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MAJESTY IN MISERY¹.

Two pictorial sources of
Andreas Gryphius's martyr play
Carolus Stuardus.

by Hein Laaper.

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In the annotations to his drama, Ermordete Majestät Oder CAROLUS STUARDUS König von Gross Britanien,² the Baroque dramatist Andreas Gryphius left no doubt about the fact that he consulted for his work both the Eikon Basilike Vel Imago Regis Caroli,³ which was first published in England in 1649, and the Vollständiges Englisches Memorial,⁴ which appeared in Holland early in the same year. When comparing these two historical sources with Carolus Stuardus one notices immediately the similarity of the content and form of the Englisches Memorial with Gryphius's drama. Less noticeable is the connection of the play with the King's book, Eikon Basilike, but Gryphius makes extensive reference to the text in the annotations of his play. The Eikon Basilike and the Englisches Memorial each contain an engraving whose significance for the martyr play has been underestimated until recently. The engravings in question are the depiction of the royal martyr, Charles I, in the Eikon Basilike as well as the pictorial representation of the last moments of the monarch's life and his execution from the Englisches Memorial.

In early Gryphius research the use that the dramatist has made of pictorial source material has gone unrecognised. G. Schönle denied that there was any connection between the illustrations in Gryphius's historical sources and the dramatic text: "Kein Bild, kein Vergleich ist aus den Quellen in seine Sprache eingegangen".⁵ H. Powell, who published the drama in a first critical edition included both engravings mentioned as illustrative material and referred to them briefly in his detailed introduction. In his treatise on Carolus Stuardus, A. Schöne interpreted the meaning of the triad of crowns contained in the engraving from the Eikon Basilike as representing the central symbol of the martyr play, but his study forms only a beginning in establishing the full significance of pictorial source material for Gryphius's tragedy.⁶ In his essay, "Emblematische Szenengestaltung in den Märtyrerdramen des Andreas Gryphius", H.W. Nieschmidt was able to demonstrate that the engraving of the execution scene from the Englisches Memorial formed an important source for Gryphius's emblematic presentation of the death of the martyr king in his historical drama.⁷

I shall endeavour to establish the full extent to which Gryphius employed these two engravings in his martyr play, Carolus Stuardus. Before this is possible, however, it will be necessary to describe and analyse each engraving and to trace the details of the pictorial representations in the text of the drama. In conclusion I shall evaluate the full significance of both pictorial sources for Gryphius's play.

/ / /

When the King's book, entitled Eikon Basilike Vel Imago Regis Caroli, was published on the day of the execution of Charles I, the publishers included with the text an engraving representing Carolus Stuardus as a martyr king. The book went through some fifty editions in the course of two decades and minor alterations to the engraving were made in several of them. For the purpose of this study the earliest version of the frontispiece to the Eikon Basilike will be used, for it is this early plate which Gryphius must have seen when he consulted English, Dutch and German source material for his drama Ermordete Majestät oder Carolus Stuardus König von Gross Britanien.



Engraving from the Eikon Basilike, one of Gryphius's sources, a pictorial representation of the royal martyr as conceived in the tragedy.

The frontispiece from the Eikon Basilike shows the King in prayer in what appears to be a chapel, kneeling in front of an altar, his eyes directed towards a heavenly crown which he perceives in the sky through an open window. There are two more windows in the vaulted chapel, but they are closed and their glazing does not permit one to look through them. The King kneels right in front of the altar at the top of the steps leading up into the chapel. In his right hand he holds a crown of thorns, while his right foot rests on a globe next to which a splendid earthly crown is depicted. Outside the chapel on the left half of the engraving a stylized landscape is represented showing a stormy sea which surrounds a rock, all overshadowed by threatening black clouds. On the land and closer to the chapel two palm-trees are growing in an otherwise barren area. The steps leading from the land up into the chapel compositionally form a link between the two component parts of the engraving.

A close examination of the outdoor scenery shows that it consists of two distinct parts, each forming an emblem: firstly, the picture of the rough sea with a rocky island in its centre, and secondly,

the palm-trees growing in the desert. The emblem in the background depicts a rock amidst a stormy sea and under a threatening sky; winds blow against it fiercely. However, the rock remains unshaken and represents according to the motto, 'IMMOTA TRIUMPHANS', an emblem of steadfastness in its unshakeable quality. In this way the masters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries revealed analogies between aspects of nature on the one hand and aspects of the human realm on the other. The same is also true of the emblem in the foreground on the frontispiece to the Eikon Basilike. It presents two palm-trees in a desert landscape, both of which have grown to a considerable height, yet the one closer to the observer supersedes the other in both height and apparent strength. The branches of this palm-tree have been heavily weighted on both sides and the emblematic inscriptio reveals that the tree represents virtue as it grows in strength under pressure: 'CRESCIT SUB PONDERE VIRTUS'. It is also worth noting that in early illuminated manuscripts as well as in the emblem-books of the sixteenth and seventeenth century

the palm-tree was used to symbolise victory, peace and justice and to serve as the attribute of a martyr.⁸ There is an artistic means which brings the kneeling monarch inside the chapel into close connection with the aforesaid emblems; from the clouds above the rock in the breakers an arrow with an inscription is directed towards the King's head, which reads: 'CLARIOR E TENEBRIS', i.e. brighter against the shadows. This would justify the interpretation of the rough sea, the dark clouds and the raging elements as representing the troubled times of the King's reign in which he has shown rock-like steadfastness. The palm-tree on the other hand exemplifies the monarch's essential quality of virtue, which he has demonstrated even under the extreme pressure of the political circumstances. He is prepared to die as a martyr for the cause of justice and the glory of religion.

The other compositional part of the engraving from the Eikon Basilike represents an apse of either a church or chapel, in which a King kneels on a cushion and, as has previously been pointed out, he directs his eyes towards a heavenly crown, while holding a crown of thorns in his right hand and placing his right foot upon a globe next to which a third crown is lying. In front of the King there is

a table draped with a cloth, on which a Prayer Book and a sheet of paper, possibly parchment, have been placed. One may interpret this table as an altar. It is situated three steps up from the place where the King kneels, and furthermore, the book is supported in a Prayer Book-like fashion. The heavenly crown which the King looks up at has nine star-like pointers and bears the inscription 'GLORIA'; immediately above it we read 'BEATAM ET AETERNAM'. It should be noted that unlike the sky over the sea, this sky as it is depicted through an open window, is free of dark clouds and filled with bright light. The small ring of white cloud underneath the crown indicates that its place and realm lie beyond this world in the region of Heaven. Its divine origin is further stressed by the ring of light which radiates from it like an aureole. In his right hand the King holds a crown of thorns bearing the inscription 'GRATIA' over which the artist has engraved 'ASPERAM AT LEVEM'. No light radiates from this one as it does from the heavenly crown of glory. On the contrary, it has been depicted in rather an unobtrusive manner. Despite the sharp thorns, the King seemingly holds this particular

crown firmly, as if he has lifted it from the altar in front of him. Compositionally the three attributes, the crown of thorns, the parchment and the Prayer Book belong together. The Prayer Book inscription, 'IN VERBO TUO SPES MEA', contains a religious message for the kneeling monarch: 'In Your word lies my hope'. The third crown at the feet of the King is a splendid example of a seventeenth century royal or imperial crown, yet the inscription 'VANITAS' is indicative of its transient value. It has fallen to the ground against a globe on which 'MUNDI CALCO' has been inscribed.

The central figure of the whole engraving is no doubt the kneeling King, who is dressed in his magnificent royal robes with his splendid cloak edged with precious ermine. Nevertheless the King is bare-headed which seems in sharp contrast to his full regal dress. His facial expressions are those of serious contemplation, demonstrating an air of humility before God; his left arm and hand are held across his heart. He shows no regard for the signs of worldly majesty, in particular for the crown which lies on its side at his feet. Nor does the King seem to hesitate to grasp the crown of thorns firmly

with his right hand, as if unconscious of any pain. His gaze is fixed upon a heavenly crown as his one and only aspiration. Oblivious to his surroundings, he is portrayed as a spiritualised being, a martyr prepared to follow Christ's example. This interpretation is confirmed by the Latin inscriptions which have been added by the engraver to each of the allegorical or symbolical crowns in front of the King.

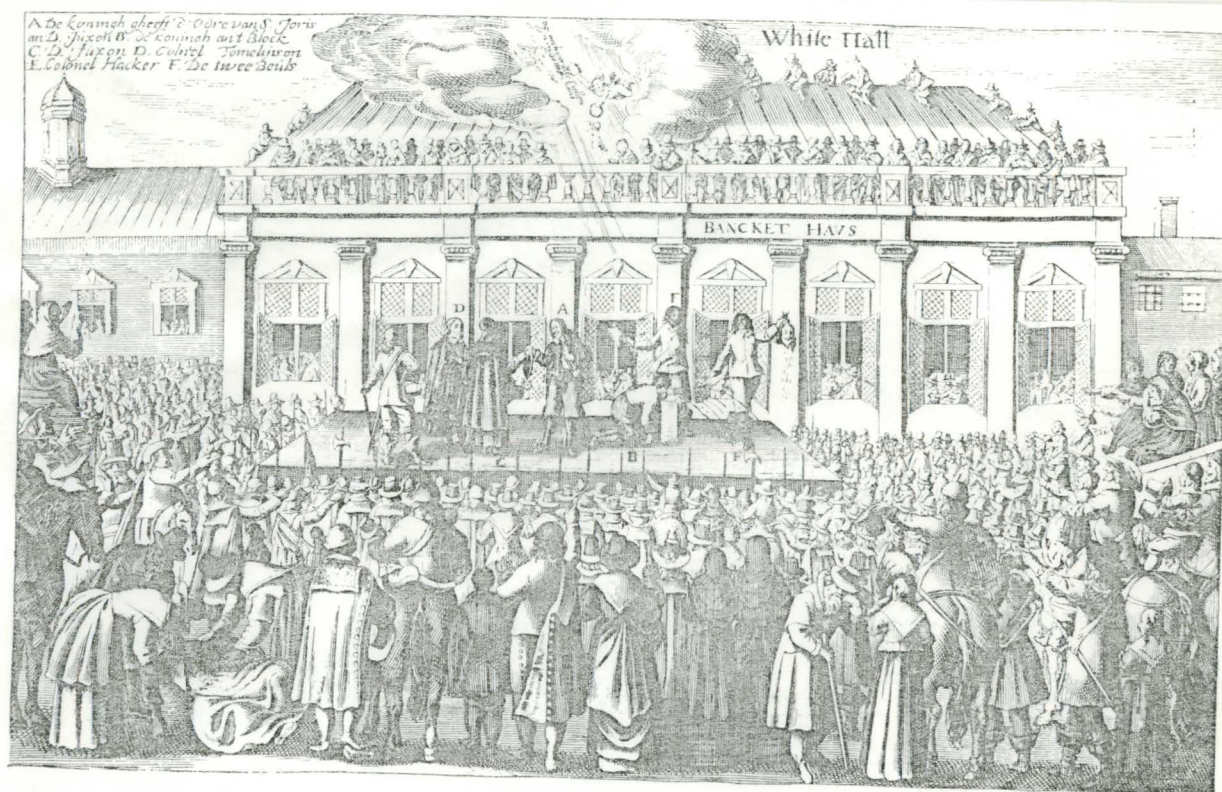
The inscriptions surrounding the princely crown read in full: 'MUNDI CALCO SPLENDIDAM ET GRAVEM [CORONAM]' - 'I tread upon the splendid, but heavy (crown) of this world'. What finds expression, then, is the King's awareness of the transitory nature of his earthly position, which is symbolised by his Vanitas-crown. The King's relationship to the crown of thorns is referred to with the inscription: 'TRACTO CHRISTI ASPERAM AT LEVEM [CORONAM]' - 'I bear the harsh, but light (crown) of Christ', which expresses the King's readiness to accept the role of the martyr In Imitatione Christi. The third and ultimate crown carries the following inscription: 'COELI SPECTO BEATAM ET AETERNAM [CORONAM]' - 'I behold the blessed and

eternal (crown) of Heaven'. It is this ultimate crown to which the King aspires and for which he hopes in the life hereafter.

Seen together, the triad of crowns and the three inscriptions ascribe to Carolus Stuardus the essential qualities of a martyr king: asceticism, humility and spiritual confidence. It may be added that this is how many royalists considered Charles Stuart in the final months of his life, and particularly so in the years after his beheading. It is also likely that the King himself sanctioned his representation as a martyr and would have approved of the engraving's inclusion as a frontispiece to the Eikon Basilike Vel Imago Regis Caroli.

The Vollständiges Englisches Memorial / Zu ewiger Gedächtnüss. Erzehlende die Processen / Declarationen / Beschuldigungen / Defensionen / Urtheile / Letzte Worte und Executionen / Von ... Dem König von Engelland / Schottland und Irrland / Carolus Stuart I. enthaubtet den 30 Jan. Anno. 1649. Alten Calenders ... Alles mit sonderbarem Fleiss / nach der Copey von LONDON In das Hochteutsche zu iedermans Nachricht übersetzt / und mit Kupferstücken nach dem Leben gezieret. MDCXLVIII (sic!)

contains several illustrations, the last of which presents the beheading of Charles Stuart on the scaffold in front of the Banqueting Hall in Whitehall, London, in January 1649. Gryphius used the Vollständiges Englisches Memorial as one of his sources for his drama, Carolus Stuardus, and would have seen the engraving of the King's execution. As in the case of the King's book, the Eikon Basilike, the anonymous Englisches Memorial was reprinted several times in 1649 as well as the 1650's. Its popularity was most likely due to the authenticity of the material presented. The illustrations too may have added to the success of the publication. In fact, the engravings underwent several minor changes from edition to edition. Only the original plate will be discussed in the context of this study.



Engraving from the Vollständiges Englisches Memorial, one of Gryphius's sources, a pictorial representation of the execution of the royal martyr, Carolus Stuart.

The engraving of the execution of Charles Stuart shows a large crowd gathered in a semi-circle around the scaffold in front of the Banqueting House in Whitehall. The beholder of the artistic representation is struck by the similarity of the scene with that of a theatrical performance. The spectators may be taken to represent the auditorium, the scaffold is reminiscent of an apron-stage, and the 'Banquet Halls' resembles a stage building or back-drop for a dramatic performance. Apart from the semi-circle which the crowd forms around the scaffold, a second compositional arrangement may be recognised in the engraving on initial examination: the moments immediately before and after Charles's beheading are illustrated in a central pyramidal composition. It is this pyramid which forms the focal point of the entire engraving, the eyes of the beholder being directed to it both by its position and by the eyes and gestures of the crowd in the foreground and to the right and the left of the scaffold. It may be added that the artist's use of shadows and the dark ink in the foreground and the setting of the central scene against an

almost white background also contribute to some degree to the aforesaid focussing effect.

Throngs of people have gathered in front of the palace; judging by their dress they appear to be a cross-section of the society of the day. They are gentlemen on horse-back, some elegantly dressed according to their status, other onlookers wear a more sober dress befitting the occasion. Men, women and young children have gathered together to see the execution of their monarch. They stand in the square before the scaffold, they look out from the magnificent windows of the Banqueting House and they have even climbed onto the roof of the building in order to gain a perfect view of the public spectacle. All attention is focussed on the place of execution.

The last row of spectators in the foreground of the engraving is of special significance to the beholder. They represent the artist's detailed studies of the public reaction to the beheading of Charles Stuart. One lady has fainted at the terrible sight and needs assistance from by-standers. An elderly man has turned his face from the scaffold in abhorrence and weeps publicly for his monarch.

Yet another dismayed lady has covered her face. The rest of the spectators stand motionless and express the feeling of the crowd, that of perplexity and helplessness. According to contemporary reports this was precisely the mood of the crowd of common people attending the public execution.

On the carefully guarded platform seven individual figures have been portrayed. Making use of a legend (in the Dutch language) the artist has indicated whom he has represented on the scaffold. Marked with the capital letters A and B the King appears in two different scenes. He is portrayed as he hands over his Order of the Garter to Bishop Juxon, with Colonels Tomelinson and Hacker in attendance on the left hand side of the platform. On the right the execution itself is depicted. The King's head has been severed by a masked executioner and a second masked character shows the head to the crowd. These two scenes showing different stages of the last moments before and first moments after the King's death are complemented by a metaphysical scene above the platform and the palatial building. Heaven has broken open and the King's immortal soul, represented in the form of a new-born child, is received by

cherubs who hold wreathes of laurel, emblems of victory and distinction, in their hands. An inscription has been added in explanation of the metaphysical scene: 'Der rechtverdiger siellen syn in Gottes hant', meaning 'The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God'. There can be no doubt that the Dutch artist intended not only to represent an historical scene, but also to evaluate the public execution of Charles Stuart as an act of regicide, a case of 'murdered majesty'. The metaphysical scene in particular expresses the conviction that the King who was innocently murdered in front of his own people, would be rewarded in the life hereafter.

As indicated in the introduction to this study, any attempt at establishing which use Gryphius made of pictorial sources for his drama, Carolus Stuardus, can utilise important preliminary work by A. Schöne, H. Powell and H.W. Nieschmidt. They have demonstrated that Gryphius used both the Eikon Basilike and the Englisches Memorial as historical sources for his dramatic work of art. He would therefore have seen the engravings in each work and would possibly have been influenced by the presentations as a whole or

parts thereof. However, the direct influence of a pictorial source on a dramatist and his work is more difficult to ascertain than that of a literary source where a quotation would in fact provide conclusive evidence. The use of a pictorial source for a literary work involves the transformation of a pictorial presentation into language. Moreover, the influence of a work of the visual arts such as an engraving, a wood-cut, a painting or a statue, is more likely than that of a literary source to be adopted by the writer subconsciously in stead of on a conscious level. Unlike his fellow-dramatist, Daniel Caspar von Lohenstein, Andreas Gryphius has not pointed to the influence of pictorial source material in the notes which he added to the text of his drama. For the purpose of establishing the influence of the engravings from the Eikon Basilike and the Englisches Memorial on Gryphius's Carolus Stuardus we are therefore dependent on tracing the similarities between the pictorial representations on the one hand and the dramatic text on the other, and only where an artistic symbol has been directly taken over by the writer, or where a descriptive passage in his work amounts to a pictorial quotation

(Bild-Zitat), are we justified to assume the immediate influence of the respective pictorial source.

Such an immediate influence on Gryphius's Carolus Stuardus by the engraving from the Eikon Basilike is suggested by A. Schöne in his interpretation of the martyr play. Schöne writes: "Von hier ist in der Tat ein Bild, man darf geradezu sagen: das eigentlich entscheidende Sinnbild in die Sprache des Trauerspiels transponiert worden".⁹ He refers to the symbol of the triad of crowns as contained in the engraving of the royal martyr, consisting of the princely crown, the crown of thorns and the heavenly crown of glory. The reader of Gryphius's contemporary historical drama can easily confirm Schöne's finding.

It is not surprising that the royal crown of Charles Stuart should play a major role in the work in which the last night and day of his life are dramatised. In all Baroque literature, but in particular in the serious drama of the age, the princely crown appears as a symbol of the transitory nature of worldly power and splendour. It is as a Vanitas-symbol that the crown appears no fewer than

seventeen times in Carolus Stuardus. The opening six lines of the tragedy read:

"SO ist / ihr Himmel / dann die letzte
Nacht verhanden.
Die wie man leider wähnt / den König
in den Banden
Doch auch bey Leben find / und drewt
der nächste Tag
Des frömsten Fürsten Hals mit dem
verfluchten Schlag /
Der Krone / Zepter / Reich und Throne
wird zusplitttern /
Vnd die erschreckte Welt durch disen
Fall erschüttern?
(G.A. IV, 63)

and here already the crown is introduced in connection with sceptre and throne as a symbol of the King's impending fall. The crown belongs to the royal attributes which, according to the King's own words "der Tag hinreist" (G.A. IV, 82). Thus he says at the end of the drama, while handing over his Order of the Garter to Bishop Juxton shortly before his beheading:

"Fahrt wol mit disem Band / Welt / Zepter /
Cron und Stab".
(G.A. IV, 137)

The second of the three crowns, the crown of thorns, which the enemies of the King have platted for him, is explicitly mentioned in the last of the annotations following Gryphius's drama: "Die Glider der beeden Parlamente hatten...seine vergäng= und beschwer=liche Dornen Crone / (so sie zu erst für ihme bereitet) in eine unverwessliche Ehren=Krohn verändert".(G.A. IV, 159)

In the text of the drama this crown is metaphorically referred to by one of the eight noble ladies who watch the execution of Charles I from the windows of the Banqueting House in Whitehall. When the King covers his long hair with a cap for the convenience of the executioner, the 'III. Jungfrau' comments:

"Diss ist die letzte Cron! Wohin verfällt
die Pracht!".

(G.A. IV, 136)

It is this metaphorical crown of suffering and shame which is once more alluded to in the execution scene by another of the noble ladies. She realises that Carolus will in fact exchange his crown of suffering for a greater one and that his martyrdom will be rewarded by a heavenly crown of glory:

"VIII. Jungf. Wol disem! dessen Cron der
Abschid so vergrösset".
(G.A. IV, 136)

This eternal crown appears in the text of the play on five different occasions and it recurs moreover in Gryphius's 'Kurtze Anmerckungen über CAROLUM'. When Charles Stuart takes leave of his children in the second division of the drama, he interprets his personal situation for them:

"Geht! liben Kinder geht!
 der Vater steht allein!
Sein Purpur ist entzwey!
 ihn hült ein Traurkleid ein!
Doch schreyt sein weinend Hertz!
 ob gleich die Lippe schweiget
Zu dem der ewig herrscht
 und ew'ge Cronen zeigt!".
(G.A. IV, 87)

On preparing for the execution in the fourth act of the tragedy, Carolus expresses the conviction:

"Nein! kan der untergehn
Der zu der Crone geht!"
(G.A. IV, 115),

and he confirms these words on the scaffold in his final conversation with Bishop Juxton who has assured him that after a short and painful journey, he will reach God's Eternal Kingdom. Prepared for his death

and visualising his life in the hereafter, Charles exclaims:

"Nimand wird die Cron ansprechen:
 Nimand wird den Zepter brechen /
 Nimand wird das Erbgut kräncken /
 Dass der Himmel uns wird schencken.
 Nimm Erden / nimm was dein ist von uns hin!
 Der Ewikeiten Cron ist fort an mein Gewin:

(G.A. IV, 136)

The first and last lines of this climactic speech in ode form call to mind the 'unverwessliche Ehren=Krohn' which Gryphius mentions as the King's ultimate reward in the last annotation to his martyr play.

In conclusion it can be held that the above quotations from Gryphius's Carolus Stuardus do not only confirm A. Schöne's assertion that the central symbol of the drama, i.e. the triad of crowns, has been transposed from the engraving which Gryphius found in the Eikon Basilike into the dramatic text, but also that Gryphius adhered to the spirit of the three inscriptions in the engraving which express the attitude of King Charles to the princely crown, the martyr crown, and the crown of glory:

- a. "MUNDI CALCO SPLENDIDAM ET GRAVEM [CORONAM] ",
- b. "TRACTO CHRISTI ASPERAM AT LEVEM [CORONAM] ", and
- c. "CAELI SPECTO BEATAM ET AETERNAM [CORONAM] ".

Without any doubt, then, the engraving from the King's book served as a pictorial source for Gryphius's martyr play. The question that arises at this point is whether the influence of the source was restricted to the "dreigestufte[s] Kronensymbol"¹⁰ or whether the dramatist made use of further details contained in the abovementioned engraving.

In the earlier description and interpretation of this engraving reference was made to the emblems of a rocky island in a storm-swept sea and a weighted palm-tree growing in a desolate landscape. It is perhaps no coincidence that throughout Gryphius's play the revolutionary era and the troubled times which King Charles experienced are depicted with the help of storm and sea metaphors. Thus Carolus himself characterises the situation in England by referring to "dise Flut, die ungehämm't sich häuffet / Vnd brausend über Land und Volck das Land ersäuffet / Vnd überschwemmen wird". (G.A. IV, 117) The 'Erste Graffe' who discusses the political implications of the King's beheading with the Envoy of the Elector, employs the same seascape imagery in order to describe the upheaval against the King:

This leads us back to the central figure of the engraving contained in the Eikon Basilike, the kneeling martyr King. On one occasion in his tragedy Gryphius has in fact created a scene in which the King is found in that posture. When the curtain opens at the beginning of the 'Virdte Abhandlung', Carolus is kneeling in prayer and speaks the following words:

"Fürst / aller Fürsten Fürst! den wir nun
sterbend grüssen.
Vor dem wir auff dem Knie das strenge
Richt=Beil küssen /
Gib was mein letzter Wundsch noch von dir
bitten kan:
Vnd stecke Carols Geist mit heil'gem Eyver an...
Die Erden stinckt uns an /
Der Himmel rufft uns ein. Wer also scheiden kan /
Verhönt den blassen Tod...

(G.A. IV, 114)

It is the similarity between the pictorial source and the dramatic text, amounting to a pictorial quotation, that has most likely induced H. Powell, who produced the first historical-critical edition of Gryphius's Carolus Stuardus, to regard the engraving from the King's book as a 'pictorial representation of the royal martyr as conceived in the tragedy'¹¹. Just as the pictorial source does, the dramatic scene portrays the inner and outer attitude of the martyr King in imitatione Christi who accepts worldly suffering,

even death, because his gaze is fixed on the
 immarcessible crown of glory.

If the engraving from the Englisches Memorial is to be considered as a second pictorial source for Gryphius's historical tragedy, then the final act of the drama has to be scrutinised for possible similarities and parallels. Some work in this field has been undertaken by H.W. Nieschmidt who interpreted the emblematic structure of the final two scenes in Carolus Stuardus and briefly discussed the striking correspondences between the engraving contained in the Englisches Memorial and the dramatic text: "Ohne Zweifel vermittelte die Illustration zur Enthauptung Karls I. aus dem Englischen Memorial Gryphius ein anschauliches Bild der Vorgänge, die er als Höhepunkt seiner Märtyrertragödie dramatisch zu gestalten dachte."¹² Reference here is on the one hand to the first scene of the fifth act, in which one of the two Earls whom the dramatist introduces in his play, describes to the Envoy of the Elector Palatine the scene which he has personally witnessed in Whitehall. On the other hand the above observation refers to the final scene of the martyr play in which the execution of Charles Stuart is presented on stage. The question

to be answered is to what extent and in which form has Gryphius made use of his second pictorial source.

When the curtain rises for the first scene of the final act, the plot has moved to within a couple of hours of the execution. All efforts to stay the hands of the regicides have been in vain. The streets of London are occupied by armed forces under Cromwell's command, the scaffold in Whitehall is surrounded by an immense crowd awaiting the public spectacle, and the King himself is on his way to meet his death on the block. The 'Erste Graffe' informs the 'Hoffemeister des Churfürsten' about these circumstances and in particular gives a vivid description of the setting for the public beheading of his King:

"Man eilt nach Withall zu / da die bestürztzte Welt /
Ob disem Untergang sich umb den Schauplatz stelt.
Da steht das Blutgerüst...
Auff diser Bün' erscheint das grause Schlacht=Altar
Mit dem verfluchten Beil".

(G.A. IV, 127)

It should be noted that Gryphius refers to the scaffold as a 'stage' in this report, just as the engraver aimed at a stage effect in his illustration of the scene outside the Banqueting Hall. When the German Envoy inquires about the reaction of the crowd assembled around the scaffold he is told:

"Ein Theil steht gantz ver=zaget
 Bestürzt / und als erstarrt. Vnd weiss nicht
 was es fraget
 Vnd wehn es fragen soll. Ein Theil siht in die Höh
 Vnd wündscht dass Hoff und Stadt und Hencker
 untergeh.

...

Das zartere Geschlecht das häufig wil erscheinen /
 Vnd durch die Fenster dringt: Ist mehr behertzt
 zu weinen /
 Vnd winselt überlaut. Die drückt ihr thränend Kind
 An die entblöste Brust / die wirfft die Haar
 in Wind /
 Die klagt den Himmel an / die fürcht sich /
 diss zu schauen
 Dass sie doch schauen wil / die heist auff Gott
 vertrauen
 Vnd glaubt / dass (ob sie Beil und Richtklotz
 gleich erkant:)
 Doch zwischen Beil und Klotz sich oft das Spil
 verwandt:

(G.A. IV, 127-8)

This report amounts to a partial description of the engraving contained in the Englisches Memorial. There is the general impression of the multitude of people surrounding the scaffold; there is a characterisation of individual spectators, similar to those forming the row of onlookers nearest to the beholder in the engraving; and there is last but not least a brief reference to the windows of the Banqueting House from where women observe the public spectacle. The Earl's report may thus be considered to represent a pictorial quotation which Gryphius included in the opening scene of the final act of his martyr play in order to achieve

historical authenticity by means of the directness of an eye-witness's report.

The final scene in Gryphius's Carolus Stuardus carries the stage direction: "Der König. Juxton. Thomlisson. Hacker. Die Hencker. Die Jungfrauen an den Fenstern".(G.A. IV, 131) This stage direction corresponds to the legend of the engraving of King Charles's beheading from the Vollständiges Englisches Memorial in that it introduces the very same characters that appear on the scaffold outside in Whitehall. Gryphius decided to restrict the dramatic action to the events on the scaffold which are observed like a play within a play by the noble ladies whose number corresponds to the eight windows in the engraving from the Englisches Memorial. They are the sole spectators and symbolically represent all the sympathetic onlookers whom the First Earl mentioned when describing the scene outside the 'Bancket Havs'. The key to the engraving refers to two specific moments on the scaffold, the King's handing over his Order of the Garter to Bishop Juxon ("De koningh gheeft d'. Ordre van S. Joris an D. Juxon.") and his kneeling down at the block ("De koningh an't Block."). Both these events are given special emphasis in the final scene of the play. The first episode is dramatised as follows:

"Nimm nach dem überhäufften Leiden /
 Die Seele die sich dir ergibt:
 Die keine Noth kan von dir scheiden;
 Die HErr / dich / wie du mich gelibt:
 Auff in das Reich der grossen Wonne:
 Erfreue mich du Lebens Sonne!"

(G.A. IV, 138)

One of the 'Jungfrauen' comments after the King's head
 has fallen:

"Ach! beweint nicht dessen Körper /
 der ein grösser Reich empfan=
 gen!
 Weint über dem / was GOtt hat
 über uns verhangen!"

(G.A. IV, 138)

Gryphius confirms his conviction that the martyr king
 has received a higher kingdom and an eternal crown when
 he refers in his annotations to the 'Unverwessliche
 Ehren=Krohn' which awaits Charles Stuart in the beyond.

/ / /

As has been pointed out in the introduction to
 this study, pictorial sources for Gryphius's martyr
 plays, in particular for his Carolus Stuardus, have
 not been recognised for a long time by scholars concerned
 with his works. More recently a beginning was made in
 inquiring into the influences exerted by pictorial source

material over Andreas Gryphius's drama. It was the intention of this essay to establish with certainty the extent to which Gryphius made use of two pictorial sources for his tragedy, Ermordete Majestät oder Carolus Stuardus König von Gross Britanien. The results arrived at in the discussion of the engravings from the Eikon Basilike and the Vollständiges Englisches Memorial leave no doubt that the dramatist transformed two pictorial sources into the language of his dramatic presentation. The influence of his sources reaches from mere similarities to actual pictorial quotations, confirming that Gryphius like many of his contemporaries was an 'Augenmensch' with a strong tendency to capture reality with his senses. It is untenable to assume that he would have used the text of his historical sources only, with complete disregard to any illustrative material contained within them. In his 'Kurtze Anmerckungen über CAROLUM' at the end of his martyr play, he reveals his artistic intention, "dies bluttige Jammer=Spil... beweglicher ab [zu] bilden" (G.A. IV, 158); for this purpose he made the fullest possible use of 'Bilder' present in the material that inspired him, giving them the life and movement of a dramatic presentation.

This study was concerned with only two of Gryphius's pictorial sources. Recent research in the field has shown that there were at least two more which he utilised for the second version of Carolus Stuardus. The 'Stumme Vorstellungen' of the Poleh-scene (V, 2) are strongly reminiscent of the illustrations contained in Philipp von Zesen's book Die verschmähete, doch wieder erhöhete Majestät (Amsterdam, 1661).¹³ For the King's meeting with his children and his walk to Whitehall, Gryphius found pictorial representations in his major English reference, to which he points no fewer than eight times in his annotations: A short view of the life and reign of King Charles, (The Second Monarch of Great Britain) from his birth to his burial...(London, 1658).¹⁴ These illustrations would have to be investigated more fully in order to allow a final evaluation of the influence exercised by pictorial sources on Andreas Gryphius's Carolus Stuardus.

Footnotes.

1. This is the title of a book on King Charles I, published in London in 1676. The full title reads: Majesty in misery: or, An imploration to the King of Kings. written by his late Majesty King Charles the First, Anno Dom. 1648 (London, MDCLXXVI).
2. Andreas Gryphius, Ermordete Majestät Oder CAROLUS STUARDUS König von Groß Britanien, in: A.Gryphius, Gesamtausgabe der deutschsprachigen Werke, Hg. M.Szyrocki u. H.Powell, Bd.4 (Tübingen,1964), S.53ff. Henceforth quoted as "G.A.IV."
3. Eikon Basilike (Imago Regis Caroli), (London,1649).
4. Vollständiges Englisches Memorial / Zu ewiger Gedächtnüss. Erzehlende die Processen / Declarationen / Beschuldigungen / Defensionen / Urtheile / Letzte Worte und Executionen / Von... Dem König von England / Schottland und Irrland / Carolus Stuart I. enthaubtet den 30 Jan. Anno. 1649. Alten Calenders... Alles mit sonderbarem Fleiß / nach der Copey von LONDON In das Hochteutsche zu iedermans Nachricht übergesetzet / und mit Kupferstücken nach dem Leben gezieret. (London,1649).

5. G.Schönle, "Das Trauerspiel 'Carolus Stuardus' des Andreas Gryphius. Quellen und Gestaltung des Stoffes". (Diss. Würzburg, 1933) S.50.

6. A.Schöne, Säkularisation als sprachbildende Kraft. Studien zur Dichtung deutscher Pfarrersöhne (Palaestra, Bd. 226), (Göttingen, ²1968) S.46ff., Reprinted in G.Kaiser, Die Dramen des Andreas Gryphius, Eine Sammlung von Einzelinterpretationen (Stuttgart, 1968) S.117-169.

7. H.W.Nieschmidt, "Emblematische Szenengestaltung in den Märtyrerdramen des Andreas Gryphius", in: Modern Language Notes, Vol.86, No.3 (1971), pp.337ff.

8. Cf. K.Lippfert, Symbol=Fibel (Kassel, 1956) S.58.

9. A.Schöne, S.129.

10. A.Schöne, S.136.

11. A.Gryphius, Carolus Stuardus, ed. with introduction and commentary by H.Powell (Leicester University Press, 1955) pp.2/3.

12. H.W.Nieschmidt, pp.338-9.

13. Cf. H.W.Nieschmidt, p.334.

14. K.-H. Habersetzer established this book as Gryphius's principal source in his article "Tragicum Theatrum Londini. Zum Quellenproblem in Andreas Gryphius' Carolus Stuardus", in: Euphorion(1972),S.303.