyes of envy Juno has analysed the situation - viewing events from the irresponsible oath of the father to

the reckless undertaking of the son. In giving his son 'free rein' Febus' mistake will prove to be,

Al 't aardtrijck ten bederve, en hem ten zwaeren val,
Waer van de hemel, aerde en zee gewaegen zal.
(III. 188 f.)

Jupiter's consort continues:

Wie, boven zijnen staet, verwaent zich durf verheffen,
En steecken overdwaels den Goden naer hun kroon,
Verdient, ten spiegel van verwaenden aert, ten toon
Te staen op een schavot, zoo hoogh als 's hemels tinnen.
(III. 191 ff.)

This sounds not only like the voice of Juno, but as if the dramatist himself is speaking here. These four lines could well serve as the scriptura of an emblematic depiction of the theme of this tragedy as expressed in the title "of reuckeloze stoutheit"¹. It is too late for any preventive action, and all the remedies suggested by Febus in order that he might save his son are to no avail. The simple fact remains:

Men magh geen noodlot noch zijn paelen overtreden.
De bovenzee verschilt van 't water daer beneden,
Gelijck het aerdsche vier van 't hemelsche element.
(III. 214 ff.)

The words remind one of Febus' own condemnation of Prometheus² which at the time made Klymene fear the worst for the safety of her son. Juno at this stage already hints at the necessity of Faëton's absolute downfall, i.e., his death:

Een jongen speelt met vier te zorgheelijck en stout...
Nu lijdt de weerelt, of de halve weereltkloot,
Ten zy 't geluck dit schutte en uitblussche in zijn doot.
(III. 221, 224 f.)

The following Rey van Uuren, besides describing their own duty to nature, comment on the action which has taken place off-stage. They themselves were instructed to prepare the sun-chariot at the moment of sunrise, so that Faëton could set out. No matter how great the courage displayed by the young man, the Rey concludes the first 'Tegenzang' with the proverbial expression that: "Het waegen ging voor 't weegen" (III. 265). The second 'Zang' and 'Tegenzang' comment on the dangers of pride in the young. This is illustrated with two picturae; one from seafaring, the other from the field of horse-riding. The two depictions are interwoven in a parallelism which is followed by the subscriptio in which the 'lesson' of the imagery is applied to the particular situation of Faëton:

Maer zeil in top te haelen,
Opzitten is min kunst
Dan in behoude haven
Te raecken, en weër af
Te zitten na het draven.
Zoo delft d' onwijze een graf
Voor 't reuckeloos vermeeten:
Dan is 't te spa gekreten.
(III. 276 ff.)

Here is another reference to Faëton's digging his own grave; this time it has much more force than the previous allusions because it has been preceded by Juno's remarks pointing to Faëton's death. However, the 'Tegenzang' still ends on a slightly more optimistic note, be it a doubtful one in the context of the description of Faëton's attitude thus far:

...den zoon,
Die, tegens zijn vermaenen
En d' eer, hem aengeboôn,

Volharde een' staet t' aenvaerden,
Die boven 't menschdom stijght.
Indien hy met zijn paerden
Behouden 't westen krijght,
Het ende, daer de prijs leit,
Dat's meer geluck dan wijsheit.
(III. 293 ff.)

The last line is still an everyday expression in the Dutch language. Here it is used to emphasize the dangers of attempting to break out of one's proper place in the hierarchy of the universe¹.

In act IV 'de Hemelraet' tries to find a solution. After hearing a report about the state of the upset universe Jupiter finally concedes, under pressure from the cold, calculating Juno and the 'raet', to put an end to the chaos created by Faëton's foundering in the sun-chariot. In spite of his protests Febus is silenced at last and this is conveniently interpreted by the council as "Hy stemt het zwijgend toe" (IV. 398). Jupiter is forced to send his flash of lightning down by means of his eagle:²

Zoo wy met eenen strael hem in den afgront klincken.
(IV. 384)

We have come to the turning point of Faëton's fortunes. The abyss looms before him. His pride has come to the fall. If only he and his father had been able to see the consequences of their deeds beforehand! But this was prevented by the very nature of their failings, because these caused both father and son to be 'blind', though for entirely

different reasons. The 'hemelraet' is aware of this when it asks:

Kon 't hooghste goet in 't lest,
Het zegenrijckste goet, verandren in een pest,
Een' dootelijcken vloeck van Goden en van menschen?...
Wat voerde Faëton tot zulck een stout bestaen?
Wat voerde hem zoo blint tot zulck een gruwel aen?
(IV. 39 ff., 47 f.)

The answer given by Juno clearly implies that pride makes a person blind:

't Is doch d'aert der bastertzoonen
Doorgaens naer hoogen staet te streven...
... om door dien staetglans rijck betaelt
Te zetten 't arme lot, hun toegesmackt van boven,
En langer niet, ...
Te duicken, maer verwaent den trotsen spits te biën,
En, zonder wedergade, een' grooten naem te draegen,
Al zou 't zich al wat leeft in eeuwigheit beklaegen.
(IV. 49 ff.)

In answer to the question: "Wat raet ziet Febus nu?" (IV. 74)

Juno also points out Febus' blindness and its cause:

Hy zit versuft, verstockt.
Van blinde liefde tot dien dwazen zoon gedreven,
Is hem, tot zijn bederf, de toom te ruim gegeven.
(IV. 75 ff.)

In the course of the act Faëton is twice more referred to as 'the blind charioteer'¹ who is courting disaster. Jupiter is at pains to point out that Faëton does not act out of spite and he gives the reason:

maer onnoosle en wulpsche Faëton
Vergrijpt zich zonder haet, in 't voeren van de zon.
Hy haet geen Goden, noch beoorloght hun uit boosheit.
Dees misdaet spruit alleen uit stoute reuckeloosheit.
(IV. 256 ff.)

All the same, his downfall is inevitable - the gods are forced "om slechts met eene hantvol bloet Te blusschen deze zee van vier" (IV. 302 f.) because (rather ironically)

their own existence is threatened¹. The eagle, 'vorst der voglen' (IV. 410)², carries Jupiter's bolt of lightning down so that he might "flux dit bloedigh treurspel sluiten" (IV. 407).

The commentary in Rey IV closes with the report of Jupiter's 'schiltknaep' (the eagle) overtaking Faëton and administering the punishment. Further details are 'dramatized' in act V through eyewitness reports of this to Febus, given by the minor goddess Faem. Mythological details are incorporated by the dramatist merely for the sake of completeness or decoration. Thus the sisters who "beschreien uwen val" (V. 149) become poplar trees, while the mother turns into a swan. Febus argues with Jupiter and the 'raet' about what has taken place and refuses to resume his duties until Jupiter orders him to do so. In his lament Febus reproaches himself for Faëton's death, and with a typically baroque touch, which is more like Gryphius' language than Vondel's, he addresses his son³:

Nu zijtge een stinckend lijck. Waer zijtge toe gekomen?
(V. 147)

Faem reports the inscription on Faëton's grave:

Hier rust de voerman van zijn vaders rijcke zon.
Italje is 't kerckhof van den stouten Faëton.
(V. 45 f.)

And Febus regretfully admits:

Dat komt van al te hooghte reuckeloos te draven...
(V. 48)

The same thought is expressed in the last two lines of the play where Jupiter repeats the moral 'point' mentioned

earlier and shows the didactic intent of the dramatist once again; the drama ends with the words of the subtitle:

Elck spiegle zich aen 't graf, dat jongh en out zeit:
Italje is 't kerckhof van de reuckelooze Stoutheit.
(V. 187 f.)

We have come to the end of the analysis of imagery along a thematic line in the second to last drama of Vondel's fourth creative period which Verhagen calls "het tijdperk van zijn hoogste scheppingskracht en volmaakt meesterschap".¹ The theme selected was for obvious reasons the predominant leitmotiv, closely connected with the hero of the drama, his ambitions and his fatal end. We noted before that Vondel has structurally improved his work. He has also reduced the size of the tragedy so that the audience can more easily cope with the plot. Even if the play is based on mythological tale it is not dependent on these data, and an intimate knowledge of mythology is not a prerequisite for appreciating the plot and comprehending the moral 'point' which the dramatist wants to make. Thus dramatically the work benefits from Vondel's dramatic development after Palamedes. But the question remains whether this can also be said of the structure of the imagery in the drama. Is this structure erected on a firmly established foundation from which the thematic imagery develops harmoniously? And are the various characters interrelated dramatically through the use of this thematic imagery, as they were in Gryphius' dramas? With regard to these ques-

tions the analysis leads to negative conclusions.

Earlier we considered¹ the central speech of Klymene (I. 62 ff.) and we concluded that it does indeed anticipate future developments of the drama. The 'prophetic' element reminds one strongly of similar speeches in Gryphius' dramas. But the function of this foreboding speech is apparently not to establish the foundation for a leitmotiv of imagery from which thematic lines can be drawn to different events and characters in the tragedy. This becomes more evident when one considers that in this speech there is only one image - that of the proud peacock soon losing confidence - and that this image does not recur in the course of the drama, even if the theme of pride frequently does. As Vondel indicates in his introduction², he is concerned with writing a drama which is "ingewickelt, dat is ongelijck van toon". Emotions released in characters who are related by ties of blood or hierarchy, and the clash of desires on the part of parents and child contribute to an interrelated action of characters who become more than mere mouthpieces of the dramatist - they become personalities in their own right. But the connections between the different characters are not substantiated by any common characteristic of figuratively interrelated language used by these persons. The images are used to reinforce the 'point' made in the argument at a particular moment in the drama. Even when we are told in act four that

both father and son are 'blind', the connection lies in the blindness as such, not in a common thematic element of the plot expressed in these two characters. On the contrary, the blindness results from two opposing principles; Febus is blind because of his unselfish, fatherly love and concern for his son, while Faëton is blind because of his self-seeking and unloving ambitions, his ego-centric attitude which upsets the delicate balance of nature and causes his own destruction. The blindness clearly does not point to an underlying thematic unity expressed in thematic imagery. Thus the interaction between the characters is not caused by the influence of the same element in their lives and their reactions to it, such as, for instance, the element of fire in Gryphius' Leo Armenius with its effect on Leo and Michael.¹

Vondel's characters, then, are in this drama connected only by family relationships, or those existing between gods and mortals. The poet treats his work in the first place as a dramatic creation. Accordingly he uses the language to this end, employing all the conventional techniques and images for the purpose of strengthening his dramatic presentation. Gryphius goes further than this in that he not only aims at a dramatic creation, but a linguistic one as well. The language becomes an end in itself. We have seen how he constructs a metaphorical foundation on which he builds an elaborate

structure of imagery along thematic lines. This helps to hold the lengthy dramas together because the different characters are drawn together, even if opponents, and thus become interrelated through the language as well as the plot. In this way the structure of the imagery supports the dramatic structure and enables the dramatist to produce an harmonious dramatic work of art, just as the pictura and the scriptura elements of the emblem work in harmony and achieve their effect through artistic unity of the several parts.

In the works of Vondel which we have considered, this balance between various structures does not exist. Vondel as a poetic genius uses the language¹ with its imagery as an instrument to express his dramatic purpose. But he is guided primarily by dramatic - rather than poetic, linguistic - principles, principles which nevertheless belong within the same framework of dramatic conventions and traditions as those of Gryphius. Evidently this framework left enough room for the divergent techniques of two great dramatists and thus to allow both to find a place in the mainstream of 17th century literature - the former a unique place in the national literature of Holland, the latter a distinguished place in what was to become the national literature of Germany.

CLOSING REMARKS

Closing Remarks.

The outline of the use of imagery in Palamedes remained rather vague, necessarily so, as it became evident that, compared with the procedure adopted for the sections on Gryphius' work, a different kind of starting point had to be found. It became clear, moreover, that this part of the work would be no more than a relatively superficial enquiry. This fact and this procedure being established, the line of research in Faëton could be more sharply defined and delineated. The search for a structural principle in Vondel's use of imagery similar or at least comparable to that found in Gryphius' two dramas has led to a conclusion different from what one would have been inclined at first to presuppose. After studying the influence¹ of Vondel on Gryphius one would expect similarities in the techniques of the two dramatists; in the field of imagery, as also in the subject matter. But as we attempted to trace certain thematic elements in Palamedes it soon became apparent that little could be gained from this procedure, if our main intention were to gain a clearer insight into the underlying principles at work in Vondel's drama.

This conclusion, however, in no way implies that for this reason Vondel's work could be regarded as dramatically inferior to that of Gryphius. On the contrary, in the concluding remarks of the section on Faëton² we reached the conclusion that Vondel treats his work as - above all - a dra-

matic creation, while Gryphius aims not only at a dramatic creation but a linguistic one as well - the language becomes an end in itself. The question then arises: what happens to the drama in this case? Is it possible to do both, as Gryphius attempts to do in his plays? Our primary aim in the conclusion of this thesis is not to give the final, comprehensive answer to a question which concerns an aspect of the drama that is essentially different from (even if closely related to) those facets of Gryphius' drama which have been our main concern throughout the present work. However, let us attempt to draw the threads of our research together by considering this question.

Briefly, the dramatic development of Vondel as shown in Faëton makes it clear that the mature dramatist strove to produce a drama that would function as a drama, rather than a dramatic poem (using this term in a wide sense). His use of language and imagery is subservient to this end. Not so, however, in the case of Gryphius. His linguistic artistry gives rise to quite a cumbersome structure or 'word complex' in which the language has taken charge by means of the imagery. Thus we see the thematic use of imagery dealt with on an individual, personal level in Leo Armenius. The emblematic pictura of the Lion (which is also the emperor's name) with its dominant character traits conveyed through imagery of blood and fire is clearly based on the person of Leo, and its implications primarily refer to him, the tyrant who is

to be destroyed by his ambitious general that very night. The imagery is treated on a universal level in Papinianus where Gryphius uses a series of emblematic picturae to emphasize the nature of positive, lasting qualities such as justice and 'Beständigkeit'. In this way Gryphius' use of imagery on the one hand assists in unifying the drama in that it illuminates the interplay between the characters¹ and makes the dramatic structure as a whole more coherent. On the other hand, it detracts from the 'dramatic' qualities of the drama and tends to slow down the action (to a greater extent than one would be willing to allow even within the context of 17th century dramatic conventions).

At this point we must remind ourselves that in the above comments we have only taken into consideration the fundamental imagery 'framework'. We must, of course, realize that there are also independent themes in Gryphius' imagery which are introduced incidentally for the purpose of decoration or to reinforce the dramatic expression. This general tendency in 17th century drama, in combination with his even more rigorously composed structures of imagery, obstructed Gryphius to an even greater extent than the 'incidental' use of baroque imagery would have, and did not allow him to 'break through' to a purer form of drama (in the modern sense of the word).

But the 'incidental' use of imagery does not necessarily

detract from the dramatic action. This technique does aid the dramatic development in Vondel's work, as traced in Palamedes and Faëton, though in the latter drama far more than in the former. Thus in Palamedes the use of imagery for embellishment and for emphasizing certain parallels in the action to classical traditions and legends prevented Vondel from taking the more direct line of approach which he used later. Vondel's 'discovery' of Sophocles' Electra helped him a great deal in producing a more functional drama.

The resulting differences between the dramas of Gryphius and Vondel would indicate that the former's indebtedness to the latter is of a more superficial nature than has been supposed by earlier critics. Thus each dramatist worked along his own lines in his use of imagery, in accordance with his own poetic nature and his own dramatic insight. It is quite clear that Vondel's creative approach differs from that of Gryphius - perhaps because 17th century Dutch literature was less 'baroque'¹ and the need for 'reinforcing' the drama through imagery in an age of crumbling values and shaken faith was felt less in the literature of the Dutch 'Golden Age' than in its German counterpart.

NOTES

Abbreviations

AUMLA.	Journal of the Australian Universities Language and Literature Association.
Bln.	Berlin.
Car. St.	Carolus Stuardus.
Cath.v.G.	Catharina von Georgien.
col.	column (German 'Spalte').
C.u. C.	Cardenio und Celinde.
dt.	deutsch(-).
Dt. Bf.	Deutsche Barockforschung (bibliog. 230).
DVjs.	Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte.
(A.) G.	(Andreas) Gryphius (or: Gryphius').
<u>Ges. Werke</u>	Gryphius' complete works (bibliog. I.).
Gesch.	Geschichte.
Gids	De Gids.
GLL.	German Life and Letters.
GQ.	Germanic Quarterly.
GR.	Germanic Review.
GRM.	Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift.
H.	Heft.
Hrsg.	herausgegeben von...
H. & S.	Henkel und Schöne (bibliog. 214)
H. & W.	Heckscher und Wirth (bibliog. 213)
JEGP.	Journal of English and Germanic Philology.
Jg.	Jahrgang/Jaargang.
Leo A.	Leo Armenius.
Lit.	Literatur(e); literary.
MLQ.	Modern Language Quarterly.
MLR.	Modern Language Review.
Ned.	Nederlands.
N.F.	Neue Folge.

Neophil.	Neophilologus.
N.Tg.	De Nieuw Taalgids.
Pal.	Palamedes.
Pap.	Papinian.
PMLA.	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.
SdL.	Spiegel der Letteren.
TNTL.	Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal en Letterkunde.
V.(s)	Vondel('s).
V.Jb.	Vondel Jaarboek.
VK.	Vondel Kroniek.
<u>Werken</u>	Vondel's complete works (bibliog. I).
Zts.	Zeitschrift.

Note:

- Some common abbreviations have not been included.
- Proper names which are also used in titles of plays, e.g. Leo A. are underlined when used to refer to the plays.

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| 1 | 1 See Bibliography (186-199). |
| | 2 For the former aspect I am indebted to Dr. M.H. Schenkeveld of the department of Dutch Language and Literature in the Free University at Amsterdam. She first pointed out the importance of Emblematic in 17th century lit., while Dr. F.J. van Ingen of the German department in the same university gave the necessary guidance in considering the works of Vondel and Gryphius in this light. |
| | 3 Bibliography (200-228). |
| 2 | 1 The standard work in this field is A. Schöne, <i>Emblematic und Drama...</i> (224). For a more general, but detailed study of the development of the emblem see, M. Praz (221). |
| | 2 "Stark verallgemeinernd darf man sagen, daß das 16. Jh. die Epoche der heroischen Imprese ist, das 17. Jh. die des ethisch-moralischen Emblems und das späte 17. sowie das 18. Jh. die der didaktischen Ikonologien." H.& W. (213), col. 150. - H. & S. refer to the 17th century as being "für ganz W. Europa ein Zeitalter, das Herder 'beinahe das emblematische nennen möchte'." (Cf. Herder's 'Briefe zum Andenken an einige ältere Dt. Dichter'.) (214), p. xvii; also p. ix. Cf. Praz (221), p.12. - The name 'Age of Emblematic' is appropriate in more way than one. It indicates not only a pre-occupation with emblems in lit., but an emblematic way of life. Just as in a scene on stage the characters were seen as depicting a 'live' picture, life itself was viewed in terms of the theatre. (Ut pictura poesis!), Thus developed the concept of 'das große Welttheater', an ancient tradition revived in the 17th century above all by Calderón. The idea finds expression in the works of all major baroque dramatists, as well as in Shakespeare before and in Hofmannsthal long after this era. Hence the frequent exhortation to the audience: "Komm' und schaw' uns an!" - Cf. the present work, p. 74 above, and 103 note 1 below. Thus life is a 'Schaw-Spiel' (Plautia), p. 131 above; the world is seen as 'Schauplatz der Sterblichkeit' (Cath. v. G.), p. 102 above; a future disaster is called a 'Jammerspiel' (Pap.), p. 111 above; and political upheavals are 'gleich einem Schaw-Spiel', p. 122 above; similarly, the remark made by |

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| 2 (cont.) | Laetus, p. 146 above.
- Cf. Gryphius' sonnet 'Ebenbildt unsers lebens', <u>Ges. Werke I</u> , p. 58. Cf. p. 12 note 7; p. 28 note 1; p. 151 note 1 below.
- See also: Flemming (10), p. 145 f.; Curtius (289), p. 146 ff. (Calderón/Hofmannsthal, p. 150/2); and especially Barner (233), 'Exkurs: Theatrum Mundi', p. 86-134. Huizinga's study of Western civilization 'sub specie ludi' is also of interest here; see <u>Homo Ludens</u> (1949), ch. 11, London, 1970. |
| 3 | H. & S.'s exhaustive <u>Handbuch</u> (214) may be consulted for emblematic references to any topic or object ever used by emblem writers in Europe. For this reason we have not tried to trace the sources of a reference to the emblematic origin of certain lines in the dramas under discussion in this work. It is hardly ever possible to ascertain exactly the way in which a certain emblem or emblematic expression would have come into the hands of a dramatist. The fact that the original emblem existed, however, is clearly substantiated by H. & S. (214). |
| 4 | For a succinct account see: H. & S. (214), p. ix-xvii. |
| 5 | H. Stegemeier (226), p. 28. |
| 6 | Schöne (224), p. 24. |
| 3 | 1 H. & W. (213) |
| | 2 Jöns (29), p. 28; Schöne (224), p. 45 ff.; H. & W. (213), col. 129. |
| | 3 The stage as the 'reflection' of real life is expressed in the significance attributed to the 'mirror-image'. This explains the frequent exhortation to the audience: 'Hier spiegelt euch..', <u>Leo A. II</u> , 403 f.; see p. 31, 72, 219, 233 below; cf. <u>Faëton V</u> , 187. Frequent use was made of the idea in the titles of works such as: Luiken, 'Spiegel van het menselijk bedrijf' (219); Cats, 'Spiegel van den ouden ende nieuwen Tijd. The Hague, 1632. Green (208), p. 59, mentions 'The Mirror of good Maners' (sic) by A. Barclay (early 16th cent.). The ideas of emblematic figures and the mirror contained in creation are |

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| 3 | 3 (cont.) expressed together in the 12th century poem quoted in H. & W. (213), col. 129:-
Omnis mundi creatura
Quasi liber et <u>figura</u>
Nobis est et <u>speculum</u> .
(Alanus ab Insulis) - Author's underlining. |
| 4 | Schöne (224), p. 24 |
| 5 | Curtius (289), p. 79 ff.; 445 ff.; 475 ff.;
Jöns (29), p. 54. |
| 6 | Schöne (224), p. 48; cf. Jöns (29): '... daß das Prinzip der allegorischen Textinterpretation in der Thetorik gelehrt wurde.' p. 54. |
| 4 | 1 Thus Praz (221), p. 23: 'Emblems originate in fact, as L. Volkmann has demonstrated, as a humanistic attempt to give a modern equivalent of the hieroglyphs as they were wrongly interpreted on the strength of accounts by Latin authors like Pliny, Tacitus, Plutarch...';
-Volkmann (227), p. 8, following the lead of K. Giehlow (206), shows that the influence of Horapollon's <u>Hieroglyphica</u> (4th or 2nd century A.D.) was great. Cf. Praz (221), p. 23, 79. |
| | 2 <u>Genesis</u> 2 and 3. |
| | 3 For comparison of emblems with <i>impresa</i> see: Praz (221), ch. II, p. 47 ff. |
| | 4 Volkmann (227), p. 49/50; Green (211), p. 50. |
| | 5 H. & S. (214), p. xi. |
| | 6 Praz (221), p. 25, 55; cf. also p. 77. |
| | 7 Volkmann (227), p. 50. |
| 5 | 1 Praz gives a detailed account of the 'device' (221), p. 55 ff., and the debates which raged about rules governing its composition. He distinguishes it from the emblem, p. 79 ff., but points out that it is unnecessary to repeat the subtle and vain distinctions made by the 16th and 17th century writers. |
| | 2 For more detail, see: Schöne (224), p. 18 ff.; Praz (221), ch. I; H. & W. (213). |

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| 5 | 3 Schöne (224), p. 28 f.: 'Alciati... (meinte) mit 'historia' literarische Quellen, die nicht Naturbeschreibungen geben, sondern geschichtliche, ja mythologisch-allegorische Vorwürfe für die res pictae des Emblematum liber.' |
| | 4 op. cit., p. 19. |
| 5 | This <u>visual</u> element points to the original artistic aspect of the Greek 'emblema' (see: H. & W. (312), col. 85). As indicated by the original meaning of the Greek word, the emblem was decorative rather than literary. Renaissance artists used it for this reason in combination with hieroglyphs. Alciati's innovation was to use the emblem for literary decoration (thus not in the modern literary sense of the word). Cf. Praz (221), p. 24: the works of device/emblem writers "are often little else but museums of unheard-of portents, an actual continuation of medieval bestiaries and lapidaries in which the quaintest notions of unnatural history, derived from classical authors, are put to use". op. cit. p. 66. Cf. also Freeman (205), p. 38.
- Volkmann discusses Albrecht Dürer's 'Geheimbild Kaiser Maximilians von der Ehrenpforte', a woodcut which "in poetisch-emblematischer Weise das Leben und Streben Maximilians rühmend darstellte." (227), p. 87. |
| 6 | 'pictura' is "ein auslegendes Stück Wirklichkeit". H. & S. (214), p. xv. |
| 6 | 1 'Origin of the emblem... is to be traced, for the motto to the devices' (i.e. impresa). Praz (221), p. 25. |
| | 2 Cf. Roose (54), p. 51 ff. |
| | 3 in: Volkmann (227), p. 50. |
| | 4 H. & S. (214), p. xi. |
| 7 | 1 Cf. Schöne (224), p. 20 ff.; for a definition of 'device', see: Praz (221), p. 58. |
| | 2 H. & W. (213), col. 88-96. |
| | 3 Schöne (224), p. 22. |
| | 4 H. & S. (214), p. xv. |
| | 5 p. 10 ff. below. |

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| 8 | 1 H. & S. (214), p. xi. |
| | 2 Praz explains this in terms of 17th century man's search for security. "In need as he was of certainties of the senses (author's note - a meaning contained especially in the Dutch ' <u>Zinnenbeeld</u> '), the 17th century man did not stop at the purely fantastic cherishing of the image: he wanted to externalize it, to transpose it into a hieroglyph, an emblem... He took delight in driving home the word by the addition of a plastic representation." (221), p. 15. Besides this, "the peculiar dependence of visual symbol on verbalization, which marks the great age of the allegorical tableau is testimony to the fact that it was a marginal age - an age when a verbal culture was being transmuted into a visual culture." <i>ibid.</i> - Cf. Roose (54), p. vi; ch. II. |
| | 3 Probably the first to draw attention to this was W. Benjamin (218). |
| | 4 Not only the drama, but also 17th century opera shows this influence. Cf. Schöne (224), p. 181 ff. - The pictorial element may be seen in certain musical 'figures' as well; e.g., those which accompany the words: 'He descended into hell' in the Creed, as interpreted by baroque composers. |
| | 5 Schöne (224); Roose (54). |
| | 6 Cf. Schöne (224), the section on the 'Theatrum Emblematicum', p. 214 ff.; this quotation, p. 223. |
| | 7 E.g. whether the human form was to be included in the pictura. This matter alone caused academic battles! Cf. Praz (221), p. 71. |
| | 8 "But if the thing in itself dwindles to so little, the scaffolding of ideas that grew around it is somewhat phantastic, and would figure better in one of Swift's satires than in the actual history of culture". Praz (221), p. 58; also p. 74. |
| 9 | 1 John 1:1-18 |
| | 2 Curtius (289) provides a wealth of information. Also: Wehrli (68), p. 27; Praz (221), p. 23. One thinks also of the influence of Erasmus' <u>Adagia</u> . Cf. Praz (221), p. 25. |

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- Barner (233); cf. Wintterlin (72), p. 8 ff.; G. Müller (266), p. 83 ff.; Windfuhr (282), ch. III. Flemming (10), in the section on 'Bildlichkeit', p. 134 ff., warns, however: "So ist die Bildlichkeit nicht nur ein Kunstgriff der Rhetorik, sondern auch legitimes Darstellungsmittel des Dramatikers." p. 147.
- Note the importance placed on the spoken word in this drama. E.g., Reyen I, 11. 509-554. Many of the tongue metaphors are derived from the Bible; thus Proverbs 17 and 18:20, 21 - esp. the last verse: 'Tod und Leben steht in der Zunge Gewalt..'. In the N.T. c.f. James 3 - the tongue 'kann auch den ganzen Leib im Zaum halten...', vs. 2,3. '... die Zunge ist auch ein Feuer, ...' vs. 6. et al.; Cf. p. 66, note 3 below.
- A paradox of Gryphius' work was the acknowledgement of such biblical truths, while on the other hand he still felt the urge to perpetuate his memory by means of the written word (intended to be spoken); just as the 17th century masters painted their 'vanitas' and 'memento mori' paintings as 'vainly' as possible in order to gain immortality. (This became strikingly apparent in the exhibition of Dutch Vanitas-depictions of the 17th century on the occasion of the 79th 'lustrum' of Leiden University at Leiden, August 1970.)
- Stegemeier (226).
- Praz (221), and others. See under: Emblem lit.
- In: Schöne (224), p. 17.
- See the material gathered in: R. Alewyn (Hrsg.), Dt. Barockforschung... (230).
- see also bibliog. references in: Schöne (224).
- H. & W. (213).
- H. & S. (214).
- Schöne (224).
- Numerous humanist 'emblem-academies' were founded in Italy; see: Green (211), p. 52 f. They provide an interesting parallel with the 'Sprachgesellschaften' which developed in the 17th century.

Page	Note
10	7 One of the most famous printers in Antwerp was Plantin, 1564. Praz (221), p. 34.
	8 Thus, for example, "love poems and emblems are genuine national products, both literary and pictorial, of the Low Countries". Praz (221), p. 7; cf. p. 83 ff.: 'Sacred and Profane Love'.
	9 Green (211), p. 54.
	10 The development of different aspects of emblem lit. as it passes through various phases makes a fascinating study in itself. E.g., the change of the humanist's naked Cupid and its pagan ways into 'Divine Love', modestly dressed for religious propaganda of the Jesuits. See: Otto van Veen, <i>Zinnebeelden der Goddelijke Liefde</i> , discussed in Cl. Bruins (201); J. Hall (212); Praz (221), ch. III.
	11 Schöne (224), p. 18.
11	1 op. cit., ch. I and V.
	2 op. cit., p. 162 - <u>Leo A.</u>
	3 It is usually not possible to <u>prove</u> from which source the dramatist would have derived his emblematic information. E.g., the lion 'emblem' in <u>Leo A.</u> I, i.; see also p. 2, note 3 above.
	4 Schöne (224), p. 143.
	5 op. cit., p. 147.
	6 op. cit., p. 147, 150
	7 op. cit., p. 151.
12	1 <i>ibid.</i>
	2 E.g., a <i>Sentenz</i> in conclusion after the description of dramatic action: "zur pictura tritt die subscriptio. Die emblematische Struktur wird erkennbar", op. cit., p. 156.
	3 <i>ibid.</i> , - the 'Deutung' being indicated by emblematic 'keywords'; cf. p. 161; also Roose (54), p. 88 ff.
	4 Schöne (224), p. 169 f.

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| 12 | 5 op. cit., p. 185 ff.; Freeman (205), p. 15; Roose (54), p. 171; cf. Wolters (73), p. 96 ff. |
| | 6 E.g. <u>Leo A.</u> III, ii, 93 ff.; also the king's dream and Poleh's vision in <u>Car. St.</u> , Ges. Werke IV; II. 161 ff; and V. 168 ff. |
| | 7 For information re the 17th century stage, see: Flemming (11); Powell (50), p. cxxviii ff., 'The drama on stage'. For Vondel's stage, see: <u>Werken I, Gijsbrecht van Aemstel</u> , 'Inleiding', p. 390, and the depiction 'Tooneel des Schouburghs' in: <u>Afbeeldinge van de verscheide Vergrootinge van Amsterdam, 1662</u> (approx.), repr., 1970. Also: H. H. Borchardt, 'Gesch. des dt. Theaters'. In: <u>Dt. Philologie im Aufriss III</u> , 1962, col. 1099 ff. (IV 'Barock', col. 1141 ff.).
A comment which throws additional light on this idea of 'Welttheater' comes from Szyrocki: "Die Bühnenmalerei mit besonderer Beachtung der Perspektive verwischt die Grenzen der Wirklichkeit und dem, was unwirklich ist... (d.h.) eine verführerische Illusion, ein Trugbild. Das Barocktheater bedeutet für den Zuschauer eine Demonstration des Emblems von der Eitelkeit der Welt... Die Welt wiederum verstand man als 'Theatrum emblematicum'". Szyrocki (275), p. 202. See pictures of <u>Cath. v.G.</u> , in: <u>Ges. Werke VI</u> , Abb. 6-12. Cf. also W.A.P. Smit (156), I, p. 15 f.; Roose (54), p. 163 ff.; and p. 2 note 2 above; p. 28 note 1, 103 note 1 below. |
| | 8 Green (211), p. 52 footnote 88; p. 81.
Cf. Roose (54), p. 167. |
| 13 | 1 Schöne (224), p. 194 ff. Cf. Benjamin (284), p. 399 ff. |
| | 2 For 17th century concept of history, see among others, Wessels (71); Voskamp (67); Kappler (33); Heckmann (22), p. 22 ff.; Powell (53), p. 336; Wehrli (68); Wolters (73), p. 9-17. |
| | 3 Schöne (224), p. 197. |
| | 4 Praz observes two tendencies which are combined in emblematic lit. of the 17th century, the sensuous and the didactic. He notes that "both aspects are mentioned together by Erasmus apropos of that mother of the emblem, the metaphor." Praz (221), p. 16 f. |

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| 13 | 5 Roose (54). |
| | 6 op. cit., p. 78. |
| 14 | 1 A separate study could be made of each of these. E.g., Fletcher (292) on allegory; Pongs (302), imagery; Praz (221), ch. I, distinctions between Emblem, Device, Epigram, Conceit. The uses of the emblem alone were manifold, p. 54; Freeman (205), whose most valuable contributions (according to Praz (221), p. 157, footnote) "lie in the definition of the emblematic image and its differences from a poetical image, and in the estimate of the potentialities the emblematic image had as a method for poetry."; Benjamin (284). |
| | 2 Fletcher does this in even greater detail. The elements, here said to be characteristics of abstract art, (292), p. 369 ff., can be found also in emblematic depiction of the 17th century. Cf. Praz (221), p. 15. |
| | 3 Roose (54), p. 83; cf. Schöne (224), p. 30 ff. |
| | 4 H. & S. (214), p. xiii; cf. Powell (50), p. xci; Kramer (123), p. 22. |
| 15 | 1 Cf. Roose (54), p. 163 ff., 216 re. 'poetical point'. |
| | 2 In: Schöne (224), p. 25. |
| | 3 Ibid. However, contrary to Schöne's incorrect interpretation of the Dutch, the reader is not told to use his imagination. |
| | 4 Cats (203). |
| 16 | 1 See e.g. <u>Cath. v. G.</u> , Powell/Szyrocki (ed.), <u>Ges. Werke VI</u> , the frontispiece for the individual drama (Abb. 5) and that for the 'Sammelausgabe' (Abb. 2). In <u>Ges. Werke IV</u> , (Abb. 2) and (Abb. 1) show a woodcut from one of the courses used by G. for <u>Car. St.</u> , and the 'Titelbild zu den Ausgaben der gesammelten Werke aus den Jahren 1657 und 1663'. |
| | 2 E.g. in <u>Pap.</u> |
| | 3 Schöne (224), p. 196 f. |
| | 4 Praz (221), p. 15; see p. 8 note 2 above.
- Cf. Roose (54), p. 22 f., re. the 'collecting urge' of 17th century scholars, in an attempt to |

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| 16 | 4 (cont.) establish a world order; Jöns (29), p. 58: 'Wille zur Totalität...' - "So ist die Emblematis über ihre konkrete Erscheinungsform ... hinaus als die letzte Phase einer über tausendjährigen spirituellen Weltauslegung zu verstehen...". See also Haug (21), p. 170, quoted on p. 76 note 2 below. Cf. p. 152 note 1 below; cf. Wolters (73), p. 96, where the concept of 'glauben' is directly connected with that of 'sehen'; in: <u>Pap.</u> V. 278 f. |
| | 5 Schöffler (270), p. 132 ff.; Powell (49, 50); (53), p. 331, 335 where mention is made of a 'neue Kosmologie'. |
| 17 | 1 See bibliography, section on 17th century. |
| | 2 Note Flemming's distinctions between different types of influence, (187). Cf. also Flemming (10), p. 199 ff. |
| 18 | 1 Flemming points out that Gryphius never slavishly imitated Vondel. (187), p. 195. |
| | 2 See, e.g. Curtius (289), p. 409 ff.; 'Mißverständene Antike im Mittelalter', also applies to the 17th century, especially when considered in the light of Hofmannsthal's words about baroque 'als die verjüngte Form "jener älteren Welt, die wir die mittelalterliche nennen"'. In: Curtius (289), p. 32; - Cf. Jöns (29), p. 28. Thus, for instance, the misunderstanding of the significance of hieroglyphs. Praz (221), p. 23, 31; Jöns (29), p. 5 ff; or the concept 'ut pictura poesis' - a phrase quoted by Plutarch from Simonides - that poetry is a speaking picture and painting dumb poetry. Freeman (205), p. 14 f.; Jöns (29), p. 27. |
| | 3 Gryphius translated Vondel's drama <u>Gebroeders</u> , most probably as an exercise to improve his knowledge of Dutch. But even here he shows his individuality rather than a full dependence on the original, in that he added his own prologue thus throwing a different light on the drama. Flemming calls this 'criticism' (187), p. 194, showing, perhaps, a certain bias. Gryph's first original drama, <u>Leo A.</u> , can readily be shown to have been influenced by Vondel and the Latin tradition (Seneca), as Kollewijn (191) and Stachel (309) set out to show. |
| | 4 <u>Ges. Werke</u> V, p. 4. |

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| 18 | 4 (cont.) - Stachel comments that this "soll natürlich programmatisch für alle seine Werke gelten". (309), p. 24. |
| | 5 Flemming (187), p. 107/8. |
| | 6 op. cit., p. 109. |
| 19 | 1 op. cit., p. 120. |
| | 2 Flemming's method is nevertheless rather negative if one wants to study the reasons why Gryphius is a great dramatist in his own right. The phrases 'Geburtsstunde des dt. Kunstdramas', and 'nicht etwa sklavische Abhängigkeit' could point to a rather nationalistic and therefore onesided approach. Op. cit., p. 195/6. |
| | 3 van Ingen (190), p. 232. |
| | 4 op. cit., p. 239. |
| 21 | 1 This may explain why the drama "hat nicht die stoizistische Starre der späteren Märtyrertragödien...", Powell, in: <u>Ges. Werke V</u> , 'Einleitung', p. vii.
- cf. Benjamin (284), p. 62 ff., 'Tyrann als Märtyrer, Märtyrer als Tyrann'; Heckmann (22), p. 42 ff., remarks based on Pap. as 'eine Typologie'; Just (31), p. 7 f., observes "innerhalb des Weltgefüges ist Leo per se ein Schuldiger..., die Titelfigur...(gewinnt) schließlich Größe als neue Dimension hinzu - indem er zum Märtyrer wird." This opinion tends more towards our own, but Just does not define his terms. Flemming refers to Leo A. as 'königliche Märtyrer' (187), p. 186. Wehrli (68), p. 29, disagrees: "Leo A. ... ist kein eindeutiger Held ... Leo ist weder ein christlicher noch ein stoischer Märtyrer... Er ist schlechthin das Opfer des geschichtlichen Verhängnisses; die Geschichte selbst, das dunkle Rätsel ihrer sinnlos scheinenden, grausamen Wechselfälle steht zur Diskussion. 'Will dann der Höchste Mord und solche Jammer-Spiel?' fragt entsetzt die Kaiserin. Die Antwort bleibt aus."
Also: Scharnhorst (57), p. 146, agreeing with Lunding (37), p. 76 ff., states that 'das Schicksal' is the 'Held' of this drama; cf. also Szyrocki (63), p. 83. Joos (30), p. 119, discusses in general the 'Metaphorik des echten und des unechten Fürsten in <u>Leo A.</u> '. Our view agrees most with van Ingen's conclusion: "Wij zouden het iets positiever willen |

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- 21 1 (cont.) stellen: als het stuk een held heeft, dan is het God. Het koor dat het eerste bedrijf besluit, eindigt met de woorden: '... wer Gott in streit außtag't/Wird asch/und staub/und dunst/und rauch/und wind.' Dit geldt voor Leo, maar evenzeer voor Balbus." (190), p. 236. Van Ingen quotes de Leeuw, a contemporary of Gryphius who translated Leo A. into Dutch - De Leeuw states that this work by Gryphius "wijst aan hoe de gerechtigheid des Hemels de boosheit straft, de tyranny palen stelt, en de grootste Prinsen des weerelts op- en afzet." *ibid.* cf. p. 238; also, p. 80; p. 99 note 1 below. See also: Pap. IV. 256 ff.
- 2 The opening sentence of Gryph's 'Vorwort', points in this direction: "Indem unser gantzes Vatterland sich nuhmehr in seine eigene Aschen verscharret/und in einen Schawplatz der Eitelkeit verwandelt; bin ich geflissen dir die vergänglichheit menschlicher sachen in gegenwertigem/und etlich folgenden Trawerspielen vorzustellen." *Ges. Werke V*, p. 3.
- 3 Of course, the tradition of the tyrant in literature is an ancient one. Cf., Stachel (309), p. 28, 211; Benjamin (284), p. 60 ff. Also p. 189 note 2 below.
- 22 1 Concerning the concept of the 'Hof' in the 17th century, cf., for instance, Barner (233), p. 117 ff.; Benjamin (284), p. 90 ff.; cf. Pap. I. 169; p. 136, p. 189 below.
- 24 1 H. & S. (214), col. 392, shows that as early as 1536/1539 Guillaume de La Perrière depicted 'Stärke und Klugheit als Fürstentugenden' through the 'Löwe und Fuchs an der Hand eines Fürsten': "... Damit er großen Ruhm erwerben und Ehr ohne gleichen erringen. Er soll als rechter Feldherr schlau wie ein Fuchs und stark wie ein Löwe sein." Cf. also H. & S. (214), col. 685, No. XXIV.
- 2 See Schöne (224), p. 161: "Einführende Imperative stellen eine Gattungsbestimmung an den Eingang des Merk-, 'Lehr- und Denckspruchs: Merckt, Lernt, Denckt' oder 'Glaubt, daß.'" Cf. Roose (54), p. 88 ff. 'keywords'; for the function of the Sentenz see: Schöne (224), p. 162, 151 ff.; Powell (50), p. lxxxiv; Heckmann (22), p. 185 ff., 206 ff.; Curtius (289), p. 65 ff., 'Sentenzen und Exempla.'
- 3 Cf. Genesis 3:15.

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| 25 | 1 Cf. chapter I, p. 16 f. above. |
| 26 | 1 "Ja mir selbst ist noch vor wenig Jahren ein zimlich Buch voll frembder Gemälde zukommen/ auß welchem etliche denen das Gehirne mit erforschung zukünfftiger dinge schwanger/nicht wenig (jrer einbildung nach) von widereröberung der vorhin herrlichen/nuhmehr (leider!) dienenden Statt/dem untergang deß Türcken/... gelernet/ darff derowegen Niemand für ganz eitel halten/ was gedachte Zonaras und Cedrenus und wir auß jhnen von etwa dergleichen Buch erwehnen. Auch ist so unerhört nicht durch vorwendung geheimer Offenbarungen/Affruhr und Krieg stiftten Königreich und Zepter an sich reissen/ja ganze Länder mit Blut auß einer newen Sünflut überschwemmen." <u>Ges. Werke</u> V, p. 3/4. |
| | 2 'Vorwort' to <u>Leo A.</u> , in: <u>Ges. Werke</u> V, p. 3. |
| | 3 I have not been able to trace the 'emblem' of the lion described by the 2. Verschw. in the lines which follow. But cf. H. & S. (214), col. 372. |
| | 4 17th centuries audiences were far more appreciative of emblematic elements and 'morals' than a modern audience would be. Cf. Schöne (224): "An den Zuschauer, den Leser des Trauerspiels ist der 'Lehr- und Denckspruch' gerichtet", p. 155. "Das Publikum dieser Zeit war durch die Emblem-bücher auch dazu angeleitet oder darin bestätigt worden, die Gegenstände, Figuren, Geschehnisse dieser Welt als verweisungskräftig, bedeutungsmächtig zu verstehen, und hatte durch sie gelernt, die in einer solchen sinnbildlichen Auffassung der Dinge gründenden emblematischen Formen auch im Kunstwerk zu begreifen..." p. 62. |
| 28 | 1 Cf. also: <u>Cath. v. G.</u> I. 81 ff.; as Roose (54) puts it, theatre represents a "pre-established order in which characters find themselves placed." p. 182. This concept of 'das große Welttheater' underlies and explains the many references by the characters on stage to life as a 'Traur-Spil' or a 'Schaw-Spil'. Cf. p. 2, note 2 above; p. 12, note 7 above; p. 151 note 1 below. |
| 31 | 1 Cf. p. 24, note 2 above. |
| | 2 For an emblematic illustration, see: H. & S. (214), col. 588; cf., 399. |

Page	Note
49	1 This idea Gryphius probably derived from the N.T. narrative of Christ's passion in which the Jewish High Priest makes the same pronouncement to express the necessity of Christ's death. (John 11:49 ff.)
51	1 p. 93 below.
52	1 p. 94 below.
55	1 <u>Ges. Werke</u> V, p. 4.
56	1 See van Ingen's conclusion, p. 21, footnote 1 above.
58	1 Cf. p. 1, note 1 above.
	2 <u>Cath. v. G.</u> , I. 335 ff.; 394 ff.; IV. 342 ff.; 370; V. 80 ff. et al.
60	1 p. 46 f. above.
61	1 See II, v; cf. p. 22 note 1 and p. 54 above.
62	1 See III, ii.
63	1 p. 38 f. above.
65	1 II. 423 f.; p. 72 below.
66	1 The court vs. country theme is one dating back to the ancients and medieval lit. and is therefore common property of the poets in the 17th century. See Curtius (289), p. 198 ff.; cf. <u>Pap.</u> I. Reyen, 373 ff.; also in Vondel's <u>Palamedes</u> , p. 189 below.
	2 The significance of the tongue revealing true human nature, for better or for worse, is artistically expressed by Gryphius in the Reyen of Act I. The symmetry becomes especially evident in the closing Sentenzen of each section. The 'Satz', mentioning good results of the power of the tongue, concludes: 'Deß menschen leben selbst; beruht auf seiner zunge.' The 'Gegensatz' shows the harmful consequences and ends: 'Deß Menschen Todt beruht auff jedes Menschen zungen.' The 'Zusatz' draws the moral conclusion combining both aspects in terms of imagery. The final Sentenz is the synthesis of the two preceding conclusions; 'Dein Leben/Mensch/ und todth hält stäts auf deiner Zungen.'

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| 66 | <p>2 (cont.) Cf. Schöne (224), p. 165 ff.;</p> <p>For brief notes about 'Reyen' in Gryphius' work and the connection with Vondel who first introduced them, see: Heckmann (22), p. 18 ff.</p> |
| 3 | <p>The Bible is rich in imagery of the same kind. Gryphius knew his Bible well and very likely the images have been derived from this source by the dramatist, rather than indirectly through 17th century emblematic reference works. Schöne (224), p. 167 f. shows a possible connection with the latter; for most of the biblical references we are again indebted to Dr. van Ingen. To show some of the parallels we quote the German version. Thus Jes. 30:27 - "und seine (des Herrn) Zunge ist wie ein verzehrend Feuer, ..."; cf. Jer. 20:9. Jak. 3:6 - "Und die Zunge ist auch ein Feuer..."; vs. 2 and 3 refer to the image of the horse and "den zaum in ewre Lippen legen!" A reference to 'Löwe' und 'Feuer' used together in connection with the voice or speech may be found in Offenb. 13:2 - "und sein Mund wie eines Löwen Mund." Heb. 4:12 speaks for itself - "das Wort Gottes ist lebendig und kräftig und schärfer denn kein zweischneidig Schwert und dringt durch..."; cf. Ps. 59:7. Jer. 23:29 combines two images also used by Gryphius, - "Ist mein Wort nicht wie ein Feuer, spricht der Herr, und wie ein Hammer, der Felsen zerschmeißt?" Cf. also p. 9 note 4 above.</p> |
| 67 | <p>1 See discussion of Act II on following pp. below.</p> <p>2 Cf. p. 53 above, concerning the same thing occurring in the imagery of blood.</p> |
| 68 | <p>1 Leo triumphantly states: "doch unß hat nie verletzet. Der blitz zaghafter furcht." (II. 36 f.) This image is often used in baroque drama, and in true emblematic tradition it refers especially to the ruler in his position of power held by Divine Right. According to this tradition the laurel could not be harmed by the lightning wrath of superhuman powers. In this way Leo indirectly refers back to the "Lorberkrantz' auff dieses Haupt", mentioned earlier, because the head thus crowned was immune to any 'Blitz'. Cf. Schöne (224), p. 90 ff.</p> <p>2 Cf. p. 24 (note 3) above, where Michael says the same about Leo!</p> |

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| 69 | 1 'Reality' serving as a 'mirror' to teach mankind a lesson, p. 3, 16 above. |
| 70 | 1 p. 75 ff. below. |
| | 2 Cf. Vondel's drama <u>Faëton</u> , p. 228 ff. below. |
| | 3 Cf. III. 63; p. 80 below. The vanity element is also expressed repeatedly in Gryphius' sonnets. E.g., 'Es ist alles eitel'; 'Menschliches Elende'; and even in the poem 'Auf seine und seiner Ehegeliebten Vermählung' Gryphius refers to the day "wenn wir Erden und zur Handvoll Aschen werden." <u>Ges. Werke</u> I, p. 33, 35; Hederer (253), p. 87 f. resp., et al. Cf. Barner (233), p. 111; Wehrli (68), p. 30; Schings (58), p. 62 ff. |
| 72 | 1 Cf. shipping image, III. 29 ff. |
| | 2 Cf. p. 65/66 above. |
| 73 | 1 Cf. p. 34 above. |
| | 2 p. 70 above; cf. p. 75 below. |
| | 3 Heckmann (22), p. 77 ff. |
| 76 | 1 The best known biblical 'vanity' reference is, of course, Ecclesiastes (Prediger) - a book which concerns itself wholly with "Vanity of vanities... all is vanity, says the Preacher..." Cf. p. 70 note 3 above. Also Gryphius' poems 'Vanitas! Vanitatum Vanitas!' and 'Verläugnung der Welt', <u>Ges. Werke</u> II, p. 17, 40. |
| | 2 For material on the functions of the monologue, one of which is to transcend reality, see Winterlin (27), esp. p. 19, 23, 27; cf. Haug (21), p. 170: "Im Pathos vollzieht sich (also) der Kampf um eine Neuorientierung, ... um den Neuaufbau einer verletzten oder zerstörten Welt...". Cf. p. 16 note 4 above. |
| 77 | 1 'Mantelsymbolik' is a recurring theme in the history of drama. See, for example: P. Requadt, Sprachverleugnung und Mantelsymbolik im Werke Hofmannsthals. In: DVjs. 29, '55, p. 255 ff. |
| | 2 p. 75 above. |
| 78 | 1 See H. & S. (214), col. 794 - 796. In one of these emblems the Phoenix even becomes a symbol of the martyr entering a new life! |

Page	Note
78	2 p. 52 above.
79	1 p. 67 above.
81	1 Cf. p. 68 note 1.
85	1 p. 82 above, (III. 260 f.).
87	1 Cf. Gryphius' sonnet: 'Über die Geburt Jesu'. (Hederer (253), p. 95); <u>Ges. Werke I</u> , p. 30.
	2 Cf. L. Rens: Licht en donker in Vondel's beeld- spraak, in: Wetenschappelijke Tijdingen XXIV, 3, '65, p. 147/54; Rens (150). Cf. Theodosia's words, V. 412 ff.
88	1 Isaiah 53; 42:1-10; John 13:1-11, Christ washing his disciples' feet.
	2 Fr. von Spee uses similar imagery, well known in 17th century devotional lit., e.g., in: Cysarz (Hrsg.) (237), p. 126.
89	1 Cf. p. 107, 136 note 2 below.
	2 Cf. p. 38 f., 55 ff. above.
	3 p. 96 below.
90	1 II, vi; p. 78 above.
91	1 Note the no. of references to fire e.g., in the Book of the Revelation of St. John.
92	1 Biblical references for: "He who diggeth a pit shall fall therein", Prov. 26:27; 28:10; Eccl. 10:8
94	1 Cf. p. 67 above.
95	1 Cf. Revelation 1:5b; Colossians 1:20 which are only two of many such references.
96	1 Leo's wife Theodosia has more characteristics of a martyr than Leo himself; the latter's last minute conversion is not the cause of his death, while his wife's sufferings are the results of her religious convictions and consideration for her fellowman. But she does not die! It is a com- plex matter and much has been said about it. Cf. p. 21, note 1 above.

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- 96 2 For the concept of 'Heilsgeschichte', cf. especially H. Kappler: *Der barocke Geschichtsbegriff bei A. G. Ff./M.*, '63. See also Müller (266), p.193. This also elucidates the question if there is a 'Held' in this drama. Marian Szyrocki states that Gryphius deliberately refrained from creating a hero, "da er in (der Tragödie) den 'sündigen' Mechanismus des Kampfes um Macht demonstrieren wollte." (A. G., Tübingen '64, p. 83.). But this is not all. The metaphysical interpretation of the action in the Reyen supports van Ingen's conclusion: "Als het stuk een held heeft, dan is het God... De diepe problematiek van het dramatisch gebeuren, waarin menselijk vergrijp en goddelijk raadsbesluit zo ondoorzichtig zijn verweven, is Gryphius' onvervreembaar eigendom." (190), p. 236, 238. See also: Wolters (73), 'Einleitung': "Wahrheit und Wirklichkeit der Geschichte", p. 9 ff. Cf. p. 21 note 1 above; see also Job 34:17-20.
- 97 1 See 'Foreword', p. iii above.
- 98 1 'Einleitung', Ges. Werke IV, p. xv.
- 2 This is shown in the course of the drama's development, as we saw in the previous chapter, e.g., p. 93 above.
- The 'Eingangsmonolog' is said to be "nach dem Muster von Euripides." Flemming (10), p. 153.
- 99 1 For a definition of the term 'myrtyr' see: The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, ed. F. L. Cross, p. 866. London '58. A more general, and hence from our point of view more useful, definition is given in: Christelijke Encyclopedie IV, p. 597. Kampen '59. In translation this reads: 'The word m. was derived from 'artus', witness, which in the early church soon got the additional meaning of 'bloodwitness' - one who remained faithful through suffering and death to the message of Jesus Christ. In the strict sense then the word refers to those who were condemned to death because they refused to renounce the gospel of Christ. In the wider sense the term is also used for all who have to suffer and die for their religious convictions.' In the case of Papinian an even wider sense of the word must be found if the definition of 'm.' is to apply. But even if this were done

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| 99 | 1 (cont.) his martyrdom would bear little relation to the above definition which clearly <u>does</u> apply, however, to the main characters of Gryphius' remaining dramas, e.g. Carolus Stuardus and Catharina von Georgien. |
| 100 | 1 See I, 92 ff.
2 Cf. 1 John 2/17. |
| 102 | 1 Cf. G. Kirchner (215). p. 220 f.
2 The 'vanitas' pictura of the flower that fades is a biblical one; e.g., Psalm 103. |
| 103 | 1 Barner (233), p. 102.
- A revealing description as to the emblematic qualities of 17th century painting is contained in a commentary on the 'traditional' painting by Frans Hals, 'The Company of Captain Reynier Reael and Lieutenant Cornelis Michielsz Blaeuw.' (compared with Rembrandt's 'Night Watch'). The description could equally well apply to the figures on stage in a 17th century drama:
- "It is a typical 'group picture', which belongs to a tradition of ceremonial portrayal that has lasted as a popular convention up to our time. Only here, the painter's genius has given dramatic definition to each figure. In Rembrandt's work the individual becomes a character in action (hence the revolutionary impact of his work), but here each is a portrait on its own, fully characterized but set apart in an official pose. The over-all spirit of the composition and its inner style is felt in the slightly ironic awareness of this official character. The figures acquire their identity largely through the splendour of their costumes, and it is to this magnificence and display that they adjust their poses and expressions. Each appears to recognize himself in this other, official personality, and in turn must assume an attitude appropriate to the importance of his position. (The world's a stage...!-author.) Yet the official character and the 17th century pomp is turned into the liveliest characterization. It should not be forgotten, furthermore, that the 'wide-screen' size of the canvas and the life-size figures meant that the artist's intention was illusionistic, and that this was certainly heightened and completed by the position in which the picture was placed. In this way the pomp became ritualistic, and the subjects human presences in the setting in which they had been portrayed, rather than civil or military officials." (Great Museums of the World. Rijksmuseum |

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| 103 | 1 (cont.) Amsterdam. Text by Giorgio Faggin, Ugo Ruggieri, Raffaele Monti. London, Hamlyn, 1970. p. 49.) Cf. p. 2 note 2 above. |
| | 2 p. 101 above. |
| | 3 The image of the flower // Catharina, dew // tears repeatedly occurs. The words of the 'Jungfrauen' therefore substantiate the claim that these comparisons are thematic images. |
| | 3 p. 63 ff. above. |
| 104 | 1 <u>Cardenio und Celine</u> , Foreword, <u>Ges. Werke V</u> , p. 100. |
| 105 | 1 See, e.g., F. W. Wentzlaff-Eggebert (70). Cf. Gryphius' 'Kirchhoffs-Gedancken', 1657, <u>Ges. Werke III</u> , p. 1 ff., and such poems as Gryphius' 'Menschliches Elende', 'Tränen in schwerer Krankheit', 'An sich Selbst', <u>Ges. Werke I</u> , p. 35, 34, 61; also p. 59. |
| 106 | 1 But, as Alewyn says (232), if the 'tension' is between 'Zeit und Ewigkeit', - and thus vertical (rather than horizontal) - the result may not be 'dramatic' in the dynamic sense; but, he concludes, it may be "im verwegensten Sinn theatralisch." Cf. Haug (21), p. 51 ff., 'Die Ausschaltung der Zeit'; Heckmann (22), p. 39 (quoted p. 132 note 3 below). Cf. p. 108 note 4 below. |
| 107 | 1 H. Powell (53) explains the importance of the stoic philosophy in the 17th century. E.g., the influence of Lipsius' book 'De Constantia' with which Gryphius was also acquainted. p. 336/7. Cf. Scharnhorst (57), p. 128-38. 'Die Stoa und ihre Wiederbelebung durch die niederländische Philologie.'; Schings (58), p. 234 ff., 'Stoische und christliche Tugendhaltung'; Wehrli (68), p. 37; Joos (30), p. 128 ff., 'Die stoische Haltung u. Metaphorik.'; Heckmann (22), p. 25.
- Papinian's stoicism in the face of the storm is expressed also in Gryphius' sonnet 'An die Welt', <u>Ges. Werke I</u> , p. 61; cf. p. 216 note 3 below. |
| | 2 See p. 101 above. |
| | 3 Related to this is the 'Fessel/Gefängnis - Freiheit' motiv. |

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| 108 | 1 Foreword, p. iv above. |
| | 2 p. 107 above. |
| | 3 This technique of giving a far wider scope to the imagery by expanding the pictura-foundation in the opening monologue may well mark a greater artistic maturity on Gryphius' part; but this would need to be worked out in greater detail before a final conclusion could be reached. Another reason is suggested, however, on p. 115 below. |
| | 4 Mythological legends and biblical injunctions point to the dangers of rising too high, especially if the cause was pride; inevitably the fall must follow. E.g., the fates of Icarus, son of Daedalus, and Faethon, son of Helios - see ch. IV below. Just shows there is a parallel with the concepts of 'Demut' and 'Ruhm' which are "in einem paradoxen Verhältnis zu einander...", while "Ruhm ist auch in einem paradoxen Spannungsverhältnis... zur Vergänglichkeit." (31), p. 11. Cf. p. 106 note 1 above. |
| 109 | 1 <u>Ges. Werke</u> IV, frontispiece to <u>Car. St.</u> |
| | 2 Cf. p. 36 above. |
| | 3 Exclamation mark in brackets is author's comment. |
| 111 | 1 Fletcher deals extensively with the technique of personification in 17th century drama. (292), p. 26 ff. Cf. p. 48 note 1. |
| 112 | 1 p. 94 ff above. |
| 113 | 1 Quoted p. 126, below; cf. p. 89 above. |
| | 2 Authors underlining. |
| 114 | 1 Cf. Act II. 148 ff.; <u>Leo A.</u> III. 21 ff.; p. 165 below. |
| 115 | 1 See p. 121 below. |
| 116 | 1 Alewyn's essay (232) is the best demonstration of this fact. |
| | 2 See p. 120 f. below. |
| 118 | 1 As the comparison with 'one-dimensional' already |

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| 118 | <p>1 (cont.) indicates, this expression should not be interpreted in a derogatory way. The term 'three-dimensional', however, should in the context of this thesis be reserved for a world view such as that held by Catharina von Georgien. See p. 99 ff.</p> |
| 119 | <p>1 For a detailed description of 'Fortuna', see, e.g., Freeman (205), p. 19. The figure of Fortuna, or 'Occasion', was frequently depicted in emblems; see H. & S. (214), col. 1769 ff. Cf. p. 178, 202 below. In one of his sonnets Gryphius calls man "Ein Baal des falschen Glücks." <u>Ges. Werke I</u>, p.9. It is interesting to note an explanatory comment about 'Occasion' in the 1933 edition of Vondel's works to clarify the lines:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Ick zagh geen schooner kans, en greepze voor
by 't haer,
Eer zy, van achter kael, ons wars den neck
toekeerde.</p> <p>The footnote explains:
"Versta: Ik viel ze dadelijk aan eer de achterhoede ons ontglipte; platweg 'ons zijn naakten gat liet zien'." In: Koning David herstelt. <u>Werken VI</u>, p. 85.</p> <p>This provides a good example of how a lack of understanding of the emblematic implications in the imagery of a 17th century dramatist leads to rather absurd interpretations of certain lines. Cf. also: Schings (58), p. 182 ff.; Fletcher (292), p. 63 f.; Wehrli (68), p. 30. The first discusses Fortuna in combination with Fatum and Providentia in a section entitled 'Die Figur des Märtyrers im Trauerspiel'. For a reference to Fortuna in <u>Leo A.</u> see p. 84 above.</p> <p>Müller, (266), refers to Fortuna as "die höchste untergöttliche Geschichtsmacht" in the 17th century concept of history - the result of a tradition dating back to antiquity, to the days of Papinianus himself, p. 192. He also mentions an "Untergang im Fortunasturm", p. 188.</p> <p>These early references have been worked out in full detail by Kirchner (261) as recently as 1970.</p> <p>The Fortuna idea is still in vogue today. Thus, as the 'pop-song' puts it, "love is like an ever spinning wheel, round and round again".</p> |
| 2 | <p>Act II. 77 ff., with the accompanying note by the dramatist on p. 259.</p> |
| 3 | <p>p. 117 above.</p> |

Page	Note
121	1 p. 108 above.
125	1 Cf. p. 113 f. above.
126	1 'Boreas' = the Northwind; cf. p. 137 note 1 below.
127	1 Laetus may be considered a 'profane' parallel to Papinian in so far as the latter is a 'saint' in Themis' kingdom of justice. Cf. p. 140, 143 ff. below.
128	1 See p. 110 f. above.
130	1 This in contrast to Laetus, as noted p. 127 above. But also in contrast to a real 'saint' like Cath. v. G.; p. 100 f. above. 2 Thus not quite as forecast by Laetus (cf. p. 125 f. above), because this storm arises from within Bassian's guilty conscience and does not therefore threaten him from outside as Laetus had predicted.
131	1 See Haug (21), p. 165 ff. 2 For the function of the monologue in baroque drama, see Wintterlin (72), p. 32 ff.; cf. p. 76 note 1 above.
132	1 p. 68 note 1; p. 81 above. 2 Cf. Schöne (224), p. 90 ff., where this is depicted under the Inscriptio 'Intacta Virtus'. 3 Cf. Heckmann (22), p. 39. - "Die Steigerung der Geschehnisse wird durch den Zwiespalt, Welt (Zeit) und Ewigkeit bestimmt." Cf. p. 106, note 1 above and p. 147 f., 166 below. That this is the case also in Vondel's work may be seen in Bomhoff's discussion of the function of the 'Rei' in Vondel, (82), p. 55. He refers to the pauze "ergens tussen de eeuwigheid en het eigen lot."
133	1 When one compares this 'auff-Erden'-attitude with Catharina's 'Sehnsucht' for heaven one becomes aware again of the difference between the two kinds of 'Weltanschauung' held by the two characters. Burckhardt calls the post-renaissance desire for fame displayed by Papinian "eine neue Art von Geltung nach außen: der moderne Ruhm". In: J. Huizinga: Verzamelde Werken IV, Haarlem, 1949, p. 245. Papinian's (17th century) concern with 'Ruhm' is indeed a striking characteristic.

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| 133 | 2 Cf. Michael B. in <u>Leo A.</u> II. 587 where he also mentions a 'grabschrift'; p. 52 above. |
| 134 | 1 "Und schau wie das Recht
Verkehr in nichts den ungerechten Thron."
Reyen, <u>Pap.</u> IV. 465 f. |
| 136 | 1 Cf. p. 66 note 1 above. |
| | 2 The rise/fall theme is traced because its imagery is closely connected with the storm; one is reminded, for example, of the emblematic image of the tall tree breaking in the blast while the lowly bush is spared. Cf. Schöne (224), p. 79. For other references see p. 113 note 1 above. |
| 137 | 1 'Boreas' is the north wind; note the fact that in the opening monologue (I. 17) Pap. mentions the north wind too, p. 110 above. Cf. p. 164 below. |
| 140 | 1 This again points to a parallel between Laetus and Papinian. The former also finds that the storm is converging on him from two sides. Cf. p. 127 above, 143 below. |
| | 2 The description of Julia at this point (III. 89 ff.) corresponds to Dürer's figure of 'Melancholia'.
- Cf. also the figure of Christ wearing the crown of thorns and seated on a stone, on the title page of Dürer's <u>Kleine Passion</u> , repr. Amsterdam '70. |
| | 3 p. 153 below. |
| 143 | 1 p. 127 ff. above. 140 below. |
| 145 | 1 p. 155, 158 f. below. |
| 146 | 1 H. & S. (214), col. 1451 f., 1107 ff.
CF. III. 693 ff. discussed on p. 147 below.
Of course, this is also a well known Biblical image, e.g. Prov. 6:5;
Cf. p. 92 note 1 above. |
| 147 | 1 <u>Ges. Werke</u> IV, p. 170. |
| 148 | 1 Cf. III, 496; IV. 234. |
| 149 | 1 Cf. p. 105 ff. above. |
| 151 | 1 Cf. p. 2 note 2; p. 12 note 7; p. 28 note 1.
See also <u>Carolus Stuardus</u> (B) V. 429 ff. |
| | 2 p. 77 note 1 above. |

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| 151 | 3 p. 24 note 2 above. |
| | 4 E.g. Laetus, see III. 400 ff. |
| 152 | 1 See Wintterlin (72), p. 32 ff.; a reason for this also lies in the fact that "Die großen Helden des barocken Trauerspiels müssen sich oft die idealen Weltbeziehungen, die ihrer (eigenen) Haltung zugrundeliegen, in darstellender Aussage reproduzieren, um eben jene Haltung in mancherlei Anfechtung bewahren zu können." op. cit., p. 28. Cf. p. 16 note 4 above. |
| 153 | 1 Cf. p. 140 above. |
| | 2 See plate 2 in the 'Einleitung', <u>Ges. Werke</u> IV. Cf. Schöne (224), p. 72, for Alciati's emblem of the weighted palm tree; p. 140 for the rock // 'Tugend' parallel. |
| | 3 Cf. also <u>Pap. V.</u> 150 f.:
- "Ein steiler Felsen steht/ob schon die schnelle
Bach
Hell rauschend umb Jhn scheust." |
| | 4 in: Schöne (224), p. 216. |
| 154 | 1 p. 109 above. |
| 155 | 1 Cf. p. 108 above. |
| | 2 Cf. p. 113 above. |
| | 3 Cf. p. 145 f. above. |
| | 4 Cf. p. 142 above. |
| 156 | 1 Cf. p. 136 above. |
| | 2 Cf. p. 145 above. |
| 159 | 1 Cf. p. 105 f., 150 f. above. |
| 161 | 1 Cf. p. 166 f. below. |
| 164 | 1 Cf. p. 126, 136 note 2 above. |
| | 2 Cf. p. 132 and <u>Leo A.</u> II. 36 f.; cf. p. 68 note 1 above.
- The anti-reality force of this is seen in <u>Pap.</u> II. 287; Cf. <u>Pap. I.</u> 152 f.; <u>Leo A.</u> III. 21 ff. |

Page	Note
164	3 Cf. Schöne (224), p. 79.
	4 Cf. p. 159 f. above.
165	1 The 'schattenreicher Baum' is mentioned in the opening monologue. Cf. p. 113; 114 note 1.
166	1 Schöne (224), p. 97 f.
167	1 Benjamin (284), p. 403 ff.; 'die Leiche als Emblem.'
168	1 Cf. p. 103 f. above.
169	1 In chapter I.
	2 E.g. Schöne (224), and Roose (54). Cf. also: Smit (156) I, p. 20 ff., for the influence of Emblematic on Dutch lit. in general and Vondel's work in particular.
170	1 If we are to remain within the bounds of this thesis, we must unfortunately leave out of consideration a further level of imagery - the transcendental - found in Gryphius' other dramas, <u>Catharina v. G.</u> and <u>Carolus Stuardus.</u>
172	1 Chapter I, p. 19 f. above.
173	1 Verhagen (174), p. 92; W. A. P. Smit (156) I, p. 496. Cf. Bomhoff (82), p. 143: " <u>Palamedes</u> ... het eerste van zijn gave dramas."
	2 Verhagen (174), p. 86.
	3 op. cit., p. 86 f.
	4 <u>Gijsbrecht</u> is better known probably because it was performed annually at Amsterdam, with few interruptions, until 1969 when this custom was discontinued.
	5 Smit I (156), p. 24; Mulder (142), p. 8 ff.
174	1 Verhagen (174), p. 86 f.; Smit (156) I, p. 17.
175	1 <u>Palamedes</u> is "niet op een bijbels of christelijk historisch gegeven, maar op een heidens mythologisch thema gebouwd, hoewel christelijke trekken niet ontbreken." Bomhoff (82), p. 143.
177	1 Cf. Barner (233), 'Die gelehrte Grundlagen der dt. Barockliteratur.' p. 220-240.

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| 178 | 1 Depiction of 'Bellona' in: H. & S. (214), col. 1561, iv. For personification consult Fletcher (292), p. 26 ff. and the footnote on p. 29. |
| | 2 Cf. p. 119, note 1 above; p. 202 below. An early study of Fortuna was made by H. R. Patch, <i>The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature</i> . (Cambr., Mass., '27). |
| | 3 Vondel, <u>Werken</u> II, p. 232 (b). |
| | 4 Cf. H. & S. (214), col. 1501: emblem XLV depicting a "Schwert von einem Ölzweig umwunden." The subscriptio is in Dutch: 'Het Oude Spaensch Bedrogh//Duert en Vermeerdert Noch.' Cf. also col. 1560. |
| 179 | 1 Thus Fletcher (292) refers to 'a lady holding a balance' whom we call Justice, conveying 'the fixed conventional ideas of just balance.' p. 26. But cf. Huizinga who calls the 'scales of justice the emblem of uncertain chance (Fortune!)', which is "in the balance" - a metaphor born of an Homeric image. There is no question at this stage of the triumph of moral truth...', in: <i>Homo Ludens, A Study of the Play Element in Culture</i> , '49. Paladin 1970, p. 101.
It is interesting to note that after his death the original Palamedes was credited with a number of inventions, such as lighthouses, <u>weights and measures</u> , improvement of the alphabet. (Author's underlining). See: Reimer (303), p. 128. |
| 180 | 1 See <u>Papinian</u> IV. 249 ff.; V. 279 ff. |
| 184 | 1 p. 108 ff. above. |
| 187 | 1 Stage directions after act IV. 440 for the Reyen which immediately follow. |
| 188 | 1 Cf. p. 212 below. |
| 189 | 1 p. 122 above. |
| | 2 Wolters (73), p. 47 refers to the character in 17th century drama as 'Wiederkehr eines unveränderlichen, immer neu in der Geschichte sich ausprägenden Grundtypus' - thus back to the classic tyrant via the Herod figure in the 'Passionsspiel' and mystery plays of the Middle Ages. And 'die Verbindung klassisch-antiker und christlich- |

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| 189 | 2 (cont.) "romantischer" Welt zu einer einzigen Fabel bedeutet weder dem 16. noch dem 17. Jahrh. sinnloser Jux mit der Tradition...'. p. 10. |
| 190 | 1 E.g., the interpretation of the pictura of the sword penetrating the lion's heart (<u>Leo. A. I.</u> 117 ff.) and the fulfillment (op. cit. V. 163). In <u>Papinian</u> the 'Reyen der Rasereyen' forecast the deaths of Laetus and Papinian at the hands of Bassian (III. 573 f.) and this is fulfilled when Laetus is given into the hands of Julia by the emperor (III. 628 f.) and when Papinian is executed (V. 355). |
| 191 | 1 <u>Pap.</u> , Reyen after II. 516.
2 Cf. the section in Fletcher (292) entitled: 'Cosmic systems governing personal fate', p. 59 ff. It must be remembered that the aim of this thesis is not to show who is the better dramatist, Vondel or Gryphius. See also closing remarks, p. 242 ff below. |
| 192 | 1 p. 190 f. above. |
| 194 | 1 Vondel knew from childhood what suffering and religious persecution meant. As a boy he had to flee with the family from Antwerp to Cologne and later travel from there to Amsterdam. See: G. Brandt (83), p. 4 ff.
2 Cf. the sonnet 'Tränen des Vaterlandes, anno 1636': "... als unser Ströme Flut Von Leichen fast verstopft, ...", Ges. Werke I, p. 48. |
| 196 | 1 p. 78 f. above. |
| 197 | 1 <u>Palamedes</u> , <u>Werken</u> II, Voorrede, p. 6 (b). |
| 198 | 1 Cf. IV. 434 ff. This is just the opposite of a Phoenix rising from the ashes!
2 For Alciati's use of this emblem see: Schöne (224), p. 148; cf. p. 85. |
| 199 | 1 See p. 197 above.
2 <u>Pap.</u> I. 244. |
| 201 | 1 <u>Pap.</u> IV. 287 |
| 202 | 1 Cf. p. 119, 178 above. |

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202	2 p. 194 above.
203	1 Cf. also the other reply by Ulysses, III. 242.
204	1/2 "als een leeu" - The annotation of the edition (1933) used for this thesis indicates that for 'leeu' one should read 'held'. This completely ignores the emblematic 'point' made by the use of this image, for the lion represents the 'king' of the world of nature, which in the 17th century was held up as an allegorical mirror of the world of man (see p. 3 note 3 above). Thus Palamedes is depicted as the victorious ruler, a king even at the time of his execution, and not just a 'held'. Vondel himself called the lion "der dieren Koning...", <u>Werken</u> IV, p. 335; cf. also Vondel, <u>Werken</u> I, 'Vorstelijske Waranda der Dieren' II, p. 195. Fletcher (292), p. 65; Jöns (29), p. 55 f., 132 ff.; Curtius (289), p. 321.
	3 'Vorstelijske Waranda der Dieren', Vondel <u>Werken</u> I, p. 195 ff.
	4 Cf. p. 20 above.
205	1 Cf. act II. 55; 60; 82.
	2 See Bomhoff (82), Ch. IV, p. 113 ff.: 'Vondel Tragicus'; about Vondel's character trait of 'ernst', cf. p 145. Also: de Raaf (148), p. 66 ff.
207	1 Cf. Agamemnon who makes the figurative application, Reyen V. 491 f.
208	1 Cf. also Reyen IV which draws the parallel to the labours of Hercules.
	2 Cf. p. 187 f. above.
209	1 As we saw in the digression, for instance; p. 204 ff. above.
	2 See Schöne (224); cf. p. 11 ff. above.
	3 See p. 127, 140, 143 ff. above.
212	1 Cf. p. 188 above.
213	1 p. 212 above.
	2 'Het Inhoud', <u>Werken</u> II, p. 13. - author's underlining.

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215. 1 Cf. Kramer (123), p. 54 ff.
216. 1 Cf. Fricke (13), p. 185 ff.
- 2 In Reyen III. 735 ff.
- 3 In this connection we should note that Fricke (13), p. 189 comments on the imagery of the storm: 'Es handelt sich ja nicht um die naturgetreue Wiedergabe etwa eines Schiffes in Seenot, sondern um eine konzentrierte Sammlung und Steigerung der aus dem natürlichen Vorgang entnehmbaren sensuellen Eindrücke, um eine Kumulation sinnlicher Reize ... die an einem Höhepunkt plötzlich nicht etwa sich zum Kreise schließt, sondern abbricht, um mit dem summarischen "So ..." von dem fertigen Gemälde Abstand zu nehmen, und ihm gleichzeitig seinen Sinn zu geben.' Hence also the term 'Sinnbild'. We could say equally of the Dutch word 'Sinnen' that it not only refers to sense (meaning), but also the senses, the sensual element. Cf. p. 8 note 2 above.
- 4 Cf. p. 54 ff. above (Leo A.), and the Papinian/Laetus parallel, p. 209 note 3 above.
- 217 1 Stachel (309), p. 317
- 219 1 'Aen de Tooneelbegunstiger'. Werken VII, p. 155.
- 2 op. cit. p. 155 f.; cf. Smit III (155), p. 309.
- 3 op. cit. p. 156.
- 220 1 See for example his Hamburgische Dramaturgie. Cf. Vondel's 'Berecht' of Lucifer, Werken IV, p. 334 ff.
- 2 'Aen ... Maria Tesschelscha Roemers,' Werken II, p. 497. - Author's underlining.
- 221 1 Werken V, p. 157.
- 222 1 Cf. III. 221; p. 233 below.
- 2 The analogy of the universe to a clock is also referred to by W. Benjamin (284), p. 95 f. See also the emblematic applications in: H. & S. (214), col. 1339 ff.
- 3 This is the 'secular' version of what in Jeptha is a religious problem. King comments: "Faäton, written at a crucial point in the sequence of Vs.

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| 222 | 3 (cont.) drama can be considered as the compliment of <u>Jeptha</u> ." (119), p. 211. |
| 228 | 1 I. 71 f.; p. 224 above. |
| 229 | 1 Cf. II. 255 ff. where the 'animals' referred to here are shown to be the various constellations of stars. Cf. Fletcher (292), on astral imagery p. 95 f. |
| 232 | 1 IV. 135 ff.
2 p. 234 below; de Raaf associates hybris with the 'opstandsmotief' in Vondel's work. (148), p. 63. |
| 233 | 1 Cf. V. 187 f.
- "Hy gaet. Elck spiegle zich aen 't graf, dat
jongh en out zeit:
Italje is 't kerckhof van de reuckelooze
Stoutheit."
2 p. 231 above. |
| 235 | 1 Note Fletcher's very lucid explanation of the word 'proper' as (strictly) used originally in the context of "Kosmos: the allegorical image". The definition of this type of imagery makes clear how 'proper place' is closely associated with the use of imagery. Fletcher defines it as signifying (1) a universe, and (2) a symbol that implies a rank in a hierarchy. Rather than use the debased Latin derivative forms, 'ornatus' and 'decoratio', Fletcher returns to the oldest term for ornamental diction, because, he tells us, 'kosmos' also points to the notion of 'law', i.e. "a universal system under which the elements of society are ordered." Thus "the classic example of a kosmos is the jewelery worn by a lady to show her social status, or any other such sartorial emblems of position." (292), p. 108 ff.
We could see the sun-chariot of Faëton's father as such a 'kosmos'. It will readily be recognized that Faëton's hybris which has led him to such a foolhardy undertaking has also caused him to transgress against the 'order' of a hierarchical universe. He is "een sterflijk mensch" (II. 155) but presumes to call the course of the sun "mijn eigen element" (I. 49). This theme may be traced throughout the drama.
Thus cf. p. 226, 228, 231 above.
2 A clear reference to the hierarchy in the emblematic world of man and of nature; the animal world |

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| 235 | 2 (cont.) mirrors that of man. Cf. p. 204 notes 1/2, 3 above; p. 237 note 2 below. |
| 236 | 1 Thus IV. 221 "dien blinden voerman.", and IV. 313 "dien blinden wagnaer." |
| 237 | 1 Cf. IV. 21 ff. |
| | 2 In the Rey which follows Vondel gives full emblematic detail of the characteristics of Jupiter's eagle. IV. 409 ff. |
| | 3 But seeing his grandson in the coffin, Vondel is reported to have said: "Wat is de doot een leelyke pry! daar leit nu die schoone jongeling, en is een lijk, dat rot." In: G. Brandt (83), p.58. The 17th century 'vanitas'-awareness is therefore present no less in Vondel's 'Weltanschauung'. |
| 238 | 1 Verhagen (174), p. 87. |
| 239 | 1 p. 223 f. above. |
| | 2 Vol. VII, p. 156. Cf. p. 219 above. |
| 240 | 1 Cf. p. 68 ff. above. |
| 241 | 1 Cf. Stachel (309), p. 254 ff.; Brandt (83), p. 37. |
| 242 | 1 See p. 1 above. |
| | 2 See p. 240 above. |
| 244 | 1 This relationship between imagery and character is not something peculiar to Gryphius' or Vondel's dramas. Murray, for instance, speaking about Shakespeare's dramatic imagery, points out that "in drama the characters are portrayed and differentiated largely through language: in poetic drama it is natural to expect that poetic imagery should play a significant part in fulfilling these functions.... there are many ways in which imagery can assist in characterization...". P. Murray, <i>The Shakespearian Scene. Some Twentieth-century Perspectives</i> . London, '69. p. 69 ff. See also works by G. Wilson Knight, et. al. Cf. Barner (233), p. 220 ff., "Die gelehrten Grundlagen der dt. Barockliteratur." |
| 245 | 1 'Baroque' meant in its violently antithetical sense; an aspect in which effects have become |

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245 1 (cont.) an end in themselves and are used for their own sake. In contrast, note for instance Vondel's use of imagery derived from homely comparisons inspired by everyday situations in the burgher's and peasant's life.

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- 189 Gillet, J. E: De nederlandsche letterkunde in Duitsland in de 17e eeuw. in: TNTL. 33, '14, No. 1. p. 1 ff.
- 190 Ingen, F. J. van: A. G. Leo A. in een Nederlandse bewerking van 1659. in: NTg. 61, '68, p. 232 ff.
- 191 Kollewijn, R. A: Über den Einfluß des holländischen Dramas auf A. G. Amerfoort/Heidelberg, 188o.
- Presupposes that the use of the same material by A. G. proves dependence on V.
- 192 --- A. G. Dornrose und Vs. Leeuwendalers. in: Archiv für Litgesch., IX. 188o, p. 56 ff.
- 193 Krispijn, Egb: Vs. Leeuwendalers as a source of G. Horribili... and Gelibte Dornrose. in: Neophil. 46. '62, p. 134 ff.
- 194 Lamprecht, Karl: Die dt. und niederl. Dichtung. in: Nord und Süd CII, 'o2
- 195 Molkenboer, V. H: Joost van den V. Die geisteswissenschaftlichen Beziehungen zwischen Dld. u. den Niederl. im 17. Jh. Jahresbericht der Görresgesellschaft, '37.
- 196 Pott, C. K: Holland-German lit. relations in the 17th century: V. and G. in: JEGP. 47, '48, p. 127 ff.

- (Rühle, G: see Bibliography No. 55, note).
- 197 Schönle, G: Dt.-Niederl. Beziehungen in der Lit.
des 17. Jhs. Leiden, '68.
- (Stachel, P: see Bibliography No. 309, note).
- 198 Weevers, Th: Vs. influence on German Lit.
in: MLR. XXXII, '37, p. 33 ff.
- 199 --- Poetry of the Netherlands in its
European context, 1170-1930.
London, '60.

D. Emblem Literature

- 200 Benjamin, W: Allegorie u. Emblem. in: Dt. Bf. Bln., '66, p. 395 ff.
- 201 Bruin, C: Aanmerkingen op Otto van Veens Zinnebeelden. Amsterdam, 1726.
- 203 Cats, Jac.: Sinne- en Minnebeelden. Geïllustreerd met 52 reproducties van de platen van Adriaan van de Venne. Met inleiding en aantekeningen van J. Bosch. Kampen, '60.
- 204 Clements, R. J: The cult of the poet in Renaissance emblem lit., in: PMLA. LIX, 3, Sept., '44.
- 205 Freeman, R: English emblem books. London, '48.
-Besides the theoretical introduction, this book also contains an extensive bibliography of English emblem books.
- 206 Giehlow, Karl: Die Hieroglyphenkunde des Humanismus in der Allegorie der Renaissance. in: Jb. der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses, Wien, '50. Bd. 32. H. 1. (Leipzig '15).
-Included in this section because of the direct influence which hieroglyphics exerted on the development of the emblem, a fact made apparent in this work.
- 207 Green, H: (ed.) A choice of emblemes. By Geoffrey Whitney. Leyden, Plantin, 1586. Facs. ed., Holbein Society, 1866.
- 208 --- Shakespeare and the emblem-writers...
Preceded by a view of emblem lit. down to 1616. London, 1870.
-Green's view is interesting but outdated. His conclusions re. Shakespeare are often simplistic and not always valid because a dramatist's emblematic sources can be more indirect than Green assumes.
- 209 --- Alciati, Andr.: Emblematum Fontes Quatuor. Photo-lith Facs. of the eds. by Henry Steyner, Augsburg, 1531; Christian Wechsel, Paris, 1534; and sons of Aldus, Venice, 1546. With a sketch of Alciati's life. Manchester, 1870.

- 210 Green H. (cont.): (ed.) Alciati, Andr.: *Emblematum Flumen Abundans*. Photo-lith Facs. repr. of the Lyons Edition by Bonhomme, 1551. Manchester, 1871.
- 211 --- Andrea Alciati and his book of emblems. A biographical and bibliographical study. London, 1872, Repr. New York, '66.
- 212 Hall, John: *Emblems with elegant figures*, 1658. Orig. 'Sparkles of divine love', 1648. English Emblem books. No. 17. Selected and edited by John Horden. Scholar Press, '70.
- 213 Heckscher, Wm. S. und Wirth, Karl-August: *Emblem, Emblembuch*. in: *Reallexikon zur dt. Kunstgeschichte*. Bd. V, Col. 86/227. Hrsg. von H. H. Heydenreich u. K.-A. Wirth. Stuttgart, '67.
- A most comprehensive article on the history of the origin, development, influences on and by the emblem genre. n.b., the graphic summary, col. 151/54.
- 214 Henkel, A. und Schöne, A: *Emblemata - Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. u. XVII. Jhs*. Stuttgart, '67.
- Detailed registers of topics and objects dealt with give easy access to the emblematic origins of certain expressions or objects used for emblematic purposes together with all their occurrences in the emblem literature of the 16th and 17th centuries.
- 215 Kirchner, G: *Fortuna in Dichtung und Emblematis des Barock; Tradition u. Bedeutungswandel eines Motives*. Stuttgart, '70. (see also No. 261 below.)
- 216 Knipping, John B., and Meertens, P. J. (ed.): *Van de Dene tot Luiken - Emblemata*. Zwolle, '56.
- 217 Landwehr, J: *Dutch emblem books, a bibliography*. Utrecht, '62.
- 218 --- *Emblem books in the Low Countries, 1554-1949. A bibliography*. Utrecht, '70. *Bibliotheca Emblematica III*.
- 219 Luiken, J. and K: *Spiegel van het menselijk bedrijf*. te Amsteldam, MDCCLXVII. (Repr. facs.ed.)

- 220 Monroy, E. Fr. von: Embleme u. Emblembücher in den Niederlanden. 1560-1630. Eine Geschichte der Wandlungen ihres Illustrationsstils, Diss. Freiburg in Br., '42. Hrsg. von H. M. von Erffa, Utrecht, '64.
- 221 Praz, M: Studies in 17th century imagery. 2nd ed. Rome, '64.
- 222 Rossenfeld, H: Emblem Lit., in: Merker, P. u. Stammer, W: Reallexikon für Litgesch. Bln., '56, col. 334/36.
- 223 Schöne, A: Emblemata. Versuch einer Einführung. in: DVjs., 37, '63, p. 222 ff.
- 224 --- Emblematik und Drama im Zeitalter des Barock. München, '68.
- 225 --- ; und Henkel, A: (Hrsg.) Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des 16. u. 17. Jhs. Stuttgart, '67. See (214) above.
- 226 Stegemeier, H: Problems in Emblem lit., in: JEGP., 45, I, '46, p. 26 ff.
- 227 Volkmann, L: Bilderschriften der Renaissance-Hieroglyphik und Emblemata in ihren Beziehungen u. Fortwirkungen. Leipzig, '23. (repr.)
- 228 Vries, A. G. C. de: De Nederlandse Emblemata - Geschiedenis en bibliographie tot de 18e eeuw. Amsterdam, 1899.

Note: - Not listed are numerous original copies of 17th century emblematic works in the library of the Municipal University Library of Amsterdam - section 'Beeldende Kunsten; Symbolen en Emblemen' in the catalogue - because they were of no immediate importance to the topic under discussion in this thesis.

- Smit, W. A. P: The emblematic aspect of Vs. tragedies... See 'Vondel' section No. 157; included there in view of its reference to one dramatist only.

E. Literature on the 17th century

- 229 Alewyn, R: Aus der Welt des Barock. Stuttgart, '57.
- 230 --- (Hrsg.) Deutsche Barockforschung, Dokumentation einer Epoche. Köln/Bln., Neue Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek 7, '66.
- This book is essential if one is to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the development of 17th century criticism. All the more important works on 17th century lit. written in the nineteen twenties and thirties are gathered, complete or in extract form, in one volume - e.g. Alewyn, '32; Benjamin, '38; Cysarz, '23; Fricke, '33; Gundolf, '23; Kayser, '32; Müller, '29; Viëtor, '26; and others. Six book-reviews written at that time, an essay by E. Trunz on 'Barockforschung' from 1920 to 1940 and the 'Vorwort' deal with baroque research from its beginnings in 'Kunstgeschichte' (H. Wölfflin: Renaissance u. Barock. 1888) to the 'fifties and early 'sixties.
On account of the scholarly fashion in which this book presents early baroque criticism, I felt justified in not consulting the original works, which are accordingly not listed as such.
- 231 --- Formen des Barock. in: Corona X, 6, p. 689 ff.; cf. also op. cit. X, 4, p. 662 ff.
- 232 --- Der Geist des Barocktheaters. in: Weltliteratur, Festgabe für F. Strich. Bern, '52.
- 233 Barner, W; Barockrhetorik. Untersuchunge zu ihren geschichtlichen Grundlagen. Tübingen, '70.
- The vast scope of this book makes it impossible to show its importance by summarizing the contents. All the aspects of baroque lit. are reconsidered in the light of 'Rhetorik', in what Barner calls 'die Notwendigkeit einer Neuorientierung' (p. 70). This re-orientation he traces to Nietzsche's

- 233 Barner, W: (cont.) sketch 'Vom Barockstile' (1879) -
i.e. almost four decades before what
are usually taken to be the beginnings
of literary baroque research in the
modern sense.
- 234 Bazin, G: Baroque and Rococo. London, '64.
- 235 Benz, R: Dt. Barock. Stuttgart, '49.
- 236 Clark, G. N: The 17th century. Oxford, '63.
- 237 Cysarz, H: Dt. Barockdichtung, Leipzig, '24.
- 238 --- Vom Geist des dt. Lit.-Barocks. ('23).
in: Dt. Bf. Bln., '66, p. 17/38.
- 239 --- Was ist Barock? in: Barocklyrik,
Reclam. Stuttgart, '65, p. 3/20.
- 240 Dyck, Joachim: Apologetic argumentation in the lit.
theory of the German Baroque. in:
JEGP. LXVIII, 2, '69, p. 197/211.
- 241 Es, G. A. van; en Overdiep, G. S: Geschiedenis van de
Letterkunde der Nederlanden. Brussel,
19?, IV; 'Inleiding' door G. van Es:
deel I, De Letterkunde van Renaissance
en Barok in de 17e Eeuw.
- The date of publication was not given,
perhaps because the project was never
completed.
- 242 Flemming, W: Die Auffassung des Menschen im 17. Jh.
in: DVjs., 6, '28, p. 403/446.
- 243 --- Die dt. Barockzeit. Köln, '42.
- 244 --- Das Jh. des Barock. in: Annalen der
dt. Lit., hrsg. von H. O. Burger.
Stuttgart, '52, p. 339 ff.
- 245 Forster, L: The temper of 17th century lit.
London/Edinburgh, '52.
- 246 Friedrich, C. J: The age of the baroque. New York, '62.
Tr. from 'Das Zeitalter des Barock'.
Stuttgart, '47.
- 247 Friedrich, W. P: From ethos to pathos; the development
from G. to Lohenstein. in: GR. 10,
'35, p. 223 ff.

- 248 Fricke, G: Die Sprachauffassung in der grammatischen Theorie des 16. u. 17. Jhs., in: Zts. f. dt. Bildung, Frankfurt, 3, '33.
- 249 Gundolf, F: Martin Opitz. in: Dt. Bf. Bln., '66, p. 107 ff.
- 250 Hamel, A. G. van: 17e eeuwse opvattingen en theorien over lit. in Nederland. Den Haag, '18.
- 251 Hankamer, P: Die Sprache, ihr Begriff u. ihre Deutung im 16. u. 17. Jh. Hildesheim, '65 (Bonn, '27).
- 252 --- Dt. Gegenreformation u. dt. Barock. Stuttgart, 3. Aufl., '64.
- 253 Hederer, E: Nachwort. in: Dt. Dichtung des Barock. p. 552 ff. München, '68.
- 254 Hübscher, A: Barock als Gestaltung antithetischen Lebensgefühls, Euph., XXIV, '22, p. 517 ff., 759 ff.
- 255 Huizinga, J: Dutch civilization in the 17th century, and other essays. London, '68.
- 256 Ingen, F. J. van: Vanitas und memento mori in der dt. Barocklyrik. Groningen, '66.
- 257 --- Philipp von Zesen. Stuttgart, '70 (Metzler).
- As Zesen was a contemporary of Gryphius this book provides an interesting comparison, also because von Zesen, like G., spent many years in the Low Countries.
- 258 Kalff, G: Geschiedenis von de Nederlandse letterkunde. D. IV. Groningen, '09.
- Deals with stoicism and pietism as influences, among others, on Dutch literature.
- 259 Kayser, W: Der rhetorische Grundzug von Harsdörffers Zeit u. die gattungsgebundene Haltung. (1932) in: Dt. Bf. Bln., p. 324 ff.

- 260 Killy, W: (Hrsg.) Dt. Lesebuch I/1. Das Zeitalter des Barock. hrsg. von Joh. Anderegg. Frankfurt a/M, '70. - each of the five volumes under the general editorship of W. Killy is edited separately by different persons.
- 261 Kirchner, G: Fortuna in Dichtung und Emblematis des Barock; Tradition u. Bedeutungswandel eines Motives. Stuttgart, '70. - See also No. 215: double entry because this work is of equal importance to both 17th century and Emblematis, as the title indicates.
- 262 Lübke, W: Grundriß der Kunstgeschichte, 14. Aufl. neu bearbeitet von Dr. Max Semrau, 3. Auflage, Bd. IV. Die Kunst der Barockzeit u. des Rokoko. Esslingen, '13.
- 263 Lunding, E: German baroque lit.; a synthetic view. in: GLL. III. '49, p. 1 ff.
- 264 --- Die dt. Barockforschung. in: Wirkendes Wort. '51/'52, p. 298 ff.
- 265 --- Stand u. Aufgaben der dt. Barockforschung. in: Orbis Litterarum, '50, p. 27 ff.
- 266 Müller, G: Höfische Kultur (1929). in: Dt. Bf. Bln., '66, p. 182 ff.
- 267 --- Dt. Dichtung von der Renaissance bis zum Ausgang des Barock. 2. Aufl. Darmstadt, '57.
- 268 Nadler, J: Das bayerisch-österreichische Barocktheater (1923). in: Dt. Bf. Bln., '66, p. 94 ff. Nadler's "stammeskundliche" views can of course hardly be accepted without reserve.
- 269 Rüttsch, J: Das dramatische Ich im dt. Barocktheater. in: Wege zur Dichtung. Züricher Schriften zur Lit.wissenschaft Bd. XII. Hrsg. von E. Ermatinger, Zürich/Leipzig, '32.

- 270 Schöffler, H: Dt. Geistesleben zwischen Reformation u. Aufklärung. Frankfurt a.M., '56. -Offers some interesting reasons why Silesian dramatists took the lead in their genre in the 17th century. But the author tends to one-sidedness in that he overemphasizes the region's differences.
- 271 Schöne, A: (Hrsg.) Die dt. Lit. Texte u. Zeugnisse. Bd. III, Das Zeitalter des Barock. München, '63.
- 272 Selle, G. von: Die Krisensituation im 17. Jh. in: Universitas. Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst u. Lit., Jg. 5, H. 1. Stuttgart, '50.
- 273 Strich, F: Der lyrische Stil des 17. Jhs., ('16), in: Dt. Bf. Bln., '66, p. 229 ff.
- 274 --- Der Dichter und die Zeit. Bern, '47. 'Der europäische Barock'. p. 71 ff.
- 275 Szyrocki, M: Die dt. Lit. des Barock, Eine Einführung. Hamburg, '68.
- 276 Tarst, R: Lit. zum Drama u. Theater des 16. u. 17. Jhs. - ein Forschungsbericht. in: Euph. 57, 4, '63, p. 411 ff.
- 277 Trunz, E: Die Erforschung der dt. Barockdichtung. in: DVjs., 18, '40. Referatenheft, p. 1 ff.
- 278 --- Dichtung u. Volkstum in den Niederlanden im 17. Jh. München, '37. Schriften der dt. Akademie, H. 27.
- 279 --- Entstehung u. Ergebnisse der neuen Barockforschung (1940). in: Dt. Bf. Bln., '66, p. 449 ff.
- 280 Viëtor, K: Vom Stil u. Geist der dt. Barockdichtung. ('26). in: Dt. Bf. Bln., '66, p. 39 ff.
- 281 Welzig, W: Constantia u. barocke Beständigkeit. in: DVjs., 35, Jg. '61. Bd. XXXV, H. 3, p. 418 ff.
- 282 Windfuhr, M: Die barocke Bildlichkeit u. ihre Kritiker. Stilhaltungen in der dt. Lit. des 17. u. 18. Jhs. Stuttgart, '66.

F. General Literature.

- 283 Algra, A. and H: Dispereert niet. 2o Eeuwen historie van de Nederlanden in 5 delen. 4e druk. Franeker, '70.
- 284 Benjamin, W: Ursprung des dt. Trauerspiels. Bln. '28. Neudruck: Frankfurt, '63.
- 285 Böckmann, Paul: Formgeschichte der dt. Dichtung, I. Hamburg, '49.
- 286 de Boor u. Newald: Geschichte der dt. Lit., Bd. V. Vom Späthumanismus zur Empfindsamkeit. München, '51.
- 287 Brandt-Corstius, J. C: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Literatuur, tot de 2o e eeuw. Utrecht/Antwerpen, '59.
- 288 Brinkmann, R: Wirklichkeit und Illusion, Tübingen, '57.
- 289 Curtius, E. R: Europäische Lit. u. lateinisches Mittelalter. Bern, '48.
- To get a true 'feel' of the "traditional" elements of 17th century lit. this book is indispensable.
- 290 Dam, R. J: Stoa en Literatuur. Goes, '49.
- 291 Frenzel, E: Stoff-, Motiv-, und Symbolforschung. Stuttgart, '63.
- 292 Fletcher, A: Allegory. The theory of a symbolic mode. New York, '67.
- Though listed here, this work is closely related to Emblematic. Many aspects of the theory apply by implication to emblematic traditions.
- 293 Frye, Northrop: Anatomy of Criticism. Princeton, '57.
- 294 Heißenbüttel, H: Erscheinungsformen der Allegorie im 2o. Jh. in: H. H: Über Lit. - Texte und Dokumente zur Lit. Olten, '66.
- 295 Hocke, G. R: Manierismus in der Lit., II. Hamburg, '59.
- 296 Kayser, W: Das sprachliche Kunstwerk. Bern, '48.
- 297 Kennedy, G: The art of persuasion in Greece. London, '63.

- 298 Knuvelder, G: Beknopt Handboek tot de Geschiedenis der Nederlandse Letterkunde. Dl. II (4 delen), 's Hertogenbosch, '58.
- 299 Lewis, C. S: The allegory of love. New York, '58
- 300 Panofsky, E: Studies in iconology. New York/London, '62.
- 301 Parry, J. H: The age of reconaissance. New York, '64.
- 302 Pongs, H: Das Bild in der Dichtung. 2. Aufl. Marburg, '63.
- 303 Reimer, P. J: Woordenboek der klassieke oudheid. Utrecht/Antwerpen, '69.
- 304 Rüdiger, H: Göttin Gelegenheit. Gestaltwandlung einer Allegorie. in: Arcadia I, '66, p. 121 ff.
- 305 --- Nationallit. u. europäische Lit., Methoden u. Ziele der vergleichenden Lit.wissenschaft. in: Schweizer Monatshefte 42, H. 2, p. 195 ff.
- 306 Scheler, M: Vom Umsturz der Werte. Bern, '55.
- esp. p. 149 ff. for an analysis of the phenomena of the 'Tragic'.
- 307 Schöne, A: Säkularisation als sprachbildende Kraft. Göttingen, ergänzte Aufl., '68.
- 308 Sokel, W: The writer in extremis. Stanford Uni. Press, '59. (original title: Der lit. Expressionismus).
- Not only was there increased interest on the part of literary critics round about the turn of the present century, of comparable importance is the fact that the language used by baroque and expressionist poets has certain common features.
- 309 Stachel, P: Seneca u. das dt. Renaissancedrama. (Palaestra XLVI). Bln., '07.
- The author of this work (subtitled 'Studien zur Lit.- u. Stilgesch. des 16. u. 17. Jhs.), in dealing with V. and G., supplements Kollewijn (191 above) by pointing out in detail verbal parallels in the dramas of these

- 309 Stachel, P: (cont.) poets. Included under General Lit. because the author ultimately traces 17th century lit. developments back to Seneca.
- 310 Staiger, E: Grundbegriffe der Poetik. Zürich, '63.
- 311 Thompson, E.N.S: Literary bypaths of the Renaissance. New Haven, '24.
- 312 Walch, J. L: Nieuw Handboek der ned. Letterkundige Geschiedenis, 8e. druk, '47.
- 313 Wellek, R: Concepts of Criticism. New Haven, '63.
- 314 Winkel, J. te: De ontwikkeling der ned. Letterkunde, 2e druk. Haarlem, '22-'26.