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Representations of the Tomb of Christ in Works Written, Designed, and Commissioned by Otto Friedrich von der Gröben

Today, Otto Friedrich von der Gröben (1656–1728)¹ is mainly known for his role in setting up the Brandenburg-Prussian colony Groß-Friedrichsburg, which was located in the vicinity of today's Princes Town in Ghana. Amongst his contemporaries, he was, however, famous for his Oriental journey. Gröben depicted his travels to the "Orient" as a pilgrimage, with Jerusalem, which belonged to the Ottoman Empire at that time, as the destination. Accordingly, he chose the most sacred place of Christianity, the Tomb of Christ in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, as the central emblem of his voyages. Focusing on the material aspects of the numerous representations of the aedicula in works written, designed, and commissioned by Gröben, this chapter will examine the various ways in which he used the edifice for his self-representation as a noble Protestant pilgrim from Brandenburg-Prussia to the Holy Land. It will also discuss the intermedial relations between the travelogue of the French Recollect friar Eugène Roger (fl. 1629–1634) and Gröben's books.

1 Materials used for the representations

The representations of the Tomb of Christ can be classified according to the materials used to create them, which is why their identification is key to the following discussion.

After returning to the Duchy of Prussia from his voyages, Gröben wrote two travelogues and had them copied in fine handwriting. The manuscript of the re-

¹ Gröben states in his travelogue that he was born on Easter Sunday in 1657. Otto Friedrich von der Gröben, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung des Brandenburgischen Adlichen Pilgers Otto Friedrich von der Gröben, Nebst der Brandenburgischen Schifffahrt nach Guinea, und der Verichtung zu Morea (Marienwerder 1694)*, p. 12. However, the year of birth given on a plate on his tomb in Kwidzyn (Marienwerder) is 1656. This date is more likely, as Gröben's younger brother Heinrich Wilhelm (1657–1729) was born in 1657. For the date of birth see also Wolfgang von der Groeben, *Die Grafen und Herren von der Groeben, Stammtafeln 1140–1993* (Düsseldorf 1994), pp. 113–114, 126–127.

port on his Oriental journey was splendidly bound and presented to his sovereign, Friedrich Wilhelm, Elector of Brandenburg-Prussia (1620–1688).² Six years after the elector's death in 1688, Gröben temporarily transferred Simon Reiningers the Younger's (d. 1712) printing press from Gdansk (Danzig) to his residence at Kwidzyn (Marienwerder) in order to print his travelogue *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung* (1694), with the *Guineische Reise-Beschreibung*, describing his journey to West Africa, as an appendix. In 1700, he published the heroic poem *Des Edlen Bergone und seiner Tugendhafften Areteen Denkwürdige Lebens- und Liebesgeschichte*,³ which is also based on his travels. The manuscript of the *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, the printed edition of the travelogue, and the heroic poem all incorporate a detailed verbal description of the Tomb of Christ. The medium of the representations is script. Since the production process is different for handwritten and printed scripts, handwritten script and printed script are classified as different types of material forms. The verbal depictions of the aedicula in Gröben's texts can thus be distinguished on the basis of their material forms as handwritten script and printed script. The carrier material is paper for both scripts.

There are four engravings of the aedicula by an unknown artist in the printed edition of the travelogue: one of the six images on the coppertitle, a plan⁴ and a side view of the edifice⁵, as well as an image of Gröben's tattoo⁶ of the aedicula.⁷ The medium of the representations is image combined with script, the material form is copperplate, and the carrier material is paper.

2 Otto Friedrich von der Gröben, [Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung], Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz [Ms. germ. Quart. 88].

3 Otto Friedrich von der Gröben, *Des Edlen Bergone und seiner Tugendhafften Areteen Denkwürdige Lebens- und Liebesgeschichte*. In *deutschen Versen* (Danzig 1700).

4 Gröben, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, following p. 126 (1).

5 Gröben, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, following p. 126 (2).

6 I am using the modern term "tattoo" in this chapter, although this term and its equivalents in European languages were not established in Europe until the second half of the eighteenth century. For examples of German terms describing tattoos in the seventeenth century, compare the quotations below. For English terms, compare the discussion by Juliet Fleming of "'Listing', 'rasing', 'pricking', and 'pouncing'". Juliet Fleming: *The Renaissance Tattoo*, in Jane Caplan (ed.), *Written on the Body: The Tattoo in European and American History* (Princeton, NJ, 2000), pp. 61–82, here p. 69.

7 Gröben, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, following p. 286.

“According to all pilgrims’ custom,”⁸ Gröben had his arms tattooed during his stay in the Franciscan monastery in Jerusalem in 1675.⁹ From a number of models he chose three motifs for his right arm and two for the left arm, among them the Tomb of Christ. The medium of the representation is image combined with script, the material form is tattoo, and the original carrier material is, or rather was, human skin, while for the engraving showing the representation in the travelogue the material form is copperplate and the carrier material is paper.

In 1703, Friedrich I., King in Prussia (1657–1713), permitted Gröben to add a burial chapel for himself and his wife Anna Barbara (née von Schlieben, 1672–1703) to the cathedral of Kwidzyn.¹⁰ One of the outside decorations of this chapel is a bas-relief of the Tomb of Christ by an unknown artist. Inside the chapel, there is another bas-relief containing an image of the aedicula. The medium of these is image, the material form is bas-relief, and the carrier material is sandstone. We can then identify three different media in the representations of the aedicula: script, image, and a combination of script and image, five different types of material forms: handwritten script, printed script, copperplate, tattoo, and bas-relief, and three carrier materials: paper, human skin, and sandstone.

2 The affective meanings of the materials

According to Monika Wagner, the carrier material contributes to the affective meaning of the representation that it carries.¹¹ Paper, human skin, and sandstone therefore add different affective meanings to the representations of the aedicula.

8 “[N]ach aller Pilger Gewonheit.” Gröben, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, p. 283. Unless otherwise indicated, translations are by the author.

9 Mordechai Lewy observes that the pilgrims’ habit of having their bodies tattooed with religious motifs started in the late sixteenth century. Mordechai Lewy, *Jerusalem unter der Haut: Zur Geschichte der Jerusalemer Pilgertätowierung*, in *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 55 (2003), pp. 1–39, here p. 7.

10 After the death of Anna Barbara von der Gröben, Gröben remarried twice. His wives Helene Marie (née Erbtruchsessin Gräfin zu Waldburg, 1681–1710) and Louise Juliane (widowed von Plotho, née von Kanitz, d. 1740) were also buried in the chapel.

11 Monika Wagner, *Papier und Stein: Kommunikative Potenziale Anachronistischer Trägermaterialien in der Zeitgenössischen Kunst*, in Thomas Strässle, Christoph Kleinschmidt, and Johanne Mons (eds.), *Das Zusammenspielen der Materialien in den Künsten: Theorien, Praktiken, Perspektiven* (Bielefeld 2013), pp. 263–276, here p. 264.

Image and script on paper are charged with vulnerability due to the latent hazard of its carrier material's potential destruction by fire.¹² This is particularly the case for handwritten script on paper, because of the uniqueness of the manifestation that it produces. In the case of Gröben's precious gift to the Elector, the valuable design of the manuscript enhances this meaning. Handwritten script and paper are therefore used by Gröben in his attempt to establish a special relationship with his sovereign by offering an outstanding gift. In addition, paper as carrier material has the affordance for storing information. It also affords portability, which in combination with printed script allows for the work's widespread distribution. In conjunction with printed script, paper can thus be deployed to establish the reputation of the traveler and his noble family by disseminating knowledge about his voyages.

As skin is inseparable from the person's body, a tattoo implies that the representation is permanent for that person's lifetime, but will perish after his or her death (unless the body is mummified, which is not normally the case). Thus, skin shares the quality of permanence with stone and the quality of fragility with paper. In comparison with stone and paper, human skin as carrier material is most heavily loaded with affective meaning because it charges the representation with the pain inherent in its production. As the tattoo and the tattooed body are inseparable, the skin as carrier material also bestows an affective meaning of mobility to the representation. Because the tattooed person can move and travel, the tattoo on the skin moves with him or her. The affective meaning of mobility is especially important for the religious tattoos that pilgrims obtained during their visits to the Christian sites in Jerusalem and other biblical locations, the custom of religious tattooing being restricted to that region. Accordingly, the tattoo indicates that the person carrying it had ventured on a journey to Jerusalem. By wearing the representation of the Tomb of Christ on his own skin, Gröben testifies to his faith as well as to the fact that he has visited the Holy Land.

A distinctive feature of sandstone as carrier material is its persistence, which makes it a favorite material for commemorative art like monuments and grave-stones. In addition, it adds the affective meaning of immobility to the representation, as stone cannot easily be removed from the original site. By employing sandstone as a carrier material for the bas-reliefs used to decorate his own burial chapel, Gröben attempts to preserve his own fame and that of his family for posterity.

In order to use the affective meanings of the respective carrier materials, Gröben relied on a mix of materials to establish his own reputation and that

¹² Wagner, *Papier und Stein*, p. 270.

of his family, to sustain it for posterity and to testify to his pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

3 Intermedial relations in the travelogue

This section will discuss the intermedial relations¹³ of the representations of the Tomb of Christ in Gröben's travelogue. We will first look at the copperplates, of which there are two groups. The representation of the Tomb of Christ on the copper title and the representation of the tattoo form the first group. The images depict the edifice in side view (seen from the south) as site of religious scenes, showing two angels and three women with the aedicula at the center on the copper title and Christ resurrecting from the grave on the copperplate of the tattoo. Both copperplates contain the inscription "*resurexit*," which is followed in the image of the tattoo by the words "*propter iustificationem n[ost]ram*." The inscriptions thus refer to the respective religious scenes. In contrast, the plan and the side view (seen from the north), which constitute the second group, seem to present the aedicula as an architectural structure. Their inscriptions, "The Plan of the Chapel of the Holy Tomb"¹⁴ and "The Chapel that [is] over the Holy Tomb,"¹⁵ serve to identify the building. However, this observation does not imply that the plan and the side view provide historically accurate reproductions of the edifice at the time of Gröben's visit.¹⁶ This can be demonstrated by the fact that the plan does not indicate the narrow entrance allowing access to the burial chamber from the Chapel of the Angel.¹⁷ This omission enhances the visual impression of the burial chamber as the place of the empty Tomb of Christ, while reducing the topographical accuracy. To give another example, Gröben refers verbally in some detail to several lamps donated by European princes and knights that were placed both inside the edifice and at its entrance.¹⁸ We can therefore

13 For the terminology used in this section compare Doris Gruber, *Intermedialität und gedruckte Reiseberichte: Ein Modell zur semi-automatisierten Anwendung*, in Philipp Hegel and Michael Krewet (eds.), *Wissen in Buchgestalt* (Wiesbaden expected in 2022).

14 "Der Grundris der Capellen des H[eiligen] Grab[es]". Gröben, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, following p. 126 (1).

15 "Die Capelle so über dem H[eiligen] Grabe." Gröben, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, following p. 126 (2).

16 I am grateful to Dr. Ilya Berkovich for drawing my attention to this fact.

17 By comparison, for example, the plan by Bernardino Amico (fl. 1597–1620), first published in 1609, shows the entrance. See the reproduction of the plan in Zur Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds: Geography, Religion, and Scholarship*, 1550–1700 (Leiden et al. 2012), p. 115.

18 Gröben, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, p. 129.

assume that he considers them important. However, there are no lamps in the side view of the aedicula, while the lamps hanging between the pillars decorating the exterior of the chapel appear for instance in some of the side views in *Ichnographiae Monumentorum Terrae Sanctae* by Elzear Horn (c. 1691–1744).¹⁹ Hence one may conclude that both the plan and the side view in the travelogue present a simplified, idealized version of the edifice.

In addition to the inter pictorial relations created by the fact that the four copperplates in the *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung* show the same external entity, namely the aedicula, there is another layer of their mutual relation, which is established by the text of the travelogue. An instance of this is the legend for the plan of the aedicula, which identifies “1” as “The stone on which the angel had sat who announced Christ’s resurrection to the Three Holy Maries.”²⁰ What appears as topographical information is in fact an allusion to the biblical narrative of the resurrection of Christ in the version of the Gospel of Mark.²¹ It is this narrative that establishes the reference to the image of the resurrection on the copperplate, identifying the three women as the “*heiligen drei Marien*” (Three Holy Maries). At this point, the intertextual relation between the legend and the Bible is unmarked, which applies by extension to the intermedial relations between the legend, the plan, and the resurrection scene on the copper title. When Gröben narrates his visit to the Tomb of Christ in the travelogue, he again mentions the stone “On which the angel of the Lord had sat, who announced Christ’s resurrection to the Three Maries”²² and underlines this point by stating in the marginalia: “The stone on which the angel had sat.”²³ He continues by quoting the Gospel in the translation by Martin Luther (1483–1546). By naming the Evangelist and by providing the exact source of the quotation in the marginalia he creates a marked intertextual reference: “As he said: You are looking for Jesus the Nazarene, who was crucified, He has risen, He is not here: See the place where they laid him, like Mark the Evangelist writes.”²⁴ Thus, the text

19 Elzear Horn, *Ichnographiae Monumentorum Terrae Sanctae*. 1724–1744, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem 1962), p. 40 and plates I, II, and IV.

20 “Der Stein auff welchem der Engel gesessen/ so den drey heiligen Marien die Aufferstehung Christi verkündiget.” Gröben, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, p. 126. Curiously enough, the numbers 1–3 in the legend do not correspond with the numbers 1–4 in the plan. In the plan, the stone is indicated by the number 2.

21 Mark 16:6.

22 “[...] auff welchem der Engel des Herrn gesessen/ der denen dreyen Marien die Aufferstehung Christi verkündiget.” Gröben, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, p. 127.

23 “Der Stein worauff der Engel gesessen.” Gröben, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, p. 127.

24 “[...] da er gesaget: Ihr suchet Jesum von Nazareth [sic]/ den Gekreutzigten/ Er ist aufferstanden/ und ist nicht hie : Siehe da die Stäte/ da sie Ihn hinlegten/ wie Marcus der Evangelist

moves from an unmarked textual reference to a marked textual quotation from the Bible.

Furthermore, there is a second intertextual relation here, which, however, is unmarked. The travelogue of the French Recollect friar Eugène Roger, who stayed in the Holy Land from 1629 till 1634, *La Terre Sainte, ou description topographique tres-particuliere des saints Lieux, & de la Terre de Promission*, was published in Paris in 1646 with illustrations by François Chauveau (1621–1676). A second edition appeared in 1664. There is no translation of it. Like Gröben, Roger describes the Tomb of Christ and the angel's stone: "On this stone the angel had sat when he appeared to the women for giving them assurance of the glorious resurrection."²⁵ This point is highlighted by the marginalia: "From where the angel appeared to the women at the resurrection of Our Savior."²⁶ At first glance, Roger's French text is very similar to Gröben's German travelogue. The texts are, however, not identical. Although Roger alludes to the Bible as well, his text lacks the explicit textual reference. It does not even state which of the Gospels it relates to, since neither the names nor the number of the women are specified, so that it is in accordance with the versions of the resurrection scene as narrated in the Gospels by Matthew, Mark, and Luke.

The intertextual reference between *La Terre Sainte* and the *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung* is enhanced by the unmarked inter pictorial relation formed by the plan²⁷ and the side view²⁸ of the Tomb of Christ in both travelogues. Whereas in the *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung* the legends of the plan and the side view are incorporated into the text before the pages with the corresponding images, in *La Terre Sainte* they are placed directly below the copperplates they explicate. In particular, the legend of the plan identifies "1" as "Stone on which the angel had sat who said to the Maries that Jesus was resurrected."²⁹ Like in Gröben's legend, seemingly topographical information is provided by an allusion to the biblical narrative of the resurrection. Although the women

schreibet." Luther Bible, 1545, New International Version (2011), Mark 16:6, accessed 4 April 2022, <<https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Mark+16&version=NIV>>; Gröben, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, p. 127. The text in the marginalia reads "Marc. 16. v. 6."

²⁵ "Sur cette pierre estoit assis l'Ange, lors qu'il s'aparut aux femmes pour leur donner assurance de la Resurrection glorieuse." Eugène Roger, *La Terre Sainte, ou description topographique tres-particuliere des saints Lieux, & de la Terre de Promission* (Paris 1646), p. 109.

²⁶ "Du lieu où l'Ange aparut aux femmes en la Resurrection de N.S." Roger, *La Terre Sainte*, p. 109.

²⁷ Roger, *La Terre Sainte*, p. 111.

²⁸ Roger, *La Terre Sainte*, p. 112.

²⁹ "Pierre sur laquelle estoit assis l'Ange qui dit aux Maries que Jesus estoit ressuscité." Roger, *La Terre Sainte*, p. 111.

are now named “Maries,” thus narrowing the source to the Gospel of either Matthew (who names two women called Mary in the resurrection scene) or Mark (who depicts three women called Mary³⁰) and excluding Luke (who includes “Johanna” in the group of women), their number is not stated, which still leaves ambiguity as to the source of the narrative (Matthew or Mark). By including the number in addition to the names of the “*drey heiligen Marien*,” Gröben eliminates any ambiguity, making clear that he alludes to the Gospel of Mark.

Gröben creates two unmarked intertextual relations here: the unmarked allusion to the Gospel of Mark and the unmarked, and almost literal, translation of parts of Roger’s travelogue. In contrast to the text copied from Roger, he later marks the intertextual relation to the Gospel of Mark by the literal quotation from the biblical text and by referring to the gospel in the marginalia. This marked intertextual relation serves two purposes: on the level of narration, quoting the words of the angel in direct speech increases the emotional impact of the resurrection scene on the reader, while on the level of discursive practice, quoting the Bible in Luther’s translation establishes a Protestant counterbalance to the Franciscan-controlled pilgrimage business in the Holy Land, granted to the order by the Ottoman administration and experienced by the Brandenburg pilgrim during his stay in Jerusalem.³¹ In this respect, the quotation from the Luther Bible also contributes to mask the fact that some of the information provided by the Protestant Gröben on the Tomb of Christ is copied from the travelogue of a French Recollect friar.

Like the corresponding French and German texts, the plan and the side view of the Tomb of Christ in the two travelogues are not identical, but very similar to each other.³² However, the engravings in the *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung* are mirror-inverted (Fig. 1–2).

Looking at the plan, this is not immediately apparent because of the symmetrical layout of the edifice, with the cross marking the site of Jesus’ burial bed in the same place in both plans, although in the Prussian version it is bigger

30 In Luther’s translation, they are named “Maria Magdalena / Maria Jacobi und Salome”. Luther Bible, 1545, New International Version (2011), Mark 16:1. Salome is also known as “Maria Salome,” hence the grouping of the three women as the “*drey Marien*” (Three Maries).

31 There is a multitude of negative references to the Franciscans in Gröben’s text, ranging from accusing the monks of avarice and taking bribes to the fear of being poisoned by them as a heretic because of his Protestant confession. See Gröben, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, pp. 87–92.

32 Altogether, sixteen of the forty-nine engravings of the *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung* are copied from Chauveau, as well as nine of the ten additional mezzotints contained in some copies of the travelogue.

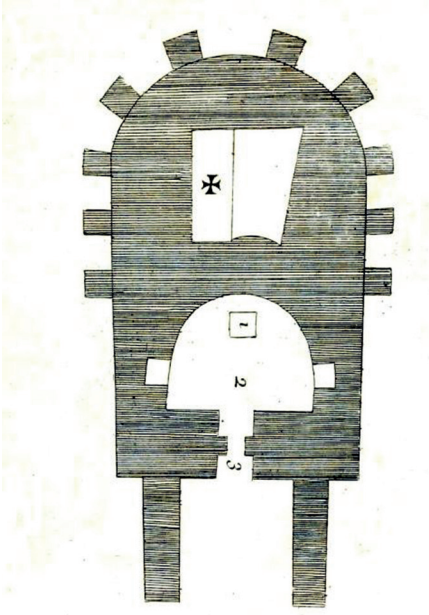


Fig. 1: Plan of the tomb of Christ, copperplate, in Roger, *La Terre Sainte*, 1646, p. 111. Source: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France [IFN-8607032], accessed 19 May 2022, <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8607032p>>.

than in the French original. It is only the irregular form representing the burial chamber that indicates that the later image is mirror-inverted. This suggests that Gröben's engraver copied Chauveau's images on the copperplates without minding the mirror-inverted effect in the resulting engravings. Nevertheless, the side-reverted effect should not be regarded as an instance of the copies' inferior quality. Rather, it should be considered as an indicator of the inter pictorial relation between the original image and its copy.

The mirror-inverted effect can be further exemplified by comparing the position of the cross marking the burial bed of Jesus in the two engravings and in the external entity they refer to. Both plans of the aedicula show the cross on the left-hand (southern) side of the burial chapel, thus marking the regular square representing the burial chamber in Roger and the irregular form representing the burial bed in Gröben due to the reversion. This raises the question as to where the burial bed is positioned in the building. Paradoxically, Roger has it both right and wrong simultaneously: the burial bed is on the right-hand (northern) side of the aedicula, so the regular square representing it is in the correct place in his travelogue, whereas the cross marking it is in the wrong place. We

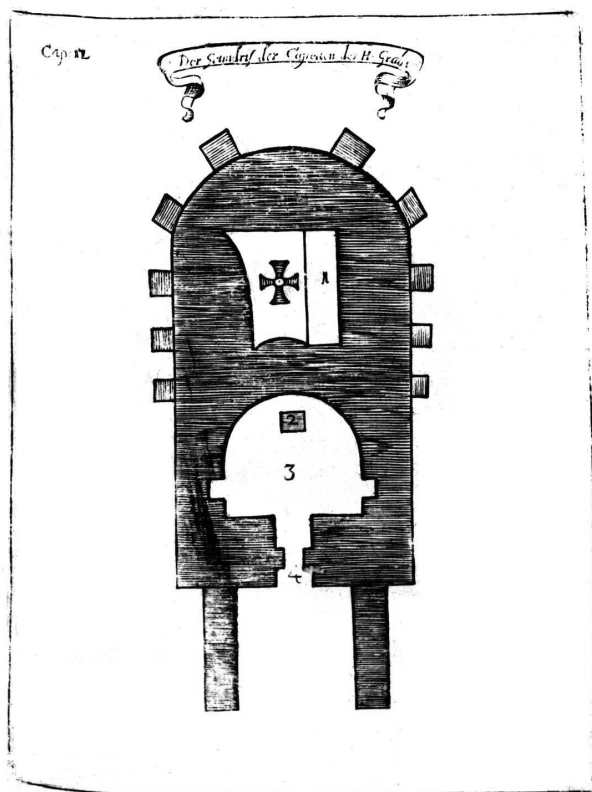


Fig. 2: Plan of the tomb of Christ, copperplate, in Gröben, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, 1694, following p. 126 (1). Source: Halle, ULB Sachsen-Anhalt [Ob 674], accessed 19 May 2022, <urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:3-25288>.

can thus detect a second mirror-inversion, this time in Chauveau's engraving. This might point to the fact that Chauveau copied the image from yet another source.³³ Conversely, Gröben's plan is faulty in both respects: both the burial bed and the cross marking it are on the wrong side of the edifice.

As a result, we can conclude that neither Roger nor Gröben considered it inappropriate to illustrate their travelogues with mirror-inverted engravings copied from other sources, as their aim was not to provide historically accurate images

³³ Compare Grazia Tucci (ed.), Jerusalem. The Holy Sepulchre: Research and Investigations (2007–2011) (Florence 2019), p. 126.

of the biblical sites but to present idealized versions of some of the buildings instead.

4 The intermedial relations of the tattoos

Previous research on Gröben's tattoos has failed to investigate the tattoos' intermediality in detail.³⁴ The following section of my chapter will therefore focus on this aspect.

Katherine Dauge-Roth has argued that the pilgrim tattoo is an important factor in "fashioning identity."³⁵ Following this argument, one would assume that for the purpose of self-fashioning, the tattooed pilgrims would proudly present their tattoos when being portrayed. This assumption does, however, not apply to Gröben as none of the known portraits of the writer shows his tattoos. This can be illustrated by comparing the three engravings by Andreas Scharff (fl. 1694), George Lisiewski (1674–1750), and Johann Christoph Boecklin (1657–1709), respectively, which were used for the frontispiece in different copies of the *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*. On all three of them, the author is presented in almost half-length without tattoos. This could be due to the format of the portraits, which do not show the forearms, but we can still conclude that the tattoos were not considered important for the portraits of the author, which were exhibited in such a prominent place. It is estimated that more than 3,400 European pilgrims visited Jerusalem in the seventeenth century.³⁶ During that time, 390 travel reports on the town and the surrounding area were published,³⁷ at least nine of which mention pilgrim tattoos,³⁸ which substantiates Gröben's claim that getting pilgrim tattoos was a habit amongst European pilgrims to Jerusalem.³⁹ However, to our knowledge only three pilgrims had their portrait

³⁴ Lewy, Jerusalem; Robert Ousterhout, Permanent Ephemera: The Honorable Stigmatization of Jerusalem Pilgrims, in Renana Bartal and Hanna Vorholt (eds.), *Between Jerusalem and Europe: Essays in Honour of Bianca Kühnel* (Leiden et al. 2015), pp. 95–109; Maria Schaller, "Stich bey Stich" auf dem "schmerzliche[n] Kreitz Weg Christi": Die Tätowierten Pilger-Zeichen des Otto Friedrich von der Gröben und seine *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung* (Marienwerder 1694), in Debora Oswald, Linda Schiel, and Nadine Wagener-Böck (eds.), *Wege: Gestalt, Funktion, Materialität* (Berlin 2018), pp. 56–79; Katherine Dauge-Roth, *Signing the Body: Marks on Skin in Early Modern France* (Abington 2020), pp. 177, 198–200.

³⁵ Dauge-Roth, *Signing the Body*, p. 198.

³⁶ Shalev, *Sacred Words*, p. 77.

³⁷ Shalev, *Sacred Words*, p. 79.

³⁸ Lewy, Jerusalem, p. 11.

³⁹ See Gröben, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, p. 283.

painted displaying their tattoos,⁴⁰ and none of these three portraits was transformed into an engraving for reproduction. This suggests that European pilgrims did not intend “fashioning [their] identities” using their pilgrim tattoos. Thus, the evidence does not support Dauge-Roth’s proposition. Rather than using their pilgrim tattoos for fashioning identity, the pilgrims reveal an ambiguous attitude towards them: They do not deny their existence, but most of them do not have them displayed in their portraits.

Admittedly, as pointed out above, Gröben had representations of his tattoos engraved and published in his travelogue. But can we consider these, as Dauge-Roth claims, as “visual representations of pilgrim tattoos in print”?⁴¹ Did Gröben indeed have “his flesh and blood engravings remade in copper”?⁴² I would challenge this notion, since it is exactly the representation of the “flesh and blood” component that is missing from the copperplates (Fig. 3).

Rather than showing the “flesh and blood” of the tattooed person, they reduce the representation to the image and the script of the tattoos without showing their carrier.⁴³ The tattoo is thus transformed into an image and script without visual reference to the body. By copying the image of the tattoo, the tattoos are therefore separated not only from the author’s skin, their original carrier material, but also from the representation of the author’s skin. Gröben refers to the existence of the tattoos on his body verbally, but not visually. The medium is transformed from image and script to script only and the carrier material from the author’s skin to paper. This material does not carry the affective meaning of the author’s pain any more.

Still, some copies of the *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung* do contain representations of tattoos on human bodies. In addition to the copperplates in the standard copies, these are equipped with mezzotint illustrations, signed by Andreas Scharff and George Lisiewski respectively. Three of the mezzotints exhibit Arabs with tattooed bodies, among them the portrait of an Arab woman engraved (“fecit”) by Scharff. The fact that the term *delineavit* is missing from

⁴⁰ These portraits allegedly depict the scholar Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf (1655–1712), the diplomat Graf Siegfried von Kollonitz (portrayed around 1701), and an unidentified person. For the portrait of Ludolf see Lewy, Jerusalem, pp. 33–34. For the portrait of Kollonitz see Nina Trauth, *Maske und Person: Orientalismus im Porträt des Barock* (Berlin et al. 2009), pp. 255–256. For the portrait of the unidentified pilgrim see Dauge-Roth, *Signing the Body*, pp. 183–185.

⁴¹ Dauge-Roth, *Signing the Body*, p. 198.

⁴² Dauge-Roth, *Signing the Body*, p. 198.

⁴³ This also applies to the engravings of William Lithgow’s (1582 – in or after 1645) tattoos, which Dauge-Roth also refers to in order to support her proposition. See Dauge-Roth, *Signing the Body*, p. 173.

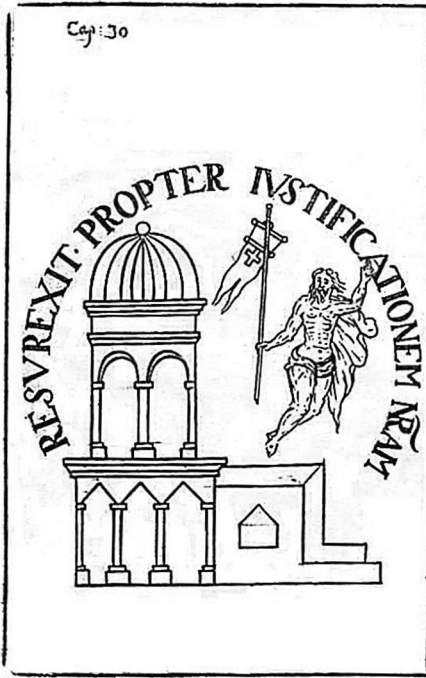


Fig. 3: Christ resurrecting, copperplate, in Gröben, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, 1694, following p. 286. Source: Halle, ULB Sachsen-Anhalt [Ob 674], accessed 19 May 2022, <urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:3-25288>.

the image's signature brings us to question whether Scharff was also its creator. When looking for a source we can revert again to Roger's travelogue, which does indeed contain the same portrait in mirror-inversion.⁴⁴ Scharff's mezzotint can therefore be classified as a copy of Chauveau's original. Both engravings represent the woman's tattoos on her body as images within an image. Accordingly, the image of the Arab woman's tattoos is presented in relation to its carrier material, the woman's skin, even though the carrier material of the representation is transformed into paper. The text of the travelogue mentions the tattoos of the Arab women only briefly in a generalizing manner: "Some have their faces pierced quite colorfully with powder."⁴⁵ There is no verbal reference to the

⁴⁴ Roger, *La Terre Sainte*, p. 209.

⁴⁵ "[...] etliche lassen sich das Angesicht gantz bund mit Pulver einstechen." Gröben, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, p. 237.

pain the Arab women experience when having the tattoos punctured onto their skin, but the affective meaning of the pierced skin is still conveyed by the woman's portrait.

When Gröben cautions in his travelogue against the dangers of tattooing, he refers to the process the Christian pilgrims underwent when receiving their tattoos: "Those of a weak constitution should mind to have such marks pierced, as they make the arm very severely swollen, and by inflammation can cause a fever that [...] can easily bring death."⁴⁶ To Gröben, by contrast, physical strength is part of his self-fashioning as a nobleman skilled in the art of warfare. Therefore, the tattooing process causes nothing more inconvenient than "quite a strong pain"⁴⁷ to him. This rather passing mention of sufferance is in accordance with the cult of masculinity that required the Jerusalem pilgrims to be able to bear pain.⁴⁸ Hence, elaborating in more detail on the painful experience of receiving the tattoos on his own skin would have been inappropriate for Gröben.

In contrast to the travelogue, the heroic poem provides further possibilities for putting emphasis on the pain caused by the tattooing procedure. The male protagonist Bergone, whose name is an anagram of Gröben's name and who acts as the *alter ego* of the external entity Gröben, chooses his tattoos from hundreds of models presented by a Christian tattooist. The episode also features the female protagonist Aretea, a native of the Duchy of Prussia like Bergone and their author Gröben.⁴⁹ The tattoo artist ("*Künstler*")⁵⁰ tries to persuade Aretea to choose "this and that"⁵¹ from the models as well, but she refuses "because hardly one out of a hundred can bear the pain."⁵² The lack of strength of those who are of a weak constitution, or, as Gröben puts it in the heroic poem, of those who are "not of strong vigor,"⁵³ is transferred to the female protagonist, thus connecting European women with physical weakness.

In spite of the fact that Aretea does not receive tattoos on her own skin, she feels some of the pain of being tattooed. In the rare instance of the narrator of

46 "Wer nun einer schwachen Natur ist/ der mag sich wohl vorsehen/ solche Zeichen stechen zu lassen/ dann sie den Arm gar sehr schwellend machen/ und durch die Inflammation oft mahlen ein Fieber zu verursachen pflegen/ welches [...] leicht den Todt befördern kan." Gröben, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, p. 286.

47 "[...] einen ziemlichen Schmertzen". Gröben, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, p. 285.

48 See Lewy, *Jerusalem*, p. 25.

49 Unlike Bergone/Gröben, the figure Aretea has no direct equivalent in an external entity.

50 Gröben, *Bergone*, p. 434.

51 "[D]ieß und das." Gröben, *Bergone*, p. 433.

52 "[W]eil kaum der hunderste den Schmerz ertragen kan." Gröben, *Bergone*, p. 434.

53 "[N]icht von starcker Krafft." Gröben, *Bergone*, p. 434.

the heroic poem (“I”)⁵⁴ addressing the two protagonists, Bergone’s pain is mirrored by that of the compassionate Aretea: “Bergone, can you not keep your pure blood? I know that Areté almost cried, When she saw it vainly growing cold, And that her suffering united with your pain.”⁵⁵ As a result, Bergone’s pain is emphasized without compromising the principle of male strength that Lewy has identified as part of the cult of masculinity the Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem submitted themselves to.⁵⁶

The closing verses of the chapter dealing with Bergone’s/Gröben’s tattoos in the heroic poem are set off by a transformation of the sharpness of pain into sweetness (“acridity finally brings sweetness”).⁵⁷ The transitional process brings sweetness in two respects. First, sweetness is created by the fact that the signs can only be robbed by the time of death (“nothing but the time of death”).⁵⁸ Second, pleasantness is brought by the communication process triggered by the signs between Bergone/Gröben and others: “He can talk a lot about this case to others.”⁵⁹ Far from being used by Gröben for personal religious contemplation, as Maria Schaller suggests in her paper on Gröben’s tattoo showing the Way of the Cross,⁶⁰ the tattoos are on the contrary incorporated into a communication process about his pilgrimage that gives joy (“*Süßigkeit*”) to Bergone/Gröben. Whereas the first aspect refers to the affective meaning that the carrier material, Bergone’s/Gröben’s own skin, contributes to the representation, the second facet introduces a performative element that ensures that the signs are interpreted by other observers in the way intended by Bergone/Gröben. Both, the tattoos and the hero’s/author’s conversations about them, end at the time of death. However, Bergone/Gröben has found a way of securing that even the time of death cannot steal the signs by transferring them onto an additional carrier material, a copperplate (“framed in a copper sheet”⁶¹). The intermedial reference to the copperplates transfers the affective meaning of vulnerability – contributed by the human skin as carrier of the tattoos – to the affective meaning of storing knowledge – contributed by paper as carrier material of the copperplates.

54 “Ich.”

55 “Bergone kanstu nicht dein reines Blut behalten?| Ich weiß/ daß Areté darüber fast geweint/| Als sie dasselbige vergebens seh’n erkalten/| Und daß ihr Schmetzen sich mit deinem Schmerz vereint.” Gröben, Bergone, p. 434.

56 See Lewy, Jerusalem, p. 25.

57 “Das Sauere bringt endlich Süßigkeit.” Gröben, Bergone, p. 435.

58 “[N]ichts als die Todtes Zeit.” Gröben, Bergone, p. 435.

59 “Er kan in diesem Fall gar viel vor andern sagen.” Gröben, Bergone, p. 435.

60 Schaller, “Stich bey Stich”.

61 “[I]ns Kupfer Blat [...] fassen.” Gröben, Bergone, p. 436.

Likewise, the communication processes are continued after the hero's/author's death by "what is left by his labor / and what all the world finds in his writings,"⁶² with the text stressing the performative character of the processes of writing and reading. On the material level, the copper sheet and the writings are the means "by which he overcomes his death until eternity."⁶³ On the discursive level of creating religious meaning, after Bergone's/Gröben's death, the copperplates will testify to his faith in the resurrection, which is signified to Christians by the religious sites in Jerusalem and especially by the Tomb of Christ. To Bergone/Gröben it is his faith that enables him to overcome death.

While we have focused on the images of Bergone's/Gröben's tattoos so far, it is also noteworthy that they consist of a combination of image and script. This again distinguishes them from the tattoos of the Arab women as presented by Gröben. As mentioned above, the women's tattoos are not described verbally in the travelogue. Again, we can trace an intertextual relation to Roger's text, which enumerates some of the images of the women's tattoos: "foliage, flowers, and characters."⁶⁴ Gröben mentions only the flowers ("roses"⁶⁵) in his heroic poem as an example of what is displayed on the women's skin. Tattooed characters – whether in combination with image or on their own – might indicate that there is a symbolic meaning to the tattoos rather than just a decorative one. Omitting them from the description of the women's tattoos enables Gröben to pick up Roger's interpretation that the women use the tattoos "in the belief that these things render them more beautiful"⁶⁶ and thus to claim that the images are employed solely for ornamental purposes ("the beautification of the cheeks").⁶⁷

Gröben's representations of tattoos differ according to the gender and the origin of the tattooed person. The pain caused by the tattooing process cannot be expressed verbally or through an image of the skin bearing the tattoo when the male protagonists of the travelogue and the heroic poem are concerned. It requires a female figure who mirrors the pain to talk about it. European

62 "[W]as sein Fleiß verlassen| Und was die gantze Welt in seinen Schrifften find." Gröben, Bergone, p. 435.

63 "[W]omit er seinen Todt auff ewig überwind." Gröben, Bergone, p. 436.

64 "[F]ueillages [sic], fleurs & characters." Roger, *La Terre Sainte*, p. 259.

65 "Rosen." Gröben, Bergone, p. 288.

66 "[D]ans la croyance qu'elles ont que ces choses les rendent plus belles." Roger, *La Terre Sainte*, p. 259. It might not be a coincidence that the noun "*la croyance*" with its religious connotation was changed to the more neutral expression "*l'opinion*" in the second edition of Roger's travelogue: Eugène Roger, *La Terre Sainte, ou description topographique tres-particuliere des saints Lieux, & de la Terre de Promission*, 2nd ed. (Paris 1664), p. 299.

67 "[D]er Wangen Zierath." Gröben, Bergone, p. 288.

women cannot bear the pain of the tattooing process, whereas Arab women are presented wearing tattoos. The pain they might feel while receiving the tattoos is not referred to verbally, but is still inherent in the portrait of the tattooed Arab woman in some copies of the travelogue. While the tattoos of the European male traveler have a highly symbolic religious meaning, those of the Arab women are reduced to a merely decorative statement. Thus, the Arab women's tattoos are turned into a sign of "otherness."

5 The intermateriality of the representations

The bas-reliefs of the aedicula stand out from the representations described above because of the complete absence of script from them (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4: Burial Chapel, bas-relief, sandstone, St. John's Cathedral, Kwidzyn.
Source: © Irmel Priß (photograph).

As a material, especially in combination with the walls of the burial chapel into which one of the bas-reliefs is implanted, sandstone adds an affective meaning of immobility. This constitutes a strong contrast to the other representations of

the aedacula that are characterized by portability, one of the affective meanings conferred to script and image by paper as carrier material, and mobility, one of the affective meanings contributed to the tattoo by human skin as carrier. In addition, the bas-reliefs lack the performative aspect provided to the copperplates by the text of the travelogue into which they are embedded and to the tattoos on the pilgrim's skin by the pilgrim's conversations about them with others. These contrasts enhance the suggestion of the bas-reliefs that Gröben's travels came to an end with his death and subsequent burial in the chapel in Kwidzyn. Nevertheless, the persistence of the material will ensure that the bas-reliefs will convey Gröben's faith in Christian resurrection for posterity, by outliving his death like the copperplates of the tattoos and his writings.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ I would like to thank Kerstin Beate Grossmann, MA/GB, MBA, and Dr. Gerd Schubert †, who read drafts of this paper and contributed valuable advice.