Literary Culture in the Holy Roman Empire, 1555-1720

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Accompanied by two or more servants, Lysander returns to his home in Bologna from a trip to court. The time is shortly after midnight in act 4 of Andreas Gryphius’s *Cardenio und Celinde*. One of the menials, named Storax, protests against the danger of traveling at such an eerie hour, especially on foot, for the party has led its horses through the neighborhood in order not to waken anyone. Storax, who fears an ambush, lacks Lysander’s confident bravery, though he vows that he would risk his life defending Lysander and the latter’s family. His arrival with his master and Lysander’s welcome by Olympia, the wife for whose embrace Lysander has yearned, are Gryphius’s inventions. They have no precedent in Juan Pérez de Montalbán’s Spanish tale “La fuerza del desengaño,” which was printed first in 1624, or in Biasio Cialdini’s rather free Italian translation of it, which dates from 1628 and is relevant because Gryphius became acquainted with the Stoff in Italy. Directly or indirectly, his source must have been Cialdini rather than the pioneering Montalbán.\(^1\)

Hugh Powell has speculated that Storax with his comic funk is modeled on Shakespeare’s Falstaff or the garrulous porter in act 2, scene 3 of *Macbeth*. Supposedly Gryphius knew a variety of Elizabethan dramas through the productions of itinerant troupes in Holland and Germany. As evidence Powell cites the figure Poleh in the *Carolus Stuardus* of 1663. Poleh’s name is an anagram of “Ophel,” which is an abbreviation of “Ophelia,” according to Powell.\(^2\) Though Falstaff, as a variety of the bragart warrior and thus a distant cousin of Gryphius’s Horribilicribriifax and Daradiridatumarides, is cowardly, the porter in *Macbeth* is not, so far as we can perceive; and Karl-Heinz Habersetzer has demonstrated that “Ophel” is far less likely to come from “Ophelia” than from “Ahitophel,” (or “Achitophel”), the name of King David’s rebellious minister in 2 Samuel 15–17.\(^3\)
Even if Gryphius had been introduced to Falstaff, a closer counterpart to Storax is Sosia in Plautus's *Amphitruo*. Sosia is a nocturnally timorous servant who was definitely familiar to educated people all over Europe in the seventeenth century. Carrying a lantern, he cautiously approaches Amphitryon's house at night as the Plautus play begins. He could be assaulted, but his principal fear is of being arrested, for he is only a slave. Like Storax, he complains about his master's impatience. Instead of waiting for daylight before sending him home with news of their victory in battle, Amphitryon has dispatched him as soon as possible. As the Theban general, Amphitryon is delayed by the settlement of various affairs, and he is eager for his dear wife Alcmena to learn not only of his imminent arrival but also of his exploits. In line 153 Sosia asks whether anyone could be bolder than he; but the god Mercury, who is standing guard at Amphitryon's door, waiting to drive him away, comments soon that no greater poltroon could be found (line 293).

The two scared lackeys forced by ardent masters to trudge home late at night are not the only similarity linking *Cardenio und Celinde* to *Amphitruo*. Another salient tie is that in each drama divinity masquerades as humanity, with salutary consequences. On the one hand, Jupiter adopts Amphitryon's guise, while Mercury pretends to be Sosia; and on the other hand, not only Olympia but also the deceased Marcellus is counterfeited by a supernatural being. The spirit posing as Olympia turns itself climactically into a menacing figure of Death, which terrifies Cardenio into reform. By seeming to reanimate Marcellus's corpse, the second ghost effects the same improvement in Celinde. Like both Celinde and Cardenio, if less pronouncedly, Amphitryon is reformed as a result of the epiphany in his life. Initially none of the three is religious enough to be mindful of divine intent.

Whereas Celinde is so obsessed with winning Cardenio's affection that she tries to cut the heart out of Marcellus's moldering body so that Tyche, the witch, can concoct a magic aphrodisiac, Cardenio is an egomaniac. He confesses to his confidant Pamphilus that in becoming a *uomo universale* he was deluded by success: "Der Düückel nam mich ein," he says; "Ich glaubt, es könte mir kaum einer gleiche seyn" (1.59-60). Until he met Olympia he did not consider any woman worthy of him. He wanted her, but her father refused to let her marry him, because of his hot-tempered belligerence, which could inflict unhappiness on the family. When Olympia was compromised by Lyssander, who sneaked into her bedroom unrecognized, so that her father relented, supposing the intruder to have been Cardenio, Car-
denio disdained what he haughtily viewed as "eines andern Rest" (1.215). After Olympia has accepted Lysander as her God-appointed husband, Cardenio determines to kill his lucky rival for depriving him of the woman he covets. Only metaphysical intervention prevents him from at least attempting to slay Lysander and Storax in act 4. His desire for Olympia is selfish rather than altruistic, for which reason he scarcely exaggerates in 5.388–89, where he declares that, playing "toller Lów" to her "keusches Lamb," he has been her "grimmster Feind." Obtaining her became the principal way in which he sought to gratify his ego. Thus it is appropriate that the phantom posing as Olympia should also mimic Death. The lovely woman and the hideous allegory are logically conjoined by the fact that Cardenio's passion contributes mightily to his spiritual quietus. Death aims an arrow at him, but Cupid has already shot him with a potentially more lethal barb.

In his preface to Cardenio und Celinde, which he probably composed at least five years later than the drama itself, Gryphius announces what he claims to have been his purpose with the work he subtitled Unglücklich Verliebete.4 "Mein Vorsatz ist zweyerley Liebe . . . abzubilden," he affirms. One kind of love is "eine keusche / sitsame vnd doch inbrünstige in Olympien," the other being "eine rasende / tolle vnd verzweiflende in Celinden." Apart from omitting Cardenio's fervor, that testimony does not do justice to the play, which teaches amor fati through the agency of all three principal characters. Whereas Olympia learns the lesson voluntarily, it must be forced on Cardenio and Celinde. The ultimate meaning of Montalbán's material is that our will should accede to God's, and the same message underlies Amphitruo. Plautus's protagonist cannot resist the will of Jupiter, however, whereas Gryphius's title figures are free to reject the guidance that has been thrust on them, if they are sufficiently obdurate. Both the pagan god and the Christian one demand obedience, but the latter is somewhat more permissive.

Celimde stoops to necromancy in an effort to captivate Cardenio again, and he for his own part sets about committing murder, whereas in Plautus's play Amphitryon incurs no guilt for any misdeed. Jupiter even calls him innocent (lines 894–95), yet the Theban general is so much a man of the world that he gives no thought to the gods. They are merely figures of speech or names for him to swear by, as in line 1051. Not realizing who has replaced him with Alcmena, he blusters there that he will break into his house, felling everyone he meets, and neither Jupiter nor any other gods will stop him. When Alcmena first informs him that he has already visited her, he suspects her of being
crazy (line 696), then either silly or arrogant (line 709). When she insists that he came the day before and departed a little while ago, he assumes again that she is insane (line 727). When she relates that he gave her the golden bowl he had taken from his conquered enemy Pterelas, he surmises that she is possessed (line 777). When she describes how he dallied with her earlier, he fancies that a magician cuckolded him (line 830). After meeting his twin in act 4, he takes the fellow for a sorcerer (line 1043). Never, in what remains of Plautus's first four acts, does Amphitryon entertain so much as an inkling of his surrogate's Olympian nature. Only when he has been struck by lightning and told that his wife has given birth to a pair of sons with no pain at all does he begin to understand that he and his family have been involved with higher powers (lines 1105–6).

After hearing that Jupiter fathered one of the boys, who immediately strangled two invading serpents, Amphitryon grows devout. In lines 1126–27 he orders sacrificial vessels for worshiping the king of the gods; like Cardenio and Celinde he has finally been converted to piety by a terrifying confrontation with the preternatural. In his case fright is occasioned by the thunderbolt that knocks him unconscious. "Jupiter's blast has left me paralyzed with fear" ("totus timeo, ita me increpuit Iuppiter"), he groans upon awakening in line 1077. He feels as if he were returning from the underworld (line 1078), and a monitory foretaste of hell is what not only Celinde's traumatic experience in the crypt amounts to but also Cardenio's awful moment in the "abscheuliche Einöde" at the mercy of Death. When Cardenio recovers, having fainted like Amphitryon, he wonders whether he might be in Hades (4.281–86). Apparently Celinde never loses consciousness throughout her ordeal, but she nearly does so when Marcellus, who supposedly is dead and certainly is in decay, addresses her and rises to his feet. "Ich sank auff seinen Sarg," Celinde reports in 5.330, with sibilants that imitate expiring life, and Cardenio remembers that she gasped for help "mit schier erstarrter Stimm" (5.260).

In *Amphitruo*, Sosia is evidently more aware of the gods and dutiful toward them than his master is. Early on (lines 180–84) Sosia suffers remorse because he was slow to thank them for his safe return from battle. Alcmena is mistaken in praising valor (*virtus*) as the *summum bonum*, or in her words the "praemium . . . optumum" (lines 648–53). Despite being blessed with plenty of valor, her husband subjects both her and himself to misery on account of his spiritual blindness. If he maintained proper regard for Jupiter, the omnipotent and notorious paramour, he would suspect that his *Doppelgänger* might be more than just a sorcerer. In the prologue to their play (lines 104–6), Mercury
remarks that we must all be cognizant of what a philanderer his father
is. Amphitryon, who can hardly be ignorant of Jupiter’s amorousness,
is so indifferent toward the gods that it does not occur to him.

Another passage in the prologue relates to a section of Cardenio und
Celinde’s preface. In lines 50–63 Mercury jokes about the genre of
Amphitruo. After terming it a tragedy, he labels it a comedy but then
opines that it ought to be both. Because it mixes gods and high no-
bility with Sosia the lowly thrall, besides combining witticisms and
slapstick with a marital crisis, Mercury pronounces it a tragicomedy.
Despite denominating Cardenio und Celinde a Trauerspiel, Gryphius
recognizes in his preface that its major characters, who belong to the
upper bourgeoisie, are “fast zu niedrig” for classicistic tragedy and
that “die Art zu reden ist gleichfalls nicht viel über die gemeine.”

What the latter clause imports is that the drama’s style is not so lofty
as was customary in tragedy. Cardenio and Celinde will never marry
—to the disappointment of many readers—but their story still ends
happily, and it contains the moment of comic relief contributed by
Storax, so that it qualifies to be categorized as tragicomedy, just like
Amphitruo.

Consonant with the informal tone of Cardenio und Celinde, Gryphius
included pleasantry in its preface. Alluding to the apparent revivifica-
tion of Marcellus, he jests, “Ob jemand seltsam vorkommen dörft-
te / daß wir nicht mit den Alten einen Gott auß dem Gerüste / son-
dern einen Geist auß dem Grabe herfür bringen / der bedencke was
hin vnd wieder von den Gespensten geschrieben.” Instead of pre-
senting a deus ex machina, presumably up above, Gryphius proffers a
ghost down below, in a subterranean crypt. He mentions only the
specter that frightens Celinde because it brings about a starker con-
trast, thanks to its location, than the shade that leads Cardenio to a
brighter future. The author is facetious, yet his drollery has a serious
dimension, for he believed that spirits indeed exist, revealing what
God desires. Like angels, they partake of divinity and serve the Lord
as messengers (except for those who are conjured up by necrom-
cers, as is Jamblichus in act 4 of Leo Armenius). In his Latin preface to
the 1663 edition of Carolus Stuardus Gryphius indicates the status that
he accorded to wraiths who do not collaborate with Satan. Whereas
Eumolpus in Petronius’s Satyricon declares that poets employ the in-
tervention of gods, Gryphius causes him to state that poets employ
the intervention of gods and ghosts. (The phrase “per . . . Deorum
ministeria” becomes “per . . . Deorum, spectrorum, Larvarumque
ministeria.”) Therefore a spirit can operate as a deus ex machina, and
it is by no means accidental that apparitions terrorize Cardenio and
Celine. They intercede beneficently as instruments of providential grace despite their horribleness, like Justina’s spectral duplicate, which shrivels to a skeleton, preserving Justina’s honor and Cipriano’s soul in Pedro Calderón’s *El mágico prodigioso* (initially published in 1663). Tarasius’s ghost, which predicts the demise of Gryphius’s Leo Armenius, is likewise a blessing in disguise, for it alerts the emperor to prepare for meeting his Maker.

Elsewhere in the preface to *Cardenio und Celinde* Gryphius discloses that his initial intention was simply to draft a German version of the tale to which he had been introduced in Italy. Friends to whom he had told it orally in Amsterdam had requested it in writing. Soon he changed his mind, however, and cast the donnée into dramatic form, perhaps persuaded by its kinship with *Amphitruo*. At any rate, because he ascribed divinity to ghosts, Cardenio’s flirtation with a revenant that imitates Olympia must have reminded Gryphius of Jupiter wooing Alcmena in the guise of her husband; and the social level of Montalbán’s characters must have recalled what Mercury utters about class differences in the prologue to *Amphitruo*. Gryphius is also likely to have noticed that Alcmena’s true spouse resembles Cardenio and Celinde in becoming religiously sensitized through stressful interaction with deities, though on account of his vigorous Lutheranism Gryphius was surely impressed by the contrast between Jupiter’s selfishness in the pagan comedy and God’s generosity in the Christian narrative.

In “La fuerza del desengaño,” Cardenio’s pendant, Teodoro, is lured by a female figure calling itself Narcisa (the name of Olympia’s equivalent) out of Alcalá (rather than Bologna) to an abandoned house in the country. There, by removing the creature’s veil, he discovers an image of Death, which menaces him with a scythe instead of an arrow. The process unfolds continuously, without interruption, both in the Spanish original and in Cialdini’s Italian. In Gryphius’s adaptation for the stage, Cardenio’s encounter with the spurious Olympia is divided into two parts, the first of which concludes as the couple leaves the true Olympia’s residence. After Lysander has safely returned with Storax and been admitted by his wife, the setting shifts to a luxuriant garden symbolizing the meretriciousness of earth’s attractions. To that locus amoenus, rather than to Montalbán’s “casería, que . . . apenas conservaba las paredes,” the apparition then conducts Cardenio. In the same instant that his uncanny companion, a Baroque Frau Welt, metamorphoses from beauty to beastliness their location “verändert sich . . . in eine abscheuliche Einöde,” as theater reinforces action. The sixty-four-line interval reuniting Lysander with the
real Olympia serves three purposes. It provides Cardenio and the ghost with time enough to reach the magic park; it creates suspense through plot retardation; and it helps to prove that Olympia has acquired sincere devotion toward the husband she married out of spite, when Cardenio fastidiously sniffed that she was sullied.

Neither Montalbán nor Cialdini indicates that Lysander’s equivalent, Valerio, is accompanied by any servants when he returns to Alcalá from a business trip to Madrid. Though the possibility that Valerio is escorted is not excluded, being single makes him easier prey for Teodoro. If the latter were faced with attacking a servant or two besides Valerio, Montalbán and Cialdini would probably comment on his predicament. Teodoro has routed several insulters of Celinde’s counterpart, Lucrecia (Lucrezia in Italian), but they were not compelled to fight for their life. Their swashbuckling adversary was intent on nothing more than driving them away. Not only does Storax lack a precursor in earlier versions of the Cardenio und Celinde material, as was noted at the outset of this chapter; the addition of him is also problematical, especially since he assures Lysander (4.179–80):

mir ist die Seele feil,
Mein Herr, vor seinen Leib vnd seines Hauses Heil.

Evidently Gryphius believed that a gentleman normally would not travel to court on horseback unattended and that Cardenio scorns whatever odds might be against him. After all, when he passes the church in which Celinde is desecrating Marcellus’s corpse, Cardenio stalwartly confronts what he thinks are robbers.

If these considerations account for the inclusion of Storax and an unnamed servant or two, they still do not explain why Storax is partially a clown. Though some dialogue between Lysander and a member of his entourage was needed to flesh out the previously nonexistent interlude, Gryphius did not have to center the conversation on a valet’s fear of the dark. We may legitimately theorize that he remembered Amphitruo, in act 2, scene 1 of which the title figure marches home with a slave at night, after having sent that craven ahead in vain as the play begins. Mercury lurking at Amphitryon’s stoop to pummel Sosia is even loosely comparable to Cardenio, who hides beside his rival’s door. Convinced that Lysander’s rescue by the seductive spirit justifies a humorous moment, which also anticipates his drama’s happy end, Gryphius constructed a scene from both act 1, scene 1, and act 2, scene 1 of Amphitruo.

Since Storax is indebted to Sosia, a skeptic might wonder why his name is not “Sosia.” We could answer that Gryphius also changed the names of Montalbán’s characters, all of which Cialdini preserved. Our
critic might argue, however, that either Gryphius forgot the names he perhaps only heard in Italy or they were already altered in his immediate source, which was a text later than Cialdini’s translation. The challenger could assert that for Gryphius the names were not imaginary because in his preface to Cardenio und Celinde he maintains that in Italy “diese deß Cardenio Begebeniß” (not “diese deß Teodoro Begebeniß”) was communicated to him (“mitgetheilet”) as “eine wahrhaffte Geschicht.” Having accepted the incident’s alleged veracity, Gryphius concluded his preface with other supposedly historical cases of corpses come to life. Because what its author recounts about the genesis of Cardenio und Celinde is so tenuous and vague that it permits conjecture and debate, let us concede for the nonce that our hypothetical adversary is right about Montalbán’s names (i.e., that Gryphius forgot them if he ever knew them). We can defend the derivation of Storax from Sosia by observing that Storax is not Sosia, though he resembles the latter to some extent. Just the few lines spoken by Storax prove that he is more loyal to Lysander, for whom he is ready to die, than Sosia is to Amphitryon. Whereas Sosia obeys because disobedience can result in brutal punishment, Storax willingly follows orders, albeit sometimes with reservations. Whereas Sosia is devout but sly and bibulous, while also being fond of wordplay, we never learn that Storax is. Thanks to his more extensive role, Sosia is endowed with a more developed personality.

Inasmuch as he and Storax are not identical, it is altogether proper that their names should differ. They are rather like Sulpice in Gryphius’s Verlibtes Gespenste (1660) and Fabrice in Philippe Quinault’s Fantosme amoureux (1657). Both Fabrice and Sulpice, who are thought to be dead, pretend to be ghosts, reaching a lady by means of a secret passageway and frightening their respective antagonist (the Duke of Ferrara for Fabrice; Cornelia for Sulpice) into reform. Sulpice’s goal is to bring Cornelia, his future mother-in-law, to her senses, however, as real ghosts sober Cardenio and Celinde, whereas Fabrice’s aim is to save himself and Climene, the woman he loves, from the Duke. In spite of major discrepancies between the two plays, there is no good reason to doubt that Fantosme amoureux is a source for Verlibtes Gespenste and that Fabrice is the model for Sulpice. Gryphius even kept the name “Fabrice” but switched it to Sulpice’s servant instead of assigning it to Sulpice himself. Whatever motivated Gryphius to substitute “Sulpice” for “Fabrice” was probably also his rationale for replacing “Sosia” with “Storax.”

Presented with a copious supply of slaves’ names in Plautus’s and Terence’s comedies and not being limited to those works, why did he select “Storax” for Lysander’s servant? Why has that servant been
christened after a pagan slave who is summoned to no avail at the opening of Terence's *Adelphoi* but who never appears and about whom nothing is said? In his *Historia Naturalis* (12.55.124) Pliny affirms that "Storax" (or its variant, "Styrax") is the name of a Syrian tree whose aromatic resin attracts insects that mar the wood by gnawing on it in the summer. Thus "Storax" possesses significance, and Gryphius was fond of self-reflective names for comic personages, such as "Horribilicribirifax," which hints at its owner's pompous and ludicrous bellicosity through its sound as well as its meaning. In the same play with him are Selene, who is moonlike in her inconstancy; Sophia, who is truly wise in her virtue; and Coelestina, who is heavenly in the sincerity of her affection for Palladius. Many names in Gryphius's comedies are in some way descriptive or suggestive, consonant with Renaissance tradition. Should the humorous figure in *Cardenio und Celinde* not be granted a commentarial appellation too? Gryphius may have associated Lysander's Storax with Pliny's sordid tree and its sticky but pleasant gum. When the servant's name is understood, in any case, his comicality increases.¹⁸

Tyche, Celinde's necromantic procuress, has an unquestionably meaningful name—the Greek word for luck or chance—and accounting for it will lead us to a second classical antecedent of Gryphius's tragicomedy. By instructing Celinde to cut out Marcellus's heart, Tyche causes her desperate client to become so traumatized emotionally that she forsakes her godlessness. Like the spirits impersonating Olympia and Marcellus, therefore, Tyche operates as a tool of holy grace, though the ghosts are good and she, a witch, is evil. Analogous to her are Leo's assassins in Gryphius's first *Trauerspiel*. They commit political murder for the sake of Michael Balbus, who is no more entitled to rule than Leo is, and they do so in the imperial chapel on Christmas morning, ignoring Christ's true cross; yet their sin conforms to the will of God, who has sentenced Leo to death.¹⁹ Though Leo's killers will surely burn in hell, they unwittingly serve God as executioners. Either Gryphius or his immediate source, if that was not Cialdini, named Celinde's evil genius "Tyche" partly because she is exploited by God in a way that is comparable to His manipulation of luck or chance, personified as the goddess Fortuna, in some Renaissance cosmologies. Like Dante in the seventh canto of the *Inferno* (lines 73–96), the German Jesuit Jacob Bidermann, for instance, explicitly subordinated Fortuna to Providence while granting her sway over earth. In 1.3 of his Latin drama *Belisarius*, she proclaims herself superior to everything but Providence, ²⁰ and in an epilogue to the same play she emphasizes that she rewards or punishes all mankind "on Providence's orders" ("ad nutum Providentiae," line 2076).
Evidence that Gryphius likewise imagined quasi-random events as ultimately God-ordained is furnished by his "Freuden-Spiel" Majuma (1653). In act 2, Mercury delivers Mars to Chloris, the goddess of flowers, so that she may avenge her suffering during the Thirty Years War. Mars defends himself by contending that he is subject to fate, which inflicts him on humanity as atonement for trespasses; he never acts on his own initiative:

Nein; das Verhängnüß / das härter als Eysen /
Schickt mich vom Himmel / wenn Menschliche Sünden
Meine Demantene Ketten entbinden,

he protests to Chloris.21 Consistency requires, therefore, that in a Christian Weltanschauung Fortuna must be directed by the Almighty if her existence is posited. How could she be utterly capricious for Gryphius when her compeer Mars is obligated to heed a superior force?22

In his preface to Cardenio und Celinde Gryphius refers to the play as "der schreckliche Traur-Spiegel welcher beyden Verliebten vorgestel-let."23 Though superficially a pun on "Traur-Spiel," the word "Traur-Spiegel" is pregnant with significance, for it echoes a sentence by Martin Opitz in the introduction to his 1625 translation of Seneca's Troades: "Dann eine Tragedie / wie Epictetus sol gesagt haben / ist nichts anders als ein Spiegel derer / die in allem jhrem thun vnd lassen auff das blosse Glück fussenn."24 Tragedy is always a "Traur-Spiegel," mirroring the irreligious, who depend on Fortuna rather than on Providence. For Gryphius martyrs were exceptions to this rule, but Cardenio and Celinde were not. Their implicit reliance on Fortuna in general is exemplified by Celinde's explicit reliance on a particular woman whose name means Fortuna in Greek. Not only is Tyche directed by God like Fortuna in Belisarius; she is also a mortal version of Fortuna, representing chance. Since, in addition, she "gibet Anschläge zu einer verfluchten Zauberey / vnd wil Liebe erwecken durch den Stifter deß Hasses vnd Geist der Zweytracht," as Gryphius states in the preface to Cardenio und Celinde, we should infer that he conceived of chance as something devilish, such as a sorceress.25 Because Celinde banks on Tyche instead of trusting in the Lord, her vicissitudes become a parable on the First Commandment, though the Old Testament's severity has been softened into New Testament benevolence. The true God still courts us, Celinde demonstrates, when we for our own part woo false gods. Luring us from faith to superstition and then making us either proud when it is good or despondent when it is bad, luck is insidious, so that we are justified in suspecting that "Tyche" as a name is supposed to remind us of the German word
Tücke.\textsuperscript{26} In the \textit{Reyen} to act 2 of \textit{Leo Armenius}, Gryphius imputes Tücke to Fortuna, apostrophized as "Ewig wanckelbares glücke," and among his contemporaries he was not alone in deeming Glück to be tückisch.\textsuperscript{27}

Our suspicion postulates that it was he who named the procuress, but in his immediate source she may have been called Tyche already, provided the source was not Cialdini’s "La forza del disinganno." There she is innominate, as also in "La fuerza del desengaño," yet something that both Montalbán and Cialdini have Lucrezia say about her hints that she ought to be named either Fortuna or Tyche. In the Spanish novella, Lucrecia tells Teodoro, "Puse en manos de aquella mujer mi fortuna." In the Italian translation that clause became "Posi nelle mani dell’incantatrice Donna la mia fortuna."\textsuperscript{28} In each case Lucrecia-Lucrezia reports that she placed her fortunes in the witch’s hands. As the administrator of her luck, the hag can easily be identified with luck itself, and Cialdini doubled the connection. Whereas Montalbán has Lucrecia lament that she is "una mujer con poca dicha" (\textit{Sucesos}, p. 86), with Cialdini Lucrezia cries that she is "colei, che fatta bersaglio di Fortuna non prova, che disastri, & angustie" (\textit{Prodigi}, p. 116). No longer merely unfortunate, she has become Fortuna’s dupe ("bersaglio di Fortuna") in "La forza del disinganno." Since what has reduced her to being the goddess’s laughingstock is her pact with Tyche’s pendant, to whom she has entrusted her welfare and who has caused her to experience only "disastri, & angustie," Lucrezia ties her counselor to Fortuna twice. Apart from the homophonic quality of tyche and Tücke, a reason to surmise that it was Gryphius indeed who named the sinister bawd is that in the Spanish and Italian tales she is not a figure about whom the authors narrate anything themselves. Lucrecia and Lucrezia only talk about her briefly, whereas in \textit{Cardenio und Celinde} she becomes a participant who utters 125 lines. It was probably the dramatist Gryphius who, with staging in mind, fleshed her out sufficiently to merit a name.\textsuperscript{29} If so, Lucrezia’s "Posi nelle mani dell’incantatrice Donna la mia fortuna" supports the hypothesis that Gryphius drew directly from Cialdini after all. Being unmemorably incidental, moreover, the sentence suggests that Gryphius owned a copy of "La forza del disinganno." Perhaps his text was an anonymous transcription presented as fact instead of fiction, so he never knew that either Cialdini or Montalbán preceded him in contributing to \textit{Cardenio und Celinde}’s history. Having renamed Teodoro himself would not prevent him from referring to the macabre story as "diese deß Cardenio Begebenüß."\textsuperscript{30}

That \textit{tύχη} is a Greek word can be important not only because it
sounds like a certain German one; there is also a familiar tragedy by Euripides in which Celinde's mentor has a counterpart. *Hippolytus* is the dramatization of Aphrodite's scheme to punish Theseus's illegitimate son for stubbornly rejecting her in favor of austere Artemis. In hunting him down, as he hunts animals, having adopted Artemis's sport, Aphrodite plays with his father, with the latter's wife Phaedra, and with Phaedra's nurse as if they were pawns. The goddess sets the course of Euripides' play as surely as Jupiter determines the action in *Amphitruo*. Though for Hippolytus eroticism is taboo, Aphrodite infects his stepmother with a consuming desire for him that is comparable to Celinde's obsession with Cardenio. Like Celinde, who is narrowly saved from suicide in act 2 of Gryphius's play, Phaedra grows so melancholy over her unrequited passion that she refuses to eat, hoping to starve herself. When she confesses her sexual craving to her nurse, the latter betrays her to Hippolytus on the mistaken assumption that he will commiserate. Fearing public humiliation, Phaedra hangs herself. From beyond the grave she seeks revenge, while she also tries to protect her and her family's honor, by asserting in a mendacious suicide note that Hippolytus has raped her. Having promised the nurse that he would not divulge his stepmother's lust, the libeled ascetic refrains from discrediting Phaedra to his father, in spite of her damaging lie. Theseus considers him guilty, therefore, and angrily has him killed. Belatedly Artemis interrupts the action to disillusion Theseus, as Jupiter undeceives Amphitryon, and to rebuke Theseus for his temper, thereby reconciling him with his son before Hippolytus completely succumbs.

Tyche abets Providence by putting Celinde into a situation that will shock her out of her intoxication, and Phaedra's nurse helps Aphrodite by precipitating a crisis that fatally affects Hippolytus. She triggers a series of emotional explosions that proceed from Hippolytus to Phaedra and from Phaedra to Theseus. (Consequently, it is ironic that the nurse invokes the goddess's assistance as she goes to apprise Hippolytus of how he is clandestinely admired.) Like Plautus's Jupiter, Aphrodite differs from Christian Providence by being selfish, and the nurse reverses Tyche by being blameless. Whereas Hippolytus is irreverential toward a deity, and Phaedra is criminally dishonest and Theseus is blinded by fury, the nurse cannot be criticized for any lack of virtue. If her judgment seems poor, as she herself professes it to be in line 704, she is reduced to drastic measures to rescue Phaedra. Though morally the nurse is Tyche's opposite, each woman attempts to aid a victim of unreciprocated love, and the plans of each are
divinely thwarted. In Tyche’s case, for the better; in the nurse’s, for the worse. Like Tyche, the nurse even proposes a charm (Hippolytus 509–15).\(^3\)

As Celinde bewails her desertion by Cardenio shortly before Tyche prevents her from taking her life, she recalls her dreams about women in classical literature with whom she identifies. In 2.65–68 she specifies four of these older sisters in sorrow:

\begin{quote}
Medèen seh’ ich rasen;  
Ich seh auff Didus Brust von Blut geschwellte Blasen;  
Die bleiche Phyllis hangt von jhrem Mandelbaum  
Alcione sucht Ruh auff toller Wellen Schaum.
\end{quote}

Her omission of Phaedra cannot be construed as evidence that Gryphius forgot Euripides’ Hippolytus, because Medea, Dido, Phyllis, and Alcyone, like Celinde, have been loved by the men who forsake them. Phaedra belongs in a different category, since misogynous Hippolytus never dotes on her. Celinde’s citing of Medea implies that Gryphius definitely did remember Phaedra, for Seneca and Euripides each composed a surviving tragedy about her and also one about the woman repudiated by Jason. Anyone who was as humanistically trained as Gryphius was, would have been bound to associate the queen and the princess fixated on hostile men. Phaedra joins Phyllis, Dido, and Medea, moreover, as a fictional contributor to Ovid’s Heroides. Incidentally, Medea’s successful sorcery can be seen as subtly coaxing Celinde to experiment with a philter; and Dido’s suicide (at the close of book 4 in Vergil’s epic) must encourage Celinde to end her life. Though Montalbán and Cialdini have Lucrecia or Lucrezia refer to her nameless witch as a Medea, neither the Spanish author nor his translator has her speak of the Carthaginian queen and attempt to kill herself.\(^3\) Celinde as a Dido imitator is another of Gryphius’s innovations.\(^3\)

Plautus’s Amphitruo, Euripides’ Hippolytus, and Gryphius’s Cardenio und Celinde are all religious plays, insofar as they are dominated by deities. In both of the ancient works, however, divinity abuses mortals for self-gratification, whereas in Gryphius’s Baroque morality it pressures mortals to prepare for heaven. To some extent Cardenio und Celinde is an anti-Amphitruo and an anti-Hippolytus. Though a religious lesson can be read from Amphitruo (be mindful of the gods), as well as from Hippolytus (honor all the gods), Gryphius is likely to have felt that a drama preaching memento mori, like Cardenio und Celinde, should not be called a tragicomedy, even when it terminates joyfully after heading toward calamity, contains a bit of humor, deals with the
middle class, forgoes stylistic grandiosity, and is reminiscent of Pla-
tus's archetypal mixture of the tragic with the comic. Gryphius's dra-
matization of a godless couple's miraculous conversion can be thema-
tically too noble and earnest, in spite of its untragic features, for the
rubric jocularly proposed by Mercury in the prologue to Amphitruo.\textsuperscript{34}
Surely, moreover, Gryphius knew the influential lines from Ovid's
\textit{Tristia} (2.381–83) characterizing tragedy as the most serious type of
literature yet one that always deals with love. Plays about Hippolytus
are even cited as examples there:

\begin{quote}
\textit{omne genus scripti gravitate tragoedia vincit:}
\textit{haec quoque materiam semper amoris habet.}
\textit{num quid in Hippolyto, nisi caecae flamma novercae?}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
[In weightiness tragedy surpasses every other kind
of writing, but it never omits the theme of love.
What destroys Hippolytus if not the passion of his
blinded stepmother?]
\end{quote}

In the preface to \textit{Leo Armenius}, Gryphius denies that love is essential to
tragedy, but Ovid's verses do apply to \textit{Cardenio und Celinde}, which
treats love very seriously—that is, in conjunction with redemption.\textsuperscript{35}
Thus the \textit{Tristia} passage may have helped persuade Gryphius that
\textit{Cardenio und Celinde} ought to be elevated to the level of Euripides' 
\textit{Hippolytus} by being styled as nothing less than a \textit{Trauerspiel}. If tragedy
is the gravest genre, salvation was for Gryphius the gravest subject.
His classification of \textit{Cardenio und Celinde} is another way in which this
play negates \textit{Amphitruo}.

\textbf{Notes}

1. See Gryphius's account of \textit{Cardenio und Celinde}'s origination in the pre-
face to the play, \textit{Gesamtausgabe der deutschsprachigen Werke}, 8 vols., ed. Marian
Szyrocki and Hugh Powell (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1965), 5:99. All quotations
from and references to Gryphius's works comply with this \textit{Gesamtausgabe}
(Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1963–72) except for some corrected punctuation. Citation
references specify act number followed by line number; that is, 1.59–60
indicates "act 1, lines 59–60."
2. \textit{Cardenio und Celinde}, ed. Hugh Powell (Leicester: University Press,
4. \textit{Gesamtausgabe}, 5:100. See p. xii regarding the preface's date.
5. Three times during the Neo-Latin supposititious scenes usually includ-
ed in *Amphitruo* editions from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries its title figure does acknowledge the possibility that his difficulties are due to the gods. See Ludwig Braun, *Scenae suppositiciae oder der falsche Plautus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), pp. 128; 130; 139, lines 56–57, 65; 149. Even so, Amphitryon fails to become religious prior to act 5.


9. Gesamtausgabe, 4/66. Gryphius quotes, in italics, from Petronius’s *Satyricon* 118.6. See also Gesamtausgabe, 5:101–3, where Gryphius disagrees with people who hold that eidola are “Tand vnd Mährlin oder traurige Einbildungen.” Distorting this testimony, Harald Steinhagen has tried to persuade us that the false Olympia is just such a “traurige Einbildung”—a projection of Cardenio’s guilt-ridden unconscious; see Steinhagen, *Wirklichkeit und Handeln im barocken Drama* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1977), pp. 158–59. Steinhagen goes on to criticize Horst Turk wrongly (p. 159) for viewing the false Olympia as a "Verkörperung des Überirdischen" and an "Eingriff der Vorsehung." See Turk, “Cardenio und Celinde Oder Unglücklich Verliebete,” in *Die Dramen des Andreas Gryphius*, ed. Gerhard Kaiser (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1968), pp. 96; 98. It is illogical of Steinhagen to argue (p. 160) that Gryphius repudiated all supernatural intervention because he judged in “Ffewrige Freystadt” that the fire destroying the town was started by natural means. In this regard, see Marian Szyrocki, "Andreas Gryphius ‘Feurige Freystadt,’” *OL* 25 (1970): 111 (“Im Gegensatz zum Volksgerede vertrat der Dichter die Ansicht, daß der Brand auf eine natürliche Art und Weise durch unvorsichtigen Umgang mit Feuer und nicht durch einen aus heiterem Himmel herabgefallenen Feuerball entstanden sei”); cf. Marian Szyrocki, *Der junge Gryphius* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1959), p. 118. Steinhagen claims (p. 161) that by Gryphius’s own avowal (Gesamtausgabe, 5:100) “das Gespenst” is no deus ex machina. Here Steinhagen misconstrues Gryphius’s quip about there being no “Gott auf dem Geriiste” in *Gardenia und Celinde*. Finally, if the drama’s phantoms were figments of imagination, they would not be numbered among the Personen as real entities (Gesamtausgabe, 5:105).

10. Calderón drew from Mira de Amescua’s *El esclavo del demonio* (1612), in which ersatz Leonor becomes a skeleton, but not at God’s behest. She is entirely the creation of demonic Angelio.


14. See 4.308–16 and 5.245–46. In 5.52, however, Lysander is confident that he and his brother-in-law together are superior to Cardenio.


16. See Amphitruo, line 280 (Sosia was once left suspended all night after being beaten); line 446 (he discloses that his back is full of scars); line 1030 (Amphitryon threatens Mercury as Sosia with a whipping).

17. For confirmation of this date see Étienne Gros, Philippe Quinault (1926; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine, 1970), p. 774. Two editions of Fantosme amoureux appeared in 1657 and one in 1658. In literature on Verlöttes Gespenste one reads that the first edition of Fantosme amoureux dates from 1658 or 1659. In 1659 no edition whatsoever was issued. Fantosme amoureux is based on Calderón’s El galán fantasma, which was printed initially in 1637. There Fabrice’s counterpart is named Astolfo.

18. Another domestic created for Cardenio und Celinde is Dorus, Lysander’s porter, whose name is fitting because of its phonic affinity with German Tor. Gryphius took this name from the dilapidated and emasculated slave in Terence’s Eunuchus.

19. See Gesamtausgabe, 5:51, lines 85–87, which are spoken by the former patriarch Tarasius.


21. Gesamtausgabe, 8:15, lines 154–56. See also lines 157–60. On presenting Mars to Chloris in 2.86–87, Mercury confirms that the god of war cannot act independently.


25. Gesamtausgabe, 5:100.


28. Pérez de Montalbán, Sucesos, p. 87; Cialdini, Prodigi, p. 119.

29. Febronia's "alte Hex" in Harsdörffer's story "Die Zauberlieb" (first published in 1649) is distinguished with a name, Affra, but "Die Zauberlieb" differs considerably from "La fuerza del desenganó," despite some similarities. See Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, Der Grosse Schau-Platz jämmerlicher Mordgeschichte (Hildesheim: Olms, 1975), pp. 120–24.

30. Szyrocki (Der junge Gryphius, p. 125) has doubted Gryphius's assertion that the tale was presented to him as a record of actual events, but Szyrocki reads Cardenio und Celinde as a confessional drame à clef potentially embarrassing to its author. Whereas Cardenio's age could indeed be an autobiographical touch, as Szyrocki contends, since both Montalbán and Cialdini omit Teodoro's age, Szyrocki's speculation otherwise defies belief. His reason for suspecting a "Mystifikation" is insufficient. Given his fascination with possible number symbolism elsewhere in Cardenio und Celinde, it is strange that he sees no significance in the fact that Cardenio gives his age by saying in 1.37, "Ich zehnte (wo mir recht) die zweymal eilfften ahren." Szyrocki observes, "Die 11 symbolisiert die Maßlosigkeit und die Sünde." (Der junge Gryphius, p. 61).

31. Gryphius was probably steeped in Seneca's Hippolytus at least as much as in Euripides', but Seneca's has less in common with Cardenio und Celinde. The nurse's role in furthering Seneca's plot is diminished, for Phaedra herself discloses her embarrassment to Hippolytus, as in Racine's Phèdre.

32. Pérez de Montalbán, Sucesos, p. 88; Cialdini, Prodigi, p. 120 (misnumbered 126).

33. In "Die Zauberlieb" (Harsdörffer, Schau-Platz, p. 121, section 5) the Celinde-like Febronia is compared to Dido, but Febronia is never self-destructive.

he states: "In der barocken Tragödie des Gryphius ist 'Welt' das irdische Treiben . . . das durchdrungen werden muß, ehe die große Harmonie der göttlichen Ordnung und der sittlichen Werte bestätigt gefunden werden kann. Allein durch diese Perspektive, nicht durch Motiv und Handlungsablauf, wird 'Cardenio und Celinde' zum Trauerspiel. Das Stück zeigt das irdische Leben als Trauerspiel, solange es dem Helden die Richtung auf Gott und die ewigen Werte verweist." Since Cardenio and Celinde overcome the world, however, Kaiser's rationale dictates that their play should indeed be called a tragicomedy. Taking a cue from Gryphius's reference to the work as a "Traur-Spiegel" (without linking it to Opitz's metaphorization of tragedy as a mirror), Michelsen proposes an explanation similar to Kaiser's for why Cardenio und Celinde is designated a Trauerspiel. See Michelsen, "Cardenio und Celinde," pp. 87-90. Some excerpts are "Nicht der Untergang: das Leben spiegelt Trauer" (p. 87); at the drama's denouement, "immer noch Melancholie, nicht Heiterkeit und frohe Zuversicht angesichts des Höchsten begleitet den Menschen auf seinem neuen Wege" (p. 89); and Gryphius's "Lebenslehre ist eine Thanatologie" (p. 90). To be sure, the drama's concluding words are "denck jede Stund ans Sterben," but neither Cardenio and Celinde nor Olympia and Lysander, who are gathered in the final scene, are melancholy. Their closing twelve lines of enthusiastic beatitudes ("Wol dem / der . . .!") testify to the contrary. All four personae do indeed display "frohe Zuversicht angesichts des Höchsten," for each of them has found the path to joy forever. Gryphius, the author of "Kirchhoffs-Gedancken," would recommend "Thanatologie" as a vitalizing "Lebenslehre," not a debilitating one. In 4.383-84 of Cardenio und Celinde Marcellus's ghost declaims: "O selig ist der Geist / dem eines Todten Grufft den Weg zum Leben weist!" Marian Szyrocki, Andreas Gryphius, sein Leben und Werk (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1964), p. 95, alleges that the poet labeled Cardenio und Celinde a Trauerspiel because "die Bezeichnung Schauspiel damals noch nicht bekannt war," but Szyrocki is mistaken. See, for instance, Rist's 1634 preface to Perseus (Werke 1:123). "Schauispiel" occurs twice already in Gryphius's Leo Armenius (2.92 and 423), to cite just his earliest play.

35. Gesamtausgabe, 5:4: "Die jenigen welche in diese Ketzerey gerathen / alß könne kein Trauerspiel sonder Liebe vnnd Bulerey volkommen seyn / werden hierbey erinnert / daß wir diese den Alten vnbekante Meynung noch nicht zu glauben gesonnen." When he penned that sentence, Gryphius was thinking of ancient dramatists rather than of Ovid, to whom his literary Ketzer were loyal.