

The Poetological Frontispiece in 17th-Century German Poetry

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1 Preliminary Historical and Systematic Reflections

So far, specialised research on frontispieces has focused mainly on the fields of natural sciences and philosophy, thereby concentrating on three roles: the role of the frontispiece in the construction of visual traditions, its role in shaping the book's programme and its role in the legitimization of knowledge.¹ Therein, it is usually presupposed that the image is functionally subordinate to the text and should convey the author's intentions as clearly and vividly as possible. However, it should be discussed on a case-by-case basis, including scientific works,² whether frontispieces and title pages primarily have programmatic and apologetic tasks.³ What about frontispieces that are not at all designed to follow a clear programme?⁴ As I will show in this contribution, presupposing the coherence between pictorial iconography and text is misleading, especially for poetry. On the contrary, the interaction of frontispieces with the text's imagery, i.e., metaphors, allegories, and comparisons, seems specific to the field of literature and can be significantly more complex than in the field of the

1 The classic study is Rimmert V., *Widmung, Welterklärung und Wissenschaftslegitimierung: Titelbilder und ihre Funktionen in der Wissenschaftlichen Revolution* (Wiesbaden: 2005).

2 Harms W., "Programmatisches auf Titelblättern naturkundlicher Werke der Barockzeit", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 12 (1978) 326–355.

3 Zittel C., "Zeichenkunst und Wissenschaft: Stefano Della Bellas Frontispize für Galilei", in Albrecht A. – Cordibella G. – Rimmert V. (eds.), *Tintenfass und Teleskop. Galileo Galilei im Schnittpunkt wissenschaftlicher, literarischer und visueller Kulturen im europäischen 17. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: 2014) 369–404.

4 Peil D., "Titelkupfer/Titelblatt – ein Programm? Beobachtungen zur Funktion von Titelkupfer und Titelblatt in ausgewählten Beispielen aus dem 17. Jahrhundert", in Ammon F.v. (ed.), *Die Pluralisierung des Paratextes in der Frühen Neuzeit. Theorie, Formen, Funktionen* (Münster: 2008) 301–336; Bouzy C., "Pouvoirs de l'image dans les frontispices des livres d'emblèmes des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles", in Couton M. – Fernandes I. – Jérémie C. – Vénuat M. (eds.), *Pouvoirs de l'image aux XVIe, XVIIe, XVIIIe siècles. Pour un nouvel éclairage sur la pratique des Lettres à la Renaissance* (Clermont-Ferrand: 2009) 361–392.

natural sciences, for instance.⁵ Besides, the aesthetic ideal of ambiguity can hardly be reconciled with the programmatic function traditionally assigned to frontispieces. In the area of poetic fiction, moreover, claims of truth and validity can be suspended, and thus also the task of conveying or legitimising knowledge. And because the visual images on the frontispieces are so closely intertwined with the figurative language in the subsequent poetry, it seems to be a mistake to consider frontispieces paratexts. Consequently, the functions of frontispieces for poetry have to be systematically defined in another way. But how?

Overview studies on the variety of forms and functions of literary frontispieces that might have allowed an answer to this question are rare. Moreover, fundamental questions arise here: do frontispieces in poetry develop visual design patterns similar to those in the natural sciences? Is there possibly more leeway in the use of the frontispieces' form? Is it possible that genre-specific visual programmes have developed on frontispieces for literature, as they have in astronomy, medicine, or law? Are there significant differences to consider depending on genre, nation, or region?⁶

Particularly the History of German Literature shows distinctive features. Outstanding vernacular poetry, for example, only emerged with a generation of poets beginning with Georg Rodolf Weckherlin (1584–1653), Martin Opitz (1597–1639) and Paul Fleming (1609–1640), who produced works that could compete at an international level. Accordingly, there were no classics among the books printed in German that could have set standards for frontispieces in the early seventeenth century, as had been provided by those new editions

5 Cf. R Emmert V, "Docet parva pictura, quod multae scripturae non dicunt." Frontispieces, their Functions, and their Audiences in Seventeenth-century Mathematical Sciences", in Kusukawa S. – Maclean I. – Dupré S. (eds.), *Transmitting Knowledge. Words, Images, and Instruments in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: 2006) 239–270; Pratschke M., "Wie von selbst – Strategien der Innovationslegitimierung in Christoph Scheiners Frontispiz des Traktats zum Pantografen", in Bredekamp H. (ed.), *Imagination und Repräsentation* (Munich – Paderborn: 2010) 321–333; Söderlund I.E., *Taking possession of astronomy, frontispieces and illustrated title pages in 17th-century books on astronomy* (Stockholm: 2010).

6 Cf. Roumé-Potocki M., "Au théâtre: les Allemands regardent, les Français écoutent. Le rôle des frontispices dans l'édition des tragédies du 17^e siècle 2009", in Couton M. – Fernandes I. – Vénuat M. – Jérémie C. (eds.), *Pouvoirs de l'image aux XVe, XVIe, XVIIe siècles. Pour un nouvel éclairage sur la pratique des Lettres à la Renaissance* (Clermont-Ferrand: 2009) 407–438; Guillot C., "Les éditions illustrées du théâtre de Pierre Du Ryer: image et contexte éditorial", *Littératures classiques* 42 (2001) 329–345; Guillot C., "Unité, illusion et vraisemblance dans l'illustration du texte dramatique de la première moitié du XVII^e siècle", *Littératures classiques* 44 (2002) 51–72; Jakacki D.K., "Canst Paint a Doleful Cry?: Promotion and Performance in the 'Spanish Tragedy' Title-Page Illustration", *Early Theatre* 13.1 (2010) 13–36; Jakacki D.K., "Title Page Engravings and Re-ordering the Quartos of A Game at Chess", *Research on Medieval and Renaissance Drama* 50 (2012) 45–70.

of classical authors such as Virgil, Ovid, Terence or Aesop. There were also none of those pioneering authors in the vernacular, like Dante, Petrarch, Tasso, Shakespeare, or Cervantes,⁷ whose vernacular poetry was printed in countless editions and on whose title pages specific typologies were able to develop over the course of decades and centuries. Such a permanent circulation, through which regularities and fixed visual patterns could develop,⁸ was granted to only very few German editions. Thus, the epistemic value of individual studies remains limited to the studied regions, and observations on the situation in England,⁹ for instance, cannot be transferred to German-speaking countries.

Additionally, the regional differences are increased by the various traditions of literary reception. There is, for example, no continuing tradition of a German literary reception dating back to the seventeenth century. While it is a given that authors such as Molière are internationally present on stages even today,

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- 7 Suerbaum W., "Titelbilder zu den Aeneis-Büchern vom Humanismus bis zum Neoklassizismus. Geschichte, Typen und Tendenzen der Aeneis-Illustration in gedruckten Vergil-Ausgaben und -Übersetzungen von 1502 bis 1840", *Philologia antiqua. An International Journal of Classics* 1 (2008) 99–201; Suerbaum W., "Rettet Vergil Homer vor dem Zugriff der Zeit? Überlegungen zu einem allegorischen Titelbild von 1688 zu Vergils Aeneis und zur Chronos-Ikonographie", *Antike und Abendland* 56 (2010) 135–158; Ruiz de Elvira Serra I. – Tobarra Crespo C. (eds.), *Don Quijote. Ausgaben in Vierhundert Jahren*, exh. cat., Museum für Kunsthandwerk (Frankfurt am Main: 1991). For frontispieces in explicit opposition to this tradition cf. Hammelmann H.A., "Two Eighteenth-Century Frontispieces", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 31 (1968) 448–449.
- 8 Maclean I., "La Rochefoucauld, little learning and the love of truth", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 75 (2012) 297–318; Jackson G.D., "Les frontispiece des éditions de Molière parues au XVIIe siècle: stéréotypes et expressivité", *Papers on French Seventeenth Century Literature* 14 (1987) 26–27; Fowler A., *The Mind of the Book. Pictorial Title Pages* (Oxford: 2017) 115–126; Herzel R.W., "The Decor of Molière's Stage: The Testimony of Brissart and Chauveau", *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 93.5 (1978) 925–954; Skerpan-Wheeler E., "Authorship and Authority: John Milton, William Marshall, and the Two Frontispieces of 'Poems' 1645", *Milton Quarterly*, 33.4 (1999) 105–114; Coulter W.A., "Conceited Portraiture before his Book ... to catch Fools and silly Gazers': Some Reflections on Paradise Lost and the Tradition of the Engraved Frontispiece", *Renaissance Papers* (2008) 69–81; Kallendorf C., "The Virgilian Title Page as Interpretive Frame; Or, Through the Looking Glass", *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* 64.1 (2002) 15–25; Stone Peters J., *The Theatre of the Book, 1480–1880: Print, Text, and Performance in Europe* (New York: 2003).
- 9 Jakacki D.K., 'Covetous to parley with so sweet a frontis-peece'. *Illustration in Early Modern English Play-Texts* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Waterloo, Canada 2010) https://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item?id=TC-OWTU-5518&op=pdf&app=Library&oclc_number=827752488; Werner B. – Fischer H. – Möller J. (eds.), *Entree aus Schrift und Bild. Titelblatt und Frontispiz in England der Neuzeit*, *Forschung und Wissenschaft* 14 (Münster: 2008) 9–40; Farmer N.K., *Poets and the Visual Arts in Renaissance England* (Austin: 1984); Meskill L.S., "Ben Jonson's 1616 Folio: A Revolution in Print?", *Études Épistémè* (2008) <http://journals.openedition.org/episteme/736>; Markey T. "Servius illustrated: Latin texts and contexts of Simone Martini's Frontispiece Painting to Petrarch's Virgil", *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 65 (2016) 1–28.

Baroque plays penned by German authors are almost never staged; Baroque novels by German authors are unknown even to experts – with the exception of Grimmelshausen's (1621–1676) *Simplicius Simplicissimus*; of Baroque poetry by German authors, only some Vanitas poems by Andreas Gryphius (1616–1664) and hymns have made it into the canon where they cannot expect to remain permanently. There is a widespread opinion that German literary history should only be considered from Lessing onwards.¹⁰ Important works of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century German literature have thus been forgotten and with them their frontispieces.

Precisely these frontispieces, however, show so many special features that they pose challenges to any endeavour to analyse their functions. Even though groups of similar visual programmes can be isolated in the corpus of German literary frontispieces, most of them have so many particularities that they need to be studied as individual cases. What is thus required is less a classification than a casuistry of frontispieces; the task at hand is to collect observations and map the field for further research. Due to the heterogeneity of the frontispieces discussed, this contribution cannot claim to offer classification but is limited to such motifs and sets of questions that run counter to the usual expectations regarding frontispieces. Above all, I aim to question the idea that frontispieces are paratexts that primarily serve the self-promotion of the author by programmatically announcing the content of the work and emphasising the author's importance.

1.1 *Paratextuality or Intermediality?*

Astrid Dröse recently pointed out that title pages could never be reduced to their illustrative function, but that the interdisciplinary systematic exploration of their complex tasks has remained an important desideratum of early modern research.¹¹ She hopes for new findings from research into paratexts. It is, however, precisely this concept of the frontispiece as an addition and not an integral part of the work that skews the perspective of researchers. Equally difficult is the underlying notion of text, which levels the various image-text and image-image relationships accompanying title pages, and which proclaims the image metaphorically as text. Only Peil seems to have recognized

10 Schlaffer H., *Die kurze Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* (Munich: 2002).

11 Dröse A., "Paragonale Relationen? Das Verhältnis von Musik, Bild und Text in Titelkupfern barocker Liedersammlungen", in Robert J. (ed.), *Intermedialität in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: 2017) 260–284, here 261. Cf. also Donat D., "Zu Buchtiteln und Titelblättern der Barockzeit", in Gerhardt D. et al. (eds.), *Orbis Scriptus. Dmitrij Tschizewskij zum 70. Geburtstag* (Munich: 1966) 163–173.

this as a problem.¹² In general, the commonly used terms such as paratexts,¹³ frames, frame compositions,¹⁴ threshold or embellishment ('Beiwerk'),¹⁵ convey the idea that the frontispiece is an external part of the work. Accordingly, frontispieces and title pages are often reduced to their decorative-illustrative function.¹⁶

However, particularly in the field of literature, frontispieces not only externally guide the reader by generating specific expectations of the content: rather, they help to interpret the text on the one hand, while, on the other, the text enables the reader to explain the image. Furthermore, through the interaction of word and image, the reader can unfold a heightened longing for the obscure and for hidden allusions. Early modern poetry was often addressed at learned connoisseurs and aimed at engaging their acumen; accordingly, poets – much more so than scholars or jurists – developed the ambition to demonstrate their ingenuity by inventing frontispieces.¹⁷ Some even provided

12 Peil D., *Titelkupfer/Titelblatt* 302, Fn 4, 307, 321.

13 Cf. for instance: Lemmens A., "Le frontispiece, mise en scène de la poésie néo-latine. Étude de cas de la première moitié du XVIIe siècle", in Ems G. – Minet M. (eds.), *Les arts poétiques du XIIIe au XVIIe siècle. Tensions et dialogue entre théorie et pratique* (Turnhout: 2017) 143–160.

14 Bohatcová M., "Funktionen der Rahmenkompositionen im 'wissenschaftlichen' Buch des 17. Jahrhunderts. Am Beispiel einiger Comenius-Ausgaben", in Schöne A. (ed.), *Stadt-Schule- Universität – Buchwesen und die deutsche Literatur im 17. Jahrhundert. Vorlagen und Diskussionen eines Barock-Symposiums der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft 1974 in Wolfenbüttel* (Munich: 1976) 549–561. Dembeck T., *Texte rahmen. Grenzregionen literarischer Werke im 18. Jahrhundert* (Gottsched, Wieland, Moritz, Jean Paul) (Berlin – New York: 2007); Pflugk-Harttung J.V., *Rahmen Deutscher Buchtitel im 16. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: 1909).

15 Genette G., *Paratexts. Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: 1997); Breyll J., *Pictura loquens – Poesis tacens. Studien zu Titeln und Rahmenkompositionen der erzählenden Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts. Von Sidneys "Arcadia" bis Ziglers "Banise"* (Wiesbaden: 2006); Sherman W.H., "On the Threshold: Architecture, Paratext, and Early Printed Culture", in Alcorn Baron S. – Lindquist E.N. – Shelvin E.F. (eds.), *Agent of Change. Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein* (Amherst: 2007) 67–81.

16 Lemmens A., "Le frontispice comme encadrement. Statuts et fonctions d'un système décoratif (Anvers, XVIe–XVIIe siècles)", in Cordon N. – Degans É. – Doulikaridou-Ramantani E. – Heering C. (eds.), *Jeux et enjeux du cadre dans les systèmes décoratifs de la première modernité (1500–1700)* (Rennes: 2019) 123–136.

17 Cf. Paas J.R., "Inseparable Muses: German Baroque Poets as Graphic Artists", *Colloquia Germanica* 29 (1996), 13–38. Klemm C., "Sigmund von Birken und Joachim von Sandrart. Zur Entstehung der Deutschen Academie und zu anderen Beziehungen von Literat und Maler", in Paas J.R. (ed.), *Der Franken Rom. Nürnbergs Blütezeit in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: 1995) 289–313.

their own designs for title pages, such as Sigmund von Birken¹⁸ or Friedrich von Spee (1591–1635).¹⁹ Sometimes, however, it was enough to depict Fama,²⁰ supposed to spread fame, or the laurel-wreathed poet, such as in the case of Sigmund von Birken as *poeta laureatus*.²¹ Besides, even if a poet followed tradition and proclaimed the imitation of his models as an aesthetic norm, his desire to emphasise the distinctive features of his own genius was often more pronounced than it was for scientists or jurists: poetry, after all, asserted itself by *aemulatio*. In general, it seems that the poet was more involved in the *inventio* of the frontispiece, precisely because many poetics demanded the sister arts to interact.

An intermedial approach is therefore preferable to the use of the concept of “paratexts”. Because, as Markus Fauser noted concerning the text-image relationships in Martin Opitz, ‘text-controlled visualisations and (poetic) inventions derived from images enable poetry to reflect itself. They materialise the process of invention, show the dependence of cognition on visualizations’.²² Fauser thus reckons that image and text cannot be separated with regard to the aesthetics of production and that one cannot be interpreted without the other. He shows how the frontispieces of Opitz’s 1624 and 1625 editions define the entire imagery of the subsequent poems, indeed, how the poems are coded by the visual contexts created by the respective frontispieces. However, Fauser now seems to favour the image. He assumes that frontispieces (or other images such as emblems) are decisive for the inventive process of the poet as they activate his visual memory and thus decisively direct the invention and linking of metaphors in the creation of the poem. Correspondingly, and from a reception theoretical point of view, the reading of the subsequent text is therefore equally directed by the frontispiece, insofar as it determines the visual context by which the reader provides and interprets the metaphors. It is not

18 Cf. Paas, *Inseparable muses*, 27, fn. 42–47. Paas J.R., “Zusammenarbeit in der Herstellung illustrierter Werke im Barockzeitalter. Sigmund von Birken (1626–1681) und Nürnberger Künstler und Verleger”, *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten* 24 (1997) 217–239.

19 Jakobsen E., *Die Metamorphosen der Liebe und Friedrich Spees “Trutznachtigall”*, Studien zum Fortleben der Antike 1 (Kopenhagen: 1957) 12.

20 Cf. for instance: Neukirch Benjamin (ed.) *Herrn von Hoffmannswaldau und anderer Deutschen auserlesener und bißher ungedruckter Gedichte* (Leipzig: Thomas Fritsch 1697) <<http://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb1011406-7>>.

21 <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_Bb-12-326>.

22 Fauser M., “Bild und Text bei Martin Opitz. Beschreibung und mentale Bilder in den Liebesgedichten”, in Borgstedt T., Schmitz W. (eds.), *Martin Opitz (1597–1639). Nachahmungspoetik und Lebenswelt* (Tübingen: 2002) 123–153, here 143; Könnecke G., *Bilderatlas zur Geschichte der deutschen Nationallitteratur: eine Ergänzung zu jeder deutschen Litteraturgeschichte* (Marburg: 1895).

enough to assume with Fauser that the visual memory of the poet is activated during writing because *inventio* is more important than *memoria* – especially when a generation of poets breaks with tradition, such as Weckherlin, Opitz and Fleming. New text and image relationships need to be invented and established, and to achieve that, text and image work in concert. Often, however, the topic is approached from the other direction and the frontispiece is explained by the text, just not univocally, but it is made polysemous and ambiguous. Nonetheless, if text and image work in concert and the frontispiece does not serve as an unequivocal announcement of the following but contributes to making the work ambiguous through its interaction with the text and its subsequent illustrations, it has poetological content and thus a poetological function. Consequently, it is part of the work.

In the field of literary studies, in particular, it might be more productive to work with the idea of an integral work of art. Thus, the poetological frontispiece is not the “mind of the book”, as Fowler claims,²³ but rather the ‘frons’ – only after reading the book is it possible for the reader to interpret the signs on its forehead. Or, in order to stick to the other metaphor, those who want to describe the gateway need to know where it leads to and cannot only study what it supposedly promises. It is not entirely without justification if I matter-of-factly note that scholarship on frontispieces often describes and interprets the same without having consulted the accompanying works.

2 Constructions of Tradition? (Opitz, Morhof, Schwarz, Rist)

The only major study on frontispieces that exists in literature studies is Jutta Breyll’s groundbreaking monograph on the frontispieces of the German Baroque novel.²⁴ In this article I will therefore concentrate on frontispieces in the area of German poetry and drama of the seventeenth century. So far, only a few isolated studies on these were undertaken,²⁵ among them,

23 Fowler, *The Mind of the Book*.

24 Breyll J., *Pictura loquens – Poesis tacens*; See also idem, “Nichtige Äußerlichkeiten? Zur Bedeutung und Funktion von Titelbildern aus der Perspektive des 17. Jahrhunderts”, *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten* 24 (1997) 389–422. Idem, “gantz ein ander Buch: Das Frontispiz zu Grimmelshausens ‘Proximus und Lympida’ als poetologisches Signal”, *Simpliciana* 15 (1993) 193–206. Idem, “Johann Jacob von Sandrart als Illustrator des Lohensteinschen *Arminius*”, *Daphnis* 18 (1989) 467–519.

25 Roumé-Potocki M., “Au théâtre”; idem, “La tragédie baroque allemande et ses frontispices”, *Bulletin de la Société d’étude du XVIIe siècle* 10 (1995) 681–700. The study by Stone Peters, *The Theatre of the Book*, focuses on frontispieces in the history of English and French drama.

however, some important contributions that unsurprisingly deal with Opitz. The Opitz-editions and the editions of his declared successors are those who enthrone Opitz with their frontispieces as the “Father of German Poetry”²⁶ and thus follow the model of construction of tradition the closest.²⁷ It is equally not surprising that the majority of them present the expected repository of images: Parnassus, Helicon, Apollo with Lyra, the Muses, Pegasus²⁸ and Hippocrene,²⁹ as well as an ancestral gallery of important, either classical³⁰ or German authors, less frequently other European authors.³¹

In the German countries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Latin poetry was the poetry of distinction: in schools, the writing was practised along the patterns of Antiquity and vernacular models did not exist. But how do you construct a new tradition if you are about to free yourself from the prevailing one? Opitz recognised early on that he could fill a gap, which he did: since then he has been considered the normative author of German literature par excellence.³² In Opitz’s attempt to immortalise himself as a poet, frontispieces

26 Concerning this topos cf. Garber K., *Martin Opitz “der Vater der deutschen Dichtung”. Eine kritische Studie zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Germanistik* (Stuttgart: 1976).

27 Remmert demonstrated this model on the astronomical title pages, and these interpretive models can be transferred here especially for this type of literary frontispieces: Remmert V., *Widmung, Welterklärung und Wissenschaftslegitimierung. Titelbilder und ihre Funktion in der wissenschaftlichen Revolution*. See also Bertram G., “Elevating Optics: The Title Page by Peter Paul Rubens of Franciscus Aguilonius’s *Opticorum Libri Sex* (1613) in its Historical Context”, *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 42.2 (2016) 212–242. See the article by Gitta Bertram in this volume.

28 Considering the use of Pegasus cf. Brink C. – Hornbostel W. (eds.), *Pegasus und die Künste* (Munich: 1993); for the Parnassus iconography see Schreurs A., “Apoll und der Zodiacus: die Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft zieht auf den Parnass; Anmerkungen zum Frontispiz von Sandrarts *Iconologia Deorum*”, in Schade K. – Rößler D. – Schäfer A. (eds.), *Zentren und Wirkungsräume der Antikenrezeption. Zur Bedeutung von Raum und Kommunikation für die neuzeitliche Transformation der griechisch-römischen Antike* (Münster: 2007) 151–158.

29 Gitta Bertram quotes in this context Bernardus Bauhusius (1576–1619) who wanted a frontispiece for his *Epigrammata* (1634) with a “hallowed Parnass, the Muses, Mnemosyne, Apollo, all things associated with the gods, etc.”, quoted after: Bertram G., “Can you Judge a Book by Looking at its Cover? Content and Form in Seventeenth-century Title Pages”, in Nová M. – Opatrná M. (eds.), *Content and Form* (Prague: 2018) 53–60, here 167.

30 Cf. Zimmermann-Homeyer C., *Illustrierte Frühdrucke lateinischer Klassiker um 1500* (Wiesbaden: 2018).

31 Cf. Rist Johann, *Des Edlen DAFNIS aus Cimbrien besungene Florabella. mit gantz neuen und anmuhtigen Weisen hiebevor außgeziert und hervorgegeben Anitzo aber mit verschiedenen schoenen Stueckchen vermehret und zum Truck befördert* (Hamburg: Christian Guth: 1666).

32 Cf. Conermann C., Martin Opitz: “Patria – Nation – Europäische Renaissance. Neue biographische Forschungen zur Stellung des ‘Gekrönten’ in der Literaturgeschichte”,

played an important role as was shown by Achim Aurnhammer. He thoroughly examined the enthronement of Opitz celebrated on the frontispieces of his successors in the seventeenth century³³ and on the title pages of two editions with poetry from 1624 and 1625.³⁴ In these studies, he sheds light on the various authorial concepts they convey, expounds the poetological content of the iconography in detail, and demonstrates how it relates to the respective selection and arrangement of the poems.³⁵ Aurnhammer reveals how Opitz uses the visual programme of the first frontispiece to place himself in a rather scholarly context, emphasising his merits as a writer of love poetry in the Petrarchan tradition. Already in the second frontispiece, however, he portrays himself as the German national poet. Aurnhammer's interpretation is a prime example of the fact that only the detailed knowledge of the subsequent work and its compositional structure allows the reader access to the frontispiece's poetological content.

Opitz, his publisher, the artist drawing the design and the engraver worked closely together for the title pages of the early editions. This resulted in subtle frontispieces full of learned allusions, seemingly indecipherable at first glance, but accurately corresponding to Opitz's poetics. In later editions, this interaction is greatly simplified or even interrupted. For instance, the 1629 edition published by David Müller in Wrocław³⁶ and edited by Opitz himself follows the visual programme of the 1625 edition closely in a badly re-engraved plate. But while the earlier frontispiece had emphasised the poet's classical tradition, the newer version consistently obliterated the Latin inscriptions and with them the allusions to Horace and the Viader, the patron god of Silesia.³⁷ Here

Abhandlungen der Braunschweigischen Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft 64 (Braunschweig: 2012) 37–62.

33 Opitz Martin, *Deütscher Poëmatum Anderer Theil; Zuevor nie beysammen, teils auch noch nie herauß gegeben* (Wrocław, David Müller: 1629).

34 Aurnhammer A., "Dichterbilder mit Martin Opitz", in Hölter A. – Schmitz-Emans M. (eds.), *Literaturgeschichte und Bildmedien*, Hermeia 14 (Heidelberg: 2015) 55–76; idem, "Mihi et Musis' oder 'Exegi monumentum'? Konkurrierende Autorschaftskonzepte in den Opitz-Editionen von 1624 und 1625", in Arend S. – Steiger A. (eds.), *Martin Opitz (1597–1639). Autorschaft, Konstellationen, Netzwerke* (Berlin – Boston: 2019) 13–45.

35 Aurnhammer, "Mihi et Musis", 32–38; cf. also Fauser, *Bild und Text bei Martin Opitz*, here 142. A descriptive overview of the various early Opitz editions can be found in Hoffmann von Fallersleben A.H., *Martin Opitz von Boberfeld. Vorläufer und Probe der Bücherkunde bis zum Jahre 1700* (Leipzig: 1858).

36 Opitz Martin, *Deütscher Poëmatum Erster Theil: Zum andern mal vermehrt und ubersehen herauß gegeben* (Wrocław, David Müller: 1629) <<http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000C00A00000000>>; See also the frontispiece for Opitz, *Deütscher Poëmatum Anderer Theil*, online: <<http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000C00A00000000>>.

37 Cf. Aurnhammer, "Mihi et Musis" 35, Fn. 45.

the classical references had no longer a programmatic function, they turned into mere decoration. The poetological content became even more generic and unspecific in those frontispieces that were for editions Opitz had not authorised himself. The 1640 edition,³⁸ for instance, shows Apollo surrounded by the muses in the pedestal, the title inscription is flanked by Apollo and Venus with Cupid, while two genii are holding a laurel wreath for the poet in the upper register and Urania is enthroned in the middle. This sheet could open any poetic work: it could hardly be more unspecific.

Similarly, the frontispiece of the posthumous edition of secular poems from 1644,³⁹ so decisive for the reception of Opitz, avoids scholarly allusions and relies on easily understandable allegory [Fig. 5.1]. Artistically, the sheet is by far the best and an engraver can be identified for the first time: CM is the monogram of Caspar Merian (1627–1686), son of Matthäus Merian the Elder (1593–1650), who was one of the most famous engravers of his time.

In the upper part, Mercury is gliding down from the clouds: according to Horace (Carm I,10), he is the God of eloquence and poetry. He is pointing to Athena/Minerva, standing on the right and flanking the title in full armour with spear and shield. On the opposite side of her is Hercules, only clad in a panther skin, his club raised. In the lower part, an emblem shows Fortuna with a sail on a globe; the inscription declares 'Fortassis tentare licebit' – a motto meaning as much as maybe one can succeed in forcing fortune. In his – as far as I can see – only interpretation of this sheet, Wilfried Barner suggests reading this as Opitz's programme for the taming of Fortuna.⁴⁰ According to him, the motto referred to an emblem of Fortuna whose *inscriptio* 'Audentes fortuna iuvo' would enable the reader to understand Opitz's motto as a cautious encouragement to try one's luck. In his reading, Athena is the personification of art, culture and the sciences, while the wild man on the left represents raw nature that should be overcome. Indeed, there is already a connection between Mercury⁴¹ and

38 Opitz Martin, *Deutsche Poemata Auffß Newe übersehen, vermehret und herauß gegeben* (n.p., n.n.: [1640]).

39 Opitz Martin, *Weltliche Poemata. Zum Viertenmal vermehret und übersehen heraus geben* (Frankfurt am Main, Thomas Matthias Götze: 1644).

40 Barner W., "Die gezähmte Fortuna. Stoizistische Modelle nach 1600", in Haug W. – Wachinger B. (eds.), *Fortuna* (Tübingen: 1995) 311–343, here 335f.

41 For Mercury on frontispieces cf. Schneider U.J., "Merkur und andere enzyklopädische Götter", *Zeitschrift für Ideengeschichte* 1.2 (2007) 89–100.



Figure 5.1 Caspar Merian, frontispiece for Opitz Martin, *Weltliche Poemata. Zum Viertemal vermehrt und übersehen heraus geben* (Frankfurt am Main, Thomas Matthias Götzem: 1644). Engraving
IMAGE © Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt in Halle (Saale)

Fortuna⁴² in *Alciatus*⁴³ referring to Vergil (*Aeneis* 10,284) that could support this reading. But the example shows the pitfalls of interpreting frontispieces: the 'Fortuna' that Barner so ingeniously interprets and which he subtly and elaborately contextualises in Opitz's oeuvre does not refer to Opitz at all. She is only the emblem of the printer's mark that the publisher Goetze⁴⁴ also used on other editions with the same motto. With his printer's mark, the publisher alluded to the bold enterprise of printing books in general.⁴⁵

In turn, the combination of Minerva and the club-wielding Hercules (and a Pegasus in the background), can be found as a printer's mark of the publishing house Schrey und Meyer⁴⁶ (Frankfurt/Oder) where it is supported by the revealing motto: 'Utilitas iunxit, labor ac industria servat'. With this hint, the contrast between Hercules and Minerva dissolves, and labour, industriousness and ingenuity are happily united in the title page of *Weltliche Poemata*. It is difficult to say whether posthumous editions have a general tendency for this de-individualization. In this case, the author's image constructed posthumously by the publisher differs significantly from the earlier ones: the audience was correspondingly enlarged by those who were unable to grasp the complex visual programmes of the earlier frontispieces and their manifold text-image relationships. By now the gateway to the book has become trivial and its main goal increasing sales.

Nevertheless, even those title pages that explicitly try to establish literary traditions are frequently more ambiguous than it might seem at first glance. Often, they even blatantly contradict the poetological content of the oeuvre or the intention of the poet. Let us consider a title page for a posthumous edition of Latin poetry by the polyhistor Daniel Georg Morhof (1639–1691) [Fig. 5.2]

42 For the iconography concerning Fortuna cf. Kirchner G., *Fortuna in Dichtung und Emblematik des Barock. Tradition und Bedeutungswandel eines Motivs* (Stuttgart: 1970) and Meyer-Landrut E., *Fortuna. Die Göttin des Glücks im Wandel der Zeiten* (Munich – Berlin: 1997).

43 See Fig. 14.2 of the contribution by Martin van Beek to this volume.

44 Cf. Glauber Johann Rudolph, *Philosophi et Medici celeberrimi, Opera Chymica: Bücher vnd Schrifften, so viel deren von ihme bißhero an Tag gegeben worden; jetzo von neuem mit Fleiß übersehen, auch mit etlichen neuen Tractaten vermehret ...; sampt ein darzu verfertigten vollkommenen Register* (Frankfurt am Main, Thomas Matthias Götze: 1658) <<https://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:hbz:061:2-26365-p0005-7>>.

45 Several examples of Fortuna as a printer's mark: Heitz P., *Frankfurter und Mainzer Drucker- und Verlegerzeichen bis in das 17. Jahrhundert* (Strasbourg: 1896). See also Wolkenhauer A., *Zu schwer für Apoll. Die Antike in humanistischen Druckerzeichen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, *Wolfenbütteler Schriften zur Geschichte des Buchwesens* 35 (Wiesbaden: 2002); further: www.symbolforschung.ch/buchdruckerzeichen.

46 Cf. <[urn:nbn:de:bvb:20-3622871term57156899-5](http://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bvb:20-3622871term57156899-5)>; further: <<http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB00000D5A00000000>>.



Figure 5.2 Johann Friedlein, frontispiece for Morhof Daniel Georg, *Opera Poetica/ quae in unum collata & ad Auctoris mentem disposita ab haeredibus eduntur cum Praefatione Henrici Muhlii*, (Lübeck, Pierre Böckmann: 1697). Engraving IMAGE © Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen

that was engraved by Johann Friedlein (1684–1706) in Kiel at the end of the seventeenth century.⁴⁷

Mercury, once again as patron of rhetoric and poetry, is flying a charging Pegasus in order to bring the image of Morhof to the Olymp or Parnassus, where it is to be placed on a memorial column in the foreground ('HAEC DICATA MORHOFIO'). A group of admirers is ready to receive it with open arms. Even the portraits of the already immortalised predecessors Horace, Virgil and Claudius Claudianus seem to be looking forward to receiving him. In the lower part, the Castalian spring rises, from which the poets drew their inspiration and next to which the three Graces are dancing. The genres in which Morhof writes are represented by the personification of the elegy, lying in mourning on the grave to the left, and by the personification of love

47 Morhof Daniel Georg, *Opera Poetica/ quae in unum collata & ad Auctoris mentem disposita ab haeredibus eduntur cum Praefatione Henrici Muhlii* (Lübeck, Pierre Böckmann: 1697).

poetry, sprawling nakedly with a little cupid in a lovely landscape. The publisher's optimism did not come true: Morhof never received the recognition as a poet that he was given as a literary historian.⁴⁸ Nonetheless, the title page is remarkable, because it praises Claudius Claudianus, the last important poet of Roman antiquity, whose extremely elegant style was present in new editions in the seventeenth century.⁴⁹ This literary tradition, neglected since then, was not only to be taken up again but essentially to be triumphantly surpassed. Morhof was to be the long-awaited new messiah of Latin poetry. His publisher thus placed Morhof and his Latin poetry directly in the tradition of Roman antiquity and everything that came in between obviously did not count and was to be forgotten. The efforts of several generations in the 17th century to finally elevate German poets to the international Olymp of poetry are confidently ignored. As an early literary historian, Morhof was very familiar with German literature and an advocate of German poetry.⁵⁰ It is doubtful whether he would have accepted a title page that sought to market his Latin poetry at the expense of the German literary tradition, thereby fashioning an image of the author that he himself never represented.

The posthumous construction of Sibylla Schwarz (1621–1638) as a poet uses other means to bypass the literary tradition of the poets than were used in the case of Morhof. The frontispiece to her *Deutsche Poetische Gedichte* [Fig. 5.3] was engraved by Jakob Sandrart (1630–1708) after a drawing by the painter Samuel Niedenthal (1620–1665).⁵¹

The portrait of the young poet⁵² in the centre introduces her as a German Sibyl. The ornamental frame surrounding her merges seamlessly into the frame

48 Kern M., *Daniel Georg Morhof*, (Dissertation, Universität Freiburg im Breisgau: 1928); Wiedemann C., "Polyhistor's Glück und Ende", in Burger H.O., See K.V. (eds.), *Festschrift Gottfried Weber* (Bad Homburg: 1967) 215–235.

49 Claudian Claudius, *Cl. Claudiani Quae exstant. Nic. Heinsius Dan. fil. recensuit ac notas addidit, post primam editionem altera fere parte nunc auctiores. Accedunt selecta variorum commentaria, accurante C.S.M.D* (Amsterdam, Daniel Elzevier: 1665).

50 Cf. Morhof Daniel Georg, *Unterricht Von Der Teutschen Sprache und Poesie/ deren Ursprung/ Fortgang und Lehrsätzen. Wobey auch von der reimenden Poeterey der Außländer mit mehren gehandelt wird* (Kiel, Joachim Reumann: 1682). Cf. Battafarone M., "Vico e Morhof: considerazioni e congetture", *Bollettino del Centro di Studi Vichiani* 9 (1979) 89–110.

51 Gerlach Samuel (ed.), *Sibyllen Schwarzin/ Vohn Greiffswald aus Pommern/ Deutsche Poëtische Gedichte/ Nuhn Zum ersten mahl/ auß ihren eignen Handschriften* (Gdańsk, Georg Rhete: 1650).

52 The functions of author portraits for regulating reading have been examined frequently but it is still an open question to what extent the tasks differ in the various disciplines. Cf. Enenkel K.A.E., *Die Stiftung von Autorschaft in der neu-lateinischen Literatur (c. 1350–c. 1650). Zur autorisierenden und wissensvermittelnden Funktion von Widmungen,*



Figure 5.3 Jakob Sandrart after Samuel Niedenthal, frontispiece for Schwarz Sibylle, *Deutsche Poëtische Gedichte* (Gdańsk, Samuel Gerlach: 1650). Engraving Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Public Domain

displaying the portraits of the ten classical Sibyls. Here we are not presented with a group of important ancestral poets: based on her name, the frontispiece proclaims Sibylla Schwarz as a direct German descendant of the prophetic Sibyls. By the mythical dramatization of her poetic gift, Sibylla Schwarz is raised above the human sphere and provided with a genealogy beyond the traditions of German or classical poetry. Nowhere does she refer to the sibyls: following tradition, she invokes Apollo and the Muses in her poetry. Her new sibylline identity is bestowed on her posthumously – supported by the dedicatory poems.⁵³ It is possible that in this way the poems penned by a woman were granted additional legitimacy. All things considered, it is another interesting case study that shows how the image of a female author was constructed posthumously, while both tradition and the poet's intentions were ignored. The poetological content of the frontispiece and the author's poetics do not correspond in this case.

However, not only posthumous editions can convey a different poetological content on the frontispiece than is expressed by the work. Occasionally the authors themselves subvert the allegedly unwaning cult of their person displayed on the frontispiece. Such a strategy, which seems to respect the tradition but in fact subverts it ironically, is found in the work of Johann Rist (1607–1667).

The title page [Fig. 5.4] to his *Teutscher Parnass*,⁵⁴ a book that encompasses Rist's occasional poetry and several compositions, is spanning two sheets and seems to unashamedly display the poet's apotheosis. On the German Parnassus, however, it is not Apollo and the Muses who make music, but the laurel-wreathed poet himself with his friends. According to the information by the Rist Society, these friends are the Hamburg council violinist and virtuoso Johann Schop (c. 1590–1667), who set over 200 songs by Rist to music, and

Vorworttexten, Autorporträts und Dedikationsbildern (Leiden: 2015); Enenkel K.A.E., "The Author's Portrait as Reader's Guidance. The Case of Francis Petrarch", in Brusati C. – Enenkel K.A.E. – Melion W. (eds.), *The Authority of the Word. Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400–1700* (Leiden: 2012) 151–180; Skowronek S., *Autorenbilder. Wort und Bild in den Porträtkupferstichen von Dichtern und Schriftstellern des Barock* (Würzburg: 2000); Fitzmaurice J., "Fancy and the Family: Self-Characterizations of Margaret Cavendish", *Huntington Library Quarterly* 53:3 (1990) 199–209. See the article by Hole Rößler in this volume.

53 Cf. Siebenpfeiffer H., "Sibylle – Clio – Thalia. Inszenierungen mythopoetischer Autorschaft im Titelkupfer und in Gedichten von Sibylla Schwarz", *Daphnis* 44 (2016) 199–222, here 214–218.

54 Rist Johann, *Neuer Teutscher Parnass / Auff welchem befindlich Ehr' und Lehr Schertz und Schertz Leid- und Freuden- Gewächse / Welche zu unterschiedlichen Zeiten gepflanzet/ nunmehr aber ... in die offenbahre Welt außgestreuet* (Lüneburg, Johann and Heinrich Stern: 1652).



Figure 5.4 Anonymous, frontispiece for Rist Johann, *Neuer Teutscher Parnass* [...] (Lüneburg, Johann and Heinrich Stern; 1652). Engraving, 17.1 × 14.6 cm
IMAGE © Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

the Hamburg council lutenist Bonaventura Füllsack.⁵⁵ In the background of the small German Parnassus the view opens towards a landscape of the River Elbe with ships and two cities; the preliminary note (p. 22) identifies them as Buxtehude (to the left) and Stade (to the right). Rist had been appointed *poeta laureatus* by the Emperor in 1644 and thus belonged to an exclusive group of crowned German poets, such as Opitz, Fleming, and von Birken.⁵⁶ On closer inspection it is visible that Rist is holding a book of songs in one hand while directing his friend's music with the other. At first glance, it looks as if Rist had relocated Parnassus including the Castalian spring (here depicted as a well) to Wedel, where donkeys, oxen and sheep graze, and thus displayed himself as the German prince of poets. 'But no, dear reader, you are wrong' ('Aber nein, du irrest weit, lieber Leser') is his clarification in his "Necessary

55 Cf. <http://www.johann-rist.de/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Ristweg_A4_Infoblaetter_mai2010-2.pdf>.

56 Cf. Sittig C., "Die Dichterkrönung als Instrument der Literaturförderung in der Frühen Neuzeit", in Strobel J. – Wolf J. (eds.), *Maecenas und seine Erben. Von der Förderung der Künste und von den Freiheiten der Künstler* (Stuttgart: 2015) 155–171.

preliminary note”:⁵⁷ his “Holstein Parnassus” was not only geographically far removed from the Greek but also in many ways different from the mythological mount of antiquity, whose geographical coordinates were falsely mixed up and on which pagan subjects were praised. He named his own Parnassus and, above all, the reader should not believe that he would show himself like that out of vanity – it was meant in jest, an ironic sport that by no means did claim a *translocatio*. Accordingly, the extensive volume also contains poems that refer to his native environment as a source of inspiration.⁵⁸ The otherwise extremely self-confident Rist thus avoids self-apotheosis and distances himself from attempts to evoke the mythical patterns or a German tradition for the worship of his person. Indeed, it is more than a game with a *topos*, as Rist is deconstructing the *topoi* with which these traditions are established: he is only playing music with friends, not with Apollo; his Parnass, a lie anyway, is a mere mound; his Hippocrene a well; his Pegasus is replaced by sheep; companionship and native landscape are his sources of inspiration.

It can be tentatively concluded that if frontispieces are used to establish literary traditions in the field of poetry it is often done so by ignoring the poets’ intentions; these frontispieces remain separate from the subsequent texts and convey agendas foreign to them. These frontispieces with their aim of establishing a literary tradition are typical for their subject area only in a generic sense and can thus serve only partially as models for the interpretation of specific cases.

3 The Interplay of Frontispieces and Metaphors

After looking at examples of frontispieces that are positively or negatively related to the creation of a literary tradition, the next part will focus on “poetic” frontispieces for which this task plays little or no role. Other models of interpretation must be found for them. As shall be seen, more complex forms of interplay between image and text are often initiated with the help of frontispieces.

3.1 *Fleming’s ‘Poetic Silvae’*

A notable case of the first-generation reformer of German poetry is Paul Fleming (1609–1640), as the posthumous edition of his work shows significant differences to the visual strategies used by the publisher of Opitz’s posthumous

⁵⁷ Rist, *Neuer Teutscher Parnass* Notwendiger Vorbericht.

⁵⁸ Cf. “Als er einstmahlen bei gar schönem Wetter auf seinem Parnaß sitzend / von ganzem Herzen bekümmert war.” Rist, *Neuer Teutscher Parnass* 721. See also 444.



Figure 5.5 Dirk Dirksen after Michael Conrad Hirt, frontispiece for Fleming Paul, *Teütsche Poemata* (Lübeck, Laurentz Jauch: 1642). Engraving
 IMAGE © Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen

edition. Two years after Fleming's early death in 1642, his *Teutsche Poemata*⁵⁹ were published with a title page [Fig. 5.5]⁶⁰ drawn by the well-known portrait painter Michael Conrad Hirt (1613–1671) and engraved by Dirk Dirksen (1613–1653)⁶¹ from Hamburg.

59 Fleming Paul, *D. Paul Flemings Teütsche Poemata* (Lübeck, Laurentz Jauch: 1642).

60 For the later edition, the title page was engraved again in a rather poor imitation by C. Hertzberg from Jena. Cf. Fleming Paul, *Geist- und Weltliche Poëmata, Paul Flemings Med. D. & Poët. Laur. Caes. – Jetzo Auffsnuewieder Corrigiret und ausgefertiget* (Naumburg, Christian Kolb: 1685). Dirk Dirksen also engraved the frontispiece for Justus Georg Schottels *Teutsche Vers- oder Reimkunst* (Wolfenbüttel, Justus Georg Schottel: 1646). Cf. <<http://diglib.hab.de/grafik=graph-a1-612h>>.

61 In the same year Dirksen also engraved the thematically related, but very differently executed, beautiful title page for Zesen Philipp von, *Poetischer Rosen-Wälder Vorschmack*

The attractive sheet shows a portal that dispenses with the usual columns and architraves.⁶² Instead, two trees form a natural archway with their crowns, revealing the vista of a forest landscape. A satyr with horns, donkey's ears and the legs of a goat is holding up a sheet of parchment with the title of the book, to which he is pointing with his right index finger. A second faun has meanwhile climbed the tree to the right in order to nail the sheet to it. A play with metaphors and images is presented here, in which title page ('Titelblatt') and leaf ('Baumblatt'), the crown of the tree and the crown of the poet correspond to each other.

A large exotic parrot and two turtledoves are sitting in the treetop.⁶³ The parrot is most probably a macaw, who since ancient times could symbolise a skill for languages and, according to the church fathers, the divine word, the *logos*. An owl as the symbol of wisdom is sitting on top of the title page. Fleming, whom his contemporaries placed even above Opitz as a poet,⁶⁴ wrote erotic love poems and poetry full of stoic wisdom; he composed shepherds' songs, elegies and love sonnets, odes and travel poems, and, as a physician, was a follower of hermeticism. The title page and its allusion to nature and the satyrs could thus refer to Fleming's Paracelsian pansophy under the sign of Pan that was unfolding in his poems. In the centre of the picture, on a clearing, a young woman is accompanying a singing cavalier with her lute, their music attracting animals. In the background a mighty stag is listening fearlessly, possibly alluding to Diana or a longing lover (Hld 2,9). More birds fly in the sky. It is apparently a harmonious idyll in an Arcadian forest with trees in whose bark poets can carve their poems.

The satyr allows another connotation besides Pan: satyrs presenting the work are prominently shown on several title pages to writings by Moscherosch

oder Götter- und Nymfen-Lust, Wie sie unlängst in dem Heliconischen Gefilde vollbracht auff Lieb- und Lobliges Ansuchen Einer dabey gewesenen Nymfen kürztzlich entworfen (Hamburg, Tobias Gundermann: 1642) <<http://data.onb.ac.at/rep/102C21E6>>.

- 62 Dekoninck R., "Au seuil du livre-monument. L'imaginaire architectural du frontispice entre les anciens Pays-Bas et la France", in Denhaene G. (ed.), *La gravure de la Renaissance dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux* (Bruxelles: 2010) 15–27; Peil D., "Architectural Motifs as Significant or Decorative Elements in Emblems and Frontispieces", in Daly P.M. – Böker H.P. (eds.), *The Emblem and Architecture. Studies in Applied Emblematics from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries* (Turnhout: 1999) 209–229. In general, literary frontispieces are often less monumental and show a landscape with a mount of muses rather than a temple with a triumphal arch.
- 63 Büttner F. – Gott dang A., *Einführung in die Ikonographie. Wege zur Deutung von Bildinhalten* (Munich: 2006) 132.
- 64 Kemper P., *Deutsche Lyrik der frühen Neuzeit, Barock–Humanismus: Liebeslyrik 4.2* (Tübingen: 2006) 109.

(1601–1669)⁶⁵ and Grimmelshausen, where they simultaneously indicate the satirical genre. So far, Fleming has not played any role in the extensive scholarly discussions pertaining to these.⁶⁶ Well, Fleming has also written satires,⁶⁷ and satyrs and Sylvans appear several times in the *Teutsche Poemata*, he even lets a satyr choir compete with a choir of sirens (457, also cf. 628, 637). Additionally, a relationship between satyrs and satire is established in Fleming's poetological "Spring Epithalamium":

Die geilen Satyren die springen auß den Wäldern
und lassen sich erseh'n auff allen grünen Feldern/
wo Schäfferinnen sind. Pan kommt zu seiner Schaar. [...]
Der gantze Helicon ist schon üm'm diese Zeit
ü'm'm seine Bücher her/ und dichtet allbereit/
Das was man rühmen muß. Die schönen Pierinnen/
die nun durch Opitzen auch hochdeutsch reden können/
und lieber seyn/ als vor/ die sagten mir auch für/
bey früher Tages-zeit/ dis/ was ich schreibe hier.
Wie schlecht es immer ist. Die stillen Morgen-stunden
sind den Poeten recht/ was hohes zu erkunden/
und es zu setzen auff. Was lange bleiben soll/
das will bey früher Zeit bedacht seyn off't und woll
und weil man nüchtern ist.

(The lustful satyrs are jumping out of the woods
and make themselves seen on all the green fields /
where the shepherdesses are. Pan attends his crowd. [...]
All Helicon is around this time already

65 Moscherosch Johann Michael, *Les Visiones De Don Francesco De Quevedo Villegas oder Wunderbahre Satyrische gesichte* (Strasburg, Johann Philipp Mülbe: 1640).

66 Cf. Schäfer W.E., "Der Satyr und die Satire. Zu Titelpuffern Grimmelshausens und Moscheroschs", in Kühlmann W. – Schäfer Walter E. (eds.), *Literatur im Elsass von Fischart bis Moscherosch. Gesammelte Studien* (Tübingen: 2001) 245–287. The satyr, as the companion of the forest god Pan, refers to the same and, since he is a composite being, can also be interpreted as a reference to the *Silvae* as an inorganic hybrid of heterogeneous types of text. Cf. Bässler A., "Eselsohren in der Grimmelshausen-Philologie", *Simpliciana* 28 (2006) 215–241.; Gersch H., *Literarisches Monstrum und Buch der Welt. Grimmelshausens Titelbild zum "Simplicissimus Teutsch"*, Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literaturgeschichte 119 (Tübingen: 2004). Borgstedt T., "Emblem der Autorschaft. Das Titelpuffer des Abenteuerlichen Simplicissimus im Kontext von Impresentheorie und Wunderzeichenliteratur", *Simpliciana* 29 (2007) 329–358.

67 Cf. Burkard T. (ed.), *Plautus – des Lateinischen Richtmaß und Großmeister. Paul Flemings 'Satyra' und die Plautusapologie im 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert* (Baden-Baden: 2020).

on their books / and is ever ready to write /
 That which needs be praised. The beautiful muses/
 whom Opitz has helped to also speak high German/
 and nicer than before/ they also told me/
 at an earlier time of the day/ this/ what I am writing here.
 How bad it always is. The quiet morning hours
 suit the poets / to explore the sublime/
 and to compose it. What is meant to stay for long/
 wants to be considered at an early time often and well
 and because one is sober.)⁶⁸

Not only does Fleming remark wittily that the Pierids, i.e. the Muses, have been singing in German since Opitz – which consequently means that they are also responsible for his own *Teutsche Poemata* – he equally emphasises the libidinousness of the satyrs. Some of Fleming’s Latin and German poems are erotic and undermine the sobriety he claims necessary for versifying in the early hours. It is possible that, in his engraving, Hirt intended to promise the reader explicit love poetry: the lascivious satyr who posts the title while a pair of lovers sits in the background does promise erotic poetry. However, in this interpretation of the title page, only one aspect is singled out which does not do justice to the heterogeneous content of a collection whose ‘First Book of Poetic Forests’ contains ‘spiritual things’ and begins with elegies.

The forest depicted on the title page could equally refer to the literary form of “silva”, dating back to Statius (40–96): it could thus announce that a heterogeneous combination of various poems is gathered in the subsequent work. This seems to be supported by the fact that the very first books of Fleming’s *Teutsche Poemata* are announced as “Poetic Forests”.⁶⁹ A silva according to Opitz should be understood as a ‘Gleichnis eines Waldes’ (‘allegory of a forest’) in which ‘viele art vnd sorten Bäume zue finden sindt’ (‘many species and sorts of trees can be found’).⁷⁰ The title page for Christian Gryphius’ (1649–1706) *Poetische Wälder*, for instance, shows this relationship between the generic

68 Fleming, *Teutsche Poemata* 150.

69 Concerning *Silvae* as collections of poems: Adam W., *Poetische und Kritische Wälder. Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Formen des Schreibens “bei Gelegenheit”* (Heidelberg: 1988) here: 156; van Dam H.-J., “Batavian Wood. *Silvae* in the Low Countries from 1500 to 1650”, in Laigneau-Fontaine S. – Galand P. (eds.), *La Silve. Histoire d’une écriture libérée en Europe de l’antiquité au XVIIIe siècle* (Turnhout: 2013) 601–624.

70 Opitz Martin, *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* (1624), ed. Sommer C. (Stuttgart: 1970) 30.

term and a tree shown on the title page.⁷¹ Nevertheless, in Fleming's *Teutsche Poemata* the books of 'Poetic Forests' comprise only a third of the extensive collection. Emulating the structure of Opitz's *Deutsche Poemata* of 1625,⁷² Fleming's six books of *silvae* are followed by books sorted by genre: one book with 'Überschriften', i.e. epigrams, five books of odes and four books of sonnets. Accordingly, the title page does not announce poetic forests, but German *poemata*.

The association generated by the title page's metaphorical play with the 'Poetic Forests' supports a misconception. Additionally, in his poems, Fleming avoids precisely this metaphorical play with the collection's title 'Poetic Forests' that Michael Conrad Hirt develops in his design. Through its extensive play with the forest metaphor, the title page thus visually extrapolates something that was not intended in the text. So in no way it conveys the programme of the oeuvre, nor does it make its implicit poetics explicit: the title page here drafts its own alternative program!⁷³ In short: the poetologies of both the post-humous title page and the collection of poems cannot be aligned in this case.

3.2 *Weckherlin's Cryptograms*

The interaction of the title page and the collection of poems by Georg Rodolf Weckherlin (1584–1653), however, is intricate. Weckherlin must have been involved in the design of the title page to his *Oden und Gesänge*⁷⁴ as it contains an abundance of private allusions [Fig. 5.6]. He was a secretary and translator at the Stuttgart court before beginning his administrative career in England at the court of Charles II. He was multilingual, cosmopolitan, and entrusted with secret diplomatic missions including the post as an envoy to Venice. Born before Opitz, Weckherlin had already tried before him to give German poetry

71 Gryphius Christian, *Poetische Wälder* (Frankfurt: Christian Bauch: 1698) <<http://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10109837-2>>.

72 Opitz Martin, *Acht Bücher Deutscher Poematum, durch ihn selbst herausgegeben* (Wrocław, David Müller: 1625). Cf. Borgstedt T., "Silvae und Poemata. Martin Opitz' doppelte Einteilung seiner Gedichte und ihr Mißverständnis bei Druckern und Forschern", *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten* 31 (2004) 41–48.

73 In contrast to the finely detailed title copper for Fleming's *Suavia* (Leipzig, Friedrich Lanckisch, 1631), for which he made a preliminary drawing himself. See Hintzen B., *Paul Flemings Kußgedichte und ihr Kontext* (Bonn: 2015) 252 und 25, Fig. 1., Entner H., *Paul Fleming. Ein deutscher Dichter im Dreißigjährigen Krieg* (Leipzig: 1989) 276. The frontispiece: <<http://digitale.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/purn/urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:1-504039-p0003-2>>.

74 Weckherlin Georg Rodolf, *Oden und Gesänge* (Stuttgart, Johann Weyrich Rößlin: 1618).

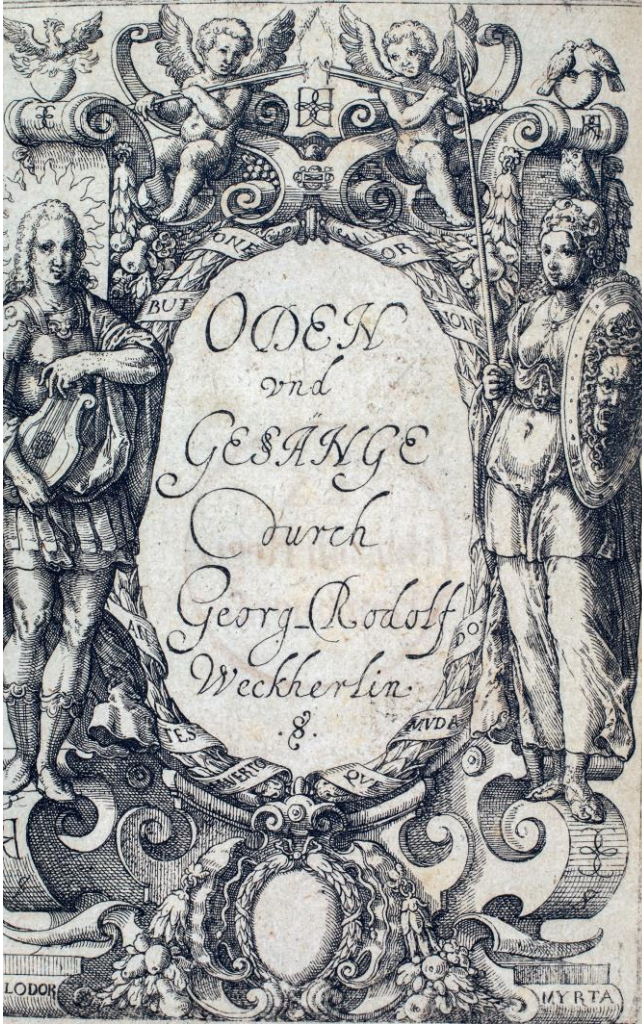


Figure 5.6 Esaias van Hulsen [?], frontispiece for Weckerlin Georg Rodolf, *Oden und Gesänge* (Stuttgart, Johann Weyrich Rößlin: 1618). Engraving, 10.5 × 16.5 cm
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Public Domain

a voice in the concert of European literature and to gain international recognition for it.⁷⁵

The ornamental title page is engraved after a fine preliminary drawing, unfolding a conceitistic play with words and images, whose hidden allusions only an astute connoisseur would recognise and associate with the following

⁷⁵ Cf. Wagenknecht C., *Weckerlin und Opitz. Zur Metrik der deutschen Renaissancepoesie* (Munich: 1971).

poetry. In this context, it must be mentioned that Weckherlin was 'specialised in (de)ciphering letters'.⁷⁶ The phoenix hatching from a burning heart can easily be interpreted as a symbol of the rebirth of poetry through these German odes and songs, and the turtledoves billing on a heart as a reference to his Petrarchist love poetry. The stony plant and fruit decorations, as well as the columns, visibly allude to the Roman tradition of architectural ornament and its renaissance in Italy. The energetic architectural elements imitate the shapes of plants. Cornucopia (bottom left), apples, pears and grapes symbolise fertility, the tulips hanging upside down over the fruit are a reminder of transience. All in all, the rich decor refers to the oeuvre's mastery in the rhetoric of ornate speech.

Then it becomes more puzzling: the monograms from the intertwined letters E and R stand for Elizabeth Raworth, Weckherlin's wife, and Rodolf himself. The same E-monogram also appears in a letter from Weckherlin dated 12 December 1615 and on two framing drawings by his own hand for later sonnets. There, however, it refers to his daughter Elisabeth Trumbull, who died in 1624.⁷⁷ The letters on the frontispiece are each mirrored twice and arranged chiasmatically next to the heads and feet of the figures. At the top, however, the fire of the torches carried by two putti melts the letters into a combined coat-of-arms. In many poems, Weckherlin calls himself Filidor and Elizabeth acts as Myrta; here they appear in the form of Apollo with lyre and aureole on the left-hand side and as Athena on the right. Even though the latter carries her gorgoneion, the shield with the head of Medusa, her spear and an owl on her helmet, she appears by no means fierce, but rather friendly, even lovely. Wisdom and art should be united. Both stand on curved pillars and flank an oval wreath made of laurel leaves and banners, framing the title page. The beautiful title lettering in humanistic calligraphy emphasises that this was written on paper by a living hand and that the title was not, as it were, carved in stone or printed by dead type. At the same time, the handwriting functions as a likeness of the author's character⁷⁸ and here replaces his portrait. The gateway to the book is in this case a window made of paper.

On the banners the English motto 'But one or none' and the Spanish slogan 'antes muerto que mudado' ('sooner dead than changed') are displayed – a

76 Ravelhofer B., "Censorship and Poetry at the Court of Charles I: The Case of Georg Rodolf Weckherlin", *English Literary Renaissance* 43 (2013) 268–307, here 277; cf. Forster L.W., *Georg Rudolf Weckherlin. Zur Kenntnis seines Lebens in England* (Basel: 1944) 127.

77 Forster L.W., "Ein viersprachiger Gedichtzyklus G.R. Weckherlins", *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft* 1 (1957) 27, and Figs. 1–2. See further: Forster L., "Dichterbriefe aus dem Barock", *Euphorion* 47 (1953) 390–405.

78 Cf. Goldberg J., *Writing Matter. From the Hands of the English Renaissance* (Stanford, CA: 1990).

defining assertion of constancy and also a subtle allusion to John Donne (1572–1631).⁷⁹ This is supported by the rhyme of his name with the first motto ('But one or none – John Donne!'). Although Donne did not write in Spanish, exactly this Spanish motto can be found in the upper right corner of William Marshall's 1591 portrait engraving of the eighteen-year-old poet, which later opened the edition of Donne's *Poems* as a frontispiece in 1635.⁸⁰ Weckherlin must have seen the portrait during his three-year stay in England between 1607 and 1615 as it had not been printed before 1635.⁸¹ Donne probably found the motto in Jorge de Montemayor's (?1520–1561) *Diana*, where it was first coined in feminine form. In her first song, Diana wrote this verse "Antes muerta que mudada" in sand.⁸²

Weckherlin was the first to translate Donne's epigrams into German, and he sometimes included them verbatim in the first volume (1618) and, a year later, the second volume of his *Oden und Gesänge*.⁸³ The title page thus contains a hidden commitment to the libertarian, highly artistic and complex-paradoxical poetics of Donne. These are indicators that the following verses will set forth and expound a play with words, roles and intertextual references, such as, for instance, through the hidden references and erotic subtexts in the poem "An die schöne Marina" ("To the beautiful Marina").⁸⁴

Weckherlin realises his international and multilingual poetological programme accordingly: the very first poem already addresses itself "to my book", thus self-reflective if seen from the view of the title page and in emulation of Spenser. Then the Latin, English, French and German muses appear. They compete with each other to sing songs in their respective languages to the princess to whom the book is dedicated.⁸⁵ At the end of this competition, the German

79 Cf. <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw41803/John-Donne>.

80 Donne John, *Poems, by J.D. With elegies on the authors death* (London, John Marriot: 1635), portrait and title page: <http://special-collections.wp.st-andrews.ac.uk/files/2017/12/john-donne_1.jpg>; cf. Howe S., "Portraits", in Schoenfeldt M. (ed.), *John Donne in Context, Literature in Context* (Cambridge: 2019) 287–305.; Creswell C.J., "Giving a Face to an Author: Reading Donne's Portraits and the 1635 Edition", *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 37 (1995) 1–15.

81 Forster, *Georg Rudolf Weckherlin, zur Kenntnis seines Lebens in England*; Thompson A.B., "Licensing the Press: The Career of G.R. Weckherlin during the Personal Rule of Charles I.", *The Historical Journal* 41 (1998) 653–78.

82 Cf. Terrill T.E., "A Note on Donne's Early Reading", *Modern Language Notes* 14 (1928) 318–319; Sceptical remarks by: Mathews E.G., "John Donne's 'Little Rag'", *Modern Language Notes* 56 (1941) 607–609.

83 Weckherlin Georg Rodolf, *Das ander Buch* (Stuttgart, Johann Weyrich Rößlin: 1619).

84 Cf. Di Pasquale T., "Donne's Epigrams: A Sequential Reading", *Modern Philology* 104 (2007) 329–378, here 343–344.

85 Weckherlin's commitment to multilingualism will later be reinforced by subsequent poetry cycles in four languages. Cf. Forster, "Ein viersprachiger Gedichtzyklus G.R. Weckherlins".

muse declares that she, too, is able to write learned and elaborate poetry. In the end, she has the last word, after which Weckherlin signs again with his own name.⁸⁶ In the following, odes unfurl in strophes, antistrophes and epodes, as well as a 'Liebliches Gespräch von der Liebe' ('Lovely Conversation about Love') between Myrta and Filidor in which the words intertwine like leaves:⁸⁷ the private and the public, antiquity and the present, architecture and vegetabilia, mythology and allegory, image and word, role play, and reality are intimately interlaced.

The engraving of the title page was done skilfully, as, for instance, the perspectival depiction of Medusa's head on the oblique shield has been rendered exceptionally well. It is possible that the S under the monograms E and R is the monogram of the unknown artist. However, it is much more likely that Elias van Hulsen (1570–1624), a goldsmith, engineer and engraver from Stuttgart designed the title page together with Weckherlin and then engraved it. Van Hulsen had a publishing house for copperplate engravings in Stuttgart and was responsible for the printing of the Stuttgart festival descriptions, *Stuttgarter Festbeschreibungen*, in 161688 and 1617. A comparison of the engraved allegorical frontispiece of the 1617 edition of the *Stuttgarter Festbeschreibungen* with that of the *Oden und Gesänge*⁸⁹ reveals several motivic and stylistic similarities. Similar are not only the architectural elements and the conspicuously large number of hearts; the depiction of Athena with the owl on her head as well as the gorgoneion is apparently a direct template for the frontispiece of the *Oden und Gesänge* 1618. Weckherlin was an accomplished calligrapher and this highly valued skill was as useful in his career as was his multilingualism.⁹⁰

86 Weckherlin, *Oden und Gesänge* 16.

87 Ibidem, 113; further Myrta-poems are: "Amor betrogen" I, 92; "Seiner Liebsten lob" I, 109; "Myrta beklaget sich über Filidors Rayß".

88 Hulsen Esaias von (ed.), *Repraesentatio Der Fürstlichen Aufzug Und Ritterspil. So Der ... Herr Johan Friderich Hertzogzu Württemberg, und Teeckh ... etc. bey Ihr. F.G. Neüwgeborenen Sohn, Friderich Hertzog zu Württemberg. etc. Fürstlicher Kindtauffen, denn 10. biss auff denn 17 Marty, Anno. 1616. Inn ... Stuetgarten, mit grosser solennitet gehalten / Alles mit sonderem fleysß in truck verfertiget, Durch. Esaiam van Hulsen* (Stuttgart, Esaias von Hulsen: 1616) online: <<http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/36-17-3-geom-2f-1/start.htm?image=00006>>.

89 Hulsen Esaias von, *Aigentliche Wahrhaffte Delineatio[n] unnd Abbildung aller Fürstlichen Aufzüge und Ritterspilen ...* (Stuttgart, Esaias von Hulsen: 1617), with Weckherlin Georg Rodolf, *Kurtze Beschreibung dess zu Stutgarten, bey den fürstlichen Kindtauf und Hochzeit jüngst-gehaltenen Frewden-Fests* (Tübingen, Dietrich Werlin: 1618) online: <https://www.forumrarebooks.com/item/hulsen_esaias_von_aigentliche_wahrhaffte_delineatio_n_unnd_abbildung_aller_f_uuml_rstlichen.html>. Cf. Rahn T., *Festbeschreibung: Funktion und Topik einer Textsorte am Beispiel der Beschreibung höfischer Hochzeiten (1568–1794)* (Berlin: 2012) 88.

90 Cf. Ravelhofer B., "Censorship and Poetry at the Court of Charles I: The Case of Georg Rodolf Weckherlin", in *English Literary Renaissance* 43.2 (2013) 268–307; Forster L.W.,

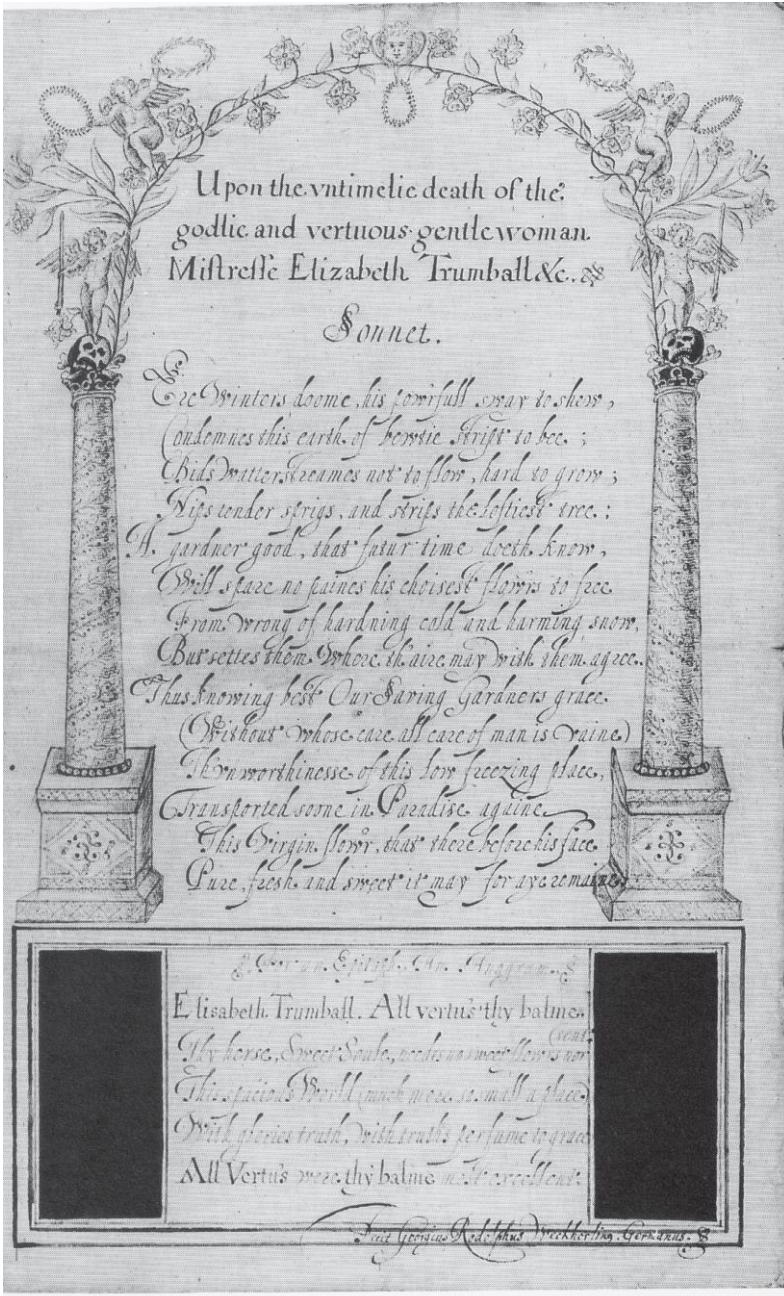


Figure 5.7 Georg Rodolf Weckherlin, *Upon the vntimelic death of the godlie and vertuous gentle woman Mistresse Elizabeth Trumball*, Ink on paper. The Trumbull papers

Comparing the title lettering with handwriting samples,⁹¹ it becomes apparent that it was probably done by Weckherlin himself. Ink drawings by him do exist, which suggest he could have designed the title page himself [Fig. 5.7]. In any case, the title page is not a paratext, but an integral part of the oeuvre, within which it establishes relationships on various levels and thus assumes poetological functions.

The complete edition of his spiritual and secular poems, later published in Amsterdam,⁹² no longer engages in this complex play between image and text, but only operates with simple symbols such as lute and lyre, as well as a centrally positioned beehive. The latter was the family symbol of the Weckherlins⁹³ and simultaneously a symbol of poetry.⁹⁴ The frontispiece has become a mere external accessory.

4 The Erasure of Memoria: Greiffenberg's Paradoxical Visual Poetics

In the next case, close relationships across multiple media can be observed, not only between frontispiece and text but also between frontispiece and other images. The most important poet in the German-speaking world of the seventeenth century was, without doubt, Catherina Regina, Countess of Greiffenberg (1633–1694). The title page engraved by Cornelius Nicolaus Schurtz (1646–1700)⁹⁵ from Nuremberg for her more than 1000 pages long

"The Weckherlin Papers + Trumbull Archival Documents and Correspondence", *British Library Journal* 19 (1993) 133–141 online: <https://www.bl.uk/ebj/1993articles/pdf/article10.pdf>; Forster L., "Sources for G.R. Weckherlin's Life in England: The Correspondence", *The Modern Language Review* 41.2 (1946), 186–195.

91 Cf. Fig. 3 in Ravelhover, "Censorship and Poetry at the Court of Charles I" and Fig. 1–4 in Forster, "Ein viersprachiger Gedichtzyklus G.R. Weckerlins". See also: Sotheby's (London), *The Trumbull papers*, catalogue of an auction conducted by Sotheby's, London, 14 December 1989 (London: 1989) 90–103, fig. 41.

92 Weckherlin Georg Rodolf, *Gaistliche und Weltliche Gedichte* (Amsterdam, Johann Jansson: 1641) <<http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/110-3-poet-1/start.htm>>.

93 Cf. Fischer H., "Weckherlin, Rudolf", *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 41 (1896) 375–379; Aurnhammer A., "Weckherlin, Georg Rudolf", *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 27 (Berlin: 2020) 526–528.

94 Waszink J.H., *Biene und Honig als Symbol des Dichters und der Dichtung in der griechisch-römischen Antike* (Opladen: 1974).

95 Concerning Cornelius Nicolaus Schurtz (1646–1700) cf. Vollmer H. (ed.), *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart. Begründet von Ulrich Thieme und Felix Becker* 30 (Leipzig: 1936) 344. Schurtz also engraved frontispieces for Greiffenberg's friend Sigmund von Birken and for the publisher Fellgiebel for later Gryphius editions.



Figure 5.8
 J.C. Baur, *Nichts als Jesus*,
 frontispiece for Greiffenberg
 Catharina Regina, *Des Allerheiligst-
 und Allerheilsamsten Leidens
 und Sterbens Jesu Christi Zwölf
 andachtige Betrachtungen*
 (Nuremberg, Johann Hoffmann:
 1672). Engraving, 10.5 × 16.5 cm
 IMAGE © Bayerische
 Staatsbibliothek

*Andächtige Passionsbetrachtungen*⁹⁶ [Fig. 5.8], containing spiritual reflections, emblems and poems, now even seems to advertise an erasure of the collective memory and to actively prevent the construction of a tradition.

An androgynous figure is standing in front of a canvas, using a sponge to wipe out the figures and scenes drawn onto it, leaving only heaven and Christ on the cross. The purpose is unmistakably explained by the motto on a banner that is being unrolled by a putto: 'Nothing but Jesus' is written above. Neither a portrait of the author nor an ancestral gallery of her role models, indeed no

⁹⁶ Greiffenberg Catharina Regina von, *Des Allerheiligst- und Allerheilsamsten Leidens und Sterbens Jesu Christi Zwölf andachtige Betrachtungen* (Nuremberg, Johann Hoffmann: 1672).

worldly impression at all should be remembered. Everything visible is just a steppingstone to be left behind. The engraving is preceded by an “explanation of the title page” [Fig. 5.9], consisting of a self-admonition in 16 verses in alternate rhyme:

Lesch aus / die ganze Welt. Die Tafel der Gedanken
Rein wird gewischet ab. Nichts bleib / als Jesus Christ.
Nichts will ich dulden sonst. Es soll nichts in den Schranken
Der Angedächtnis seyn / als der / der Alles ist.
Es mag die wiß-begier viel schönes wesen reitzen:
Mich labt mein Jesus nur / vor tausend-wissenschaft.
Die Welt mag / wie nach Geld / nach Kunst und Weißheit geitzen:
Ich will und weiß sonst nichts / als seine Creuzes-Kraft.
Der Gall- unnd Essig-Schwamm lesch' aus all Eitelkeiten:
Nur der Gekreuzigte bleib stehn in meinem Sinn.
Wie weit / wann sie allein / die Allheit sich ausbreiten
und alles wenden kann / das siht man klar hierin.
Die Allheit ich allein will im Gedächtnis haben:
So hab ich alls / und sie gekreuzigt noch darzu.
Nur unerreichlicher sind ihre Gnaden-Gaben
Je mehr sie angehäufft. In ihm / ist meine Ruh.

(Obliterate / the whole world. The table/black board of thoughts
Is wiped clear. Nothing remains / but Jesus Christ.
Nothing else will I tolerate. Nothing shall remain within the boundaries
of memory / than him / who is everything.
Many beautiful things may tempt curiosity:
Only my Jesus is my nourishment / before a thousand sciences.
The world may / as for money / thirst for art and wisdom:
I want and know nothing else / but his power of the cross.
The Holy sponge of gall and vinegar erases all vanities:
Only the crucified remains in my mind.
How far / when alone / the allness can expand
and turn everything / that is clearly seen hereby.
The one alone do I want to have in my memory:
So I have all / and them crucified above all.
Their gifts of grace are only less reachable
The more they were amassed. In him / is my peace.)97

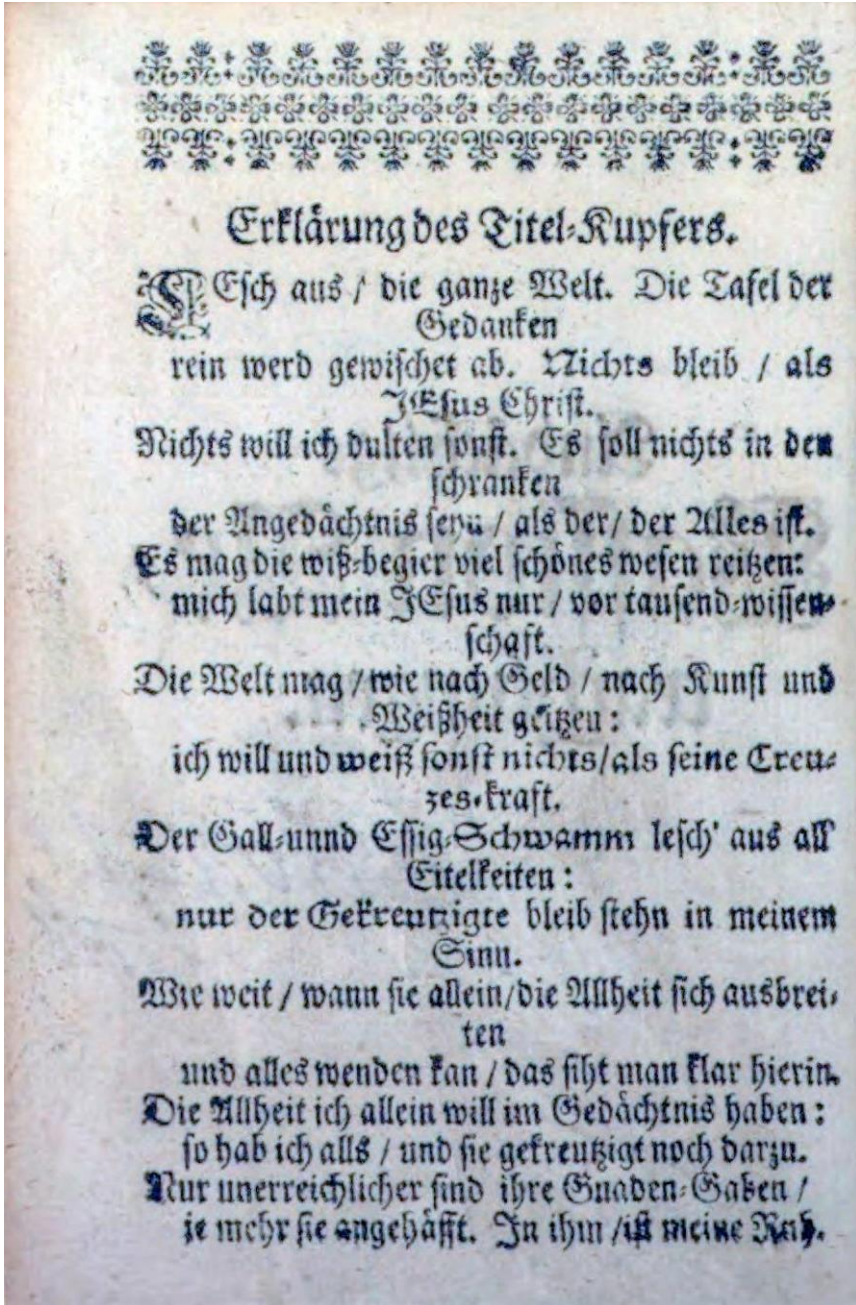


Figure 5.9 "Erklärung des Titelkupfers", in Greiffenberg Catharina Regina, *Des Allerheiligst- und Allerheilsamsten Leidens und Sterbens Jesu Christi Zwölf andächtige Betrachtungen* (Nuremberg, Johann Hoffmann: 1672)

The canvas is called *Tafel der Gedanken* or “table of thoughts.” Everything on the mind’s tabula should be wiped out with a “Gall= und Essig = Schwamm,” the sponge of Christ’s passion, and thus also the memory is to be erased, in this case by all kinds of oddities: with amazement the reader sees a native American with a drawn bow on the left-hand side, while on the right-hand side scenes of murder and manslaughter are shown. Greiffenberg’s poetry is itself full of bold and ambiguous metaphors⁹⁸ and casuistic discussions. Thus, it is a paradoxical programme the author prescribes for herself when she proclaims the erasure of the image through a meta-image: ‘Look!’ is demanded in the “explanation of the title page”; the sheet itself announces: ‘Zur Vermehrung der Ehre Gottes und Erweckung wahrer Andacht / mit XII Sinnbild-Kupfern verfasst und ausgefertigt’ (‘To increase the Glory of God and to awaken true devotion / composed and finished with XII emblematical copperplate engravings’).

Images and metaphors are used to erase mental images and metaphors, and so the volume contains twelve more devotional and emblematic images engraved by Schurtz. Each of the images introduces a contemplation and each is unlocked by an explanatory poem. The emblems are astonishing because the first of them reflect simple everyday observations of the author: the ravens she observed on a walk; strange celestial phenomena; moon viewings; and dream experiences whose deeper allegorical meaning is explained by the poem. The later emblems are already composed as allegories, such as the dead snake, for instance, that winds around a tree in the Garden of Eden. In the interaction of image and word a usage is practised that a reader can then implement into any situation with the help of the motto established by the *Inscriptio*. The reader can gradually move from an everyday use of the emblem to using it as a mental exercise. The first title page is thus not independent but only becomes meaningful when seen together with the whole series of images and poems in the context of the respective contemplations.

With that, however, the situation is opposite to what it seemed to be at first glance: everything perceived in the world is a sign reminiscent of God and is in this way a source of inspiration.⁹⁹ Memory is thus not erased but recoded – the images are not supposed to be reminiscent of the things they represent, but every image that is seen or memorised should be reminiscent of God. In order for this to succeed, the imagination must be stimulated. What is exercised is

98 Dohm B., *Poetische Alchimie. Öffnung zur Sinnlichkeit in der Hohelied- und Bibeldichtung von der protestantischen Barockmystik bis zum Pietismus* (Tübingen: 2000).

99 Thums B., Zur Topographie der memoria in frühneuzeitlicher Mystik: Catharina Regina von Greiffenbergs ‘Geistliche Gedächtnisorte’, in Kurz G. (ed.), *Meditation und Erinnerung in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: 2000) 251–272.

thus a contemplative practice that activates the imagination, and this is also Greiffenberg's poetological program. When she sees a blue flower, the blue reminds her of heaven, when she fries an egg for epiphany and it assumes the shape of the cross, then this happens by virtue of the poet's imaginative skill. Through imagination, everything becomes a sign in which the essential can be recognised.¹⁰⁰

The interaction of image and word does precisely not lead to a successive obliteration of the images until only the representation of Christ remains, but to a self-reflexive game with images and metaphors in which every created image can be transformed into a representation of Christ. But of course, perception and memory are again manipulated with a memorable image: we see the sponge wiping away the images, i.e., the process is shown of how one image obliterates the other. This is a hint as to how her poetic images, her metaphors and similes are to be understood: they are agents of the imagination and vehicles for the transformation of the soul. Hence, "nothing but Jesus" is the instruction to reinterpret the metaphors of her poetry with imagination, not to gradually erase them. In this devotion, the author does not take herself back in humility. With the eleventh emblem [Fig. 5.10] the poet imagines how she takes residence in the Sion rock cave where Jesus hails her – and names her a poet.

In the *subscriptio* to 'In Wunden gefunden' ('Found in wounds'), she stages her divine consecration as an enthusiastic and ingenious poet, confidently praising her own *furor poeticus*:

Du Sions / Burg / solst mein Parnassus seyn.
 Hier find ich recht den schönen Hippocren.
 Hier werdet naß / ihr Himmel Musen Söhne!
 Hier man sich trinkt voll Liebe / Feuer und Geist /
 Uns seeliglich ein Himmels-Dichter heist.

(You, Sion's / castle / shall be my Parnass.
 Here I will find the beautiful Hippocrene.
 Here you will get wet / you sons of the heavenly muses!
 Here you drink yourself full of love / fire and spirit /
 Calling us blessedly a heavenly poet.)¹⁰¹

100 Neuber W., "Systematische und kasuistische Wissensordnungen: mnemotechnische Prozesse im 17. Jahrhundert", in Detel W. – Zittel C. (eds.) *Wissensideale und Wissenskulturen in der frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: 2002) 185–196, here 192–194.

101 Greiffenberg Catarina Regina von, *Des Allerheiligst- und Allerheilsamsten Leidens* (1672) 864.

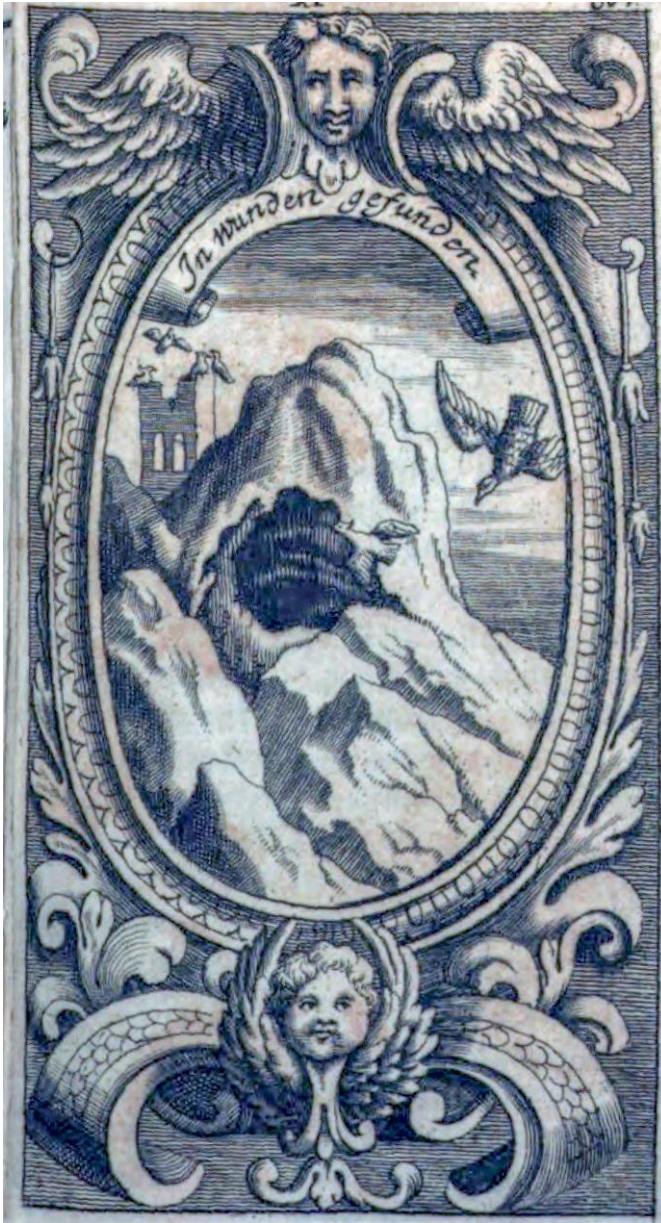


Figure 5.10 *In Wunden gefunden*. Emblem 11 of Greiffenberg Catharina Regina von, *Des Allerheiligst- und Allerheilsamsten Leidens und Sterbens Jesu Christi Zwölf andächtige Betrachtungen* (Nuremberg, Johann Hoffmann: 1672) fol. 864 r. Engraving
IMAGE © Bayerische Staatsbibliothek



Figure 5.11 Cornelius Nicolaus Schurtz, *Nichts als Jesus*, frontispiece for Greiffenberg Catharina Regina von, *Des Allerheiligst- und Allerheilsamsten Leidens und Sterbens Jesu Christi Zwölf andächtige Betrachtungen* (Nuremberg, Johann Hoffmann: 1683). Engraving, 10,5 × 16,5 cm
 IMAGE © SÄCHSISCHE LANDESBIBLIOTHEK Dresden

Incidentally, a curiosity can be found in the second edition,¹⁰² in which only the frontispiece [Fig. 5.11] by J.C. Baur (1647–1691) was re-cut, while the other emblems were used again.

The quality of the new engraving is significantly inferior to that by Schurtz. Essentially, Baur follows the original idea rather faithfully, but he changes the objects about to be deleted in a significant way: he removes the exotic and upsetting scenes and the sponge will hence only obliterate harmless acrobats. In a way the message is intensified as not only harmful and adventurous things are erased, but also harmless acrobats.

5 Andreas Gryphius: The Divorce of the Muses

The first complete edition of poems and dramas by Andreas Gryphius (1616–1664) was published by Lischke in Wrocław¹⁰³ and is preceded by an ingenious frontispiece by David Tscherning (1610–1673) from Wrocław [Fig. 5.12]. The famous artist was closely related to the poet Andreas Tscherning (1611–1659) whose frontispiece he had also engraved.¹⁰⁴

The pictorial idea is both simple and profound: although the frontispiece announces the edition's tragedies and its sonnets of transience, it can be interpreted independently. A young, beautiful and wealthy queen is holding a sheet of paper in her hand on which the short title of the volume is written. During a lunar eclipse, Chronos shines his torch for Death, depicted as a skeleton, who begins to carve the title or the name of the princess onto a tombstone. With that, the inscription on the tombstone and the announcement of the tragedies on the sheet of paper are parallelised: the title inscription becomes an epitaph, the frontispiece the gateway to the coffin. Like the tombstone, the dramas are a *memento* of the transience of the joys of existence. At the same time, the allegory of the frontispiece conveys the ideological content of Gryphius's poetry.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Greiffenberg Catarina Regina von, *Des Allerheiligst- und Allerheilsamsten Leidens und Sterbens Jesu Christi Zwölf andächtige Betrachtungen* (Nuremberg, Johann Hoffmann: 1683).

¹⁰³ Gryphius Andreas, *Andrae Gryphii Deutscher Gedichte/ Erster Theil* (Wrocław, Johann Lischke: 1657).

¹⁰⁴ Tscherning Andreas, *Deutscher Gedichte Frühling* (Wrocław, Georg Baumann: 1642). Cf. Aurnhammer, "Dichterbilder mit Martin Opitz" 57.

¹⁰⁵ Gryphius Andreas, *Freuden und Trauer-Spiele auch Oden und Sonette* (Wrocław, Veit Jakob Trescher: 1658–1663). The image is repeated in the later editions published by Veit Jakob Trescher with a slightly varied title in the title page; it is then re-cut by Cornelius Nikolaus



Figure 5.12 David Tscherning, *A. GRYPHII Traurspile Oden Sonnete*, frontispiece for Gryphius Andreas, *Andrae Gryphii Deutscher Gedichte/ Erster Theil* (Wroclaw, Johann Lischke: 1657). Engraving, 10.5 × 16.5 cm Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Public Domain

The frontispiece to Gryphius's *Catharina di Georgia* [Fig. 5.13] however, is altogether a more complex matter, for it is the prelude to a series of eight engravings of great significance for theatre history, drawn by the Wrocław artist Gregor Bieber and engraved by Johann Using.

The engravings were made for a performance of Gryphius's drama planned for the court of Duke Christian von Wohlau in 1655. They were dedicated to Duchess Ludovika von Liegnitz and published under the title *Feste Theatrali Tragiche per la Catharina di Georgia* [Fig. 5.14].¹⁰⁶ Next to conveying an idea of contemporary staging practices, the frontispiece and the illustrations reveal a view on the world as a whole. The play begins with the following stage direction:

Der Schauplatz lieget voll Leichen-Bilder / Cronen / Zepter / Schwerdter etc. Vber dem Schau-Platz öffnet sich der Himmel / unter dem Schau-Platz die Helle. Die Ewigkeit kommet von dem Himmel / vnd bleibet auff dem Schau-Platz stehen. (I,1)

The scene is full of images of dead bodies / crowns / sceptres / swords etc. Above the scene heaven opens up / Beneath the scene hell. Eternity comes from heaven / and pauses on the scene. (I,1)

The setting is not just the theatre; it simultaneously discloses an emblematic world theatre. Possibly, the engravings had been intended for a luxury edition but were never used in a later print. The play, first published in the complete edition of 1657, was published without the engravings. To sum up: the frontispiece and the illustrations were created and published independently of the book; the images and the book went separate ways and only their subsequent reception could see them in relation to each other again. The close functional relationship between frontispiece, illustrations and drama can only be

Schurtz ("CNS") for the editions published by Fellgiebel from 1698 onwards. Schurtz also executed the title page for Greiffenberg. Cf. Gryphius Andreas, *Andraee Gryphii um ein merckliches vermehrte Teutsche Gedichte* (Wrocław – Leipzig, Esaias Fellgiebel: 1698). Cf. <<http://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10924849-7>>.

106 Online: <<https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/publication/23062>>; cf. Mannack E., *Kommentar zu Andreas Gryphius, Dramen* (Frankfurt: 1991) 924; Zielske H., "Andreas Gryphius' Trauerspiel 'Catharina von Georgien' als politische 'Festa Teatrali' des Barock-Absolutismus", in Bärbel R. (ed.), *Theaterarbeit im gesellschaftlichen Wandel dreier Jahrhunderte, Funde und Befunde zur schlesischen Theateregeschichte 1* (Dortmund: 1983) 1–32.



Figure 5.13 Johann Using after Gregor Bieber, *Feste Theatrali Tragiche per la Catharina di Giorgia*, frontispiece for Using Johann, *Feste Theatrali Tragiche per la Catharina di Giorgia* [...] (n.p., n.n.: 1655). Engraving, 31.8 × 24.9 cm
IMAGE © Wrocław University Library



Figure 5.14 Johann Using after Gregor Bieber, *Der 1. Akt*. Engraving, 25.1 × 32.0 cm. Engraving N.1 of Using Johann, *Feste Theatrali Tragiche per la Catharina di Giorgia* (n.p., n.n.:1655)
IMAGE © Wrocław University Library

recognised in retrospect. In particular, the engraving for the first scene of the fifth treatise is remarkable because it shows the torture of Catherina, retold in the text by Catherina's Serena.

In contrast to the text, the frontispiece to *Catharina* does not show a dramatic torture scene: it shows the moment when Chach Abbas offers her the royal crown while an angel floating down from above is bringing her the eternal crown – that is, the moment of her decision that triggers the dramatic event in the first place [Fig. 5.15].

The series of illustrations make it possible to choose a comparatively peaceful title page saving the atrocities for later images. If, however, only one image can be used, often the cruellest scene from the fifth act is selected rather than



Figure 5.15 Johann Using after Gregor Bieber, *Katharina von Georgien wird auf Befehl des Schahs Abas gefoltert*. Engraving N.6 of Using Johann, *Feste Theatrali Tragiche per la Catharina di Giorgia* [...] (n.p., n.n.: 1655). Engraving, 25.0 × 31.7 cm
 IMAGE © Wrocław University Library

the dramaturgical climax. An example of this can be found in Gryphius's *Papinian*,¹⁰⁷ although Gryphius is quite lenient in this case [Fig. 5.16].

The title page was engraved by Johann Baptist Paravicinus for the play published only once during Gryphius's lifetime. It strangely does not show the beheading of Papinian, but the scenes immediately before and after. Even though Papinian is shown still with his head, that very head is at the same time lying cut off in a bowl.

¹⁰⁷ Gryphius Andreas, *Großmüthiger Rechts-Gelehrter/ Oder Sterbender Aemilius Paulus Papinianus: Trauer-Spil* (Wrocław, Gottfried Gründer: 1659).



Figure 5.16
Johann Baptist Paravicinus,
A. Gryphii Papinianus,
frontispiece for Gryphius
Andreas, *Großmüttiger
Rechts-Gelehrter/ Oder
Sterbender Aemilius Paulus
Papinianus: Trauer-Spil*
(Wrocław, Gottfried Gründer:
1659). Engraving, 10.5 × 16.5 cm
IMAGE © Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek

6 The Theatricality of Horror and the Affects: Daniel Casper von Lohenstein

The scene with the beheading on the frontispiece of *Papinian* forms a prelude to a whole series of similar title pages with the same motif¹⁰⁸ examined

¹⁰⁸ Lohensteins *Epicharis* (1665), Hallmanns *Marianne* (1670) Haugwitz' *Schuldige Unschuld oder Maria Stuarda Königin von Schottland* (1683). Frontispieces with other forms of



Figure 5.17 Anonymous, frontispiece for Lohenstein Daniel Casper von, *Daniel Caspers Epicharis: Trauer-Spiel* (Wroclaw, Esaias Fellgiebel: 1665). Engraving Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Public Domain

by Margarethe Roumé-Potocki.¹⁰⁹ In most cases they each concentrate on the gruesome climactic events in the fifth act of each play.

The frontispiece to *Epicharis* [Fig. 5.17], for example, shows the consequences of the Pisonian conspiracy against Nero described in the fifth treatise. Nero is visiting the torture chamber accompanied by Poppaea Sabina and lance- and torchbearers: Lukan can be seen on the left-hand side, having cut his veins and bleeding to death; the main conspirator Epicharis is tortured again in the background on the right-hand side while strangling herself with the bandage. Quinctian and Senecio have already been beheaded (front left), while Scaevinus' execution is about to happen in the foreground.

executions can be added to this list, such as for instance Ibrahim Bassa's strangulation on the frontispiece of Lohenstein Daniel Casper von, *Ibrahim, Trauer-Spiel* (Leipzig, Johann Wittigau: 1653).

¹⁰⁹ Roumé-Potocki, "La tragédie baroque allemande et ses frontispices"; Roumé-Potocki, "Au théâtre". Further: Jakacki D.K., "Canst Paint a Doleful Cry?: Promotion and Performance in the 'Spanish Tragedy' Title-Page Illustration", *Early Theatre* 13.1 (2010) 13–36.

Roumé-Potocki draws attention to the fact that in each of the dramas mentioned the figures represented on the frontispieces are those who explicitly refer to the theatricality of the scenery with their exclamations, such as 'Schau aber Blutt-hund her/ hier' ('But look here bloodhound / here'). In contrast to many early modern frontispieces that use the *theatrum* metaphor for their images,¹¹⁰ this imagery gains an additional meta-reflective level in the field of literature: it is a play within the play. [Fig. 5.18]

The theatrical is also addressed in the frontispieces by Stefano della Bella (1610–1664), which, for example, show a tense audience in front of a closed curtain¹¹¹ or congenially stage the comedies by Paul Scarron.¹¹² In this case, della Bella's frontispiece enhances Scarron's biting comedy ingeniously into self-parody: he shows the author from behind, sitting in a director's chair with the head slightly bent, presumably nodding off, and surrounded by nine elderly women – obviously caricatures of the muses. From above, Pegasus eyes the scene, which Pan and a satyr accompany musically with bagpipe and shepherd's flute. A Parnassus without the Musagetes Apollo, but with a Pegasus who lets the wings hang down and who obviously doesn't like what he has to see and hear. The idea of exposing the author to the ridicule of his characters on the frontispiece is terrific as it lucidly portrays the essence of Scarronic comedy, often expressing exactly the opposite of what is said and caricaturing the characters in burlesque exaggeration. Here, then, the frontispiece and the text correspond by using the same style of comedy.¹¹³

Let us further pursue the topic of a gradual increase of poetological possibilities in frontispieces in those of the tragedies by Daniel Casper von Lohenstein. He was a master of all genres and undeniably the most important poet of the seventeenth century. In his work, it becomes particularly clear how the scope of image–text interactions is greatly expanded by changing the engraver from an anonymous artist to Häublin, and finally to the congenial duo Rauchmüller and Johann Jakob Sandrart. The first editions of *Cleopatra* (1661), *Epicharis* (1665), *Agrippina* (1665) and *Ibrahim Bassa*, published by Fellgiebel in Wrocław, had frontispieces by unknown engravers, in which several scenes of the fifth act were condensed into simple panopticons of atrocities. The situation with his

110 Cf. Baum C. – Roßbach N. (eds.), *Theatralität von Wissen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Wolfenbüttel: 2013) online: <<http://diglib.hab.de/ebooks/ed000156/start.htm>>.

111 Cf. The frontispiece to Belsensi Gregorio, *Gregorio Belsensi Il nino figlio tragedia* (Bologna, n.n.: 1655) online: <<https://archivi.cini.it/teatromelodramma/detail/IT-CST-ST0007-000018/il-nino-figlio-tragedia.html?lang=it>>.

112 Scarron Paul, *Les Oeuvres de Scarron* (Paris, Toussaints Quinet: 1649).

113 Hattendorf C., "Stefano della Bella, Design for a Frontispiece", in Brink C. – Hornbostel W. (eds.), *Pegasus and the Arts* (Munich: 1993) 205–206.



Figure 5.18 Stefano della Bella, frontispiece for Scarron Paul, *Les Oeuvres de Scarron* (Paris, Toussaint Quinet: 1649). Engraving, 15.7 × 20.9 cm. London, British Museum © The Trustees of the British Museum



Figure 5.19 Nicolaus Häublin, frontispiece for Lohenstein Daniel Casper von, *Ibrahim Sultan*. (Wroclaw, Johann Christoph Kanitz – Johann Köhler: 1673). Engraving, 15,5 × 27,8 cm
IMAGE © Herzog August Bibliothek
WOLFENBÜTTEL

Ibrahim Sultan is more complex, however, because in this frontispiece the theatricality of the scenery is not only pointed out, but theatricality is designed. The first edition of the *Ibrahim Sultan* was published in 1673 as a luxury edition in folio;¹¹⁴ the other dramas were usually printed in octavo only.

The title page engraved by Nicolaus Häublin shows the ending of the drama in a dynamic up-and-down-movement [Fig. 5.19]. On the right-hand side, swans on a white cloud pull a carriage with the imperial couple Leopold and Claudia Felicitas up into heaven. They have just passed an archway that a flying angel opened for them with a key. Above, in the heavens, they are greeted by a bare-breasted Fortuna and by Putti. On the left-hand side, the carriage with Ibrahim Sultan, drawn by ravens, has become unmanageable for the driver and, accompanied by a black cloud, tumbles into hell where the devils await him. At the top of the frontispiece, a banner hovers in front of a white cloud displaying a hexameter: ‘Castus Amor Cygnis vehitur, Venus imbroba corvis’ (‘Chaste love is drawn by swans, lustful desire by ravens’). Béhar interprets the raven as an alchemistic symbol since he could not find a classical reference for it: according to him, it indicates the black phase of matter occurring after burning (Nigredo).¹¹⁵ More reasonable, however, is reading the carriage’s fall into hell as a reference to Plato’s Chariot Allegory (*Phaidros* 246a–257a) and interpreting it as a sign of reason’s loss of control over the passions. The frontispiece for Schottel’s *Ethica*, for instance, clearly presents this motif in this sense.¹¹⁶ In addition, there is also a passage in Lohenstein’s *Heldenbriefe*, in which Peter the Cruel’s confession of his secret love is simultaneously a reasonable invitation to unreasonable adultery. Thus, reason is losing the reins of control:

Es mag auch alle Welt/ wie ich dich liebe wissen/
 Denn heimlich buhlen ist zwar süsse/ selten rein.
 Mein Vorfatz hat in sich ein redliches Entschlüssen/
 Das auch der Kirche selbst nicht kan verdammlich seyn
 [...] Kein heßlich Rabe zeucht an meinem Liebes=Wagen/
 Die Schwanen reiner Brunst ziehn meinen Geist zu dir.

¹¹⁴ Lohenstein Daniel Casper von, *Ibrahim Sultan: Schauspiel auf die glücklichste Vermählung Bey der Röm. Käyser- wie auch zu Hungarn und Böheim Königl. Majestäten, Herrn, Herrn Leopolds und Frauen, Frauen Claudia Felicitas Ertzhertzogin von Oesterreich auß allerunterthänigster Pflicht gewiedmet* (Frankfurt, Johann Adam Kästner: 1679, printed: Leipzig, Johann Köler).

¹¹⁵ Béhar P., “Die alchemistische Symbolik im dramatischen Werk Lohensteins”, *Morgen-Glantz* 17 (2007) 73–84, here 75f.

¹¹⁶ Schottel Justus Georg, *Ethica: die Sittenkunst oder Wollebenskunst* (Wolfenbüttel, Paul Weiß: 1669).

(All the world may know / how I love you /
For secretly courting might be sweet / rarely pure.
My intent carries an honest decision/
That cannot be damned even by the Church itself.
[...] No horrible raven pulls at my love-carriage/
The swans of pure desire draw my spirit to you.)¹¹⁷

The 1679 edition of *Ibrahim Sultan*¹¹⁸ shrinks back to the octavo. It was published by Johann Adam Kästner in Görlitz and printed by Köhler in Leipzig with a mirror-inverted copy of the frontispiece. In the editions published again by Fellgiebel posthumously in 1685¹¹⁹ and 1701, the title page was once more mirrored and printed as a double-page spread. This made it possible to insert numerous other details, such as a background landscape. Flora's breast, promising paradise, however, is chastely covered again and the ascension to heaven is presented less dramatically compared to the first edition. The sheet has lost expression and drama through the enlargement. [Fig. 5.20]

Lohenstein's frontispieces changed decidedly through his collaboration with Matthias Rauchmüller¹²⁰ for the design of the frontispieces to *Cleopatra* and *Sophonisbe*, then engraved by Johann Jakob Sandrart. Comparing, for instance, the title pages for the first [Fig. 5.21] and the second edition of *Cleopatra* [Fig. 5.22], the later engravings differ significantly from the earlier versions in quality and composition.

The second frontispiece no longer concentrates on a reproduction of the cruel scenery like the earlier frontispieces for the *Epicharis* and the first version of *Cleopatra*; rather, the focus is now on the expression of affect. On the frontispiece for *Cleopatra*, the burial chamber of Anthony is visible to the left, the background on the right-hand side is filled by the Temple of Isis. Cleopatra, whom two snakes have bitten into her breasts, is sinking to the ground. In this frontispiece engraved by Sandrart, Rauchmüller's design focusses on the morbid moment of highest intensity: it is the moment when Cleopatra speaks directly to the venomous snakes lying on her bare breasts, thereby celebrating an eroticism of sleep and the kiss of death.

¹¹⁷ Lohenstein Daniel Casper von, *Lyrica*, ed. Spellerberg G. (Tübingen: 1992) 255 [Rosen 25].

¹¹⁸ Lohenstein, *Ibrahim Sultan. Schauspiel auf die glücklichste Vermählung* (1679).

¹¹⁹ Lohenstein Daniel Casper von, *Ibrahim Sultan. Schauspiel* (Wrocław, Esaias Fellgiebel: 1685).

¹²⁰ Münch G., "Kasper von Lohenstein und Matthias Rauchmüller", *Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau* 11 (1966) 51–62.



Figure 5.20 Anonymous, after Nicolaus Häublin, frontispiece for Lohenstein Daniel Casper von, *Ibrahim Sultan [...]* (Wroclaw, Esaias Fellgiebel: 1701). Engraving, 17.4 × 14.5 cm
 IMAGE © Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt in Halle (Saale)

- Cleopatra: Komm her. Weil ich den Tod verdient mit meinen Lüsten.
 Nun stich! und sauge Gift/ wo mancher Rosen-Mund
 Vor Milch und Honig soog. Sie beißt! ich werde wund.
 Jch fühle Schlagsucht schon und Ohnmacht mich befallen.
- Charmium: Ach schenckt das Glück uns denn nichts anders ein als
 Gallen!
- Cleopatra: Kommt/ Liebste/ nehmt von uns den letzten Kuß noch an.
- (Cleopatra: Come here. As I deserve death with my desires.
 Now stab! and suck the poison/ where many a rose mouth
 Before milk and honey drew. It bites! I am injured.
 I already feel languor and fainting coming over me.



Figure 5.21 Anonymous, frontispiece for Lohenstein Daniel Casper von, *Cleopatra, Trauer-Spiel* (Wroclaw, Esaias Fellgiebel: 1661). Engraving
 IMAGE © Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen

Charmium: Oh, does luck pour us nothing but gall!

Cleopatra: Come / my love / take from us this last kiss.)¹²¹

Lohenstein's central dramaturgical intention is to demonstrate that the characters' affects are always ambiguous, that lust can turn into cruelty and cruelty into lust within a moment.¹²² Lohenstein does not consider the affects to be determined by nature but emphasises their Protean character: the affects are changeable, they adapt to the situation like a chameleon to its surroundings.¹²³ Although the frontispiece to *Ibrahim Bassa* shows a strongly polarised way

¹²¹ Lohenstein Daniel Casper von, *Cleopatra, Trauer-Spiel* (Wroclaw, Esaias Fellgiebel: 1680) V.5, 299ff.

¹²² Meyer-Kalkus R., *Wollust und Grausamkeit: Affektenlehre und Affektdarstellung in Lohensteins Dramatik am Beispiel von "Agrippina"* (Göttingen: 1986).

¹²³ Cf. Zittel C., "Vom 'Chamäleon-Charakter' der Affekte in Daniel Casper von Lohensteins *Arminius-Roman*", in Born M. – Zittel C. (eds.), *Literarische Denkformen* (Munich: 2018) 81–110.



Figure 5.22 Johann Jakob Sandrart after Matthias Rauchmüller, frontispiece for Lohenstein Daniel Casper von, *Cleopatra, Trauer-Spiel* (Wroclaw, Esaias Fellgiebel: 1680). Engraving
Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek WEIMAR

of dealing with affects – control or suppression of the passions through reason on the one hand, and libidinous licentiousness and loss of control on the other – this corresponds neither to Lohenstein’s complex affect theory nor to his poetology based on it. It would be too easy to speak of ambivalent or conflicting affects, since this would presuppose the idea of fixed affects that can be placed in polar opposites. For Lohenstein, affects are neither stable nor can they be clearly described as good or bad: they are part of human nature enabling humans to react to their surroundings.

These fluctuating affects are vividly displayed on the frontispiece to *Sophonisbe*: the various levels of despair are impressively expressed in her gestures and those of her companions [Fig. 5.23]. Sophonisbe has already taken the deadly poison and has also given it to her children: all three are sinking to the ground, dying, Masanissa and Scipio are rushing over too late. The dramatic



Figure 5.23 Johann Jakob Sandrart after Matthias Rauchmüller, frontispiece for Lohenstein Daniel Caspar von, *Daniel Caspers von Lohenstein Sophonisbe: Trauerspiel* (Wroclaw, Esaias Fellgiebel: 1689). Engraving Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek WEIMAR

moment is designed as a dynamic circular movement where Sophonisbe's servants want to stop her in vain. This is not the depiction of a suicide in execution. What is shown in a remarkable way is the delirium of the main character in a whirlwind of changing affects and its impact on her surroundings. In Lohenstein's *Sophonisbe* the wondrous ability of the characters to change even includes changes of gender roles. When Sophonisbe, disguised as a Roman soldier, tries to free Syphax from the enemy camp in the second act, she explains her strange appearance as follows:

Die Liebe / liebstes Haupt / ist aus des Proteus Orden /
Die sich zu allen macht / nimbt jede Farbe an sich
Wie ein Chamaeleon. Die hat / mein Engel / mich
Auch in dis Kleid versteckt / dir Hülf und Rath zu bringen.

(Love belongs, beloved head, to Proteus' order /
 It fashions itself into anything / takes on any colour
 Like a chameleon. It has / my angel /
 also hidden me in this clothing to bring you help and counsel.)¹²⁴

Such examples, which could be easily amassed, do not show a dichotomy, but a quick change of affects, a sudden shift of emotions. Lohenstein's dramatic art conveys the insight that neither affects nor life can be controlled as the human being is subordinate to permanently contingent influences. The reader is left clueless as to what should be chosen, especially as the progress of the drama provides him or her with no help. It reveals that it does not matter which position is chosen as the wise die as cruelly as the unwise. Nothing is permanent.

By all means, the impact of the frontispiece on the affects of the reader or viewer is taken into account at the same time. A moralistic message, such as in *Ibrahim Bassa*, is equally avoided as the shock effect used to train a stoic stance, such as in *Epicharis* and the first edition of *Cleopatra*. Instead, a fundamental scepticism about the possibilities of mastering the forces of nature through reason is conveyed by the interaction of frontispiece and text in a tradition of Pyrrhonism.

7 Harsdörffer's Visual Strategies of Concealment

While some frontispieces raise the theatre curtain, so to speak, there are others that close it and do not open it again. Harsdörffer's comments about the functions of frontispieces are often quoted, namely that these should primarily convey the play's content clearly and that they boosted sales. The only disadvantage of these comments is that Harsdörffer himself did not adhere to them.¹²⁵ Harsdörffer's anonymously published *Japeta*¹²⁶ is a translation of

¹²⁴ Lohenstein Daniel Casper von, *Sophonisbe. Trauerspiel* (Wroclaw, Esaias Fellgiebel: 1689) 49 (II, v. 26 off.).

¹²⁵ "Bey dieser Zeit / ist fast kein Buch verkaufflich / ohne einen Kupfertitel / welcher dem Leser desselben Inhalt nicht nur mit Worten / sondern auch mit einem Gemähl vorbildet". ("In these times / almost no book can be sold / without a copper title / which depicts the reader the same content not only with words / but also with an image".) Harsdörffer Georg Philipp, *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*, I–VIII (Nuremberg, Wolfgang Endter: 1644–1649), here VI Vorrede § 10, 6.

¹²⁶ Harsdörffer, Georg Philipp, *Japeta. Das ist Ein Heldengedicht: gesungen In dem Holsteinischen Parnasso Durch Die Musam Calliope*, (Nuremberg, Wolfgang Endter: 1643). Reprint: Taussig S. – Zittel C. (eds.), *Georg Philipp Harsdörffer. Japeta. Édition, traduction et notes* (Turnhout: 2009).

Richelieu's and Desmaret de Sorlin's *Europe*¹²⁷ and foremost an example of the shift he advocated for the literary canon in his *Poetischer Trichter*.¹²⁸ This should no longer be geared primarily to antiquity but to contemporary texts of the *Latins*.¹²⁹ The German literary language established itself through the imitative translation of the Romance models (*imitatio*); betimes it was even supposed to surpass them as *aemulatio*.¹³⁰ However, Harsdörffer consistently changes the content that is not understandable to the German reader or is politically and religiously inappropriate. His translation grasps the meaning of the original and redrafts it under changed conditions – this also applies to the frontispiece.

A comparison of the two title pages shows that *Europe* and *Japeta* pursue different strategies for guiding the reader. While the frontispiece for Richelieu and Desmaret de Sorlin visually proclaims a political program, Harsdörffer's, however, hides the specific contemporary references in a mythological puzzle. The puzzle begins with the name for the main character "Europe" for whom he chooses the unusual designation "Japeta", thereby covering the fact that this work is a translation.¹³¹

On the title page of the French play, Europe can be seen standing at Francion's side, looking at him [Fig. 5.24]. She is wearing the triple crown, indicating her rule over France, Germany, and Spain. Ibère is trying to put her in chains, but the armed Francion is already about to intervene. Behind Ibère is Germanique, with a beard and the double-headed eagle symbolising the dual monarchy; in the foreground and belonging to the Spanish party, Lorraine is kneeling and calling for silence with her finger on the lips, while Italy is standing behind Europe. The title page reveals the set-up of the political conflict

127 Saint-Sorlin Jean Desmaret de, *Europe. Comédie héroïque* (Paris, Henry Le Gras: 1643), new edition: Taussig S. (ed.), *Europe. Comédie héroïque attribuée à Richelieu* (Turnhout: 2003).

128 Harsdörffer Georg Philipp, *Poetischer Trichter* (Nuremberg, Wolfgang Endter: 1653).

129 Krebs J.-D., "Georg Philipp Harsdörffer liest die französischen Dichter", in Paas J.R. (ed.), *Der Franken Rom. Nürnbergs Blütezeit in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: 1995) 224–242; Hess P., "'Nachäffin der Natur' oder 'aller Völker Sprachen'? Zur Rolle visueller Bildlichkeit in Poetik und Rhetorik der Barockzeit", in Laufhütte H. (ed.), *Künste und Natur in Diskursen der Frühen Neuzeit*, Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung 35 (Wiesbaden: 2006) 1047–1062.

130 Harsdörffer, *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele* I 50, 393 and III 59–60.

131 Cf. Zittel C., "'die so gefährliche Warheit verübter Geschichte'. Übersetzungskunst und Rätselspiel bei Harsdörffer", in Thimann M. – Zittel C. (eds.), *Harsdörffers 'Kunstverständige Discurse'. Beiträge zu Kunst, Literatur und Philosophie der Frühen Neuzeit* (Heidelberg: 2010) 295–324.



Figure 5.24 Abraham Bosse, frontispiece for Saint-Sorlin Jean Desmarets de, *Europe: Comédie héroïque* (Paris, Henry Le Gras: 1643). Engraving

from the outset and is thus a wonderful example of how a frontispiece should be designed according to Harsdörffer's poetics.

The frontispiece for *Japeta*, however, differs completely from this [Fig 5.25].

The kidnapping of Europe by the bull initially looks like a love motif that might indicate the overcoming of international strife: Europe is already in the middle of the water on the bull's back whose horns and neck are adorned with garlands of flowers; she is waving her farewell to her companions, who are left behind in a peaceful Phoenician landscape and seem not at all desperate – it looks as if she were baptising the continent she is about to leave behind with her name. Judging from the frontispiece alone, one could read this choice of imagery as the overcoming of war between nations, for the bull's jewellery, Japeta's splendid robe, and her crown refer to a royal wedding. Nevertheless, a sonnet at the beginning of the play explains that the Rape of Europe primarily shows Jupiter as a deceiver and that men turn into animals if left to their desires.¹³² As the Spanish ruler Iberich wants to conquer Japeta in the course of the plot, he will appear as this bull kidnapping Europe in the play. The sonnet establishes a moralistic interpretation for the play that obviously does not fit the frontispiece and is thus covered and hidden by the poet. This sonnet, just as the next, describes the play as a riddle the reader should solve while veiling its authorship. Calliope, the muse of poetry, 'hat diß Rätzelspiel erdacht/ Und bey der Götter Zunfft auff Heldenweis gesungen / Ein rechter Gorderknod/ den jhre Kunst geschlungen /Der auch dem Musenvolck absonderlich behagt.' ('thought up this game of riddles / And sang in hero's manner at the Gods' table / A proper Gordian knot / which her art tied / Which also strangely appeals to the muses' people').¹³³ Although the Muses like these riddles very much, they remain obscure. Mercury should use the scythe of time to uncover the hidden truth of history with one stroke, but this does not happen.

As already said, Harsdörffer emphasised in particular that the title page should convey the clearest possible idea of the content of the following work.¹³⁴ Some title pages, however, were not easily understood by the reader because he 'unsere Gedanken/ (wann wir sie gleich für leichtvernehmlich halten/) nicht so bald errathen kann' ('was not able to guess our thoughts easily/ (although we considered them to be easily comprehensible').¹³⁵ Some title pages were

¹³² Harsdörffer, *Japeta* [8].

¹³³ Harsdörffer, *Japeta* [9].

¹³⁴ Cf. Breyl J., "Nichtige Äußerlichkeiten? Zur Bedeutung und Funktion von Titelbildern aus der Perspektive des 17. Jahrhunderts" (Harsdörffer – 'Kunstverständiger Discurs' – Lairese), *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten* 24 (1997) 389–422, especially 395–401.

¹³⁵ Harsdörffer, *Frauenzimmer Gesprächsspiele* VI, 112f. and 109. Cf. Meier E., "Die Titelkupfer der 'Frauenzimmer Gesprächsspiele' Harsdörffers", in *Morgen-Glantz* 10 (2000) 239–294.



Figure 5.25 Anonymous, frontispiece for Harsdörffer, Georg Philipp, *Japeta. Das ist Ein Heldengedicht: gesungen In dem Holsteinischen Parnasso Durch Die Musam Calliope*, (Nuremberg, Wolfgang Endter: 1643). Engraving

too 'dark' ('tunkel') on their own and incomprehensible, they needed to be explained by a subsequent poem. The case, however, that the explanatory poem does not solve the riddle but carries it on and provides a red herring was not dealt with by Harsdörffer in theory but in practice. Thus, while the

title page of the French original announces the content programmatically, the frontispiece of the translation together with the paratexts obscure the text's political messages.

8 The Beauty of Order: Haugwitz versus Hallmann

When poets supervised their own works in complete editions, they, or rather their publishers, were faced with the decision of how to deal with the frontispieces of the earlier, separate editions. It was possible to do without them and only have one engraved for the new edition. If the works arranged in the complete edition were to get a frontispiece each, they could be sold separately. A good example for this use is Johann Christian Hallmann's (1640–1704) complete edition of his dramas:¹³⁶ a new and lavish main frontispiece was engraved by Joachim von Sandrart (1606–1688) that could have been circulated separately as an advertising sheet.¹³⁷ For the new dramas collected in this volume only the title page for the tragedy *Marianne*, engraved by David Tscherning for the first edition, was used again; for the other plays, new, unsigned title pages were produced. Obviously pragmatic aspects dominated in this case. The result was a heterogeneous mixture of frontispieces, above all show-worthy, such as, for instance, the title page depicting Fortuna for the comedy *Adelheide*, illustrating nothing more than Fortune's game.¹³⁸ [Fig. 5.26]

Nevertheless, a complete edition also offered the opportunity to create additional relations within the frontispieces. In addition to image-text relationships, image-image relationships can also determine the interpretation of a title page. August Adolph von Haugwitz (1647–1706) reacted to contemporary developments in Silesian drama, which in his eyes meant a decline: Christian Weise (1642–1708) had started to write his dramas in prose, Johann Christian Hallmann (1640–1704) turned his plays into "Singspiele". Haugwitz wanted to defend the excellence of Silesian drama¹³⁹ for which he also used a visual program. The collection of his works, called *Poetischer Vortrab* consists of three parts: drama, modern and classical poetry. Each of these is again

136 Hallmann Johann Christian, *Trauer- Freuden- und Schäffer-Spiele. Nebst Einer Beschreibung Aller Obristen Hertzoge über das gantze Land Schlesien* (Wrocław, Esaias Fellgiebel: 1684).

137 Cf. <<http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000E10600000006>>.

138 Cf. Krämer K., *Johann Christian Hallmanns Trauer-, Freuden- und Schäferspiele. Die Bedeutung des Fortuna-Konzeptes für die Vermischung der Dramenformen des Barock* (Ph.D. dissertation, Freie Universität Berlin: 1978).

139 Cf. Béhar P., "Nachwort", in Béhar P. (ed.), *August Adolph von Haugwitz. Prodromus Poeticus, Oder: Poetischer Vortrab 1684* (Tübingen: 1983) 1–211.



FIGURE 5.26 Anonymous, *Adelheide*, frontispiece for Hallmann Johann Christian *Die Schau-bühne des Glückes Oder Die Unüberwindliche Adelheide* (Wrocław, Esaias Fellgiebel: 1684). Engraving, 14.7 × 8.3 cm STAATSBIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN. PUBLIC DOMAIN

divided into three parts: “drama” subsumes a tragedy (“Trauer-Spiel”), a tragic comedy (“Misch-Spiel”), and a comedy (“Lust-Spiel”); “modern poetry” is divided into spiritual, secular, and love sonnets (“Liebs-Sonnette”); “classical poetry” in odes, elegies, and epigrams (“Bey- oder Überschriften”). All together, they are supposed to represent the entirety of Baroque literature in a strictly formalistic and exemplary manner. Accordingly, Haugwitz cared about a clear and balanced composition of the acts and avoided extremes, as opposed to the other master of Silesian drama, Daniel Casper von Lohenstein. His almost classicist programme is supported by a series of four title pages illustrating the triadic structure of the collection.

In the centre of the title page [Fig. 5.27], a bouquet is placed, consisting of three kinds of flowers: lilies, roses, and carnations. In the balusters to the left and right the downsized title pages of *Maria Stuarda* [Fig 5.28] and *Soliman* are shown. Subsequently, they appear in full size in the book, while the garden in the background is the model for the title page for *Flora*. Again, the number three is the structuring pattern, both in the title page and the text.

The dramas fall into three parts, not merely formally, but also thematically: in *Maria Stuarda*, Haugwitz aspires to resolve the confessional conflicts between Protestantism and Catholicism; in *Soliman* those between the Christian and the Islamic worlds; and in *Flora* he strives to bridge the divide between classical paganism and the Christian present. Like a flower that only reveals its characteristics in the bouquet, each denomination is supposed to reveal its particularities through the combination with the other.

Pierre Béhar had already recognised that text and image each form a triptych and thus correspond in Haugwitz’s work. Based on the motto ‘Dant vincla Decorem’ (‘The shackles are her adornment’), he interprets the title page as an ‘aesthetic manifesto’.¹⁴⁰ Haugwitz’s title page does not represent a poetic forest or silva, nor does it evoke Pan’s nature for pastoral plays; rather, it is a resolute plea for culture. Only the lattice keeps, arranges and organises the bouquet in such a way that all flowers are aesthetically shown to advantage. Likewise, the floor is organised strictly and according to the rules of gardening: under the balustrade of a terrace flowerbeds are laid out in symmetrical order. Even the two castles visible in the distance are exactly opposite each other. Béhar sums it up aptly: ‘Erst in der vom Geist geordneten Natur entfaltet sich die Schönheit’ (‘it is only in the nature ordered by reason that beauty unfolds’).¹⁴¹ Thus the visual arrangement in the title page establishes the structure of the book in a programmatic manner. Again, the frontispiece is not the paratext, it

¹⁴⁰ Cf. *Ibidem*, 47.

¹⁴¹ *Ibidem*.



Figure 5.27 Anonymous, frontispiece for Haugwitz August Adolf von, *Prodromus Poeticus* [...] (Dresden, Christian Bergen: 1684). Engraving



Figure 5.28 Anonymous, frontispiece for “Schuldige Unschuld Oder Maria Stuarda. Königin von Schottland Trauerspiel”, in Haugwitz August Adolf von, *Prodromus Poeticus* [...] (Dresden, Christian Bergen: 1684). Engraving

rather defines the whole composition, it creates order. It is not the gateway to the book but establishes explicitly its poetological content.

9 The Frontispiece as the Gate of Hell: Schottel's Self-Reflective Visual Programs

Let us substantiate the subject of intermediality with a unique example: Justus Georg Schottel (1612–1676) was one of the most peculiar and most original minds of the seventeenth century.¹⁴² Famous for his studies on the grammar of the German language,¹⁴³ he also wrote works on ethics, plays and poems. Many of his works begin with remarkable frontispieces, but I want to concentrate on a few cases: the title pages for his eschatological sermon poems, as those addressing their own function in a self-reflexive way.

Schottel's long poem on Judgment Day, first published in 1668 and twenty years later again in an expanded version,¹⁴⁴ not only announces in its title that it would present this judgment day with 'schönen Kupferstücken' ('beautiful copperplate engravings'), its frontispiece [Fig. 5.29] even arranges it 'eigentümlich und sonderbar' ('uniquely and peculiarly'). It shows Christ, arriving from heaven like a bolt in a ray of light as the Lord of Hosts, commanding the formations of angels whose first ranks announce the last judgement with their trumpets.

Likewise, Schottel explains on the frontispiece¹⁴⁵ for *Grausame Beschreibung und Vorstellung der Hölle*¹⁴⁶ [Fig. 5.30], published by Konrad Bruno in 1676, that

142 Cf. Berns JJ., "Der weite Weg des Justus Georg Schottel von Einbeck nach Wolfenbüttel", *Einbecker Jahrbuch* 30 (1974) 5–20. Berns JJ. (ed.), *Justus Georg Schottelius 1612–1676. Ein deutscher Gelehrter am Wolfenbütteler Hof*, exh. cat., Herzog August Bibliothek 18 (Wolfenbüttel: 1976).

143 Schottel Justus Georg, *Ausführliche Arbeit Von der Teutschen HauptSprache Worin enthalten Gemelter dieser HauptSprache Urankunft/ Uhaltertuhm/ Reinlichkeit/ Eigenschaft/ Vermögen/ Unvergleichlichkeit/ Grundrichtigkeit/ zumahl die SprachKunst und VersKunst Teutsch und guten theils Lateinisch völlig mit eingebracht/ wie nicht weniger die Verdoppelung/ Ableitung/ die Einleitung/ Nahmwörter/ Authores vom Teutschen Wesen und Teutscher Sprache/ von der verteutschung/ Item die Stammwörter der Teutschen Sprache samt der Erklärung und dergleichen viel merkwürdige Sachen* (Braunschweig, Christoph Friedrich Zilligier: 1663).

144 Schottel Justus Georg, *Eigentliche und sonderbare Vorstellung des Jüngsten Tages und darin Künftig verhandenen Grossen und Letzten Wunder-Gerichts Gottes* (Braunschweig, Christoph Friedrich Zilligier: 1668 – 1674 – 1689).

145 Raabe P., *Der Wolfenbütteler Kupferstecher und Zeichner Conrad Buno (1613–1671)*, Wolfenbütteler Barockjahr 2006 Ausstellungsheft 4 (Wolfenbüttel: 2006).

146 Schottel Justus Georg, *Grausame Beschreibung und Vorstellung Der Hölle Und der Höllischen Qwal Oder Des andern und ewigen Todes. In Teutscher Sprache nachdenklich/*

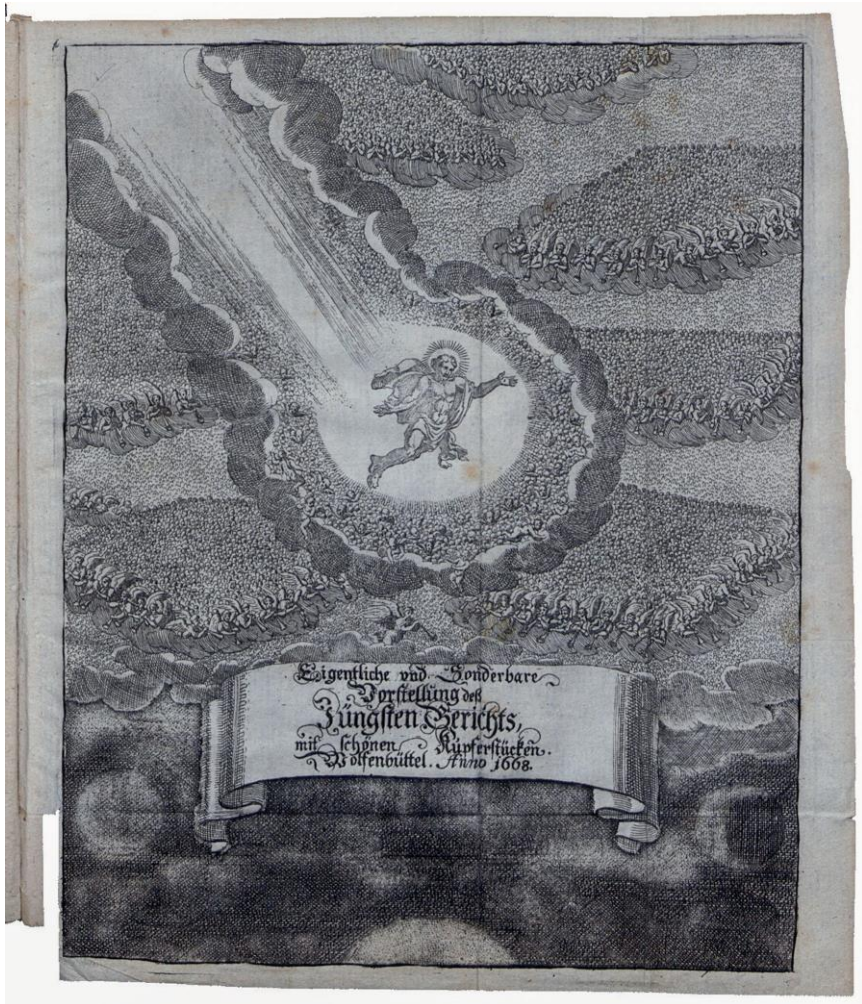


Figure 5.29 Anonymous, frontispiece for Schottel Justus Georg, *Eigentliche und Sonderbare Vorstellung Des Jüngsten Tages* [...] (Braunschweig, Christoph Friedrich Zilligier: 1689). Engraving
IMAGE © Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen

hell would ‘also be illustrated with several horror-full copperplate engravings’ (‘mit etlichen Schreckniss-vollen Kupferstücken zugleich vorgebildet’). The

und also vor die Augen gelegt/ daß einem gottlosen Menschen gleichsam die höllischen Funken annoch in dieser Welt ins Gewissen stieben/ und RückGedanken zur Ewigkeit erwecken können (Wolfenbüttel, Konrad Buno: 1676).

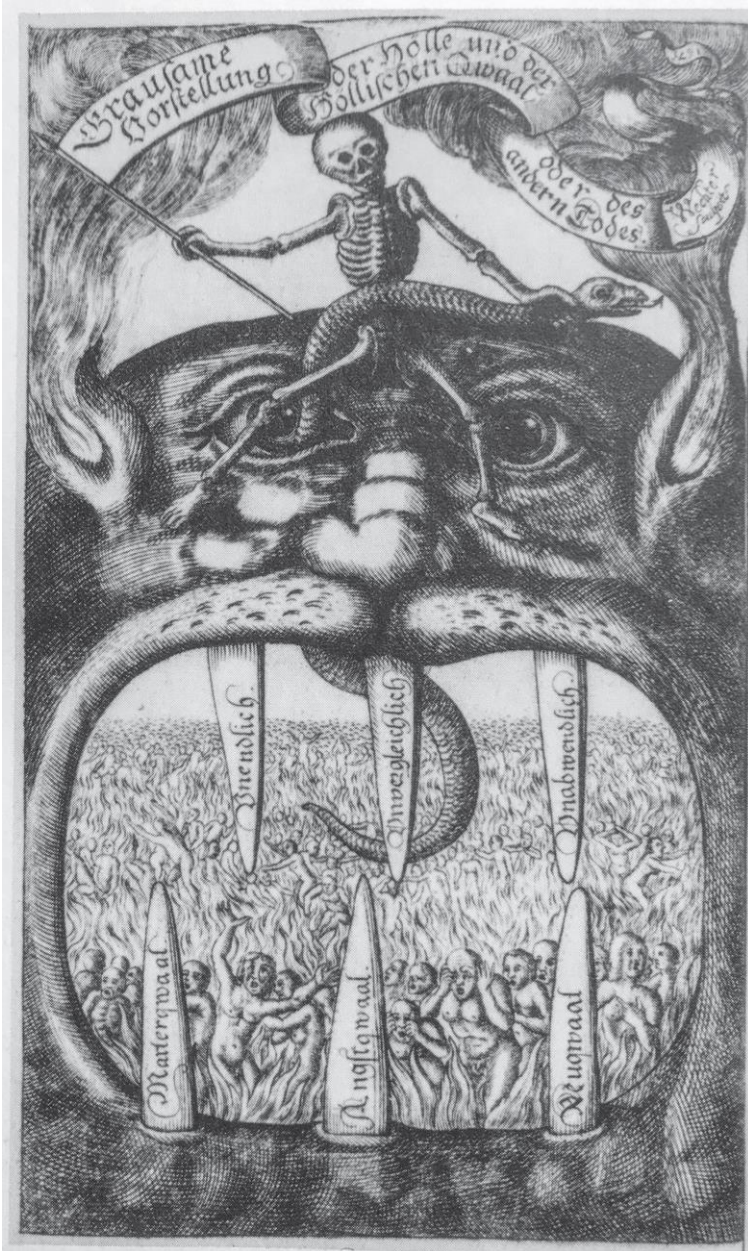


Figure 5.30 Hans Wechter, frontispiece for Schottel Justus Georg, *Grausame Beschreibung und Vorstellung Der Hölle Und der Höllichen Qual* [...] (Wolfenbüttel, Conrad Buno: 1676). Engraving, 10.5 × 16.5 cm

gateway to the book is at the same time the hellmouth, and by crossing this gate the reader begins his or her journey into the lower world. The frontispiece is here expressly no paratext: rather, it is the overture to an infernal symphony intended to have a direct effect on the *imaginatio*.

The frontispiece alone should scare the reader into changing his life. The title page [Fig. 5.31] explains that it laid out in German language and in contemplative manner how hell's sparks would fly into the conscience of a godless person even in this world and awaken thoughts of returning to eternity ('In teutscher Sprache nachdenklich / und also vor die Augen gelegt / daß einem gottlosen Menschen gleichsam die höllischen Funken annoch in dieser Welt ins Gewissen stieben / und Rückgedanken zur Ewigkeit erwekken können').

The truly terrifying frontispiece is thus only the beginning and the prelude to a synaesthetic collaboration of various media that pervades the entire work. After the frontispiece, engraved by Hanns Wechter,¹⁴⁷ a preface follows as well as a remarkable "explanation of the title page". [Fig. 5.32] Here, Schottel explains in detail the meaning of the pictorial elements, such as the fact that hell is depicted wide open, the eternally ruling death is sitting on top, the great dragon should be interpreted as a worm of conscience, but he also discloses the meaning of the inscriptions on the three large molars. The hellmouth on the frontispiece is simultaneously the entrance into the book: the title page discloses a glimpse into hell, but the reader can neither see an end to the torment nor perceive a development. The three teeth provide a numerical order for the book. A Latin summary is followed by one hundred chapters, each preceded by four verses, and each interpreted in a 'thoughtful description of hell and the hellish condition' ('Nachdenkliche Beschreibung der Hölle und des höllischen Zustandes') – whereby the description is also a description of the image. Analogous to the title page and its explanation, the illustrations and their ekphrases implement what the title promises: the images suggest what language is not capable of expressing, namely 'wie alles unaußsprechliche Qwaalwesen sein und bleiben müsse' ('how everything need be unspeakable torment and remain so'). The depiction of atrocities is gradually increased in the illustrations. It is a series of horror images that show how a man who has been lying in hellfire for thousands of years is roasted from all sides and has to suffer ever greater and worse pain with every change of his position. Then the inner torments are shown in allegorical images, such as the 'Gewissens-Wurm'

147 It is the same Hanns Wechter who also engraved the fantastic title page for Schottel's *Sonderbare Vorstellung, wie es mit Leib und l des Menschen werde kurtz vor dem Tode, in dem Tode, und nach dem Tode bewandt seyn* (Braunschweig, Christoph Friedrich Zilligier: 1675) <<http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id367200724/3>>.



Figure 5.31 Title page of Schottel Justus Georg, *Grausame Beschreibung und Vorstellung Der Hölle Und der Höllischen Qwal [...]* (Wolfenbüttel, Conrad Buno: 1676)

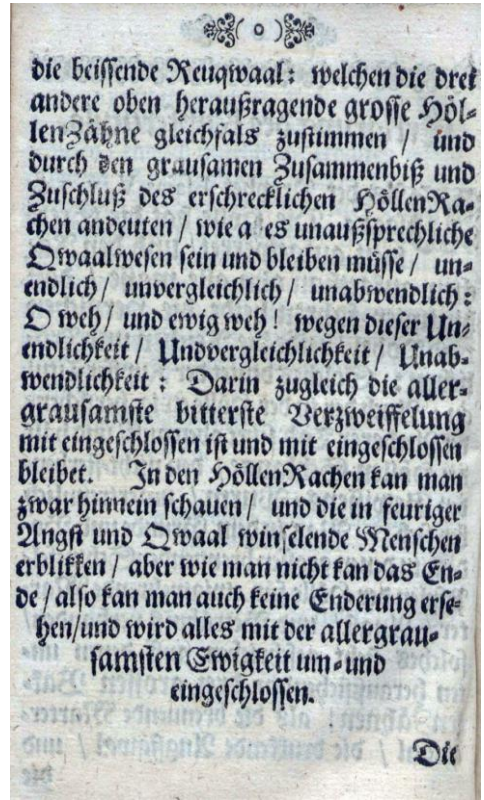
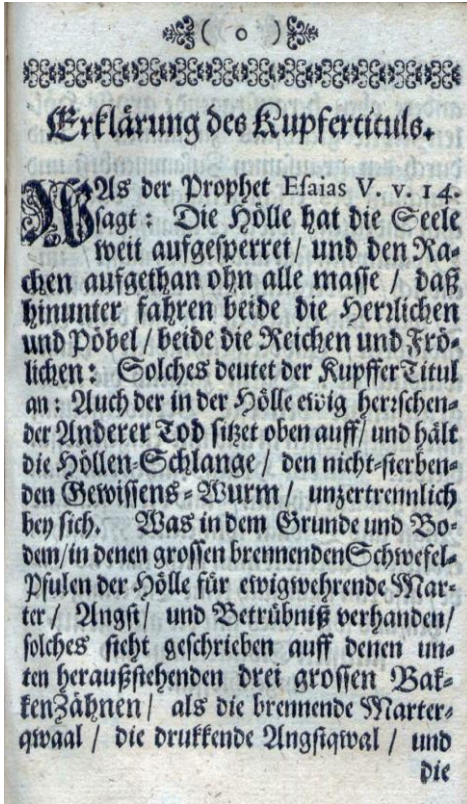


Figure 5.32 “Erklärung des Kupfertituls”, in Schottel Justus Georg, *Grausame Beschreibung und Vorstellung Der Hölle Und der Höllischen Qwal/ [...]* (Wolfenbüttel, Conrad Buno: 1676)

(‘worm of conscience’) gnawing away at the heart and already shown on the frontispiece. [Fig. 5.33]

Image and text collude: the imagination of the reader is shocked with striking images and then emphatically affected by the detailed descriptions of the atrocities in order to move him to repentance. A visual and rhetorical shock treatment. Here, then, the frontispiece is an integral part of a poetic conversion programme and only unfolds its full effect in conjunction with the explanations, the illustrations and the poems.

Frontispieces are not only gateways to books, they also open doors for us to the very different systems of thought of early modern authors. They are not extrinsic to texts, but together with the texts, frontispieces unlock the early modern imagination.



Figure 5.33 Hanns Wechter, *Reuquellen der durchs Herz kriechender Gewissens Wurm*, frontispiece for chapter LXXVI of Schottel Justus Georg, *Grausame Beschreibung und Vorstellung Der Hölle Und der Höllischen Qwal [...]* (Wolfenbüttel, Conrad Buno: 1676) 242. Engraving, 10.5 × 16.5 cm
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