SHIPS, THE SEA AND CONSTANCY: A CLASSICAL IMAGE IN THE BAROQUE LYRIC

Of the elements of style that mark the German Baroque, the attempt to elicit a strong emotional or even religious reaction ranks as one of the most important.[1] By studying how the Baroque poets used Classical themes and images to achieve such an effect, we will bring into focus one of the ways in which the poets of the seventeenth century differed from their Humanist predecessors. Where the sixteenth century neo-Latin poets looked to the Romans as literary models, the German poets of the Baroque played against those models to achieve the effects for which they strove. Baroque reference to the Romans deviates from a Classical or Renaissance norm with the purpose of surprising the reader by disturbing the generic or thematic expectations he or she brings from a knowledge of the Classics themselves.

We will explore Baroque strategies of reference to the Latin classics by tracing the history of a particular pattern of imagery associated with the Baroque topos of *constantia*, or constancy. Werner Welzig shows how constancy, or the ability to hold fast in the face of events,[2] appears in Classical and medieval literature. The metaphor of the individual as a ship afloat on a sea of troubles frequently expressed and explored *constantia*. This topos appears in Roman epic, lyric and philosophy. The neo-Latin poets use it in ways closely tied to that Classical heritage. The Baroque German poets[3] use the topos in new contexts which may be quite distant from those in which it originally appeared, as we will see as we follow the image through Justus Lipsius' philosophical dialogue *De constantia* and a series of German poems. What ideas did the ship topos express in Roman literature, and how do the ideas with which the topos is associated change in the transition from Renaissance to Baroque style?

We begin a brief survey of the Classical ship image with its appearance in Vergil's *Aeneid*. Aeneas' ships, carrying the last remnants of Troy, encounter a storm caused by Juno's wrath at 1.81 ff. In this scene, the ship stands both for the state and for the individual. The varying winds that attack Aeaneas' fleet ("venti velut agmine facto," 1.82) are given a political meaning when Neptune sends them back to their master Aeolus with the words "Fate did not give the rule of the sea and the rough trident to [Aeolus] but to me" ("non illi imperium pelagi saevumque tridentum,/ sed mihi sorte datum," 1.138-40). Vergil extends the political metaphor as Neptune calms the waves, riding over them in his chariot just as a man "heavy with piety and merits" ("pietate gravem et meritis") calms a crowd bent on violent sedition (1.141 ff.). The storm also throws Aeneas' own steadiness into question. His limbs dissolve in fear ("extemplo Aeneae solvuntur frigore membra," 1.92) and he longs for death. Vergil uses the metaphor of a ship at sea in both a political and an ethical sense. On a

political level, the metaphor represents the violence of citizens against themselves and against the state; on the level of the individual, the sea threatens the ability to hold fast.

The stormy sea is a symbol of *furor*, that mad lack of control against which Aeneas struggles throughout the *Aeneid*. The crowd Vergil compares to the waves is possessed by *furor* ("furor arma ministrat," 1.150). In Book 7 Allecto infects Turnus with fury (7.456 ff.) and he in turn presses the Latins on to battle. Here Vergil draws the connection between crowd and sea again, this time using the image of a rock that stands against the sea's force to describe a leader's resistance to a furious crowd that threatens the state. When Latinus gives way ("rerumque reliquit habenas," 7.600) we are reminded of Aeneas melting before the fury of the storm. The three images Vergil uses – ship, sea and cliff – form the core of the constellation of imagery we will follow in neo-Latin and the Baroque.

Horace plays in much the same way with this pattern of imagery. In *Odes* 1.3 he prays for Vergil's safety on a sea-voyage and protection from hostile winds; the praise of the boldness of the first man to cross the ocean, in which that early navigator is actually compared to a ship ("illi robur et ses triplex/ circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci/ commisit pelago ratem," 1.3.9-11), draws a metaphorical connection between the individual and his craft. *Odes* 1.14 (the famous "O navis, referent in mare te novi/fluctus") seems, on the customary reading, to urge the Roman state to use caution in navigating, a return to the political meaning of the metaphor. Political and individual come together in 2.10, as Licinius is enjoined to find a middle way between deep seas and rocky coast. Licinius' life ended precisely because he was unable to keep to a middle way.[4] Here the sea represents, not Vergil's unruly mob, but political affairs in general. Horace also uses the storm to represent the fury of the mob; in *Odes* 3.3, the just and steadfast man ("iustum et tenacem") does not give way before a citizenry demanding wrong. The demands of the citizenry are compared to the storms of the Adriatic. Here again political and individual steadiness are threatened by a stormy sea, which is equated with the mob.

The terms of our topos already vary considerably in the poetry of Maecenas' clients. In Vergil's poem the sea was consistently associated with a seditious and violent crowd. In Horace it takes on a broader range of meaning, but still is associated with the dangers of social life. For both poets, the ship may represent the state or an individual. The man threatened by the sea may be a political leader (Latinus, Aeneas, the "just and steadfast" man of *Odes* 3.3) or not (the first shipwright, Vergil in Horace's poem, Lucinius). Even when the steadfast point is represented as made of immovable stuff, it may, as in Latinus' case, slip and fall. In any given poem the ship, the sea and the cliff bring to mind a certain set of associations which revolve around the opposition between a still point of order and a threatening disorder. There is also the possibility of expressing a threat to the sense of self; when Aeneas dissolves in fear, when Latinus

gives up control of the state, or if the sea breaks through the "hard oak" of that first sailor, the still point of control may be overwhelmed, not only in a political but also in an ethical sense. The possibility of shipwreck ranges from the light-hearted pitfalls of love, as in *Odes* 1.5, to the mortal danger that threatens Licinius.

Seneca adds new dimensions to the topos of the ship. In *De constantia sapientis* he describes how the wise man stands on a peak "which stands so high above every thrown weapon that it projects beyond fortune" ("qui adeo extra omnem teli jactum surrexit ut supra fortunam emineat," *De con. sap.* 1.1). The wise man stands like cliffs projecting above a deep sea that break the waves, not showing any trace of the fury of the lashing centries ("quemadmodum proiecti quidam in altum scopuli mare frangunt nec ipsi ulla saevitiae vestigia tot verberati saeculis ostentant, ita sapientis animus solidus est," *De con. sap.* 3.5). We recognize the cliff from Vergil, but in Seneca's version the threat is no longer an unruly crowd. Instead, the ocean is compared to time itself and the damage it brings. The relationship between the cliff-metaphor and the problem of temporality persists through neo-Latin poetry and into the Baroque.

In another work, *De otio*, Seneca explicitly interprets Vergilian imagery, counting on the *Aeneid* to help him describe the withdrawal of a good man from a bad state. Should not a man continue as long as possible in active service? he asks and quotes *Aeneid* 9.612 in answer. Here Numanus Remulus, taunting the Trojans, points out how even age cannot slow the Latins: "we press helmets on our hoary heads" ("canitiem galea premimus"). Seneca's reply within the dialogue will be that the time of such active devotion to the state is past. The Stoic may, in fact, withdraw from public life.

De otio's reference to Vergilian imagery continues through the last line of the dialogue. Seneca states that he has not recommended withdrawal from political action in general, but merely from dangerous activity in any of the (bad) states or social arenas he actually sees about him. In this, he says, he acts as a man who recommends seafaring but discourages a voyage in dangerous waters, where shipwrecks are common and there are frequent storms. This, says Seneca, is to praise navigation, while forbidding a particular journey (*De otio* 8.4). The sea is a state, a 'res publica,' which Seneca describes exactly as Vergil describes the unruly mob that threatens the existence of a state. The state itself, which in Vergil and Horace was *opposed* to the danger of the sea, becomes the sea that threatens the individual.

The storms threaten in part because they "snatch the steersman into the opposite direction" ("tempestates...quae rectorem in contrarium rapiant"). Following on the Vergilian quotation with which Seneca began *De otio*, this refers to the episode at the end of *Aeneid* 5 in which Palinurus is thrown overboard by his own steering-oar. Aeneas, sensing the lack of a rudder, takes over Palinurus' position. Seneca reads the scene as another allegory for the state. Although an untrustworthy god and not a storm

brings Palinurus' death, the notion of relaxing one's willful control remains. If a man sets out into public affairs without sufficient influence or strength, it will be as if he had lanched a ship with sprung seals (*De otio* 2.3). The dangerous sea at the end of *De otio*, couched in a reference to Vergil, balances the Vergilian reference at the beginning of the dialogue.

In addition to the political or social level of meaning, Seneca's use of the sea metaphor in *De otio* extends the meditation on temporality we have already seen in *De constantia sapientis*. The notion of flux is introduced in *De otio* 1.2-3, where Seneca complains of the unsteadiness of judgment; we are inconstant even in our vices. Thus we depend wholly on the judgment of others, not judging the good road in itself but by a "mob of traces of which none return" ("nec viam bonam ac malam per se aestimamus, sed turba vestigiorum, in quibus nulla sunt redeuntium," *De otio* 1.3). The 'traces' of the temporal, recalling the "traces of the savage centuries in *De constantia sapientis,* are compared to a confused crowd ('turba').[5] Seneca actually uses the word 'fluctuamur' to express the way this mob of traces catches a mind in the flux of time: "we fluctuate and grasp one thing afther another" ("Fluctuamur aliudque ex alio comprehendimus," *De otio* 1.3). The steadiness of the wise man, which we have already seen compared to a rock, is here opposed to the metaphor of the confused or savage flow of time. The constant mind does not grasp one thing after another, but remains equal with itself, always knowing what it seeks. The elements of the political metaphor we have traced through the poets here become a meditation on subjectivity itself, on the nature of the soul. The storm and the crowd are still visible in the use of the word 'turba', by which storm and crowd are brought together with the problem of temporal flow and change. Here the threat is not the mob, but inconstancy over time, a too-great attachment to passing stimuli.

Seneca adds an emphasis on time to the ship topos. In its political meaning the sea itself becomes, not just an unruly mob, but any social group inimical to the wise man. This use is not too removed from Horace. Seneca's real innovation lies in using the sea to represent the traces that external impressions themselves leave on the mind over the course of time. Latinus' rock becomes a symbol of the eternal buttress of reason, now wholly removed from its earlier political context. The state is no longer a ship to be protected from danger, external or internal. Instead the state merges with the crowd that had threatened it, becoming a part of the mad image of the sea. The ship represents the individual in danger; the rock, the individual made safe by his or her own strength of mind. The underlying opposition of the image – the uncontrolled versus a still point – remains constant.

Such is, in brief, the range of possibilities for the ship immage as it developed in Vergil, Horace and Seneca. How did sixteenth and seventeenth century poets draw on these images? How are the images themselves further changed and broadened? It will be particularly interesting to see how the

image changes as it crosses from the Latin tradition into the vernacular. Do the Renaissance and Baroque work with Seneca's philosophically laden topoi, the political allegories of Vergil or the flexible meanings we find in Horace?

We should expect the Augustan metaphor to reappear in the neo-Latin period, when Latin lyricists begin to look back past Medieval poetry to Roman Latinity for their models (Conrady 1962: 24 ff.). Conrady points out that the neo-Latin poets did not restrict themselves to Golden Age models like Vergil and Horace but also drew freely from later lyricists, such as Claudian and Sidonius, and argues that the relationship between seventeenth century German lyric and Rome can only be understood in light of a consideration of these later Roman poets and of the Latin poetry of German humanism. To this I would like to add that the interaction between lyric and philosophical literature, which we have already seen at work in Seneca's use of Vergilian and Horatian imagery, is important for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as well.

Philipp Melanchthon's poem "Quomodo vivendum"[6] introduces the ship image in its last lines: "but especially be cautious: flee with oar and sails the spurious friendships of the powerful" (praecipue vero remo velisque potentum/ fucosas fugito cautus amicitias"). The problem of the state has been introduced in the earlier lines "flee the crowd unless the state demands reasonable intercourse: the crowd is a worthless evil" ("et fugito turbam nisi cum respublica poscit/ congressus modicos: futile turba malum est"). The conjunction of *turba, res publica* and the danger that the powerful represent is familiar from Seneca and from Horace. In particular the use of *turba* should be noticed; we have seen how Seneca brought it together with the flux of perceptions that distract a man. In Melanchthon, the metaphor returns to the field of social meaning and the opposition of individual to society.

While Melanchthon emphasizes the need to protect one's self against false friends and dagerous political situations, Jakob Micyllus (1503-58) brings the problem of time and constancy against its flux back into the realm of the sea metaphor. Micyllus' poem "De vitae brevitate" begins "Labitur velut unda tempus nec recurrit unquam idem," "Time slips away like the wave never to return." The things that, caught in time's flow, never come back are reminiscent of Seneca's 'turba vestigiorum', the crowd of traces that never come back ("in quibus nulla sunt redeuntium" (*De otio*; see above). Micyllus' treatment of the problem of temporality in terms of the sea indicates a closer proximity to Seneca's reading of the poets than to the poets themselves.

Micyllus continues his theme:

> et animo feramus aequo, quicquid accidet novi
> nam cadit sol et reversus luce resplendet sua,
> nos semel postquam cecidimus, nullus huc revertitur.

and let us endure with equal mind, whatever new should happen
for the sun sinks and, returned, glitters with its light
once we have fallen, nothing returns here.

The problem of recurrence and the contrast between cyclical nature and the only-once of the individual continues the meditation on temporality. The injunction to endure with steady mind ("aequo feramus animo") is a virtual quotation from Seneca ("si dicis illum aequo animo laturum," "if you claim he would endure with equal mind" *De con. sap.* 3.2) and recalls Horace ("Aequam memento rebus in arduis servare/ mentem," "Remember to keep an equal mind in difficult matters," *Odes* 2.3). The association of these words and images with the metaphor of the sea as time is very close to Micyllus' Roman sources.

Melanchthon's and Micyllus' poems show us that the various aspects of the ship and the sea metaphors we traced in Imperial Rome were very much alive in sixteenth century Germany. Where Melanchthon's poem seems to be closely based on Horace, even though it touches on themes Horace and Seneca share, Micyllus uses temporal imagery in a way reminiscent of Seneca. Even within the bounds of the imitation characteristic of neo-Latin verse, the poet was able to vary themes and emphases through strategic reference to Classical sources and models.

We can also follow the ship image in sixteenth century philosophical writing. Justus Lipsius' *De constantia*, first published in 1584, opens with Lipsius "fleeing the disorders of [his] native land" ("fugiens patriae meae turbas," p. 1 – the *turbae* are already familiar from Seneca and Melanchthon). A few lines later Lipsius brings the disturbances in Holland into connection with the ship metaphor: "we are tossed about for so many years, as you see, in the tempests of civil wars; and in a billowing sea, we are shaken by more than one wind of disorder and sedition" ("Iactemur iam tot annos, ut vides, bellorum civilium aestu: et, ut in undoso mari, non uno vento agitamur turbarum seditionumque," p. 1). The storm here described is equally Vergil's in *Aeneid* 1 and the danger Horace describes in *Odes* 3.3; the reference to unruly crowds is Vergilian. If Lipsius seeks quiet ("otium," cf. Seneca) or gardens and the countryside ("horti et rura") soldiers and trumpets force him into town (cf. Horace *Epodes* 3). His friend Langius criticizes Lipsius' attempts to escape his troubles. Langius locates Lipsius' illness (cf. Seneca's *De tranquillitate animi* for the same metaphor) in Lipsius's unquiet soul rather than in the disturbed state. "And thus you rather flee from troubles (turbas) than escape them" ("Itaque fugitis magis turbas quam vitatis," p. 3). Lipsius goes on to quote Vergil, comparing the troubles of the soul to the arrow with which Aeneas wounds a deer in the African forest.

Langius' conclusion that it is Lipsius' soul that suffers ("Animus enim certe est, qui aegrotat") brings the other aspect of the ship metaphor, the individual in an difficult society, into play. That sickness is expressed in a political metaphor: "Sceptrum abiecit princeps divinaque pars," (p. 3) –

"the prince and divine part of the soul has thrown down the scepter." Lipsius' references and quotations move back and forth between Seneca and Vergil. By manipulating the rather labile ship and sea images, Lipsius is able to re-open ranges of meaning that his model Seneca had excluded. As Micyllus drew on Seneca in his poetry, Lipsius draws on Vergil in his philosophical writings. The range of the topos is extended as it moves between genres.

Many of Lipsius' rewritings come in the course of encounters between Stoic philosophy and Christian doctrine. In his hands the metaphor becomes connected to such diverse matters as the problem of free will and the danger of atheism, which vary the themes we have already seen.[7] What Seneca described as a stance above the slings of fortune, Lipsius describes as proximity to God ("magnum illud Deoque proximum tibi vindicabis, Non moveri" [p. 9], "You will claim for yourself that great nearness to God of not being moved"). The still point that brought the individual out of time is for Lipsius the point of contact between human and divine; constancy, which Lipsius compares in this context to Theseus' thread, is the reflection or image by which the divine enters us ("Deus ipse per hanc sui imaginem ad nos venit, imo quod proprius est, in nos," p. 8).

Lipsius' text itself is constructed around a sort of enclosed still point. The scene of the dialogue changes in Book II as Lipsius and Langius go to Langius' gardens, which are removed from town. The only conversation that actually occurs in the garden – in the still, walled enclosure in the center of the text, which is removed from town – is the discussion of the *purpose* of liberal arts as a preparation for a change in one's own life and the entry of the eternal. Langius refuses to discuss constancy itself in the garden ("this is no fit place for our purpose," "non faciam Lipsi: non certe in hoc loco, quem otio meo scire debes, non negotio consecratum." Bk. 2, ch. 59). Lipsius remarks, quoting St. Augustine, that the company of the Muses prepares the mind "to receive the sacred seed" (Bk. 2, ch. 4). Theology is the "lady of all"; those who pursue only her lesser sisters the Liberal Arts are like the suitors of Penelope who, unable to possess her, contented themselves with her maids (Bk.2, ch. 4). After the pair's removal to the summer house, the discussion of the first book is taken up anew, and the metaphor of the ship reappears.[8] The first three chapters of Book 2 are set off from the rest of the discussion between Lipsius and Langius just as the garden itself is set off from the world, while the return to the earlier discussion of constancy in the fifth chapter is accompanied by another move to a small summer house. The still point in the garden, like the rock, is proof against the temporal flow of the dialogue. It is the point at which the conversation reaches up past worldly matters to touch on higher things – not the *how* of philosophy and learning, but its *why*. The ship image, with its emphasis on movement and temporal change, is kept out of Langius' garden. The sea is part of the *neg*-otio of the outside world.

Lipsius' book further extends the sea-metaphor. Drawing on Seneca, he

uses the still point – the rock which stands against flux – as a point of contact between human and divine. The ship becomes a way to meditate on such theological problems as the nature of free will or affliction as divine testing. In general, then, Lipsius' use of the ship metaphor shares in *De constantia*'s larger gesture of negotiating between Classical philosophy and Christian belief. Where Melanchthon's and Micyllus' poems remained within the general range of concepts and imagery opened by Classical usage (the state, temporality, the impermanence of human life), Lipsius brings Stoic thought and the images in which that thought was expressed into the realm of theological speculation and of individual belief. This is a pattern Stalder (1976) follows through the poems of Opitz, Gryphius and Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg – the gradual infusion of Classical imagery with Christian thought, a pattern we will follow in our own metaphor. Lipsius' efforts to synthesize Stoic philosophy and Christian theology can be seen in the expansion of the range of possible meanings and associations the ship and sea metaphors undergo in the course of *De constantia*.

We can see that the "continuity" of the Latin literary tradition is disturbed well *before* the images of Classical antiquity begin to enter the vernacular. The Latin poems we have examined here from the first half of the sixteenth century remain within the formal and thematic constraints of humanism's concern with pure Roman diction. Lipsius' book works differently with the Classical heritage, using a Roman metaphor to consider theological difficulties and fusing sacred and profane imagery in Langius' garden. Although Lipsius uses the topos to express and explore some of the difficulties of Christian doctrine, he attempts to stay true as well to the spirit of antiquity even as he seeks a synthesis between Stoic and Christian thought. In this way his work remains more typical of Renaissance Humanism than of the Baroque. But the meeting between Roman literary device and European religious tradition is one way in which Classical Latin literature encounters non-Classical problems. Another, similar development will be the joining of Classical imagery with the vernacular literary tradition(s).

The ship-metaphor was used in both German poems that stayed true to the neo-Latin poetic tradition and in poems that departed sharply from it. "Teutschland: Emblema"[9] by Heinrich Hudemann (1595-1628; the poem appeared in 1625) compares Germany to a ship:

> Teutschland ist durch den Wind dess Krieges umbgetrieben
> Nichts anders/ alss ein Schiff/ welches fast ist auffgerieben
>   Durch grossen Meeres Sturm/ durch Unglück mannigfalt:
>   und solches ist geschehn durch Aeoli gewalt...

The comparison of war-torn Germany to a ship is reminiscent of Lipsius' comparison of the Netherlands to a ship on a billowy sea, and also recalls the storm scene in *Aeneid* 1 ("durch Aeoli gewalt;" it is Aeolus who, at

Juno's bidding, lets loose the winds that threaten Aeneas' fleet). The swirling winds of that scene are repeated here, with the difference that the sedition of the *Aeneid* storm becomes the Thirty Years' War. In the next strophe the point of reference is altered slightly:

> Derselbe ist dahin/ sein Kraft hat Er verlohren
> Castor und Pollux seynd nu wieder neu geboren
>   Die werden scheinen hell/ und unser Schiff geschwind
>   Wird finden seinen Port durch stillen guten Wind.

The model recalls Horace's invocation of Castor and Pollux to protect the ship carrying Vergil ("fratres Helenae, lucida sidera" *Odes* 1.3.2). In Horace's poem Aeolus appears as the father of the winds, who is asked to keep all but the favorable wind Iapyx in check ("ventorum atque regat pater/ abstrictis aliis praeter Iapyga," 1.3.3-4). The wish for a port recalls Horace's "fortiter occupa/ portum" ("boldly keep to port," resisting the waves that threaten to bear [the state] out to sea, 1.14).

Hudemann's use of the ship metaphor recalls the Augustan poets and the initial metaphor of *De constantia*.[10] By describing contemporary events in Roman language, Hudemann seems to assert an analogy between that age and his own. Where Melanchthon and Micyllus used the metaphor to express the position of the individual with respect to the state or to time, Hudemann returns to the Vergilian or Horatian political image, in which the ship symbolizes the state itself. His German lyric, like the neo-Latin poems we have examined, is quite closely based on Roman poetic models.

Johann Hermann Schein (1586-1630) uses the same image in his poem "Mein Schifflein lieff im wilden Meer." Although published only four years after Hudemann's, Schein's poem differs sharply in that it uses Classical imagery to express a theme from the vernacular tradition. The poem depends on the analogy between ship and individual: sails torn, rudderless and without a steersman, the ship runs until Amor saves it ("Biss endlich durch gewündschten port/ mich Amor thet erquicken"). Until, that is, the ship finds its *goal*; Welzig (1976) shows how steadfastness in pursuing a goal (such as a love-object) is a type of constancy, and how Medieval "Treue" in love contributed to the Baroque understanding of *constantia*, so that Schein's use of the ship image is still well within the broad realm of *Beständigkeit*.

The role of Love as the god who saves the ship is new. In Horace's *Odes* 1.5, a disastrous love is compared to a shipwreck, so that Amor is associated with the dangerous forces of the sea; the sort of love that can guide a ship out of a storm cannot be confused with the sort of love Horace seeks in the *carpe diem* poems. In Vergil too, love (of Dido for Aeneas, or of Turnus for Lavinia) is associated with *furor*, that is, with themes connected to the sea. The love that is also a goal to be sought echoes the knightly romance rather than the Classical poets.

Schein's style, too, is more Baroque than Hudemanns'. The elements of the image – sail, rudder, sailor, stars and so forth – are all to be found in Horace or in Vergil, but the style of presentation is markedly different in Schein. Where Horace places these elements in a carefully constructed single sentence, Schein separates his nouns into individual lines set off by meter and rhyme, giving equal weight to each part of the picture. Conrady (1962: 74) points out how Horace's odes take the form of connected series of thematically homogeneous blocks. Similarly, Hudemann's poem breaks into two sections. The first presents the plight of the ship and the second prays for a safe haven, with the first line of the second strophe forming a transition between the two blocks. The poem is constructed around a symmetrical reversal of description, as the storm winds become gentle and the ship finds its port. This balance between beginning and end lends thematic unity. Schein's poem follows the same scheme of describing the danger to the ship and moving to a prayer. But instead of returning to the same images and so resolving the tensions of the poem, Schein introduces the new theme of Amor. The shift upsets the expected thematic balance of the poem, introducing a new theme and range of imagery just as the reader expects closure. That effect is heightened by the change that shifts love from the sea-like force it would have represented in the Classical image to the goal the ship strives to reach; any reader who remembers that the *Aeneid* associates the sea with the *furor* of rebellion or love, or the Stoic use of the sea to represent transitory delights, should experience a certain jolt as that system of imagery is in effect turned on its head. Love, seen as port or goal, appears in Schein with a double significance inherited from the medieval tradition, even though Love is allegorized as the Classical god.

Although the descriptive elements of Schein's poem are familiar to us from Classical usage, the way he plays with form, meter and rhyme is not. On a thematic and stylistic level, then, Schein's poem, although published almost simultaneously with Hudemann's, already shows how the Baroque lyric moves past Hudemann's close imitation of Classical material. Hudemann still writes what is in many ways a neo-Latin ode that happens to be written in German. Schein is already involved in new sorts of experimentation with form and thematic structure. Nonetheless, Schein still draws on the same poetic vocabulary Hudemann does, even as he introduces the ship image into a new literary tradition whith innovative forms and themes. The effect so prized by the Baroque poets is here derived in part from the reader's knowledge of where the ship image comes from and the range of meanings it is supposed to be able to have.

The same kind of sophisticated play against tradition for the sake of effect can be seen in a poem by Johann Rist (1607-67). Rist used the ship metaphor in a poem on constancy itself, which seems to have been influenced by Lipsius. The poem "Sie rühmet ihre Bestendigkeit" opens with the ship-metaphor:

> MEin Hertz ist nicht von Wachs/ mein Hertz ist nich zugleichen
> Den Winden/ die bald Ost bald West herümmer schleichen/
> Es ist nicht wie ein Schiff/ das nach der Wellen Lust
> Bald hie/ bald dort einläufft; Ach! mier ist nichts bewust
> Als nur bestendig seyn...

As we will see, this is again the *Beständigkeit* of love and not of philosophy. The speaker, we discover in the last line of the poem, is Chloe, and her steadfastness lies in her longing for Daphnis. Rist takes up the Senecan image of the ship as an individual afloat on a sea of emotion and uses a range of description that has clear associations with Lipsius' neo-Stoicism. But the constancy that renders Chloe different from a ship is, as in Schein's poem, directed at a love-object.

The third strophe looks to the same lines of Catullus that Micyllus' poem did (he may in fact be thinking of Micyllus as well):

> Die Sonne zwar steht auff/ und geht des Abends nieder/
> Der bleiche Mond nimt ab und kommt gefüllet wieder...

Chloe's emphasis is less on mortality than on the opposition between human directedness and the movement of the natural world. She contrasts her constant heart to the cyclic variations of heat and cold, pain and pleasure, in the first half line of the next strophe ("Mein Hertz ist nicht also"). The rest of the strophe, from the words "das lest sich nicht erregen/" (which nearly quote Lipsius' definition of constancy: "animi robur, non elati externis aut fortuitis, non depressi") use the familiar terms of the Classical ship topos to express her devotion to Daphnis. Chloe even claims she is like a cliff:

> Ich halte wie ein Felss der an den üfern steht
> Bey welchem Wind und Fluth und Spott für über geht.

The reference to 'Spott' points to Seneca's assertion of the wise man's imperviousness to contumely in *De constatia sapientis*. The referential register of the entire poem is, in fact, quite elevated, which gives the surprising revelation of the speaker's identity in the last lines all the more force. Rist's reversal in fact becomes a parodic violation of the Roman and Humanist generic hierarchy; the last strophe, which puts sex in place of the unchanging virtue of Stoicisim and moves from a lyric-epic register to that of pastoral romance, finalizes a move away from the 'high' forms in which we have so far seen the ship-cliff-sea pattern.

Rist does a brilliant job of parodying the philosophical commonplace. This tells us two things: the topos was well-known enough to bear parody by the time Rist wrote, and, to judge from Rist's rather complex texture of reference, it could be manipulated by mixing different parts of its genealogy, that is, by drawing on usages from different stages in the history of the metaphor. In addition, by bringing the metaphor into contact with parody and with popular pastoral, Rist further augments the metaphor's range of

association. Rist and Schein represent new phases in the interaction
between Latin and German traditions. Love can be the goal that keeps the
soul steady. Although this is wholly foreign to the Stoic tradition, the
Baroque's expression of constancy in love counts on a knowledge of its
expression in Roman poetry and prose.

It is interesting that Rist and Schein both associate the ship and the sea
metaphor with Classical figures. Schein's Amor is still the Roman god;
Rist's shepherdess still the figure from Classical pastoral, his Senecan and
Vergilian references too dense to be ignored. It seems still to be character-
istic of the metaphor that it is strongly associated with Latinity. Even
when we move quite far from its Classical range of associations and mean-
ing, the ship metaphor retains a strong correlation with Classical imagery
and names. This holds true even for poems whose underlying theme is
distinctly non-Classical. Hudemann's theme and diction remain Augus-
tan, though applied to contemporary events; the poem strives to express a
Classical ideal in the vernacular. The poems of Rist and Schein still depend
on a good Classical background to be understood and to achieve their full
Baroque effect, but they have moved sharply away from imitation in the
style of Hudemann.

We have explored the use of the ship-metaphor to express themes from
knightly romances and the pastoral in ways that can become parodic. That
the ship metaphor was also retained as a part of the expressive vocabulary
of the "higher" rhetorical registers is shown by its appearance in poetry of
faith. This development is already anticipated by Lipsius, whose constant
still point was a point of contact between human and divine. Andreas Gry-
phius and Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg use the metaphor to draw a
contrast between soul and god. They move away from the Stoic notion,
which Lipsius is still able to use, that there is an image of the divine fire in
us (*De constantia*, p. 7, "et clare in eâ scintillantes reliquiae primi illius
purique ignis") of which constancy makes us aware, but retain the Stoics'
expressive vocabulary. As we will see, they are similar to Rist and Schein in
that their use of the ship-metaphor is still importantly informed by Latin-
ity. We may move rather far in several directions, it seems, without
stepping out of what Curtius described as the continuous stream that
flows from the Tiber into the Rhein.

Indeed, Gryphius' use of the cliff-image reverses Lipsius' and Seneca's.
When Gryphius writes in "Einsamkeit" of "der Stein/ den auch die Zeit
aufffrist" to express the idleness of human life, how "auff nicht festem
Grund' all unser Hoffen steh'," he threatens Seneca's use of stone as a
metaphor for unchanged temporal endurance. Human steadfastness no
longer depends on the individual's strength of will, but solely on God
("alles/ ohn ein Geist/ den Gott selbst hält/ muss wancken"). Thus,
although the poem's imagery has clear Classical and humanist references
– the poem begins with a withdrawal from society highly reminiscent of,
for example, *Epodes* 3 – the Classical form is only a sort of monument that

itself shows the wear of time. Gryphius' soul, unlike Lipsius', no longer seems capable of following the thread of Ariadne but only of being led. His own sense of his inclusion in temporal flux is expressed in "Ruhe des Gemüthes" – the goal of the still point is impossible for everyone who "gleich als ich/ in schneller Flucht/ Irr't ohne Frucht." The flux of things, still expressed in a Classical vocabulary, threatens even the still point unless God holds it fast. What Lipsius could find in Langius' garden is not available for Gryphius, or, at least, only available to him through grace and not by any act of human will.

For Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg the goal is also divine. In "Auff meinen bestürmeten Lebens-Lauff" that goal keeps her spirit in a narrow circle around a middle point. A stream of fear and troubles turns her about and about, but she focuses on her goal:

> Mein Zünglein stehet stät/ um wellen fort getragen/
> auf meinen Stern gericht. Mein Herz und Aug' ist dort/
> es wartet schon auf mich am Ruhe-vollen Port:
> dieweil muss ich mich keck in weh und See hinwagen.

The imagery – the port, even the waves that threaten to carry her speech away from its goal – echoes *Odes* 1.141ff.:

> O navis, referent in mare te novi
> fluctus! O quid agis? fortiter occupa
> portum...

What Horace used to express the distance between the state and peace, von Greiffenberg uses to express the distance between a soul and God. The parallels continue: von Greiffenberg's broken mast and "Ruder-Knecht/ die sinnen" but soon will no longer row recall Horace's ship "nudum remigio" ("bare of oars [or oarsmen]"), with groaning yardarms ("antennaeque gemant"). In this condition the ship cannot last. Von Greiffenberg worries that she will be the plaything of the winds (cf. 1.14.16). The dropping of the oars becomes lassitude and death, the end of animate activity.

In von Greiffenberg's poem as in Gryphius' the ship and sea motifs are used to express the utter dependence of the human soul on divine grace. Von Greiffenberg's prayer to come to port, which we have seen from Horace on, is here directed to the Christian god rather than a pagan deity. Even though von Greiffenberg follows Horace quite closely, her mode of imitation differs strikingly in spirit from that of a poet like Hudemann. Where Hudemann's political metaphor translated the Augustan metaphor directly in terms of contemporary events, von Greiffenberg converts the images of *Odes* 1.14 into Christian meaning. The Classical images have been given a wholly new sense as they are inscribed into a Christian world. As in Gryphius' poem, the Classical metaphor remains as a monument to the Roman and the Humanist past, but here expresses precisely the opposite of the dignity of man.

Von Greiffenberg's and Gryphius' references do not bespeak a Human-
ist desire to revive Classical literature as a guide for living or to achieve a
Lipsian synthesis between Stoic and Christian thought, but stem from a
theology and ethic that rejects the very system of thought from which the
Roman ship image was born. The stone too is gnawed by time; the ship
represents not the triple-bonded boldness of man (*Odes* 1.3) but his fallen
condition. The still point represents, not just the cessation of argumenta-
tion, but of all seeking. The sea becomes the separation from the eternal
that is the condition of life itself. In Langius' garden poets write and true
philosophers argue and dispute. But the wave that was excluded from that
garden carries away the speech of Catharina von Greiffenberg – the word
itself is no longer the mark of human reason but a sign of temporality. As
in Micyllus, the mark of time, the slipping away of the flood, lies on all
things. The still point is no longer the innate point of similarity between
man and God, but the infused possibility of holding and standing which is
not always available. The Baroque's temporal invasion of the still point,
the gesture of bringing the sea into the garden, is made more surprising by
its statement in terms of a poetic and philosophical commonplace that
usually expresses exactly the opposite thought. Von Greiffenberg's poem
achieves its effect by manipulating Classical reference and the reader's the-
matic expectations in much the same way that Rist and Schein did,
although their poetic projects are considerably different. What remains
constant in the Baroque usage of this pattern of Classical imagery is a kind
of manipulation by reversal, a use of reference that seems to revive Classi-
cal models only to move away from the ideas and ideals those models had
expressed.

German lyrics of the seventeenth century may well observe Opitz's dic-
tum to follow Classical models closely. The Baroque poets, while
remembering this principle, make Classical and neo-Latin models a fra-
mework around which they build in order to consider ideas and traditions
that do not fall easily into the expressive range of Classical imagery. If the
Humanists' Classical reference may be described as an attempt to imitate
or revive, Baroque Classical references depend on a knowledge of Classi-
cal texts to heighten a sought-for effect. Baroque reference to the Latin
classics deviates from Classical norms but still needs those norms in order
to be recognizable as deviations. In moving away from Humanist Classi-
cism, the Baroque poets learned how to use the Latin tradition to their
advantage. This holds true for both sacred and secular poetry. In the case
of the ship topos, we can see how even a poem as removed from the usual
themes of the Humanists' imitation of Rome as "Auff meinen Bestürmet-
en Lebenslauff" requires a knowledge of its Classical model(s) to be
understood. Our comprehension of the very "Baroque-ness" of the poem
depends on a knowledge of the history of its tropes. In this case, at least,
the difference between neo-Latin and German poetry consists less in a
difference of language than in a difference in relationship to the Roman

tradition that manifests itself as a difference in style and referential strategy.

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Notes

1. This has been an important theme of descriptions of the Baroque since Wölfflin. August Buck (1965) states "Nach Wölfflins Interpretation besteht nun das Neue der Barockkunst darin, dass sie nicht mehr wie die Renaissance 'das schöne rühige Sein' sucht, sondern die Bewegung, das Werden darstellen will; der Eindruck, den sie im Betrachter zu erwecken strebt, ist nicht gleichmässige Belebung, sondern Aufregung, Ekstase, Berauschung" (248).

2. Welzig (1961) sees in constancy a sort of universal ethical ideal for the Baroque as a whole: "Wo immer das Lebensgefühl des Barocks sein Ausdruck findet, dort fliesst etwas von jener Vorstellung der "constantia" ein, die der Zeit als die menschliche Urtugend gilt" (p. 417). A contemporary definition comes from Justus Lipsius (1605): "I call constancy a right and unmoved strength of soul, not lifted up by external things or pressed down by fortune" ("Constantiam hic appello, rectum et immotum animi robur, non elati externis aut fortuitis, non depressi," p. 6). Although Lipsius' definition is gleaned from Seneca, the identification of constancy as an independent topos is not Classical. William Robertson's *Phraseologia generalis* of 1693 devotes a full two-collumn page to definitions, synonyms and periphrases for *constantia*.

3. In this I follow Conrady (1962), rather than Welzig, who devotes considerable attention to the role of medieval romance in the development from *constantia* through *Treue* to *Beständigkeit*. I extend Conrady's method slightly in considering Classical and neo-Latin philosophy as well as poetry: see Stalder (1976).

4. Page's note indicates that he was known for his inability to keep strategically quiet; he was put to death for participating in a conspiracy against Augustus. (Page [1956]: 252).

5. 'Turba' is complex in its associations. Although the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* lists only 'crowd' or 'confused mob' as meanings for *turba* itself, the adjective *turbidus* can apply to storms at sea without any apparent metaphorical tension. Here Seneca seems to be working out a conceptual relationship already latent in the language.

6. For texts of neo-Latin poems, see Schnur (1978).

7. Free will is described as follows: Bk. 1, ch. 20: "As it is lawfull for me to walke vp and downe in a shippe and to runne about the hatches or seates, but this stirring of mine cannot hinder the sailing of the ship: So in this fatall vessell wherein we all sayle, let our willes wrangle and wrest as they list, they shal not turne her out of her course, nor anie thing hinder the same" ("sic in fatali hac naui, qũ omnes vehimur, currant licet voluntates nostrae et transcurrant, non viâ eam eiiciant aut sistent. Temperabit et habenas moderabitur semper suprema illa voluntas..."). As for Cicero's shipwreck, it has to do with his denial of the power of the heavens: Bk. 1, ch. 21, "Here I behold how *Cicero* suffered shipwracke, who chose rather to denie prouidence, than to abate one ace of mans libertie" ("Ciceronis hîc naufragium video, qui Providentiam maluti tollere, quam delibare aliquid de humana libertate"). Both instances mentioned here represent part of a longer meditation on the problem of free will and fate in the Stoics. See Kirk (1939), pp. 32ff, whence also the translations in this footnote.

8. See, for example, ch. 8, where the soul tested by God is compared to a mariner in a tempest ("si nautam esse velis, per tempestates doceare"), or ch. 11, where the world is compared to a sea ("Quis voveat hoc Universum, sicut mare mortuum esse, sine vento, sine motu?").

9. The text, like those of all German poems cited here, can be found in Maché and Meid (1980).

10. See the section "Das unmittelbare Vorbild niederländischer Kultur" in Moerke (1972), pp. 17ff. for the influence of scholarship from Holland like Lipsius' on the early northern German Baroque.

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